Parts of speech and dependent clauses: A typological study

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Publication date
2009

Citation for published version (APA):
Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Tagalog

 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 - SENT°

 Examples:

 Pred Head:

 \[\text{pag-lu-luto} \text{ ang trabaho niyá} \]

 ‘His/her job is cooking food.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 372)

 Ref Head:

 \[\text{pag-bawal-an mo} \text{ ang bata} \]

 ‘Forbid that child to play in the street.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 373)

 Ref Mod:

 No example available

 Pred Mod:

 \[\text{pag-dating naming doón} \text{ in-iwan} \text{ namin don ang bangka} \]

 ‘When we arrived there we abandoned the boat, …’ (Himmelmann 2005: 373)

 na/-ng/kung) + 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:

 \[\text{Sinabi} \text{[kung maganda si Maria]} \]

 ‘I said that Maria was beautiful.’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 173)

 \[\text{Gusto ni Pepito na [sagip-in ang dabon]} \]

 ‘Pepito wanted to catch the leaf.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 364)

 Ref Mod:

 \[\text{Nakita ni Pedro-ng/Manuel na [puno na ang bus]} \]

 ‘Pedro/Manuel saw that the bus was already full.’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972:177)

 \[\text{Sa mga lalaki na [maN-ibig nung kanyá-ng anak]} \]

 ‘So he held a contest) between the men who courted his child.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 368)

 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.

 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.

 The status of kung is unclear: it may be a combination of –ng with some other element.
Pred Mod:

[Bigla rsyl]-ng naghengo

‘She got up quickly’ (Himmelmann 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 habituality.

Nominal categories: May take case and number

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

**Examples:**

**Pred Head:**

[sg unde biñi-ndi=ni=te]

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

**Ref Head:**


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

**Ref Mod:**

[i unda=te ru=-ru?] kuyi

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

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

rata=te [qo ki-qo] leme=go la=-ru

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

Pred Mod, with oblique case-marker:

[ko=ka ū=ka j=ko=ki]

‘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:**

[i 1sg this very beautiful bird=pl=obl trap=seq.conv satay=na] um=in lam=te

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

**Ref Mod:**

[H=ka] [kho=ki k=ki=ki=ki=ta] jhā=ta

‘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=te ikud jughay j=piyas la=ki.

‘But searching and searching, [they] all became very thirsty.’ (Peterson 2006: 248)
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Pred Mod, with oblique case-marking (and reduplication):

\[Aw = na\ awna = te\ khatiya = ki\ bis = ke\ a\ ko\ o\ stay = inf\ RDP = obl\ Kharia = pl\ that = obl (= 'there')\ again\ house\ dura\ bay = kon\ ikud = ga\ memon\ jue\ a\ wk = may\ door\ build = seq\ conv\ very = foc\ year\ up\ to\ stay = m.pst = 3pl\ \]

'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.

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:

\[Jharkan\ d = te\ aw = na = wala\ lebu = ki\ iku = d = ga\ memon\ jue\ aw = ki = may\ Jharkand = obl\ live = inf = ptc\ person = pl\ very\ much\ friendly\ cop = m.prs = pl\ \]

'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:

\[Muda\ mon\ Brahman\ ho = ko = a = ko\ dar = te\ gap = al\ jane = te\ ye = yo\ But\ one\ brahman\ that = sg.\ hum = gen\ tree = obl\ hang = ptc\ holy\ thread = obl\ see = act\ pst\ \]

'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. [...] The sequential converbal marker = 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 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 converb 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: None.

Nominal categories: None.

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Examples:

Pred Mod:

\[lay\ koj = kon\ gob = jyug\ bay = vi = may\ dig\ scrape = conv\ path\ make = pffv = 3pl\ \]

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

\[raksn\ o = ko\ jyug\ khiya = ta\ ... ro = gone\ keb = kon\ gam = te =...\ witch\ even\ more\ angry = m.prs\ ... and\ tooth\ grind = conv\ say = act.pst\ \]

'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: None.

Nominal categories: None.

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT
Example:
Pred Mod
ro be kuda khesa? dara sambho=te [j[nam=ga jaunga] goj jem=ta
and that millet bread=GEN tree base=OBL cry=CONV RDP die AP=3.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: None Voice/Tense/Person agreement
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod:
ele [am=te=te go=ta go=ta] ban=ti\ ŋ=ti\ 
\[i\ʒ iɲ=\[ga iɲams\]
1PL.EXCL 2-2PL=OBL carry.on.shoulders=CONV RDP that=side this=side take=ACT.IRR=3PL.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=ðm rata=te remakh-so? ro gam-so? [no baba musa iɲ kimir
father=3poss Rata=OBL call=ACT.PST and say=ACT.PST comp child today 1SG forest
onna am=ip pal-c]
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=kon + clause
Remark: The form gam=kon 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 janwuar tar=r=i\b be janwuar=ya? gbag of=r=kì]* gam=kon] gam=s-o?
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 j- 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)
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Examples:

Ref Mod:

(J-class)

…adj [ie bhere] ep=ki se bhere adj=ya paŋ=me te soreŋ 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)

[ə=bo=te poŋ=paŋh karay=na au=ki,] bu bo=te qam=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:

[j=yo=yo Ɂ j=lebu=ki j=ya Ɂ ho=t=te aw=ta=ki]

1sg see=act.pst person=pl hotel=obl live=pl

‘The people I saw live in my hotel.’ (Peterson 2006. 303)

[j=te yo=yo Ɂ j=lebu=ki ula Ɂ likha=yo Ɂ]=ki

1sg=obl see=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-AL T)

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-nja 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 wa-nggu-nya]

art shirt art rel-buy use-1sg.gen-3sg.dat

‘the shirt that I bought’ (Klamer 1998: 326)

Pred Mod:

Patiang ana mandài-ndài [wàngu pa-buta ana rumba]

wait dim rop-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.)

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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).
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 bolak-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-pí-anggau [na ngàndi-mu rú 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-roar-2SG.GEN CONJ 3SG.NOM-search-3SG.ACC
‘And it roared (a tiger), while it went after him.’ (Klamer 1998: 100)

[bá jispa-ma na bhangpai-na-nya dá]
CONJ continuously-EMPH ART clasp-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT inside
‘while he kept clasping it inside…’ (Klamer 1998: 97)

wá + 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-ngàndi-yu na mbuku] wá-nggu-nya láti
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)
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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 cas-nmlz
apu mali a le  pipili ma le  tauaso]
aple and citrus poss art lame and art blind
'The king was not troubled that the lame and the blind ate the apples and oranges.'

At  na  oo  lava  in  moumou  mali  atu  le  pisa
But pst reach emph conj disappear gentle dir art noise
o  [le sapini-ga  o  Pale ma  Maria  e  o  lu  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  malaicious  tatou]
ppv 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  luai  o  le  tana/sta'i  l-[et  na  tatou  o  ì  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 [ua sau Sina]
past know erg Tigilau pfv comes Sina
‘I 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)

Guaraní
clause + hâ/hagwê/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 [šé še-ras ɨ̀ há]
you-hear I I-be.sick comp
‘You heard that I was sick.’ (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

ai-kwaá la [n o-ù mo ṣã́́́ 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-moń [še-tavi]
You-think I-be.silly
‘You think that I am silly.’ (Gregores & Suárez 1967: 157)

Pred-va + clause

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-jagua-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 + ve:

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-avê [s-iš ve]
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.

* The 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 simulative 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 hə sur-ˈkate dera-ˈkː-də] bag bes-a
sun set-conv camp-M-TOP NEG good-IND
‘it is not good to camp after sunset.’ (Neukom 2001: 181)

Object:

[onko ə gu-ko]
man-ko-m
those:pl bring-3PL.OBJ forbid-3PL.OBJ-2SG.SBJ
‘Forbid them to bring those.’ (Neukom 2001: 182)

Perception predicate:

[moɔɾɛɔtə ḳɛtə i dak’ ɭok-ˈkane] ɲel-ˈgɔt-ˈket’-ko-a
five-cl woman water fetch-3PL.SBJ come-M-IPFY-3SG.SBJ see-V-PST:ACT-3PL.OBJ-IND
‘He saw five women come to fetch water.’ (Neukom 2001: 183)

Ref Mod:

Uni-y- [e bujhə u-ɲɔɾ k’-ket’]
that-(anim) y-3SG.SBJ understand.-little-PST:ACT person-3SG.SBJ beckon-V-APPL:V-PST:ACT-3SG.OBJ-IND
‘He beckoned the man who had understood a little.’ (Neukom 2001: 197)

Pred Mod:

[cala-k’-calak’-te] mit-ˈtau toyo-ko pel-ˈtiok’-ked-e-a
go-M-RDP-INST 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)

With postposition (simulative):

[one-ɛ ə met-ˈat’-ko] leka-ˈge jts- bɔr-ko cala-k’-kan-a
that-y-3SG.SBJ say-APPL:V-PST:ACT-3PL.OBJ like:FOC all person-3PL.SBJ go-M-IPFY-IND
‘They all went along as he had told him.’ (Neukom 2001: 195)

Pred-ˈkate\(^5\)

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Tense/Mood, no Person, voice can be expressed
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:

Pred Mod:

[[nonka budii-ˈkate] habhwa-ˈkate-ko] cala-k’-kan-a
like-this think-CONV be.hopeless-CONV-3PL go-M-IPFY-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: “-ˈkate occurs elsewhere in isolated position as ‘then’ or together with deictic elements such a nit’nou’ (cf. nit-ˈkate ‘nowadays’) or ona that’ (cf. ona-ˈkate ‘thereupon’), or in combination with numerals, e.g. ponea-ˈkate ‘(give them) four each.’” (Neukom 2001: 185)

\(^6\) Note that the subject pronominal is nevertheless retained in the second converb 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: Almost all retained (see above)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Mod:

\[\text{ona dare [oka-m mak-\text{akat}']}\]

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:

\[\text{Ba-kin pel-thik-e-kan-a, nui-d3} \]

neg-3dual.sg see-correct-3sg.obj-ippv-ind this(an)-top

\[\text{[skin-ren apa-t kan-a-e mente]}\]

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)

Example:
Ref Mod:

\[\text{Ima-ya domu [nari-te kotai] mi-kitane nao-kotu}\]

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/-\text{(y)AcAK}

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

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (non-subject/possessor clauses), (+ postposition also Pred Mod, simulative). ≠ 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)AcAK 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:

Ref Mod:

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:

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-AL T)
Verbal categories: No TAM and Person agreement
Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:
Ref Head:

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:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{burada sat-\text{-\text{an}}} & \quad \text{kitap-lar} \\
\text{here sell-\text{-\text{pass-PTC}}} & \quad \text{book-\text{pl}}
\end{align*}
\]
‘the books that are sold here’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eğretmen ol-\text{-\text{an}}} & \quad \text{haydar} \\
\text{teacher be-\text{-\text{PTC}}} & \quad \text{Haydar}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Haydar, who is a teacher’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{araba-ni \text{çal-\text{an}}} & \quad \text{komşu-muz} \\
\text{car-\text{-3sg.pl.poss}} & \quad \text{steal-\text{-\text{pass-PTC}}} & \quad \text{neighbour-\text{-1pl.poss}}
\end{align*}
\]
‘our neighbour, whose car was stolen’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

Pred-(y)ArAk
Remark: Normally, the subject is unexpressed under co-referentiality.
Functional distribution: Rg: 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:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ben etraf-im-a bak-arak} & \quad \text{yürürüm} \\
\text{I around-1sg-dat look-\text{-\text{conv(manner)}}} & \quad \text{walk-aor-1sg}
\end{align*}
\]
‘I walk looking around (myself).’ (Kornfilt 1997: 73)

Pred-(y)A\ldots Pred-(y)d
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: Rg: 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:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Genç kadın ağały-ya ağalya-hikayesini anлатты} \\
\text{The young woman told her story [continuously weeping].} \quad \text{Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Adam it-e kak-a} & \quad \text{şene geçmeye calışıyordu} \\
\text{man [pushing  shoving]} & \quad \text{was trying to get to the front}
\end{align*}
\]
‘[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:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Isti-yor-um ki yarin ben-imle sinema-ya gel-ein} \\
\text{want-pres.progr.1sg comp tomorrow 1-gen-with cinema-dat come-sg.opt}
\end{align*}
\]
‘I want you to come to the movies with me tomorrow.’ (Kornfilt 1997: 46)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Sanayorum [ki iṣ-in-i brak-mak isti-yor]
I think Comp job.sg.poss-acc leave-nmlz want-1ppfv
'I think that s/he wants to quit his/her job.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 409)

Ref Mod:
Bir adam [ki soğuk-la-r-ın see-me-z] yalanız yaṣa-maṣ-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 ahs [ki baklava yap-mey-r iṣil-ma-r-ın]
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-ar-se diye] kork-ar-du
Meral Turgut with Selim see-aor-con.cop comp/quot be.afraid-1ppfv-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-yar
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 proprietive/locative modal case (MPROP/MLOC).

Examples:
Ref Head:
Ngada kurr-ja [ki-l-son-n-jı daλwani-n-ki thawału-mmırk] 1sg.nom see-act 2pl.poss-mloc dig.up-nmlz-mloc yan-mloc:obl
'I saw you digging up yams.' (Evans 1995: 472)

Ngada kurr-ja [niswan-jı budi-n-marrı] 1sg.nom see-act 3sg.poss-mloc run-nmlz-priv
'I saw that he was not running.' (Evans 1995: 476)
Ref Mod:
Nga-ka-l-da [wirr-n-bu] dangka-cw 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.

Pred-n-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.

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,

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.”

The tense-system deviates slightly from independent clauses:
Independent clause: - ACT(tial), 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 [ngi:jewa] kada-thaa-thuu-tha
1sg.nom know.nom again-c.obl return-pot-c.obl
'I know that I will come back again.' (Evans 1995: 490/491)

Ngada kamburri-ja nisan-ji [walthu-thba dathin-inja barji-nyarra-tha]
1sg.nom say-act 3sg-mloc raft-c.obl that-c.obl capsize-appr-c.obl
'I told him the raft would capsize.' (Evans: 516)

Ngada marin-marri-i-jarr [dathin-kurrka thungalurrk kamburri-jurrk]
1sg.nom self-hear-M-PST that-LOC:OBBL thing:LOC:OBBL speak-IMMED:OBBL
'I heard myself speaking on that thing (the radio).' (Evans 1995: 491)

Ref Mod:
nyinka kurri-jarra dathin-kina danika-na
2sg.nom see-pst that.mabl man-mabl
[thawurr-inaa-thba raaj-jarra-jinaa-tha]
throat-mabl c.obl spear-pst-caus-pst boomerang-mabl
'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 dathin-a dangka-a, [dan-kina yii-jarrma-tharra wangal-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)/paj + clause
Remark: The oblique marker tu(a)/paj 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˙rhekutj ti-naju [tu laq˙laq-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 Yohan],
where-fpv believe very obl prophet foc John
'He believed strongly that John was a prophet.' (Egli 1990: 192)
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:**

\[
\text{naŋguaq [a ma-ngetjez sun]}
\]

good foc pass-come you

‘It is good that you have come.’ (Egli 1990: 230)

\[
\text{ini'ka maqati [a tja-parh-patsun-en]}
\]

not can lk we-one.another-see-pat

‘We cannot see one another.’ (Egli 1990: 230)

**Ref Mod:**

\[
\text{qala [a na tem-ler tua vua]}
\]

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)

\[
[pin-atsay an nua calau a] curay-an
\]

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**

\[
\text{sa ringul-i sun [a parbu qemleq]}
\]

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 (prefix 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. 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)

\[
\text{vomakej-an a masengseng}
\]

to.do.all.day.long-ptc lk work

‘to work steadily.’ (Egli 1990: 124)
**Example:**
Ref Mod:
*ī-ha-ni*-*a*  *impis*  *ptc*  *lk*  pencil
‘the pointed pencil’ (Egli 1990: 122)

**Imbabura Quechua**

**Pred-ji/-shka/-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: -ji for present, -shka 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-fj*]-*ta*  *Marya*  say-3  *José*  big  house-ACC  have-nmlz:prs:ACC
  ‘Maria says that José has a big house.’ (Cole 1982: 14)

- *ñuka-* [*Juan kay-pi ka-shka*]-*ta*  *Juan*  this-in  be-nmlz:pst:ACC  think-I
  ‘I think that Juan was here.’ (Cole 1982: 33)

- *Juzi-* [*ñuka kaya llama-tar andi-na*]-*ta*  *José*  tomorrow  sheep-ACC  buy-nmlz:fut:ACC  believe-3
  ‘José believes that I will buy a sheep tomorrow.’ (Cole 1982: 37)

**Ref Mod:**

- *Marya riku* [*Marya*  see-ptc:prs  man]
- *Marya riku-shka* [*Marya*  see-ptc:prs  man]
  ‘the man whom Maria sees’ (Cole 1982: 47)

- *Juzi kulki-ta kara* [*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*]-*shka*  *ka*]-*ta*  *girl*  love-1  *Juan*  with  dance-ptc:pst  be-ptc:pst:ACC  believe-3
  ‘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* [*ñuka mama-ta riku-ngapaj*]  *want-1-cond  my  mother-ACC  see-sbjv
  ‘I want to see my mother.’ (Cole 1982: 37)
**Pred-čun (subjunctive)**

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

Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:  

\[\text{muna-ni} \quad [\text{Juzi} \quad \text{pay-paj \ mama-ta} \quad \text{riku-čun}]\]

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:  

\[\text{Juzi-ka} \quad [\text{llama-ta}/\text{Ø} \quad \text{randi}-y]-ta \quad \text{usha-n}\]

José-top sheep-acc/-Ø buy-inf-acc can-3

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

\[\text{nuka-ka} \quad [\text{shuj} \quad \text{ali} \quad \text{wagra-ta-mi} \quad \text{randi}-y]-ta \quad \text{muna-ni}\]

I-top one good cow-acc-val buy-inf-acc want-1sg

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

Pred Mod:  

\[\text{[Kanda--y} \quad \text{kanda-y}] \quad \text{shamu-rka-ni}\]

sing-inf sing-inf come-pst-1

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

**Pred-shpa**

Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:  

\[\text{[Kanda-shpa-mi]} \quad \text{shamu-rka-ni}\]

sing-conv-val come-pst-1

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

**Ma’di**

**Pred-l普查**

Remarks: Apart from the subordinating suffixes li, kā, rē, bē, and dʒɔ́, 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 na, 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-à [ètì ̀jù-Ì] rà
1sg (n) want-obj fish n-cat-nmlz aff
'I certainly want to eat fish.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 202)

Ref Mod:
àrùbì [ètì ̀jù dí-Ì] rì pà nà àlì rà
car Òpì poss (n)-take-ptc def leg afr defer aff
The car which Òpì took certainly has a flat tire.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

ílí [ŋò-Ì] rì ìsìfì
toilet (n)-break-ptc def sharp
'The toilet which was broken is sharp.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

ág [tí nà bárá nà ̀jì àgù-Ì] rì
cow afr child that poss (n)-steal-ptc def
'The man whose cow that child stole…' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

Pred-dù
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 (phrasals), Ref Mod (source clauses) = PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 2 / 3 (D-SENT / D-AL T)
Verbal categories: No tense
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT / POSS - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
ètì ìdò ̀sì-dù rà
Ètì has certainly started to build (with) it.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22/207)

Ref Mod:
hèlì ìgò rì pì 'mgà-dù rì àlì rì
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-ù
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:
mà òdì mù-kà kàwù
1sg try [(n)-go-nmlz] neg(pst)
'I have not tried/did not try to go/going.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

Má ndù èrùáŋgàwà rì pà ̀dëì-kà rà
1sg see [bird def poss (n)-ve-fall-nmlz] aff
'I saw the bird’s falling/fall.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 21)

àlì ̀sì òbá ̀sò-kà òrá kò
ind-want cigarette (n)-smoke-nmlz here neg
'Smoking is not permitted here.' (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 213)

Pred-rù/ù
Remark: àrù is the plural equivalent of -ù 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

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Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
\[ d\text{ä}g\text{ä} \text{äm-à} \quad d\text{ä}z\text{ï} \quad nï \quad \text{i}-\text{b\d{a}} \quad rï \]
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)
\[ dï \quad d\text{ä}g\text{ä} \quad tï \quad n\text{â} \quad \text{égwè-rï} \quad dï \quad rï \quad rï \]
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:
\[ nï \quad fï \quad k-\text{è-mï} \quad \text{áhï} \]
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 \( z\text{ï} + s\text{ï} \)
Remark: This construction is marked by the grammatical verb \( z\text{ï} \) and the source propositiona \( s\text{ï} \). 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:
\[ k\d{a} \quad s\text{ï} \quad tï \quad \text{mïndr më} \quad n\d{a} \quad k\d{a} \text{-zï} \quad r\d{a} \quad sï \]
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-\text{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:
\[ \text{Fontos volt} [\text{Péter-nek olv\text{-ni-a}]} \]
important was Peter-DAT read-INF(-3SG)
‘It was important for Peter to read.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 35)
\[ \text{Anna most akar} [\text{olv\text{-ni}}] \]
Anna now wants read-INF
‘Anna wants to read now.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)
\[ \text{Anna meg-próbál-t-a} [\text{meg-tanul\text{-ni a verset}}] \]
Anna pref-try-PST-DEF.3SG pref-learn-INF the poem.ACC
‘Anna tried to learn the poem.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**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: 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-nmlz-poss.3sg-acc suggest-pst-def.3sg

'I suggested to hide the treasure.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 207)

Örül−ök [Paul váratlan meg-érkez−és-é]−nek
be.happy-indef.1sg Paul unexpected pref-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-ótt** *(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−ótt] könyv
the Anna by yesterday read-pst.ptc book

'the book (that was) read by Anna yesterday.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 46)

**Pred-óndó / -endiró** *(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-endó] kor
the pref-come-fut.ptc age

'the age to come' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 319)

a [ki-javít-endiró] dolgozat-ok
the pref-correct-fut.ptc paper-pl

'the papers to be corrected' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 320)

**Pred-ud/−vé** *(simple converb)*

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses

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 utca-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’):

Remarks:
- 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.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 versez]

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 versez

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

Remarks:
- 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 akadt el, [hogy olvastat]

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)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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.

Examples:
Ref Mod:
(A laughs, [in.his.childhood used] 3sg)
Peter fell asleep the way he used to in his childhood.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 50)

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.

Example:
Ref Head:
[Ano hito / nom / gen book book / nmlz / acc write-pass thing WRITE-PST(MLZ) know nom well know-pass-gen be
‘It is well known that that person wrote a book.’ (the fact that that person wrote 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.

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[Dakara, [car stop] / dem shop stopped / shop "the shop in front of which a car is parked’ (Hinds 1986: 61)

With resumptive pronoun:
[Sono / nom / dir car / dem shop 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.

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[Dakara, [manner stop] / dem shop stopped / shop 'the shop in front of which a car is parked’ (Hinds 1986: 61)
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 nihonjin satafuu 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 jaugoroku no koro ibiki no kuse ga
Yasuko top fifteen:sixteen attr time snore attr habit subj
be-conv parents top correction lobj efforts do-prt-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
Ogata Shingo top slightly eyebrow obj moved.together-inf slightly mouth obj
ake-te] [nanila kangae-te] i-ru fun datta
open-conv something think-conv be-prs 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 doj obj frown-inf Shuuichi top drunkenness subj abate-prt 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 ziej nog tiaw tacom wa kwe zoo sah
comp cl neighbour move out do 1sg happy
'It makes me happy that the neighbour moves out.' (Hartriehausen 1990: 200)

kuam/(has)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 xav [kuvam Paul yuav lub faij]  
Peter want COMP Paul buy cl car
‘Peter wants Paul to buy a car.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 220)

Kuv pauv [nas/ta na yuav npaq]  
1sg know COMP 3sg buy flowers
‘I know that he has bought flowers.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 22)

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

Example:
Ref Head:
Kuv xav [kuv moog tiev sai]  
1sg hope 1sg go house soon
‘I hope to go home soon.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 221)

kws (REL) + clause:
Functional distribution: Riq: 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)3 (‘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: Riq: 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:
ám ɪ̀ ttò [gwɛ̀ɛ̀ yòò dìlò]  
1sg want progr kick.inf ball
‘I want to kick the ball.’ (Noonan 1992: 213)

àpwóɲ ɔ̀ tòwá    à    cècèk    à    kwân  
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)

Remark: The dependent predicate is indicative when there is independent time reference and subjunctive when there is dependent time reference.
Functional distribution: Riq: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)  
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)  
Verbal categories: Retained (see remark)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLE:
Ref Head:
Àγό [nɪ lójì dágò tič]
1sg-know-HAB COMP man 3sg-hate-HAB work
'I know that the man hates work.' (Noonan 1992: 191)

ámító [nɪ dákọ ṣeélò átín bák]
1sg-want-PROGR COMP woman 3sg-buy-PFV-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 mè. 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: Ríg: 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:
lóc [ámé márò gwók]
man REL-ATTR.PRT 3sg-like-HAB dog
'The man that likes the dog.' (Noonan 1992: 215)

ât [ámé dákọ ṣeélò bák]
child REL-ATTR.PRT woman 3sg-buy-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 transitive 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-AL T)
Verbal categories: None (i.e. no tense/mood, no subject-object agreement)
Nominal categories: (CASE)
Argument encoding: Ø - INC/POSS - INC

Examples:
Ref Head:
[sè-ndà gùr-bèr] bìnùt
pl-ANIM.PL-GEN tent-making-INF it.ended
'We finished making the tent.' (Lit: 'Our tent-making ended.') (Vajda 2004: 78).

[ìt i pobl] itpàram
1sg sing,INF I know
'I know how to sing/I can sing.' (Vajda 2004: 78)

[Àk-àpa dssàno-ẹnà] márò
1sg-DAT hunt,INF-TRL need
'I need to hunt' (Vajda 2004: 77)

Ref Mod:
bày sàgètì
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)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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

Examples:
Ref Head:
dótámm-báám łyvćilde [bšímnímin bûjìntâñotnoq]
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:
TuɁ;  [ital‘em]  keɁt
dem he.has.knowledge person
‘This knowledgeable person’ (lit: this person who has knowledge) (Werner 1997: 355)

Clause + eta ɡw’u
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
Taiχem,  [eta ɡw’u  ke’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
bù  toɁn dıldıq bîldî [deɁp dólîn ásqà].
3MASC so  he.lived all  people they.lived  like
‘He lived like everyone (else) lived.’ (Vajda 2004: 87)

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:
ât qîm  diyam  [gê-rê  stôg  dêyârûg]
1sg woman I.see.her who-FEM there she.lives
‘I am looking at the woman who lives there.’ (Vadja 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/dervied adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: Class/number agreement
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[mámul dóbà-s] díl
milk he.drink.it-nmlz child
'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

[dóbà-bes mámul] díl
he.drink.it-nmlz milk child
'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

Itelmén
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-ř (INF I) (Used for complements of modal, phasal and manipulative predicates.)
Ref Head:
Utut-z-en [əŋŋa bolse jowal-ʁ-s.]
can.not-PRS-3.SG something more-say-INF.I
'He cannot say anything anymore.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 168)

Komma t-iti-çen [p’z-š no-ka-s.]
1.SG 1.SG-force-3.SG.FAT child-DIM eat-CCM-INF.I
'I forced the child to eat.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 169)

Pred-kilh-kálh/-kala’n/-kala’n (PL) (INF II) (Used for complements of direct perception predicates.)
Ref Head:
Truk šin ‘agecut k-efku-řn [t’it’im ø-kálh.]
suddenly S. INF.III-see-INF.II 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’a ŋewte-n nita əŋŋa-kít k’-uzu-knen [əŋŋx-ki.]
interj S’s-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-ř (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-ř-en [Ememqut met’e-ľ.]
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.
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions: Key Examples

**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* [qet-či-yi-men qetfi-βj].
*good find-3sg.3sg strength*

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

**Ref Mod:**
*Utre n-exsfi-k t-laxl-kißen [n'exsfr-kißen muza-ʔn].
in.the.morning 1pl-wake.up-1.1pl 1sg-see-1sg 1pl-be.dry-1.1pl 1pl-pl*

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

**Ref Head:**
*Qetew* [qet-či-yi-men qetfi-βj].
*good find-3sg.3sg strength*

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

**Ref Mod:**
*Utre n-exsfi-k t-laxl-kißen [n'exsfr-kißen muza-ʔn].
in.the.morning 1pl-wake.up-1.1pl 1sg-see-1sg 1pl-be.dry-1.1pl 1pl-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'-či-kißen nu Nwilwejŋem [min k-či-lk-čen kulaka-ʔn].
1sg-find-1sg DEM N. REL INF.HI-choose-INF.HI Kulak-LOC*

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

**qatz + 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:**
*Ecwn jfrm celh3 qhnl [qatz k-nig-ʔn] t-laxl-s-k.
thus yesterday whole day as.if INF.HI-loaded-INF.HI 1sg-go-PRS-1.1sg*

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

**Koašati**

'Nominalizations' (various forms)

Remarks: For all verb classes, except one (‘class 2A’), the nominalization is formed form 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:**
*Ici jammisi-t inkab-εğ3* vehāyi-l
der do:how-CONN to:shoot&hit-NMLZ know-1sg.sbj

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

**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-ádyá** (‘Present participle’) (Requires the focus form of the subject and object markers.)

Ref Mod:

Yilahá [épa-lí-ádyá-ok] kám-ábó:xi-ı
orange eat-1ss-prs.ptc/ss.soc be.good-adv-fut
‘The orange that I am eating is very good.’ (Kimball 1991: 289)

Yilahá [ám-bíša-ádyá-on] épa-li-t
orange give.to.me-2sg.sbj-prs.ptc/obj.soc eat-1sg.sbj-pst
‘I ate the orange that you just gave me.’ (Kimball 1991: 289)

**Pred-ýólli** (‘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 átí [épa-ýóll-ok] nihtá:bo:ı
that person eat-hab-ptc/ss.soc 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:

Yilahá [nihtá-k-on ám-bíša-ck-on] épa-lit
orange day-art-obj.soc give.to.me-2sg.sbj-pst.ptc/obj.soc eat-1sg.sbj-pst
‘I ate the orange that you gave me yesterday.’ (Kimball 1991: 291)

**Pred-áktta** (‘Imperfective participle’)

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

Ref Mod:

Akkó áti [épa-áktta-p] bica-li-t
person see-1sg.sbj-impf.ptc top see-1sg.sbj-pst
‘I saw the person that I used to see.’ (Kimball 1991: 292)

**Pred-lahó:kiáyyá** (‘Future participle’)

Remark: This formation is a combination of the present participial suffix -ádyá with the verbal suffixes -lab- (IRR), and -ák-, a hearsay suffix with the meaning ‘deduction’ (Kimball 1991: 292):

Ref Mod:

Yilahá [ám-bíša-lahó:kiáyyá-on] épa-l-laha-V
orange give.to.me-2sg.sbj-fut.ptc/obj.soc 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:

[ýyy-k atákká-n] uátyka-Vhei
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)

[Tálósha-síi-n] káyí-á-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:
\[
[\text{Fololahki-ci-\text{-}t}] \text{ be.coiled.up-conn} \text{ sit(\text{sc})-sw see-\text{ss-sbjv}} \text{ 3stat.obj-1sblj stat-be.afraid(3c)-har-ss}
\]
‘If I see one sitting coiled up, I am afraid of it.’ (Kimball 1991: 489)

Pred-\text{-}k
Remark: The suffix is a same-subject marker
This construction is used when the adverbal 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:
\[
[\text{Wayohk-a-k}] \text{ fly(pl)-ss distr-be.fast-adv-sw}
\]
‘They all fly very fast.’ (Kimball 1991: 490)

Thái
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:
\[
[\text{ɔ̀ɔk-kamla ŋ thúk wan} \text{ dii tɔɔ râa ŋ-kaay}]
\]
\text{exercise every day good towards body}
‘Doing exercise every day is good for your body.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 253)

\[
\text{Khów yìak [ɔ]\text{-}hùu kñnta}
\]
3 want pierce ear PR
‘She wants to have her ears pierced.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 231)

Ref Mod:
\[
\text{ek pen dìk [riam kñtx]}
\]
Ek cop child study well
‘Ek is a child who studies well.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 250)

thìi + clause:
Remarks: 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:

tz-wāa dīi nā [thîi mày 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 [thîi duulée] ni pen pen acaan bō
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 [thîi kháw pay yau kan taam rapran]
people REL RSP3 go stay RCP school

‘people who want to stay at school’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 245)

(tthîi+) wâa câ + clause

Remark: In some cases this construction combines with the flexible subordinator thîi, 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 [āwâ câ bâa gaan than thîi-nil]
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-tz(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 gezuurra esu-te]-a
regret have you.DAT lie say-NMLZ-DET

‘I regret telling you a lie.’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 656)

[bauvek etxean liburuak 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 case\(^{10}\), 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-PPV.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.
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Haurrek etxean liburuak sari irakur</th>
<th>children.erg home.loc books often read-pfv,nmlz-det</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I need/want to buy a house in Bilbao.</td>
<td>(Hualde &amp; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 694)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilbon etxe bat eros-i</th>
<th>behar/nahi dut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.</td>
<td>(Saltarelli 1988: 55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pred Mod:</th>
<th>lan-a egí-n-az irakaztement d-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diru-a ez alferkeria-n ego-n-az</td>
<td>Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>money-sg.abs NEG sloth-sg.loc be-pfv,ptc.sg.instr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Children's having often read books at home'</td>
<td>(Hualde &amp; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jon unetan Ameriketan egon-ík, ezer gutxi egin dezagu</th>
<th>Jon moments.prox.loc Americas.loc be.pfc-part anything little do aux.pot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'With Jon being in America right now, there's very little we can do to make progress with the work.'</td>
<td>(Hualde &amp; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 746)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buru-a buel-ta gabe sogi z-u-en aurre-ra</th>
<th>head-sg.abs turn-pfc without 3sg.erg-aux 2-pst front-sg.all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'He continued forward without turning his head.'</td>
<td>(Saltarelli 1988: 55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(subjunctive) clause -(en) 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 is also used to mark factive complements. The conjunct -enik is the counterpart of -(en) used for the factive complement of a negated matrix verb</th>
<th>Retained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples:</th>
<th>Ref Head:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad-ín nahi dute</td>
<td>Basque Basque Country entire.loc official be -{sbjv}.comp want aux euskaldun asok. Basque.speaker many.erg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.'</td>
<td>(Hualde &amp; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 640)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entzun dut [Amaiaren neba hil d]-en-a hear aux Amaia.gen brother die aux-comp-det</td>
<td>'I heard that Amaia's brother died.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnekin [Mikel berandu etoriko z]-en-a ba-knew Mikle late arrive.fut aux-comp-det</td>
<td>'I knew that Mikle would arrive late.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi udaltzainek ukatu dute [bidea Rubioren bizkarrezain izan zir]-enik two policemen.erg deny aux trip.loc Rubio.gen bodyguard be were-comp</td>
<td>'Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio's bodyguards during the trip.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref Mod:</td>
<td>Ez dukitzkela-n gaiez mintzatu nahi nuen Not know-3abs.pl/erg-rel matters.instr speak will aux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I wanted to speak about matters that I don't know.'</td>
<td>(Hualde &amp; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 763)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pellok ekarri du]-en dirua galdu dut pete.erg bring aux-rel money.det lose aux</td>
<td>'I lost the money that Peter brought.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clause + -e(n)bezala
Functional distribution: Ríg: 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]-e(n)bezala egin dut lana
YOU.EMPL 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 -(e)la has a modal/temporal (simultaneous) meaning. 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 [hauk orro 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 egiten dia]-ela
University.ERG document all.DEF.PI Basque.INSR and Spanish.INSR do AUX(SUB)-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, [jausi egiten du]-ela-rik
rise.IPFV AUX, jump do.IPFV AUX-ADV-PART
‘(S)he gets up, jumping.’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 713)

baiz-clause
Remark: The conjunction baiz 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 bandiera [ez baizu ainitz xahutzen]
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,
Landibar.LOC ba.are four neighbourhood those(ESP) CONJ-are

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 [jogruru 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 fè i ka tags
I want that you go • I want you to go.

M'b'a fè au ka ka foro cikè
I want that you cultivate your field • I want you to cultivate your field. (Brauner 1974: 80)

Pred-łe/-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:
M'gò [pasa-łe]
person loose.weight-PFV.PTC
‘a thin person’ (‘a person who has lost weight’) (Brauner 1974: 73)

min(u)/man(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 nama Kulikòrò] oye tubahu ye
Stranger REL come K. cop European cop
‘The stranger who has come to K is a European.’ (Brauner 1974: 82)

Pred-tò (‘present participle’ convert)
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-tò sègina] a ka dugu
3SG cry-PRES.PTC. go.back.? 3SG FTV? 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)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

1.3.prefer.prs this-gen do-nmlz-dat 'I prefer to do this.' (Vamling 1989: 99)

'[p'resident'-is gada-dg-om-a]
president-gen prev-stand.down-this-nmlz
'the standing down of the president' (Hewitt 1995: 542)

[mokalake-ta mier upleb-eb-is ga-mo-q'en-eb-a]
citizen-pl(gen) by rights-pl-gen prev-prev-use-this-nmlz
'the making use of their rights by the citizens' (Hewitt 1995: 542)

m-pred(-a) / m-pred-un(-a) (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-AL T)
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-al] -i
Shevarnadze-erg plane-gen prev-act.ptc-seize-this-act.ptc-nom youth-pl-nom
'da-a-xvret'-in-a
prev-lv-execute-caus-he(aor)
'Shevarnadze had the young ones, who hijacked the plane executed.' (Hewitt 1995: 608-609).

Privative:
[k'ont'rol-s da-ku-vemdebar-eb-il-i]
control-dat prev-priv.ptc-subordinate-this-priv.ptc-agr nuclear-agr energy(nom)
'Nuclear energy, which is subordinate to no control…' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Pred-al / m-pred-un / 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-i]
Georgia(nom) Arab-pl-nom
'mier da-p'q'r-ob-il-i kveq'ana i-q'o
mier by prev-grab-this-pst.ptc-nom country(nom) sv-cop(3.aor)
'Georgia was a country (that had been) occupied by the Arabs.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Razikashvili-gen prev-record-pst-ptc-agr variant-nom
'Ražik’ashvili had the variant recorded by Razikashvili' (Hewitt 1996: 611-612)

Intransitive:
[aqra-s verj-i]
gold-gen past-dat prev-connect-this-pst.ptc-agr legend-pl-nom
'legends linked to the golden ram' (Hewitt 1996: 609)

sa-pred(-el / -ar / 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)

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Example:

Ref Mod:

\begin{verbatim}
Ager m-i-k'av-i-a \quad \text{[xel-mo-sa-w'-er]-i} \quad \text{haggald-eb-i}
\end{verbatim}

\text{here} \quad \text{1-ov-hold-prs.stat-3 hand-prev-fut.ptc-sign}-nom \quad \text{paper-pl-nom}

‘I am holding here the papers which are to be signed.’ (Hewitt 1995: 609)

\textbf{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 obligatorily (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 \textit{rom} may also be replaced by \textit{titko(s)} or any of its synonyms \textit{vitom(c)} and \textit{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)

\begin{verbatim}
\text{REL PRON + clause}
\end{verbatim}

Remark: The relative pronouns are \textit{vin-c ‘who’}, \textit{ra-c ‘which’}, and \textit{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 / Ø - SENT / Ø (gapping)

\begin{verbatim}
\text{REL MOD:}
\quad q'elia, \quad \text{[cin-c nationalism-i} \quad \text{all(nom) who(nom)-rel nationalism-dat}
\quad \text{a-h-q'v-eb-a} \quad \text{samisbelo-i} \quad \text{u-galat'eb-i}
\quad \text{prev-it-follow-ths(fut)-he homeland-dat ov-betray-ths(fut)-he}
\end{verbatim}

‘Everyone who follows nationalism will betray this country.’ (Hewitt 1995: 601)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Avt'or-I**

```plaintext
[romel-is c'ign-s(a-c) c'e-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:**

```plaintext
[e-xmar-eb-i-an ra saxalesp armi-is iet'euv-s]
```

ov-help-ths-prs-they ADV people’s army-gen attack-dat

**part’izan-eb-i a-flet-eb-en-…**

partisan-pl-nom NV-strengthen-ths-they(prs)

‘Helping the people’s army to attack, the partisans strengthen …’ (Hewitt 1995: 600)

```plaintext
[mo-b-q’qv-s ra xsuadexeu mk’dexar-tu]
```

prev-he-bring-3(prs) ADV different investigator-pl(gen)

**axr-eb-i, marr-i a-sk’vn-i-s..**

opinion-pl-nom Marr-nom NV-conclude-ths-he

‘Adducing the opinions of different investigators, Marr concludes…’ (Hewitt 1995: 600)

**Regore (‘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:**

```plaintext
[Regore ten g-e-p’rian-eb-a, iie 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/O - SENT

**Examples:**

**Ref Head:**

```plaintext
Énan n-a-kli [yek i-wich umu énaniny moul]
```

He he-real-say I I-rr-enter ben his work

‘He said that I would have his job.’ (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 179)

```plaintext
ch-a-kli [ch-e-geik mamawegasibel]
```

pl.mix-real-say/want pl.mix-rr-build parent.woodPoss.fence

‘They wanted to build a parent type (= very strong) fence. (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 182)

**Clause + a(l)i**

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-á-gá-b-we-yagú agú-dak
3PL-MASC.SUBJ-REAL-fix-CL3.SG-OBJ cl3.sg.dem-this
nehe-pali trag [g-a-lahe-mu bhensin ulí]
large-cl3.sg truck cl3.sg.SUBJ-REAL-travel-BEN gasoline REL
'They repaired this big truck which transports gasoline.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 103)

buiduk + 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:
[Buiduk eceb eb-a-kli-mu]
like they mix 3PL.MIX.SUBJ-REAL-say-like
'Like they said' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 968)

ÁKHHAZ
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 1z-qi-zar-ra] (Ø)-r-dr-w-e-ye'
here 1SG.Poss-be-this-nmlz it-2PL-know-DYN-FIN
'They know that I was here.' (Hewitt 1979: 31)

[darà tə-la wac˚ ĵà-s-šo-yt']
them them-by(instr) today Čerkessk-to our-send-nmlz it-prev-1SG-be.surprised.at-FIN
'I am surprised at their sending us to Čerkessk 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-zaa-wà] (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 -ɀ(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:
\[
[\text{a-phs} də-z-ɪts-z] \quad \text{d-a-x'it'}
\]
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)

\[
[r-c'a-y˚ə̀s-sy ə̀-q'a-w]
\]
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)

\[
[a-x'a-y˚ə̀z-də-z-ə̀]
\]
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)

\[
[\text{Ye-ś-w-ə̀s-ħa-z}] \quad \text{yə-q'a-c'at'}
\]
prev-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: Pred Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, agreement
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: OBL - POSS/Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[
[\text{Prosze o [zwolni-ienie z pracy dwie pracownice]}] \quad \text{request:1sg about dismiss-nmlz:LOC from work:gen two:acc woman:worker:acc.pl}
\]
'I request the dismissal from work of the two women workers.' (Comrie 1976: 191)

\[
[\text{kupowa-nie mies-a prez Hanke}] \quad \text{buy-nmlz meat:gen by Hanika}
\]
'the buying of meat by Hanika' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm: 293)

Pred-INF (various forms)
Remark: There is a number of different infinitival endings:
-\text{ač} -\text{ač}
-\text{eč} -\text{eč}
-\text{eč} -\text{eč}
-\text{yč} -\text{uwač}
-\text{uč} -\text{ywač}
\text{-e} -\text{-uwač -uwač}

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:
\[
[\text{Postaniwilem [kupiec dom]}] \quad \text{I.decided buy:inf house}
\]
'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 chłopa [stuchać-c-go radio]

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

**Pred-any/-anal (SG)/-anel (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:

Odziaż [sprzedać-ana] tam jest tania.

clothes (being) sold-PFC(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 [złamana] 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:**

Ref Mod:

[Stuchać-c] ubratem 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:
Myślę, [że ona jest mężatką].
‘I think that she is married.’ (Bielec 1998: 239)

kktóry/które/ko (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 mieszka,] była mała. [= w którym]
The cottage in which they lived was small.’ (Bielec 1998: 155)

Jak (gdyby) + 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 spojrzała 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:
but muškíl bišá [gós-lir-as]
very difficult be.IV 2-show-INF
‘It is very difficult to show (it) to you.’ (Anderson 2002: 545)

Ref Mod:
[Chá-aṭe oós-rúý-ar] bok
post-superess neg-sit-INF dog
‘a dog which doesn’t sit at its post’ (Anderson 2002: 545/Berger 1998: 171)

Pred Mod:
[śir-ar] say-INF-dar
‘when he said’ (Anderson 2002: 547/Berger 1998: 190)

[du-ús-ar]-ulb
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.
Functionals 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-ŋ 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:
[yulíz bay-a-m]-ulu K'udé-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)

[ní-ar-um]-ate
NEG-cry-aor.ptc-superess

Aya máma [já-ar taklíiff n-á-či-n] uyó ŋ-ko u-yú-ar
father(erg) mother(erg) i-dat trouble conv-1sg.io give-conv big-pl 3cl.poss-son(pl)-dat
šuá n-e gar-í ŋ ét-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)

Claude + ke/dú
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/dervied manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Example simultaneity clause:

\[
\text{Zungating-}giram-ular\text{ asqur-i}\text{ d-i-ii-m-i} z\text{-gen}
\]
\[
\text{village-ILL flower-PL PREP-3CL.SG-{come)-3CL.SG}
\]
\[
\text{ban dastir-an b-il-um}
\]

‘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

Lawukaleve

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

\[
\text{Ngai [nga-botea la o-ma-e]}
\]
\[
\text{1sg 1sg.POSS-arrow sg.FEM.ART 3sg.FEM.OBJ-take-NMZ}
\]
\[
e-lii-re\text{ ta a-lei}
\]
\[
3sg.NEUT.OBJ-want-N.FIN just 1sg.SUBJ-exist
\]

‘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:

\[
[\text{Ali nga-fosal a-u-m na] a-le-m fin.}
\]
\[
\text{man 1sg.POSS-fish 3sg.MASC.OBJ-eat-SG.MASC ART 1sg.SUBJ-see-SG.MASC 3sg.MASC.FOC}
\]
\[
\text{I saw the man who ate my fish.’ (Terrill 2003: 442)}
\]

\[
[\text{Ali a-na so-oke-ne a-ngooa-m na] o-foc}
\]
\[
\text{man 3sg.MASC.OBJ-in RDF-laugh-IFFV 1sg.SUBJ-stay-SG.MASC SG.MASC.ART 3sg.POSS-pig}
\]
\[
\text{na o-lufu-m}
\]
\[
\text{sg.MASC.ART 3sg.SUBJ-leave-SG.MASC}
\]

‘The man who I laughed at had lost his pig.’ (Terrill 2003: 448)

Alamblak

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:
\[Yifem\] \[pëthawon\]më\[n] \[nan\]bo \[yi-nef\]t
father talk.try.I.him [1-GEN go-NMLZ-3SG.FEM]
‘I tried talking to Father (about) my going.’ (Bruce 1984: 124)

\[Yifem\] \[pëthawon\]më\[n] \[v\[i\]r\]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)

\[yima\]-[m \ bupa\-r-oh \ yak-nef\[-t\]
do.not.talk.forbid.you person-3 pl water-3-gen.pl get-NMLZ-3SF.FEM
‘Don’t forbid the men(s) getting of water.’ (Bruce: 125)

Pred-\(k\f_{\text{f}}t\) (INF)
Remark: Unlike the nominalization in \(\text{nef}\), the infinitive does not take gender/number markers.
Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:
\[Na \ iñji \ wañf\] \[ɨ\] \[nahmë\[n\] \[baripat\] \[ru\-haku\[-t\]
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)

\[yim\] \[ar\] \[at\] \[k\f_i\w_{\text{z}}\] \[yima\]-[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 \ yu\[w\]y\[-t\]at-më\[-t\]
- I dog \dem-\hit-REM.PST \stick-3SG.FEM
‘a stick (with) which I hit a dog’ (Bruce 1984: 111)

\[Ø \ yimar \ ku\[n\] \[hit\] \[bing\]ma-mrä-r-\[be\]
- man house build-REM.PST-3SG.MASC-GEN woman-3SG.FEM
‘a woman whose man built a house’ (Bruce 1984: 111)

\(\text{ind} \ \text{bab\[i\] kmi}\) \[na \ \text{ind}-k\f_{\text{f}}më\[-t\]
DEM small place I REL-said-3SG.FEM
‘the small place (about) which I spoke’ (Bruce 1984: 108)

Pipil
\(k\f_{\text{a}}\) (\(h\)) + 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
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Head:

ya klaroh k-ita-k [kah wici ne siua-t].
he clear it-see-PRET COMP come the woman-ABS

‘He saw clearly that the woman (was) coming.’ (Campbell 1985: 126)

teu ki-muti katka [ku ne i-siua-ow se bruhah].
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-miktih ne mistun [ka ki-kwah ne tu:tuc-t]
I-it-killed the cat REL it-ate the bird

‘I killed the cat which ate the bird.’ (Campbell 1985: 129)

Ref Mod:

Naha ni-k-ita-k ne siua-t [ne ki-pack ne kwah-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).

Ref Mod:

Kunih ne ta:ka-t [ke 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)

ke:n-aken (‘just as’) + clause

Remark: This construction has simultaneity semantics.

Pred Mod:

Ah, ni-paa:lua [ken-aken taha ti-kiv-tuk ti-paa:lua]
Oh I-walk just-as you you-leave-PPV you-walk

‘Oh, I’m taking a walk just as you have come out to take a walk.’ (Campbell 1985: 289)
Example:
Pred Mod:

Ke'man yaha yarwii katka deroebob ne kayeh, yah kii:kii i-ixpan iisumawwal
'When he was going (down) the street, he came out in front of (the) Shaunaba.' (Campbell 1985: 131)

WAMBON

-ε (CONN) + clause

Remark: The connector -ε 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-khe-n-[ε] lava-niwo...
and see-3SG.PRS-TR-CONN trap-3SG.PST
'And he saw that he had trapped it (…)’ (De Vries 1986: 29)

-α + clause-α

Remark: The suffix -α links all types of pre-nominal modifiers to the head noun, including relative clauses, which are additionally marked by the relativizer -α, which delineates the relative clause by cliticizing to its first constituent. Relative clauses can also be head-final. If that case, the construction is not pre-nominal, so the connector -α 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-α tembe-n-α] kevε betak-nok-dëp
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)

[Aliv-α ndu-α takhima-lope-n-ewe] setelep-ke-khe
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-ε [matet-mo] ka-lembø?
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-ο

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:
[Nukh-e ande-lepo-ngga] ev-o kav-e nde-tmbo
I-conn cut-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 / Sentence - Ø / Sentence

Example:
Ref Head:
Yú [kúun kosolonni=a] ku Ɂargi
I you laugh pfv=det you.obj see pfv
I saw that you were laughing. (Tosco 2001: 287)
yú [kúun hí feɗɗ=ɗe]
I [you 3(verbal pron) open.depf=DET want.pfv]
‘I want you to open it.’ (Tosco 2001: 288)

Pred Mod:
Máa [ɠuo ɗo ɠo ɠo=ti=a]
Man trees dig rdpt=that=det 3.SUBJ me know
‘That man who is digging trees (he) knows me.’ (Tosco 2001: 283)

Pred-\(-ɲ/-an\)
Remarks: The suffix \(-ɲ\) is used for the basic and causative/factive 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:
[râh munnur-\(an\)] Ɂi beyyi
sorghum cut.rdpt.m-nmlz 3.SUBJ finish.pfv
‘The harvesting of the sorghum is finished.’ (Tosco 2001: 121)
"I want to skin the animal myself." (lit. 'I want my animal skinning.') (Tosco 2001: 121)

Berbice Dutch Creole

(\(fu / fi\)) + deranked clause

Remark: The complementizer can be deleted.

Functional distribution: Rtg: 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  l:anggi 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-IPFV.1sg
‘The governor will want to know how you got me.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 249)

(bi(fi)) (QUOT) (+ dati) (COMP) + clause

Remark: The complementizer 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: Rtg: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

Bat  now  eke  boro  [[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  biyi  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: Rtg: Ref Mod = (adjectives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT/$\emptyset$ - SENT/$\emptyset$ (gapping)

Example:

Ref Mod:

Di  jugu  manj-ap  [[swat  fol  me  hari]]
the  big-big  man-PF  what  full  with  hair
‘the giants that are covered with hair’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 268)
### Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

#### Babungo

**lan + 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:

Lambil gi [lamba yi zedasi] 
Lambi say-pfv that he-l.pron be.sick pfv

‘Lambi said that he was sick.’ (Schaub 1985: 31)

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### fát/yiu + 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:**

má yè wò ntio [fá/yiu (gwɔ)] shaw ngá yè I see pfv person thatREL he steal pfv fowl your

‘I have seen the man who has stolen your fowl.’ (Schaub 1985: 32)

lwà ngwə [fá tì gwà nò jwì nò] hammer that REL father my PST come pfv with gwɔs,] lwà gñɔ liu taa gilI

That hammer which my father came with (it), that hammer is in the house. (Schaub 1985: 33)

**Pred Mod:**

gwɔ sò sày [fá nɔvi wí nàgɔ tì gwɔ] she plant pfv corn ADV mother her tell pfv to her

‘She has planted the corn like her mother told her.’ (Schaub 1985: 39)

gwɔ gwà tì kò [yìvi wí nàgɔ tì gwɔ] 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 kìi in the first verb phrase, which expresses the event in process. The verb with which the marker kìi 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:
ŋuš sleep-IMPF sim rest-IPFV body
‘He was asleep, resting his body.’ (Schaub 1985: 220)

ŋuš nz to fi fíu jíi, [zung nyúyú]
he PST walk-IPFV from on road sing-IPFV songs
‘He was walking on the road, singing songs.’ (Schaub 1985: 220)

Kataphoric:
ŋuš [kíí to fi fíu jíi], gúúkú gú níi
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) + !xáis-a
Remark: This construction is marked by the nominal class marker !xáis (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:
Tsíí / / ‘íípàk-kxm kè míípa [!úu-kxm ta !xáis-à]
And him-we decl told we.goin-we sg.fem-obj
‘And we told him that we were going.’ (Hagman 1974: 257)

//típphe ‘aííp ke ‘a m̩ ‘ase kèrè ≠ó m̩ [‘aé- / / amsà xuú-kxm / xií hàa !xáis-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:
[//nuú hìaipà xuú kê /xìì hàa ‘íl] kxéh
from that land had come the.people
‘the people who had come from that land’ (Hagman 1974: 229)

Oblique argument:
[Tííta / / ‘ás tampa sì nií//zsà/‘zsí] ‘áas
I which(rspl) 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/‘aú/‘áií/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 ‘aú are completely
interchangeable, but -se is by far the most frequently used. The construction with ‘áií 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:

\[ [\text{rá-se-p ke kè pèé}] \]
rejoicing-adv he left

'Rejoicing, he left.' (Hagman 1974: 244)

\[ [xóókxoeku kè !nàeí'úhè] \]
the.prisoners were transported bound with chains ADV (Hagman 1974: 246)

Hdi
Clause + ḳá (+ low tone subject pronouns)
Remark: All subject pronouns following the complementizer, except the 3rd person singular a have low tone, whereas subject pronouns in independent clauses, except for the 3rd person plural, have high tone.

Functional distribution: Rig: Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained (special subject forms)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:

\[ [\text{mnd-á ráyá Mbákà ká}] \]
man-gen hunt Mbaka comp

'Mbitsa said that Mbaka is a hunter.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 422)

\[ [\text{zá-ní-sn-í tá hliy-á-mú}] \]
pst know-1 sg want-po-3pl gen

'I know that they wanted our leaving.' (lit. They wanted our leaving.) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 480)

\[ [\text{tá hgw-úy-tán ká-ú}] \]
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:

\[ [\text{Sí tá ɗv-áy-x}}] \]
pst want-po-3pl comp leave-gen-1pl.incl

'They wanted us to leave.' (lit. They wanted our leaving.) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 480)

\[ [\text{Snà-n-sn-í tá ghw-úy-tán tá ngárlíiñ-á blá.}] \]
hear-3-hear obj slaughter-po-3pl.gen.obj neck-gen cow

'I heard them slaughter cattle.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470) (lit. I heard their slaughtering the cow's neck?)

Ref Mod:

\[ [\text{ghürùm tá lá-gbw-í ndá mù xàñá}] \]
hole comp go-dso-ref assoc in ground

'a hole that went deep into the ground'

\[ [\text{màmù sàn nígbám tá kl-df-tá màñàkw xì}] \]
exist certain chief comp take-up-ref wife two

'There was once a chief who married two wifes.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470 406)

\[ [\text{tá (IPFV) + verbal root form (+ ka (COMP)-subject pronoun)}] \]
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:
\[\text{Wúyá s kwì [tà klá-ghá-tà-ŋnì, ká-xåŋ]}\]
\[\text{'Here is the thing that we give you.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 409)}\]

\(\text{tà} (\text{IPFV}) + \text{clause with nominalized verb}\)

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:
\[\text{Màmú tsə̀mə̀m-à kdirì [tà irí ndà tsg]}\]
\[\text{'There were enemies of Kderi who envied him.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 404)}\]

\(\text{Pred-}\alpha \) (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:
\[\text{Gítà kàm ná dzáá džá-ghá-m-plá-ŋnì tá džá-xåŋ [dzá-xåŋ]}\]
\[\text{'Today, we will avenge your father whom they have killed.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 410)}\]

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 \(\text{de} \) (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:
\[\text{Wó pànwàng [nī kuài yídån biye]}\]
\[\text{I hope you soon a little graduate} \quad \text{('I hope you’ll graduate a bit sooner.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 599)}\]

Ref Mod:
\[\text{wó mài-le yì-jìàn yīfu [tāi dā]}\]
\[\text{I buy-perf one-cl outfit too big} \quad \text{('I bought an outfit that turned out to be too big.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 614)}\]
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Pred Mod:**

**tā yǒu yì-ge mèimei [běn 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)

**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:**

[huán yǔ de] pūn fú fāng-zú
they use hand eat-food
'they eat with their hands.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 597)

**Pred Mod:**

nǐ pāo [de běn 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).

**Examples:**

**Pred Mod:**

nǐ [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.

**Examples:**

**Ref Head:**

[tiṟaṉ nakeyellaam etputakkissirukkaṉe] naan patteen
thief jewellery-all take-PROG-PRES-NMLZ/ACC I sec-pst-1sg
'I saw the thief taking the jewels.' (Asher 1982: 20)
Pred Mod:

Koantepeka [biis-išt mano:eczju: kattar-atic] cururuppa iruntaapka child-pl beach-loc sand-house build.prs-nmlz.loc busy bc.pst.3pr

'The children were busy building a sand-house on the beach.' (Asher 1982: 21)

[[(Ephk ammaa kaappi poosur-aata) poodal]-vee en mandevi pooreeaa]

our mother cofee put.pres-nmlz like-emph my wife put-pres-3sg.fem

'My wife makes coffee just as my mother makes it.' (Asher 1982: 48)

Pred-(kki)

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] connaar]
Raman his house.dat lacc 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:

[vuqqaan atiic-a] taccan
carpenter-acc beat.pst-ptc washerman

'the washerman who beat the carpenter' (Asher 1982: 28)

[taccan atiic-a] vuqqaan
carpenter beat.pst-ptc washerman

'the washerman whom the carpenter beat' (Asher 1982: 28)

[taccan puqam kuṣṭt-a] vuqqaan
carpenter money give.pst-ptc washerman

'the washerman to whom the carpenter gave money' (Asher 1982: 228)

[akkua taykacikiki caata poott-a] karanṭi
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:

À dı̀mù sù̀tì këŋ lići wà ła [aâ wànà nàmmà:ò]
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 ći ká hë̀j [màà tè ći pë̀ ò fàlù lëntiŋ]
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)

À dı̀mùl ndàì [Ø ći bìg wà cìgo:ò]
you tell him he come 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:
\[ \text{I continued to study Kisi.} \]
(Childs 1995: 281)
\[ \text{He failed completely to do the work for Saa.} \]
(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:
\[ \text{The water that he drank wasn't good.} \]
(Childs 1995: 286)
\[ \text{The person who inspects towns will return.} \]
(Childs 1995: 286)
\[ \text{Did Tamba give you any help with this work that you were doing?} \]
(Childs 1995: 288)
\[ \text{The long letter that I wrote to you in English and Kisi, it took me a whole hour to finish writing it.} \]
(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:
\[ \text{You speak two sentences be able all} \]
(Childs 1995: 288)
\[ \text{Then he wanted to be king again.} \]
(Childs 1995: 290)
Lêo hánh mảng [ kháh mị làm]  
then see pl. gold be much

‘Then they saw that there was much gold.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 111)

Mu’hn va [ pit bọ mu’hn ma]  
he say older brother; his come

‘He said that his older brother came.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 115)

Ref Mod:  
mu’hn ẹè pen pen tẹ d’éy-slẹ̀ [d’éy-slẹ̀ lái]  
she again become like cl. child-girl; good-girl much

‘She then became a very pretty girl.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 33)

Pred Mod:  
Tú mà páy [chăm làm]  
cl. horse go slow very

‘The horse goes very slowly.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 95)

Mu’hn càng có [ hẹ̀ng lái]  
cá ụghn
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 bọ́ ‘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:  
Lọ̀ wáng [khi bè tẹ̀] ọchọ̀ gù tẹ̀ bẹ̀ hù’ kè Hẹ̀ng [khi mà tẹ̀]  
Then boy ride goat dem then take cl. goat give man Hẹ̀ng ride horse dem

‘Then that boy riding the goat gave the goat to that man Hẹ̀ng riding the horse.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 16)

kẹ̀ [tʃi-wa tı̀ch cọ̀n śhin tẹ̀ ní]  
man rel lost cl. stone dem foc

‘The man who had lost the stone.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 78)

Áhn bẹ̀n [càu-ni-że-khọ̀ ní]  
cl. house I.run.out dem

‘The house (that) I was running from.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 80)

kẹ̀ [tʃi-wa càu àwà ẹ̀kọ̀ hù’ ní]  
mu’hn

man rel I.gave cl. book to foc he

‘The man I have the book to, he ….’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

Ọ̀hng kẹ̀ [càu ẹ̀kọ̀ ọ̀hń tu hù’ ní]  
cl. man I.bought cl. hat for foc

‘The man for whom I bought the hat.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

bọ́ + 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:

Lē [mu’hn ŋat hān cāh sl’i] mu’hn lāo lāi
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:

[Fir-ge-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 simulative clause.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ extra suffix also simulative) = 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)

Simulative:

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:

[agen-a-ni]-ko seng-ja, an-tang dra-emia 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:
\textbf{Ang-a} \([mi \ cha-na] \ man-a\)
I-NOM rice eat-INF can-NEUT
'I can eat rice.' (Burling 2004: 320)

\textbf{Bi-a} \([kat-ang-na] \ ha\-'ik-ing-a\)
he-NOM run-away-INF want-PROGR-NEUT
'He wants to run away.' (Burling 2004: 320)

\textbf{Ang-a} \([hik-ko \ nam-ct-na \ (in-e)] \ che-\ta \ da\-\ta-a\)
I-NOM you-ACC good-CAUS-INF COMP try-FUT
'I will try to improve you.' (Burling 2004: 321)

\textbf{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)

\textbf{Pred-\textit{kun/\textit{ka-na}} (IMP-INF) (+ in-e)}
Remark: -\textit{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:
\textbf{Nang-\ko} \([boi \ bre-\textit{kun-na} \ (in-e)] \ ang-a \ hit-a\)
you-ACC book buy-\textit{COMP} \textit{COMP} I-NOM order
'I order you to buy a book.' (Burling 2004: 322)

\textbf{Pred-\textit{gip-a}}
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect
Nominal categories: Case agreement
Argument encoding: Ø/POSS - Ø/SENT (gapping)

EXAMPLES:
Ref Mod:
\textbf{[nok-o \ \pi\-'sa-\ko \ nik-gip-a]} \ \textit{me-tra}\nhouse-LOC child-ACC see-\textit{PTC} \textit{woman}
'the woman who saw the child at the house.' (Burling 2004: 301)

\textbf{[me\-'ebik-ni \ skun-\-a \ den-gip-a] \ a\-'bol}\nwomen-GEN previously-LOC cut-\textit{PTC} \textit{firewood}
'firewood that the women chopped previously' (Burling 2004: 299)

\textbf{Pred-\textit{e/-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:
\textbf{Na-tok-\ko} \([nam-e] \ \ni-e \ cha\-'ja-a\-\textit{de}, \ldots\)
fish-ACC good-\textit{CONV} watch-\textit{CONV} eat-\textit{NEG-if}\nlit.: 'If you don’t watch out well when eating the fish, \ldots’ (Burling 2004: 314)

\textbf{[Klemen-\ko \ rim-jol-\-e]} \ ha\-ti-\textit{\ka} re-\textit{ang-a}\nClement-ACC take-along-\textit{CONV} market-\textit{LOC} go-\textit{NEUT}\n'(I) go to the market, taking Clement along.' (Burling 2004: 315)
Krongo

\textit{ání (QUOT) - 甬 = clause}

Remark: This construction is used only with utterance verbs. The quotative marker is part of the matrix clause; the particle 甬 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:
\n$\text{n}-\text{átásà} \quad \text{àlàyg} \quad [\text{t-}\text{óóh-óó-ntu}]$
\n1/2-\text{imfpw} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{nmlz-impf; cook-ben-tr-2.sg(dep)} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{dat:i}

'I wanted you to cook something for me.' (I wanted your cooking something for me.) (Reh 1985: 333)

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

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Examples:
Ref Mod:

káaw [m-óó] person conn:fem-IPFV.walk 'the woman, who walks', 'the walking woman' (Reh 1985)

Káaw [m-ásólá-ó] àakú] 'the woman that I looked at.' (Reh 1985)

Káaw [m-ásólá-ó] àakú] 'the woman that I looked at.' (Reh 1985)

Káaw [m-ásólá-ó] àakú] 'the woman that I looked at.' (Reh 1985)

Rig: Ref Head (+ extra element me, wyaro 'like' also Pred Mod) = PoS (nouns)

Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)
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-nú-rí 1 poss-sing-NMLZ-POSSD 'my singing' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

Amma-y-omok-thí-rí 1-3 poss-come-PST.NMLZ-POSSD 'our coming (in the past)' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

i-níki-bí-rí-kómó 3 poss-sleep-NEG.NMLZ-POSSD-COLL 'their not going to sleep' (Derbyshire 1979: 166)

Karyhe kamara G-to-thí-rí quickly jaguar 3 poss-go-PST.NMLZ-POSSD 'the going quickly of the jaguar.' (Derbyshire 1979: 23)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Object Clause Construction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iam.afraid, 1.poss-fall-nmlz-possd to</td>
<td>‘I am afraid of falling,’ (lit. I am afraid to my falling.) (Derbyshire 1979: 24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Slave Clause**

**Ref Head**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I didn’t know that the boat came in.</td>
<td>‘I didn’t know that the boat came in.’ (Rice 1989: 1245)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His dad said that he is going there.</td>
<td>‘His dad said that he is going there.’ (Rice 1989: 1224)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ref Mod**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This must be the place where Jim works.</td>
<td>‘This must be the place where Jim works.’ (Rice 1989: 1317)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clause + gba/gú**

**Ref Head**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is difficult for me to fold canvas.</td>
<td>‘It is difficult for me to fold canvas.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dreamed that I was a bear.</td>
<td>‘I dreamed that I was a bear.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clause + il/si/ií**

**Ref Mod**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘the big boat’ (Rice 1989: 1309)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the person who shot the moose’ (Rice 1989: 1313)

‘the girl who is sleeping’ (Rice 1989: 1309)

Clause + gbáré

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 gbáré] yá gáts’ederetę

‘One learns through watching.’ (1063)

Nivkh

Pred-vent / 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 [imn-ux alis pë-ny-vur] it-t’

‘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:

Nëk [če nI-d] eska-d

woman fish eat-fin dislike-fin.’

The woman does not like to eat fish. (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 tsoñ] t’ažo tyr t’ey pëi-d’.

I break table on be-fin

‘The knife which I have broken is on the table.’ (Gruzdeva 1998: 50)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Pred -r/-t-ř/ń**

Remark: The allomorphy is triggered by person agreement: -t 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:  
Haimisq̱ t’aq̱uy̱ [n’iṉ̃-qis nloq̱ḇap̱-d’-qav̱-r] t’-ṟd
old.man straight eye-INST blink-PRT-NEG-CONV look-FIN  
‘The old man looked straight, not blinking [his] eyes.’ (Gruzdeva 1998: 54)

hoxor [ex-gu-r] m2y-ḏ
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 clause

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 tikin-ni-sa-a] naluungil-ara
ship-REL how.many-ALL arrive-NMLZ-FUT-3SG.POSS know-1SG.3SG:IND  
‘I know when the ship will arrive.’ (Fortescue 1984: 113)

Anguq̱: 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-niqan-ja] nalu-aa
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)

[ikineq̱um-mi-nik tuqut-si-nir-ja] tuar-para
friend-his.REFL-INST 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 [iippa-saq naspi-ta-a]-nut tuuniq̱u-para
man-ALL.SG yesterday meet-PAS: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).
**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:**

\[Ilisima-vaa \text{[urni-ssa-giga]}\]

know-3sg.3sg.ind come.to-fut-1sg.3sg.ptc

‘He1 knew I would come to him2.’ (Fortescue 1984: 36)

\[paasi-nngil-luinnar-para\]

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:**

\[Niviarsiaq \text{[kalaallisut ilinnia-lir-suq]}\]

girl Greenlandic learn-begin-intr.ptc

‘the/a girl who has begun learning Greenlandic.’ (Fortescue 1984: 49)

**Pred Mod (with case):**

\[Kulturi-kkut sunniuti-par-luar-tu-mik\]

culture-prs 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:**

\[Uqar-sinnaa-vunga \text{[tama-asa uuqattaar-sima-llugit]}\]

say-can-1sg.3sg.ind all-3pl try-pfv-1sg-3pl.cont

‘I can say that I have tried them all.’ (Fortescue 1984: 40)

**Pred Mod:**

\[Irnir-lunga\]

do.hurriedly-1sg.cont go.in-1sg.ind

‘He entered quickly/in a hurry.’ (Fortescue 1984: 55)

\[uqa-nngua-rani \text{[ini-mi-nut isiir-puq]}\]

say.little-4sg.neg.cont room-his.refl go.in-3sg.ind

‘He entered his room without even speaking.’ (Fortescue 1984: 62)