



UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Parts of speech and dependent clauses: A typological study

van Lier, E.H.

Publication date
2009

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

van Lier, E. H. (2009). *Parts of speech and dependent clauses: A typological study*. LOT.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

APPENDIX III: DEPENDENT CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS KEY EXAMPLES¹

TAGALOG

pag-Pred ('gerund')

Functional distribution: Flex: Pred Head?, Ref Head, Ref Mod, Pred Mod = PoS minus Pred Head (contentives) Himmelmann (2005: 372): "As with all Tagalog content words, gerunds can be used in any syntactic function, provided their meaning fits."

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No voice/mood marking, aspect can be expressed.

Nominal categories: Combines with the same phrase-marking function words as all other content items. (Pred Head function is marked by sentence-initial position.)

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT²

EXAMPLES:

Pred Head:

[*pag-lu-luto?* *ng pagkain*] *ang trabaho niya*
GER-RDP-COOK GEN food SPEC work 3SG.POSS
'His/her job is cooking food.' (Himmelmann 2005: 372)

Ref Head:

pag-bawal-an mo *ang bata?-ng iyó sa* [*pag-la-laró?* *sa lansangan*]
SF-forbidden-LV 2SG.POSS SPEC child-LK DIST LOC NMLZ-RDP-play LOC street
'Forbid that child to play in the street.' (Himmelmann 2005: 373)

Ref Mod: No example available

Pred Mod:

[*pag-dating naming doón*] *in-iwan* *namin don* *ang bangka*
CONV-arrival 1PL.EXCL.POSS DIST.LOC REAL.UV-abandon 1PL.EXCL.POSS DIST.LOC SPEC boat
'When we arrived there we abandoned the boat, ...' (Himmelmann 2005: 373)

*na/-ng(/kung)*³ + clause (=Ø)

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, Pred Mod = PoS minus Pred Head (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: Combines with the same phrase-marking function words as all other content items. (Pred Head is marked by sentence-initial position.)

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Sinabi [kung maganda si Maria]
tell -.LK? beautiful NOM Maria.
'I said that Maria was beautiful.' (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 173)

Gusto ni Pepito na [sagip-in ang daban]
liking PN.POSS Pepito LK salvage-PV SPEC leaf
'Pepito wanted to catch the leaf.' (Himmelmann 2005: 364)

Nakita ni Pedro[-ng/Manuel na [puno na ang bus]
see NOM Pedro-LK/Manuel LK full LK RM bus
'Pedro/Manuel saw that the bus was already full.' (Schachter & Otanes 1972:177)

Ref Mod:

Sa mga lalaki na [maN-ibig nung kanyá-ng anak]
LOC PL man LK AV-love DIST.GEN:LK 3SGDAT-LK child
'(So he held a contest) between the men who courted his child.' (Himmelmann 2005: 368)

¹ The following symbols are used in this appendix: '=' means 'same functional possibilities as a PoS class in the same language. This PoS class is added between brackets. '≠' means 'different functional possibilities than any PoS class in the same language'. The relevant PoS classes, i.e. those that express the function(s) in which the DC is used, are added between brackets. When there is no lexical class available for the relevant function(s) this is also indicated. For the meaning of other abbreviations concerning the functions, the expression, and the classification of the DCs, see Chapters 3 and 6.

² As Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 119-120) explains, the SENT classification of coding of the second argument is not entirely straightforward, because there is no difference between the marking of the second argument of an actor-voice predicate and the possessor in Tagalog: both are marked by *ng*. However, there is a second type of possessive construction in which the possessor is expressed as a *sa*-phrase. Since the first argument in a gerund construction can be both a *sa* and a *ng*-phrase (just like possessors), while the second argument can only be a *ng*-phrase, Koptjevskaja-Tamm argues in favour of SENT expression of the second argument.

³ The status of *kung* is unclear: it may be a combination of *-ng* with some other element.

Pred Mod:

[*Biglá siyá-ng nagbangon*
sudden 3SG-LK REAL.AV:rising
'She got up quickly' (Himmelman 2005: 360)

KHARIA

Pred-Ø/RDP ('Freestanding form/masdar')

Functional distribution: Flex: Pred Head (HAB), Ref Head, Ref Mod, (+ case) Pred Mod = PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No voice/tense marking and no Person agreement; retains valency-related marking such as causative and passive/reflexive marking. In Pred Head function obligatorily combined with the middle voice, indicating habitualty.

Nominal categories: May take case and number

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT, occasionally also POSS - POSS

EXAMPLES:

Pred Head:

[*ip qa? bi?d-bi?d]=ki=ip*
1SG water pour.out-RDP=M.PST=1SG

'I used to pour water out.' (i.e. that was my job). (Peterson 2006: 74)

Ref Head:

[*Op=ya? bay-bay um=ip ba?]=ta.*
house=GEN build-RDP NEG=1SG like=M.PRS

'I don't like (the act of) building houses.' (Peterson 2006: 73)

Ref Mod:

[*ip=a? dura=te ru?-ru? kujji*
1S=GEN door-OBL open-RDP key

'The key I open the door with.' (Peterson 2006: 73)

Pred Mod, without case-marking (with reduplication):

[*ra?a=te [qoko qoko] leme?d la?=ki*

Rata=OBL sit.down RDP sleep EMOT=M.PST

'while he was seated, Rata became tired.' (Peterson 2006: 249)

Pred Mod, with oblique case-marker:

[*kbóqé?j=ko qoko]=te=ga mukum*

a.while=CNTR sit=OBL=FOC doze.off=M.PST

'Sitting for a while, he dozed off (...)' (Peterson 2006: 295)

Pred=na ('Infinitive')

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, (+case/postposition) Pred Mod
= PoS minus Pred Head (contentives).

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: Case

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT or Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*ip [u iku?d sundar konthe?d=ki=te bajbay=kon*
1SG this very beautiful bird=PL=OBL trap=SEQ.CONV

satay=na] um=ip lam=te

torment=INF NEG=1SG want=ACT.PRS

'I don't want to trap and torment these beautiful birds.' (Peterson 2006: 259)

Ref Mod:

[*Ho=ka? [kbo?i buli=na] modhe bu? kba?iya=ki=ya? jba?I*
that=s.HUM [village.section wander=PTC] means INSTR Kharia=PL=GEN all

habhaw=te erikhudi ko? may=sikh=o?

mannerisms=OBL from.bottom.to.top know total=PFV=ACT.PST

'She had learned by wandering through the village (= through the in the village wandering means) all of the mannerisms of the Kharia inside out. (Peterson 2006: 306-307)

Pred Mod, without case marking (with reduplication):

...*lekin [lam=na lamna] sou?b=te iku? jugbay qa?-piyas la?=ki.*

but search=INF RDP all=OBL very much water-thirst EMOT=M.PST

'But searching and searching, [they] all became very thirsty.' (Peterson 2006: 248)

Pred Mod, with oblique case-marking (and reduplication):

[*Aw=na awna*]=*te* *khariya=ki* *bo=te* *aɔɔ?* *o?*
stay=INF RDP=OBL Kharia=PL that=OBL(='there') again house
dura bay=kon *ikuɔ=ga* *memon jou aw=ki=may*
door build=SEQ.CONV very=FOC year up.to stay=M.PST=3PL

'Staying, the Kharia stayed there for several years, again building homes (houses and doors).' (Peterson 2006: 249)

Pred=*na-wala* (*'participle'*)

Remark: Borrowed from Hindi. Structural coding consists of the infinitive =*na* followed by =*wala*.

It denotes iterativity and habituality.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None (no case agreement)

Argument encoding: The relativized argument is gapped, other argument(s) are SENT.

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

[*Jharkand-te aw=na=wala*] *lebu=ki* *ikuɔ jugbay milansar aw=ta=ki*
Jharkand=OBL live=INF=PTC person=PL very much friendly COP=M.PRS=PL

'The people from Jharkhand are very friendly.' (Peterson 2006: 307)

Pred=*al* (*'participle'*):

Remark: The suffix attaches only to lexical predicates of Sadani origin which end in *-a* or *-ay*.

This suffix has thus been borrowed with the root.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None (no case agreement)

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Muda moɔ Brahman [bo=koɔ=a?] daru=te [aɔɔ-aɔ] janew=te yo=yo?
But one brahman that=SG.HUM=GEN tree=OBL hang=PTC holy.thread=OBL see=ACT.PST

'But a Brahman saw the holy thread which he had hung on a tree.' (Peterson 2006: 307)

Pred=*ker(r)/-kon/-kan* (*'converb'*)

Remark: "The first two of these markers are direct borrowings from Sadani. [...] These markers denote, among other things, that the two or more (sub-)predicates are portrayed by the speaker as being directly related to one another in some way, combining to form a larger, more complex event. [...] =*kon* [...]

appears to be a calque from the Sadani form =*ker*. Like the cognate form *-kar* in Hindi, =*ker* in Sadani appears to derive from the root *kar* 'do'. The sequential verbal marker =*kon* in Kharia apparently derives from a similar lexeme, i.e., *ikon* 'make, do'. The core function of these forms is to denote the completion of one action before another begins. [But they] are also often used to denote the manner in which an action is carried out. In these cases, the action denoted by the verb is generally a more exact specification of that of the morphologically finite predicate." (Peterson 2006: 243-244)

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None.

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:

...[*lay koj=kon*] *goʔjuɔ bay=siʔ=may*
dig scrape=CONV path make=PFV=3PL

'... they have built the path by digging an scraping [the dirt away].' (Peterson 2006: 244)

raksin oɔɔ? jugbay kbisay=ta ...ro [gone keb=kon] gam=te..

witch even more angry=M.PRS ...and tooth grind=CONV say=ACT.PRS

'The witch grows even angrier and ... grinding her teeth, says:...' (Peterson 2006: 244)

Pred=*ga* + RDP (*'imperfective converb'*)

Remark: The =*ga* form is primarily a focus marker.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod

ro ho kuda koloʔ=a? daru sumbbəʔ=te [iɲam=ga iɲamga] goʔ jom=ta
and that millet bread=GEN tree base=OBL cry=CONV RDP die AP=M.PRS
'And crying and crying, she just died at the base of that millet bread tree.' (Peterson in prep: 248)

Pred=ta (*(imperfective) converb*)

=ta is homophonous with the general imperfective middle marker.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

ele [am=pe=te goʔ=ta goʔta] han=tiʔj u=tiʔj doʔ=e=le
1PL.EXCL 2=2PL=OBL carry.on.shoulders=CONV RDP that=side this.side take=ACT.IRR=1PL.EXCL
'We will carry you around on our shoulders.' (=we will take you, carrying you on our shoulders') (Peterson 2006: 248)

no/Ø + clause

Remark: Used for object complement clauses, especially with utterance predicates.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

ap=dəm raʔa=te remakb-oʔ ro gam-oʔ [no babu musa iɲ kimir
father=3POSS Rata=OBL call=ACT.PST and say=ACT.PST COMP child today 1SG forest
co=na um=iɲ pal=e]
go=INF NEG=1SG be.able=ACT.IRR
'His father called Rata and said "child, to day I will be unable to go to the forest.' (Peterson 2006: 298)

gam=kən + clause

Remark: The form *gam=kən* is the sequential converb of *gam* 'to say'. It is occasionally found instead of *no* as a kind of quotative form.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

[Je janwar tar=e=ki ho janwar=yaʔ gbos ol=e=kiʔ gam=kən] gam-oʔ
CR animal kill=ACT.IRR=PL that animal=GEN meat take=ACT.IRR QUOT say=ACT.PST
'Whatever animal they kill, that animal's meat they should bring, he said.' (Peterson 2006: 299)

Correlative construction

Remark: There are two types of correlative constructions:

- (i) With *je*-class markers: all correlative forms begin with *je*- and have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan.
- (ii) With *a/i/* other question particle-class markers: all correlative forms are homophonous with interrogatives. This construction is not borrowed from Indo-Aryan, although it could be an older calque of the Indo-Aryan correlative construction, using purely language-internal means.

In both construction types, the head is usually repeated in the main clause, preceded by a demonstrative.

Alternatively, the head is not repeated and only the demonstrative is there.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT (optional gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

(*Je*-class)

...*aqí* [*je bhere*] *ej=ki se bhere aqí=ya potom=te sorej kui=ki*
 ANAPH CR time return=M.PST DEM time ANAPH=GEN bundle=OBL stone find=M.PST
 'Which time he returned, (at) that time he found a stone in the bundle.' (Peterson 2006: 302)

(*a/i*-class)

[*a=bo?te puja?atb karay=na aw=ki,*] *bo bo?te dam=ke, ...*
 Q=place=OBL sacrifice do=INF COP=M.PST DEM place=OBL arrive=SEQ.CONV
 'Having arrived at the place where the sacrifice was to be done ... (Peterson 2006: 302)

Unmarked gapped relative clauses with a (partially) finite predicate

Remark: This construction is balanced, except that person marking may be lost on the dependent predicate (see second example).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[*ip yo=yo?*] *lebu=ki ip=a? botel=te aw=ta=ki*
 1SG sec=ACT.PST.1SG person=PL 1SG=GEN hotel=OBL live=M.PRS=PL
 'The people I saw live in my hotel.' (Peterson 2006: 303)

[*ip=te yo=yo?*] *lebu=ki ula? likba=yo?=ki*
 1S=OBL sec=ACT.PST person=PL letter write=ACT.PST=PL
 'The people who saw me wrote a letter.' (Peterson 2006: 303)

KAMBERA

Pa-deranked clause

Remark: In combination with the prepositional verb *wàngu* 'use' this construction can be used as an adverbial clause with an interpretation of simultaneity or immediate sequence (see Pred Mod example below).

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (same-subject), Ref Mod (object of DC), (+ prep/prepositional verb: Pred Mod) = PoS minus Pred Head (contentives)

Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No aspect, no mood marking. (Kambera has no tense marking.)

Nominal categories: DET + number agreement (in Ref Mod function)

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/POSS - Ø In Ref Head function the subject remains unexpressed under co-referentiality; the object is SENT and cross-referenced on the dependent predicate, in the DAT form. In Ref Mod function the subject is POSS, and the object is gapped, but remains cross-referenced on the dependent predicate in the DAT form.

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Ta-pakiring [*pa-tinu-nya na lau*] *haromu*
 1PL.NOM-start COMP-weave-3SG.DAT ART sarong tomorrow
 'We will start to weave the sarong tomorrow.' (Klamer 1998: 338)

Ref Mod:

Ta-pakiri-nya da lau [*pa-tinu-nda*]
 1PL.NOM-start-3SG.DAT ART sarong REL-weave-1PL.DAT
 'We start (with) (them) the sarongs woven by us.' (Klamer 1998: 338)

na kalembi na [*pa-kei wà-nggu-nya*]
 ART shirt ART REL-buy use-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT
 'the shirt that I bought' (Klamer 1998: 326)

Pred Mod:

Patiang ana mandai-ndai [*wàngu pa-buta ana rumba*]
 wait DIM RDP-belong use COMP-pick DIM grass
 '(We) wait a while weeding some grass in the meantime.' (Klamer 1998: 240)

ma-deranked clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject/possessor clauses) ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No aspect, no mood marking. (Kambera has no tense marking.)

Nominal categories: DET + number agreement (in Ref Mod function)
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

Na-meti-ka na tau na [ma-piti-ya na kabela-nggu]
3SG.NOM-die-PFV ART person ART REL-take-3SG.ACC ART machete-1SG.GEN
'The person that took my machete died already.' (Klamer 1998: 315)

Ita-nggu-nya na tau na [ma-meti kuru uma-na].
see-1SG.GEN-3SG.dat ART person ART REL-die wife-3SG.GEN
'I saw the man whose wife died.' (Klamer 1998: 320)

Unmarked nominalized clause

Remark: Nominal clauses can be dependent or independent. In combination with a conjunction, the construction can apparently also be used in adverbial function as a simultaneity clause (see Pred Mod examples below).

Functional distribution: Flex?: Pred Head/main clause, Ref Head (+ CONJ also Pred Mod, simultaneity).

≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs), but apparently Pred Head/Ref Head flexibility.

Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)

Verbal categories: (Some) aspect and mood marking is retained (also lexically). (Kambera has no tense-marking).

Nominal categories: DET, when functioning as such construction is cross-referenced on the main predicate as an object, with a DAT form.

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

The subject is expressed through a genitive pronominal enclitic.

EXAMPLES:

Pred Head:

[Na apu-mu, katuda-na] la pino bolsak-ka una
ART grandmother-2SG.GEN sleep-3SG.GEN LOC top mattress-PFV EMPH.3SG
'Your granny, she will sleep on a mattress.' (Lit.: 'Your grandmother's sleeping is on a mattress.') (Klamer 1998: 97)

Ref Head:

Nda ku-pt-anggau [na ngandi-mu ru kuta]
NEG 1SG.NOM-know-MOD-2SG.DAT ART take-2SG.GEN leaf pepper plant
'I didn't know that you would bring kuta.' (lit.: I didn't know (of) your bringing kuta.) (Klamer 1998: 97)

Nda ku-mbuti-nya [na taka-mu]
NEG 1SG.NOM-expect-3SG.DAT ART arrive-2SG.GEN
'I did not expect your coming.' (Klamer 1998: 315)

Pred Mod:

[Ba meu-meu-na, ba na-imbu-ya]
CONJ RDP-foar-2SG.GEN CONJ 3SG.NOM-search-3SG.ACC
'And it roared (a tiger), while it went after him.' (Klamer 1998: 100)

[ba jiapa-ma na banggapit-na-nya da]
CONJ continuously-EMPH ART clasp-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT inside
'while he kept clasping it inside...' (Klamer 1998: 97)

wà + clause

Remark: Quotative construction.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Ka [na-ngandi-ya na mbuku] wà-nggu-nya làti
CONJ 3SG.NOM-take-3SG.ACC ART book say-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT in fact
'In fact, I told him that he should take the book.' (Klamer 1998: 347)

SAMOAN

Pred-*ga*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM marking
 Nominal categories: DET/CASE
 Argument encoding: POSS - SENT (occasionally also POSS - POSS)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

A le faalavelave le tupu i [le ai-ga
 PST NEG trouble ART king LD ART eat-NMLZ
apu ma moli a le pipili ma le tauaso]
 apple and citrus POSS ART lame and ART blind
 'The king was not troubled that the lame and the blind ate the apples and oranges.'

Ae na oo lava in moumou malie atu le pisa
 But PST reach EMPH CONJ disappear gentle DIR ART noise
o [e sapini-ga o Pale ma Maria e o la Tina]
 POSS ART whip-NMLZ POSS Pale and Maria ERG POSS 3DU mother
 'But finally the noise of the whipping of Pale and Maria by their mothers gently faded away.'
 (Mosel 1992: 279)

Unmarked nominalized clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
 Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM marking
 Nominal categories: DET/CASE
 Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

E lelei [l-a-u tunu ia]
 GENR good ART-POSS-2SG roast fish
 'Your fish roasting is good.' (Mosel 1992: 267)

ona/ina + deranked clause

Remark: *Ona* is used for core-arguments, *ina* for adjuncts.
 Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM marking
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

ua taga [ona inu ava malosi tatou]
 PFV allowed COMP drink 'kava' strong 1.INCL.PL
 'It is allowed that we drink alcohol.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 599)

-e + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: All retained
 Nominal categories: (DET)
 Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping) Gap can be filled with anaphoric element.

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

'O lea 'o le tama'ita'i l-[ē na tatou ō 'i ai.]
 PRES that PRES ART woman ART-REL PST 1.INCL.PL go(PL) LD ANAPH
 'She is the woman we went to find.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 635)

Unmarked clause

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: All retained
 Nominal categories: (DET)
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Na iloa e Tigilau [úa sau Sina]
 PAST know ERG Tigilau PFV comes Sina
 'T knew that S had come.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 589)

Ref Mod:

Ua tu le alii lea [na ua e Popi]
 PFV stand.up ART man that PST bite ERG Popi
 'The man who was bitten by Popi stood up.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 635)

GUARANI

clause + *há/hagawé/Ø*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: (DET)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Rey-anú [sé še-rasí há]
 you-hear I I-be.sick COMP
 'You heard that I was sick.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

ai-kwaá la [n o-ù moʔá i há]
 I-know DEF(DET) NEG he-go MOD NEG COMP
 'I know that he does not intend to go.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

Rei-moʔá [še-taví]
 You-think I-be.silly
 'You think that I am silly.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967: 157)

Pred-va + clause⁴

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

The relativized item is gapped, but there is a person prefix on the dependent predicate.

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

A-hechal a karai [o-ʒagua-va-ekue ka angu'a].
 I-see DEF man 3-buy-REL-PST DEF mortar
 'I saw the man who bought the mortar.' (Velázquez-Castillo 2002: 162)

Clause + *vo*:

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

Pred Mod:

H-asē [o-sē vo]
 she-cry she-go.out ADV
 'She goes out crying.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967: 180)

SANTALI

Unmarked clause; pred without -a (IND)

Remark: In Ref Head *subject* function, the construction shows no subject marking, while middle voice markers and TAM can be expressed. In Ref Head *object* function subject marking and TAM are lost, while object markers are retained. Only with verbs of perception subject marking and TAM can be expressed. In Ref/Mod function, subject pronominals are omitted, but all TAM suffixes can be expressed.

⁴The status of the relativizer is not entirely clear: it does not seem to change the internal syntax of the dependent clause, but does attach to the predicate, preceding the tense marker.

The relativized element is gapped. In Pred Mod function, with case-marking, there is neither person marking (subject/object) nor TAM marking, but middle voice can be expressed. In combination with a postposition (with similative semantics), all verbal categories are expressed, except for the indicative marker. Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (+ case (LOC/INSTR)/postposition also Pred Mod)

≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: Variable (see above)
 Nominal categories: CASE
 Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality/gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Subject:

[ber həsur-kate dera-k'-dɔ] baj bes-a
 sun set-CONV camp-M-TOP NEG good-IND
 'It is not good to camp after sunset.' (Neukom 2001: 181)

Object:

[onko əgu-ko] mana-ko-m
 those:PL bring-3PL.OBJ forbid-3PL.OBJ-2SG.SBJ
 'Forbid them to bring those.' (Neukom 2001: 182)

Perception predicate:

[mɔjɛ-gɔten əimɔi dak' lo=ko hij-uk'kan-e] nel-gɔt'-ket'-ko-a
 five-CL woman water fetch-3PL.SBJ come-M-IPFV-3SG.SBJ see-V2-PST:ACT-3PL.OBJ-IND
 'He saw five women come to fetch water.' (Neukom 2001: 183)

Ref Mod:

Uni-y-[e [bujhəu-ɲɔk'-ket'] hɔɾ-e sɔrat-gɔt'-ad-e-a.
 that-(ANIM)y-3SG.SBJ understand.-little-PST:ACT person-3SG.SBJ beckon-V2-APPL:PST:ACT-3SG.OBJ-IND
 'He beckoned the man who had understood a little.' (Neukom 2001: 197)

Pred Mod:

Case-marked:

[cala-k'-calak'-te] mit'-taj toyo-ko nel-tio'k'-ked-e-a
 go-M-RDP-INSTR one-CL jackal-3PL.SBJ see-reach-PST:ACT-3SG.OBJ-IND
 'While they were walking along, they caught sight of a jackal.' (Neukom 2001: 187)

uni gidrə-dɔ [budɪp-ge-y-e tabēkan-re]
 that child-TOP small-FOC-y-3SG.SBJ COP:PST-LOC
 engga-t-tet'-dɔ-e gɔc'-en-a
 mother-3POSS-3POSS-TOP-3SG.SBJ die-PST:M-IND
 'While the child was (still quite) young, his mother died.' (Neukom 2001: 189)

With postposition (similative):

[ɔne-y-e met'-at'-ko leka-ge] jɔtɔ hɔɾ-ko cala-k'-kan-a
 that-y-3SG.SBJ say-APPL:PST:ACT-3PL.OBJ like-FOC all person-3PL.SBJ go-M-IPFV-IND
 'They all went along as he had told him.' (Neukom 2001: 195)

Pred-kate⁵

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No Tense/Mood, no Person⁶, voice can be expressed
 Nominal categories: CASE
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[[nonka budis-kate] bebhɔrsa-kate-ko] cala-k'-kan-a
 like.this think-CONV be.hopeless-CONV-3PL go-M-IPFV-IND
 'Thinking so and being hopeless, they walked on.' (Neukom 2001: 186)

⁵ This construction is described as a *converb* but its status is not completely unambiguous: “-kate occurs elsewhere in isolated position as ‘then’ or together with deictic elements such a *nit* ‘now’ (cf. *nit-kate* ‘nowadays’) or *ona* ‘that’ (cf. *ona-kate* ‘thereupon’), or in combination with numerals, e.g. *ponea-kate* ‘(give them) four each.’” (Neukom 2001: 185)

⁶ Note that the subject pronominal is nevertheless retained in the second converbal form of the example.

Correlative construction

Remark: Correlative constructions are probably an influence from Indo-Aryan languages. These constructions make use of various types of pronouns: interrogative, indefinite, demonstrative. The dependent predicate often lacks the indicative marker *-a*, but the pronominal subject clitic is always present.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Allmost all retained (see above)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

ona dare [oka-m mak'-akat']
that(INANIM) tree which-2SG.SBJ cut-PFV:ACT
'the three which you have cut' (Neukom 2001: 200)

Clause + *mente*

Remark: The complementizer/quotative is a lexicalized instrumental case-marked form of 'to say'.

Used for complements of predicates of utterance, thought, and mental perception.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Ba-kin nel-thik-e-kan-a, nui-do
NEG-3DUAL.SG see-correct-3SG.OBJ-1PFV-IND this(AN)-TOP
[*ekin-ren apa-t kan-a-e mente*]
they(DUAL) father-3POSS COP-IND-3SG.SBJ COMP/QUOT
'They did not recognize that he was their father.' (Neukom 2001: 183)

WARAO

Pred-*kitane* (*'infinitive'*):

Remark: According to Romero-Figeroa (1997) this construction is used for same-subject complements and for purpose-clauses, but no example is available of the former use.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: None

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Clause + *kotai*:

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Ima-ya domu [nari-te kotai] mi-kitane nao-kotu
night-ALL bird fly-N.PST REL see-INF come-2PL.IMP
'You all, come to see the bird that flies at night.' (Romero-Figeroa 1997: 42)

TURKISH

Pred-*DIK*/(*-y*)*AçAK*

Remark: In combination with the postposition *gibi* this construction can be used as a similitive adverbial clause.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (non-subject/possessor clauses), (+ postposition also Pred Mod, similitive). ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No Aspect and Mood marking, (relative) tense is expressed by the choice of marker: *-DIK* for past and present, *-(y)AçAK* for future.

Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - POSS

(In Ref Mod function, the relativized element is gapped; the subject is POSS.)

EXAMPLES

Ref Head:

(ben) [Ahmed-in öl-düg-ün]-ü duy-du-m
 I Ahmed-GEN die-NMLZ-3SG-ACC hear-PST-1SG
 'I heard that Ahmed died.' (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[Orhan-m bir şey yap-ma-yacağ-ı] belliydi.
 Orhan-GEN anything do-NEG-NMLZ-3SG.POSS it.was.obvious
 'It was obvious that Orhan wouldn't do/wasn't going to do anything.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 423)

Ref Mod:

[adam-in git-tiğ-i] okul
 man-GEN go-PTC-3SG school
 'the school that the man goes/went to' (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[Fatma-nın yarın gör-eceğ-i] film
 Fatma-GEN tomorrow see-PTC-3SG.POSS film
 'the film that Fatma is going to/will be seeing tomorrow' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 442)

Pred Mod:

Pastayı [anne-m-in anlat-tiğ-i gibi] yapmaya çalıştım
 mother-1SG.POSS-GEN describe-NMLZ-3SG.POSS like
 'I tried to make the cake [as my mother had described].' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 477)

Pred-mAK

Remark: "The crucial difference between *-mAK* clauses and those with *-mA* is that *-mA* clauses in the majority of cases contain their own subject, whereas *-mAK* clauses do not." (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 413)

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM and Person agreement

Nominal categories: CASE (usually when functioning as a direct object complement, except with the verb *iste-* 'to want', see third example)

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[Lütfen pencere-yi aç-mağ]-ı unut-ma
 please window-ACC open-INF-ACC forget-NEG
 'Please, don't forget to open the window!' (Kornfilt 1997: 51)

(ben) Ahmed-i kaç-mağ]-a zorla-dı-m
 I Ahmed-ACC flee-INF-DAT force-PST-1SG
 'I forced Ahmet to flee.' (Kornfilt 1997: 51)

[Sokağa çık-mak] isti-yir-um
 go out-INF want-IPFV-1SG
 'I want to go out.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 413)

Pred-mA

Remark: In general terms noun clauses formed with *-mA* are less abstract in meaning than those formed with *-mAK*.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM and Person agreement

Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[Kerkes-in birer hikaye anlat-ma-sı] iste-n-iyor-muş
 everyone-GEN one.each story tell-NMLZ-3SG.POSS want-PASS-IPFV-EV.COP
 'It seems they want [everyone to tell a story].' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 420)

Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle-me-sin]-i söyle-di-m
 A.-DAT I-ACC wait-NMLZ-3SG.POSS-ACC tell-PST-1SG
 'I told Ahmet to wait for me.' (Kornfilt 1997: 53)

Pred-An

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod (subject/possessor clauses) ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM, no Person Agreement (verbal)
 Nominal categories: None.
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:
[burada sat-il-an] kitap-lar
 here sell-PASS-PTC book-PL
 'the books that are sold here' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

[öğretmen ol-an] haydar
 teacher be-PTC Haydar
 'Haydar, who is a teacher' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

[araba-sı çal-ın-an] komşu-muz
 car-3SG.POSS steal-PASS-PTC neighbour-1PL.POSS
 'our neighbour, whose car was stolen' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

Pred-(y)ArAK

Remark: Normally, the subject is unexpressed under co-referentiality.
 Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM/Person agreement
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:
Ben [etraf-ım-a bak-arak] yür-ür-üm
 I around-1SG-DAT look-CONV(manner) walk-AOR-1SG
 'I walk looking around (myself).' (Kornfilt 1997: 73)

Pred-(y)A... Pred-(y)A

Remark: "This construction occurs either with identical verb stems or with different ones. Its use is less widespread than that of -(y)ArAK, and its meaning is more emphatic, stressing the continuous or repeated nature of the action it expresses. The forms involving two different verb stems are for the most part lexicalized items." (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)
 Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM/Person agreement
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (/Ø - SENT?)

Pred Mod:

Genç kadın [ağala-ya ağala-ya] bıkayesini anlattı
 The young woman told her story [continuously weeping] (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)

Adam [it-e kak-a] öne geçmeye çalışıyordu
 man [pushing shoving] was trying to get to the front
 '[Pushing and shoving,] the man was trying to get to the front.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)

ki + clause

Remarks: This construction is borrowed from Persian.
 In relative clause function, the construction is mostly non-restrictive (the head is almost always the subject of the main clause, and 3rd person singular or plural).
 Normally, the relativized item is gapped, but under certain circumstances, it may or must be reiterated in the dependent clause, by means of a resumptive pronoun.
 Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: All retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping in Ref Mod function)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
Isti-yor-um [ki yarın ben-imle sinema-ya gel-esin]
 want-PRES.PROGR.1SG COMP tomorrow I-GEN-with cinema-DAT come-sg.OPT
 'I want you to come to the movies with me tomorrow. (Kornfilt 1997: 46)

Saniyorum [ki iş-in-i bırak-mak isti-yor]
 I.think COMP job-sg.POSS-ACC leave-NMLZ want-IPFV
 'I think that s/he wants to quit his/her job.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 409)

Ref Mod:

Bir adam [ki çocuk-lar-ın sev-me-z] yalnız yaşa-malı-dır
 a man REL child-PL.3SG-ACC love-NEG-AOR alone live-NEG-EP.COP
 'A man who does not love his children must live alone.' (Kornfilt 1997: 60)

bi abçi [ki baklava yap-may-t- bil-me-sin]
 a cook REL baklava make-NMLZ-ACC know-NEG-3SG.OPT
 'a cook who doesn't know how to make baklava' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 459)

Clause + *diye*

Remark: *diye* is the converbal *(-y)A* form of the verb *de* 'to say'. The construction is used for complements of predicates of speech other than *de*, and for complements of predicates of cognition, perception, and emotion.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Meral [Turgut onu Selim'le gör-ür-se diye] kork-uyor-du
 Meral Turgut with Selim see-AOR-CON.COP COMP/QUOT be.afraid-IPFV-PST.COP
 'Meral was afraid that Turgut would see her with Selim.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 409)

Unmarked clause

Remark: Used for complements of *de* 'to say', and for complements of predicates of believe and desire.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Herkes [sen sinema-ya git-ti] san-ıyor
 everybody you(NOM) cinema-DAT go-PST-2SG believe-PRS.PROGR
 'Everybody believes that you went to the movies.' (Kornfilt 1997: 47)

KAYARDILD

Pred-*n(-marri)* (*plain/private nominalization*)

Remark: Active plain nominalizations may, apart from their dependent uses, function as main clauses describing ongoing, uncompleted actions (Evans 1995: 472).

In Ref Head function, the construction can occur only as the complement of a perception predicate.

In Ref Mod function, it is used when the subject of the dependent clause is relativized. This subject is gapped.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (perception complements), Ref Mod (subject clauses), Pred Mod = PoS (non-verbs).

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM

Nominal categories: Nominal agreement

Argument encoding: All overt arguments take the associating oblique case (A.OBL) or propriative/locative modal case (MPROP/MLOC).

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Ngada kurri-ja [ki-l-wan-ji dakwani-n-ki thawal-urrk]
 1SG.NOM see-ACT 2-PL-POSS-MLOC dig.up-NMLZ-MLOC yam-MLOC:A.OBL
 'I saw you digging up yams.' (Evans 1995: 472)

Ngada kurri-ja [ni'wan-ji budii-n-marri]
 1SG.NOM see-ACT 3SG.POSS-MLOC run-NMLZ-PRIV
 'I saw that he was not running.' (Evans 1995: 476)

Ref Mod⁷:

Nga-ku-l-da [*wirr-n-ku*] *dangka-wu* *kurri-ju*
1-INC-PL-NOM dance-NMLZ-MPROP man-MPROP see-POT
'We will watch the dancing man.' (Evans 1995: 474)

Pred Mod:

[*Bilaangka-nurru* *kari-i-n-da*] *ngada* *warra-j*
blanket-ASSOC cover-M-NMLZ-NOM 1SG.NOM go-ACT
'I went along, covering myself in a blanket.' (Evans 1995: 474)
Diya-ja *wuran-ki* [*kinaa-n-marri*]
eat-ACT food-M.LOC tell-NMLZ.PRIV
'(He) eats food without telling (anyone).' (Evans 1995: 475)

Pred-*Thirri-n* ('resultative nominalization')

Remark: This construction can also be used as a main clause, and as an adverbial clause expressing temporal sequence.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM

Nominal categories: Nominal agreement

Argument encoding: Ergative alignment: Objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitives (S and P) take nominative case; (demoted) subjects of transitive verbs (A) take oblique case.

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

Bath-in-ki *bal-umban-ji* [*niwan-jiyarrng-niaba-ya*]
west-from-MLOC west-ORIG-MLOC 3SG.POSS-DU-ABL-MLOC
jibarua-yarrng-kinaba-ya *bidiru-thirri-n-ji*
uncle.in.law-DU-ABL-MLOC miss-RES-NMLZ-MLOC
'One coming from the west, that had been missed by his two uncles-in-law.' (Evans 1995: 480)

Nyingka *kada buru-tharra* [*wungji-jirri-n-jina*] *mala-na*
2SG.NOM again get=PST steal-RES-NMLZ-ABL beer-M.ABL
'Did you get some stolen beer again?' (Evans 1995: 479)

Pred-*ngarrba* ('consequential nominalization')

Remark: The construction is rarely used as a main clause describing actions preceding the temporal reference point. (Evans 1995: 481) All arguments are marked with a consequential suffix. This kind of marking resembles so-called 'complete concord' (all elements of a constituent are marked for case; see Dench 2006). This means that the consequential form looks like a case-marker with the function of a complementizer. Therefore, the construction is classified as a D-SENT, rather than a D-ALT construction.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM

Nominal categories: Resultative case (see above)

Argument encoding: Resultative case (see above)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Nyinka *kamburi-ja dathin-a* *dangka-a* [*yarbu-nyarrba* *balangkali-ngarrba* *ba-yii-n-ngarrb!*]
2SG.NOM speak-IMP that-NOM man-NOM snake-CONS brown.snake-CONS bite-M-NMLZ-CONS
'You speak to that man who was bitten by a brown snake!' (Evans 1995: 481)

Clause + *-ntha* ('oblique complementizer case')

Remarks: This construction "closely resembles normal finite clauses, permitting almost the full range of verb inflections". (...) Commonly a Complementizing Oblique or Locative case appears after all other inflections, usually on all constituents." (Evans 1995: 488)

In Ref Head function, this construction is used for complements of predicates of perception,

⁷ There are no examples available of the privative nominalization in Ref Mod function, but according to Evans (p.c.) this is possible: "I'm sure you can say it, but it's a gap – probably accidental – in my data."

⁸ The tense-system deviates slightly from independent clauses:

Independent clause: - ACT(ual), which covers present, past and immediate future, the latter two of which can be marked if extra precision is desired.
- POT(ential)

Dependent clause: - PAST
- IMMED (= present and immediate past)
- POT(ential)
- ACT can not be expressed

Modal case marking is the same in independent and dependent clauses.

knowledge and speech.

The morpheme *-(u)rrka* is a special portmanteau for LOC + C.OBL. It is used for locative complement clauses (Evans, p.c.).

In Ref Mod function, this construction is used only when the relativized item is *not* the subject of both clauses.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs, adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Largely retained (see above)

Nominal categories: Complementizer case (see above)

Argument encoding: Complementizer case (see above)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Ngada mungurru [(ngijurwa) kada-ntba thaa-thuu-ntb]

1SG.NOM know.NOM 1SG.SUBJ:C.OBL again-C.OBL return-POT-C.OBL

'I know that I will come back again.' (Evans 1995: 490/491)

Ngada kamburri-ja niwan-ji [walbu-ntba datbin-inja barji-nyarra-ntb]

1SG.NOM say-ACT 3SG-MLOC raft-C.OBL that-C.OBL capsized-APPR-C.OBL

'I told him the raft would capsize.' (Evans: 516)

Ngada marin-marri-i-jarr [datbin-kurrka thungal-urrka kamburri-jurrk]

1SG.NOM self-hear-M-PST that-LOC:C.OBL thing-LOC:C.OBL speak-IMMED:C.OBL

'I heard myself speaking on that thing (the radio).' (Evans 1995: 491)

Ref Mod:

nyinka kurri-jarra datbin-kina dangka-na

2SG.NOM see-PST that.MABL man-MABL

[thawurr-inaa-ntba raa-jarra-ntba niwan-jinaa-ntb]

throat-MABL-C.OBL spear-PST-C.OBL 3SG-MABL-C.OBL

'Did you see the man whom (he) speared in the throat?' (Evans 1995: 490)

Unmarked clause

Remark: This construction is used in Ref Mod function, in cases where *no* complementizer case appears, i.e. when the relativized element is the subject of the relative clause. Usually, the relativized element is gapped, but it may also be retained.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Largely retained (see above)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Jina-a datbin-a dangk-a, [dan-kina yii-jarrma-tharra wanggal-kina]

where-NOM that-NOM man-NOM, here-MABL put-CAUS-PST boomerang-MABL

'Where is the man, who left the boomerang here?' (Evans 1995: 489)

PAIWAN

tu(a)/tjai + clause

Remark: The oblique marker *tu(a)/tjai* is also used for non-clausal arguments. Semantically, it is used for patients, beneficiaries, instruments, goals, objects of comparison etc. With DCs it marks "less integrated" complements.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

ma'rbekutj ti-naju [tu laqlaq-en ni-a-maju]

fear FOC-he OBL tickle-PAT DEFOC-AG-PL-he

'He is afraid that she will tickle him.' (Egli 1990: 177)

na ma'saru a rhavats [tu rigu ti Yoban].

PFV believe LK very OBL prophet FOC John

'He believed strongly that John was a prophet.' (Egli 1990: 192)

pa'telip [tua ini pu'valav-an ni-maju tua qatjuvi]
 regret OBL not marry-LOC DEFOC.AG-he OBL snake
 'She regretted that she hadn't married the snake.' (Egli 1990: 202)

a + clause

Remark: The focus marker/linking element *a* is also used for non-clausal constituents. This construction is used for subject clauses, and for “more integrated” object complements, such as with modal predicates.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

na'nguaq [a ma-ngetjez sun]
 good FOC PASS-come you
 'It is good that you have come.' (Egli 1990: 230)

ini'ka ma'qati [a tja-parh-pa'tsun-en]
 not can LK we-one.another-see-PAT
 'We cannot see one another.' (Egli 1990: 230)

Ref Mod:

qala [a na tem-ker tua vaua]
 stranger LK PFV drink-AG OBL wine
 'the stranger, who has drunk wine' (Egli 1990: 178)

[a' zu' a i-vetsik a] kai
 FOC those LK PFV-write LK word
 'the word that I have written' (Egli 1990: 271)

[pin-'atsay' an nua valau a] vavay'an
 die-PFV LOC DEFOC.AG husband LK woman
 'the woman whose husband has died' (Egli 1990: 183)

a parbu + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod

sa ringul-i sun [a parbu qemlev]
 and be.around-PRON.PAT you LK like put.a.cover.on
 'And she will be around you as if she would want to cover you.' (Egli 1990: 209)

((-)in- Pred -an + a

Remark: This is a perfective participle construction, formed with the perfective affix *(-)in* (infix for verbs with a consonant in the *Anlaut*, prefix for verbs with a vowel in the *Anlaut*), which is also used with independent verb forms, and the participial suffix *-an*⁹. Since there is no inflectional verbal morphology, it is hard to say whether this is a deranked construction. However, participles are restricted to the extent that they cannot occur with other tenses (marked with particles), nor with focus markers and they cannot be transitive. The participial form must be combined with the linker *a*.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Restricted tense

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø (gapping, intransitive)

⁹ Paiwan also has a *present participle* form, with *-an* and without the perfective marker, but this form is hardly ever used. Like the perfective participle, it can be used as a modifier in a referential phrase. In addition, it can be used for manner expressions, i.e. as a modifier in a predicate phrase:

rbemaketj-an a masengseng
 to.do.all.day.long-PTC LK work
 'to work steadily.' (Egli 1990: 124)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:
k-in-a'aluj'-an a impits
 ?-PFV-point(PASS)-PTC LK pencil
 'the pointed pencil' (Egli 1990: 122)

IMBABURA QUECHUA

Pred-*j/-sbka/-na*

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (different-subject), Ref Mod = PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: The different forms indicate different relative tense values: *-j* for present, *-sbka* for past, *-na* for future. Progressive aspect is retained. No subject agreement.

Nominal categories: CASE in Ref Head function; in Ref Mod function only when the relative clause is extraposed.

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping in Ref Mod function) The object can remain without accusative case (noun-stripping).

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Marya nin-n [Juzi jatun wasi-ta chari-j]-ta
 María say-3 José big house-ACC have-NMLZ:PRS-ACC
 'Maria says that José has a big house.' (Cole 1982: 14)

nuka-ka [Juan kay-pi ka-sbka]-ta ya-ni
 I-TOP Juan this-in be-NMLZ:PST-ACC think-I
 'I think that Juan was here.' (Cole 1982: 33)

Juzi-ka [nuka kaya llama-tar andi-na]-ta kri-n
 José-TOP I tomorrow sheep-ACC buy-NMLZ:FUT-ACC believe-3
 'José believes that I will buy a sheep tomorrow.' (Cole 1982: 37)

With noun-stripping:

Juzi-ka [nuka kaya llama-Ø randi-na]-ta kri-n
 José-TOP I tomorrow sheep Ø buy-NMLZ:FUT-ACC believe-3
 'José believes that I will buy a sheep tomorrow.' (Cole 1982: 37)

Ref Mod:

[Marya riku-j] runa
 María see-PTC:PRS man
 'the man whom Maria sees' (Cole 1982: 47)

[Marya riku-sbka] runa
 María see-PTC:PRS man
 'the man whom Maria saw' (Cole 1982: 47)

[Juzi kulki-ta kara-na] warmi
 José silver-ACC give-PTC:FUT woman
 'the woman to whom José gave money' (Cole 1982: 54)

Extraposed:

Kwitsa-ta juya-ni [Juan-wan tushu-sbka ka-sbka]-ta
 girl-ACC love-1 Juan-with dance-PTC:PST be-PTC:PST-ACC
 'I love the girl who had danced with Juan.' (Cole 1982: 51)

Pred-*ngapaj* ('subjunctive')

Remark: Subjunctive forms are used for the complements of manipulative and desiderative predicates; *-ngapaj* is used for same subject.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, same subject ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense and subject agreement. Aspect can be retained.

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality)

The object can remain without accusative case (noun-stripping).

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head, same subject:

muna-y-man [nuka mama-ta riku-ngapaj]
 want-1-COND my mother-ACC see-SBJV
 'I want to see my mother.' (Cole 1982: 37)

Pred-*chun* (*subjunctive*)

Remark: Subjunctive forms are used for the complements of manipulative and desiderative predicates; *-chun* is used for different subject.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, different subject ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense and subject agreement. Aspect can be retained.

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

muna-ni [*Juzi pay-paj mama-ta riku-chun*]

want-1 José he-POSS mother-ACC see-SBJV

'I want that José sees his mother/I want José to see his mother.' (Cole 1982: 37)

Pred-*y*

Remark: In Pred Mod function, the form is reduplicated.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nominals, small manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/subject agreement

Nominal categories: CASE (in Ref Head function)

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality) The object can remain without accusative case (noun-stripping).

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Juzi-ka [*llama-ta/Ø randi-y*]-*ta usha-n*

José-TOP sheep-ACC/-Ø buy-INF-ACC can-3

'José is able to buy sheep.' (Cole 1982: 40)

nuka-ka [*sbuj ali wagra-ta-mi randi-y*]-*ta muna-ni*

I-TOP one good cow-ACC-VAL buy-INF-ACC want-1SG

'I want to buy a good cow.' (Cole 1982: 40)

Pred Mod:

[*Kanda-y kanda-y*] *shamu-rka-ni*

sing-INF sing-INF come-PST-1

'I came singing.' (Cole 1982: 62)

Pred-*shpa*:

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS: small manner adverbs

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/subject agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[*Kanda-shpa-mi*] *shamu-rka-ni*

sing-CONV-VAL come-PST-1

'I came singing.' (Cole 1982: 62)

MA'DI

Pred-*lē*

Remarks: Apart from the subordinating suffixes *lē*, *kā*, *rē*, *ḅá*, and *dʒá*, Ma'di dependent predicates can only take a low-tone prefix, which in independent clauses expresses non-past tense. It is not clear whether the prefix on dependent predicates is the same, since it is compatible with any tense interpretation (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 192).

In Ref Head function this construction is used for complements of desiderative predicates. The subject is unexpressed under co-referentiality; the object is SENT.

In Ref Mod function this construction is used for object relative clauses. The object is either gapped, or expressed with the postposition *nā*, meaning 'aforementioned' (AFR), and interpreted as the possession of the modified noun. The subject is either left unexpressed, or expressed with the possessive postposition.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (desiderative), Ref Mod (object) = PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/POSS - Ø/POSS - OBL

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Má lè-ā [èbí ʒnā-lé] rá
 1SG (N)want-OBJ fish N-cat-NMLZ AFF
 'I certainly want to eat fish.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 202)

Ref Mod:

àràbíà [sɔ́fí ʒà dʒí-lé] rí pá nā ádí rá.
 car Opi POSS (N)-take-PTC DEF leg AFR deflate AFF
 'The car which Opi took certainly has a flat tyre.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

íli [gɔ́-lé] rí lɔ́fí
 knife (N)-break-PTC DEF sharp
 'The knife which was broken is sharp.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

ágó [tí nā bárá nā ʒà ógù-lé] rí
 man cow AFR child that POSS (N)-steal-PTC DEF
 'The man whose cow that child stole...' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

Pred-dʒó

Remarks: In Ref Head function this construction is used for the complements of phrasal predicates. The subject remains unexpressed under co-referentiality. In Ref Mod function this construction is used for relative clauses, in which the relativized element is a source. This relativized argument is gapped; the subject is either unexpressed or possessive, and the object is SENT.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (phasals), Ref Mod (source clauses) = PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/POSS - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

ʒpí édó ʒí-dʒó rá
 Opi start [N-build-NMLZ] AFF
 'Opi has certainly started to build (with) it.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22/207)

Ref Mod:

bélè ágó rí pí ʒgbā-dʒó rí dī ʒí
 stick [man DEF PLPRON N-beat-PTC] DEF this FOC
 'The stick with which the man and his associates was beaten is this one.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

Pred-ka

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

má bí mú-kā kūrò
 1SG try [(N)-go-NMLZ] NEG(PST)
 'I have not tried/did not try to go/going.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

Má ndrē àríáŋgwá rí ʒà é-dé-kā rá
 1SG see [bird DEF POSS (N)-VE-fall-NMLZ] AFF
 'I saw the bird's falling/fall.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 21)

ś-lè túbà sē-kā díʒā kō
 IND-want [cigarette (N)-smoke-NMLZ] here NEG
 'Smoking is not permitted here.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 213)

Pred-rē/bá

Remark: *bá* is the plural equivalent of *-rē*. Only in non-active cases can an overt subject appear, which is then marked with a postposition (see second example).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject/possessive clauses) ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense

Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

ágó am-à dʒó nī sī-bá rī
man [1PL-POSS house SPEC PRON N-build-PTC(PL)] DEF
'one of the men who built/are building our house' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 193)

dī ágó tí nā égwè-rē dī rī ʔī
this man [cow AFR (N)-get.lost-PTC COM] DEF FOC
'This is the man whose cow got lost.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 195)

Unmarked clause

Remark: Used for complements of utterance, propositional attitude, knowledge, manipulatives and desideratives.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

ní fō k-ē-mú ʒó
2sg say [dir-VE-go tomorrow]
'You said that she should come tomorrow./'You told her to come tomorrow.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 21)

Clause with *z̄f* + *s̄i*

Remark: This construction is marked by the grammatical verb *z̄f* and the source proposition *s̄i*. It expresses simultaneous action.

The subject is co-referential but overtly expressed (SENT). (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 421).

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small and derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: CASE (postposition)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

ká sítà nā mīndrā nā kó-z̄f rā s̄i
3 pepper (N)eat [tears AFR 3-N-SIM leak] SR
'She was eating pepper as her eyes were (continuing) running.'
(Blackings & Fabb 2003: 440)

HUNGARIAN

Pred-*ni*

Remarks: When this construction has subject function, agreement (in person and number) with the subject is optionally retained. In object function, subject agreement is always lost. Only one argument can be overtly expressed. If the subject is overt, it takes DAT; if the object is overt, it is SENT.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/mood. Causative and frequentative affixes can be expressed. Agreement is sometimes retained (see above).

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/DAT - Ø

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Fontos volt [Péter-nek olvas-ni(-a)]
important was Peter-DAT read-INF(-3sg)
'It was important for Peter to read.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 35)

Anna most akar [olvas-ni]
Anna now wants read-INF
'Anna wants to read now.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)

Anna meg-próbál-t-a [meg-tanul-ni a verset]
Anna PREF-try-PST-DEF.3SG PREF-learn-INF the poem.ACC
'Anna tried to learn the poem.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)

Pred-ás/-és

Remark: The subject of a transitive nominalized verb is optionally expressed as an attributive adjectival phrase involving the adjectival *általi* form of the postposition *által* 'by', or involving the postposition *által* and the active participial form *való* of *van* 'to be'. The subject of an intransitive predicate and the object of a transitive predicate trigger nominal agreement on the dependent predicate.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

János [a *kincs el-rejt-és-é]-t javasol-t-a*
 John the treasure PREF-hide-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC suggest-PST-DEF.3SG
 'John suggested to hide the treasure.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 207)

Örül-ök [Pál *váratlan meg-érkez-és-é]-nek*
 be.happy-INDEF.1SG Paul unexpected PREF-arrive-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-DAT
 'I am happy about Paul's unexpected arrival.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 207)

Pred-ó ('active present participle')

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject clauses) ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

[A *könyv-et a fiú-nak gyorsan olvas-ó*] *lány itt van*
 the book-ACC the boy-DAT fast read-PRS.PTC girl here is
 'Here is the girl who reads the book to the boy fast.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 45)

Pred-ott ('passive, past participle')

Remark: Used in prenominal relative clauses where the relativized item is the undergoer/patient of the DC. This element is gapped; the agent is marked OBL with the agentive postposition *által* 'by'.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (patient clauses) ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: OBL - Ø

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Az [Anna *által tegnap olvas-ott*] *könyv*
 the Anna by yesterday read-PST.PTC book
 'the book (that was) read by Anna yesterday.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 46)

Pred-andó/-endő ('future participle')

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject and object clauses) ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø-SENT/SENT-Ø/Ø-Ø

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

az [el-jöv-endő] *kor*
 the PREF-come-FUT.PTC age
 'the age to come' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 319)

a [ki-javít-andó] *dolgozat-ok*
 the PREF-correct-FUT.PTC paper-PL
 'the papers to be corrected' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 320)

Pred-vá/-vé ('simple converb')

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

A gyerek-wk [kiabál-va] szalad-t-ak végig az utcá-n.
 the child-PL shout-CONV run-PST-INDEF.3PL along the street-SUPERESS
 'The children ran down the street shouting.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 320)

Pred-vén (*perfective converb*):

Remark: This form is very infrequent in spoken Hungarian; it is used only in formal and ceremonious style in writing. The perfective converb has historically been used to refer to an action preceding that of the finite verb. Nowadays it is sometimes used synonymously with the simple converb.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Ez-t mond-t-a nek-em [az asztalfő-n ül-vén].
 this-ACC say-PST-DEF.3SG DAT-1SG the table.head-SUPERESS sit-PFV.CONV
 'Sitting at the head of the table s/he said this to me.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 321)

Clause + hogy

Remarks: The construction can be combined with the expletive pronominal *az*, which takes case according to the function of the DC. In nominative and accusative function case can be omitted; in other functions it cannot. When functioning as the complement of a manipulative or evaluative predicate, the dependent predicate takes the subjunctive marker *-j-* and a prefix *meg-*. In the case of a manipulative predicate the complementizer can be omitted; in the case of an evaluative predicate it cannot.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained (SBJV)

Nominal categories: (CASE)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Anna elmondta nekünk (azt), [hogy Péter beteg volt].
 Anna told.DEF to.us it.ACC COMP Peter sick was
 'Anna told us that Peter had been sick.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 31)

Anna azt mondta, [(hogy) tanul-ja-d meg a verset].
 Anna it.ACC said.DEF COMP learn-IMP/SBJV-DEF.2SG PREF the poem.ACC
 'Anna told you to learn the poem.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 32)

Nem szükséges, [(hogy) Péter meg-tanul-j-a a verset].*
 Not necessary COMP Peter PREFIX-learn-SBJV-DEF the poem-ACC
 'It is not necessary for Peter to learn the poem.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 32)

Clause úgy + hogy

Remark: *úgy* is the adverbial form of the pronominal *az* in the main clause (most often 'thus').

Optionally a relative pro-adverb is attached to the subordinator *hogy*.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:

Péter úgy akludt el, [hogy olvasott].
 Peter ADV.PRON slept PREF SUB read.3SG
 'Peter fell asleep in such a manner that he was reading.' 2 'Peter fell asleep reading.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 50)

Péter úgy aludt, [a-bogy gyerekkorában szokott]
 Peter ADV.PRON slept REL.PRON-SUB in.his.childhood used.3sg
 'Peter fell asleep the way he used to in his childhood.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 50)

REL.PRON + clause

Remarks: The relative pronoun takes case-marking according to the function of the head noun in the dependent clause. Optionally, the construction can be combined with a clause-initial demonstrative along with the lexical head noun.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nominals)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: All retained
 Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT/SENT - Ø

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

(Az) a könyv, [amely-et Anna olvas-ott,] érdekes volt
 DEM the book which-ACC Anna read-PST interesting was
 'The book that Anna was reading was interesting.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 38)

Itt van a fiú, [aki-nek Anna felolvasta a könyvet]
 here is the boy who-DAT Anna PREF-read-DEF the book.ACC
 'Here's the boy to whom Anna read the book.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 42)

JAPANESE

Clause + *no, mono, koto, wake, yoo*

Remarks: The 'nominalizers' are in fact case-marked nouns meaning 'thing'. The dependent predicate is tensed, but the subject can optionally appear in the genitive. Therefore this construction has a double classification 1/3.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)/3 (D-ALT)
 Verbal categories: Tense retained
 Nominal categories: CASE
 Argument encoding: POSS-SENT/SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

[Ano hito ga/no hon o kai-ta koto ga] yoku sira-re-te iru
 that person NOM/GEN book ACC write-PAST thing(NMLZ) NOM well know-PASS-GER be
 'It is well known that that person wrote a book.' (the fact that that person wrote a book is well-known./ the fact of that person's having written a book is well known.) (Lombardi Vallauri 1997: 497)

Unmarked REL clause

Remark: There is no relative marker, but resumptive pronouns (in the form of demonstrative, personal, or reflexive pronouns) can be optionally used.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nominals)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Tense retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT- SENT/Ø - SENT/SENT- Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

Dakara, [tamago motte-ru] hito mo ita shi,
 so eggs hold-PST person too were and
[juusu mo motte-ru] hito mo ita shi...
 juice too hold-PST person too was and
 'So, there were people holding eggs, and people holding juice, and...' (Hinds 1986: 59)

With resumptive pronoun:

[Sono mae ni kuruma ga tomatte-iru] mise
 DEM front DIR car NOM stopped shop
 'the shop in front of which a car is parked' (Hinds 1986: 61)

Pred-te/-de/-ite

Remark: Overt subjects can take the topic marker in stead of the nominative.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No Tense

Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod (see for more instances the next example):

Son san wa [boka no nibonjin sutaffu o kun-de] shigoto o shi-te i-ru
Song Mr. TOP other ATTR Japanese staff OBJ unite-CONV job OBJ do-CONV be-PRS
'Mr Song is working together (in a united manner) with other Japanese staff.'
(Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 469)

Different subject:

Yasuko wa juugoroku no koro ibiki no kuse ga
Yasuko TOP fifteen:sixteen ATTR time snore ATTR habit SUBJ
at-te, oya wa kyoosei ni kushin shi-ta-soo da
be-CONV parents TOP correction 1.OBJ efforts do-PST-likely COP.PRS
'They say that Yasuko snored when [she was] fifteen or sixteen [and her] parents did their best to get rid
[of this habit]. (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 469)

Pred-*i/-Ø* ('infinitive')

Remark: Overt subjects can take the topic marker in stead of the nominative.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Tense

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Pred Mod:

Same subject:

Ogata Shingo wa [sukoshi mayu o yose-Ø] [sukoshi kuchi o
Ogatta Shingo TOP slightly eyebrow OBJ moved.together-INF slightly mouth OBJ
ake-te] [nanila kangae-te] i-ru fuu datta
open-CONV something think-CONV be-PRES look COP.PST
'Ogata Shingo looked as if he was thinking (about) something, bringing his eyebrows slightly together
and slightly opening his mouth.' (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 468)

Different subject:

Shingo wa kao o shikame-Ø, Shuuichi wa yoi ga same-ta daroo
Shingo TOP face D.OBJ frown-INF Shuuichi TOP drunkenness SUBJ abate-PST TENT
'Shingo frowned, [and] it seemed that Shuuichi got sober.' (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 468)

HMONG NJUA

qhov + clause

Remarks: This construction can be a complement clause or a nominalization, depending on the scope of its structural coding, as shown by the position of the marker, which may either precede the dependent predicate, or the whole DC. Since there is no difference in terms of verbal/nominal categories and/or argument encoding, this construction is classified as a balanced one only.

This construction is used for subject clauses.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Qhov cov zej zog tsiv tarwm ua kuv zoo sab.
COMP CL neighbour move out do 1sg happy
'It makes me happy that the neighbour moves out.' (Harrichausen 1990: 200)

kuam/(bas)tas + clause

Remarks: The choice between the two forms depends on the type of matrix predicate. *Kuam* is used with complements of desideratives and manipulatives; *(has)tas* with complements of perception, knowledge, propositional attitude, and utterance. Both forms are used for object complements only.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Peter xaav [kuam Paul yuav lub fais]
 Peter want COMP Paul buy CL car
 'Peter wants Paul to buy a car.' (Harriehausen 1990: 220)

Kuv paub [(bas)tas nwg yuav npaaj]
 1SG know COMP 3SG buy flowers
 'I know that he has bought flowers.' (Harriehausen 1990: 22)

Unmarked clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Kuv xaav [kuv moog tsev sai]
 1SG hope 1SG go house soon
 'I hope to go home soon.' (Harriehausen 1990: 221)

kws (REL) + clause:

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Tug txiv neej [kws kuv saib sab]
 CL man REL 1SG see big
 'The man that I saw was tall.' (Harriehausen 1990:141)

LANGO

Pred-(kk)ð ('infinitive/nominalization')

Remarks: Overt subjects are marked as attributive modifiers.
 The construction is used for complements of phasal, modal, desiderative, and achievement predicates.
 Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
 Verbal categories: No aspect; no subject agreement. Object agreement, voice and (benefactive/ventive) valency retained.
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/POSS - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

ámittò [gʷèèyòð dílo]
 1SG.want.PROGR kick.INF ball
 'I want to kick the ball.' (Noonan 1992: 213)

ápwón òtítówá à cèèk [bèèr à kwàn]
 teacher 3SG.tell.PFV.1PL ATTR.PRT little.bit good.NMLZ ATTR.PRT read-INF
 'The teacher told us briefly about the benefits of reading.' (The teacher told us briefly the being good of reading.) (Noonan 1992: 213)

[Nè-kkòg wókk à dáko] ràc
 kill-NMLZ dog ATTR.PRT woman 3SG-bad-HAB
 'The killing of a dog by a woman is bad.' (Noonan 1992: 214)

ni + clause

Remark: The dependent predicate is indicative when there is independent time reference and subjunctive when there is dependent time reference.
 Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained (see remark)

Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Ángé [ní lóçð dágó tíç]
1SG-know-HAB COMP man 3SG-hate-HAB work
'I know that the man hates work.' (Noonan 1992: 191)

ámíttò [ní dákó òwíllí àtín búk]
1SG-want-PROGR COMP woman 3SG-buy-BEN-SBJV child book
'I want the woman to buy the child a book.' (Noonan 1992: 191)

ámé + clause

Remark: The marker *ámé* is a combination of the attributive particle *à* and the relative particle *mé*. The relativized item is gapped. A resumptive pronoun must be used when the relativized item is a benefactive, associative, or object of preposition.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (modifiers)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained (see remark)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

lócð [ámé márò gwók]
man REL+ATTR.PRT 3SG-like-HAB dog
'The man that likes the dog.' (Noonan 1992: 215)

átínn [ámé dákó òwíllé búk]
child REL+ATTR.PRT woman 3SG-buy-BEN-PFV-3SG book
'The child for whom the woman bought a book.' (Noonan 1992: 215)

KET

Bare infinitive

Remarks: The bare form is used in Ref Head function for the complements of phasal and modal (ability) predicates. The object, if expressed, is incorporated. For the complement of desiderative or modal (necessity) predicates, the infinitive is marked for translative case.

The bare infinitive is also used in Ref Mod function, but this may involve lexical derivation, since the infinitive apparently cannot take any arguments.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, modifiers, small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: None (i.e. no tense/mood, no subject-object agreement)

Nominal categories: (CASE)

Argument encoding: Ø - INC/POSS - INC

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*ók-nà* *qús-bèt* *bínít*]
pl-ANIM.PL.GEN tent-making-INF it.ended
'We finished making the tent.' (Lit: 'Our tent-making ended.')

[*át* *i?l* *ítpàram*]
1SG sing-INF I.know
'I know how to sing/I can sing.' (Vajda 2004: 78)

[*Áb-àŋa* *ássàno-esaj*] *nára*
1SG-DAT hunt-INF-TRL need
'I need to hunt' (Vajda 2004: 77)

Ref Mod:

bìy *ságdì*
find boot
'A boot that is found' (Vajda 2004: 79)

Unmarked clause

Remark: This construction is apparently infrequent. Werner (1997: 355): "It *happens* in Ket that a finite verb stands before a noun in attributive position." (emphasis added, EvL)

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, modifiers, small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: (CASE)
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

dótám-báám *íyòvilde* [*bísnimin* *bájgítanatonag*]
dotam-old.woman she.heard brother.PL orphans.they.became
'Old Dotam Woman (a forest witch) heard that the brothers had become orphans.' (Vajda 2004: 93)

Ref Mod:

Túr; [*ital'em*] *keʔt*
DEM he.has.knowledge person
'This knowledgeable person' (lit: this person who has knowledge) (Werner 1997: 355)

Clause + *eta qor'a*

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives) [F] PoS (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod

Tájəbən, [*eta qor'a* *ber'eta*].
It has become cold, as if it cuts
'It has become piercingly cold.' (Werner 1997: 348)

Clause + *ásqà*

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives) ≠ PoS (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod

bū *toʔm* *dóldāq* *bíldè* [*deʔŋ* *dóln* *ásqà*].
3MASC so he.lived all people they.lived like
'He lived like everyone (else) lived.' (Vajda 2004: 87)

Clause + PROS(ective) CASE

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives) ≠ PoS (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

ū-k *hiʔp* [*dúrèn-bes*] *tséstè*
2SG.-GEN son he.cries-PROS he.sits
'Your son sits (there) crying.' (Vajda 2004: 28/Werner 1997: 354)

REL PRON + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: Class/number agreement
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

āt *qīm* *díyaro* [*qó-rè* *sòŋ* *dšyàrag*]
1SG woman I.see.her who-FEM there she.lives
'I am looking at the woman who lives there.' (Vadja 2004: 30)

bıldê de?ŋ [qó-nè sòŋ dóltn dúnòn]
 all people who-ANIM.PL here they.lived they.died
 'All the people who lived here have died.' (Vajda 2004: 30)

Pred-s/-bes + clause

Remark: The *-s* suffix, and its allomorph *-bes* (used when the object of the dependent clause stands between the dependent predicate and the head noun) are called 'nominalizers' (and glossed as such), but they appear on finite predicates, and arguments remain SENT.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: Class/number agreement

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[mámùl dóbłà-s] dıl
 milk he.drink.it-NMLZ child
 'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

[dóbłà-bes mámùl] dıl
 he.drink.it-NMLZ milk child
 'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

ITELMEN

Infinitives (various forms)

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Pred-s (INF I) (Used for complements of modal, phasal and manipulative predicates.)

Ref Head:

Utu-z-en [əŋqa bołse ʃowale-s.]
 can.not-PRS-3.SG something more say-INF.I
 'He cannot say anything anymore.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 168)

Kəmma t-iti-zen [p'e-ɸb no-ka-s.]
 1.SG 1.SG-force-3.SG.PAT child-DIM eat-CCM-INF.I
 'I forced the child to eat.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 169)

Pred-kilb-kalb/-kilaʔn/-kalaʔn (PL) (INF II) (Used for complements of direct perception predicates.)

Ref Head:

Truk Sin 'aŋewt k-elʃku-ʔn [t'it'im es-kałb.]
 suddenly S. INF.III-sec-INF.III smoke come.out-INF.II
 'Suddenly S. saw that smoke was coming out.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 173)

Pred-ki/ka (INF V): (Used for complements of phasal and modal predicates and some manipulative predicates. Applies only to those verbs that take *-k* in Infinitive I.)

Ref Head:

A Sin'aŋewte-n nita əŋqan-kit k'-uzu-knen [əŋqsx-ki.]
 INTERJ s.-POSS soul was-CAUS INF.III-start-INF.III hurt-INF.V
 For some reason S. became sad. (lit.: S's soul began to hurt.) (Georg & Volodin 1999: 180)

Pred-l (INF VI) (Same function as Infinitive V, but it is used with those verbs that do NOT take *k-* in Infinitive I.)

Ref Head:

T-utu-s-zen [Ememqut met'ele-l.]
 1.SG-can.not-PRS-3.SG.PAT E. kill-INF.IV
 'I cannot kill E.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 182)

Unmarked clause

Remark: Used for subject clauses and sometimes for object complements of perception predicates.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Qetew [çki-çiŋnen qeŋq'ef].
 good find-3.SG:3.SG strength

'It is good that he has found the strength.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 204)

Utre *n-esxli-k* *t-laxl-kiçen* [ən-k'esxli-kiçen muza-ʔn].
 in.the.morning 1.PL-wake.up-1.PL 1.SG-see-1.SG 1.PL-be.dry-1.PL 1.PL-PL

'In the morning we woke up, and I saw that we were dry.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 205)

min + gapped clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (derived adjectives)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

T-çki-kiçen *nu* *Nwilwejgen* [*min* *k-çil-knen* *kulaka-ʔnk*].
 1SG-find-1SG DEM N. REL INF.III-choose-INF.III Kulak-LOC

'I found this Nwilwejgen, whom the Kulaken had chosen.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 203)

gatz + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (derived manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Ewun *ŋçora* *celoj* *qlhəl* [*gatz* *k-niŋ-ʔn*] *t-lase-s-k*.
 thus yesterday whole day as.if INF.III-loaded-INF.III 1.SG-go-PRS-1.SG

'Thus I went around all day, heavily loaded.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 213)

KOASATI

'Nominalizations' (various forms)

Remarks: For all verb classes, except one ('class 2A'), the nominalization is formed from the 1st person plural affirmative, without phrase-terminal markers. Other nominalizations are formed by replacing the element *-li* with the element *-ka*. (Kimball 1991: 273-274). Nominalization cannot take any other verbal morphology than categories related to voice/valency (reciprocal, reflexive, locative and instrumental prefixes).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM/phrase-terminal marker; only voice/valency can be retained.
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*lçó* *sammí:çi-t* *inlab-ó:lí*] *sobáyli-l*
 deer do:how-CONN to:shoot&hit-NMLZ know-1SG.SBJ

'I know how to shoot deer.' (Kimball 1991: 280)

[*Aybacilká* *a:waáb-ka*] *ca-bán-ko-V*
 law ruin-NMLZ 1SG.SBJ.STAT-want-neg-PHTM

'I don't want to break the law.' (Kimball 1991: 275)

Participles (various forms)

Remark: Participles can express subject/object cross-reference, but apparently with special forms. (Kimball 1991: 288): 'It seems likely that the participle suffixes are added to an already nominalized verb. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that all the participial suffixes (with the exception of the future participle, which is transparently derived from the present participle) also appear as article suffixes on nouns.'

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker; only voice/valency can be retained.
 Nominal categories: CASE agreement (ACC is zero-marked)
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/SENT - Ø (gapping)

Pred-*sáya* ('Present participle') (Requires the focus form of the subject and object markers.)

Ref Mod:

Yilabá [í:pa-li-*sáy-ok*] *ká:n-á:bo:si-s*
 orange eat-1SS-PRS.PTC-SS.FOC be.good-ADV-I.PST
 'The orange that I am eating is very good.' (Kimball 1991: 289)
Yilabá [ám-bíska-*sáy-on*] *í:pa-li-t*
 orange give.to.me-2SG.SBJ-PRS.PTC-OBJ.FOC eat-1SG.SBJ-PST
 'I ate the orange that you just gave me.' (Kimball 1991: 289)

Pred-*yólli* (*Habitual participle*)

Remark: Subjects of these participles are usually stripped of their case marking. The focus forms are used for subject/object marking.

Ref Mod:

Akkó á:tí [í:pa-*yóll-ok*] *ni:há:bo:s*
 that person eat-HAB-PTC-SS.FOC be.fat-ADV
 'A person who eats all the time is very fat.' (Kimball 1991: 290)

Pred-*ka* ('Past participle')

Remark: Focus forms are used for subject/object marking.

Ref mod:

Yilabá [nihtá-*k-on*] *ám-bíska-k-on*] *í:pa-lit*
 orange day-ART-OBJ.FOC give.to.me-2SG.SBJ-PST.PTC-OBJ.FOC eat-1SG.SBJ-PST
 'I ate the orange that you gave me yesterday.' (Kimball 1991: 291)

Pred-*kitta* ('Imperfective participle')

Ref Mod:

Á:ti [bí:ca-li-*kitta-p*] *bí:ca-li-t*
 person see-1SG.SBJ-IPFV.PTC-TOP see-1SG.SBJ-PST
 'I saw the person that I used to see.' (Kimball 1991: 292)

Pred-*labo:li:sáya* ('Future participle')

Remark: This formation is a combination of the present participial suffix *-sáya* with the verbal suffixes *-labo-* (IRR), and *-li-*, a hearsay suffix with the meaning 'deduction' (Kimball 1991: 292):

Ref Mod:

Yilabá [ám-bíska-*labo:li:sáy-on*] *í:pa-l-laba-V*
 orange give.to.me-2SG.SBJ-FUT.PTC-OBJ.FOC eat-1SG.SBJ-IRR-PHTM.
 'I intend to eat the orange that you will give me.' (Kimball 1991: 292)

Pred (-*o:si/-s:si*)-*n*

Remark: *-n* is the different-subject switch-reference (SW) marker. It can be combined with the diminutive/intensive suffix *-o:si/-s:si*.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:

[*iyví-k* *atákka-n*] *wáyka-Vbci*
 foot-SBJ hang(PL)-SW fly(SG)-PROGR
 'It flies with its legs hanging down.' Lit.: 'Its legs hang down and it flies.' (Kimball 1991: 488)

[*Talásba-si-n*] *kóyli-li-t*
 be.thin-DIM-SW cut(PL)-1SG.SBJ-PST

'I cut it up thinly.' ('as thinly as possible') (Kimball 1991: 488)

Pred-*t*

Remark: The suffix is a connector. This construction is used when the verb modifier can be considered as

an action that takes place at the same time as the action of the matrix verb (= simultaneity clause).
 Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:
 [Fololobká:ci-ɛ] *cokkí:li-n bi:ca-li-:p im-ca-matáti-Vbo-k*
 be.coiled.up-CONN sit(SG)-SW see-1SS-SBJV 3STAT.OBJ-1SBJ.STAT-be.afraid(SG)-HAB-SS
 'If I see one sitting coiled up, I am afraid of it.' (Kimball 1991: 489)

Pred-*k*

Remark: The suffix is a same-subject marker
 This construction is used when the adverbial action can be applied as much to the subject of the sentence as to the verb (i.e. secondary predication).
 Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:
 [Wayábka-k] *ho-pálki-palámmi-n*
 fly(PL)-SS DISTR-be.fast-ADV-SW
 'They all fly very fast.' (Kimball 1991: 490)

THAI

Unmarked clause

Remarks: This construction is used for subject clauses and for object complements of desiderative and achievement predicates. Under special conditions it also occurs in Ref Mod function, namely expressing a subject relative clause that gives a general description of the head noun. In such cases, the relativized item is gapped.
 Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [ɔ̀k-kamləŋ tʰúk wən] dīi tɔ̀ rāəŋ-kaay
 exercise every day good towards body
 'Doing exercise every day is good for your body.' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 253)

Kháw yàak [ɛ̀ hūu kbà]
 3 want pierce car PRT
 'She wants to have her ears pierced.' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 231)

Ref Mod:
 èk pen dèk [rian kèŋ]
 Ek COP child study well
 'Ek is a child who studies well.' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 250)

thíi + clause:

Remark: This construction is used in Ref Head function, as the complement of predicates expressing evaluation and emotion, and sometimes (optionally) of desiderative predicates. In Ref Mod function it is used in combination with a gapping strategy or a resumptive pronoun.
 Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT- SENT/Ø- SENT/SENT - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

tê-wâa dîi ná [thii mây mii khay pen alay]
 but good PRT COMP NEG have who COP what
 'But it was good that no one was hurt.' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 255)

Ref Mod:

Khon [thii duulez] ni pen pen acaan lã
 person REL take.care PRT COP COP teacher Q
 'Is the person who takes care [of the students] a teacher?' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 243)

Khon [thii khâw pay yuu kan taam rogrian]
 people REL RSP3 go stay RCP school
 'people who want to stay at school' (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 245)

(thii+) wâa/ câ + clause

Remark: In some cases this construction combines with the flexible subordinator *thii*, while in other cases this element is optional and only *wâa* ('say') and/or the 'challengeable marker' (CM) *câ* remain.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

khít [wâa câ hãa ñaan tham thii-ni]
 think say/COMP CM look.for work do here
 'I think that I will look for work here.' (Iwasaki & Preeya Ingkaphirom 2005: 262)

BASQUE

Pred-*t(z)e*

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Tense, mood and agreement

Nominal categories: DET

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Damu dut [zuri gezurra esa-te]-a
 regret have you.DAT lie say-NMLZ-DET
 'I regret telling you a lie.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 656)

[baurrek etxean liburak sari irakur-tze]-a
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read-NMLZ-DET
 'children's often reading books at home' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)

Pred-*tu/du/-i/-Ø* ('perfective participle')

Remark: this is the perfective counterpart of the nominalization with *-tze* (see above). In combination with instrumental or partitive case¹⁰, or with a postposition such as *gabe* 'without', this construction can also be used in Pred Mod function.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Tense, mood and agreement

Nominal categories: DET

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Damu dut [zu irain-du]-a
 regret AUX you offend-PFV.NMLZ-DET
 'I regret having offended you.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 668)

¹⁰ In Eastern dialects, in stead of *-rik*, the morpheme *-ta* is used, which is probably related to the conjunction *eta* and as such seems to form a dedicated adverbial construction in combination with the participial form (see Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 745-746). In the classification of Chapter 6, this is not taken into account as a separate coding strategy.

[*haurrek etxean liburua sari irakur*]-*i-a*
 children.ERG home.LOC books often read-PFV.NMLZ-DET
 'children's having often read books at home' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)

[*Bilbon etxe bat eros-i*] *behar/nabi dut*
 Bilbao.LOC house one buy-PFV.NMLZ need/want AUX
 'I need/want to buy a house in Bilbao.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 694)

Pred Mod:
lan-a egi-n-az irabaz-ten d-a
 work-SG.ABS do-PFV.PTC.SG-INSTR earn-HAB AUX(3ABS-PRES)
diru-a ez alferkeria-n ego-n-az
 money-SG.ABS NEG sloth-SG.LOC be-PFV.PTC.SG-INSTR
 'Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.' (Saltarelli 1988: 55)

Jon uneotan Ameriketan egon-ik, ezer gutxi egin dezagu
 Jon moments.PROX.LOC Americas.LOC be.PTC-PART anything little do AUX.POT
lana azurreratzeke
 job advance
 'With Jon being in America right now, there's very little we can do to make progress with the work.'
 (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 746)

Buru-a buel-ta gabe segi z-u-en aurre-ra
 head-SG.ABS turn-PFV.PTC without follow 3SG.ERG-AUX2-PST front-SG.ALL
 'He continued forward without turning his head.' (Saltarelli 1988: 55)

(subjunctive) clause *-(e)n*

Remarks: This construction is used for subjunctive complements of desiderative, manipulative, and emotive predicates. Although *-en* is the most common complementizer in such cases, the complementizer *-ela* seems to be more frequent in western dialects. In the western dialects *-en-a* (complementizer + determiner *-a*) is also used to mark factive complements. The conjunction *-enik* is the counterpart of *-(e)n* used for the factive complement of a negated matrix verb (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 646).

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: (DET/CASE)
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [*Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad*]-*in nabi dute*
 Basque Basque Country entire.LOC official be AUX-(SBJV).COMP want AUX
euskladun askok
 Basque.speaker many.ERG

'Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.'
 (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 640).

Entzun dut [Amaia-ren neba hil d]-en-a
 hear AUX Amaia.GEN brother die AUX-COMP-DET
 'I heard that Amaia's brother died.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 646)

Banekien [Mikel berandu etoriko z]-en-a
 ba-knew Mikel late arrive.FUT AUX-COMP-DET
 'I knew that Mikel would arrive late.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 646)

Bi udaltzainek ukatu dute [bidaian Rubioren bizkartzain izan zira]-enik
 two policemen.ERG deny AUX trip.LOC Rubio.GEN bodyguard be were-COMP
 'Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio's bodyguards during the trip.'
 (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 643)

Ref Mod:

[*Ez dakizkida*]-*n gaiez mintzatu nabi nuen*
 Not know-3ABS.PL/1ERG-REL matters.INSTR speak will AUX
 'I wanted to speak about matters that I don't know.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 763)

[*Pellok ekarri du*]-*en dirua galdu dut*
 Peter.ERG bring AUX-REL money.DET lose AUX
 'I lost the money that Peter brought.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 764)

Clause + *-en bezala*

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[*Zeuk esan didaz*]-*un bezala egin dut lana*
you.EMPH say AUX.ADV do AUX job
'I did my job the way you told me.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 722)

(subjunctive) clause *-(e)la*

Remarks: With desiderative and manipulative main predicates, the auxiliary in the dependent clause takes subjunctive form. *-(e)la* can be used in Pred Mod function for adverbial manner clauses, either by itself or combination with the partitive case *-rik*. In its basic form *-ela* has a modal/temporal (simultaneous) meaning¹¹. The combination with *-rik* is a dialectal variant, separating the Bizkaian and Gipuzkoan area from the eastern dialects.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod (+ partitive case) ≠ PoS (nouns, derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: (CASE)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

batzuek uste dute [baur oro kazeten eta kazeta-egileen egitekoak dir]-ela
some.ERG think AUX these all journals.GEN and journal-makers.GEN duties are-COMP
'Some think that all these are duties of journals and journalists.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 635)

Unibertsitateak [agiri guztiak euskaraz eta gaztelaniaz egin daitz]-ela
University.ERG document all.DET.PL Basque.INSTR and Spanish.INSTR do AUX(SUBJ)-COMP
'The University has demanded that all documents be written in Basque and Spanish.'
(Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 461)

Pred Mod:

[*Zer egin ez neki*]-*ela geratu nintzen*
what do not knew-ADV stay AUX
'I stood there not knowing what to do.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 712)

Jaikitzen da, [jauzi egiten du]-ela-rik
rise.IPFV AUX, jump do.IPFV AUX-ADV-PART
'(S)he gets up, jumping.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 713)

bait-clause

Remark: The conjunction *bait* can be used in Ref Head function, but this is uncommon. In Ref Mod function it is used frequently, namely for extraposed relative clauses. In this function, a resumptive pronoun can optionally be added.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Hau da haren abanrailik handiena [ez baitu aintz xabutzen]
this is this advantage.PART biggest.DET not CONJ.AUX much spend.IPFV
'That's the main advantage, that he doesn't spend much.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2004: 648)

Ref mod:

Landibarren badira lau kartier, [boriek bait-ira]
Landibar.LOC ba.are four neighbourhood those(RSP) CONJ-are

¹¹ Saltarelli (1988) seems to analyze the suffix *-(e)la* in MP function as a real adverbializing suffix. Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (2003: 712) also allude to a difference between the complementizer and the adverbializer function: "Mitxelena points out that this modal *-ela* is not exactly homophonous with the completive *-ela* since they have a different accentual pattern (in some Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian dialects)."

Behaunem Dona Martine, Donoztia eta Azkonbegi

Behaune Dona Martine, Donoztia and Azkonbegi

'There are in Landibarre four neighbourhoods, which are Behaune, Dona Martine, Donoztia and Azkonbegi.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2004: 816)

ABUN

do/Ø + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

An jam [do an karowa ne nde]

3SG know COMP 3SG close.to there NEG

'He knew not to [go] close to there.' (Berry & Berry 1999: 189)

An syogat pa [jogru san].

3SG order child take.off clothes

'He ordered the girl to take off (her) clothes.' (Berry & Berry 1999: 187)

gato + clause

Remark: The relative clause can be followed by a determiner.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (modifiers)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

Men mu gu ye [gato man siri su men bi nggon].

1PL go kill person REL do wrong with 1PL POSS woman

'We will go and kill the person who committed adultery with our (clans) woman.' (Berry & Berry 1999: 146)

Men mu dw syur mo syur wak [gato nje ben] ne

1PL go go.in water at water hole REL people make DET

'We went and washed at the well that people had made.' (Berry & Berry 1999: 146)

sa gato + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ (modifiers)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: none

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

An da ben mó sarewo an yo ben kete

3SG actual do exist however 3SG NEG do too.much

bado yo teker [sa gato nyim ne nde re.]

maybe NEG too.much ADV earlier DET NEG PFV

'Although she does [these things] she does not do [them] very much, I mean, not like [she did them] before.' (Berry & Berry 1999: 158)

BAMBARA

Clause + *ka*

Remark: The exact coding details are unclear; the literal translation suggests that this is a balanced construction.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained?

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

M'b'a fe i ka taga

I want that you go → I want you to go.

M'b'a fe au k'a ka foro cike

I want that you cultivate your field → I want you to cultivate your field. (Brauner 1974: 80)

Pred-*le/-ne* (*'perfective participle'*):

Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite and the relativized item is gapped.

It is not clear how other argument(s) are coded.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: None

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/Ø?

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Môgô [*pasa-le*]

person loose.weight-PFV.PTC

'a thin person' ('a person who has lost weight') (Brauner 1974: 73)

***min(u)/mun(u)* + clause**

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Dunan [*min nana Kulikôrô*] *oye tubabu ye*

Stranger REL come K. COP European COP

'The stranger who has come to K is a European.' (Brauner 1974: 82)

Pred-*tô* (*'present participle'* → converb)

Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite, and the co-referential subject is coded twice.

It is not clear how other argument(s) are coded.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: None

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[*A kasi-tô sêgina*] *a ka dugu*

3SG cry-PRS.PTC. go.back.? 3SG PST? place/village

'He went back to his village, crying.' (Brauner 1974: 72)

GEORGIAN

Pred-*a*:

Remark: Argument coding is in ergative alignment: subjects of intransitive and objects of transitive verbs (S and P) are POSS. Transitive subjects (A) are typically OBL: accompanied by *mier* 'by' (or *-gan* 'from, by') (Hewitt 1995: 542).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement; aspect is retained.

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

minda [*st'at'iis ts'er-a*]

1.3.want.PRS article.GEN write-NMLZ(-NOM)

'I want to write an article.' (Vamling 1989: 35)

virtʃev [amis gək'eteb-a]-s
 1.3.prefer.PRS this-GEN do-NMLZ-DAT
 'I prefer to do this.' (Vamling 1989: 99)

[p'rezident'-is gada-dg-om-a]
 president-GEN PREV-stand.down-Ths-NMLZ
 'the standing down of the president' (Hewitt 1995: 542)

[mokalake-ta mier upleb-eb-is ga-mo-g'en-eb-a]
 citizen-PL(GEN) by rights-PL-GEN PREV-PREV-use-Ths-NMLZ
 'the making use of their rights by the citizens' (Hewitt 1995: 542)

m-Pred(-a-)(-el/al) (*active participle*):

Remarks: Indicates the actor of the relative clause predicate. The negative (privative) counterpart of this participle is formed with the prefix *u-*.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement

Nominal categories: Case agreement

Argument encoding: Ø - POSS (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:
Ševardnaje-m [tvitmprinav-is ga-m-t'ac-eb-el]-i axalgazrd-eb-i
 Shevardnaze-ERG plane-GEN PREV-ACT.PTC-seize-Ths-ACT.PTC-NOM youth-PL-NOM
da-a-xoret'-in-a
 PREV-LV-execute-CAUS-he(AOR)

'Shevardnaze had the young ones, who hijacked the plane executed.' (Hewitt 1995: 608-609).

Privative:

[k'ont'rol-s da-u-kvemdebar-eb-el]-i birtvul-i energia
 control-DAT PREV-PRIV.PTC-subordinate-Ths-PRIV.PTC-AGR nuclear-AGR energy(NOM)
 'Nuclear energy, which is subordinate to no control...' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Pred-ul/il/ m-Pred-ar/al (*past participle*)

Remark: When derived from a transitive verb, this construction has a passive interpretation; the agent is marked oblique and the patient is gapped. When derived from an intransitive verb, the constructions has perfective interpretation and the relativized argument is gapped.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement

Nominal categories: Case agreement

Argument encoding: POSS - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod, transitive:
Sakartvelo [ara-eb-is mier da-p'q'r-ob-il]-i kveq'ana i-q'o
 Georgia(NOM) Arab-PL-GEN by PREV-grab-Ths-PST.PTC-NOM country(NOM) SV-COP(3.AOR)
 'Georgia was a country (that had been) occupied by the Arabs.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

[razik'ašvil-is ča-c'er-il]-i varian'-i
 Razikashvili-GEN PREV-record-PST-PTC-AGR variant-NOM
 'the variant recorded by Razikashvili' (Hewitt 1996: 611-612)

Intransitive:

[okro-s verj-s da-k'avšir-eb-ul-i] legend-eb-i
 gold-GEN ram-DAT PREV-connect-Ths-PST.PTC-AGR legend-PL-NOM
 'legends linked to the golden ram' (Hewitt 1996: 609)

sa-Pred(-el/-al/-r) (*future participle*)

Remark: The meaning of this construction is 'that which is to be V-ed'. The agent is demoted and as remains unexpressed; the patient is gapped. It is not clear whether this construction can take an oblique agent argument.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement

Nominal categories: Case agreement

Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Ager m-i-k'av-i-a [xel-mo-sa-c'er]-i kagal-d-eb-i
here I-ov-hold-PRS.STAT-3 hand-Prev-FUT.PTC-sign]-NOM paper-PL-NOM
'I am holding here the papers which are to be signed.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

rom + (subjunctive) clause

Remarks: In Ref Head function, the strategy can be combined with a suitable correlative in the main clause. This is obligatory when the clause is dependent on a postposition or functions obliquely (i.e. follows a verb that governs instrumental case). (Hewitt 1987: 218)

Complements of modal and desiderative predicates combine with the subjunctive mood (optative when the matrix verb is present or future tense and pluperfect when the matrix verb is past). The complementizer is often omitted with subjunctive complements, whereas it is usually obligatory with indicative complements (Vamling 1989: 32/33). With subjunctives, the complementizer *rom* may also be replaced by *titko(s)* or any of its synonyms *vitom(c)* and *vitom(c)da*. (Hewitt 1995: 623)

In Ref Mod function either the head or the co-referential noun can be deleted, or both may be retained. (Hewitt 1995: 606-607) When the co-referential NP is deleted and it does not function as a subject or direct object in the DC, a resumptive pronoun is often used. In the Ref Mod function, the relativizer itself avoids clause-initial position and usually appears between the first constituent and the verb. (Hewitt 1987: 187)

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

(is) uk've še-v-a-mčn-i-e
(that(NOM)) already Prev-I-NV-notice-Ths-AOR.IND
[*rom es xalx-i sando ar ar-i-s*]
COMP this people-NOM trustworthy(NOM) not be-PRS-it
'I have already noticed that this people is not trustworthy.' (Hewitt 1995: 613)

Minda [gamovatsxo namtsxvari]

1.3.want.PRS 1.3.bake-OPT cake.NOM

'I want to bake a cake.' (Vamling 1989: 33)

vinme-m ar i-pikr-o-s, [titko(s) ingoroq'va-s
anyone-ERG not sv-think-AOR.SUBJ-he as.if Ingoroq'va-DAT
v-a-c'er-de-et im mosazreba-s...]
1-LV-ascribe-IPF-PRS.SBJV.PL that view-DAT

'Lest anyone think that we are ascribing to Ingoroq'va that view...'. (Hewitt 1995: 623)

Ref Mod:

[gušin rom beč'ed-i m-a-čuk-e,] is (beč'ed-i) sad ar-i-s?
yesterday REL ring-NOM me-LV-present-AOR.IND that(NOM) (ring-NOM) where be-PRS-it
'Where is that ring which you presented to me yesterday?' (Hewitt 1995: 607)

[K'ino-si rom (ma-s) e-lap'arak'-eb-o-i] is megrel-i sad
cinema-in REL RSP-DAT IPFV-speak.to-Ths-IPFV-IND that Mingrelian-NOM where
ga-i-can-i?

PREV-sv-get.to.know-AOR.IND

'Where did you get to know that Mingrelian to whom you were speaking in the cinema?' (Hewitt 1995: 607)

REL PRON + clause

Remark: The relative pronouns are *vin-c* 'who', *ra-c* 'which', and *ro-mel-i-c* 'who, which'.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: Case agreement on the REL.PRON

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Ref Mod:

q'vela, [vin-c nacionalizm-s
all(NOM) who(NOM)-REL nationalism-DAT
a-b-q'v-eb-a] *samšoblo-s u-galat'eb-s*
PREV-it-follow-Ths(FUT)-he homeland-DAT ov-betray-Ths(FUT)he
'Everyone who follows nationalism will betray this country.' (Hewitt 1995: 601)

Avt'or-I [romel-is c'ign-s(a-c) c'v-av-en...]
 Author-NOM who-GEN book-DAT(-REL) burn-Ths-they
 'the author, whose books they are burning...' (Hewitt 1995: 600)

ra in clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:
 [e-xmar-eb-i-an ra saxalxp armi-is set'eva-s]
 ov-help-Ths-PRS-they ADV people's army-GEN attack-DAT
 p'art'izan-eb-i a-jlier-eb-en...
 partisan-PL-NOM NV-strengthen-Ths-they(PRS)
 'Helping the people's army to attack, the partisans strengthen ...' (Hewitt 1995: 600)

[mo-b-q'av-s ra sxvadasxva mk'olevar-ta
 PREV-he-bring-3(PRS) ADV different investigator-PL(GEN)
 azr-eb-i.] marr-i a-sk'on-i-s.
 opinion-PL-NOM Marr-NOM NV-conclude-Ths-he
 'Adding the opinions of different investigators, Marr concludes...' (Hewitt 1995: 600)

Rogorc ('as, like') + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:
 [Rogorc sen g-e-p'rian-eb-a], ise mo-i-kec-i
 as you(DAT) you-IOV-appeal-Ths-it so PREV-PASS-act-AOR.IND.(IMP)
 'Act as the fancy takes you.' (Act as you are appealed to.) (Hewitt 1995: 589)

BUKIYIP

Unmarked clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 Énan n-a-kli [yek i-wich umu énaniny mou]
 He he-REAL-say I I-IRR-enter BEN his work
 'He said that I would have his job.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 179)

cb-a-kli [cb-e-geik mamarwegasibel]
 PL.MIX-REAL-say/want PL.MIX-IRR-build parent.wood.POSS.fence
 'They wanted to build a parent type (= very strong) fence. (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 182)

Clause + (u)li

Remark: The relativized item is gapped, but it is cross-referenced (with a prefix denoting class and number) on the dependent predicate.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

H-a-gab-we-yagú *agú-dak*
 3PL-MASC.SUBJ-REAL-FIX-CL3.SG-.OBJ CL3.SG.DEM-this
nebe-gali *trag* [*g-a-labe-mu* *bbensin úli*]
 large-CL3.SG truck CL3.SG.SUBJ-REAL-travel-BEN gasoline REL
 'They repaired this big truck which transports gasoline.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 103)

***bwidouk* + clause + -(u)mu**

Functional distribution: Rig; Pred Mod = PoS ((small) manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[*Bwidouk ececb* *cb-a-kli-mu*]
 like they.MIX 3PL.MIX.SUBJ-REAL-say-like
 'Like they said' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 968)

ABKHAZ

Pred-ra

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM/agreement

Nominal categories: Nominal agreement

Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*Ara sə-q'a-zaa-ra*] (*Ø*-)r-dər-we-yt'
 here 1SG.POSS-be-THS-NMLZ it-2PL-know-DYN-FIN
 'They know that I was here.' (Hewitt 1979: 31)

[*darà rə-la* *wac"ə* *Čerkèssk'-qá* *hà-št-ra*] (*Ø*-)jā-s-šo-yt'
 them-by(INSTR) today Čerkèssk-to our-send-NMLZ it-PREV-1SG-be.surprised.at-FIN
 'I am surprised at their sending us to Čerkèssk today.' (Hewitt 1979: 31)

Pred-N.FIN

Remark: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

[*d-saa-wá*] (*Ø*-)xà-s-c'a-wa-yt'.
 he-come-DYN(N.FIN.PRS) it-head.in-I-put-DYN-FIN(PRS)
 'I believe that he will come.' (Hewitt 1987: 238)

REL.PRON + Pred-N.FIN

Remarks: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.

The person affix that is used in independent clauses is replaced with one of two relative affixes. -y(ə) is used in stead of all person affix of the first declination, regardless of the person, class and number of the head noun, whereas -z(ə) performs this function for all person affixes of declinations 2 and 3. (Hewitt 1987: 200)

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm

Nominal categories: Class agreement of REL.PRON

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[*a-pħðs* *də-z-ı̇ð-z*] *a-xàc'* *d-aa-yt'*
 DET-woman her-who(REL)-kill-N.FIN(PST.INDF) DET-man he-come-FIN
 'The man who killed the woman came.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

[*r-c'a-y'ðs-s* *yð-q'a-w*] *a-pħðs* *də-y-dðr-wa-yt'*
 teacher=ADV who(REL)-be-N.FIN the-woman her-he-know-DYN-FIN
 'He knows the woman who is a teacher.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

[*a-xà'a* *yð-y-ba(k'a-)-z*] *à-h'sa* (*Ø*)-*z-dðr-wa-yt'*
 the-man whom(REL)-he-see-PL-N.FIN the-women them-I-know-DYN-FIN
 'I know the women whom the man saw.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

s-Pred-N.FIN

Remark: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

[*Ye-ş-w-à-s-ħa-z*] *yð-q'a-c'à*
 it-ADV-you-to-I-say-NFIN(PST.INDF) it-PREV-do.IMP
 'Do it as I told you!' (Hewitt 1987: 120)

POLISH

Pred-*nie*

Remark: Occurs with A-argument unexpressed under co-referentiality and P-argument SENT, but also with an A-argument oblique A and a P-argument POSS.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No TAM/agreement

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: OBL - POSS/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Proszę *o* [*zwoln-ienie* *z* *pracy* *dwoje* *pracownicę*]
 request:1SG about dismiss-NMLZ:LOC from work:GEN two:ACC woman.worker:ACC.PL
 'I request the dismissal from work of the two women workers.' (Comrie 1976: 191)

[*kupowa-nie* *mięsa* *przez* *Hankę*]
 buy-NMLZ meat-GEN by Hanka
 'the buying of meat by Hanka' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm: 293)

Pred-INF (various forms)

Remark: There is a number of different infinitival endings:

-*ać* -*ąc*
 -*eć* -*ąc*
 -*ieć* -*ąc*
 -*ić* -*ąc*
 -*yć* -*ować*
 -*uć* -*ywać*
 -*c* -*ować* -*ować*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Postanowiłem [*kupić* *dom*].
 I.decided buy-INF house
 'I decided to buy a house.' (Bielec 1998: 19)

Pred-*c-* (*present active participle*)

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, valency, person marking

Nominal categories: Adjectival agreement (number, gender, and case)

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Widzę chłopca [stuchają-*c-e-go* *radio*]

I.see boy listen-PTC-SG.MASC-CASE radio

'I see a boy (who is) listening to the radio.' (Bielec 1998: 170)

Pred-*any/-anal-ane*(SG)/-*ane/-ani*(PL) (*present passive participle*)

Remarks: Used with imperfective verbs only. Can possibly be regarded as derived adjectives, since there are no overt arguments: The relativized item is gapped, and the demoted agent argument remains unexpressed.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, valency, person marking

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Odzież [sprzedaw-*ana*] *tam* *jest* *tania*.

clothes (being) sold-PTC(PASS.PRS) there are cheap

'The clothes (being) sold there are cheap.' (Bielec 1998: 171)

Pred-PASS.PST.PTC (various forms)

Remarks: There are several formation strategies, depending on the form of the infinitive.

This construction is used with perfective verbs only.

These participles can possibly be regarded as derived adjectives, since they take no overt arguments: the relativized item is gapped, and the demoted agent argument remains unexpressed.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, valency, person marking

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Mikołaj ma [złamaną] *nogę*

N. has broken(PASS.PST.PTC) leg

'Nicolas has a broken leg.' (Bielec 1998: 171)

Pred-PRS.3rdPL + *-c* (*adverbial participle*)Remark: The (present) converb (called adverbial participle in Bielec 1998) is formed by adding the suffix *-c* to the 3rd person plural of the present tense.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, person marking

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod

[*Stuchają-c* *muzyki*,] *ubrałem* *się*.

listen.PRS.3.PL-CONV music dress.I (my)self

'Listening to music, I got dressed.' (Bielec 1998: 71)

że + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Mysle, [że ona jest mężatką].
I.think that she is married.' (Bielec 1998: 239)

który/która/które/co (REL.PRON) + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: Adjectival declination of relative pronoun

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Chata, [gdzie mieskali,] była mała. [= w której]

Cottage [in.which they.lived] be small

'The cottage in which they lived was small.' (Bielec 1998: 155)

Jak (gdy)by + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: PredMod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Agata spojrzala na mnie, [jak gdyby chciała o coś zapytać].

Agatha looked at me as if she wanted to say something.' (Bielec 1998: 238)

BURUSHASKI

Pred-(á)as (INF)

Remarks: Used as the complement of modal, phasal, desiderative, and manipulative predicates. With phasal and desiderative predicates, the dependent verb form it is declined like a regular noun.

When combined with an inherent (dative, inessive, adessive, superessive or locative) case marker, this construction can be used as an adverbial simultaneity clause.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, + CASE also Pred Mod. ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Tense, mood and subject agreement are lost. Aspect and object-agreement are retained.

Nominal categories: (CASE), see above

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

buł muškil bilá [góo-ltir-as]
very difficult be.IV 2-show-INF

'It is very difficult to show (it) to you.' (Anderson 2002: 545)

Ref Mod:

[*Chá-ate oóo-rvy-as*] *buł*

post-SUPERESS NEG-sit-INF dog

'a dog which doesn't sit at its post' (Anderson 2002: 545/Berger 1998: 171)

Pred Mod:

[*sén-as*]-ar

say-INF-dat

'when he said' (Anderson 2002: 547/Berger 1998: 190)

[*du-ús-as*]-ulo

SUBJ.VERS-come.out-INF-INESS

'when he came out' (Anderson 2002: 547/Berger 1998: 190)

Pred-*im/-um/-am* ('aorist participle')

Remark: In combination with a dative, inessive, adessive or superessive (→ privative) case marker this construction can be used as an adverbial simultaneity clause. The durative form of the aorist participle can also function adverbially, in combination with locative or superessive case, or with the comitative marker *káa* and the genitive case. These constructions seem to have 'true' manner semantics.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (+ CASE also Pred Mod) = PoS (adjectives)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: Tense, mood and subject agreement are lost. Aspect and object-agreement are retained.
 Nominal categories: (CASE), see above
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT Ø- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:
 [i-ŋt burúm-man-úm] mapéer-an
 he-beard white be(come)-AOR.PTC elder-SG.ART
 'an old man with a white beard.' (Anderson 2002: 546/Berger 1998: 166)

Pred Mod:
 [yaliz bay-a-m]-ulu K'udá-e-re duá et-a-m
 ill be-1-AOR.PTC-INESS God-OBL-DAT prayer AUX-TR-1.AOR.PTC
 'When I was ill I prayed to God.' (Anderson 2002: 549)

[óo-ar-um]-afe
 NEG-cry-AOR.PTC-SUPERESS
 'without crying/having cried' (Anderson 2002: 549/Tikkanen 1995: 493)

Khos chigír-an-e [i-súmal phíphíl eẽ-um]-e a-yár man-im-I
 This.III goat-SG.ART-ERG III-tail wag AUX.TR.DUR-AOR.PTC-LOC 1-side become-AOR-III
 'The goat came before me wagging its tail.' (Anderson 2002: 550/Berger 1998: 171)

[duró ay-eẽ-um]-e
 work NEG-AOR.PTC-LOC
 'without working' (Anderson 2002: 551/Berger 1998: 172)

in [yar eẽ-um-e káa] girát-im-i
 he song AUX.TR.DUR-AOR.PTC-GEN COM dance-AOR.PTC-I
 'He danced singing' (Anderson 2002: 551/Berger 1998: 140)

n-Pred-(a)n (RDP)

Remark: This is the only primary converbal form, i.e. one that is not derived from another non-finite form by case-marking. It normally expresses anteriority but it may also express manner of action or an accompanying circumstance, in which case the conjunctive participle is often reduplicated.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: Tense, mood and subject agreement are lost. Aspect and object-agreement are retained.
 Nominal categories: (CASE), see above
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:
 Aya máma [já-ar taklíff n-á-ẽi-n] uyóŋ-ko u-yú-ar
 father(ERG) mother(ERG) 1-DAT trouble CONV-1SG.IO-give-CONV big-PL 3CL.POSS-son(PL)-DAT
 šuá n-e gar-iŋ eẽ-um-an.
 good CP-do marriage-PL do-STAT-PL.SUBJ
 'Father and mother arranged good marriages for their big sons, giving me a lot of trouble.' (Tikkanen 1995: 502)

[Čáya n-ét-an n-ét-an] wazír-e sén-im-i.
 story CONV-do-CONV CONV-do-CONV vizier-ERG say-STAT-2MASC:CL.SG.SUBJ
 'Going on talking and talking, the vizier spoke.' (Tikkanen 1995: 502)

Clause + *ke/ki*

Remark: This construction is borrowed from Persian/Urdu. It can be used as the object complement of utterance and cognition predicates (no example available), as a relative clause (no example available), and as a simultaneity clause.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref mod (Simultaneity clause) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: All retained
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example simultaneity clause:

[Zungating-e girám-ular asqúr-ij d-ti-m-i
z-GEN village-ILL flower-PL PREF.-3CL.SG-(come)- 3CL.SG
ke] ban dastúur-an b-il-úm

SUB one:CL custom-SING be-3CL.SUBJ-ST

'The apricots coming into blossom, when the flowers came to the village of Zungating, there was a custom ...' (Tikkanen 1998: 498)

Clause + -sén/-ét (QUOT)

Remark: The quotative marker takes the form of the anterior converb of the quotative verb *sén-* 'to say' or *ét-* 'to do/to speak'. The construction can be used in Ref Head function for complements of utterance and cognition predicates. No examples.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

LAVUKALEVE

Pred-e/-i

Remark: The so-called "Agreement Suffix" (which is lost in this construction) marks gender and number of a core argument (which argument that is depends on various factors, such as focus). The possessive paradigm is identical to the verbal subject prefix paradigm except for one form: the first person singular subject prefix is *a-*, while the possessive form is *nga-*. However, the fact that nominalizations take *a-* is taken as evidence that the other forms are also subject prefixes rather than possessive markers.

The construction can take a determiner and can also be dependent on a postposition.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM, no Agreement Suffix

Nominal categories: (CASE/DET)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head

Ngai [nga-bo'vea la o-ma-e]
1SG 1SG.POSS-ARROW SG.FEM.ART 3SG.FEM.OBJ-take-NMLZ
e-lili-re ta a-lei
3SG.NEUT.OBJ-want-N.FIN just 1SG.SUBJ-exist
'No! I just want to take my arrow.' (Terrill 2003: 352)

Clause + AGR + DET

Remark: The Agreement Suffix is obligatorily used on the (final) dependent predicate to cross-reference the head of the construction, which can be the subject, the object, or a postpositional object. Relative clauses are internally headed.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: DET (+ adjectival gender and number agreement)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[Ali nga-fo'sal a-u-m na] a-le-m fin.
man 1SG.POSS-fish 3SG.MASC.OBJ-eat-SG.MASC ART 1SG.SUBJ-see-SG.MASC 3SG.MASC.FOC
'I saw the man who ate my fish.' (Terrill 2003: 442)

[Ali a-na so-soko-ne a-ngooa-m na] o-foe
man 3SG.MASC.OBJ-in RDP-laugh-IPFV 1SG.SUBJ-stay-SG.MASC SG.MASC.ART 3SG.POSS-pig
na o-lufu-m
SG.MASC.ART 3SG.SUBJ-leave-SG.MASC
'The man who I laughed at had lost his pig.' (Terrill 2003: 448)

LAMBLAK

Pred-nef

Remark: The subject of intransitives may be incorporated or POSS. With transitive predicates, either the subject or the object can be POSS.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)

Verbal categories: No agreement (actor and undergoer)

Nominal categories: Gender and number marking on predicate
 Argument encoding: INC/POSS/SENT - SENT/POSS

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Yifemr pētharwonmēanr nan-bo yi-nef-t
 father talk.try.I.him [I-GEN go-NMLZ-3SG.FEM]
 'I tried talking to Father (about) my going.' (Bruce 1984: 124)

Yifemr pētharwonmēanr [rēr-bo yak-ni-nef-t na]
 father talk.try.I.him he-GEN get-go-NMLZ-3SG.FEM me
 'I tried talking to Father (about) his taking me.' (Bruce 1984: 125)

akfērafēwahn [yima-m bupa-r-ob yak-nef-t]
 do.not.talk.forbid.you person-3PL water-3-GEN.PL get-NMLZ-3SF.FEM
 'Don't forbid the men(s) getting of water.' (Bruce: 125)

Pred-(kfe)t (INF)

Remark: Unlike the nominalization in *-nef*, the infinitive does not take gender/number markers.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/agreement (actor and undergoer)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: INC/POSS - INC/POSS

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Na inji wañfimahmēanr [baripat rhu-baku-t]
 1SG thus hear.arrive.REM.PST.1SG.3SG.FEM lake.only remain-always-INF
 'Thus I have heard it up to now (that) it is always only a lake.' (Bruce 1984: 284)

nanbo wurat kfiwt [yamkopintbo nayay-kfēt], nayayrbwa
 1SG.GEN foot speak.PRS.3SG.FEM Amongabi.GEN come-INF come.FUT.1SG
 '(if/when) my foot speaks (= when I like) to come to Amongabi, I will come.' (Bruce 1984: 284)

(ind -Pred) + clause

Remark: Relative clauses are optionally marked with *ind*, but mostly unmarked. The function of the head noun is not marked, except when a possessor is relativized.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Aspect and mood are retained; agreement (subject and object) is lost

Nominal categories: (CASE), see above

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[met-t maroba-haymē] yima-r
 woman-3SG.FEM money-gave person-3SG.MASC
 'a man (who) gave money to a woman/a man (to) whom a woman gave money' (Bruce 1984: 106)

[Ø na yawyr ind-tat-mē] mīy-t
 - I dog DEM-hit-REM.PST stick-3SG.FEM
 'a stick (with) which I hit a dog' (Bruce 1984: 111)

[Ø yimar kuūt hingma-mē-r-bo] met-t
 - man house build-REM.PST-3SG.MASC-GEN woman-3SG.FEM
 'a woman whose man built a house' (Bruce 1984: 111)

ind habbi kmi [na ind-kfēmē-t]
 DEM small place I REL-said-3SG.FEM
 'the small place (about) which I spoke' (Bruce 1984: 108)

PIPII

ka(h) + clause

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (occasionally) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

ya klarob k-ita-k [kab wi:ts ne siwa:-t].
 he clear it-see-PRET COMP come the woman-ABS
 'He saw clearly that the woman (was) come(ing).' (Campbell 1985: 126)

tesu ki-mati katka [ka ne i-siwa:-w se bru:hab].
 NEG it-know BEFORE COMP the his-wife-POSS a witch
 '(He) didn't know before that his wife (was) a witch.' (Campbell 1985: 126)

Ref Mod:

Ni-k-miktib ne mistun [ka ki-kwab ne tu:tu:-t]
 I-it-killed the cat REL it-ate the bird
 'I killed the cat which ate the bird.' (Campbell 1985: 129)

kunib absi-ke-t i-chan ne ta:ka-t [kab ki-kutamin-ki]
 then arrive-PRET-PL his-house the man-ABS REL it-throw-PRET
 'Then they arrived (at) the house of the man who threw it down.' (Campbell 1985: 129)

ne (REL. PRON) + clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Naba ni-k-ita-k ne siwa:-t [ne ki-pa:k ne kwab-kwa:ch-ti]
 I I-see-her the woman-ABS REL it-washed the PL-clothes
 'I saw the woman who washed the clothes.' (Campbell 1985: 129)

ke (REL) + clause

Remark: This construction is borrowed from Spanish (*que*).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Kunib ne ta:ka-t [ke ki-kutamin] k-its-ki ne chumpipi k-wi:ka ka i-chan
 then the man-ABS REL it-throw it-grab-PRET the turkey it-take to his-house
 'Then the man who threw it down grabbed the turkey (and) took it to his house.' (Campbell 198: 129)

ke:n-aken ('just as') + clause

Remark: This construction has similitude semantics.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Ab, ni-pa:xa:lua [ke:n-aken taba ti-ki:s-tuk ti-pa:xa:lua]
 Oh I-walk just-as you you-leave-PFV you-walk
 'Oh, I'm taking a walk just as you have come out to take a walk.' (Campbell 1985: 289)

ADV + clause

Remark: This construction has simultaneity semantics.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Ke:man yaba yawi katka derechob ne kayeb, yab ki:s-ki i-i:ɣpan siwa:na:wal
when he go BEFORE straight the street then leave-RET his-before Siguanaba
'When he was going (down) the street, he came out in front of (the) Shaunaba.' (Campbell 1985: 131)

WAMBON

-e (CONN) + clause

Remark: The connector -e links all preverbal NPs, irrespective of their functional or structural specification, so this includes object clauses.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Kono beta-kbe-n-[e lava-tmbo...]
and see-3SG.PRS-TR-CONN trap-3SG.PST
'And he saw that he had trapped it (...)' (De Vries 1986: 29)

-a + clause-o

Remark: The suffix -o links all types of pre-nominal modifiers to the head noun, including relative clauses, which are additionally marked by the relativizer -a, which delineates the relative clause by cliticizing to its first constituent. Relative clauses can also be head-internal. In that case, the construction is not pre-nominal, so the connector -o does not appear.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø/SENT - Ø/SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

Nuk [oy-a temke-n-o] kev-e betak-nok-ndep
I pig-REL shoot-3SG.PRS-TR-CONN man-CONN see-NEG-1SG.PRS
'I do not see the man who shoots the pig.' (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 56)

[Aliw-a ndu-n-e takhima-lepo-n-eve] setelep-ke-kbe
yesterday-REL sago-TR-CONN buy-1SG.PST-TR-TOP delicious-SUPERL-3SG.PRS
'The sago I bought yesterday is delicious.' (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 57)

Pred stem-mo

Remark: This is a "medial verb form", which takes switch-reference marking for same subject (SS).

The interpretation is temporally neutral (but conceptually close).

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, mood, and subject agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Jakhov-e [matet-mo] ka-lembo?
they-CONN good-SS go-3PL.PST
'Did they travel without problems?' (lit: 'Did they go well?') (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 19)

Pred-o

Remark: This is also a "medial verb form" with same-subject switch reference marking. The interpretation is not temporally neutral: it expresses simultaneity.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense, mood, and subject agreement. Transitivity markers can be retained.

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Jakhov-e [ko-n-o] nggom li-knde
 they-CONN go-TR-SS song sing-3PL-PRS

'While travelling they are singing.' (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992:20)

clause-ka

Remark: The suffix *-ka* (and its allomorphs) is a circumstantial suffix that also occurs with inanimate NPs that specify the circumstances of the event denoted by the verb, including time, location, instrument, and manner.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

[*Nukb-e ande-lepo-ngga*] *ev-o kav-e nde-tmbo*
 I-CONN eat-1SG.PST-ADV that-CONN man-CONN come-3SG.PST

'When I ate, that man came.' (de Vries 1986: 41)

DHAASANAC

Clause (+DEM) + DET

Remarks: Used for the complements of desiderative and perception predicates, and for all types of relative clauses. With subject relative clauses the subject is repeated in the matrix clause with a pronoun.

The construction further takes the determiner *ka* or its clitic form =a; in the Ref Mod function often preceded by a deictic.

There is only one difference with independent clauses: for constructions in non-past tense, imperfective aspect is excluded; instead, the dependent form must be used.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, (small) adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: DET

Argument encoding: Ø/SENT - Ø/SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Yú [*kúun kosolonni-a*] *ku ?argi*
 I you laugh.PFV=DET you.OBJ see.PFV

'I saw that you were laughing.' (Tosco 2001: 287)

yú [*kúun hí fudúfú=a*] *fedé*
 I [you 3(verbal PRON) open.DEP=DET want.IPFV

'I want you to open it.' (Tosco 2001: 288)

Ref Mod:

Máa [*gʷod gʷogʷod=ti=a*] ^hé *ye ?óg*
 Man trees dig.RDP.DEP=that=DET 3.SUBJ me know

'That man who is digging trees (he) knows me.' (Tosco 2001: 283)

Pred Mod:

Yú [*gʷio gʷi ka*] *máa nígén=ati=a dú seŋ*
 I cattle have.PFV DET person young=that=DET upon go.PFV

'I, having the cattle, went to the boy.' (2001: 286)

Pred-*n/-an*

Remarks: The suffix *-n* is used for the basic and causative/factitive paradigms, *-an* for the middle and inchoative paradigms. The dependent predicate has feminine nominal gender.

The object is unmarked (noun-stripping).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: Tense and aspect are lost

Nominal categories: (DET), gender marking

Argument encoding: Ø/POSS - unmarked

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*rúb mummur-an*] ^hé *beyyi*
 sorghum cut.RDP.M-NMLZ 3.SUBJ finish.PFV

'The harvesting of the sorghum is finished.' (Tosco 2001: 121)

Yú [ʔáɲ gáɫi-ɲ ci]=a féðé
 I animal skin-NMLZ 1.POSS=DET want.IPFV
 'I want to skin the animal myself.' (lit. 'I want my animal skinning.')

BERBICE DUTCH CREOLE

(fi/fi) + deranked clause

Remark: The complementizer can be deleted.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Eke timi [(Ø) tan ɫanggi ka]
 1SG be.able stand long NEG

'I am not able to stand up for very long.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 249)

Governor ma suk-a [fi nimi bosa ju krik-te-ke.]

Governor IRR want-IPFV COMP know how.FOC 2SG get-PFV.1SG

'The governor will want to know how you got me.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 249)

(bi(fi)) (QUOT) (+ dati) (COMP) + clause

Remark: The complementizer *dati* can be deleted. *Dati*-clauses can also be preceded by the quotative marker *bi(fi)* (from the verb for 'to say'), resulting in a 'double' complementizer sequence.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Bat nou eke horo [dat-o mw-a]
 but now 1SG hear COMP-3SG go-IPFV

'But now I hear that he is leaving.' (Kouwenberg 1994:244)

Bateni nim-te [dat-ek ma ku-mona-ngga]

but.3PL acquire.knowledge.PFV COMP-1SG IRR come-Mona-LOC

'But they knew that I would come to Mona's.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 241)

Eke pan-te ju [date ju mu bifi ka]
 1SG tell-PFV 2SG COMP 2SG must speak NEG

'I told you that you must not talk.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 238)

Ek glof ka [(Ø) o nin-te musu]

1SG believe NEG 3SG know-PFV much

'I don't believe he knows much.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 242)

Eni pama-te-ke [bifi date-ke ma mu danga ka]

3PL tell.PFV.1SG QUOT COMP-1SG IRR go there NEG

'They told me that I should not go there.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 238)

(Wh-word) + clause:

Remark: The Wh-element can be deleted (only in restrictive clauses).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Di gugu manj-ap [wat fol me hari]
 the big=big man-PL what full with hair

'the giants that are covered with hair' (Kouwenberg 1994: 268)

Di bwa, di en [wati wa siki,] ori doto-te esti
 The leg the one what PST ill, 3SG die-PFV first
 The leg, the one that was ill, it became numb first.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 271)

Di sem jermatoko [(Ø) eke pan-te ju abot]
 the same woman.child 1SG tell-PFV 2SG about
 'the same girl I told you about' (Kouwenberg 1994: 268)

BABUNGO

***lāa* + clause:**

Remark: The subject of the matrix clause is repeated in the dependent clause as a logophoric pronoun.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Lāmbí gí [lāa yí zízās]
 Lambi say-PFV that he-L.PRON be.sick.PROGR
 'Lambi said that he was sick.' (Schaub 1985: 31)

***fāŋ/yúu* + clause**

Remarks: In Ref Mod function, if the head noun is the subject of the main clause, it may be reintroduced into the matrix clause with a pronoun after the relative clause, or the head noun may be repeated together with an anaphoric demonstrative after the relative clause (especially after 'heavy' ones). If the relativized item is an instrumental, locative, or time adverbial, a resumptive pronoun is obligatory. In subject and object clauses resumptive pronouns are also possible, but usually not expressed.

In Pred Mod function, the construction has simulative semantics.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod (simulative) ≠ PoS (small/derived adjectives, small manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

m̄ ð yè w̄s nt̄s [fāŋ/yúu (ŋw̄s) sh̄w ngú yè]
 I sec.PFV person that REL he steal.PFV fowl your
 'I have seen the man who has stolen your fowl.' (Schaub 1985: 32)

lw̄ŋ ŋw̄s [fāŋ t̄í ŋw̄a n̄ jw̄i n̄s]
 hammer that [REL father my PST come.PFV with
 ŋw̄s n̄s,] lw̄ŋ gb̄s liu táa ŋ̄l
 it(ANAPH) hammer that.ANAPH be in house
 'That hammer which my father came with (it), that hammer is in the house. (Schaub 1985: 33)

Pred Mod:

ŋw̄s s̄ s̄y [fāŋ nshú w̄i n̄ȳs t̄í ŋw̄s]
 she plant.PFV corn ADV mother her tell.PFV to her
 'She has planted the corn like her mother told her.' (Schaub 1985: 39)

ŋw̄s ḡw̄ia t̄í k̄i [yúu w̄í n̄ȳs t̄í ŋw̄s]
 he cut-PFV tree that ADV they tell-PFV to him
 'He has cut that tree how/when he was told.' (Schaub 1985: 39)

***ki(i)/Ø* + clause**

Remark: There are two types of these "simultaneous aspect constructions": One relating to a preceding verb (anaphoric), and the other relating to a following verb (kataphoric). With stative verbs the anaphoric construction is marked by the simultaneity particle *ki*. With other verbs, there is no overt coding. In both cases, the verb following the particle can only be in the imperfective aspect.

The other type (kataphoric) is used when event B occurs while A is still in process. It is marked by the marker *ki* in the first verb phrase, which expresses the event in process. The verb with which the marker *ki* occurs, is in the imperfective aspect, while the verb of the following clause is in the perfective aspect.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Restricted aspect

Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø-SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:

Anaphoric:

ɣwɔ́ bɔwéy [kì shóŋ ɣwáá]
he sleep-IMPF SIM rest-IPFV body
'He was asleep, resting his body.' (Schaub 1985: 220)

ɣwɔ́ nɔ́ tó' fí fúu jìi, [zɔá nyáysɛ̃]
he PST walk-IPFV from on road sing-IPFV songs
'He was walking on the road, singing songs.' (Schaub 1985: 220)

Kataphoric:

ɣwɔ́ [kíi tó' fí fúu jìi], ɣwɔ́kèð gù nsí
he SIM walk-IPFV from on road suddenly fall-PFV ground
'When he was walking on the road, he suddenly fell down.' (Schaub 1985: 221)

NAMA

Clause without *ke* (= DECL) + *!xáís-a*

Remark: This construction is marked by the nominal class marker *!xáís* (SG. FEM), which can be shortened to *-s*, and the object marker *-à*.

Apart from the declarative marker *ke*, no verbal categories are lost.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (small manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained except declarative marker

Nominal categories: Nominal class

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Tsí //i'pàk-kxm̄ ke kè mípa [!úu-kxm̄ ta !xáís-à]
And him-we DECL told were.going-we SG.FEM-OBJ
'And we told him that we were going.' (Hagman 1974: 257)

//i'pke 'am'ase kèrè ≠óm̄ [!aé-//amsà xuú-kxm̄/xii bàa !xáís-à]
he DECL really believed we had come from Windhoek SG.FEM-OBJ
'He really believed that we had come from Windhoek.' (Hagman 1974: 257)

Unmarked clause without *ke* (= DECL) (+ RSP)

Remark: When the head of a relative clause functions as an oblique argument, the construction is usually marked with an appropriate postposition or associative particle, and a resumptive pronoun may be added which agrees with the head in person/number/gender.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained except declarative marker

Nominal categories: (Nominal agreement of RSP)

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[//naá !bùupà xuú kè /xii bàa 'i] kxòèñ
from that land had come the.people
'the people who had come from that land' (Hagman 1974: 229)

Oblique argument:

[Tíita //iis tàpa sí ní//xáa//xaa] !ás
I which(RSP) at am going to teach town
'the town I am going to teach (in).' = 'the town where I am going to teach' (Hagman 1974: 231)

Deranked clause without *ke* (= DECL) + *-se*/*!aa*/*tsíi*/Ø

Remark: The declarative marker *ke* cannot be expressed and the marking of aspect is restricted: the dependent clause must have non-punctual aspect. Usually, the subject is unexpressed under co-referentiality.

The adverbial manner suffix *-se* and the general adverbial subordinating conjunction *!aa* are completely interchangeable, but *-se* is by far the most frequently used. The construction with *tsíi* requires punctual aspect in the dependent clause.

The unmarked variant has the same meaning, but can only be used with a special set of verbs in the

dependent clause. Tense cannot be expressed in this variant (but aspect is retained).
 Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (derived manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No declarative marker, restricted tense/aspect
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:
 [áí 'a=áó] ra-se-p ke kè pèé
 rejoicing-ADV-he DECL left
 'Rejoicing, he left.' (Hagman 1974: 244)

!xóókxoeku kè !nàet'úhè [kxétehñ/xáa !áébhè tsíí]
 the.prisoners were transported bound with chains ADV (Hagman 1974: 246)

HDI

Clause + *ká* (+ low tone subject pronouns)

Remark: All subject pronouns following the complementizer, except the 3rd person singular *á* have low tone, whereas subject pronouns in independent clauses, except for the 3rd person plural, have high tone.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained (special subject forms)
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [m̀nd-á ráyá Mbákà ká] mbítsá mná-tà
 man-GEN hunt Mbaka COMP Mbítsa say-REF
 'Mbítsa said that Mbaka is a hunter.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 422)

Ndá sn-í [zá-ná-p-zá-xèn tá pítsákw-á-tán ká-á]
 STAT know-1SG forget-DEM-out-forget-3PL OBJ hoe-GEN-3PL COMP
 'I know that they forgot their hoe.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 450)

tá (OBJ/COMMENT) + deranked clause:

Remarks: The marker *tá* is an object/comment marker: It is also used to mark lexical objects and comments in focus constructions (cf. glosses in examples).

In Ref Head function the subject is POSS. In Ref Mod function it is gapped, but marked with a possessive pronoun on the dependent predicate. In Ref Mod function, this construction is used only for perfective subject relative clauses.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
 Verbal categories: No person marking
 Nominal categories: Possessive person marking
 Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 Sí tà ðv-áy-xèn [tá bly-á-mú]
 PST IPFV WANT-PO-3PL OBJ leave-GEN-1PL.INCL
 'They wanted us to leave.' (lit. They wanted our leaving.) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 480)

Snà-n-sn-í [tá gbw-áy-tán tá ngúrlùŋ-á blá.]
 hear-3-hear OBJ slaughter-PO-3PL.POSS OBJ neck-GEN cow
 'I heard them slaughter cattle.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470) (lit. I heard their slaughtering the cow's neck?)

Ref Mod:

gbùrúm [tá lá-gbw-í ndá mà xàdík]
 hole COM go-D:SO-REF ASSOC in ground
 'a hole that went deep into the ground'

màmú sà̀n m̀ghám [tá kl-áf-tá màràkw xis]
 exist certain chief COM take-up-REF wife two
 'There was once a chief who married two wives.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470 406)

tá (IPFV) + verbal root form (+ *ka* (COMP)-subject pronoun)

Remark: The predicate takes dependent aspect marking, but is otherwise balanced.

This construction is used for (imperfective) object relative clauses only.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained (dependent imperfective aspect)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Wíyás kwì [tà klá-ghá-tà-ŋnì, ká-xəŋ]

here thing IPFV take-2SG-REF-1PL.EXCL COMP-3PL

'Here is the thing that we give you.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 409)

tà (IPFV) + clause with nominalized verb

Remark: Used for subject relative clauses only.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Only imperfective aspect retained, no other affixes indicating role/number of argument(s).

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Mámú tsəmók-xà kděri [tà irí ndà tsí]

exist enemy-PL:GEN Kderi IPFV envy.NMLZ ASSOC 3SG

'There were enemies of Kderi who envied him.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 404)

Pred-*a* (dependent perfective aspect):

Remark: Used for (perfective) object relative clauses only.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained (dependent perfective aspect)

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

Gítà kám ná dzà'á plá-ghá-m-plá-ŋnì tá dá-ghá [dzá-xəŋ]

today then DEM FUT return-2SG-in-return-1PL.EXCL OBJ father-2SG kill:DEP.PFV-3PL

Today, we will avenge your father whom they have killed. (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 410)

MANDARIN CHINESE

Unmarked clause

Remarks: In Ref Mod function, the relativized element is gapped; in Pred Mod function it can be left unexpressed under co-referentiality.

In Ref Mod function, this construction is called a "descriptive clause". It is semantically similar to a relative clause marked with *de* (see below), although according to Li & Thompson it constitutes a separate assertion: "Semantically, a descriptive clause simply adds another assertion to the first one. A relative clause, on the other hand, is a part of the noun phrase naming the item in question, and as such expresses a pre-established class of items with the property it names." (Li & Thompson 1981: 618)

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives, small manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping/co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Wō pànwàng [nǐ kuài yídiǎn biyè]

I hope you soon a.little graduate

'I hope you'll graduate a bit sooner.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 599)

Ref Mod:

wō mǎi-le yī-jīan yifu [tài dà]

I buy-PERF one-CL outfit too big

'I bought an outfit that turned out to be too big.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 614)

tā yǒu yī-ge mèimei [hěn xǐhuān kàn diànyǐng]
 3SG exist one-CL younger.sister very like see movie
 'S/he has a younger sister who like to see movies.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 611)

Pred Mod:

Tāmen [yòng shǒu chī-fàn]
 they use hand eat-food
 'they eat with their hands.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 597)

Clause + *de*

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (small adjectives, small manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping/co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:
 [Jīntiān yíng dé] qián fù fāng-zū
 today win CONN money pay house-rent
 'The money we won today goes to pay the rent.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 581)

Pred Mod:

nǐ pǎo [de hěn kuài]
 you run CONN very quick
 'You run very quickly.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 625)

Pred-*zhe* (DUR)

Remarks: The durative aspect marker *-zhe* can be used in the first of two clauses to signal that one event provides a durative background for another event. Since this construction occurs only with (unexpressed) co-referential subjects, it is analyzed as a Ø-SENT construction, even though there is no independent evidence for deranking (since there is no verbal inflectional morphology).

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small manner adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:
 Xiǎo gǒu [yáo-zhe wěiba] pǎo le
 small dog shake-DUR tail run CRS
 'The small dog ran away wagging its tail.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 223)

tā [guāng-zhe] jiǎo shàng-kè
 3SG bare-DUR foot ascend-class
 'S/he goes to class barefooted.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 23)

TAMIL

Pred-*atu*

Remark: With locative case or postposition *poola* 'like' the construction can be used in Pred Mod function.
 Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ case/postposition also Pred Mod: simultaneity and similitive)
 = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: Agreement is lost; tense is retained; some but not all aspect and mood distinctions are retained.
 Nominal categories: CASE
 Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [tīruṭan nakeyellaam eṭuttukkiṭṭirukkarate] naan patteen
 thief jewellery-ALL take-PROGR-PRS-NMLZ:ACC I sec-PST-1SG
 'I saw the thief taking the jewels.' (Asher 1982: 20)

Pred Mod:

Kozantepka [*biic-ile* *maṅalviiṭu kattar-atile*] *curucuruppa* *iruntaṅka*
child-PL beach-LOC sand-house build.PRS-NMLZ:LOC busy be.PST.3PR
'The children were busy building a sand-house on the beach.' (Asher 1982: 21)

[*Enka ammaa kaappi poṭṭar-atu*] *poola*-*vee en mandevi poṭṭaraa*
our mother coffee put:PRS-NMLZ like-EMPH my wife put-PRS-3SG.FEM
'My wife makes coffee just as my mother makes it.' (Asher 1982: 48)

Pred-(*kk*)a

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Agreement is lost; tense is retained.

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Raaman [*avaru viiṭṭukku enne*] [*var-a*] *connaaru*
Raman his house.DAT I.ACC come-INF say.PST.3SG
'Raman told me to come to his house.' (Asher 1982: 22)

Pred-*a* (PTC):

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: Agreement is lost; TAM is retained.

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[*vaṅṅaane aticc-a*] *taccan*
carpenter-ACC beat.PST-PTC washerman
'the washerman who beat the carpenter' (Asher 1982: 28)

[*taccan aticc-a*] *vaṅṅaan*
carpenter beat.PST-PTC washerman
'the washerman whom the carpenter beat' (Asher 1982: 28)

[*taccan paṅam kuṭutt-a*] *vaṅṅaan*
carpenter money give.PST-PTC washerman
'the washerman to whom the carpenter gave money' (Asher 1982: 228)

[*akkaa taṅkaccikki caata poṭṭ-a*] *karaṅṅi*
elder.sister younger.sister-DAT rice put.PST-PTC spoon
'the spoon with which elder sister gave rice to younger sister' (Asher 1982: 228)

Kisi

((*m*)àà) + clause

Remark: The complementizer can be omitted.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Á *dìmi sùèí kèṅ lácòò wá lé* [*àà wàná nìmnđó*]
they say matter that lie COP NEG COMP person your
'They say and it's no lie, that your people are your people.' (Childs 1995: 278)

ò cà kó béé [*màà tè ò cāṅ p'é ò fulá leníṅ*]
he see only indeed COMP if he cry if he go.out inside
'He really thinks that if he cries he will be free.' (Childs 1995: 280)

Á *dímúl ndú* [*Ø ò biṅ wò còṅcòṅ*]
you tell him he come PRT IDEOPH
'You should tell him (that) he should come quickly!' (Childs 1995: 281)

Unmarked deranked clause:

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

í ló [kisié pèèkiùò].
 I stay Kisi study
 'I continued to study Kisi.' (Childs 1995: 281)

ò dèmál [sàá wàlló tèsàl] kpòh
 he fail Saa work do IDEOPH
 'He failed completely to do the work for Saa.' (Childs 1995: 281)

Noun class pronoun + clause (+ RSP) + noun class suffix

Remarks: The head noun loses its noun class suffix, which is supplanted by a noun class pronoun (unless the noun belongs to the o-class) and the noun class suffix appears at the end of the relative clause. The relativized item is gapped, but when the syntactic role of the head noun is oblique, or when the head noun is distant, a resumptive pronoun can appear in the relative clause.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)
 Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
 Verbal categories: No TAM
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

mèh mà [ó kól]-áh mà níh lé
 water PRON he drink-SUFF PRON good NEG
 'The water that he drank wasn't good.' (Childs 1995: 286)

When the head noun belongs to the o-class, there is no pronoun, only a suffix:

Waná [tòóf cióòh]-ó ò cò lè hùnḍḍ
 person inspect towns-SUFF PRON AUX again come
 'The person who inspects towns will return.' (Childs 1995: 286)

wálí [h cò bóò tèsàá]-ó tàmbà ndóó ké nùm tòòlùlá
 work you AUX RSP do-SUFF Tamba he-IPFV give you support
 'Did Tamba give you any help with this work that you were doing?' (Childs 1995: 288)

Yàú wílè [yá pòónál nùm kóh ó pùùlùéí níh á ó Kisié níh]-ó í tósá
 letter long [I write you that to English in and to Kisi in]-SUFF I make
háwèyó ò pilé kèètètè lé ndú ci pòòniáá
 hour PRON one IDEOPH for RSP finish write
 'The long letter that I wrote to you in English and Kisi, it took me a whole hour to finish writing it.'
 (Childs 1995: 290)

NUNG**Unmarked clause**

Functional distribution: Flex; Ref Head, Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives, no adverbs)
 Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Not applicable
 Nominal categories: None
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping/co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Muhng [càng slóng vam] ðy lèò
 you speak two sentences be.able all
 'You can speak both sentences.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 55)

lèò mu'hn ca tèo slò'ng [beht vú]
 then he about again desire do king
 'Then he wanted to be king again.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 52)

Lēo hahn mah̃n [kíhm mi láí]
 then see PL gold be much
 'Then they saw that there was much gold.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 111)

Mu'hn vạ [p̃i b̃ao mu'hn ma]
 he say older brother his come
 'He said that his older brother came.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 115)

Ref Mod:
mu'hn t̃eo p̃én p̃ehn tú đ̃ebc-sláo [đ̃áy-sláo láí]
 she again become like CL child-girl good-girl much
 'She then became a very pretty girl.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 33)

Pred Mod:
Tú mã p̃áy [chũhm láí]
 CL horse go slow very
 'The horse goes very slowly.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 95)

Mu'hn c̃ang c̃ỏ [beng láí] cá ṽah̃n
 He speak story strong very all day
 'He spoke loudly all day.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 95)

(REL) + gapped clause + DEM/FOC

Remarks: Relative clauses are formed with a demonstrative or a focus marker or both added to the end of the clause and/or a relativizer at the beginning of the clause. When the function of subject/source/locative-directional is relativized, the relativizer is optional. When the object is relativized, the DEM/FOC marking is optional. When the indirect object/beneficiary are relativized, the marker *hũ'* 'to, for' is added at the end of the relative clause. With all types of relative clauses, an anaphoric *mu'hn* is often inserted before the main predicate.

Functional distribution: Rig; Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:
Lēo ṽang [khi b̃ẻ t̃ẻ] ch̃ihng áu tú b̃ẻ hũ' k̃ẻ Hong [khi mã t̃ẻ]
 Then boy ride goat DEM then take CL goat give man Hong ride horse DEM
 'Then that boy riding the goat gave the goat to that man Hongh riding the horse.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 16)

k̃ẻ [t̃j-vạ t̃ỏbc c̃ỏn th̃ĩn t̃ẻ nĩ]
 man REL lost CL stone DEM FOC
 'The man who had lost the stone.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 78)

Áhn h̃o'n [c̃áu-nĩ-oc-kh̃oi nĩ]
 CL house I.run.out DEM
 'The house (that) I was running from.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 80)

k̃ẻ [t̃j-vạ c̃áu áu s̃ẻc slú' hũ' nĩ] mu'hn
 man REL I.gave CL book to FOC he
 'The man I have the book to, he' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

Óhng k̃ẻ [c̃áu slú' áhn tu hũ' nĩ]
 CL man I.bought CL hat for FOC
 'The man for whom I bought the hat.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

b̃at + clause

Remark: This construction is a simultaneity clause.

The subject is expressed in both the matrix and the dependent clause.

Functional distribution: Rig; Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Not applicable

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Lêo [mu'bn *bət* hahn cáh slú'] mu'bn *láo lái*
 then he when see CL tiger he fear much
 'Then when he saw the tiger he was very afraid.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 110).

GARO

Clause + *in-e*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[*Pir-ga-cha* *song* *ni-to-a* *in-e*] *ang-a* *chanchi-a*
 Pirgacha village beautiful-NEUT COMP I-NOM think-NEUT
 'I think Pirgacha village is beautiful.' (Burling 2004: 318)

[*Bi-a* *sok-ba-ku-ja* *in-e*] *ang-a* *chanchia*
 he-NOM arrive-here-not-yet COMP I-NOM believe
 'I believe that he has not yet arrived here.' (Burling 2004: 319)

Pred-a

Remark: With the suffix *git-a* 'like', this construction can be used as a similitive clause.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ extra suffix also similitive) = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

ang-a [*bi-ni* *giit* *ring'-a*]-*ko* *kin-a-a*
 I-NOM he-GEN song sing-NMLZ-ACC hear-NEUT
 'I hear him singing songs.' (Burling 2004: 294)

Similitive:

Jal *dong-kan,* [*bi-ni* *ba'-sik-a-gita*].
 whatever be.at-IMP he-GEN wish-NMLZ-like
 'Let (him) be according to his wishes.' (Burling 2004: 297)

Pred-a-ni

Remark: Even though the suffix *-ni* is homophonous with the genitive case marker, the construction takes (a second) case-marker according to function.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: Ø - Ø?

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

[*agan-a-ni*]-*ko* *seng-ja,* *an'-tang* *dra-emina* *kam-ko* *dak-a*
 talk-NMLZ-GEN-ACC wait-NEG own force-ADV work-ACC do-NEUT
 'Not waiting for talk (instructions), (he) does the work forcefully himself.' (Burling 2004: 296)

Pred-na (INF) (+ *in-e*)

Remark: Used as the same-subject complement of modals, desideratives and predicates of achievement and emotion. With achievement and emotion predicates, the complementizer *in-e* can optionally be added.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø-SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Ang-a [mi *cha'-na*] *man'-a*
 I-NOM rice eat-**INF** can-NEUT
 'I can eat rice.' (Burling 2004: 320)

Bi-a [kat-ang-na] *ha'-sik-ing-a*
 he-NOM run-away-**INF** want-**PROGR-NEUT**
 'He wants to run away.' (Burling 2004: 320)

Ang-a [*bik-ko nam-et-na*] (*in-e*) *ches-ta dak-no-a*
 I-NOM you-ACC good-**CAUS-**INF**** **COMP** try-FUT
 'I will try to improve you.' (Burling 2004: 321)

Ang-a [*nang'-ko nik-na*] (*in-e*) *ken-a*
 I-NOM you-ACC look.at-**INF** **COMP** fear-NEUT
 'I am afraid to look at you.' (Burling 2004: 321)

Pred-kan/ka-na (IMP-INF**) (+ *in-e*)**

Remark: *-ka* is the 3rd person imperative suffix, used here as a subordinating suffix with manipulative predicates. The complementizer *in-e* is optional with this construction.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

Nang'-ko [*boi bre-kan-na*] (*in-e*) *ang-a bit-a*
 you-ACC book buy-**COMP** **COMP** I-NOM order
 'I order you to buy a book.' (Burling 2004: 322)

Pred-gip-a

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: Case agreement

Argument encoding: Ø/POSS - Ø/SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

[*nok-o pi'-sa-ko nik-gip-a*] *me-tra*
 house-LOC child-ACC see-**PTC** woman
 'the woman who saw the child at the house.' (Burling 2004: 301)

[*me'chik-ni skang-o den'-gip-a*] *a'-bol*
 women-GEN previously-LOC cut-**PTC** firewood
 'firewood that the women chopped previously' (Burling 2004: 299)

Pred-el'-e-ming/-e-min-a

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

Na'-tok-ko [*nam-e*] [*ni-e*] *cha'-ja-od-de, (...)*
 fish-ACC good-**CONV** watch-**CONV** eat-**NEG-if**
 'If you don't watch out well when eating the fish, (...)' (Burling 2004: 314)
 lit.: 'If you don't eat the fish in a good and watchful manner, ...'

[*Klemen-ko rim-jol-e*] *ha'ti-cha re'-ang-a*
 Clement-ACC take-along-**CONV** market-LOC go-NEUT
 '(I) go to the market, taking Clement along.' (Burling 2004: 315)

KRONGO*àní* (QUOT) - *tíŋ* + clause

Remark: This construction is used only with utterance verbs.

The quotative marker is part of the matrix clause; the particle *tíŋ* is suffixed to the first word of the dependent clause.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

ŋ-áa *Lúwáalà ótó-ŋ* *ànáy* *àní*
 CONN:MASC-COP Luwaala INF:say-TR DAT:3.PL QUOT

[*k-ó-iini-tíŋ* *áy* *fókkiri* *ŋ-ádeélá*]
 PL-PST-make-PRT you.PL plan CONN:MASC-IPFV:be.good

'And Luwaala says to them, that they have made a good plan.' (Reh 1985: 354)

(t-)Pred ("nominalization/infinite")

Remark: For class II verbs, the nominalization and the infinitive have the same form; for class I verbs, the infinitive is formed without the prefix.

The construction (NMLZ and INF) takes case marking when not in object function (the accusative is zero-marked). Infinitives in object function with subject-to-object-raising are locative case-marked. When an overt subject is a full noun, the subject takes a possessive prefix. If not, it is expressed by a dependent person suffix.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No agreement/mood, tense, aspect and valency/voice are retained

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

n-átàasà *à?àŋ* [*t-óshó-ókò-n-tú* *náamà* *à?àŋ*]
 1/2-IPFV:want I NMLZ-IPFV:cook-BEN-TR-2.SG(DEP) thing DAT:I

'I wanted you to cook something for me.' (I wanted your cooking something for me.) (Reh 1985: 333)

n-átàasà *à?àŋ* [*t-úmúnó* *kà- Sárrà* *à?àŋ*]
 1/2-IPFV:want I NMLZ-IPFV:help POSS-Sarah me

'I want Sarah to help me.' (lit. I wanted Sarah's helping me.) (Reh 1985: 333)

Ácáamà-ŋ *káaw* *à?àŋ* [*má-t-ákká-ttíní* *kí-cáaw* *à-Tábáap*]
 MASC:IPFV:speak-BEN person DAT:I GEN-NMLZ-FUT-3SG(DEP) LOC-INF:go DAT-Tabanya

'The man says to me that he will go to Tabanya.' (lit. The man speaks me of his (future) going to Tabanya.) (Reh 1985: 334)

n-átàasà *à?àŋ* [*àkù* *úudá*] *n-átàasà* *à?àŋ*
 1/2-IPFV:want I INF:eat meat 1/2-IPFV:want I

'I want to eat meat.' (Reh 1985: 335)

ù?ùŋ [*k-áaláaná* *à?àŋ* *kí-niinò* *mó-dí*]
 you(ACC) LOC-INF:teach me LOC-language GEN-homeland

'I want you to learn me Krongo.' (Reh 1985: 335)

CONN-Pred (+ RSP)

Remarks: The construction is marked by a connector-prefix, which is fused with morphemes encoding agreement.

In Ref Mod function, if the relativized item is not the subject of the DC, an anaphoric pronoun is used, which takes case according to function.

In Pred Mod function, the DC obligatorily has imperfective aspect.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives, small mAdverbs)

Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No agreement/mood, tense, aspect and valency/voice are retained.

Nominal categories: Gender and number agreement (+ case agreement of RSP)

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

káarw [m-ísò]

person CONN:FEM-IPFV.walk

'the woman, who walks', 'the walking woman' (Reh 1985)

n-úllà *àʔàʔ* *kí-ńt-àndiŋ* [n-úufò-ŋ] *kò-nimò* *kàtí*
 1/2-IPFV:love I LOC-SG-clothes CONN:NEUT-IPFV:sew-TR POSS-mother my
 'I love the dress that my mother is sewing.' (Reh 1985:256)

Káarw [m-àasàlàa-tí *àakú*]
 person CONN:FEM-IPFV:look.at-1SG(DEF) she.FEM
 'the woman that I looked at.' (Reh 1985)

nóoni *àʔàʔ* *káarw* [ŋ-áfàrà *kò-nimò* *kàtí* *m-íʔiŋ*]
 know I person CONN-IPFV:cry POSS-mother my GEN-he
 'I know the man about whom my mother cries.' (Reh 1985: 258)

Pred Mod:

n-óocó-óní *àʔàʔ* [ŋ-ásàŋ *kí-tílùnkwáaná*]
 1/2-IMPf:laugh-DTR I CONN-IPFV:NEG.have LOC-joy
 'I laugh joylessly.' (Reh 1985: 302)

n-áa *t-ánkwa-àni* [n-úrúná-ŋ] *úuní* *kànááy*]
 CONN-NEUT-COP INF-go.ROUND-DTR CONN:NEUT-IPFV:pay.attention.to footprints POSS:3.PL
 'She goes round, paying attention to their footprints.' (Reh 1985: 333)

ŋ-áa *áricí* *ádiyà* *kítáccí-mày* [ŋ-íísò *túkkúurí kúubú*]
 CONN:MASC-COP man INF:come there-REF CONN:MASC-IPFV-walk ADV:with.lowered.head
 'The man comes right there walking with a lowered head.' (Reh 1985: 345)

HIXKARYANA

Pred-*ni/-thi/-hito* + *-ri*

Remarks: The construction is formed with the nominalizer *-ni-*, followed by the inflectional suffix *-ri* 'possessed item', glossed as POSSD. For past tense, *-ni-* is replaced by *-thi-*; for negation, the form *-hito-* is used.

The arguments are marked ergatively: the first argument of a transitive verb (A) is marked by a postpositional phrase with *wyá* ('to, by', normally the indirect object marker). The only argument of an intransitive (S) and the second argument of a transitive verb (P) are marked as possessives. Since Hixkaryana is head-marking, the possessive appears on the predicate.

In combination with extra elements, the nominalization construction is used in adverbial functions.

The relevant elements are the "de-nominalizing relator" *me* for manner, and the postposition *wyáro* 'like' for simile constructions.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ extra element *me*, *wyáro* 'like' also Pred Mod) = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: Aspect is lost; 3 out of 7 tense distinctions (non-past, simple past, remote past) are retained.

Nominal categories: Possessive prefixes

Argument encoding: POSS - OBL

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

ro-wanota-ni-ri

1.POSS-sing-NMLZ-POSSD

'my singing' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

Amna-y-omoki--thi-ri

1-3.POSS-come-PST.NMLZ-POSSD

'our coming (in the past)' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

i-nikt-hto-ri-komo

3.POSS-sleep-NEG.NMLZ-POSSD-COLL

'their not going to sleep' (Derbyshire 1979: 166)

Karybe kamara Ø-to-thi-ri

quickly jaguar 3.POSS-go-PST.NMLZ-POSSD

'the going quickly of the jaguar.' (Derbyshire 1979: 23)

oxhe ni-bananib-ni-ri komo wosi wya
 well 3.POSS-teach-NMLZ-POSSD COLL woman by
 'the good teaching of them by the woman.' (Derbyshire 1979: 24)

Koseryehyaba, [r-eburka-ni-ri] bona
 I.am.afraid, 1.POSS-fall-NMLZ-POSSD to
 'I am afraid of falling.' (lit. I am afraid to my falling.)' (Derbyshire 1979: 24)

Pred Mod:
 [*Teryweryero ro-wanota-ni me] kewehyaba*
 loudly my-singing-NMLZ DNMLZ I.take.a.bath
 'I take a bath singing loudly.' (Derbyshire 1979: 28)

Uro ehtxemako, [owhya Waraka yobtxeman-ti-ri wyaro]
 me treat.with.medicine by.you Waraka treat-PST.NMLZ-POSSD like
 'Treat me with medicine just like you treat Waraka.' (Derbyshire 1979: 31)

SLAVE

Clause + *nj/Ø*

With the verbs 'want' and 'say' the complementizer can be omitted.

The construction is used in Ref Mod function when the relativized item expresses a time or location.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [*ʔelá táhta í] kodayibshá yíle*
 boat 3.is COMP 1sg.knew NEG
 'I didn't know that the boat came in.' (Rice 1989: 1245)

metá [ʔekó ʔahndeh ghá] ndí
 3.father there 1sg.go FUT 3.say
 'His dad said that he is going there.' (Rice 1989: 1224)

Ref Mod:

bejo sja [Jim ʔeghálayeda ní] sí ʔ agot'e
 here probably Jim 3.work REL FOC area.exist
 'This must be the place where Jim works.' (Rice 1989: 1317)

Clause + *gha/gú*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
 [*lítalá lits'eʔa gba] kegófa*
 canvas one.folds COMP is.difficult
 'It is difficult for me to fold canvas.' (Rice 1989: 1246)

[sah beblí gú] ʔedegho náwítí
 bear 1sg.be COMP REFL.about 1sg.dreamed
 'I dreamed that I was a bear.' (Rice 1989: 1246)

Clause + *i/sí/lí*

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

ʔelá [híshá í]
 boat 3.is.big REL
 'the big boat' (Rice 1989: 1309)

ʔeyi dene [ʔiʔs'ɛ wɛhɛkk'ɛ sʃɪ]
 the person moose 3.shot REL
 'the person who shot the moose' (Rice 1989: 1313)

ts'ɛlja [tɬetj lɪi]
 girl 3sg.sleep REL
 'the girl who is sleeping' (Rice 1989: 1309)

Clause + *gháré*

Remark: The meaning of the adverbial subordinator is instrumental 'by means of'.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no manner adverbs)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Pred Mod:

dene [gháts'eyeda gháré] yá gáʔets'ederetɕ
 person one.watches ADV TOP one.teaches.REFL
 'One learns through watching.' (1063)

NIVKH

Pred-*vut/vur* ('retelling converb'):

Used only for the complements of utterance predicates.

The allomorphy is conditioned by person agreement: *-t* for 1st person (SG/PL), *-r* for 2nd or 3rd person.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:

Ref Head:

If [imɲ-aɣ als p'e-ny-vur] it-t'
 He they-DAT/ACC berry pick-FUT-COMP say-FIN
 'He said [that] they would pick berries.' (Gruzdeva 1998: 57)

Unmarked clause

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

Ranɕ [ɛo n'I-d] eska-d
 woman fish eat-FIN dislike-FIN
 The woman does not like to eat fish. (Gruzdeva 1998: 49)

[Parf n'aɕi p'ry-i-d] n'I j-ajm-d
 evening I-elder.brother come-FUT-FIN I OBJ-know-FIN
 'I knew (that) my elder brother would come in the evening.' (Gruzdeva 1998: 49)

Pred without FIN SUFFIX ('participles')

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained except for FIN suffix

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLE:

Ref Mod:

[NI zosɕ] t'aɕo tyr t'xy p'i-d
 I break.PTC knife table on be-FIN
 'The knife which I have broken is on the table.' (Gruzdeva 1998: 50)

Pred -r/-t-ř/-n

Remark: The allomorphy is triggered by person agreement: -r for 1st person (SG/PL) subject/agent, and -r for 2nd or 3rd person. The other variants are dialectological.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no manner adverb)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/agreement, aspect and mood can be retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

EXAMPLES:

Pred Mod:

Haimpař t'axkyř [n'aχ-kis nloŋbloŋ-d'i-kavr-r] t'yr-d

old.man straight eye-INSTR blink-PRT-NEG-CONV look-FIN

'The old man looked straight, not blinking [his] eyes.' (Gruzdeva 1998: 54)

bovor [eβ-gu-r] maŋ-d

therefore fast-CAUS-CONV:2/3SG descend-IND

'Therefore he descended quickly.' (Matissen & Drossard 1998: 44)

WEST GREENLANDIC

Pred-niq

Remark: With intransitive predicates, the S takes relational case (RELC) and triggers possessive agreement. With transitive predicates, there are several possibilities. When only the P is present, the dependent predicate can be unmarked or marked with the passive suffix. The P appears in relative case and triggers possessive agreement. When both arguments are present, the dependent predicate is marked with a semi-transitivizing affix (SEMTR). The A appears in the relative case, and the predicate bears the corresponding possessive suffix, while the P is in the instrumental. Thus, the possessive argument in the nominalization always corresponds to the absolutive argument in the corresponding finite clause¹².

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS: nouns

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No mood, person/number agreement. Tense can be retained, but is usually not expressed.

Nominal categories: Case, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: RELC/POSS - Ø/INSTR

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:

[umiarsu-up qassi-nut tikiŋ-mi-ssa-a] nalunngil-ara

ship-REL how.many-ALL arrive-NMLZ-FUT-3SG.POSS know-1SG.3SG:IND

'I know when the ship will arrive.' (Fortescue 1984: 115)

Angutiř tuqunnira

man:RELC kill:NMLZ:3SG.POSS

'the killing of the man' (i.e. he is killed) (Fortescue 1984: 46)

nalu-aa [qinnuta-ata qanuq naammassi-niqar-ni-ssa-a]

not.know-3SG:3SG:INDIC request-3SG.POSS.RELC how implement-PASS-NMLZ-FUT-3SG.POSS

'She didn't know how his request would be implemented.' (Fortescue 1984: 45)

[ikinngum-mi-nik tuqut-si-nir-a] tusar-para

friend-his.REFL-INSTR kill-SEMTR-NMLZ-3SG.POSS hear-1SG.3PL:IND

'I heard of his killing his friend.' (Fortescue 1984: 45)

Pred-ta/sa ('passive participle'):

Remark: Overt subjects are in relative or ablative case, non-gapped objects remain SENT.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense, mood, verbal agreement.

Nominal categories: Nominal agreement (number and case)

Argument encoding: RELC/ABL/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Mod:

angum-mut [iřpassaq naapi-ta-n]-nut tunniup-para

man-ALL.SG yesterday meet-PASS.PTC-1SG.POSS-ALL.SG give-1SG.3SG:IND

'I gave it to the man I met yesterday.' (Fortescue 1984: 49)

¹² Strictly speaking, therefore, West Greenlandic has no transitive nominalizations. (see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993).

angut [*aallaasa-a tigu-sa-ni*] *nigur-niar-paa*
 man gun-his take-PASS.PTC-3POSS.REFL avoid-try-3SG.3SG.IND
 'He tried to avoid the man whose gun he had taken.' (Fortescue 1984: 53)

Participial mood clause

Remarks: The participial mood endings are parallel to the indicative ones, but built up on mood-marker *su* in the intransitive and *gi* in the transitive.

In Ref Head function, the construction is used for different-subject complements. When it functions as such, the dependent clause is morphologically marked as an object.

In Ref Mod function, the construction must be intransitive and can only take 3rd person inflection. Relative clauses that modify the subject of the matrix clause agree in (relative) case with their head.

When marked for instrumental case the participial mood can also be used in Pred Mod function.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, + CASE also Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for modifier functions)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: Nominal agreement in Ref Mod function
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
Iisima-vaa [*urni-ssa-giga*]
 know-3SG.3SG.IND come.to-FUT-1SG.3SG.PTC
 'He knew I would come to him2.' (Fortescue 1984: 36)

paasi-nngil-luinnar-para [*ilaa-juma-sutit*]
 understand-not-completely-1SG:3SG:IND come.along-wany-2SG.PTC
 'I didn't understand at all that you wanted to come along.' (Fortescue 1984: 36)

Ref Mod:

Niviarsiaq [*kalaallisut ilinnia-lir-sug*]
 girl Greenlandic learn-begin-INTR.PTC
 'the/a girl who has begun learning Greenlandic.' (Fortescue 1984: 49)

Pred Mod (with case):

[*Kulturi-kkut sunniuti-qar-luar-tu*]-mik
 culture-PROS effect-have-well-INTR.PTC-INSTR
 'having considerable cultural effect' (Fortescue 1984: 56)

Contemporative mood clause

Remark: The contemporative or conjunctive mood for same-subject clauses. The contemporative is formed with the mood-marker *lu/llu* followed by person markers (1st, 2nd, 4th) or 3rd person object markers.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for Pred Mod function)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
 Verbal categories: Retained
 Nominal categories: Nominal agreement in Ref Mod function
 Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:

Ref Head:
Uqar-sinnaa-vunga [*tama-asa uuqattaar-sima-llugit*]
 say-can-1SG.IND all-3PL try-PFV-1SG-3PL.CONT
 'I can say that I have tried them all.' (Fortescue 1984: 40)

Pred Mod:

[*Irnir-lunga*] *isir-punga*
 do.hurriedly-1SG.CONT go.in-1SG.IND
 'He entered quickly/in a hurry.' (Fortescue 1984: 55)

[*uqa-nngua-rani*] *ini-mi-nut isir-pug*
 say-little-4SG.NEG.CONT room-his.REFL go.in-3SG.IND
 'He entered his room without even speaking.' (Fortescue 1984: 62)