A Grammar of Pichi

Kofi Yakpo

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To Yèni and Fodé

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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)
		HAB	habitual marker
.	word-medial: morpheme boundary in derived compound	IDEO	ideophone
		INDF	indefinite
		INDP	independent/emphatic pronoun
(...)	untranscribed part of utterance		
		INTJ	interjection
[ ]	explanation of translated elements	INTR	intransitive
		IPFV	imperfective aspect marker
/	speech interruption	L	low tone(d syllable)
?	final: question intonation	L.H	low-high tone sequence over two adjacent syllables
?	initial: grammaticality dubious		
		LH	rising contour tone over same syllable
[á]	IPA transcription		
/a/	phoneme	LN	last name
<a>	grapheme	LOC	locative preposition
á	high tone diacritic	LT	lexical tone
à	low tone diacritic	MVC	multiverb construction
%	boundary tone	n.a.	not applicable
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	NAME	personal name
ABL	abilitive mood marker	NEG	negative/negator
ADV	adverbial(ising suffix)	NP	noun phrase
BE	identity copula	NSPC	non-specific
BE.LOC	locative-existential copula	OBJ	object (case)
BT	boundary tone	OBL	obligative mood marker
CPD	tone deletion in compounding	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	V1	initial verb in MVC
	reduplication	V2	second verb in MVC
REP	repeated word in repetition	VP	verb phrase

10 Clause linkage

Relations between clauses may be established in various ways in complex clauses consisting of more than one verb. A relation between clauses can be expressed by using linking adverbials and anaphoric pronouns (§10.1). Adjacent clauses may also be linked by continuative intonation alone, or in combination with the other means available (§10.8). Clause linkers may be employed in order to form complex coordinate (§10.3), complement (§10.5), relative (§10.6), and adverbial clauses (§10.7).

The resulting constructions are syntactically integrated to varying degrees. For instance, subjunctive clauses introduced by *mék* 'SBJV' (§10.5.5), purpose clauses introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP', and complement clauses introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP' or *de* 'IPFV' are less finite and arguably syntactically subordinate to their main clauses. At the same time, it is not very useful to posit a relation of syntactic subordination between clauses in many (other) adverbial relations. In these structures, the linked clauses retain their full potential for the expression of person, tense, aspect, and modality (e.g. the various types of adverbial clauses introduced by *wé* 'SUB', cf. §10.7.1). Clauses may also be linked in multiverb constructions, which are covered separately in section §10.8.

10.1 Linking adverbs and anaphor

Linking adverbs occur at the beginning of a clause and ensure referential continuity with a preceding clause, often in combination with continuative intonation. Recurrent linking elements are *áfta* 'then, afterwards', *bɔt* 'but', the phrasal adverbial *dán tén* '(at) that time', as well as the anaphoric phrase *na ín* 'FOC 3SG.INDP'.

The adverb *áfta* 'then, afterwards' relates a situation with a previous one. It can be employed in ways very similar to that of certain clause linkers in prosodically more integrated constructions involving the clause linker *wé* 'SUB' (cf. §10.7.1). In the following sentence, *áfta* and *wé* both establish a link of temporal succession with the preceding clause. Both elements are preceded by continuative intonation (indicated by a comma):

(1) *Yu gó yu pé, siete mil   yu baja,   **áfta** yu fínis yu sube, **wé** yu*
    2SG go 2SG pay seven thousand 2SG go.down then 2SG finish 2SG go.up SUB 2SG
    *de pák mɔ́ siete mil,   **wé** yu sube.*
    IPFV pack more seven thousand SUB 2SG go.up

    'You go, you pay, seven thousand, you go down, then you finish, you go up and take seven thousand again and go up.' [f203fp 012]

Example (2) shows how the sequential meaning of *áfta* can be read as a result relation in combination with continuative intonation:

(2) *A   nó sabí ús=tín   bin kán pás, **áfta** e   gó na hospital.*
     1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing PST PFV pass then 3SG.SBJ go LOC hospital

     'I don't know what happened that he went to (the) hospital.' [ye03cd 074]

The adverb *áfta* may also introduce the then-clause of reality conditionals in which
the if-clause is introduced by *lɛk* 'like' (3):

(3) ***Lɛk*** *náw,* ***lɛk*** *Boyé só   na mi   mán,* ***áfta*** *mi   sísta go*
     like now like NAME like.that FOC 1SG.POSS man then 1SG.POSS sister POT

     kɔ́l=an   sé,   wé e   go kán, "ús=sáy mi   brɔda-lɔ́   dé?"
     call=3SG.OBJ QUOT SUB 3SG.SBJ POT come Q=side 1SG.POSS brother.CPD-law BE.LOC

     'Suppose now, suppose Boyé here were my husband, then my sister would call
     him, if she came, "where's my brother-in-law?"' [ro05de 005]

Example (4) shows how the sequential meaning of *áfta* can be read as a reason relation:

(4) *Ɛf yu sí sé,   sɔn sáy di plés klín,   **áfta** dɛn de dú di tín dɛn*
     if 2SG see QUOT some side DEF PLACE be.clean then 3PL IPFV do DEF thing PL

     fáyn, yu nó go bísin   ɛf yu gasta mɔní.
     fine 2SG NEG POT be.busy if 2SG spend money

     'If you see that, somewhere the place is clean and/ because things are done well,
     you don't bother if you spend money.' [ma03hm 066]

The phrasal adverbial *dán tɛ́n* 'at that time' also relates a situation to a preceding one.
In (5b), *dán tɛ́n* indicates a temporal relation of simultaneity with the preceding clause
(a):

(5) a. *E   mít mi   antí.*
        3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.POSS aunt

        'He met my aunt.' [fr03ft 086]

     b. ***Dán tɛ́n*** *mi   antí gɛ́t bɛlɛ́.*
        that time 1SG.POSS aunt get belly

        'At that time my aunt was pregnant.' [fr03ft 087]

The phrase *na ín*, consisting of the focus marker *na* and the emphatic 3SG pronoun *ín*
establishes various types of anaphoric relationships (cf. also §7.4.3.3). In (6), a temporal
interpretation is favoured due to the presence of the adverbial *las doce* 'twelve (o'clock)':

(6) *Bikɔs   ín   de sé,   ɛ́ni **las doce na ín**   in*
     because 3SG.INDP IPFV QUOT every the.PL twelve FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.POSS

     abuela   kin kán kɔ́l=an.
     grandmother HAB come call=3SG.OBJ

     'Because she would say, always at twelve o'clock, that's when her grandmother
     used to come and call her.' [ed03sb 150]

10.2 Clause linkers

Next to the use of anaphors, intonation, and SVCs, Pichi employs a large array of clause linkers to express relations between clauses. Linkers that serve to introduce adverbial clauses more specialised in their meanings are dealt with in §10.7. At the same time, most types of relations, including adverbial ones, can be expressed by one, or a combination of, the multifunctional elements *wé* 'SUB', *sé* 'QUOT', *mék* 'SBJV', and *fɔ* 'PREP'.

These four linkers have multiple, partially overlapping functions, which are mapped in Figure 10.1. The ways in which these four linkers introduce different types of clauses are covered in the following sections of this chapter.
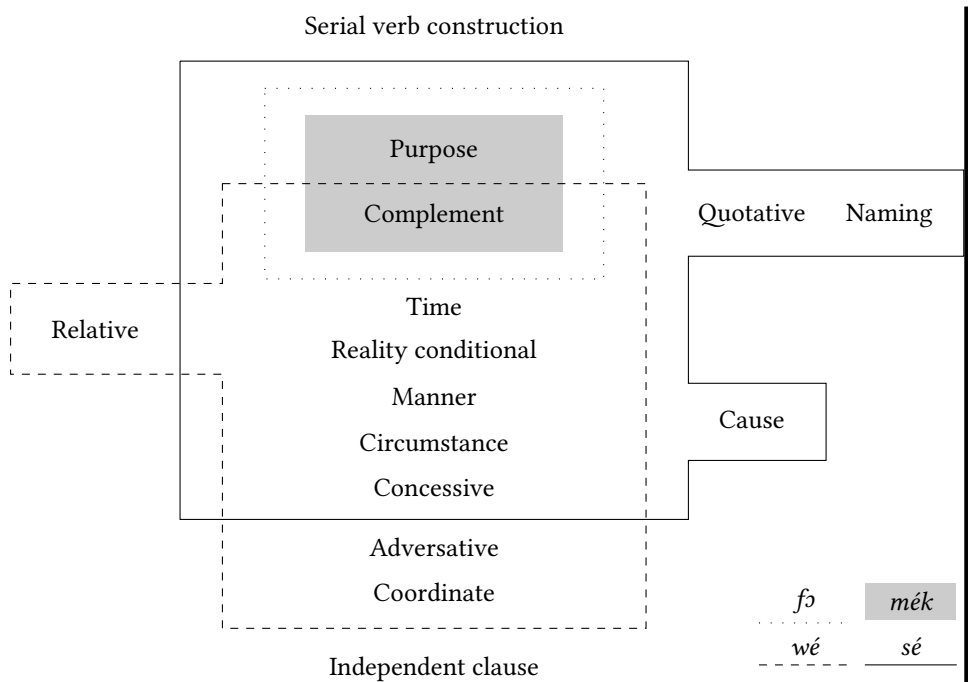
Figure 10.1 Functions of *fɔ*, *mék*, *wé*, and *sé* by clause type

10.3 Coordination

Coordinate clauses may be linked by way of intonation as well as the linkers *wé* 'SUB' and *an* 'and'. In (7), *bús* 'forest' bears a continuative boundary tone, which links the clause to the following one after the comma.

(7) *Só e   gó na **bús,** e   sé   e   de gó kíl bíf.*
so 3SG.SBJ POT LOC forest 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go kill wild.animal

'So he went to the forest, (and) he said he was going to kill wild game.' [ma03sh 004]

The clause linker *wé* 'SUB' can, amongst its other uses, link coordinate clauses. The preposition *wet* 'with' may only conjoin NPs (cf. §5.5), hence an important function of *wé* is to serve as a clausal connective that can be translated as 'and (then)'. The formal differentiation between NP and clausal coordination in Pichi corresponds to an areal (West) African pattern (Mithun 1988: 349–353).

In the following excerpt from a personal narrative, the first *wé* 'SUB' in (b) establishes a link (b) to the preceding clause (a) after a clause-final declarative intonation (indicated by the full stop). At the same time, context suggests a more temporal meaning of 'when' of the second *wé* in (b). Clause (c) resumes the narrative after declarative intonation at the end of (b):

(8) a. *Áfta na mi   gran-má a   bin de kɔl mamá.*
then FOC 1SG.POSS grand-ma 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV call mother

'So it's my grandmother that I used to call mother.' [fr03ft 016]

b. ***Wé** wi kán kán na tɔ́n, **wé** a   bigín gó skúl, wé a   bin gét,*
SUB 1PL PFV come LOC town SUB 1SG.SBJ begin go school SUB 1SG.SBJ PST get

a   tínk sé   seis años.
1SG.SBJ think QUOT six years

And then we came to town, and then I began to go to school, when I was, I think six years old.' [fr03ft 017]

c. *A   bigín gó skúl*
1SG.SBJ begin go school

'I began going to school.' [fr03ft 018]

The sequential and temporal meanings of *wé* 'SUB' in clauses like (8b) above may extend into contiguous meanings such as adversative (9). The various related meanings of *wé* in these contexts may blur beyond recognition the demarcation between the coordinate clauses described in this section and the adverbial clauses covered in §10.7.1.

(9) a. *Frijoles yés frijoles.*
bean.PL yes bean.PL

'[The Cubans call them] frijoles, yes frijoles.' [ed03sp 119]

b. ***Wé** yá só,   frijoles na haricots na yá.*
SUB here like.that bean.PL FOC beans   LOC here

'While here, frijoles is haricot here.' [ed03sp 120]

The quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT' also functions as a sequential connective and clause coordinator in ways very similar to *wé* 'SUB' when it signals inner speech or "internal

awareness" (Güldemann 2008: 422) and thereby often occurs without an overt subject as in (10):

(10) a. *Dɛn de kɔ́l dís tín fɔ cacahuete, dɛn de kɔ́l=an maní.*
3PL IPFV call this thing PREP groundnut 3PL IPFV call=3SG.OBJ ground.nut

'They call this peanut thing, they call it "maní".' [ed03sp 082]

b. ***Sé** mɔ́nin tén a go gó, a báy, a ték tú*
QUOT morning time 1SG.SBJ POT go 1SG.SBJ buy 1SG.SBJ take two

peso (…)
peso

'So in the morning, I would go and buy (it), I would take two pesos (…)'
[ed03sp 083]

The element *an* 'and' may link NPs as well as coordinate clauses. Its use is, however, exceedingly rare, and speakers overwhelmingly favour coordinate structures linked by means of *wé* 'SUB' or reduced clauses involving secondary predication (cf. §11.3):

(11) *E nák di tébul **an** di stáyl wé e nák di tébul strɔ́n, e*
3SG.SBJ hit DEF table and DEF style SUB 3SG.SBJ hit DEF table be.strong 3SG.SBJ
*kán sék di plét **an** di plét kán brók.*
PFV shake DEF plate and DEF plate PFV break

'He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way, he shook the plate, and the plate broke.' [au07se 014]

The disjunctive coordinator *ɔ* 'or' may also link coordinate clauses, cf. (54) for an example.

10.4 Quotation

The element *sé* 'QUOT' is characterised by an exceptional polyfunctionality that includes use as a lexical verb 'say' and use as quotation marker for direct speech and naming, renders inner speech and internal awareness, introduces adverbial clauses of manner, circumstance, and purpose, and reaches into the domain of clausal complementation. Following Güldemann (2008), I assume that the function as an index of direct reported speech lies at the heart of the functional versatility of *sé* 'QUOT'.

The element *sé* occurs with a more lexical meaning of 'say'. It may take TMA marking and at the same time predicate a quotative construction. In the following example, *sé* is employed as a speech verb. It is marked for potential mood by means of *go* 'POT' and introduces a direct quote:

(12) *Di dé wé yu go níd=an,   yu go **sé**   "a   nó gét pamáyn", yu*
      DEF day SUB 2SG POT need=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG get oil   2SG
      go kɔ́t gadinɛ́ks.
      POT cut egg-plant

      'The day that you will need it, you are going to say "I don't have oil," (and) you
      will cut egg-plants.' [ab03ay 015]

In the example below, the use of *sé* as a lexical verb 'say' coincides with the presence
of habitual marking (i.e. *kin* 'HAB'). However, in the overwhelming majority of instances,
sé remains bare, and hence marked for factative TMA, since quotative constructions by
their very nature occur in reported, past-time discourse:

(13) *E   **kin sé**   "kán wi gó na Barca wi gó dríng."*
      3SG.SBJ HAB QUOT come 1PL go LOC PLACE 1PL go drink

      'He usually says "come let's go to Barca and drink".' [ro05rt 029]

The transition from a more lexical reading of *sé* to a more functional one is far from
clear-cut (which is why I have opted for a unitary gloss of 'QUOT' in all contexts). First,
distributional restrictions set *sé* apart from the true speech verbs *tɔ́k* 'talk, say' and *tél*
'tell'. For instance, *sé* does not normally take a nominal object, as does *tɔ́k*. Compare (14a)
and (14b).

(14) a. * *Mék a   **sé   wán wɔ́d**.*
             SBJV 1SG.SBJ QUOT one word

             Intended: 'Let me say one word.' [to07fn 219]

      b. *A   **tɔ́k wán wɔ́d**.*
          1SG.SBJ talk one word

          'I said one word.' [to07fn 220]

Beyond that, adverbials do not usually modify *sé* 'QUOT' (15a). Adverbials only appear
as quoted complements indexed by *sé* (b). Again, there is no restriction on adverbial
modification of the speech verb *tɔ́k* 'talk, say' (c):

(15) a. * *A   sé=an   **kwík**.*
             1SG.SBJ QUOT=3SG.OBJ quickly

             Intended: 'I said it quickly.' [to07fn 221]

      b. *A   sé   "**kwík**".*
          1SG.SBJ QUOT quickly

          'I said "quickly".' [to07fn 222]

      c. *A   tɔ́k=an   **kwík***
          1SG.SBJ talk=3SG.OBJ quickly

          'I said it quickly.' [to07fn 223]

Secondly, *sé* 'QUOT' is not normally encountered as a verbal complement. Hence below, the speech verb *tɔ́k* 'talk, say' appears as verbal complement to the modal verb *fít* 'can'. The appearance of *sé* in this position is not attested.

(16) *Yu **fít tɔ́k** "a   de fíl di sént fɔ lɛk háw e   de kúk di*
2SG can talk 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent PREP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook DEF
plantí" ɔ "a   de siente di sént sé pɔ́sin de kúk plantí dé".
plantain SP 1SG.SBJ IPFV feel DEF scent QUOT person IPFV cook plantain there
'You can say "I smell the scent of him cooking the plantain", or "I smell the scent that somebody is cooking plantain there".' [dj05ae 026]

Note that I do not analyse *sé* as a V2 of a complementation SVC when it functions as a complementiser to a verb like *siente* 'feel' above (cf. also §10.5.6). The peculiar distribution of *sé* as a speech "verb" and its broad functional domain, which extends far beyond complementation, may point to the fact that *sé* 'QUOT' did not start out as a speech verb in the first place. Instead, it is conceivable that the use of *sé* as a speech "verb" is derived from quotation just like its many other functions (cf. Güldemann 2008: 272–275). In this view, the resemblance of *sé* with a purported English etymon *sáy* may be due either to chance or to the convergence of diverse etymologies and functions in one form.

The recurrent use of quotative clauses introduced by *sé* 'QUOT' with or without a preceding subject in order to render direct and inner speech is a conspicuous feature of longer stretches of narrative discourse. Direct speech in Pichi rarely serves the sole aim of giving neutral reports of utterances. One of its crucial functions is the creation of an atmosphere of vivacity and authenticity that builds up tension and draws listeners into the narrative. Compare (17a–17e), in which speaker (ed) recalls his difficulty in distinguishing a transsexual man from a woman:

(17) a. *A   **sé**   "na mán dís?"*
1SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man this
'I said "this is a man?"' [ed03sb 222]

b. *E   **sé**   "na mán."*
3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man
'He said "it's a man".' [ed03sb 223]

c. *A   **sé**   "yu de krés   mán."*
1SG.SBJ QUOT 2SG IPFV be.crazy man
'I said "you're crazy, man".' [ed03sb 224]

d. *E   **sé**   "na mán dís."*
3SG.SBJ QUOT FOC man this
'He said "this is a man".' [ed03sb 225]

e. ***Sé**   na mán?*
QUOT FOC man
'(You) say it's a man?' [ed03sb 226]

Example (18) shows that the absence of overt subjects in this type of discourse opens up a grey area in which there is ample room for both a more functional and a more lexical reading of a subject-less, clause-initial *sé*. Compare the unambiguous use of *sé* as a speech verb in (18a) with the alternative translations of the subject-less *sé* in (18b):

(18) a. ***E   go sé   e   de fíɛ, e   nó go gí   mí   di tín***
          3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.INDP DEF thing

          wé a   de sέn=an.
          SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV send=3SG.OBJ

          'He would say, he was afraid (and) he wouldn't give me the thing that I was sending him for.' [ab03ab 041]

      b. ***Sé   ín   nó wánt in   abuelo   skrách=an.***
          QUOT 3SG.INDP NEG want 3SG.POSS grandfather scratch=3SG.OBJ

          '(He'd) say he [EMP] doesn't want his grandfather to scratch him.' or 'Because he doesn't want his grandfather to scratch him.'

Reported discourse also renders inner speech at important narrative junctures. In such a context, reported discourse may serve to express the intention of referents as in the sentences below:

(19) *In   brɔ́da dɛn ɔ́l kɔmɔ́t na tɔ́n yá só   **dɛn sé** dɛn de kán*
      3SG.POSS brother PL all go.out LOC town here like.that 3PL QUOT 3PL IPFV come

      ték=an.
      take=3SG.OBJ

      'His brothers all left town, (so) they said they came to take her.' [ab03ay 142]

(20) *E   nó sabí tɔ́k ni Panyá, **e**   **sé**   e   wánt muchachita de*
      3SG.SBJ NEG know talk even Spanish 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ want young.girl of

      diecisiete años.
      seventeen year.PL

      'He doesn't even know how to talk Spanish (and) he says he wants a young girl of seventeen years.' [ye03cd 053]

Speakers may use 3rd person pronouns in reported speech as in (20) above or insert direct quotations as in (21) below. These elements together constitute some of the conspicuous characteristics of Pichi narrative discourse, in which the already weak boundary between direct and indirect speech in Pichi is often deliberately blurred as part of a performance-oriented narrative technique:

(21) *Tidé e   kán **e**   sé, "**a**   tínk sé   a   go fínis ɔ́l di*
      today 3SG.SBJ come 3SG.SBJ QUOT 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 1SG.SBJ POT finish all DEF

      resto".
      rest

      'Today he came, he said "I think I am going to finish all the rest".' [ye03cd 147]

A further facet of the quotative function is the use of *sé* in a naming construction which serves to identify a nominal element by name and introduce members of a list (cf. Güldemann 2008: 398). The named or listed items appear as nominal objects of *sé*.

(22) *Krío mamá dɛn wé dɛn de tɔ́k Píchi dɛn kin **tɔ́k sé** **grín**.*
 Krio mother PL SUB 3PL IPFV talk Pichi 3PL HAB talk QUOT green

 'The elderly Krio women, when they talk Pichi, they usually say green.'
 [as opposed to 'verd' like younger people] [dj05ce 257]

In combination with the verb *kɔ́l* 'call', the naming construction translates as 'be in a kinship relation with X':

(23) *Na fada-lɔ́,   na di papá wé e   bɔ́n mí,   na ín*
 FOC father.CPD-law FOC DEF father SUB 3SG.SBJ beget 1SG.INDP FOC 3SG.INDP

 *mi   mán go **kɔ́l sé** **suegro**.*
 1SG.POSS man POT call QUOT father-in-law

 'That is the father-in-law, that is the father who begat me, it is him that my husband would call father-in-law.' [ro05de 007]

Sentence (24) exemplifies the use of *sé* in listing. In these examples, the name or members of the list appear as nominal complements of *sé*:

(24) *A   fít tɛ́l yú   **sé** morera, teca, kalabo.*
 1SG.SBJ can tell 2SG.INDP QUOT mulberry teak kalabo

 'I can tell you mulberry, teak, kalabo [listing types of wood].' [ro05de 051]

The use of *sé* to identify a nominal element represents the only context in which the quotative marker does not introduce a clause. Through this characteristic, the naming construction may be structurally identical to a copula construction involving the focus marker and identity copula *na* 'FOC'. Compare the two consecutive sentences in (a) and (b) below:

(25) a. *Na mi   mamá.*
   FOC 1SG.POSS mother
   'That's my mother.' [dj05ce 036]

   b. ***Sé** mi   móm.*
   QUOT 1SG.POSS mother
   'Namely my mum.' [dj05ce 037]

The data also contains examples in which the use of *sé* as a deictic identifier of a nominal entity has been taken to its logical conclusion. In (26), *sé* expresses identity in combination with the copula and focus marker *na*:

(26) *Di pikín ɔ́l **sé** **na** mi   yón bikɔs a   dɔ́n pé mɔní.*
 DEF child all QUOT FOC 1SG.POSS own because 1SG.SBJ PRF pay money

 'The children are all mine because I have paid money [the dowry].' [hi03cb 196]

Aside from the functions covered in this section, the element *sé* 'QUOT' is employed as a general clausal complementiser (cf. §10.5).

10.5 Complementation

This section covers complex clauses featuring subordinate clauses with the syntactic function of complements. In the following, such clausal participants are referred to as complement clauses. Five strategies of integration of main and subordinate verbs are used next to each other, and sometimes they overlap (cf. Table 10.1). These strategies are covered in the following sections.

10.5.1 Finiteness

Finiteness is an indicator of the degree of integration of Pichi complement clauses with main clauses. Main verbs vary with respect to how syntactically independent their complement predicates may be. Main verbs differ with respect to the complementiser they occur with, the time reference they project over their complement predicates, the person and TMA marking potential they accord their complement verbs, and the potential they confer on their complement verbs to be negated. In this vein, complement clauses consisting of a verb alone constitute the non-finite pole and complement clauses, in which the verb retains its full syntactic potential and constitutes the finite pole of complement clauses. Table 10.1 checks the four principal complementation strategies in Pichi against five diagnostics of finiteness. "Complement clause" is abbreviated as "CC" in the table, "main clause" as "MC".

The complementation strategies in Table 10.1 form part of a continuum of complement clauses. The cline from non-finiteness to finiteness encompasses four complementation strategies, featuring the three overt complementisers *fɔ* 'PREP', *mék* 'SBJV', and *sé* 'QUOT', and a "zero" strategy. At the left end of the continuum, we find the highest number of syntactic restrictions in CCs linked to main verbs via the associative preposition *fɔ* 'PREP'. These are aspectual and modal auxiliary constructions. The subject of the CC verb must be co-referential with that of the main verb, is dependent on the temporal specification provided by the main verb, and may not be marked independently for person, negative polarity, or TMA.

A significant number of modal and aspectual auxiliary verbs take clausal complements without an intervening complementiser, indicated by the column headed by "∅ (none)" in Table 10.1. A small sub-group of these verbs may, however, optionally be followed by the imperfective marker *de*, which may then be seen to function as complementiser. However, the presence of *de* 'IPFV' also adds an aspectual nuance by emphasising the continuous nature of the situation denoted by the CC verb. Such structures are therefore slightly more finite. On the one hand, the CC verb may be marked for aspect. On the other hand, the time reference of the CC verb is determined by the taxis relation projected by the MC verb over the complex clause; for example the CC verb *chɔ́p* 'eat' is necessarily

Table 10.1 Complementation and finiteness

Feature/strategy	*fɔ* 'PREP'	*Ø/de* 'IPFV'	*mék* 'SBJV'	*sé* 'QUOT'
TMA reference of CC verb?	depends on MC verb	depends on MC verb	depends on MC verb	independent from MC verb
Same or different subject CC?	same	same	same or different	same or different
Is person marking with the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit?	illicit	illicit	obligatory	obligatory
Is independent negation of the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit?	illicit	illicit	obligatory	obligatory
Is TMA marking on the CC verb obligatory, optional, or illicit?	illicit	optional, with some verbs	optional, but restricted	obligatory

in a relation of simultaneous taxis with the MC verb *bigín* 'begin to' in a complement construction like *a bigín de chɔ́p* 'I began to eat.'

Subjunctive complement clauses are, again, more finite. They may be same or different subject, always feature person marking, and must be negated independently of the main verb to signal negative polarity. They are, however, restricted in their TMA marking potential and depend on the main verb in their time reference (they are invariably future-projecting). At the right end of the continuum we find fully-fledged biclausal structures introduced by the quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT', which therefore functions as a typical finite complementiser. Not included in Table 10.1 are the clause linkers *ɛf(ɛ)* and *íf* 'if', which may function as complementisers in indirect question clauses (cf. §10.6.5).

10.5.2 Complement-taking verbs and complementisers

Table 10.2 lists approximately sixty frequent Pichi main verbs that may take different types of complement clauses. The table sorts these verbs according to the type of complement clause linkage these verbs are attested with. The feature "semantic class" correlates strongly with the complementiser provided in the "linkage type" column. Beginning from the top of the table, the clause "linkage types" increase in finiteness as they descend towards the bottom. Verbs that may take complements introduced by *sé* 'QUOT' are not fully listed, since that would make the list unduly long. Equally, some of the verbs listed with complementisers other than *sé* 'QUOT' may nevertheless take complements introduced by *sé* when these are statements of fact and have independent time reference, e.g. *a de sɔ́ri **sé** e dɔ́n kán* 'I'm sorry that he has come.' Conversely, speech verbs take quotative complements introduced by *sé* but subjunctive complements when these are indirect commands, e.g. *a hála **sé** "kán"* 'I hollered "come"' vs. *a hála **sé mék** e kán* 'I hollered for him to come.'

Some verbs are listed twice under two types of clause linkage where the functions of complement clauses differ correspondingly. For example, *wánt* usually appears without an overt complementiser (∅) in prospective aspect constructions. However, *wánt* takes ∅ and *de* 'IPFV' complements in same-subject (desire) modal auxiliary constructions, and must take *mék* 'SBJV' with different-subject complements. Likewise, the general subordinator *wé* 'SUB' is not listed in Table 10.2, since its function as a complementiser is marginal. Table 10.2 does not capture many other distributional complexities of complementisers and idiosyncracies of complementation, including negation in complement constructions. Details are provided in the corresponding sections of this chapter.

10.5.3 *De* 'IPFV'

The aspectual and modal verbs *bigín* 'begin', *wánt/wɔ́nt* 'want, be about to', *fít* 'can', and *géfɔ* 'have to' feature complements introduced by the zero strategy or complement verbs preceded by the imperfective marker *de* 'IPFV'. *Bigín* is particularly likely to occur with *de* 'IPFV' when used as an ingressive auxiliary (cf. §6.4.1 for examples). The use of the imperfective marker de emphasises the continuous nature of the situation dennoted by the verb. Compare the following constructions.

Table 10.2 Complement-taking verbs, semantic class, and type of clause linkage

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss	∅	*de* 'IPFV'	*fɔ* 'PREP'	*mék* 'SBJV'	*sé* 'QUOT'
Aspectual & modal	*kɔmɔ́t*	Egressive	×				
	fínis	Completive	×				
	sigue	Continuative	×				
	wánt	Prospective	×				
	bigín	Ingressive	×	×			
	fít	'can'	×	×			
	géfɔ	'have to'	×	×			
	hébul	'be capable of'	×				
	mánech	'manage to'	×				
	sabí	'know how to'	×				
	lɛ́k	'like to'	×				
	kɔ́stɔn	'be used to'	×				
	lɛ́f	'stop (doing)'			x		
	lán	'learn to'			×		
	fɔgɛ́t	'forget to'			×		
Experiential & body state	*bísin*	'be busy (with)'			×		
	táya	'be tired of'			×		
	gládin	'be happy to'			×		
	sɔ́ri	'be sorry to'			×		
	sém	'be ashamed of'			×		
Weak deontic	*fáyn*	'be fine to'			x	x	x
	bád	'be bad to'			×	×	×
	gúd	'be good to'			×	×	×
	hád	'be difficult to'			×	×	×
	ísi	'be easy to'			×	×	×
	fía	'be afraid to'			×	×	×
	mɛ́mba	'remember to'			×	×	×
	fíl	'feel like'			×	×	×
	tráy	'try to'	×		×	×	×
	níd	'need to'			×	×	×
	grí	'agree to'			×	×	×
	hélp	'help to'			×	×	×

Semantic class	Verb	Gloss	∅	*de* 'IPFV'	*fɔ* 'PREP'	*mék* 'SBJV'	*sé* 'QUOT'
Strong deontic	*wánt*	'want to'	×	×		×	×
	mék	'cause to'				x	x
	lɛ́f	'allow to'				×	×
	fɔ́s	'force to'				×	×
	tún	'persuade to'				×	×
	tél	'tell to'				×	×
	áks	'ask to'				×	×
	bég	'ask to'				×	×
Speech	*tɔ́k*	'talk, say'					x
	tél	'tell that'					×
	hála	'shout that'					×
	ánsa	'answer that'					×
Perception & cognition	*chɛ́k*	'think that'					×
	tínk	'think that'					×
	nó/sabi	'know that'					×
	bilíf	'believe that'					×
	kechɔ́p	'realise that'					×
	sí	'see that'					×
	hía	'hear that'					×
	smɛ́l	'smell that'					×
	fíl	'feel that'					×
(Other) factives	*e dé*	'it is that'					×
	na (nóto)	'it is (not) that'					×
	di tín dé	'the thing is that'					×
	di kés dé	'the thing is that'					×

(27)   *Yú **wɔ́nt de**   gó?*
      2SG want IPFV go

      'You want to (get) go(ing)?' [nn07fn 202]

(28)   *Yu **fít de**   bɔ́n   yu   pikín dɛn (…)*
      2SG can IPFV give.birth 2SG child PL

      'You can be (continuously) having your children (…)' [ab03ab 197]

(29)   *Yu **gɛ́fɔ**   **de**   tɔ́n=an.*
      2SG have.to IPFV turn=3SG.OBJ

      'You have to (continuously) be stirring it.' [dj03do 057]

Note that both verbs in the constructions above are always co-referential; they have a subject in common. Aspect-marking for simultaneous taxis via imperfective aspect is also found with depictive secondary predicates (cf. §11.3).

10.5.4 *Fɔ* '**prep**'

The multifunctional element *fɔ* 'prep' is, amongst its many other uses, employed to mark the citation form of verbs (e.g. *fɔ rós* 'to burn', *fɔ espia* 'to spy on'). As a clause linker, *fɔ* introduces nominal, hence non-finite complements. Hence, when *fɔ* is used as a complementiser, the complement verb may not take an overtly expressed subject and the main and complement verbs have the same subject by default.

Some aspectual and modal verbs are characterised by variation in their occurrence with *fɔ*-complements. For instance, *grí* 'agree' and *tráy* 'try' are attested with the zero strategy of complementation and with complements introduced by *fɔ*. The modal verb *tráy* 'try' appears without the element *fɔ* in (30) and with it in (31):

(30)   *E*   *wánt **tráy** mɛ́n fɔ́s.*
      3sg.sbj want try   cure first

      'She wanted to try to get better first.' [ed03sb 044]

(31)   *E*   *de* *tínap, smɔ́l pikín wé* *e*   *de*   ***tráy fɔ*** *tínap yet.*
      3sg.sbj ipfv stand up   small child sub 3sg.sbj ipfv try prep stand up yet

      'She's beginning to stand, a small child that is still trying to stand.' [dj05be 219]

As a complementiser, *fɔ* introduces the complements of aspectual and modal verbs that may not occur without an overt complementiser. One of these verbs is *léf* 'leave, stop to' (32), a verb that expresses the aspectual notion of cessation:

(32)   *Mék e*   ***léf*** *fɔ*   *dríng.*
      sbjv 3sg.sbj leave prep drink

      'She should leave drinking.' [ra07fn 033]

The element *fɔ* 'prep' also introduces the complements of a number of experiential and body state verbs, which are also not attested in any other type of construction. These verbs predetermine a simultaneous time reference of their complements. An example follows, in which *fɔ* introduces the complement of the experiential verb *sém* 'be ashamed' (33):

(33)   *Náw a*   *dɔ́n de* *fínis **sém***   *fɔ*   *wɛ́r dán sús, ɛf a*   *bin nó*
      now 1sg.sbj prf ipfv finish be.ashamed prep wear that shoe if 1sg.sbj pst know

      a   *fɔ*   *kɛ́r ɔ́da sús.*
      1sg.sbj cond carry other shoe

      'Now I am completely ashamed to be wearing those shoes, if I had known I would have brought another (pair of) shoes.' [ma03hm 021]

Furthermore, *fɔ* introduces complements of a number of verbs whose meaning contains an element of proposal, desire, evaluation, and similar affective nuances compatible with deontic modality. I regroup these verbs under the label "weak deontic". The deontic meaning of these verbs is also compatible with the modal meanings of *fɔ* itself

(cf. §6.7.3.2). When main and complement verbs have the same subject, the complement clause may be introduced by *fɔ*. Compare the verbs *ísi* 'be easy' (34) and *grí* 'agree' (35):

(34) *Di chɔ́p **ísi** fɔ chɔ́p.*
DEF food be.easy PREP eat

'The food is easy to eat.' [ye07je 095]

(35) *Di gál nó **grí** fɔ fála mí.*
DEF girl NEG agree PREP follow 1SG.INDP

'The girl didn't agree to come with me.' [au07ec 060]

Any weak deontic verb may alternatively take a subjunctive clause complement introduced by the subjunctive marker and modal complementiser *mék* 'SBJV' if the main verb is understood to induce a posterior time reference over the complement verb. For example, the complements of the weak deontic verb *mémba* 'remember to' may be introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP' (36) or by *mék* 'SBJV' (37). In both sentences below, the main and complement clauses share the same subject. However, the subjunctive clauses is more finite – it requires an overt subject. In contrast, the use of a *fɔ*-complement does not permit the occurrence of an overt subject.

(36) *A **mémba** fɔ kɔ́l=an.*
1SG.SBJ remember PREP call=3SG.OBJ

'I remembered to call her.' [au07ec 067]

(37) *A **mémba** mék a kɔ́l=an.*
1SG.SBJ remember SBJV 1SG.SBJ call=3SG.OBJ

'I remembered to call her.' [au07ec 065]

With weak deontic verbs, the subjunctive marker *mék* 'SBJV' may not only be employed instead of *fɔ* 'PREP'. A subjunctive clause may also immediately follow *fɔ*. Hence all weak deontic verbs may feature the complementiser series *fɔ mék* 'PREP SBJV' as in (38) below:

(38) *So wé yu dɔ́n lán yu lángwech én, e dɔ́n **hád** fɔ **mék** yu lán*
so SUB 2SG PRF learn 2SG language INTJ 3SG.SBJ PRF hard PREP SBJV 2SG learn
Panyá.
Spanish

'So when you've learned your (home) language, it is hard for you to learn Spanish.' [to03gm 020]

The use of subjunctive complement clauses is, however, required with weak deontic verbs whenever the main and complement clauses do not have the subject in common. Compare (31) above with (39) below. Both sentences feature the main verb *tráy* 'try':

(39) (…) ***a*** *go tráy **mék e** báy mí dán káyn gafas por dios.*
1SG.SBJ POT try SBJV 3SG.SBJ buy 1SG.INDP that kind glasses by God

'(…) I will try that she buys me that kind of glasses, by God.' [ye07ga 003]

A subjunctive complement is also necessary if the complement verb is negated. This is so because non-finite verbs – including those that appear in *fɔ*-complements – are not normally negated in Pichi. Compare the negated complement clause introduced by *mék* 'SBJV' in (40) with the affirmative complement clause introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP' in (36) above. Both sentences involve the main verb *mémba* 'remember':

(40) *Na ín a **mémba mék** a **nó** gó dé.*
FOC 3SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ remember SBJV 1SG.SBJ NEG go there

'That's when I remembered not to go there.' [bo05fn 021]

The evaluative verbs *fáyn* 'be fine', *hád* 'be hard', *ísi* 'be easy', *bád* 'be bad', and *gúd* 'be good' may be followed by a *fɔ*-complement when the subject of the main clause is expletive, i.e. refers to no specific person or entity as in (41). Complements of evaluative main verbs with expletive subjects function as the notional subject of the main clause:

(41) *E **fáyn fɔ** dríng smɔl-wán.*
3SG.SBJ fine PREP drink small-ADV

'It's good to drink little.' [ma03hm 071]

Once the complement situation has a fully referential subject (which is necessarily not co-referential with the expletive subject of the main clause), a subjunctive complement clause is required (42):

(42) *Wé yu de dríng, e dé **fáyn sé mék** yu nó chák.*
SUB 2SG IPFV drink 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine QUOT SBJV 2SG NEG get.drunk

'When you drink, it's good not to get drunk.' [ur07fn 288]

Note the presence of the quotative marker and general complementiser *sé* 'QUOT' in (42) above. Any subjunctive clause may additionally be preceded by *sé* (cf. §10.5.5):

10.5.5 *Mék* 'SBJV'

Verbs expressing the strong deontic notion of manipulation are only attested with subjunctive complements introduced by *mék* 'SBJV'. These complements have a dependent time reference; the complement situation is always posterior to that of the main verb. Strong deontic verbs invariably express a strong degree of manipulation, a notion that is compatible with the use of subjunctive mood in directives (cf. §6.7.3.3). Below follow subjunctive complements of the manipulative verbs *fɔs* 'force' (43) and *tún* 'tune, persuade' (44):

(43) *A* ***fɔ́s**=an* ***mék** e* *lúk mí.*
1SG.SBJ force=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ look 1SG.INDP
'I forced him to look at me.' [dj05ae 034]

(44) *A* ***tún**=an* *sé* ***mék** e* *báy mí* *motó.*
1SG.SBJ tune=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ buy 1SG.INDP car
'I coaxed her into buying me a car.' [ye05fn 044]

The class of manipulative complement-taking verbs also includes the verbs *mék* 'make, cause to' (45) and *léf* 'leave, permit' in their respective functions as causative and permissive-causative verbs (cf. §9.4.4):

(45) *E* ***mék** **mék** in* *húman dríng di cerveza.*
3SG.SBJ make SBJV 3SG.POSS woman drink DEF beer
'He made his woman drink the beer.' [dj05be 001]

The manipulative verb of desire *wánt* 'want' is very versatile. It may occur in same subject complement clauses (cf. e.g. 113) or may take complements featuring the imperfective marker *de* 'IPFV' (cf. e.g. 27). When the subjects of the main and complement clauses are not the same, a subjunctive *mék*-complement is required:

(46) *E* *nák di plét pan di tébul bikɔs* *e* ***wánt** **mék** di plét brók.*
3SG.SBJ hit DEF plate pan DEF table because 3SG.SBJ want SBJV DEF plate break
'He hit the plate on the table because he wanted the plate to break.' [au07se 194]

Speech verbs employed as verbs of ordering and manipulation always take subjunctive complements. Examples of such indirect imperatives are provided in the following two sentences involving the verbs *tél* 'tell (to)' (47) and *bég* 'ask to' (48):

(47) *Áfta, bueno **tél**=an* *sé* ***mék** e* *bák* *yú* *di mɔní.*
then good tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money
'Then, ok, tell him that he should give you back the money.' [ye03cd 032]

(48) *E* *bin **bég**=an* *sé* ***mék** e* *kíl di fɔ́l.*
3SG.SBJ PST beg=3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ kill DEF fowl
'She asked him to kill the fowl.' [dj05ae 043]

In a few instances in the data, the complements of strong deontic verbs are not introduced by *mék* 'SBJV'; the subjunctive marker is absent. I give two examples featuring the main verbs *léf* 'leave, permit' (49) and *wánt* 'want' (50):

(49) *Na ín* *mi* *gran-má bin kán tɔ́k sé* *in* *nó go **léf***
FOC 3SG.INDP 1SG.POSS grand-ma PST come talk QUOT 3SG.INDP NEG POT leave
mi *a* ***gó.***
1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ go
'That's when my grandma said that she [EMP] wouldn't let me go.' [fr03ft 078]

(50) *Sé   ín   nó **wánt** in   abuelo   **skrách**=an.*
      QUOT 3SG.INDP NEG want 3SG.POSS grandfather scratch=3SG.OBJ

      '(He) said, he [EMP] didn't want his grandfather to scratch him.' [ab03ab 042]

Notwithstanding the absence of the subjunctive marker, I analyse the clauses in bold in (49) and (50) above as subjunctive clauses. Evidence comes from the reduced TMA marking that characterises these clauses. Although both subordinate clauses are future-referring, they are not marked by *go* 'POT' as they would if they occurred in main clauses or clauses with independent time reference (e.g. in quotative clauses introduced by *sé* 'QUOT'). Instead, the subordinate verbs *gó* 'go' and *skrách* 'scratch' appear stripped of any TMA marking as do subjunctive complements introduced by *mék* 'SBJV'.

This shows that the reduction of TMA marking, or "deranking" (Stassen 1985: 76–86; cf. also Cristofaro 2003) of the subjunctive subordinate clause is just as much a diagnostic of subjunctive mood as is the presence of the modal complementiser *mék* 'SBJV'.

10.5.6 *Sé* 'QUOT'

We saw in the preceding two sections that the quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT' can optionally introduce any subjunctive complement featuring the modal complementiser *mék* 'SBJV'. This distribution is in line with the function of the quotative marker as a general complementiser.

The quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT' introduces the finite complement clauses of speech (51), cognition (52), and perception verbs (53). Complement clauses introduced by *sé* have independent time reference and are not reduced; they are finite and may occur with the full range of TMA marking as in the following examples:

(51) *Yɛ, a   kán **tél**=an   **sé** 'chica, mí   nó lék yú   bɔt wi fít*
      yeah 1SG.SBJ PFV tell=3SG.OBJ QUOT girl 1SG.INDP NEG like 2SG.INDP but 1PL can
      dé   lɛk kɔ́mpin'.
      BE.LOC like friend

      'Yeah, I told her "girl, I don't love you but we can be like friends".' [ru03wt 029]

(52) *Nɔ́ a   **tínk sé**   realmente yu níd pikín.*
      INTJ 1SG.SBJ think QUOT really   2SG need child

      'Actually, I think that one really needs children.' [fr03ft 163]

(53) *Yu jɔ́s **hía sé**   pɔ́sin dɛn bin de tɔ́k, bɔt yu nó listin.*
      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]

When *sé* 'quot' introduces the complements of speech verbs, the difference between direct and indirect speech hinges on pronominal reference. For instance, the sentence in quotes in (51) above is a direct speech complement of *tél* 'tell', because reference to *chica*

'girl' switches from *=an* '3SG.OBJ' in the main clause to the object pronoun *yú* '2SG.INDP' in the complement clause.

With cognition and perception main verbs, the perceived situation can also be expressed as an adverbial time clause introduced by *sé* 'QUOT' (54) (cf. also 115 further below) or *wé* 'SUB' (cf. 109), and an adverbial time clause introduced by *lɛk háw* 'the way that' (54). The adverbial clause is marked for imperfective aspect, since it is simultaneous with the main clause situation:

(54)   *A*   *de*   **hía** *ín*   *sé*   *e*   *de nák di gitá*   *ɔ*   *a*   *de*   **hía**
      1SG.SBJ IPFV hear 3SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit   DEF guitar or 1SG.SBJ IPFV hear
      ín   **lɛk háw** *e*   *de*   *nák di*   *gita.*
      3SG.INDP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit   DEF guitar

      Lit. 'I hear him that he's playing the guitar.' or 'I hear him how he's playing the guitar.' [dj05ae 053]

The quotative marker also introduces the complements of copula verbs in statements of facts. In such factive clauses, the copula verb takes a dummy noun like *tín* 'thing', *kés* 'matter', or the expletive subject pronoun *e* '3SG.SBJ'. Factive main clauses like the one in (55) are very common as introductory formulas in narrative discourse (cf. also 98):

(55)   **E**   **dé**   **sé**   *dán gál e*   *bin de kán yá.*
      3SG.SBJ BE.LOC QUOT that girl 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV come here

      'It's that/it came to pass that that girl used to come here.' [ru03wt 019]

Evaluative verbs like *fáyn* 'be fine', *gúd* 'be good', or *bád* 'be bad' can induce either an indicative or a subjunctive mood over their complements. Evaluative verbs are followed by indicative complements when these are intended to convey factual information about present or past situations (56):

(56)   *E*   **fáyn sé**   *e*   *kán*   **yéstadé.**
      3SG.SBJ fine   QUOT 3SG.SBJ come yesterday

      'It's good that he came yesterday.' [dj07ae 260]

A subjunctive complement (albeit with the usual optional *sé* 'QUOT') is required when the evaluative main verb refers to a potential situation (57). By expressing a preference, it harmonises with the deontic sense associated with the subjunctive mood in Pichi:

(57)   *E*   **fáyn** *sé*   **mék** *e*   *kán*   **tumɔ́ro.**
      3SG.SBJ fine   QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ come tomorrow

      'It's good for him to come tomorrow.' [dj07ae 257]

Interrogative complements of speech, cognition, and perception verbs are no different from headless, free relative clauses and are covered in §10.6.5.

10.5.7 *Wé* 'SUB'

The multifunctional linker *wé* 'SUB' is employed as a subordinator in relative clauses, an adverbial clause linker and a clausal coordinator. In a small minority of complement relations in the corpus, it is also used as a complementiser.

The *wé*-clause in (58) is a borderline case that may either be analysed as an adverbial clause, i.e. a modifying time clause, or a subject complement clause:

(58) *E   dɔ́n sté,   a   tínk sé   e   dɔ́n **sté**   **wé** una bin gét*
3SG.SBJ PRF be.long 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF be.long SUB 2PL PST get
insecticida yá.
insecticide here

'It's long ago, I think that it's long ago that you people had insecticide here/
when you people last had insecticide here.' [fr03wt 060]

The same holds for the *wé*-clause in (59), which can be interpreted as the complement clause of *hía* 'hear' or an indirect interrogative clause, although the presence of a subsequent *sé*-complement clause favours the latter interpretation:

(59) *Yu nó **hía wé** a   tél Mario sé   quiero cocinar?*
2SG NEG hear SUB 1SG.SBJ tell NAME QUOT I.want cook

'You didn't hear that I told Mario that I want to cook?' or 'You didn't hear when I told Mario that I want to cook?' [ye03cd 124]

In turn, the complement status of the *wé*-clause in (60) featuring the experiential main predicate *sɔ́ri* 'feel sorry' is unequivocal. The functional equivalence of *wé* and the general complementiser *sé* in such complement clauses is illustrated by way of the analogous example in (61). However, the data contains no examples of *wé*-complement clauses to speech verbs:

(60) *Mék yú   nó **fíl sɔ́ri wé** a   nó gí yú   nó nátín.*
SBJV 2SG.INDP NEG feel sorry SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG give 2SG.INDP NEG nothing

'Don't be disappointed that I didn't give you anything.' [to03gm 046]

(61) *A   de **fíl sɔ́ri sé**   e   de kíl di fɔl.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV feel sorry QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV kill DEF fowl

'I feel sorry that she's killing the fowl.' [dj05ae 014]

The following example involving *wé* 'SUB' is also a straightforward case of complementation involving an experiential main predicate:

(62) ***Tɛnk gɔ́d wé** yu dɔ́n kán!*
thank God SUB 2SG PRF come

'Thank God that you have come!'

10.5.8 Complements of nouns

The elements *fɔ* 'PREP' and *sé* 'QUOT' may also introduce purposive complements of nouns and modify a head noun in a way very similar to a relative clause. Below, *fɔ* introduces the non-finite (hence nominal) complement *pás* 'pass' of the head noun *sáy* 'place'. The same function may be fulfilled by *sé* 'QUOT'. In the second half of the, the *sé*-clause attributes a finite complement clause to the head noun *sáy* 'place', and thereby, introduces a *quasi* relative clause:

(63) *E   gét ɔ́da **sáy fɔ** pás, bɔt a   de fén   di **sáy sé**   yu nó*
       3SG.SBJ get other side PREP pass but 1SG.SBJ IPFV look for DEF side QUOT 2SG NEG
       go gét hambɔ́g fɔ   pípul dɛn.
       POT get irritation PREP people PL

       'There is another place to pass (through), but I am looking for the place where you wouldn't be bothered by people.' [ma03ni 009]

In the first example below, a *sé*-clause specifies the matter of the abstract noun *fúlis* 'foolishness'. In the second example, the anaphoric demonstrative pronominal *dá wán* 'that one' is modified by a subjunctive marked purpose clause introduced by *sé* 'QUOT':

(64) *A   sé   bikɔs   una Camerún, una gét **di fúlis**   sé,   wé náw wé*
       1SG.SBJ QUOT because 2PL PLACE   2PL get DEF foolishness QUOT SUB now SUB
       yu ték=an,   yu go sél=an.
       2SG take=3SG.OBJ 2SG POT sell=3SG.OBJ

       'I say because you Cameroonians, you have the foolish habit that, when now, when you take it, you will sell it.' [ab03ay 151]

(65) *Yu trowé=an,   yu pút ɔ́da nyú wán ínsay, **dá wán sé**   **mék** e   nó*
       2SG pour=3SG.OBJ 2SG put other new one inside that one   QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG
       simél.
       smell

       '(…) you pour it away, (then) you put another new one [water] inside, that (is) so that it does not smell.' [dj03do 048]

10.6 Relativisation

In Pichi, subjects, objects, and PPs, as well as possessor and possessed nouns may be relativised. The most common means of forming relative clauses involves the use of the morphologically invariant subordinator *wé* 'SUB' as a relative clause linker. Next to *wé* 'SUB', the linkers *sé* 'QUOT' and *fɔ* 'PREP' marginally fulfil the function of relative clause linkers when they introduce noun complements (cf. §10.5.8).

In the second strategy of relative clause formation, no relative clause linker is employed and the relative clause simply follows the main clause. Hence, there is a "gap" between the two clauses. However, resumptive pronouns may optionally refer back to the

relativised head noun in most types of relative clauses. Aside from that, restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are not systematically distinguished on formal grounds.

The use of resumptive pronouns is nearly general in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns, fairly common in object relative clauses, and rare in the relativisation of PPs. The frequency of resumptive pronouns with subject relative clauses runs counter to the predictions of the relativisation accessibility hierarchy (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977), and it should be worthwhile investigating whether it constitutes an areal West African phenomenon (see, however, a similar distribution of resumptive pronouns in Tok Pisin (Sankoff & Brown 1976) and popular Brazilian Portuguese (Tarallo 1983).

In the example sentences in this section, relative clauses are set in squared brackets. Table 10.3 summarises important features of the different types of relative clauses that Pichi has (RC = relative clause).

Table 10.3 Features of relative clauses

Feature	Subject RC	Object RC	PP RC	Possessor RC
Are "gap" RCs attested?	No	Yes	Yes	No
Are resumptive pronouns found in relativised position?	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.a.
Are free relative clauses attested?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Is stranding of prepositions attested?	n.a.	n.a.	Yes	n.a.
Is pied-piping of prepositions attested?	n.a.	n.a.	No	n.a.

10.6.1 General characteristics

The linker *wé* 'SUB' introduces relative clauses as well as adverbial and coordinate clauses. Since the use of resumptive subject pronouns is very common (but still optional) in subject relative clauses with [+specific] head nouns (cf. Table 10.3 above), some subject relative clauses may therefore have the same constituent order as an adverbial clause introduced by *wé* 'SUB'. Consider the alternative relative and adverbial translations I provide for sentence (66):

(66) *Ɔ́l dí mán dɛn [**wé dɛn** gɛ́t mɔní], na di tín wé dɛn de mék.*
      all this man PL   SUB 3PL get money FOC DEF thing SUB 3PL IPFV make

      'All these men who have money, that's what they do.' or 'All these men, when they have money, that's what they do.' [ed03sb 133]

However, the meaning of the sentence above is not as ambiguous as it may appear. Relative clauses are never separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break; relative constructions form single prosodic units. In contrast, adverbial clauses are very often separated from their main clauses by a prosodic break: The main clause bears continuative intonation, and the subordinate clause is separated from the main clause by a pause. The adverbial clause then begins with the high pitch onset that is characteristic for independent utterances (cf. also §3.4.4). An adverbial interpretation of the clause introduced by *wé* 'sub' in (66) above would therefore only be possible if a comma were inserted between *mán dɛn* 'men' and *wé* 'sub'.

In contrast, pronoun resumption, even if possible, is not very often seen in object relative clauses, even if the head noun is [+specific]. In the object relative clause below, *gɛ́t* 'get' is not followed by an object pronoun co-referential with the head noun *mɔní*:

(67) *Mék e   bák   yú   di mɔní [**wé** e   gɛ́t].*
     SBJV 3SG.SBJ give.back 2SG.INDP DEF money SUB 3SG.SBJ get

     'Let him give you back the money that he got.' [fr03cd 027]

The possibility of abstaining from pronoun resumption in Pichi relative clauses, such as (67) (for a subject relative clause without a resumptive pronoun, cf. 78 below) and the prosodic unity of relative constructions are good arguments for viewing relative clauses as embedded clauses.

Relative clauses always follow the head NP that they refer to. The head NP and its relative clause can be separated by quantifiers (68), as well as topic and focus particles (69). The examples in this section and the following ones also show that TMA and person marking in relative clauses is "balanced" (Stassen 1985); hence it is not reduced in comparison with that of declarative clauses:

(68) *Somos **tú   dásɔl** [wé wi dé   láyf] (…)*
     we.are two only   SUB 1PL BE.LOC life

     'We are, (it's) only two of us that are alive (…)' [ab03ay 133]

(69) *Sɔn dé   yét **séf** [wé a   nó mék].*
     some BE.LOC yet EMP SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG make

     'Some is actually still left that I haven't made.' [dj03do 009]

Headed restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses cannot be distinguished on formal grounds. In (70), the commas in squared brackets in the translation indicate the non-restrictive alternative interpretation of the sentence. Note the presence of the English loan *apart from* in this example:

(70) *Apart from mi   antí [wé e   dé   yá], ɔ di pikín dɛn fɔ   mi*
     apart from 1SG.POSS aunt SUB 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC here or DEF child PL   PREP 1SG.POSS

     gran-má wet mi   gran-pá [wé dɛn stíl dé   láyf], dɛn-ɔ́l   dɛn
     grand-ma with 1SG.POSS grand-pa SUB 3PL still BE.LOC life   3PL.INDP.CPD-all 3PL

dé   na Panyá.
BE.LOC FOC Spain

'Apart from my aunt [,] who is here, or the children of my grandmother and grandfather [,] who are still alive, they are all in Spain.' [fr03ft 038]

If the head noun has plural reference, the pluraliser *dɛn* 'PL' appears immediately after the head noun and before the subordinator *wé* 'SUB' (71). Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *dɛn* '3PL' in the relative clause, which is co-referential with the head noun *tín dɛn* 'things':

(71) *Porque dán tín   na tín   **dɛn** [wé **dɛn** dɔ́n sté dán tɛ́n dɛn wé esclavitud*
    because that thing FOC thing PL   SUB 3PL PRF stay that time PL   SUB slavery
    dé].
    BE.LOC

'Because those are things that have stayed (from) those times when there was slavery.' [hi03cb 228]

Pichi exhibits generous possibilities of relative clause formation (cf. Keenan 1985: 148). For example, the relativisation of a nominal that is part of a coordinate structure is permitted (72). Equally, a relative clause may contain a focused resumptive pronoun (73):

(72) *Bikɔs   mí   dé   sɔn stáyl, layk **dán gél** [wé mí   **wet=an**   bin*
    because 1SG.INDP BE.LOC some style like that girl SUB 1SG.INDP with=3SG.OBJ PST
    gó dé],   a   tɛ́l=an   sé a   wɔ́nt sí háw dɛn de   mék.
    go there 1SG.SBJ tell=3SG.OBJ   1SG.SBJ want see how 3PL IPFV make

'Because I was (feeling) a way, like that girl with whom I went there, I told her that I wanted to see how it is done.' [ed03sb 149]

(73) *Bɔt di pé wé yu géfɔ   pé, if yu nó de gí mí   yu fɔ́s **mán** [wé*
    but DEF pay SUB 2SG have.to pay if 2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.INDP 2SG first man SUB
    na in   gí yú   dí bɛlé], yu de gí mi   di pikín [wé de
    FOC 3SG.INDP give 2SG.INDP this belly 2SG IPFV give 1SG.INDP DEF child SUB IPFV
    kɔmɔ́t].
    come.out

Lit. 'But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don't give me your first man, who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that will come out.' [ed03sb 020]

Likewise, there is no restriction on the relativisation of the subject or object of a complement clause (74) or of an indirect question clause (75):

(74) *Na dán **bɔ́y** [wé a   tɛ́l yú   **sé** in   mamá dɔ́n gó na Panyá].*
    FOC that boy SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 3SG.POSS mother PRF go LOC Spain

'It is that boy (of) who I told that his mother has gone to Spain.' [he07fn 253]

(75) *A   gét sɔn   kɔ́mpin, sɔn   **Ghana-mán**   [wé a   nó sabí   **ús=sáy**
1SG.SBJ get some friend   some Ghana.CPD-man SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=side

dán mán dé].
that man BE.LOC

Lit. 'I have a friend, a Ghanaian who I don't know where that man is.' [ed03sb
188]

Relative constructions are also made use of to express adverbial relations of time, location, and manner through the relativisation of generic nouns like *áwa* 'time, hour', *tén* 'time' (119), *dé* 'day' (120) and *stáyl* 'manner, style (§10.7.4).

10.6.2 Subjects and objects

Subject relative clauses normally feature a resumptive subject pronoun that is co-referential with the [+specific] relativised noun. Relative clauses featuring a relativised subject pronoun also usually contain a resumptive pronoun if the head NP is not a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun (77):

(76) *Ɛf yu chɔ́p ɔ́l **dís chɔ́p** [wé **e**   nó dɔ́n], tumɔ́ro   yu go sík.*
if 2SG eat   all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done tomorrow 2SG POT be.sick

'If you eat all this food that is not done you'll be sick tomorrow.' [ro05ee 045]

(77) ***Mí**   na wán húman [wé **a**   síryɔs].*
1SG.INDP FOC one woman SUB 1SG.SBJ be.serious

'I [EMP] am a woman who is serious.' [ro05ee 017]

Sentence (77) exemplifies the relativisation of subject NPs without resumptive pronominal marking. Although the head nouns *gabonés* and *guineano* are preceded by the definite article *di* 'DEF', these nouns have [-specific], generic reference, hence they are not reiterated by a resumptive subject pronoun in the relative clause (cf. also §5.1.4):

(78) *Pero **di gabonés** [wé de   tɔ́k Bata] wet **di guineano** [wé de   tɔ́k Bata],*
but DEF Gabonese SUB IPFV talk Fang with DEF Guinean   SUB IPFV talk Fang

di sonido nó dé   di sén.
DEF sound NEG BE.LOC DEF same

'But the Gabonese who talks Fang and the Guinean who talks Fang, the sound is not the same.' [ma03hm 048]

"Gap" subject relative constructions without the subordinator are not attested. However, object relative clauses formed by means of the gap strategy are sometimes heard. The relativised cognate object in (79) is a patient object. Note the absence of the subordinator *wé* 'SUB' as well as that of a resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause after the verb *wánt* 'want':

(79) *Mék e   bít yú,   mék e   dú yú di **dú** [e   **wánt**]* (...)
   SBJV 3SG.SBJ beat 2SG.INDP SBJV 3SG.SBJ do 2SG DEF do 3SG.SBJ want

   'Let him beat you, let him do to you [what he wants] (...)' [bo03cb 135]

Object relative clauses involve the use of the subordinator *wé* 'SUB' in the vast majority of cases. Take note of the absence of a resumptive object pronoun with reference to the non-specific head noun *bloques dɛn* 'blocks':

(80) *Sɔn   bloques dɛn léf   [**wé** dɛn géfɔ   monta] nɔ́?*
   some block.PL PL   remain SUB 3PL have.to mount INTJ

   'Some blocks remain that have to be mounted, right?' [ye03cd 114]

A resumptive pronoun may also refer to a recipient head noun in a double-object construction (81). Recipient resumptive pronouns are optional and may therefore be omitted as in (82):

(81) *Yu sí dán **pikín** dé   [wé in   mamá de gí=**an**   chɔ́p]?*
   2SG see that child there SUB 3SG.POSS mother IPFV give=3SG.OBJ food

   'Have you seen that child whose mother is giving her food?' [li07fn 455]

(82) *A   bin sí di **pikín** [wé di húman bin gí chɔ́p na strít].*
   1SG.SBJ PST see DEF child SUB DEF woman PST give food LOC street

   'I saw the child that the woman gave food to in the street.' [dj05ae 065]

10.6.3 Prepositional phrases

There are no formal constraints on the relativisation of PPs. However, this type of relativisation is rather rare compared to that of subjects and objects. The following relative constructions involve relativised prepositional phrases introduced by the prepositions *fɔ* 'PREP' and *pan* 'on'. These two prepositions, as well as the preposition *wet* 'with', can also be stranded, in other words they may remain in their original position, while the relativised NP appears at the beginning of the sentence. Pied-piping of prepositions, i.e. the appearance of the preposition at the beginning of the relative clause, is not attested:

(83) *Di **béd** [**wé** e   de slíp **pan**], e   dé   na di rúm.*
   DEF bed SUB 3SG.SBJ IPFV sleep on   3SG.SBJ BE.LOC LOC DEF room

   'The bed that she sleeps on, it's in the room.' [tr05fn 047]

In the more common alternative to stranding, a resumptive pronoun fills the original position of the relativised noun. Compare *wet=an* 'with her' in (72) above. Alternatively, a resumptive pronoun need not be used at all. The exact meaning of the sentence is then provided by pragmatic context. In such instances of "prepositional phrase chopping" (Tarallo 1983; 1985) disambiguation is left to pragmatic context.

In (84), there is no *wet* 'with' in the relative clause to point to the semantic role of instrument of the relativised head noun *gɔ́n* 'gun':

(84) *Dɛn de   gó wet dán **gón** [**wé** dɛn de   kíl bíf]   ɔ pistola.*
3PL IPFV go with that gun SUB 3PL IPFV kill wild.animal or pistol

'They go with that gun which they kill wild animals (with) or a pistol.' [ed03sb 114]

Similarly, the *wé*-clause in (85) induces a locative, that in (86b) an instrumental inter-pretation. It is also of interest that (86b) is an example for the use of *fɔ* as an introducer of a noun complement that is very similar in function to the preceding relative clause (cf. §10.5.8):

(85) *A   kán kɔmɔ́t na dán **hós**   [**wé** a   bin dé].*
1SG.SBJ PFV go.out LOC that house SUB 1SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC

'I left that house which I had been (in).' [ab03ay 097]

(86) a. *Yu nó nó   na ús=tín, matapenso?*
2SG NEG know FOC Q=thing pestle

'You don't know what it is, a pestle?' [ye05ce 098]

   b. *Dán tín   [**wé** dɛn de   mék súp], **fɔ**   mék fufú.*
that thing SUB 3PL IPFV make soup PREP make fufu

'That thing they make soup (with), in order to make fufu (with).' [dj05ce 099]

In a similar vein, the *wé*-clauses in (87) and (88) allow that a causal meaning is inferred:

(87) *So na **di tín** [**wé** e   rɔ́n], e   kɔmɔ́t.*
so FOC DEF thing SUB 3SG.SBJ run 3SG.SBJ go.out

'So that is why [*lit.* the thing that] she fled, (and) she left.' [ed03sb 041]

(88) *(...) e   go sé   e   de fíɛ e   nó go gí mí   **di tín***
3SG.SBJ POT QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV fear 3SG.SBJ NEG POT give 1SG.INDP DEF thing
*[**wé** a   de sɛ́n=an].*
 SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV send=3SG.OBJ

'(...) he would say he is afraid, he would not give me the thing that I had sent him (for).' [ab03ab 041]

Such constructions are structurally no different from those involving objects, and, like the latter, they may involve "gap" constructions. Note the absence of the subordinator *wé* 'SUB' in the following example. The head noun of the relative clause *sáy* 'side, place' is the syntactic object of *sidɔ́n* 'sit (down), stay':

(89) *A   de gó nía **di sáy** [Paquita **sidɔ́n**].*
1SG.SBJ IPFV go near DEF side NAME stay

'I am going near where Paquita stays.' [dj05be 147]

Prepositional phrase chopping should be differentiated from instances in which the goal of a verb may be expressed as an object, as is the case in double-object constructions involving *pút* 'put' in (90) (cf. §9.3.4 for more details). Once more, note the occurrence of a "gap" relative clause in this example:

(90) *A   ték tú peso a   báy dán dís-tín, **sɔn smɔl pépa** [dɛn de*
1SG.SBJ take two peso 1SG.SBJ buy that this-thing some small paper 3PL IPFV

* **pút=an**   cacahuete].*
put=3SG.OBJ groundnut

'I took two pesos (and) I bought this whatsit, a small paper (into which) groundnuts are put.' [ed03sp 083]

Example (91) shows how the resumption of the entire relativised noun in the position of relativisation can be an alternative to stranding or chopping. Anaphoric NP reiteration is accompanied by a deictic element, the demonstrative *dís* 'this' in (91):

(91) *Bikɔs **wán isla** dé   [wé e   fíba sé   petroleo dé **na dís***
because one island BE.LOC SUB 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT oil   BE.LOC LOC this

* **isla**].*
island

'Because there is an island of which it seems that there is oil on this island.' [fr03ft 109]

In sentence (92) below, the direct object *sɔn fáyn* 'a beauty' is resumed through another full NP, namely the demonstrative pronominal *dá wán* 'that (one)':

(92) *A   sé   blák gél dɛn gét **sɔn fáyn** [wé wáyt húman dɛn nó gét **dá***
1SG.SBJ QUOT black girl PL   get some fine   SUB white woman PL NEG get that

* **wán**].*
one

'I say black girls have a beauty which white women do not have (that one).' [ed03sp 046]

Full NP anaphora can also be observed in the complex relative construction in (75) above, where *dán mán* 'that man' in the relative clause refers to the head noun *Ghana-mán* 'Ghanaian'. All these structures are reminiscent of correlative constructions found in other languages and demonstrate the diversity of relativisation strategies in Pichi.

10.6.4 Possessors

When a possessor noun is relativised, a co-referential possessive pronoun and the possessed noun immediately follow the subordinator *wé* 'SUB' (93):

(93) (...) *dɛn de   kɔmɔ́t   na wán **pueblo** [wé **in**   ném na*
          3PL IPFV hail.from LOC one village   SUB 3SG.POSS name FOC
      Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia].
      PLACE

      '(...) they come from a village whose name is Basakato dé la Sagrada Familia.'
      [fr03ft 042]

The preceding example features a possessor head noun that functions as the subject of
the relative clause. When the possessor head noun functions as the object of the relative
clause, it is relativised by way of a structure in which the head noun and the relative
clause function as the topic. The remainder of the main clause functions as the comment,
and is set off from the topic by a pause, while a possessive pronoun anaphorically refers
to the head noun (94):

(94) *Dán **húman** [wé a   só   yú],   **in**   **motó** dé   na strít.*
      that woman   SUB 1SG.SBJ show 2SG.INDP 3SG.POSS car   BE.LOC LOC street

      'That woman which I showed you, her car is in the street.' [dj05ae 068]

Possessed nouns are relativised like core participants. Reference is upheld due to the
juxtaposition of the possessed noun and the relative clause (95):

(95) *A   ték di stík **in**   **kandá** [wé a   sí dé], a   rós=an.*
      1SG.SBJ take DEF tree 3SG.POSS bark   SUB 1SG.SBJ see there 1SG.SBJ burn=3SG.OBJ

      'I took the bark$_i$ of the tree$_j$ that$_i$ saw there, I burnt it$_i$.' [bo05n 001]

10.6.5 Free relatives and indirect questions

Free relative clauses do not feature an overt head noun and are introduced by a ques-
tion word. In free relative constructions featuring question words, the relative clause is
formally identical with the corresponding content question (cf. §7.3.2). The subordinator
wé 'SUB' is not employed to introduce free relative clauses. Free relative clauses often
function as objects of verbs of cognition, perception, asking, or speaking.

Below, we find a free subject relative clause, which is introduced by the question word
wétin 'what':

(96) *A   dɔ́n tél yú   [**wétin** pás na nɛ́t], dán nɛ́t.*
      1SG.SBJ PRF tell 2SG.INDP what   pass LOC night that night

      'I've already told you what happened in the night, that night.' [ab03ab 043]

Free relatives introduced by the question words *údat* 'who', *ús=mán* 'who', and *ús=pósin*
'who' question human referents. The following two examples are free object relative
clauses:

(97) *Dɛn nó   nó   [**údat** hambɔ́g=an].*
      3PL NEG know who bother=3SG.OBJ

      'They don't know who disturbed her.' [dj05ce 127]

(98) *Mí   nó sabí [**ús=mán** dɛn kíl], a   nɔ́ba   hía dán torí séf.*
1SG.INDP NEG know   Q=man   3PL kill 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF hear that story EMP

'I don't know which man they killed, I haven't even heard that story.' [ro05de 049]

The corresponding question words also introduce the free variants of relative clauses with generic head nouns like *tén* 'time' and *sáy* 'side' which function as adverbial clauses of time and place. Compare (99).

(99) *E   nɛ́a   tél mí   [**ús=tén** e   go rích dé].*
3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF tell 1SG.INDP Q=time 3SG.SBJ POT arrive there

'He hasn't told me when he is going to arrive there.' [eb07fn 582]

The question word *háw* 'how' introduces free relatives and indirect questions that question a property (100), quantity, or degree; the latter two in the collocation *háw mɔ́ch* 'how much' (101):

(100) *Bɔt mí   wánt sabí [**háw** dán tín   dé].*
but 1SG.INDP want know   how that thing BE.LOC

'But I wanted to know how that thing is.' [ed03sb 147]

(101) *Mí   nó áks=an   [**háw mɔ́ch** e   wɔ́nt].*
1SG.INDP NEG ask=3SG.OBJ how much 3SG.SBJ want

'I [EMP] didn't ask him how much he wants.' [lo07fn 068]

Indirect yes-no question clauses may be introduced by the clause linker *ɛf(ɛ)* or *if* 'if' which then functions as a complementiser in combination with sentence-final question intonation. Alternatively, such question clauses may be introduced by *sé* 'QUOT' if phrased as a question in the type of direct speech that characterises the use of quotative *sé* 'QUOT' in many contexts:

(102) *Sé   yu wánt **sabí** ɛf rén de fɔ́l, nɔ́?*
QUOT 2SG want know if rain IPFV fall INTJ

'(You) say you want to know if the rain is falling, right?' [dj07ae 236]

(103) *Mí   séf, ɔ́l pɔ́sin dɛn kin **áks** mí   **sé** yu dɔ́n bɔ́n?*
1SG.INDP EMP all person 3PL HAB ask 1SG.INDP QUOT 2SG PRF give.birth

'Even me, everybody usually asks me "have you given birth"?' [fr03ft 144]

10.7 Adverbial relations

The clause linkers *wé* 'SUB' and *sé* 'QUOT' together have the potential to participate in the expression of most types of adverbial relations that we find in Pichi. Additionally, Pichi features an array of adverbial clause linkers with more specific meanings. These are

summarised in Table 10.4 below. The following sections provide an overview of adverbial clause formation in Pichi. Purpose clauses are covered in §10.7.6.

The first column in Table 10.4 below provides an overview of the types of adverbial clauses attested. The second column contains the linkers that introduce these types of clauses in Pichi. Alternative means of formation are given in the remaining three columns: The third column indicates whether a clause introduced by *wé* 'SUB' or *sé* 'QUOT' can be used instead of the linker in the second column in order to express the same adverbial relation.

The fourth column provides other alternatives for expressing the corresponding adverbial relation. Independent sentences may also be linked through adverbials. These are contained in the last column on the right. A blank space indicates that the corresponding means is not available.

10.7.1 *Wé* 'SUB'

The subordinator *wé* 'SUB' may introduce adverbial clauses of time, condition, and concession. Although *wé* is most commonly used to express temporal relations the other uses are frequent as well. A *wé*-clause may precede (104) or follow (cf. 110 below) its main clause and is often set off from preceding and following material by a prosodic break (cf. also §10.6.1). In this function, *wé* is best translated as 'when':

(104) **Wé** *a*   *go fínis skúl,*   *a*   *go tɔ́n dɔ́kta.*
       SUB 1SG.SBJ POT finish school 1SG.SBJ POT turn doctor

       'When I finish school, I'll become a doctor.' [ro05ee 023]

The expression of time relations by means of *wé*-clauses cannot be divorced from the function of *wé* 'SUB' of introducing sequences of coordinate clauses. Compare the time clause in (104) with the multiple occurrences of *wé* here:

(105) *Pero* **wé** *a*   *kán mít dís mán,* **wé** *wi bigín bɔ́n in*   *yón pikín dɛn.*
       but   SUB 1SG.SBJ PFV meet this man SUB 1PL begin beget 3SG.POSS own child PL

       'But then/when I met this man, and then we began to have his own children.'
       [ab03ab 214]

Time clauses introduced by *wé* are interpreted as being in a relation of temporal overlap with the main clause if both clauses contain imperfective readings (106) or are unspecified with respect to aspect like the two clauses in (104) above containing the potential mood marker *go* 'POT':

(106) **Wé** *e*   **kin** *kɔmɔ́t*   *wók a*   **kin** *mék=an*   *sɔ́,*   *lɛk háw*
       SUB 3SG.SBJ HAB come.out work 1SG.SBJ HAB make=3SG.OBJ like.that like how
       mún   fínis.
       month finish

       'When he leaves work, I do to him like this [stretches out hand in a gesture that indicates that her husband's salary should be handed over to her], as soon as the month is over.' [ro05rt 042]

Table 10.4 Adverbial relations

Clause type	Clause linkers	Linkage with *wé* or *sé* alone?	Other means of linkage?	Linkage by adverbial?
Time	*bifó* 'before', *lɛk háw* 'as soon as'	*wé* 'SUB'	*di tɛ́n wé* 'the time that'	*áfta* 'then', *dasɔ́l* 'then', *dán tɛ́n* 'that time', *na ín/na dé* 'then'
Manner	*lɛk háw* 'the way that'		*di stáyl wé* 'the manner that'	*na só* 'that's how'
Locative			*di sáy/plés wé* 'the place that'	
Cause	*bikɔs/porque* 'because', *as/como* 'since', *fɔséka* 'due to'	*sé* 'QUOT'		*na ín (mɛ́k)* 'that's why', *so* 'so'
Purpose	*mɛ́k* 'SBJV', *fɔ* 'PREP'	*sé* 'QUOT'		
Extent	*sóté* 'until'			
Limit	*dasɔl sé/ónli sé* 'only that'			
Source	*frɔn wé/síns (wé)* 'since'			
Conditional	*ɛf/ɛfɛ/if* 'if', *lɛk (sé)* 'like'	*wé* 'SUB', *sé* 'QUOT'	Juxtaposition	
Concessive	*ɛf/ɛfɛ/if – séf* 'even if', *aunque* 'although', *adɔnkɛ́ – wáns* 'even if'	*wé* 'SUB', *sé* 'QUOT'		*bɔt* 'but'

The relation between a main clause and a dependent clause introduced by *wé* can also be one of temporal succession rather than overlap. The interpretation of the temporal relation between the clauses depends on the lexical aspect class of the verbs involved as well as on aspect-marking. For example, in (107) perfective marking with the dynamic verbs *rích* 'reach' and *sé* 'say, QUOT' implies succession, however brief the interval:

(107) **Wé** *a*   **rích** *na hós dé, a*   **sé** *'yu go tél mi*   *di sáy*
      SUB 1SG.SBJ reach LOC house there 1SG.SBJ QUOT 2SG POT tell 1SG.INDP DEF side
      wé unu kin gó mítɔp.'
      SUB 2PL HAB go meet
      'When I reached the house, I said "you're going to tell me where you usually meet.' [ro05rt 018]

Temporal succession can be rendered more explicit through the use of the perfect marker *dɔ́n* 'PRF' in the main or dependent clause. Hence, the main clause in (108) is posterior to the time clause introduced by *wé* 'SUB':

(108) *A*   *go firma* **wé** *a*   *go* **dɔ́n** *chɔp.*
      1SG.SBJ POT sign   SUB 1SG.SBJ POT PRF eat
      'I will sign when I have finished eating.' [ye03cd 038]

The boundary is fuzzy between temporal and other adverbial meanings of clauses introduced by *wé*. In (109), the temporal sense of the *wé*-clause shades off into a manner or circumstance sense. Context may also give rise to a concessive meaning of the subordinate clause (110):

(109) *Dɛn púl*   *di motó na garaje*   **wé dɛn de**   **pús=an.**
      3PL remove DEF car   LOC workshop SUB 3PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ
      'They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.' [ro05ee 052]

(110) *Náw fɔ*   *mék dɛn fít gét wán amiga*   *nadó*   **wé yu sísta dɛn sabí**,
      now PREP SBJV 3PL can get one girlfriend outside SUB 2SG sister 3PL know
      in   *go had.*
      3SG.INDP POT be.hard
      'Now for them to be able to have a girl-friend outside while/although your sisters know, that will be difficult.' [ro05rt 034]

The relation between the first clause in (111a) and the clause introduced by *wé* is best interpreted as adversative. This is illustrated by the follow-up clause in (111b):

(111) a. *Yu nó bin dé*   *na mákit,* **wé** *a*   *tél yú*   *sé mék yu*
        2SG NEG PST BE.LOC LOC market SUB 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT SBJV 2SG
        bríng mi   *watá?*
        bring 1SG.INDP water
        'Weren't you at the market although I had told you to bring me water?' [ye0503e? 069]

b. *Wétin yu kán sin   watá?*
what 2SG come without water

'Why did you come without water?' [ye0503e? 070]

Finally, in (112b), we find two wholly independent clauses separated by an intonation break, with the second one being introduced by *wé*. The *wé*-clause is contrasted with the implicitly understood concessive proposition in squared brackets. Clause (112b) may be interpreted as being in a causal relationship to clause (a):

(112) a. *Sɔn   mamá dɛn, dɛn bád.*
some mother PL   3PL bad

'Some mothers, they are bad.' [ab03ay 109]

b. ***Wé** yu pikín, yu nó aconseja ín   frɔn doce   años.*
SUB 2SG child 2SG NEG advise   3SG.INDP from twelve years

'Because as for your child, you didn't advise her from twelve years on.'
[although you know about the dangers of early pregnancy].' [ab03ay 109]

The linker *wé* 'SUB' is also encountered in the temporal source clause introducers *frɔn wé* and *síns wé,* both of which mean 'since' (cf §10.7.10).

10.7.2 *Sé* 'QUOT'

The quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT' may provide adverbial modifications of purpose and result, cause, manner and circumstance, time and condition. The answer to (a) in (b) below can be interpreted as a cause clause. The *sé*-clause in this example once more vividly illustrates the diversity of meanings of *sé*, particularly in contexts like this one, where it straddles the boundary between quotation proper and other, related functions:

(113) a. *Wétin yu de   wét?*
what 2SG IPFV wait

'What [why] are you waiting?' [fr03wt 048]

b. ***Sé**   in   mamá go dráyb=an   fɔ́s.*
QUOT 3SG.POSS mother POT drive=3SG.OBJ first

'(He) says/because his mother will chase him away at first.' [dj03wt 049]

The codemixed example (114) features a *sé*-clause that permits a temporal or conditional interpretation. These interpretations are favoured due to the sentence-initial position of the *sé*-clause. The sentence is also instructive because the speaker uses the Spanish temporal conjunction *cuando* 'when' in order to render Pichi *sé* 'QUOT' when reiterating the clause in Spanish:

(114) *"Yu hól wán motó", yu de dráyb=an,*   *pero sé*   *yu gét, **cuando** tienes,*
     2SG hold one car   2SG IPFV drive=3SG.OBJ but QUOT 2SG get when   you.get
     "a   *gét wán motó".*
     1SG.SBJ get one car

     ' "Yú hól wán motó" (means) you're driving it, but if you possess it, when you
     have it "a gét wán motó".' [dj05ae 223]

A *sé*-clause that follows a main clause and is marked for temporal overlap with the main clause by means of imperfective aspect may function as a modification of manner or circumstance in the same way as a *wé*-clause. Compare (115) with (109) above:

(115) *Dɛn púl* *di motó na garaje*   ***sé***   ***dɛn de pús=an.***
     3PL remove DEF car   LOC workshop QUOT 3PL IPFV push=3SG.OBJ

     'They removed the car from the workshop by pushing it.' [pa05fn 024]

Such clauses also lend themselves to a concessive interpretation if suggested so by pragmatic context. Compare the concessive *wé*-clause in (110) with the following *sé*-clause in (116):

(116) *E*   *dú di ejercicio **sé** **e**   **táya.***
     3SG.SBJ do DEF exercise QUOT 3SG.SBJ be.tired

     'She did the exercise while/although she was tired.' [ra07ve 021]

Finally, *sé* is optionally attested with many adverbial clause linkers, among them *bikɔs* (*sé*) 'because'. *Sé* is obligatory when prepositions take clausal, rather than nominal complements, e.g. *fɔséko sé* 'due to, because', and *lɛk sé* 'as if' (117):

(117) *"A*   *hól wán motó" na **lɛk sé** *yu de dráyb wé yu de wók.*
     1SG.SBJ hold one car   FOC like QUOT 2SG IPFV drive SUB 2SG IPFV work

     '"A hól wán motó" is like you drive (a car temporarily) while you work.' [dj05ae
     225]

10.7.3 Time clauses

I have shown that temporal relations between clauses may be established in various ways through the polyfunctional linker *wé* 'SUB'. The following clause linkers express adverbial relations of time with more specific meanings.

Relative clauses featuring the generic head nouns *áwa* 'time', *tén* 'time', and *dé* 'day' function as time clauses. The nature of the temporal relation between the main and the relative clause situations is determined by lexical and clausal aspect marking:

(118) *Di húman kán na hós* ***di áwa** [wé a*   *de kúk].*
     DEF woman come LOC house DEF hour SUB 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook

     'The woman came to the house when I was cooking.' [ro05de 022]

              Draft of January 22, 2019, 13:38

(119) **Di tén** *[wé dɛn bin de kán hía wet kenú],* (…)
DEF time SUB 3PL PST IPFV come here with canoe

'(The time) when they were coming here by canoe (…)' [ed03sb 189]

(120) **Di dé** *[wé a nó wánt gí yú quinientos] a de gí*
DEF day SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG want give 2SG.INDP five.hundred 1SG.SBJ IPFV give

yú trescientos para tu cigarillo.
2SG.INDP three.hundred for your cigarette

'(The day) when I don't want to give you five hundred, I give you three hundred for your cigarette.' [ro05rt 045]

The clause-linker and collocation *lɛk háw* 'as soon as' introduces time clauses. Time clauses introduced by *lɛk háw* precede their main clauses and establish a relation of anteriority with the main clause. This linker may also introduce adverbial manner clauses (cf. §10.7.4 below):

(121) *Tumɔ́ro,* **lɛk háw** *yu tɔ́k wet Buehú, yu kɔ́l mí,* (…)
tomorrow like how 2SG talk with NAME 2SG call 1SG.INDP

'Tomorrow, as soon as you've talked to Buehu, you call me, (…)' [fr03cd 111]

The linker *bifó* 'before' introduces time clauses that are in a relation of posteriority to the main clause. *Bifó*-clauses are preferably sentence-initial, though they are also found in sentence-final position in after-thought apposition, as in (123):

(122) **Bifó** *a kin gráp, a de sí bíg bíg fáya.*
before 1SG.SBJ HAB get.up 1SG.SBJ IPFV see big REP fire

'Before I could get up, I saw a huge fire.' [ab03ay 067]

(123) (…) *wé dɛn sáyn yu bigín baja mɔ́,* **bifó** *yu énta.*
SUB 3PL sign 2SG begin go.down more before 2SG enter

'(…) when they have signed, you begin to go down once more before

you enter.' [f203fp 004]

It is interesting that the corpus contains no instance of an after-relation expressed by *áfta* 'after' in analogy with *bifó* in (123) above. Apparently, *áfta* may only serve as an 'and then' clausal connective and does not mean relational 'after'. Hence, after-relations must be constructed as iconical 'and then' relations with the proadverbial *áfta* as in (124):

(124) *Léf=an, a go chɔ́p,* **áfta** *a go dríng.*
leave=3SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ POT eat then 1SG.SBJ POT drink

'Leave it, I will eat, then I will drink.' [ye03cd 079]

Alternatively, the after-relation can be expressed by an initial *wé*-clause accompanied by perfect marking, as in (125):

(125) *Sifta,* **wé** *a* **dón** *sifta ín,* *e* *de léf wet di watá.*
sift SUB 1SG.SBJ PRF sift 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ IPFV leave with DEF water

'Sift (it), when I have sifted it, it'll be left with the water.' [dj03do 007]

10.7.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses may be expressed through a relative construction featuring the generic head noun *stáyl* 'style, manner':

(126) *A* *bin chóp di plantí di* **stáyl** *[wé pósin dɛn fɔ Malábo dɛn de*
1SG.SBJ PST eat DEF plantain DEF style SUB person PL PREP Malabo 3PL IPFV
chóp=an]
food=3SG.OBJ

'I ate the plantain the way Malabo people eat it.' [dj05ae 069]

Manner clauses may also be formed by way of adverbial clauses introduced by the collocation *lɛk háw* 'like how' = 'the way that'. Compare the near-identical sentence above with the two following ones:

(127) *Mí* *chóp di plantí* **lɛk háw** *Malabo-pípul dɛn de chóp=an.*
1SG.INDP eat DEF plantain like how Malabo.CPD-people PL IPFV eat=3SG.OBJ

'I [EMP] ate the plantain the way Malabo people eat it.' [ro05de 019]

(128) *A* *nó sabí ús=tín dɛn nó go restaura ín* **lɛk háw** *e* *bin*
1SG.SBJ NEG know Q=thing 3PL NEG POT restorate 3SG.INDP like how 3SG.SBJ PST
dé jamás.
BE.LOC ever

'I don't know why they won't restore it the way it was back then.' [hi03cb 038]

Manner clauses introduced by *lɛk háw* 'like how' are also often employed to denote the perceived situation of a main clause verb of sensory perception like *hía* 'hear' (129), *sí* 'see', *lúk* 'look', *smél* 'smell' (130), and *fíl* 'feel'. Such clauses vacillate between readings denoting manner and temporal overlap:

(129) *A* *de* **hía** *ín* **lɛk háw** *e* *de nák di gita.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV hear 3SG.INDP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV hit DEF guitar

'I hear him playing the guitar.' or 'I hear (him) how he's playing the guitar.' [dj05ae 053]

(130) *A* *de* **smél** *di sént fɔ* **lɛk háw** *e* *de kúk plantí.*
1SG.SBJ IPFV smell DEF scent PREP like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV cook plantain

'I smell the scent of him cooking plantain.' [dj05ae 025]

The collocation *lɛk háw* also forms part of the idiomatic phrase *lɛk háw yu (de) sí X* (X referring a person) which means something along the lines of 'when looking at X you should also know'. Compare the following example:

(131) *Mí,*   **_lɛk háw yu de sí mí_**   *a*   *dɔ́n sí plɛ́nte tín.*
1SG.INDP like how 2SG IPFV see 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ PRF see plenty thing

'(As for) me, when you looking at me you should also know that I have seen many things [in life].' [ab03ab 023]

Manner clauses introduced by *lɛk háw* may shade off into a temporal reading and vice-versa. Manner clauses generally follow their main clauses as in the preceding examples. In contrast, time clauses introduced by *lɛk háw* normally precede their main clauses (cf. 121 above in the previous section).

However, we also sometimes find manner clauses introducecd by *lɛk háw* in a sentence-initial, topical position. When such a clause is marked for an imperfective reading, it is likely to be interpreted as a manner clause. *Lɛk háw* then means 'the way that' (132):

(132) **_Lɛk háw_** *e*   **_de wáka_**, *e*   *butú, e*   *nó bɛ́n.*
like how 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk   3SG.SBJ stoop 3SG.SBJ NEG bend

'The way he's walking (now), he's stooped over, he's not bent over.' [au07se 082]

On the other hand, if a sentence-initial clause introduced by *lɛk háw* is marked for a perfective reading, it is very likely to be interpreted as a time clause. *Lɛk háw* then translates as 'as soon as'. In (133), the subordinate clause contains the factative marked (hence perfective) dynamic verb *pút* 'put'. Compare the temporal interpretation of this sentence with the manner reading of (132) above. Also compare the temporal interpretation of the factative-marked verb *pút* 'put' in the previous section in (121) above:

(133) **_Lɛk háw_** *e*   **_pút_** *dán mɔní*   *na mi*   *hán, nó wét mɔ́!*
like how 3SG.SBJ put that money LOC 1SG.POSS hand NEG wait more

'As soon as he has put that money into my hand, no time to waste!' [ro05rt 043]

If a manner interpretation is nevertheless desired for a clause featuring a situation marked for a perfective reading, a relative construction featuring the head noun *stáyl* 'style, manner' is chosen. In (134), the manner relation is expressed via a relative construction. This option is chosen because the subordinate dynamic verb *nák* 'hit' is marked for factative TMA, hence it is perfective and bounded:

(134) *E*   *nák di tébul an di* **_stáyl_** *[wé e*   **_nák_** *di tébul strɔ́n],*
3SG.SBJ hit   DEF table and DEF style   SUB 3SG.SBJ hit   DEF table be.strong

e   *kán sék*   *di plét, an di*   *plét kán brók.*
3SG.SBJ PFV shake DEF plate and DEF plate PFV break

'He hit the table and the way that he hit the table in a strong way, he shook the plate, and the plate broke.' [au07se 014]

Other means of providing manner modification by clauses are adverbial SVCs and the use of adverbial clauses introduced by *wé* 'SUB' and *sé* 'QUOT'. Note that equative clauses – manner clauses which serve as the standard in a comparison – are also introduced by the collocation *lɛk háw* (cf. 209–210).

10.7.5 Locative clauses

The formation of locative clauses involves the relativisation of the generic head nouns *sáy* 'side' and less frequently *plés* 'place'. Locative adverbial relations can only be expressed via such relative constructions, because the linker *wé* 'SUB' does not introduce headless locative relative clauses:

(135) *Náw e   dón wánt bigín de   fét   wet **di** chía, di **sáy** [wé dɛn sidón].*
now 3SG.SBJ PRF want begin IPFV fight with DEF chair DEF side SUB 3PL sit

'Now he already wanted to begin fighting with the chair, where they were sitting.' [ab03ab 132]

(136) *Yu nó nó **di plés** [wé a   sidón]?*
2SG NEG know DEF PLACE SUB 1SG.SBJ stay

'You don't know where I stay?' [he07fn 307]

10.7.6 Purpose and result clauses

The clause linkers *fɔ* 'PREP' and *sé* 'QUOT', as well as the subjunctive marker *mék* are employed to introduce purpose clauses. A purpose relation typically involves a willful and animate subject that intentionally performs a main clause action aimed at the completion of the situation in the subordinate clause. There are no semantic restrictions on the type of main verb that purpose clauses may modify in Pichi. Neither is there any formal difference between "realised" (i.e. that the purpose is achieved) and "unrealised" purpose clauses (cf. Bickerton 1981: 59).

Thus below, we find purpose clauses modifying main clauses with verbs as diverse as *ol* 'be old' or *wét* 'wait':

(137) *A   dón tú **ól fɔ** máred.*
1SG.SBJ PRF too old PREP marry

'I'm too old to marry.' [fr03ab 206]

(138) *A   go firma, **wét fɔ** **mék** a   chɔp, a   bég.*
1SG.SBJ POT sign wait PREP SBJV 1SG.SBJ eat 1SG.SBJ beg

'I'll sign, wait for me to eat/have eaten, please.' [ye03cd 043]

The motion verbs *gó* 'go' (139) and *kán* 'come' (140 below) may optionally reinforce the purposive sense of the subordinate clause:

(139) *Dɛn kán kér   mí   na Madrid **fɔ**   **mék** dɛn **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 operate on me.' [fr03ft 026]

When the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, the purpose clause may be introduced by the non-finite clause linker *fɔ* 'PREP' alone (140):

(140) *Mi   papá bin kán yá fɔ kán wók.*
1SG.POSS father PST come here PREP come work

'My father came here in order to work.' [fr03ft 063]

When the main and subordinate clauses have different subjects, the purpose clause is expressed as a more finite subjunctive clause. Such purpose clauses are marked in the same way as other types of different-subject subordinate clauses that involve a form of deontic modality. The subjunctive marker may optionally be preceded by *fɔ* 'PREP' as in (141):

(141) *Layk háw dɛn go pút yú   na tébul yu dɔ́n de rɔ́tin, fɔ mék dɛn gó*
like how 3PL POT put 2SG.INDP LOC table 2SG PRF IPFV rot   PREP SBJV 3PL go

bɛ́r yú   kwík.
bury 2SG.INDP quickly

'As soon as they put you on the table you are already rotting away for you to be buried quickly.' [ed03sb 101]

However, a very frequent alternative is for both different- (142) and same-subject (143) purpose clauses to be introduced by the subjunctive marker alone:

(142) *Na ín   dɛn táy=an   mék e   nó kɔmɔ́t.*
FOC 3SG.INDP 3PL tie=3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG go.out

'That's why they tied it [the dog] so that it wouldn't leave.' [ma03hm 005]

(143) *A   go gó lúk=an   fɔ wán vecino   mék a   lúk las*
1SG.SBJ POT go look=3SG.OBJ PREP one neighbour SBJV 1SG.SBJ look the.PL

damas.
lady.PL

'I'll watch it at a neighbour's in order to look at the (first) ladies.' [ma03hm 074]

Negation of the subordinate situation obligatorily entails the use of subjunctive purpose clauses, even where the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, as in (144):

(144) *A   dríng di méɾɛsin fɔ mék a   nó sík.*
1SG.SBJ drink DEF medicine PREP SBJV 1SG.SBJ NEG be.sick

'I drank the medicine in order not to fall sick.' [ro05de 021]

When the purpose clause is fronted for emphasis, it is not usually introduced by *mék* alone. Instead, the purpose clause is normally introduced by *fɔ* 'PREP' or *sé* 'QUOT' and then followed by *mék* 'SBJV'. This is probably so because a sentence-initial *mék* 'SBJV' signals the presence of a subjunctive-marked directive main clause:

(145) **Fɔ** **mék** *yu fít ɛ́nta yu géfɔ bísin na wán pɔ́sin fɔ di fámbul*
PREP SBJV 2SG can enter 2SG have.to be.busy LOC one person PREP DEF family
(…)

'In order to be able to enter, you have to be involved with a person of the family (…)' [ed03sb 077]

Different subject purpose clauses may also additionally feature the quotative marker *sé* 'QUOT' like any other subjunctive subordinate clause. In such cases, the purpose clause is also usually marked for subjunctive mood. Compare the sentence below; it contains a purpose clause introduced by *sé mék* as well as one introduced by *mék* alone:

(146) *A bin lás gó a de fɛ́n bíg bíg mamá dɛn,* **sé** **mék** *dɛn*
1SG.SBJ PST end.up go 1SG.SBJ IPFV look.for big REP mother PL QUOT SBJV 3PL
bí mi gél frɛ́n, **mék** *dɛn de gí mi chɔ́p.*
BE 1SG.POSS girl friend SBJV 3PL IPFV give 1SG.INDP food

'I finally went to look for mature/established women for them to be my girlfriends, for them to give me food.' [ed03sp 079]

The following two sentences featuring clauses introduced by the quotative marker *sé* can be interpreted as purposive although they are not followed by subjunctive clauses. These sentences are further evidence for the polyfunctionality of the quotative marker. Here, the expression of speaker intention through inner speech rendered in a quotative construction acquires a purposive reading.

This is the case in the 1st person statement of intention in direct speech in (147), in which *sé* functions more like a clause linker as well as in the 3rd person indirect speech, in which *sé* behaves like a lexical verb (148):

(147) *A wáka wet=an* **sé** *'tidé a go gó vive ín.'*
1SG.SBJ walk with=3SG.OBJ QUOT today 1SG.SBJ POT go live 3SG.INDP

'I went with him so that today I would witness it.' [ed03sb 007]

(148) *So e go na bús* **e** **sé** *e de gó kíl bíf.*
so 3SG.SBJ POT LOC forest 3SG.SBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go kill wild.animal

'So he went to the forest in order to/he said he'd go kill a wild animal.' [ma03sh 004]

Finally, a *sé*-clause may acquire a result reading when it features non-modal TMA marking or when a modal complementiser is absent. Compare the following example:

(149) *(…) e* **sút=an sé** *e* **dɔ́n wɔ́nt** *gó ték=an,*
3SG.SBJ shoot=3SG.OBJ QUOT 3SG.SBJ PRF want go take=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ see
e sí di tín dɔ́n de tɔ́n pɔ́sin.
DEF thing PRF IPFV turn person

'(…) he shot it [the animal] and was about to go take it, (when) he saw the thing turning into a human-being.' [ma03sh 005]

10.7.7 Cause clauses

Cause relations may be expressed through *sé*-clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by the linkers *bikɔs (sé)* 'because', *foséka* 'due to, for the sake of', and *ás* 'as'. Speakers also employ the Spanish-origin linkers *porque* 'because' and *como* 'as', which have been borrowed into Pichi and form an integral part of the Pichi system of clause linkage (cf. §13.2.3 for a more detailed treatment in the context of codemixing). Compare *bikɔs (sé)* below:

(150)   *A*   *dréb mi*   *mán* **bikɔs** **sé**   *a*   *nó wánt=an*   *mɔ́.*
       1SG.SBJ drive 1SG.POSS man because QUOT 1SG.SBJ NEG want=3SG.OBJ more

       'I drove my husband away because I didn't want him anymore.' [ro05de 015]

Cause clauses introduced by *bikɔs* may appear at the beginning of the sentence (151). When this is so, the cause clause is focused with *na* 'FOC' and reiterated by means of one of the resumptive expressions *na ín* 'FOC 3SG.INDP' and *na di tín* 'FOC DEF thing', both of which mean 'that's why' in this particular context:

(151)   **Na bikɔs** *e*   *bɔ́n*   *pikín,* **na di tín** *mék*   *e*   *dáy.*
       FOC because 3SG.SBJ give.birth child   FOC thing make 3SG.SBJ die

       'It is because she gave birth (to a child), that's why she died.' [dj05be 051]

Cause clauses introduced by *ás* 'as' (152) and *como* 'since' (153) precede their main clauses:

(152)   **Ás** *dɛn nɔ́ba*   *bin sí plantí,*   *dɛn bin chɔ́p=an*   *rɔ́n-wán.*
       as   3PL NEG.PRF PST see plantain 3PL PST eat=3SG.OBJ wrong-ADV

       'As they hadn't yet seen plaintain, they ate it in the wrong way.' [ro05ee 062]

(153)   **Como** *e*   *sabí sé*   *dán tín*   *dé*   *na mi*   *hát*   (…)
       since   3SG.SBJ know QUOT that thing BE.LOC LOC 1SG.POSS heart

       'Since she knows that that thing [matter] is in my heart (…)' [ro07fn 673]

The linkers *bikɔs* 'because' and *porque* 'because' may be found in the initial position in sentences (i.e. in prosodically independent utterances) with a weak causal link with preceding sentences. In such instances, these linkers function as discourse markers that introduce elaborations to preceding material. Compare the use of *porque* in (154):

(154)   a.   *E*   *bin fɔ*   *dé*   *fáyn.*
            3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC fine

            'That would have been fine.' [fr03ft 172]

      b.   **Porque** *mi*   *séf,* *fɔ́s tén a*   *bin de*   *sidɔ́n dásɔl wet húman dɛn.*
            because 1SG.INDP EMP first time 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV stay   only   with woman PL

            'Because me, formerly I was staying only with women.' [fr03ft 173]

The preposition *fɔséka* (and its free variant *fɔséko)* 'due to, for the sake of' takes nominal, not clausal, complements (cf. e.g. 25). However, when *fɔséka* is followed by the quotative marker and complementiser *sé* 'QUOT', the resulting collocation may introduce a cause clause like the other linkers treated in this section (155):

(155) *Mí   dú=an   **fɔséko sé** a   bin wánt hélp=an.*
       1SG.INDP do=3SG.OBJ due.to QUOT 1SG.SBJ PST want help=3SG.OBJ

       'I [EMP] did it because I wanted to help her.' [ro05ee 069]

10.7.8 Extent and result clauses

Speakers make use of the linker *sóté* 'until' in order to express a relation of temporal extent, as in the first example below. Such clauses may also be interpreted as result clauses in the appropriate context (157). *Sóté* 'until' is a multifunctional word that is also used as a preposition (cf. §9.1.3), as a degree adverbial (cf. §7.7.3), and in the expression of spatial extent (cf. e.g. 4):

(156) *Mék e   wét **sóté** mún   dɔ́n, wé wi gét di mɔní, gó báy di chɔ́p.*
       SBJV 3SG.SBJ wait until month finish SUB 1PL get DEF money go buy DEF food

       'Let him wait until the month is over, when we have the money, (then we) go buy the food.' [hi03cb 214]

(157) *A   chɔ́p frijoles **sóté** a   táya.*
       1SG.SBJ eat   bean.PL until 1SG.SBJ be.tired

       'I ate beans until I was tired (of it).' [ed03sp 121]

Extent clauses introduced by *sóté* are marked for subjunctive mood when the speaker expresses an anticipated outcome as in (158). This usage may be due to transfer from Spanish. The equivalent Spanish conjunction *hasta que* 'until (that)' is also used with the subjunctive mood. Compare the subjunctive-marked *llegue* 'arrive' in (159).

(158) *Tɔ́n=an   tɔ́n=an,   mék yu nó para **sóté mék** e   tík   lɛk*
       turn=3SG.OBJ turn=3SG.OBJ SBJV 2SG NEG stop until SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.thick like
       háw e   bin dé   só.
       how 3SG.SBJ PST BE.LOC like.that

       'Stir it, stir it, don't stop until it is as thick as it was right now!' [dj03do 058]

(159) *¡Haga cola **hasta que llegue**   el cajero!*
       do   line until   that arrive:SBJV the teller

       'Make a line until the teller arrives!' (Own knowledge)

However, the appearance of subjunctive marking in a clause like (158) above also harmonises with deontic notions like preference and desire that also underlie the use of subjunctive in similar clause types, e.g. purpose clauses:

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10.7.9 Limit clauses

Limit clauses are formed by using the quantifying adverb *dásɔl* 'only' before the appropriate adverbial clause linker. Below, *dásɔl* 'only' collocates with *fɔ* 'PREP', which in turn, introduces a non-finite purpose clause:

(160) *A   bin mék=an   **dásɔl fɔ**   hélp.*
       1SG.SBJ PST make=3SG.OBJ only   PREP help

       'I did it only in order to help.' [dj05be 129]

The following example illustrates the use of *dásɔl* followed by *sé* 'QUOT', which introduces a finite complement clause:

(161) *Wi de   sí **dásɔl sé**   di písis   dɔ́n héng.*
       1PL IPFV see only   QUOT DEF piece.of.cloth PRF hang

       'We only see that the piece of cloth is already hanging.' [li07pe 059]

The quantifying adverb *ónli* 'only' may be employed in the same way as *dásɔl* and occurs equally often in limit clauses. In this sentence, *ónli* 'only' precedes a cause clause introduced by *bikɔs* 'because':

(162) ***Ónli bikɔs** yu de tɔ́k só,   yu de salút só,   yu de ánsa*
       only because 2SG IPFV talk like.that 2SG IPFV greet like.that 2SG IPFV answer
       só.
       like.that

       'Only because you talk like that, you greet like that, you respond like that.'
       [au07se 158]

10.7.10 Source clauses

Temporal source clauses may be introduced by the collocations *frɔn wé* {from SUB} 'since' and *síns wé* 'since SUB' = 'since'. Both collocations require the subordinator because they involve prepositions that take nominal complements. Compare the following examples:

(163) ***Frɔn wé** dán bélps de   wók, chico, e   dɔ́n chénch.*
       from SUB that babe IPFV work boy   3SG.SBJ PRF change

       '(Ever) since that babe has been working, man, she has changed.' [dj07ae 173]

(164) ***Frɔn wé** a   bí pikín a   bin wánt kɔmɔ́t   na dís kɔ́ntri.*
       from SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ PST want go.away LOC this country

       '(Ever) since I was a child, I wanted to leave this country.' [ro05ee 027]

The preposition *síns* 'since' is one of two dedicated temporal prepositions of Pichi (the other one being *ápás* 'after', cf. §8.2.2) and may introduce source clauses in combination with the subordinator *wé* 'SUB', cf. (165) below:

(165) **Síns wé** *a   bí pikín, a   de mémba fɔ   kɔmɔt na dí kɔntri.*
since SUB 1SG.SBJ BE child 1SG.SBJ IPFV think.of PREP go.out LOC this country

'Since I was a child, I think about leaving this country.' [li07fn 303]]

10.7.11 Conditional clauses

Table 10.5 summarises the most common ways of expressing conditional relations in Pichi. It features the three functionally identical ɪF-clause introducers *ɛf, ɛfɛ,* and *if,* all of which mean 'if' as well as the various types of TMA marking attested in the ɪF- and ᴛʜᴇɴ-clauses. I comment on the relative frequency of the different constructions below:

Table 10.5 Conditional relations

Type	Introducer	ɪF-clause	ᴛʜᴇɴ-clause
Reality	*ɛf, if* 'if'	Non-modal tense & aspect	Non-modal tense & aspect
Potential	*ɛf, if* 'if'	Factative TMA, *go* 'POT', *de* 'IPFV'	*go* 'POT', *de* 'IPFV'
Counterfactual	*ɛf, if* 'if'	*bin* 'PST'	*(bin) fɔ* '(PST) PREP'

For one part, a conditional relation can be expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses and a prosodic break at the margin of the first clause (indicated by commas). In such sentences, the order of clauses is iconical; the ɪF-clause(s) come(s) first, as in (166):

(166) *Yu kɔmɔt dɔn, yu wánt ɛnta mɔ, yu gɛfɔ   gó pé ɔda quinientos.*
2SG go.out down 2SG want enter more 2SG have.to go pay other five.hundred

'(If) you come out from below and you want to enter again, you have to go pay five hundred again.' [f203fp 005]

Secondly, a conditional relation may be signalled overtly through the use of the equative preposition and clause linker *lɛk (sé)* {like QUOT} 'as if, supposing that' (167). The use of *lɛk (sé)* is not attested with counterfactuals:

(167) **Lɛk sé** *yu de dríng nɔ, dán pɔsin wé dé   yandá, e   de kán*
like QUOT 2SG IPFV drink INTJ that person SUB BE.LOC yonder 3SG.SBJ IPFV come
sube wí   wet glás, na di tín   wé mék mék yu nɔ dríng nó
go.up 1PL.INDP with glass FOC DEF thing SUB make SBJV 2SG NEG drink NEG
nátin   wet glas.
nothing with glass

'Supposing that you were (out) drinking, right, (and) that person who is over there comes up to us with a glass, that's what would make you not drink anything from a glass.' [ed03sb 097]

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The linker *lɛk* may also introduce the THEN-clauses of conditional sentences. In the few cases attested, the IF-clause is then always explicitly marked by the conditional clause introducer *ɛf* or *if*. This constellation renders a form of bipartite and discontinuous conditional clause marking. Compare the following sentence:

(168) **Ɛf** *yu bin bigín lás wík,* **lɛk** *yu dɔ́n fínis di wók.*
if 2SG PST begin last week like 2SG PRF finish DEF work

'If you had begun last week, you would have finished the work.' [ro05de 029]

The third way of expressing a conditional relation is the most frequent one in the data and involves one of the conditional clause linkers *ɛf, ɛfɛ,* or *if* 'if'. These forms are equivalent in meaning and occur in free variation. However, *ɛf* is the most frequent form. Any of these linkers may introduce the IF-clause of reality, potential, and counterfactual conditionals. Sentence (169) is a reality conditional:

(169) *Pero* **ɛf** *na húman na bíg húman yu mán nó de tɔ́n bíg mán.*
but if FOC woman FOC big woman 2SG man NEG IPFV turn big man

'But if it's the wife who's an influential woman, your [her] husband doesn't [automatically] turn into an influential man.' [ma03hm 079]

Sentence (170) features a potential conditional relation. The most common type of potential conditional features factative TMA in the IF-clause, while the THEN-clause features the potential marker *go*. Sometimes, the imperfective marker *de* 'IPFV' comes to mark conditional modality in the THEN-clause instead of *go* 'POT' (cf. e.g. 174)

(170) **Ɛf** *yu* **chɔ́p** *ɔ́l dís chɔ́p wé e nó dɔ́n, tumɔ́ro yu* **go** *sík.*
if 2SG eat all this food SUB 3SG.SBJ NEG done tomorrow 2SG POT sick

'If you eat/ate all this food that is not done, you'll/'d be sick tomorrow.' [ro05ee 045]

The markers *go* 'POT' (171) and *de* 'IPFV' (172) are also found to mark conditional modality in hypothetical statements contingent upon inferred conditions. The two following sentences are not preceded by an overt IF-clause. The "condition" is deduced from context:

(171) *Mí nó* **go** *tɛ́l=an nó nátín.*
1SG.INDP NEG POT tell=3SG.OBJ NEG nothing

'I [EMP] wouldn't tell him anything.' [bo03cb 138]

(172) *Nóto mí a* **de** *ɛ́nta ínsay dán hós ó.*
NEG.FOC 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ IPFV enter inside that house SP

'It's not me who would enter that [haunted] house.' [ne05fn 031]

Although the verb in the IF-clause of potential conditionals usually apears with factative TMA, a minority of conditionals also feature *go* 'POT' or *de* 'IPFV' in the IF-clause and in the THEN-clause, as in (173) and (174). I interpret this use as instances of modal harmony between the two hypothetical situations:

(173)   **Ɛf** *dɛn* **go** *gó bér yú,   dɛn sén go gó   na dán bérin.*
         if   3PL POT go bury 2SG.INDP 3PL EMP   POT go LOC that   burial

         'If they go to bury you, they themselves will go to that burial.' [ed03sb 102]

(174)   **If** *yu nó* **de** *gí mí   yu fɔ́s mán wé na in   gí yú   dí*
         If   2SG NEG IPFV give 1SG.INDP 2SG first man SUB FOC 3SG.INDP give 2SG.INDP this
         bɛlɛ́, yu de gí mi   di pikín wé de kɔmɔ́t.
         belly 2SG IPFV give 1SG.INDP DEF child SUB IPFV come.out

         Lit. 'But the price that you have to pay (is), if you don't give me your first man who it is him who gave you the first pregnancy, you will give me the child that will come out.' [ed03sb 020]

Counterfactual conditionals feature the past marker *bin* in the IF-clause. In the THEN-clause, we either find the marker sequence *bin fɔ* 'PST COND' (175) or the conditional mood marker *fɔ* 'COND' alone (176) irrespective of past or present tense reference of the situation. Also note the occurrence of potential mood marking in the complement clause introduced by *sé* 'QUOT' in (176):

(175)   **Ɛf** *a*   **bin** *sí=an   yéstadé   a*   **bin fɔ** *   gí=an   di mɔní.*
         if   1SG.SBJ PST see=3SG.OBJ yesterday 1SG.SBJ PST COND give=3SG.OBJ DEF money

         'If I had seen her yesterday, I would have given her the money.' [ro05de 028]

(176)   **Ɛf** *a*   **bin** *nó   sé   e   nó* **go** *fɔ́l a   fɔ*   *bríng ɔ́da sús.*
         if   1SG.SBJ PST know QUOT 3SG.SBJ NEG POT rain 1SG.SBJ COND bring other shoe

         'If I had known that it wouldn't rain, I would have worn other shoes.' [ma03hm 025]

The marker(s) *(bin) fɔ* are also encountered in counterfactual statements contingent upon inferred conditions (177). Sentence (178) illustrates that *fɔ* may fulfil the latter function by itself, without explicit tense marking by *bin*, if a past tense temporal frame has been set by prior discourse:

(177)   *E*   **bin fɔ** *dé   fáyn.*
         3SG.SBJ PST COND BE.LOC fine

         'It would have been nice.' [fr03ft 172]

(178)   *Yu* **fɔ**   *gɛ́t hemorragia sóté blɔ́d fínis náw.*
         2SG COND get hemorrhage until blood finish now

         'You would have hemorrhaged until your blood would have finished.' [ab03ay 094]

In the vast majority of cases, the IF-clause precedes the THEN-clause in Pichi conditionals. Nevertheless, the corpus contains a few instances of initial THEN-clauses (179). These types of conditionals are pragmatically marked and usually involve focus of the preposed

THEN-clause. This example is also of interest, because it reflects some of the residual obligation meaning that the preposition *cum* modal particle *fɔ* may have in counterfactual conditionals (cf. also §6.7.3.2):

(179) *A*   **bin fɔ** *máred a los*   *veinti-uno* **ɛf** *Maura in*   *papa nó* **bin**
    1SG.SBJ PST COND marry at DEF.PL twenty-one if NAME 3SG.POSS father NEG PST

    dáy.
    die

    'I should/would have married at twenty-one if Maura's father hadn't died.'
    [ab03ab 210]

10.7.12 Concessive clauses

Concessive meaning may be expressed by clauses introduced by *wé* 'SUB' (cf. 110) and *sé* 'QUOT' (cf. 116). Alternatively, concessive meaning may be expressed through conditional clauses in conjunction with clausal focus by means of the focus particle *séf* 'EMP', or by way of the Spanish-derived clause linker *aunque* 'although'. In (180), the conditional relation is not signalled overtly. The presence of the focus particle *séf* 'EMP' alone is sufficient to signal concession:

(180) *Yu nó*   **séf**, *yu jɔ́s kán yu nó go sabí, yu nó go tɔ́k lɛkɛ dɛ́n.*
    2SG know EMP 2SG just come 2SG NEG POT know 2SG NEG POT talk like 3PL.INDP

    'Even if you know, if you have just come, you wouldn't know, you wouldn't talk like them.' [ma03hm 044]

A concessive clause may also be introduced by the linkers *ɛf(ɛ)* and *if*, just like a conditional clause. TMA marking is also the same as in conditional clauses:

(181) **Ɛf** *yú*   *na smɔ́l húman* **séf**, *dɛn go kɔ́l yú*   *dama.*
    if 2SG.INDP FOC small woman EMP 3PL POT call 2SG.INDP lady

    'Even if you [EMP] are an insignificant woman, they'll call you lady.' [ma03hm 076]

Concessive clauses are sometimes also introduced by the Spanish clause linker *aunque* 'although' (182):

(182) **Aunque** *nóto*   *paludismo, if dɛn gív tratamiento yu nó go dáy.*
    although NEG.FOC malaria   if 3PL give treatment   2SG NEG POT die

    'Even if it is not malaria, if they give you a treatment, you won't die [of the treatment].' [fr03wt 061]

The linker *adɔnkɛ́* 'no matter if' also introduces concessive clauses. *Adɔnkɛ́* is often part of a disjoint structure, namely *adɔnkɛ́* — *wáns*, 'even if — once'. The concessive clause is introduced by the first, and the main clause by the second element (183):

(183) (…) **adɔnké** *e* *nó sí yú* *wán hól dé, e* *nó bísin,* **wáns**
even.if 3SG.SBJ NEG see 2SG.INDP one whole day 3SG.SBJ NEG be.busy once

yu bríng di pamáyn.
2SG bring DEF oil

'Even if she didn't see you the whole day, she didn't care, if only you brought the oil.' [ab03ab 036]

10.8 Intonation

Continuative intonation accompanies various types of clause linkage (cf. also §3.4.4). For example, it may be found at the boundary between coordinate clauses and the main and subordinate clauses in conditionals. Continuative intonation also occurs on its own without any other linker to signal a relation between adjacent clauses. By definition, serial verb construction do not, however, involve continuative intonation. They form single prosodic units. The main and subordinate clauses of relative constructions are not normally linked by continuative intonation either.

The deictic manner adverb *só* 'like that' in the example below bears a continuative boundary tone. Such a non-final intonation at the boundary of the first clause signals that it is linked with the subsequent one. The nature of the relation between the clauses is determined by context. In this case, a cause relation reading is favoured:

(184) *Bɔkú motó dɛn dé* *yá* **só,** *a* *nó nó sé Pancho mék lɛkɛ*
much car PL BE.LOC here like.that 1SG.SBJ NEG know QUOT NAME make like

sé e de sube bihén wí e baja mɔ́.
QUOT 3SG.SBJ IPFV go.up behind 1PL.INDP 3SG.SBJ go.down more

'(Because) a lot of cars were just there, I didn't know that Pancho pretended to go up behind us and went down again.' [ye03cd 176]

Conditional relations are also frequently signalled by means of continuative intonation alone instead of clause linkers (185):

(185) *Yu mék=an* *in* **fray-rés,** *in* *banána* **dé,** *e* *go*
2SG make=3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS fry.CPD-rice 3SG.POSS banana there 3SG.SBJ POT

chɔ́p=an.
eat=3SG.OBJ

'(if/when) you make him his fried rice (and) his banana, he will eat it.' [ro05rt 059]

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A Grammar of Pichi

Set blurb on back with \BackBody{my blurb}