

Co-Verbs and Auxiliaries in Pèdè [pɛɛ]

Verb word with bound post-verbal elements

(1) bèn-ān=ū=nān=ī:=dì

throw-IPF=3sgOBJ=INS=VEN=PCF

"He is pelting him with [it] hither."

Features of Serial Verb Constructions

- all verbs but the last in a series are unmarked for TAM.
- particles (like VENTIVE, COMITATIVE, etc.) that are incorporated into the phonological verb word equally follow the last verb.
- no matter to which one of the lexical verbs an object belongs as an argument, it invariably follows the last verbal element in the series (this is true for both pronominal and nominal objects).
- if all verbs in a construction are transitive, they share the same object; if they do not, all but one of the underlying objects are deleted.
- all verbs share the same subject.

Symmetrical Serial Verb Constructions

- (2) v̄ lé-ŋ lād yénè, v̄ m̄: s̄:-ŋ séŋ ḡ:ln̄: tò
 3pl eat-IPF tree fruit 3pl kill eat-IPF meat wild PL
 They used to eat fruits and hunt various game to eat.
- (3) v̄ ȳ:=dó séŋ m̄:-dì ní, v̄ sè lā:-ŋ ḡ:lè
 3pl want=CR animal kill-VN DCM 3pl set_fire observe-IPF bush
 If they wanted to hunt, they burnt the bush and watched it.
- (4) v̄ nù:-ŋ ólè, v̄ fū: zò-ŋ kùrúm
 3pl collect-IPF honey 3pl dissolve_in drink-IPF gruel
 They used to collect honey, (which) they dissolved in gruel they drank.

EFFECT SVCs

- (5) fùm vǔ: gbàg=tō
 beer effervesce turn_sour=CR
 The beer has effervesced (to the point of) turning sour.
- (6) vè lè dōd=ūvē=dō wādī vēŋ dàgbǐ:lè
 3pl beat introduce=3plOBJ=CR home with whip
 They have driven them home by force of the whip.
- (7) zò àg=tō fùm
 drink tank_up=CR beer
 He has got plastered.

EFFECT

- (8) gbód yǔ:d=tō
become_smooth become_fine-grained=CR
It has been smoothened to the state of being polished.
- (9) nàŋ yǔ:d=tō nēnè
grind refine=CR millet
She has ground millet finely.

EFFECT/MANNER

- (10a) d̩:b sèn=tō lādè
put_up fix-CR beam
He has propped up the beam firmly.
- (10b) t̩ sèn-lè:=ū=dō
look fix-CPL=3sgOBJ=CR
He fixed his regard on him.

Co-Verbs in asymmetrical constructions

(11) v̄ lé lēm-gān kũ:dè
 3pl eat be_used-IPF mash
 Usually, they eat mash.

(12a) wādwá: àm nī-lé:=dō
 child walk do_perfectly-CPL=CR
 The toddler has perfectly [learned to] walk.

(12b) kó nī-lè:=dō
 do do_perfectly-CPL=CR
 He did it to perfection.

Semantic changes and bleaching in co-verbs

(13) dí tā=dō sānè
have hold_plenty=CR money
He has got a lot of money.

- (14) wǎ: d̀ùg-l̀è:=d̀ō
run do_persistently-CPL=CR
He has kept running for a long time.
- (15) z̀ò k̄ā:-n̄ f̀ùm
drink do_always-IPF beer
He drinks beer at any occasion.

(16) kà lé púl=tō
take eat do_aneW=CR
He has taken seconds.

Co-verbs and AKTIONSART

(17) ā dû kùn=tō lādè
2sg fell affect_all tree
You have felled all the trees.

(18) ēn fíl kún-lé:=dō
thing change affect_all=CR
Everything has entirely changed.

kùn as an independent verb

- (19) vā kùn=mè tōnóm
3pl finish=NEC work
They have to finish the work.

Co-verbs (no full verb attested): AKTIONSART

(20) yũ: tũd=tō līgò
build do_many-CR house
He has built houses galore.

(21) vā yā: túd-lé:=dō
3pl come be_many-CPL=CR
They have already come in great number.

Co-verbs (no full verb attested)

(22) lò kól=ón=tó
beat do_teasingly=1sgOBJ=CR
He has tapped me in joke.

(23) lé fā=dō kũdè
eat do_quickly=CR mash
He has quickly eaten [his] meal.

Auxiliaries grammaticalized from SVCs (AUX₂)

(24). t̄ā	REPETITION: do again, do in turn	<	tī:	to turn back
lé: [lé]	EGRESSIVE: get done with	<	*lé:	to let off

AUX₂ (tə): Examples

- (25) tò gēb dū:-n̄ pāī ní, v̄ w̄á: t̄-ŋ wē: d́:
 if divination be_good-NEG NEG DCM 3pl seek REP-IPF place one
 If divining is not (coming out) favourable, they look again for a[nother] place.
- (26) dēŋéd ùg v́ t̄=d̄
 cricket jump come_out REP=CR
 The cricket again has jumped out (of it).
- (27) v̄ g̀: t̄-n̄ ̄n d́: pāī
 3pl know REP-NEG thing one NEG
 They did not know anything else.

AUX₂ (lé:): Examples

(28) kég lé-ñ gú:

shell EGR-IPF peanuts

He is getting done with shelling peanuts.

(29) tī: bà: tō lé-lè:=dō vǐ:

return cultivate REP EGR-CPL=CR weeds

He is through with taking up cultivating anew.

Clause with AUX₁ ("FUTURE" **dà**), and VN complement

(30) **dà-ṛ̃** **ká-dì** **kě:lè**
AUX.FUT-IPFV take-VN wife
He is going to marry.

Compatibility of infl, co-verb, and AUX₂ in AUX₁ clauses

	follows AUX1	integral part of VN
INFL	X	-
AUX2	X	X
co-verb (inlc. kùn/kún)	-	X

Examples for AUX₂ in AUX₁ clauses

(31a) dà tǝ-ŋ ká-dì kǝ:lè
 AUX.FUT REP-IPF take-VN wife
 He is going to marry again.

(31b) dà-ŋ ká-tǝ-dì kǝ:lè
 AUX.FUT-IPF take-REP-VN wife

(32a) bǝnǝŋ dà lé:-ŋ bá-dì vǝ:
 1pINCL AUX.FUT EGR-IPF till-VN farm
 We are going to quit doing farm work.

(32b) dà-ŋ bá-lé-dì vǝ:
 AUX.FUT-IPF till-EGR-VN farm

Examples for co-verbs in AUX₁ clauses

- (33) v̄ə d̄à-ŋ lé-kún-dì kām
3pl AUX.FUT-IPF eat-do_all-VN maize
They are going to eat up all the maize.
- (34) d̄à yú:-túd-dì līgò
AUX.FUT build-do_many-VN house
He will build a lot of houses.

Ill-formed clause with co-verb and AUX₁

*(35) v̄ə dà *kùn-ēn lé-dì kām
3pl AUX.FUT do_all-IPF eat-VN maize