Parts of speech and dependent clauses: A typological study

van Lier, E.H.

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Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Tagalog

Pag-Pred (‘gerund’)

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

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

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

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

Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

Examples:

Pred Head:

[pag-lu-luto ng pagkain] ang trabaho niyá
GER-EDP-cook GEN food SPEC work 3SG.Poss
‘His/her job is cooking food.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 372)

Ref Head:

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

Ref Mod: No example available

Pred Mod:

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

na/-ng/(kung) + clause (=Ø)

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

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

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

Argument encoding: SENT-SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Sinabi [kung maganda si Maria]]
tell -lk? beautiful nom Maria.
‘I said that Maria was beautiful.’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 173)

Gusto ni Pepito na [sagip-in ang dabon]
liking PN.Poss Pepito lk salvage-pv SPEC leaf
‘Pepito wanted to catch the leaf.’ (Himmelmann 2005: 364)

Nakita ni Pedro-ng/Manuel na [puno na ang bus]
see nom Pedro-LK/Manuel lk full lk rm bus
‘Pedro/Manuel saw that the bus was already full.’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972:177)

Ref Mod:

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Biŋla siyul-ng naghbangon]} \\
\text{\quad sudden 3sg-LK \quad real-av:rising}
\end{align*}
\]

‘She got up quickly’ (Himmelmann 2005: 360)

**Kharia**

**Pred-Ø/RDP** *(Freestanding form/maisdar)*

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:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[in qe? bi[ki][ki]=ki=ya]} \\
\text{\quad 1sg water pour.out-RDP=m.pst=1sg}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Ref Head:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[O=ya? bay-bay] um=ijn haf=tat.} \\
\text{\quad house=gen build-RDP neg=1sg like=MPRS}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Ref Mod:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[iɲa=q dura=te ru=ru?] kujji} \\
\text{\quad 1sg gen door-obl open-RDP key}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[qa=te [qho qho] lemur\[l\] ar=ki} \\
\text{\quad Rate=obl sit.down RDP sleep EMOT=M.PST}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Pred Mod, with oblique case-marker:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[khõ=ko \, kho=ki\, buli=na] modhe bu\, kha=ki=ya=ki=ya} \\
\text{\quad that=s.hum \[village.section wander=pfc\] means instr. Kharia=pl=gen all}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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=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:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[\, u iku=Ɂɖ sundar konthe=ki=te bajhay=kon]} \\
\text{\quad 1sg this very beautiful bird=pl=obl trap=seq.conv}
\end{align*}
\]

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

**Ref Mod:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[\, while=cntn \, si=obl=FOC doze.off=mpst]} \\
\text{\quad ‘Sitting for a while, he dozed off (…)’ (Peterson 2006: 295)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{…lekin [lam=na lamna] sou=te iku\, jaghay =q=piyas la=ki.} \\
\text{\quad but search=inf RDP all=obl very much water-thirst EMOT=M.PST}
\end{align*}
\]

‘But searching and searching, [they] all became very thirsty.’ (Peterson 2006: 248)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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

\[ Aw = na \] awna = te khatiya = bi = te stay = INFL RDP = obl Kharia = pl that = obl (= ‘there’) again house

dura bay = kon ikud = ga monen jau aw = ki = may door build = seq. conv very = foc year up to stay = m. pst = 3 pl

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

**Pred = na-wala (‘participle’):**

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

It denotes iterativity and habituality.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred 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 = te aw = na = wala ] lebu = ki iku = da jughay milansar aw = ta = ki ]

Jharkand = obl live = inf = ptc person = pl very much friendly cop = m. prs = pl

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

**Pred = al (‘participle’):**

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

This suffix has thus been borrowed with the root. This may have been borrowed with the root.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred 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 moh Brahman [ hoo = ke ro = a? darr = te jog = al ] jaaan = 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. […] = kon […] appears to be a calque from the Sadani form = ker. Like the cognate form = kar in Hindi, = ker in Sadani appears to derive from the root kar ‘do’. The sequential converbal marker = kon in Kharia apparently derives from a similar lexeme, i.e., ikon ‘make, do’. The core function of these forms is to denote the completion of one action before another begins. [But they] are also often used to denote the manner in which an action is carried out. In these cases, the action denoted by the 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: No Voice / Tense / Person agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

**Examples:**

Pred Mod:

\[ … [ lay koj = kon ] go = jyug bay = rsi = may ] dig scrape = conv path make = pff = 3 pl\n‘… they have built the path by digging an scraping [the dirt away].’ (Peterson 2006: 244)

rakin odo jog = bay khati = ta … ro [ gone keb = kon ] gam = te:
witch even more angry = m. prs … and tooth grind = conv say = act. prs
‘The witch grows even angrier and … grinding her teeth, says:…’ (Peterson 2006: 244)

**Pred = ga + RDP (‘(imperfective) converb’):**

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

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice / Tense / Person agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT
Example:

Pred Mod

ro bo kuda ko=pa? daru simblo=t=le [jnam=ga [nanga] goj jem=ta

and that millet bread=GEN tree base=ABL cry=CONV RDP die AP=MPRS

'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: Rg: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:

Pred Mod:

ele [am=pe=te go=ta go=ta] han=ti ut=ti j=le

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)

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/o/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: Rg: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: All retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT (optional gapping)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Mod: [je bhere] ep=ki se bhere ad=ya pa=som-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)

(α/ι-class)
 qa=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:
[je=ya] lebu=ki [je=ya]=aɁ=te ɖi=te Ɂh karay=na aw=ki,
1SG see=ACT.PST.1SG person=PL 1SG=GEN hotel=OBL live=M.PRS=PL
‘The people I saw live in my hotel.’ (Peterson 2006. 303)

Kambera
Pa-deranked clause
 Remark: In combination with the prepositional verb ṭawngu ‘use’ this construction can be used as an adverbial clause with an interpretation of simultaneity or immediate sequence (see Pred Mod example below).
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (same-subject), Ref Mod (object of DC), (+ prep/prepositional verb: Pred Mod) = PoS minus Pred Head (contentives)
Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No aspect, no mood marking. (Kambera has no tense marking.)
Nominal categories: DET + number agreement (in Ref Mod function)
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT / POSS - Ø In Ref Head function the subject remains unexpressed under co-referentiality; the object is SENT and cross-referenced on the dependent predicate, in the DAT form. In Ref Mod function the subject is POSS, and the object is gapped, but remains cross-referenced on the dependent predicate in the DAT form.

Examples:
Ref Head:
Ta-pakiring [pa-tinu-nya na lau] haromu
1PL.nom-start comp-weave-3SG.dat art sarong tomorrow
‘We will start to weave the sarong tomorrow.’ (Klammer 1998: 338)

Ref Mod:
Ta-pakiri-nda 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.’ (Klammer 1998: 338)

na kalembi na [pa-kei ṭaw-nggu-nya]
art shirt art rel-buy use=1SG.gen-3SG.dat
‘the shirt that I bought’ (Klammer 1998: 326)

Pred Mod:
Patiang ana mandài-ndài [tawngu pa-huta ana rumba]
wait Dim rdp-belong use comp-pick Dim grass
‘(We) wait a while weeding some grass in the meantime.’ (Klammer 1998: 240)

ma-deranked clause
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject/possessor clauses) ≠ PoS (contentives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No aspect, no mood marking. (Kambera has no tense marking.)
Nominal categories: DET + number agreement (in Ref Mod function)
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
Na-meti-ka na tau na [ma-piti-ya na kabela-nggu]
3SG.NOM-die-FFV 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 (AL T-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-FFV 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:
[Bu 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)

[bu jispa-na na bangaari-na-nya ña]
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-ya na mbuku] wà-nggu-nya làti
CONJ 3SG.NOM-take-3SG.ACC ART book SAY-1SG.GEN-3SG.DAT in fact
‘In fact, I told him that he should take the book.’ (Klamer 1998: 347)

Samoan
Pred-غا
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

A  le faalavelave le tupe i [le ai-2ga
pst neg trouble art king ld art cat-nmlz
apu ma mo  a le  pipili ma le tauase]
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 ao lava in moumou malie atu le pisa
But pst reach emph conj disappear gentle dir art noise
o [te 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]
gener 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 maloia tatu]
ppfv 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 lka 'o le tama'ita'i l-[\(e\) na tatu ø i ai.]
pres that pres art woman art-rel pst 1.incl.pl go(PL) ld anaph
'She is the woman we went to find.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 635)

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


**Examples:**

**Ref Head:**

Na  

\[ i\text{oa e Tigilau} [\text{via sau Sina}] \]

PAST  

know  

ERG  

Tigilau  

PFV  

comes  

Sina

'T knew that S had come.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 589)

**Ref Mod:**

Ua  

\[ \text{tu le alii lea [na ua e Popi]} \]

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 + \(ba/bahwe/Ø\)**

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 \[šé še-ras ɨ̀ hā \]]

you-hear  

I  

I-be.sick  

COMP

'You heard that I was sick.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

ai-\[kwaá  la \[n  o-ù  mo Ɂã́ i hā \]]

I-know  

DEF(DET)  

NEG  

he-go  

MOD  

NEG  

COMP

'I know that he does not intend to go.' (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

Rei-\[moňã \[še-tav ɨ́ \]]

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-\[bechal  a  karai \[o-jagua-\text{rel-pst}  ka  angúa\]].

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-\[auč \[s-ič  ve\]]

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.

\(^1\) 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-kate ḍera-k’-dɔ] bag bes-a
sun set-conv camp-M-MOP NEG good-IND
‘it is not good to camp after sunset.’ (Neukom 2001: 181)

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

Perception predicate: [mɔ̃ṛɛ̃-g ɔṭɛ nə im ə i  dak’  lo=ko hij-uk’kan-e ɲ el- g ɔt’-ket’-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-
[ebujhə u-ɲɔ̃ k’-ket’]
hɔṛ-e sə rat-gɔ t’-ad-e-a.
that-(anim) y-3sg.sbj understand.-little-pst:act person-3SG.SBJ beckon-v2-APPL:PST:ACT-3SG.OBJ-IND
‘He beckoned the man who had understood a little.’ (Neukom 2001: 197)

Pred Mod:
Case-marked: [cala-k’-calak’-te]
mit’-pag tyo-ko pel-tiok’-ked-e-a.
go-M-MOP-INSR one-cl jackal-3PL.SBJ see-reach-PST:ACT-3SG.OBJ-IND
‘While they were walking along, they caught sight of a jackal.’ (Neukom 2001: 187)

uni gidra-do [budip-ge-y-e tahikan-re]
that child-TOP small-foc y-3SG.SBJ cop:PST:LOC
go-3M-IPFY-3SG.OBJ-IND
‘While the child was (still quite) young, his mother died.’ (Neukom 2001: 189)

With postposition (simulative):
[one-y-e met’-at’-ko]
leka-ge jɔs ɔnr-ko cala-k’-kan-a
that-y-3SG.SBJ say-APPL: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-kate

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-kate] babhorsa-kate-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)

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

2 Note that the subject pronominal is nevertheless retained in the second converbal form of the example.
Correlative construction

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Almost all retained (see above)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Mod:
ona dare [oka-m mak'-akat']
that(inan) tree which-2sg.sbj cut-pfv:act
‘the three which you have cut’ (Neukom 2001: 200)

Clause + mente

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

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
Ba-kin pel-thik-e-kan-a, nui-d3
NEG-3DUAL.SG see-correct-3SG.OBJ-IPFV-IND this(an)-TOP
[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:
Ima-ya domu [nari-te kotai] mi-kitane nao-kotu
night-ALL bird fly-N.PST REL see-INF come-2PL.IMP
‘You all, come to see the bird that flies at night.’ (Romero-Figeroa 1997: 42)

TURKISH

Pred-DIK/-*(y)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.)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples

Ref Head:

[**Ahmed-in** ol-dug-un] duy-du-m
'I heard that Ahmed died.' (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[**Orhan-bir şey yap-ma-yap-ma**] kelli-ydi.
'It was obvious that Orhan wouldn’t do / wasn’t going to do anything.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 423)

Ref Mod:

[adaml-in git-tiq-i] okul
'the school that the man goes / went to' (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[**Fatma-ın** yarım gür-eed-i] film
'the film that Fatma is going to / will be seeing tomorrow' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 442)

Pred Mod:

Pastayi [anne-in analat-tiq-i] yapmaya çalı-tim
'I tried to make the cake [as my mother had described].' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 477)

Pred-mAK

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No TAM and Person agreement
Nominal categories: CASE (usually when functioning as a direct object complement, except with the verb *iste-* to want, see third example)
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Lütfen pencere-yi aç] unut-ma
'Please, don’t forget to open the window!' (Kornfilt 1997: 51)

Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle-sini] söyle-di-m
'I told Ahmet to wait for me.' (Kornfilt 1997: 53)

Pred-mA

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No TAM and Person agreement
Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Kerkes-in birier kikaye anlat-ma-si] iste-nıyör-mu
'It seems they want [everyone to tell a story].' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 420)

Pred-mN

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod (subject/possessor clauses) ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No TAM, no Person Agreement (verbal)
Nominal categories: None.
Argument encoding: Ø – SENT (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:

[burada sat-ɩl-าน] kitap-ɩlar
here sell-PASS-PTC book-PL
‘the books that are sold here’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

[өгөтөн өл-ә] haydar
teacher be-PTC Haydar
‘Haydar, who is a teacher’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

[araba-сі өт-м-ән] komys-мuz
car-3sg.poss steal-PASS-PTC neighbour-1pl.poss
‘our neighbour, whose car was stolen’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

Pred-(y)ArAK
Remark: Normally, the subject is unexpressed under co-referentiality.
Functional distribution: 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 (co-referentiality)

Example:
Pred Mod:

Ben [etraf-им-a бак-арак] yur-әr-үм
I around-1sg.dat look-conv(manner) walk-aor-1sg
‘I walk looking around (myself).’ (Kornfilt 1997: 73)

Pred-(y)AdK... 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:

Genç kad ɩн [агалагы адлага-гы] бикайесин анлатти
The young woman told her story [continuously weeping]’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)

Adam [и-ә кас-ә] әнге өзгөмө өтүүрөдү
man [pushing shoving] was trying to get to the front
‘[Pushing and shoving,] the man was trying to get to the front.’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)

ki + clause
Remarks: This construction is borrowed from Persian.
In relative clause function, the construction is mostly non-restrictive (the head is almost always the subject of the main clause, and 3rd person singular or plural).
Normally, the relativized item is gapped, but under certain circumstances, it may or must be reiterated in the dependent clause, by means of a resumptive pronoun.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs, derived modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping in Ref Mod function)

Examples:
Ref Head:

Isti-yor-um [к и yarin ben-imle sinema-яа gel-ein]
want-pres.progr.1sg comp tomorrow I-gen-with cinema-dat come-sg.opt
‘I want you to come to the movies with me tomorrow.’ (Kornfilt 1997: 46)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Sanâyorum [ki iṣ-in-i brâk-mak iṣ-ti-yor]
I think...

I think that s/he wants to quit his/her job.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 409)

Ref Mod:
Bir adam [ki şıqak-lar-ın see-me-z] yañııız yaşa-malt-dir
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 bâklava yap-meg-r- bîl-me-sin]
a cook REL bâklava 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 (-yA) 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 Sâlimle gør-ür-se diye] kork-ür-du
Meral Turgut with Sâlim see-AOR-CON.COP COMP/QUOT be.afraid-IPFV-PST.COP

‘Meral was afraid that Turgut would see her with Selim.’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 409)

Unmarked clause

Remark: Used for complements of de ‘to say’, and for complements of predicates of believe and desire.

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

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

Example:
Ref Head:
Herkes [sen sinema-ya git-ti] san-yor
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 nominalizaions 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 kurri-ja [ki-l-wan-ji dalwani-n-ki thawal-urrk]
1SG.NOM see-ACT 2PL.POSS-MLOC dig.up-NMLZ-MLOC yam-MLOC:A.OBL

‘I saw you digging up yams.’ (Evans 1995: 472)

Ngada kurri-ja [niswan-ji budi-N-MARRI]
1SG.NOM see-ACT 3SG.POSS-MLOC run-NMLZ-PRIV

‘I saw that he was not running.’ (Evans 1995: 476)
Ref Mod:

Nga-ku-l-da [wirr-n-ku] 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-nurr ngada warra-j] blanket-ASSOC cover-M-NMLZ-NOM 1SG.NOM go-ACT
‘I went along, covering myself in a blanket.’ (Evans 1995: 474)

Diyu-ja wuran-ki [kinaa-marr] eat-ACT food-M.LOC tell-NMLZ-PRIV
‘(He) eats food without telling (anyone).’ (Evans 1995: 475)

Pred-Thirri-n (‘resultative nominalization’)
Remark: This construction can also be used as a main clause, and as an adverbial clause expressing
temporal sequence.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
Argument encoding: Ergative alignment: Objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitives (S and P)
take nominative case; (demoted) subjects of transitive verbs (A) take oblique case.

Examples:

Ref Mod:

jibarna-yarrng-kinaa-ya bidiru-thirri-n-ji
uncle.in.law-du-abl-MLOC miss-res-NMLZ-MLOC
‘One coming from the west, that had been missed by his two uncles-in-law.’ (Evans 1995: 480)

Nyinka kada buru-tharra [wangi-jirri-n-jina] mala-na
2SG.NOM again get-PST steal-RES-NMLZ-ABL beer-M.ABL
‘Did you get some stolen beer again?’ (Evans 1995: 479)

Pred-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-AL T construction.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: Resultative case (see above)
Argument encoding: Resultative case (see above)

Example:

Ref Mod:

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

Clause + -ntha (‘oblique complementizer case’)
Remarks: This construction closely resembles normal finite clauses, permitting almost the full range of
verb inflections1. (…) 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.

1 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.”

2 The tense-system deviates slightly from independent clauses:
Independent clause: - ACT(tual), 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 [(ngijjewa) kada-thaa-thaa-nth]
1sg.nom know.nom 1sg.subj:cobl again-cobl return-pot-cobl
'I know that I will come back again.' (Evans 1995: 490/491)

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

Ngada marin-marri-i-jarr [dathin-kurrka thungal-urrka kamburri-jurrk]
1sg.nom self-hear-m-pst that-loc:cobl thing-loc:cobl speak-immed:cobl
'I heard myself speaking on that thing (the radio).' (Evans 1995: 491)

Ref Mod:

nyinka kurri-jarra dathin-kina danga-na
2sg.nom see-pst that.mabl man-mabl
[thawurr-inna-ntha raa-jarra-ntha niwan-jinaa-nth]
throat-mabl-c obl spear-pst-c obl 3sg-mabl-c obl
'Did you see the man whom (he) speared in the throat?' (Evans 1995: 490)

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

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

Example:
Ref Mod:

jina-a dathin-a dangk-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)

Paawan
tu(a)/tai + clause
Remark: The oblique marker tu(a)/tai 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'ryekei/ti-naju [tu laqlaq-en ni-a-maja]
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 rbavats [tu rigu ti Yoban],
pfv believe lk very obl prophet foc John
'He believed strongly that John was a prophet.' (Egli 1990: 192)
Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses

*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:

*a* na†guaq [a mu†nejetjez *sun*]

good foc pass-come you

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

*a* ini†ka *maqati* [a *tja†parb†patsu†n†en*]

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

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

Ref Mod:

*a* qala [a na tem†ker tua *vua]*

stranger lk pfv drink-ag obl wine

'the stranger, who has drunk wine' (Egli 1990: 178)

*a* zu‘a *i†vetik* a kai

foc those lk pfv-write lk word

'the word that I have written' (Egli 1990: 271)

*a* †pin†atsay† an tua valau a vavay†an

die-pfv loc defoc.ag husband lk woman

'the woman whose husband has died' (Egli 1990: 183)

*a* parhu + 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

*a* sa †ringul† i *sun* [a *parhu* gemleve]

and be.around-pron.pat you lk like put.a.cover.on

'And she will be around you as if she would want to cover you.' (Egli 1990: 209)

((-)in- Pred -an + a)

Remark: This is a perfective participle construction, formed with the perfective affix (-)in (infix for verbs with a consonant in the Anlaut, prefix for verbs with a vowel in the Anlaut), which is also used with independent verb forms, and the participial suffix -an. 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 participal 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)

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

*a* pho†nak†etj†an a masengseng

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

'to work steadily.' (Egli 1990: 124)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Example:
Ref Mod:  
*k-in-a’dutsi-an a impits  
ʔ-pfv-point(pass)-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:  -j 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-j]-ta
María say-3 José big house-acc have-nmlz:prs:acc
‘Maria says that José has a big house.’ (Cole 1982: 14)
ñuka-ka [Juan kaw-pi ka-shka]-ta
I-top Juan this-in be-nmlz:prs:acc:acc
‘I think that Juan was here.’ (Cole 1982: 33)
Juzi-ka [ñuka kaya llama-tar andi-na]-ta kri-n
José top I tomorrow sheep-acc buy-nmlz:fut:acc believe-3
‘José believes that I will buy a sheep tomorrow.’ (Cole 1982: 37)

Ref Mod:
[Marya riku-j] runa
María see-ptc:prs man
‘the man whom Maria sees’ (Cole 1982: 47)
[Marya riku-shka] runa
María see-ptc:prs man
‘the man whom Maria saw’ (Cole 1982: 47)
Juzi kalki-ta kara-na warmi
José silver:acc give-ptc:fut woman
‘the woman to whom José gave money’ (Cole 1982: 54)

Extraposed:
Kusita-ta jiya-ni [Juan-wan tusu-shka ka-shka]-ta
girl-acc love-1 Juan-with dance-ptc:pst be-ptc:pst:acc
‘I love the girl who had danced with Juan.’ (Cole 1982: 51)

Pred-ngapaj (‘subjunctive’)
Remark: Subjunctive forms are used for the complements of manipulative and desiderative predicates;  -ngapaj is used for same subject.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, same subject ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type:  2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories:  No tense and subject agreement. Aspect can be retained.
Nominal categories:  None
Argument encoding:  Ø - SENT (coreferentiality) The object can remain without accusative case (noun-stripping).

Example:
Ref Head, same subject:
muna-y-man [ñuka mama-ta riku-ngapaj]
want-1-cond my mother-acc see-sbjv
‘I want to see my mother.’ (Cole 1982: 37)
**Pred-chun** (*subjunctive*)
Remark: Subjunctive forms are used for the complements of manipulative and desiderative predicates; –chun is used for different subject.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, different subject ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense and subject agreement. Aspect can be retained.
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**Example:**
Ref Head:

\[Ju-ni \text{pay-paj mama-ta riku-chun}\]
want-1 José he-poss mother-acc see-sbjv
‘I want that José sees his mother / I want José to see his mother.’ (Cole 1982: 37)

**Pred-y**
Remark: In Pred Mod function, the form is reduplicated.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nominals, small manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/subject agreement
Nominal categories: CASE (in Ref Head function)
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality) The object can remain without accusative case (noun-stripping).

**Examples:**
Ref Head:

\[Ju-ka [llama-ta/Ø randi]-ta usha-n\]
José-top sheep-acc/-Ø buy-inf-acc can-3
‘José is able to buy sheep.’ (Cole 1982: 40)

\[nua-ka [suj a li wagra-ta-mi randi]-ta muna-ni\]
I-top one good cow-acc-val buy-inf-acc want-1sg
‘I want to buy a good cow.’ (Cole 1982: 40)

Pred Mod:

\[[Kanda-y kanda-y] shamu-rka-ni\]
sing-inf sing-inf come-pst-1
‘I came singing.’ (Cole 1982: 62)

**Pred-shpa**
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS: small manner adverbs
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/subject agreement
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality)

**Example:**
Pred Mod:

\[[Kanda-shpa-mi] shamu-rka-ni\]
sing-conv-val come-pst-1
‘I came singing.’ (Cole 1982: 62)

**Ma’di**
**Pred-ṭë**
Remarks: Apart from the subordinating suffixes ｌi, ƙa, ƙa, ƙa, and ɗ55, 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
Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Head:
Má lè-à [ètì ‘nà-ì] rá
1sg (n)want-obj fish n-cat-nmlz aff
‘I certainly want to eat fish.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 202)

Ref Mod:
àràb [ɔ́ ɨ́ à ɔ́ ] [Ɂ ɚ̄'] é̀ bì̀ Ɂ ɚ̀ nìtì rá.
car Òpi poss (n)-take-PTC def leg afr deflect aff
‘The car which Opi took certainly has a flat tyre.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

ílí [ŋɔ̀ -l ɛ́ ] [Ɂ Ɂ ɚ̀ ] tì Ɂ ɚ̄’ tʃɨ̀
knife (n)-break-PTC def sharp
‘The knife which was broken is sharp.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

ág [tì ɋ ɚ̄’ tʃ ɪ́ ] [Ɂ ɚ̀ ] nà è́ l Ɂ ɚ̄’
man cow afr child that poss (n)-steal-PTC def
‘The man whose cow that child stole…’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

Pred-dʒɔ̀
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:
ɔ́ ɋ ɚ̄’ [Ɂ Ɂ ɚ̀ ] k ɚ́ i’m-
Opi start [n-build-nmlz] aff
‘Opi has certainly started to build (with) it.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22 / 207)

Ref Mod:
belè ág ɔ́ ɋ ɚ̀ pɨ̀ pɨ̀ Ɂ ɚ̄’ mgb Ɂ ɚ̀
stick [man def nbeat-PTC def this foc]
The stick with which the man and his associates was beaten is this one.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

Pred-ła
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT / Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
má ñì må-kà kərù
1sg try [(n)-go-nmlz] neg(pst)
‘I have not tried/did not try to go/going.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

Pred-rɔ́/ɗá
Remark: rɔ́ is the plural equivalent of -ɗá 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

Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples | 405
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
\[\text{ág } \dot{\text{ɔ́́}} \text{̀àm-à } \dot{\text{d}} \text{ní } \dot{\text{i}-bá } \dot{\text{rì}}\]
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)

\[\text{dì } \dot{\text{ág}} \text{ò ti } \dot{\text{nà}} \text{ègwè-rì } \dot{\text{dì } ri } \dot{\text{fì}}\]
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:
\[\text{ɲì } \dot{\text{ʄō}} \text{k-} \dot{\text{ē}} \text{-mù } \dot{\text{bò}}\]
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 zì *  sì
Remark: This construction is marked by the grammatical verb zì and the source propositiona sì. 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:
\[\text{ká } \dot{\text{sì̄tù } } \dot{\text{pà } \text{mindrà } nà } \dot{\text{bù-zì } } \dot{\text{rà } } \dot{\text{sì}}\]
3 pepper (n)eat [tears AFR 3-N-SIM leak] SR
‘She was eating pepper as her eyes were (continuing) running.’
(Blackings & Fabb 2003: 446)

Hungarian
Pred-ni
Remarks: When this construction has subject function, agreement (in person and number) with the subject is optionally retained. In object function, subject agreement is always lost. Only one argument can be overtly expressed. If the subject is overt, it takes DAT; if the object is overt, it is SENT.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense/mood. Causative and frequentative affixes can be expressed. Agreement is sometimes retained (see above).
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/DAT - Ø

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[\text{Fontos } \text{volt } \text{Péter- } \text{nek } \text{olvas-ni}(-a)]\]
important was Peter-DAT read-INF(-3SG)
‘It was important for Peter to read.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 35)

\[\text{Anna most akar } \text{olvas-ni}\]
Anna now wants read-INF
‘Anna wants to read now.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)

\[\text{Anna meg-próbál-t-a } \text{meg-tanul-ni a } \text{verset}\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional distribution: Rig</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>PoS (nominals)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural type</td>
<td>3 (D-ALT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal categories</td>
<td>No tense/aspect/mood/agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal categories</td>
<td>CASE, nominal agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument encoding</td>
<td>POSS/OBL – POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:**

Ref Head:

János [a kincs el-rejtás-és-té javasol-tá]

John the treasure pref-nmlz-poss.3sg-acc suggest-pst-def.3sg

‘John suggested to hide the treasure.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 207)

Örülök [Pál váratlan meg-érkezés-és-énnek]

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural type</th>
<th>2 (D-SENT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal categories</td>
<td>No tense/aspect/mood/agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal categories</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument encoding</td>
<td>Ø - SENT (gapping)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example:**

Ref Mod:

Az [Anna által tegnap olvasott könyv]

the Anna by yesterday read-pst.ptc book

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

**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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional distribution: Rig</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Mod</th>
<th>PoS (nominals)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nominal categories</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argument encoding</td>
<td>OBL - Ø</td>
<td></td>
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**Example:**

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

**Pred-óndó / -endő (’future participle’)**

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

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**Examples:**

Ref Mod:

Az [Anna által tegnap olvasott könyv]

the Anna by yesterday read-pst.ptc book

‘the book (that was) read by Anna yesterday.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 46)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod:
\[ A \text{ gyerek-wk} \text{ [kiabál-va]} \text{ szalad-t-ak végig az utcá-n.} \]
the child-pl shout-conv run-pst-indef.3pl along the street-superess
'The children ran down the street shouting.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 320)

Pred-vén (‘perfective converb’):
Remark: This form is very infrequent in spoken Hungarian; it is used only in formal and ceremonious style in writing. The perfective converb has historically been used to refer to an action preceding that of the finite verb. Nowadays it is sometimes used synonymously with the simple converb.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod:
\[ Ez-t \text{ mond-t-a nek-em [az asztalfő-n ul-vén].} \]
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:
\[ Anna \text{ elmondta nekünk [azt], [(hogy) Péter beteg volt].} \]
Anna told.def to.us it comp Peter sick was
'Anna told us that Peter had been sick.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 31)

\[ Anna \text{ azt mondta, [(hogy) tanul-ja-d, meg a verse].} \]
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)

\[ Nem \text{ szükség, ["(bogy) Péter meg-tanul-j-a a verse]
\text{ Not necessary comp Peter prefix-learn-sbjv-def the poem-acc} \]
'It is not necessary for Peter to learn the poem.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 32)

Clause ügy + hogy
Remark: ügy 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:
\[ Péter \text{ ügy abludt el, [bogy olvasott].} \]
Peter adp.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.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT/SENT - Ø

Examples:
Ref Mod:
(Aš) a könyv, [amely-et Anna olvasott] érdekes volt
‘The book that Anna was reading was interesting.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 38)

Itt van a fiú, [aki-nek Anna felolvasta a könyvet]
‘Here's the boy to whom Anna read the book.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 42)

Japanese
Clause + no, mono, koto, wake, yoo
Remarks: The ‘nominalizers’ are in fact case-marked nouns meaning ‘thing’. The dependent predicate is tensed, but the subject can optionally appear in the genitive. Therefore this construction has a double classification 1/3.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced) / 3 (D-AL T)
Verbal categories: Tense retained
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: POSS-SENT / SENT-SENT
Example:
Ref Head:
[Ano hito ga/n o hon o kai-ta koto ga] yoku sira-te-te iru
‘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.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Tense retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT-SENT/Ø - SENT/SENT - Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
Dakara, [tamago motte-ru] hito mo ita shi,
‘So, there were people holding eggs, and people holding juice, and...’ (Hinds 1986: 59)

Pred-te/-de/-ite
Remark: Overt subjects can take the topic marker in stead of the nominative.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Tense
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:
Pred Mod (see for more instances the next example):
Son san wa [hoka no nihonjin sutaffu o kun-de] shigoto o shi-te i-ru
Song Mr. top other ATTR Japanese staff OBJ unite-conv job OBJ do-conv be-prs
'Mr Song is working together (in a united manner) with other Japanese staff.'
(Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 469)

Different subject:
Yasuko wa juugoroku no koru ibiki no kuse ga
Yasuko top fifteen: sixteen ATTR time snore ATTR habit subj
at-te, oya wa kyosei ni kushin shi-ta-soo da
be-conv parents top correction OBJ efforts do-pst-likely cop.prs
'They say that Yasuko snored when [she was] fifteen or sixteen [and her] parents did their best to get rid
[of this habit]. (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 469)

Pred-i/-Ø ('infinitive')
Remark: Overt subjects can take the topic marker in stead of the nominative.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Tense
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Pred Mod:
Same subject:
Ogata Shingo wa [sukoshi mayu o yose-Ø] [sukoshi kuchi o
Ogatta Shingo top slightly eyebrow OBJ moved.together-INF slightly mouth OBJ
ake-te] [nanila kangae-te] i-ru fuu datta
open-conv something think-conv be-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 OBJ frown-INF Shuuichi top drunkenness subj abate-pst tent
'Shingo frowned, [and] it seemed that Shuuichi got sober.' (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 468)

Hmong Njua
qhoe + 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:
Qhoe cov zev zog tsiw taxom wa koe zoo sab.
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
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Head:
Peter *xaav [kuam Paul yuav lub fais]
Peter want COMP Paul buy cl car
‘Peter wants Paul to buy a car.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 220)

Kuv *paub [(has)tas yuav yuav npag]
1sg know COMP 3sg buy flowers
‘I know that he has bought flowers.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 22)

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

Example:
Ref Head:
Kuv *xaav [kuw mooq twew sai]
1sg hope 1sg go house soon
‘I hope to go home soon.’ (Harriehausen 1990: 221)

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: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No aspect; no subject agreement. Object agreement, voice and
(benefactive/ventive) valency retained.
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/POSS - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
ámɪ̀ttò [gwɛ̀ɛ̀ yòò dìlò]
1sg.want.progr kick.inf ball
‘I want to kick the ball.’ (Noonan 1992: 213)

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

Example:
Ref Head:
Àŋ [ni lóc dágó tic] 1sg-know-hab comp man 3sg-hate-hab work 'I know that the man hates work.' (Noonan 1992: 191)


ámè + clause
Remark: The marker àmè 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: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained (see remark)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
lóc [ámè mårò gwèk] man rel+attr.prt 3sg-like-hab dog 'The man that likes the dog.' (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-ALT)
Verbal categories: None (i.e. no tense/mood, no subject-object agreement)
Nominal categories: (CASE)
Argument encoding: Ø - INC/POSS - INC

Examples:
Ref Head:
[šè-rò] qùr-bìt bìnùt pl-anim.pl.gen tent-making.inf it.ended 'We finished making the tent.' (Lit: 'Our tent-making ended.') (Vajda 2004: 78).

[at ipč] ṭìtàram 1sg sing.inf I know 'I know how to sing/I can sing.' (Vajda 2004: 78)

[Āb-àŋa àsāmo-ataj] nårà 1sg-dat hunt.inf-trl need 'I need to hunt' (Vajda 2004: 77)

Ref Mod:
baŋ 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:
dôtım-bàám getExtension [bínimin bëgginatnopq]
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:
Tur;  [ital’em]  keën
dem he.has.knowledge person
‘This knowledgeable person’ (lit: this person who has knowledge) (Werner 1997: 355)

Clause + ẹta gɔ’r’a
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
Tajɔm,  [ẹta gɔ’r’a  ke’e’ta].
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
bụ  to’n  dildäq  bîlär  [de’p  dölìn  ásqà].
3masc so he.lived all people they.lived like
‘He lived like everyone (else) lived.’ (Vajda 2004: 87)

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

Example:
Pred Mod:
á-k  hirp  [dùrèn-bes]  tištè
2sg.-gen son he.cries-PROS he.sits

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

Examples:
Ref Mod:
āt  qîm  diyarə  [gï-e’  sʊŋ  dỳəqʊŋ]
1sg woman I.see.her who-FEM there she.lives
‘I am looking at the woman who lives there.’ (Vajda 2004: 30)
All people who lived here have died. (Vajda 2004: 30)

**Pred-s/-bes clause**

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

Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mámúl } & \text{dóblà-s} & \text{dil} \\
\text{milk } & \text{he.drink.it-NMLZ child}
\end{align*}
\]

'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dóblà-bes } & \text{mámúl} & \text{dil} \\
\text{he.drink.it-NMLZ milk child}
\end{align*}
\]

'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

**Itelmén**

Infinitives (various forms)

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

**Examples:**

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

Ref Head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Utut-} & \text{en } [\text{nqqa } \text{bols } \text{oswals-s}]. \\
\text{can.not-PRS-3.SG something more-say-INF.I}
\end{align*}
\]

'He cannot say anything anymore.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 168)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Komma } & \text{t-iti-çen } [\text{p’q-p } \text{no-kas-s}]. \\
\text{1.SG } & \text{1.SG-force-3.SG.PAT child-DIM eat-CCM-INF.I}
\end{align*}
\]

'I forced the child to eat.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 169)

**Pred-kilh-kallh/-kala/n/-kala/n (PL) (INF II) (Used for complements of direct perception predicates.)

Ref Head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Truk } & \text{šin } \text{‘ageqet } \text{k-elfu-’im } [\text{t’it’im } \text{e-KALLH}.] \\
\text{suddenly S. INF.III-see-INF.II smoke come.out-INF.II}
\end{align*}
\]

'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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A } & \text{Sin’a } \text{‘ageqet-n } \text{nita } \text{ngar-kit } \text{k-uzu-kren } [\text{nqpx-kis}.] \\
\text{interj } & \text{s-poss soul was-CAUS INF.III-start-INF.III hurt-INF.V}
\end{align*}
\]

'For some reason S. became sad. (lit.: S’s soul began to hurt.)' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 180)

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

Ref Head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{T-utu-} & \text{en } [\text{Ememqut met’ele-Ł}.] \\
\text{1.SG-can.not-PRS-3.SG.PAT E. kill-INF.IV}
\end{align*}
\]

'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 [ski-tigmen qṣṣyj].

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

Utwe n-esxl̔ t-laxl̔-kičen [̦n-kesxl̔-kičen  muza-ʔn].

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-čki-kičen nu Nwilwej̣ęŋ [min k-čịl-ḳnen kulaka-ʔṇ].

'I found this Nwilwejngen, 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:**

Ewun  fçora  celoj  q̣l [qatz k-nig-ʔn].

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

### Koasati

**'Nominalizations' (various forms)**

**Remarks:** For all verb classes, except one ('class 2A'), the nominalization is formed 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:**

[li  sammicci-t  inkab-ɛd] veháyli-1
deer do:how-CONN to:shoot&hit-NMZ know-1SG.SBJ

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

[AYbasilka a:wab-ka] ca-ban-ko-V
law ruin-NMZ 1SG.SBJ.stat-want-neg-PHMT

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

### Participles (various forms)

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

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Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples | 415
Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses

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-<i>sáya</i> (‘Present participle’) (Requires the focus form of the subject and object markers.)

Ref Mod:
Yilahá [t<sub>e</sub>pa-li-s<sub>sáya</sub>-ok] kán-<i>dóisi</i>-t
orange eat-1SS-PRF.PTC-SS.FOC be.good-ADV-L.PST
‘The orange that I am eating is very good.’ (Kimball 1991: 289)

Pred-<i>yólli</i> (‘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 [t<sub>e</sub>pa-yóll-ak] níhá:bo:<i>sí</i>
that person eat-HAB-PTC-SS.FOC be.fat-ADV
‘A person who eats all the time is very fat.’ (Kimball 1991: 290)

Pred-<i>kítta</i> (‘Past participle’)

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

Ref mod:
Yilahá [nì:ba-k-on ám-biska-<i>k</i>-<i>n</i>] t<sub>e</sub>pa-lit
orange day-ART-OBJ.FOC give.to.me-2SG.SBJ-PTC-OBJ.FOC eat-1SG.SBJ-PST
‘I ate the orange that you gave me yesterday.’ (Kimball 1991: 291)

Pred-<i>labo</i>/<i>lásáya</i> (‘Future participle’)

Remark:This formation is a combination of the present participial suffix -<i>sáya</i> with the verbal suffixes -<i>labo</i>- (IRR), and -<i>kítta</i>-, a hearsay suffix with the meaning ‘deduction’ (Kimball 1991: 292):

Ref Mod:
Yilahá [ám-biska-labo[lásáya]-<i>n</i>] t<sub>e</sub>pa-l-laha-V
orange give.to.me-2SG.SBJ-FUT-PTC-OBJ.FOC eat-1SG.SBJ-IRR-P.TM.
‘I intend to eat the orange that you will give me.’ (Kimball 1991: 292)

Pred-<i>-o:si</i>/-<i>s:si</i>-<i>n</i>

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

Examples:
Pred Mod:
[yy:ki-<i>k</i> atákka-<i>n</i>] wáyka-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)

[Talásha-<i>si</i>-<i>n</i>] kóyli-li-t
be.thin-DIM-SW cut(pl)-1SG.SBJ-PST
‘I cut it up thinly.’ (as thinly as possible)’ (Kimball 1991: 488)

Pred-<i>t</i>

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:
[Foloolohká:ci-k] cokktiili-n híča-li-p im-ca-matátí-Vho-k be.coiled.up-conn sit(sc)-sw see-1ss-sbjv 3STAT.OBJ-1SBJ-STAT-be.afraid(sc)-HAR-ss
‘If I see one sitting coiled up, I am afraid of it.’ (Kimball 1991: 489)

**Remarks:** The suffix is a same-subject marker
This construction is used when the adverbial action can be applied as much to the subject of the sentence as to the verb (i.e. secondary predication).

**Functional distribution:** Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
**Structural type:** 2 (D-SENT)
**Verbal categories:** No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker
**Nominal categories:** None
**Argument encoding:** Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

**Example:**
Pred Mod:
[Wayóhka-k] ho-pálki-palámmi-n fly(pl)-ss distr-be.fast-ADV-sw
‘They all fly very fast.’ (Kimball 1991: 490)

**Thai**

**Unmarked clause**

**Remarks:** This construction is used for subject clauses and for object complements of desiderative and achievement predicates. Under special conditions it also occurs in Ref Mod function, namely expressing a subject relative clause that gives a general description of the head noun. In such cases, the relativized item is gapped.

**Functional distribution:** Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod = PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)
**Structural type:** 1 (Balanced)
**Verbal categories:** Not applicable
**Nominal categories:** None
**Argument encoding:** SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT (gapping)

**Examples:**
Ref Head:
[jak-kamluang thák wan] dii tɔɔ rúaq-káa
exercise every day good towards body
‘Doing exercise every day is good for your body.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 253)

Kbów yuak [cɔɔ b̤uŋ khá]
3 want pierce ear
prt
‘She wants to have her ears pierced.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 231)

Ref Mod:
èk pen dèk [rian kée]
Ek cop child study well
‘Ek is a child who studies well.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 250)

**thîi + 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)

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Examples:
Ref Head:
\[\text{t} \text{-wâa dii ná } [\text{thîi} \text{ may mii k} \text{hay pen a} \text{lay}]\]
but good prt comp neg have who cop what
‘But it was good that no one was hurt.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 255)

Ref Mod:
\[\text{Khon } [\text{thîi duu}l] \text{ ni pen pen a} \text{aan l} \text{b} \text{person rel take.care prt cop cop teacher q}
‘Is the person who takes care [of the students] a teacher?’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 243)

\[\text{Khon } [\text{thîi khâu pay yiu kan taam r} \text{o} \text{ra} \text{ri}] \text{ pe} \text{ople rel rbp3 go stay rcp school}
‘people who want to stay at school’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 245)

\((\text{thîi})+ \text{wâa c} \text{à } \text{+ 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:
\[\text{khî} \text{t } [\text{wâa c} \text{à hâa qaam tham thîi-nil}] \text{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-\text{-t}(z)e
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Tense, mood and agreement
Nominal categories: DET
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[\text{Damu dut } [\text{zuri gezurra esu-te}] \text{-a}\]
regret have you.dat lie say-nmlz-det
‘I regret telling you a lie.’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 656)

\[\text{haurrek etxean liburuak sar} \text{i irakur-tze} \text{-a}\]
children.erg home.loc books often read-nmlz-det
‘children's often reading books at home’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)

Pred-\text{-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:
\[\text{Damu dut } [\text{zu irain-du}] \text{-a}\]
regret aux you offend-pfv.nmlz-det
‘I regret having offended you.’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 668)

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

Dependent Clause Constructions

- **Pred Mod:**
  - egi-n-az
  - d-a
  - -a

- **Ref Head:**
  - Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad
  - askok.
  - ‘Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Entzun dut [Amaiarren neba hil d]-en-a
  - ‘I heard that Amaia’s brother died.’

- **Functional distribution:**
  - Retained
  - (DET/CASE)

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

**Examples:**

- **Ref Head:**
  - Basque Country entire.loc official be aux-(sbjv).comp want aux
  - ‘Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Ez daktizkida]-n gaiez mintzatu nahi nuen
  - ‘I wanted to speak about matters that I don’t know.’

- **Pred Mod:**
  - Bi udaltzainek ukatu dute [bidaiar Rubiren bizkarrezain izan zir]-enik
  - ‘Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio’s bodyguards during the trip.’

- **Ref Head:**
  - Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad
  - ‘Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Pellok ekarri du [bidaian Rubiren bizkarrezain izan zir]-enik
  - ‘I lost the money that Peter brought.’

**Remarks:**

- **Dependent Clause Constructions**
  - **(subjunctive) clause -(e)n**
  - ‘I continued forward without turning his head.’
  - (Saltarelli 1988: 55)

- **Pred Mod:**
  - diru-a ez alferkeria-n ego-n-az
  - ‘Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.’
  - (Saltarelli 1988: 55)

- **Ref Head:**
  - Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad
  - ‘Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Ez daktizkida]-n gaiez mintzatu nahi nuen
  - ‘I wanted to speak about matters that I don’t know.’

- **Ref Head:**
  - Entzun dut [Amaiarren neba hil d]-en-a
  - ‘I heard that Amaia’s brother died.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Bi udaltzainek ukatu dute [bidaiar Rubiren bizkarrezain izan zir]-enik
  - ‘Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio’s bodyguards during the trip.’

- **Ref Head:**
  - Euskara Euskal Herri osoan ofiziala izan Dad
  - ‘Many Basque speakers want that the Basque language be official in the entire Basque Country.’

- **Ref Mod:**
  - Ez daktizkida]-n gaiez mintzatu nahi nuen
  - ‘I wanted to speak about matters that I don’t know.’

- **Pred Mod:**
  - diru-a ez alferkeria-n ego-n-az
  - ‘Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.’
  - (Saltarelli 1988: 55)
Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses

Clause + –en bezala
Functional distribution: Rgr: 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]-en bezala egin dut lana
you.EMP keep AUX.ADV do AUX job
'I did my job the way you told me.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 722)

(subjunctive) clause -(e)la
Remarks: With desiderative and manipulative main predicates, the auxiliary in the dependent clause takes subjunctive form. -(e)la can be used in Pred Mod function for adverbial manner clauses, either by itself or combination with the partitive case –rik. In its basic form –ela has a modal/temporal (simultaneous) 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 oro kazeten eta kaxeta-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)

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

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

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

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Head:
Hau da haren abanrailik bandienza [ez baitu ainitz xahutzen]
this is this avantage.PART biggest.det notconj.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 kartiaren,
Landibar.loc have four neighbourhood those(resp) 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 karensa 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 [jigrun 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:
*Mb’a fè i ka tags*
I want that you go ➔ I want you to go.

*Mb’a fè au ka foř cițè*
I want that you cultivate your field ➔ I want you to cultivate your field. (Brauner 1974: 80)

**Pred-ле/-не** (perfective participle):
Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite and the relativized item is gapped.

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:
*Mbgə [pasa-le]*
person loose.weight-pfv.ptc
’a thin person’ (‘a person who has lost weight’) (Brauner 1974: 73)

**min(u)/mun(u) + clause**
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Example:
Ref Mod:
*Dunan [min nana Kalikoro] oye tabahu 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 ➔ convorb)
Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite, and the co-referential subject is coded twice.

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-prs.ptc, go.back.? 3sg pst ? place/village
‘He went back to his village, crying.’ (Brauner 1974: 72)

**Georgian**

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement; aspect is retained.
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

Examples:
Ref Head:
*minda*
minds [st’aiisi ti’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)

president-gen PREV-stand.down-ths-NMLZ
‘the standing down of the president’ (Hewitt 1995: 542)

citizen-pl(gen) by rights-pl-gen PREV-PREV-use-ths-NMLZ
‘the making use of their rights by the citizens’ (Hewitt 1995: 542)

m-Pred(-a/-el/al) (’active participle’):
Remarks: Indicates the actor of the relative clause predicate. The negative (privative) counterpart of this participle is formed with the prefix u-.  
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)  
Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)  
Verbal categories: No tense / mood / person-number agreement  
Nominal categories: Case agreement  
Argument encoding: Ø - POSS (gapping)

Examples:

Ref Mod:
Shevarnadze-m [zeitmprinav-is ga-m-t’ac-eb-el] prev-act.ptc-seize-ths-act.ptc-nom youth-pl-nom
‘Shevarnadze had the young ones, who hijacked the plane executed.’ (Hewitt 1995: 608-609).

Privative:
‘Nuclear energy, which is subordinate to no control…’ (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Pred-arl/il/m-Pred-ar/al (’past participle’)
Remark: When derived from a transitive verb, this construction has a passive interpretation; the agent is marked oblique and the patient is gapped. When derived from an intransitive verb, the constructions has perfective interpretation and the relativized argument is gapped.

Examples:

Ref Mod, transitive:
Gebrels(-a) [da-p’q’r-ob-il] prev-grab-t ths-pst.ptc-nom country(nom)
‘Georgia was a country (that had been) occupied by the Arabs.’ (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Intransitive:
[sa-p’q’r-il] prev-grab-t ths-pst.ptc-agr variant-nom
‘the variant recorded by Razikashvili’ (Hewitt 1996: 611-612)

sa-Pred(-el/-ar/el) (’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.

Examples:

Ref Mod, transitive:
Sakartvelo [ara-eb-is mier da-p’q’r-il] prev-act.ptc-seize-ths-act.ptc-nom country(nom)
‘Georgia was a country (that had been) occupied by the Arabs.’ (Hewitt 1995: 609)

Intransitive:
[odro-s verj-s da-k’acir-eb-ar] prev-grab-t ths-pst.ptc-agr legend-pl-nom
‘legends linked to the golden ram’ (Hewitt 1996: 610)
Example:
Ref Mod:
\[\text{Ager} \quad m-i-k'āv-i-a \quad [\text{zel-mo-sa-}'v]-i \quad kaggāld-eb-i\]
here 1-ov-hold-PRS.STAT-3 hand-PREV-FUT.PTC-sign]-NOM paper-PL-NOM
'I am holding here the papers which are to be signed.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

rom + (subjunctive) clause
Remarks: In Ref Head function, the strategy can be combined with a suitable correlate 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 rom may also be replaced by titko(s) or any of its synonyms vitom(c) and vitom(c)da. (Hewitt 1995: 623)
In Ref Mod function either the head or the co-referential noun can be deleted, or both may be retained. (Hewitt 1995: 606-607) When the co-referential NP is deleted and it does not function as a subject or direct object in the DC, a resumptive pronoun is often used. In the Ref Mod function, the relativizer itself avoids clause-initial position and usually appears between the first constituent and the verb. (Hewitt 1987: 187)
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: Case agreement on the REL.PRON
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[(\text{is}) \quad uk'\text{ve} \quad ie-o-a-mën-i-e\]
\[(\text{that}(\text{nom})) \quad \text{already} \quad \text{PREV-I-NV-notice-THS-AOR.IND}\]
\[\text{comp} \quad \text{this people-NOM trustworthy}(\text{nom}) \not= \text{be-PRS-IT}\]
'I have already noticed that this people is not trustworthy.' (Hewitt 1995: 613)

\[\text{Minda} \quad [\text{gamovatsxo} \quad \text{namtsxvari}]\]
1.3.want.PRS 1.3.bake-OPT cake.NOM
'I want to bake a cake.' (Vamling 1989: 33)

\[\text{vinme-m} \quad \text{ar} \quad i-pik\text{o-o-i,} \quad [\text{titko(s)} \quad \text{ingoroq'va-s}]
\text{anyone-ERG not SV-think-AOR.SUBJ-he AS.IF Ingoroq'va-DAT}
\text{v-o-a-er-de-ct} \quad \text{im mouzareba-i...}\]
1-1-th-ascribe-IPF-PRES-SBJV.PL that view-DAT
'Lest anyone think that we are ascribing to Ingoroq'va that view...' (Hewitt 1995: 623)

Ref Mod:
\[\text{[gusin} \quad \text{rom} \quad \text{beč'ëd-i} \quad m-a-čuk-ë,\] \text{is} \quad (beč'ëd-i) \quad \text{sad} \quad ar-i-s]\]
yesterday REL ring-NOM me-ly-present-AOR.IND that(NOM) (ring-NOM) where be-PRS-IT
'Where is that ring which you presented to me yesterday?' (Hewitt 1995: 607)

\[\text{[K'ins-ii} \quad \text{rom} \quad (ma-s) \quad e-tap\text{'arask-eb-o-i]} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{megrel-i} \quad \text{sad}
\text{cinema-in} \quad \text{REL BSP-DAT IPFV-speak.to-THS-IPFV-IND that} \quad \text{Mingrelian-NOM where}
\text{ga-i-can-ï} \quad \text{prev-SV-get.to.know-AOR.IND}
'Where did you get to know that Mingrelian to whom you where speaking in the cinema?' (Hewitt 1995: 607)

REL PRON + clause
Remark: The relative pronouns are ein-’who’, na-’which’, and ra-mel-i-’who, which’. Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: Case agreement on the REL.PRON
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Ref Mod:
\[\text{q'ëela,} \quad [\text{ein-} \quad \text{nacionalizm-s}]
\text{all(NOM WHO)(NOM)-REL nationalism-DAT}
\text{a-h-q'v-eb-s} \quad \text{samisblo-s} \quad u-galat'eb-s]
prev-IT-follow-THS(FUT)-he homeland-DAT ov-betray-THS(FUT)he
'Everyone who follows nationalism will betray this country.' (Hewitt 1995: 601)
Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**ra in clause**

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

**Examples:**

- Pred Mod:
  \[
  [e\text{-}xmar\text{-}eb\text{-}i\text{-}an \text{ ra } saxalxp armi\text{-}is \text{ iet'evu\text{-}is}]
  ov\text{-}help\text{-}ths\text{-}prs\text{-}they \text{ ADV } \text{ people\text{-}gen } \text{ attack\text{-}dat}
  \]
  partisan\text{-}pl\text{-}nom \text{ nv\text{-}strengthen\text{-}ths\text{-}they(prs)}
  ‘Helping the people’s army to attack, the partisans strengthen …’ (Hewitt 1995: 600)

- Rogorc (‘as, like’) + clause
  - **Functional distribution:** Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
  - **Structural type:** 1 (Balanced)
  - **Verbal categories:** Retained
  - **Nominal categories:** None
  - **Argument encoding:** SENT - SENT

**Example:**

- Pred Mod:
  \[
  [\text{Rogorc ten } g\text{-}e\text{-}pr'ian\text{-}eb\text{-}a], \text{ ise } mo\text{-}i\text{-}kec\text{-}i
  \]
  as \text{ you(dat)} \text{ you\text{-}iov\text{-}appeal\text{-}ths-it so } prev\text{-}pass\text{-}act\text{-}aor.ind(.imp)
  ‘Act as the fancy takes you.’ (Act as you are appealed to.) (Hewitt 1995: 589)

**Bukiyip**

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

**Examples:**

- Ref Head:
  \[
  \text{Énan } n\text{-}a\text{-}kli } [\text{yek } i\text{-}wich \text{ umu } \text{ énaniny } \text{ moul}]
  \]
  He \text{ he\text{-}real\text{-}say I } \text{ I\text{-}irr\text{-}enter } \text{ ben } \text{ his } \text{ work}
  ‘He said that I would have his job.’ (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 179)

- \text{ch\text{-}a\text{-}kli } [\text{ch\text{-}e\text{-}geik } \text{ mamawegasibel}]
  \]
  pl\text{-}mix\text{-}real\text{-}say/want \text{ pl\text{-}mix\text{-}irr\text{-}build } \text{ parent\text{-}wood\text{.poss.fence}}
  ‘They wanted to build a parent type (= very strong) fence. (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 182)

**Clause + (u)li**

- **Remark:** The relativized item is gapped, but it is cross-referenced (with a prefix denoting class and number) on the dependent predicate.
- **Functional distribution:** Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
- **Structural type:** 1 (Balanced)
- **Verbal categories:** Retained
- **Nominal categories:** None
- **Argument encoding:** SENT - SENT

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Example:
Ref Mod:
H-á-yat-ve-yagú agú-dak
3PL-MASC.SUBJ-REAL-fix-CL3.SG-OBJ CL3.SG.DEM-this
neh-e-paši traq [g-a-lame-mu bbësin ali]
large-CL3.SG truck CL3.SG.SUBJ-REAL-travel-BEN gasoline REL
‘They repaired this big truck which transports gasoline.’ (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 103)

*báidebuk + 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:
[Báidebuk ecech eb-a-bli-mu]
like they.MIX 3PL.MIX.SUBJ-REAL-say-like
‘Like they said’ (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 968)

Abkhaz

Pred-ra
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No TAM/agreement
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

Examples:
Ref Head:
[Ara 1sg.ROSS-be-ths-nmlz it-2pl-know-DYN-FIN
‘They know that I was here.’ (Hewitt 1979: 31)

[darə rə-ba-thawə Çerkesk-‘qá hə-ir-ra] (O-)ja-s-i-o-yə’
them them-by(instr) today Çerkesk-to our-send-nmlz it-prev-1sg-be.surprised.at-FIN
‘I am surprised at their sending us to Çerkesk 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-rəa-wə] (O-)xə-a-cu-wa-yə’.
he-come-DYN(N.FIN.PRS) it-head.in-1-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
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions

**Key Examples**

**Examples:**

Ref Mod:

\[
[a-ph\dot{s}] \quad d_{o-z-c-\ddot{a}-z] \quad a-x\acute{a}c' \quad d_{-a-y\acute{a}}.
\]

**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)

\[
[r\acute{-c}'a-y\acute{\dot{a}}-v-s] \quad y_{\dot{a}-q'\acute{a}}-u-a\acute{\dot{a}}-w\acute{a}-y\acute{\dot{a}}.
\]

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)

\[
[a-x\acute{a}a] \quad y_{\dot{a}-y-baf(k\acute{\dot{a}}-a)-z] \quad d_{-a-h\acute{a}} \quad (\emptyset)-z-d\ddot{\varepsilon}-c-wa-y\acute{\dot{a}}.
\]

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)

**Ś-Pred-N.FIN**

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

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

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**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 TAM/agreement

Nominal categories: CASE

Argument encoding: OBL - POSS/Ø - SENT

**Examples:**

Ref Head:

Proszę o [zwolnienie z pracy dwie pracownice]

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)

\[
[ku\acute{p}wsa-nie miejs a prez Hanke]
\]

buy-nmlz meat-gen by Hanka

'the buying of meat by Hanka' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm: 293)

**Pred-INF (various forms)**

Remark: There is a number of different infinitival endings:

-\(\acute{a}c\) - \(\acute{a}\dot{\acute{a}}\)
-\(e\acute{c}\) - \(\eta\acute{a}\)
-\(i\acute{e}\) - \(\acute{s}\dot{e}\)
-\(i\acute{c}\) - \(\acute{s}\dot{e}\)
-\(y\acute{e}\) - \(\omega\acute{a}\dot{a}\)
-\(uc\) - \(\omega\acute{a}\dot{a}\)
-\(e\) - \(\omega\acute{a}\dot{a}\)
-\(\acute{e}\) - \(\omega\acute{a}\dot{a}\)

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:

Postaniwiłem [ku\acute{p}ieć dom].
I decided buy-inf house

'I decided to buy a house.' (Bielec 1998: 19)
**Pred-ct** (*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:
_Widz chłopca [słuchaj-ct-go radio]
I see boy listen-PTC-SG.MASC-CASE radio
'I see a boy (who is) listening to the radio.' (Bielec 1998: 170)

**Pred-ny/ny-ana/ny-ane (SG)/-ny-ane (PL) (*present passive participle*)

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, valency, person marking
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (gapping)

**Example:**
Ref Mod:
_Odzież [sprzedawa-ana] tam jest tania.
clothes (being) sold-PTC(PASS.PRS) there are cheap
'The clothes (being) sold there are cheap.' (Bielec 1998: 171)

**Pred-PASS.PST.PTC (various forms)**

Remarks: There are several formation strategies, depending on the form of the infinitive. This construction is used with perfective verbs only. These participles can possibly be regarded as derived adjectives, since they take no overt arguments: the relativized item is gapped, and the demoted agent argument remains unexpressed.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, valency, person marking
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - Ø (gapping)

**Example:**
Ref Mod:
_Mikołaj ma [złamań] nogę
N. has broken(PASS.PST.PTC) leg
'Nicolas has a broken leg.' (Bielec 1998: 171)

**Pred-PRS.3dPL + -c (*adverbial participle*)

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, person marking
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

**Example:**
Pred Mod
_[słuchaj-c] ubratem się
listen.PRS.3.PL-CONV music dress.I (my)self
'Listening to music, I got dressed.' (Bielec 1998: 71)

**zę + clause**

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
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**Example:**
Ref Head: 
Myślę, [że ona jest mężatką].
‘I think that she is married.’ (Bielec 1998: 239)

*ktoře/ktoře/cu (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 mieszkał,] była mała. [= w który]
Cottage [in which they lived] be small
‘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-*(ā)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 múkšil bila [gós-lir-as]
very difficult be.IV 2-show-INF
‘It is very difficult to show (it) to you.’ (Anderson 2002: 545)

Ref Mod: 
[Chát-nte oʊs-ruy-ər] bok
post-superess neg-sit-INF dog
‘a dog which doesn’t sit at its post’ (Anderson 2002: 545/Berger 1998: 171)

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

[du-ùs-ə]-ulb
sub.vers-come.out-INF-INESS
‘when he came out’ (Anderson 2002: 547/Berger 1998: 190)

**Pred-im/-um/-am** *(aorist participle)*
Remarks: 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 *kā* and the genitive case. These constructions seem to have ‘true’ manner semantics.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (+ CASE also Pred Mod) = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: Tense, mood and subject agreement are lost. Aspect and object-agreement are retained.
Nominal categories: (CASE), see above
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:

[i-ŋ barúm-man-um] mapéer-an
he-heard white be(come)-aor.ptc elder-sg.art
'an old man with a white beard.' (Anderson 2002: 546 / Berger 1998: 166)

Pred Mod:

[juliz bay-a-m]-ulu K’udé-e-re duá et-a-m
ill be-1-aor.ptc-INESS God-obl-dat prayer aux-tr-1-aor.ptc
'When I was ill I prayed to God.' (Anderson 2002: 549)

[neg-cry-aor.ptc-superess]

[ʃe-ar-um]-ate

[in yar é-um-e kú] girát-im-i

Clause + ke / ki

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

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref mod (Simultaneity clause) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:

Aya máma [jit-ar takliiff n-ा-ći-n] uyó-ko u-yú-ar
father(erg) mother(erg) 1-dat trouble conv-1sg.io-give-conv big-pl 3cl.poss-son(pl).dat
'Father and mother arranged good marriages for their big sons, giving me a lot of trouble.' (Tikkanen 1995: 502)
Example simultaneity clause:

\[ (Zungating-gen) \quad \text{village-ill}\quad \text{flower-pl}\quad \text{pref}-3\text{CL}SG-{(come)}-3\text{CL}SG\]

\[ \text{ban} \quad \text{dastuur-an} \quad b-il-um \]

‘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

**LAVUKALEVE**

Pred-e/-i

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

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

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM, no Agreement Suffix

Nominal categories: (CASE / DET)

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**Example:**

Ref Head

\[ Ngai \quad [nqa-botea \quad la \quad o-ma-e] \]

1sg 1sg.POSS-arrow 3sg.FEM.ART 3sg.FEM.OBJ-take-NMLZ
e-li-re 3sg.neut.OBJ-want-N.FIN just 1sg.SBJ-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:

\[ [\text{Ali} \quad nga-foa\text{al} \quad a-u-m \quad na] \quad a-le-m \quad \text{fin.} \]

1sg 1sg.POSS-fish 3sg.MASC.OBJ-eat-SG.MASC ART 1sg.SBJ-see-SG.MASC 3sg.MASC.FOC

‘I saw the man who ate my fish.’ (Terrill 2003: 442)

\[ [\text{Ali} \quad a-na \quad so-oks-ne \quad a-ngoa-a-m \quad na] \quad o-foe \]

1sg.MASC.OBJ-in RDP-laugh-IPFV 1sg.SBJ-STAY-SG.MASC SG.MASC.ART 3sg.POSS-pig

na o-lufa-m

‘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)

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

\[\text{Yifemr pëthawonmëanr nan-bo yi-nef-t} \]
father talk.try.I.him [I-gen go-nmlz-3sg.fem]
'I tried talking to Father (about) my going.' (Bruce 1984: 124)

\[\text{Yifemr pëthawonmëanr [vir-bo yak-ni-nef-t na]} \]
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)

\[\text{akfërafëwahn [yima-m bupa-r-oh yak-nef-t]} \]
do.not.talk.forbid.you person-3 get-go-nmlz-3sf.fem
'Don’t forbid the men(s) getting of water.' (Bruce: 125)

Pred-اتف (INF)
Remark: Unlike the nominalization in -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

Examples:

Ref Head:

\[\text{Na iñji wañf ɨ nahmëanr [baripat rhu-haku-t]} \]
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)

\[\text{nanbo warat kfiçut [yamkop ɨ ntho nayay-kfët], nayayrhwa} \]
1sg.gen foot speak.prs.3sg.fem Amongabi.gen come-inf come.fut.1sg
'(if / when) my foot speaks (= when I like) to come to Amongabi, I will come.' (Bruce 1984: 284)

(ind –Pred) + clause
Remark: Relative clauses are optionally marked with ind, but mostly unmarked. The function of the head noun is not marked, except when a possessor is relativized.
Functional distribution: Ríg: Ref Head, Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: Aspect and mood are retained; agreement (subject and object) is lost
Nominal categories: (CASE), see above

Examples:

Ref Mod:

\[\text{[met-t maroba-bayme] yima-r} \]
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)

\[\text{[Ø na yawyr ind-tat-më] mnj-t} \]
- I dog dem-hit-rem.pst stick-3sg.fem
'a stick (with) which I hit a dog' (Bruce 1984: 111)

\[\text{[Ø yimar kuit bingma-më-r-be] met-t} \]
- man house build-rem.pst-3sg.masc-gen woman-3sg.fem
'a woman whose man built a house' (Bruce 1984: 111)

ind habbi kmi [na ind-kfëmi-t]
dem small place I rel.said-3sg.fem
'the small place (about) which I spoke' (Bruce 1984: 108)

Pipil
ka(h) + clause
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (occasionally) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

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Examples:

Ref Head:

`yu 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-matì katka [ku ne i-siua-w se bru:ah].`

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:tu:-t]`

I-it-killed the cat REL it-ate the bird

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

`kurib abi-ke-t i-chan ne ta:ka-t [kah ki-kutamin-ki]`

then arrive-PRET-PL his-house the man-abs REL it-throw-PRET

‘Then they arrived (at) the house of the man who threw it down.’ (Campbell 1985: 129)

`ne (REL. PRON) + clause`

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

Example:

Ref Mod:

`Naha ni-k-ita-k ne siua-t [ne ki-pa:k 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`).

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

Example:

Ref Mod:

`Kunih ne ta:ka-t [ke ki-kutamin] k-its-ki ne chumpipi k-wi:ka ka i-chan`

then the man-abs REL it-throw it-grab-PRET the turkey it-take to his-house

‘Then the man who threw it down grabbed the turkey (and) took it to his house.’ (Campbell 198: 129)

`ke:n-aken (‘just as’) + clause`

Remark: This construction has similitative semantics.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT-SENT

Example:

Pred Mod:

`Ah, ni-paxax:wua [ke:n-aken taba ti-kiv-tuk ti-paxax:wua]`

Oh I-walk just-as you you-leave-pfv you-walk

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

`ADV + clause`

Remark: This construction has simultaneity semantics.

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
Example:
Pred Mod:

**Ke’mun** yaba yawi katka derechob ne kayeb, yah kis-ki i-zapan siwana:wal
when he go before straight the street then leave-pret his-before Siganaba
‘When he was going (down) the street, he came out in front of (the) Shaunaba.’ (Campbell 1985: 131)

**WAMBRON**

–e (CONN) + clause
Remark: The connector –e links all preverbal NPs, irrespective of their functional or structural specification, so this includes object clauses.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/SENT/Ø - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:

**Kons** beta-ke-n-[e] lava-tembo…
and see-3sg.PRS-TR-CONN trap-3sg.PST
‘And he saw that he had trapped it (…)’ (De Vries 1986: 29)

–a + clause–o
Remark: The suffix –o links all types of pre-nominal modifiers to the head noun, including relative clauses, which are additionally marked by the relativizer –a, which delineates the relative clause by cliticizing to its first constituent. Relative clauses can also be head-internal. If that case, the construction is not pre-nominal, so the connector –o does not appear.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø/SENT - Ø/SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:

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

[Aliv-a ndu-n-e takhima-lepo-n-eve] 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-e** [matet-mo] ka-lemba?
they-CONN good-SS go-3PL.PST
‘Did they travel without problems?’ (lit.: ‘Did they go well?’) (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 19)

**Pred–o**
Remark: This is also a “medial verb form” with same-subject switch reference marking. The interpretation is not temporally neutral: it expresses simultaneity.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense, mood, and subject agreement. Transitivity markers can be retained.
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Example:
Pred Mod: Jakhov-e [ko-n-ko nggom li-knde]
they-conn go-trss 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 / SENT - Ø / SENT

Example:
Ref Head: Yú [kúun koso lni=a] ku Ɂargi
I you laugh pfv=det yol.obj see.pfv
‘I saw that you were laughing.’ (Tosco 2001: 287)

yú [kúun bi fiid=a] sashè
I you 3(verb pron) opened.def=det want.pfv
‘I want you to open it.’ (Tosco 2001: 288)

Ref Mod: Máa [ɠu ɗɗ o Ɂág] ye Ɂág
Man trees dig.rdp.def=that=det 3.subj me know
‘That man who is digging trees (he) knows me.’ (Tosco 2001: 283)

Pred Mod:
Yú [ɠu ɗɗ ku] múa pigp=att=a du seǝl
I cattle have.pfv det person young=that=det upon go.pfv
‘I, having the cattle, went to the boy.’ (2001: 286)

Pred-ɲ/-an
Remarks: The suffix -ɲ is used for the basic and causative/factitive paradigms, -an for the middle and inchoative paradigms. The dependent predicate has feminine nominal gender.
The object is unmarked (noun-stripping).
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: Tense and aspect are lost
Nominal categories: (DET), gender marking
Argument encoding: Ø/POSS - unmarked

Examples:
Ref Head: [vùb mummur-ɲ] bi boyi
sorghum cut.rdp.m-nmlz 3subj finish.pfv
‘The harvesting of the sorghum is finished.’ (Tosco 2001: 121)
Yu ʔáɲ âm-ɲi nmlz 1.poss-DET wnl.IPPV
‘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: Rg: 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 langgi 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-IPPFV comp know how.FOC 2sg get-pfV.1sg
‘The governor will want to know how you got me.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 249)

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

Remark: The complementizer dati can be deleted. Dati-clauses can also be preceded by the quotative marker bi(fi) (from the verb for ‘to say’), resulting in a ‘double’ complementizer sequence.

Functional distribution: Rg: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT – SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:
Bat nou eke boro [dat-o mw-a]
but now 1sg hear comp-3sg go-IPPV
‘But now I hear that he is leaving.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 244)

Bateni nim-te [dat-ek ma ku-mona-ngga]
but.3pl acquire.knowledge.pfv comp-1sg irr come-Mona-LOC
‘But they knew that I would come to Mona’s.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 241)

Eke pan-te ju [date ju mu bifi ka]
1sg tell-IPPFV 2sg comp 2sg must speak neg
‘I told you that you must not talk.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 238)

Ek glof ka [(Ø) o nin-te musa]
1sg believe neg 3sg know-IPPV much
‘I don’t believe he knows much.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 242)

Eni pama-ke-[bifi date-ke ma mu danga ka]
3pl tell-IPPFV.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: Rg: Ref Mod = (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Example:

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

Di  bwa:, di  en [wari wa siki,] ori doto-te esti
The leg the one what PST ill, 3SG die-PFV first
The leg, the one that was ill, it became numb first.’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 271)

Di sem jermatoko [(Ø) che pan-te ju abab]
the same woman.child 1SG tell-PFV 2SG about
‘the same girl I told you about’ (Kouwenberg 1994: 268)

BARUNGO

ləa + 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:
Ləmbi gî [ləa yi ʒɛdəs]
Lambi say-PFV that he-l.PRON be.sick.PROGR
‘Lambi said that he was sick.’ (Schaub 1985: 31)

fəp/yəu + 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:
mə̀ yə əwə ntis [fəp/yəu (gəwə) shəw ngə yə]
I see.PFV person that REL he steal.PFV your
‘I have seen the man who has stolen your fowl.’ (Schaub 1985: 32)

lwàŋ ngəwə [fəp rə gəwa nə jəw i nə]
hammer that [REL father my PST come.PFV with gəwənə]
I’m the hammer that my father came with (it), that hammer is in the house. (Schaub 1985: 33)

Pred Mod:
gəwə sə ədy [fəp nihi wi nəyi tə gəwə]
she plant.PFV corn ADV mother her tell.PFV to her
‘She has planted the corn like her mother told her.’ (Schaub 1985: 39)

gəwə gwətə ti kə [yəu əvə nəyi tə gəwə]
he cut-PFV tree that ADV they tell-PFV to him
‘He has cut that tree how/when he was told.’ (Schaub 1985: 39)

kəi(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 kəi. 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 kii in the first verb phrase, which expresses the event in process. The verb with which the marker kii 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:

Nominal class marker !xáis (SG. FEM) can be
shortened to -s, and the object marker -à.
Apart from the declarative marker ke, no verbal categories are lost.

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained except declarative marker
Nominal categories: Nominal class
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:

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: Rigg: 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:

Oblique argument:

The adverbial manner suffix -se and the general adverbial subordinating conjunction !ás are completely interchangeable, but -se is by far the most frequently used. The construction with !ás 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
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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:

\[!ái 'a \neq \áó ra-se-p ke kó pèé\]
\[!xóókxoeku kè !nàeí'úhè\]

`Rejoicing, he left.' (Hagman 1974: 244)
`the prisoners were transported bound with chains' (Hagman 1974: 246)

Hdi Clause + \(ká\) (+ 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: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained (special subject forms)
Nominal categories: Possessive person marking
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

\[mnd-á ráyá Mbákà ká\]
\[ndá sn-í\]

`Mbitsa said that Mbaka is a hunter.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 422)
`I know that they forgot their hoe.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 450)

Ref Mod:

\[ghùrúm tá lá-ghw-í ndá mà xà\]
\[snà-n-sn-í tá kl-áf-tá màràkw xìs\]

`a hole that went deep into the ground'
`There was once a chief who married two wives.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470)

\(tá\) (OBJ/COMMENT) + deranked clause:

Remarks: The marker \(tá\) is an object/comment marker: It is also used to mark lexical objects and comments in focus constructions (cf. glosses in examples).

In Ref Head function the subject is POSS. In Ref Mod function it is gapped, but marked with a possessive pronoun on the dependent predicate. In Ref Mod function, this construction is used only for perfective subject relative clauses.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No person marking
Nominal categories: Possessive person marking
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

\[sí tá ɗv-áy-x\]
\[Snà-n-hear-3-hear\]

`They wanted us to leave.' (lit. They wanted our leaving.) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 480)
`I heard them slaughter cattle.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470) (lit. I heard their slaughtering the cow's neck?)

Ref Mod:

\[ghùrúm tá lá-gbw-í ndá mà xà\]
\[màmú sàn m̀ghám\]

`a hole that went deep into the ground'
`There was once a chief who married two wives.' (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470)

\(tá\) (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:
\[ \text{Wúyá s kwì [tà klá-ghá-tà-ŋ̃ nì, ká-xəŋ]} \]
\[ \text{here thing ipfv take-2SG-REF-1PL.EXCL COMP-3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Here is the thing that we give you.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 409)} \]

**tá (IPFV) + clause with nominalized verb**

Remark: Used for subject relative clauses only.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: Only imperfective aspect retained, no other affixes indicating role/number of argument(s).
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

**Example:**
Ref Mod:
\[ \text{Màmú ts mə̀ mə́ k-xà kɗérí [tà írí ndà tsì]} \]
\[ \text{exist enemy-PL:GEN Kderi ipfv envy. nmlz assoc 3SG} \]
\[ \text{‘There were enemies of Kderi who envied him.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 404)} \]

**Pred-a (dependent perfective aspect):**

Remark: Used for (perfective) object relative clauses only.

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

**Example:**
Ref Mod:
\[ \text{Gítà kàm ná dzá’á plá-ghá-m-plá-ŋ̃ ní tá dá-ghá [dzá-xəŋ̃]} \]
\[ \text{today then dem fut return-2SG-REF-1PL.EXCL OBJ father-2SG kill:DEP.PFV-3PL} \]
\[ \text{Today, we will avenge your father whom they have killed. (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 410)} \]

**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 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:
\[ \text{Wō pànwàng [nǐ kuài yìdiàn biye]} \]
\[ \text{I hope you soon a.little graduate} \]
\[ \text{‘I hope you’ll graduate a bit sooner.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 599)} \]

Ref Mod:
\[ \text{wò mài-le yì-diàn yǐfu [tài dà]} \]
\[ \text{I buy-PFV one-CL outfit too big} \]
\[ \text{‘I bought an outfit that turned out to be too big.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 614)} \]
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Pred Mod:
Tāmen [yōng shǒu] bǐ-fān
they use hand eat-food
‘they eat with their hands.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 597)

Clause + de
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (small adjectives, small manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Not applicable
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping/co-referentiality)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[Juān tiān yīng de] qiān fù fāng-zū
today win conn money pay house-rent
‘The money we won today goes to pay the rent.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 581)

Pred Mod:
nǐ pāo [de bīn kuài]
you run conn very quick
‘You run very quickly.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 625)

Pred-zhe (DUR)
Remarks: The durative aspect marker -zhe can be used in the first of two clauses to signal that one event provides a durative background for another event.
Since this construction occurs only with (unexpressed) co-referential subjects, it is analyzed as a Ø-SENT construction, even though there is no independent evidence for deranking (since there is no verbal inflectional morphology).
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Not applicable
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:
Pred Mod:
Xiǎo gǒu [yáo-zhe wēiba] pāo le
small dog shake-DUR tail run crs
‘The small dog ran away wagging its tail.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 223)

Tā [guāng-zhe] jiào shǎng-kè
3sg bare-DUR foot ascend-class
‘S/he goes to class barefooted.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 23)

Tamil
Pred-stu
Remark: With locative case or postposition poola ‘like’ the construction can be used in Pred Mod function.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ case/postposition also Pred Mod: simultaneity and simulative) = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: Agreement is lost; tense is retained; some but not all aspect and mood distinctions are retained.
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
[tiṟaṇ nakēyellaam eṉṭutṭakkiṭirukkaratu] naan patteen
thief jewellery-ALL take-PROG-PRES-NMLZ/ACC 1 sec-PST-1SG
‘I saw the thief taking the jewels.’ (Asher 1982: 20)
The children were busy building a sand-house on the beach.' (Asher 1982: 21)

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

'Raman told me to come to his house.' (Asher 1982: 22)

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

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

'He really thinks that if he cries he will be free.' (Childs 1995: 280)

'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:
‘I continued to study Kisi.’ (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:
‘Did Tamba give you any help with this work that you were doing?’ (Childs 1995: 288)

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:
‘You can speak both sentences.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 55)

 то́л у́нч кэ ́нг ьо́нг [бэ́б вэ́й кэ́ тэн]
then he about again desire do king
then he wanted to be king again.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 52)
Lē o hǎhn māhn [kính mi lāi]
then see pl. gold be much
'Then they saw that there was much gold.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 111)

Mūhn vā [pi krop mu’hūn ma]
he say older brother his come
'He said that his older brother came.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 115)

Ref Mod:
mūhn tēp pēn pēn tā dēh-slāo [dēh-slāo lāi]
she again become like cl. child-girl good-girl much
'She then became a very pretty girl.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 33)

Pred Mod:
Tū mā pāy [chăhm lāi]
cl. horse go slow very
'The horse goes very slowly.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 95)

Mūhn càng cō [hăng lāi] cā sahn
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 hū to, for is added at the end of the relative clause. With all types of relative clauses, an anaphoric mu’hūn is often inserted before the main predicate.

Functional distribution: Ríg: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (small adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Not applicable
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Refr Mod:
Lēo vang [khi bē tē] chbiŋg du tū bē hū’ kē Hong [khi mà tē]
Then boy ride goat dem then take cl. goat give man Hong ride horse dem
'Then that boy riding the goat gave the goat to that man Hong riding the horse.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 16)

kē [tē-qā tēb cōn tēhm tē ni]
man rel. lost cl. stone dem foc
'The man who had lost the stone.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 78)

Āhn bōn [cău-ni-qe-khōi ni]
cl. house run.out dem
'The house (that) I was running from.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 80)

kē [tē-qā cāu du sē sē hū’ ni] mūhn
man rel. I gave cl. book to foc he
'The man I have the book to, he ….' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

Ōhng kē [cău il’ā āhn tu hū’ ni]
cl. man I bought cl. hat for foc
'The man for whom I bought the hat.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 79)

Kat + clause
Remark: This construction is a simultaneity clause.
The subject is expressed in both the matrix and the dependent clause.
Functional distribution: Ríg: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Not applicable
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions

Key Examples

Example:

Pred Mod:

Lēō [mu’hn bāt bāhān cāh dā’] mu’hn lào lài
then he when see cl. tiger he fear much
‘Then when he saw the tiger he was very afraid.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 110).

Garo

Clause + in-e

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Pir-ga-cha song ni-to-a in-e] ang-a chanchi-a
Pirgacha village beautiful-neut comp I-nom think-neut
‘I think Pirgacha village is beautiful.’ (Burling 2004: 318)

[Bi-a sok-ba-ku-ja in-e] ang-a chanchia
he-nom arrive-here-not-yet comp I-nom believe
‘I believe that he has not yet arrived here.’ (Burling 2004: 319)

Pred-a

Remark: With the suffix git-a ‘like’, this construction can be used as a 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:

jul dong-kan, [bi-ni ha’-rik-a-git].
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 daak-a
talk-nmlz-gen-acc wait-neg own force-adv work-acc do-neut
‘Not waiting for talk (instructions), (he) does the work forcefully himself.’ (Burling 2004: 296)

Pred-na (INF) (+ in-e)

Remark: Used as the same-subject complement of modals, desideratives and predicates of achievement and emotion. With achievement and emotion predicates, the complementizer in-e can optionally be added.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø-SENT (co-referentiality)
Examples:
Ref Head:
Ang-a [mi cha-na] man-a
I-nom rice eat-INF can-neut
'I can eat rice.' (Burling 2004: 320)

Bi-a [kat-ang-na] ba-sik-ing-a
he-nom run-away-INF want-progr-neut
'He wants to run away.' (Burling 2004: 320)

Ang-a [bik-ko nam-et-na (in-e)] chee-ta dak-no-a
I-nom you-acc good-caus-INF comp try-fut
'I will try to improve you.' (Burling 2004: 321)

Ang-a [nang-ko nik-na (in-e)] ken-a
I-nom you-acc look-at-INF comp fear-neut
'I am afraid to look at you.' (Burling 2004: 321)

Pred-kan/ka-na (IMP-INF) (+ in-e)
Remark: -ka is the 3rd person imperative suffix, used here as a subordinating suffix with manipulative predicates. The complementizer in-e is optional with this construction.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Example:
Ref Head:
Nang-ko [boi bre-kan-na (in-e)] ang-a bit-a
you-acc book buy-comp comp I-nom order
'I order you to buy a book.' (Burling 2004: 322)

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

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[nok-o pi-sa-ko nik-gip-a] me-tra
house-loc child-acc see- ptc woman
'the woman who saw the child at the house.' (Burling 2004: 301)

[me e'bi-k-ni skang-o den-gip-a] a'bol
women-gen previously-loc cut- ptc firewood
'firewood that the women chopped previously' (Burling 2004: 299)

Pred-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:
Na-tok-ko [nam-e] [ni-e] cha-ja-ad-de, (…)
fish-acc good-conv watch-conv eat-neg-if
'If you don't watch out well when eating the fish, (…)' (Burling 2004: 314)
lit.: 'If you don’t eat the fish in a good and watchful manner, ….'

[Klemen-ko rim-tol-e] ba'ti-cha re-ang-a
Clement-acc take-along-conv market-loc go-neut
'(I) go to the market, taking Clement along.' (Burling 2004: 315)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Krongo**

*ānì (QUOT) - *tiŋ * clause

Remark: This construction is used only with utterance verbs. The quotative marker is part of the matrix clause; the particle *tiŋ* 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: 

*And* Luwaala *says* to them, *that* they have made a good plan. *(Reh 1985: 354)*

(t-)Pred (*nominalization/infinitive*)

Remark: For class II verbs, the nominalization and the infinitive have the same form; for class I verbs, the infinitive is formed without the prefix. The construction (NMLZ and INF) takes case marking when not in object function (the accusative is zero-marked). Infinitives in object function with subject-to-object-raising are locative case-marked. When an overt subject is a full noun, the subject takes a possessive prefix. If not, it is expressed by a dependent person suffix.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)
Verbal categories: No agreement/mood, tense, aspect and valency/voice are retained
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - SENT

**Examples:**
Ref Head: 
*n-átàasà  à*  [t-óshó-ókò- *n-* ñáamà *à*  [má- *t*-ákká- *tt* ɪ́ nɪ́  kí-cáaw  à-Tábáa  ŋ] masc:îpfv:speak-ben person dat:i  gen -nmlz-fut-3sg(dep) -fut-3sg(dep) -3 sg(dep) loc-inf:go dat:Tabanya

The man *says* to me *that* he will go to Tabanya. *(lit. The man speaks me of his (future) going to Tabanya.)* *(Reh 1985: 334)*

*n-átàasà  à*  [àkkù  úudà] n-átàasà  à*  [û  ù  ù  [k-áaláaná  à  [kí-nìinò  mó-di] you(acc) loc-inf:teach me loc-language gen-homeland

*I want you to learn me Krongo.* *(Reh 1985: 335)*

CONN-Pred (+ RSP)

Remarks: The construction is marked by a connector-prefix, which is fused with morphemes encoding agreement.

In Ref Mod function, if the relativized item is not the subject of the DC, an anaphoric pronoun is used, which takes case according to function.

In Pred Mod function, the DC obligatorily has imperfective aspect.

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives, small mAdverbs)
Structural type: 2/3 (D-SENT/D-AL T)
Verbal categories: No agreement/mood, tense, aspect and valency/voice are retained.
Nominal categories: Gender and number agreement (+ case agreement of RSP)
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT/Ø - SENT
Examples:
Ref Mod:
\[ káaw \text{ [m-\text{fem}] } \text{conn:ipfv-walk} \]
'the woman, who walks', 'the walking woman' (Reh 1985)

1/2-IPFV:love I LOC-sg-clothes CONNNEUT-IPFV:SEW-TR POSS-mother my
'I love the dress that my mother is sewing.' (Reh 1985:256)

Pred Mod:
\[ n-\text{úllà} \text{ [n-úulfò-ì} \text{ kò-nìimò} \text{ kàti m-ìì̈g]} \text{ conn:ipfv:look.at-1sg(dep) she.fem} \]
'whoever the one I know.
'I know the man about whom my mother cries.' (Reh 1985: 258)

Remarks: The construction is formed with the nominalizer -nɨ, followed by the inflectional suffix -rɨ 'possessed item', glossed as POSSD. For past tense, -nɨ is replaced by -thɨ; for negation, the form -bí- is used. The arguments are marked ergatively: the first argument of a transitive verb (A) is marked by a postpositional phrase with wya ('to, by', normally the indirect object marker). The only argument of an intransitive (S) and the second argument of a transitive verb (P) are marked as possessives. Since Hixkaryana is head-marking, the possessive appears on the predicate. In combination with extra elements, the nominalization construction is used in adverbial functions. The relevant elements are the "de-nominalizing relator" me for manner, and the postposition wyaro 'like' for simile constructions. Functional distribution: Ríg: Ref Head (+ extra element me, wyaro 'like' also Pred Mod) = PoS (nouns) Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[ ro-\text{wanota-nt-ri} \text{ conn:ipfv:come} \]
'my singing' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

1.POSS-sing-NMLZ-POSSD
Amma-y-omok-\text{thi-ri} 1-3.POSS-come-PST,NMLZ-POSSD
'our coming (in the past)' (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

\[ i-\text{nti-kà-to-ri-kòmo} \text{ [n-úufò-ì} \text{ kò-nìimò} \text{ kàti} m-ìì̈g]} \text{ conn:ipfv:look.at-1sg(dep) she.fem} \]
'quickly jaguar 3.POSS-go-PST,NMLZ-POSSD
'the going quickly of the jaguar.' (Derbyshire 1979: 23)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

oxhe ni-bananĩ-ni-ri komo wai wa
well 3.Poss-teach-NMLZ-PossD coll. woman by
‘the good teaching of them by the woman.’ (Derbyshire 1979: 24)

Koseryebaha, [r-eburka-ni-ri] bona
I.am.afraid, 1.Poss-fall-NMLZ-PossD to
‘I am afraid of falling.’ (lit. I am afraid to my falling.) (Derbyshire 1979: 24)

Pred Mod:
[Terryweryero ro-çavosta-ni me] koseryebaha
loudly my-singing-NMLZ DNMLZ I.take.a.bath
‘I take a bath singing loudly.’ (Derbyshire 1979: 28)

Uro ehtxemako, [o qoby Waraka yahxeman-ti-ri waqaro]
me treat.with.medicine by.you Waraka treat-pst.NMLZ-PossD like
‘Treat me with medicine just like you treat Waraka.’ (Derbyshire 1979: 31)

Slave
Clause + nį/Ø
With the verbs 'want' and 'say' the complementizer can be omitted.
The construction is used in Ref Mod function when the relativized item expresses a time or location.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
[Ɂelá tábha] kodeyihshá yile
going to 3.knew comp NEG
‘I didn’t know that the boat came in.’ (Rice 1989: 1245)

metá [Ɂekfy akndeh gba] tudi
good there 1sg.go FUT 3.say
‘His dad said that he is going there.’ (Rice 1989: 1224)

Ref Mod:
hej os tawa [Jim Ɂeghálayeda nį] sįʔ aqot’e
doubt probably Jim 3.work rel foc area.exist
‘This must be the place where Jim works.’ (Rice 1989: 1317)

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

Examples:
Ref Head:
[Ɂibala lits’e’ga gbe] keeyaf’a
canvas one.folds comp is.difficult
‘It is difficult for me to fold canvas.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)

[uha bhefj gau] Ɂdagqo náwiti
bear 1sg.be comp refl about 1sg.dreamed
‘I dreamed that I was a bear.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)

Clause + i/siili
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Ɂelá [byñá i]
boat 3.is.big rel
‘the big boat’ (Rice 1989: 1309)
Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses

Clauses + gbâré

Remark: The meaning of the adverbial subordinator is instrumental ‘by means of’.

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

Structure type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:

Pred Mod:
dene [gbâté'eyeda gbâré] ýá gâši'ederetę
person one.watches ADV TOP one.teaches.REFL
‘One learns through watching.’ (1063)

Nivkh

Pred-out/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 / Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Examples:

Ref Head:
Řa ŋa [čo n'I-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 - zošk] t'a ko tyr t'ey p'i-d'.
I break PTCH knife 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/-n**

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:

Haimani t’akylø [n’i’y-ki niqlaplo-d’-kaur-ø] t’yr-d  
old.man straight eye-instr blink-prt-NEG-CONV look-FIN  
‘The old man looked straight, not blinking [his] eyes.’ (Gruzdeva 1998: 54)

hoxor [ex-gu-ø] m2y-d  
therefore fast-CAS-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 A 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)

Anguituq tuqunnira  
man:RELC kill:NMLZ:3SG.POSS  
‘the killing of the man’ (i.e. he is killed) (Fortescue 1984: 46)

naluc-aa [qinnuta-ata qanuq naammasi-nipar-ni-sa-a]  
naluc-aa how.implement-PASS-NMLZ-FUT-3SG.POSS  
‘She didn’t know how his request would be implemented.’ (Fortescue 1984: 45)

[tkinnungumi-nik tuqut-si-nir-a] tuuar-para  
friend-his,REFL-INSTR kill-SEMTR-NMLZ-3SG.POSS hear-1SG.3PL:IND  
‘I heard of his killing his friend.’ (Fortescue 1984: 45)

**Pred-ta/ta** (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 [qampeaq naapi-ta-a] t’alim-pur  
man-ALL:SG yesterday meet-PASS-PTC-1SG.POSS-ALL:SG give-1SG.3SG:IND  
‘I gave it to the man I met yesterday.’ (Fortescue 1984: 49)

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12 Strictly speaking, therefore, West Greenlandic has no transitive nominalizations. (see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993).
angut [aallaa-a tig-a-ir] nigur-niar-paa
man gun-his take-PASS.PTC-3POSS.REFL avoid-try-3SG.3SG.IND
‘He tried to avoid the man whose gun he had taken.’ (Fortescue 1984: 53)

Participial mood clause
Remarks: The participial mood endings are parallel to the indicative ones, but built up on mood-marker *su* in the intransitive and *gi* in the transitive.
In Ref Head function, the construction is used for different-subject complements. When it functions as such, the dependent clause is morphologically marked as an object.
In Ref Mod function, the construction must be intransitive and can only take 3rd person inflection. Relative clauses that modify the subject of the matrix clause agree in (relative) case with their head.
When marked for instrumental case the participial mood can also be used in Pred Mod function.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, + CASE also Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for modifier functions)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement in Ref Mod function
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Head:
Ilisima-vaa [urni-sa-giga]
know-3SG.3SG.IND come.to-fut-1SG.3SG.PTC
‘He knew I would come to him.’ (Fortescue 1984: 36)

paasi-nngil-sinnar-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:
Niviariaq [kalaalisat iilinnia-fr-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-PROS effect-have-well-INTR.PTC-INSTR
‘having considerable cultural effect’ (Fortescue 1984: 56)

Contemporative mood clause
Remark: The contemporative or conjunctive mood for same-subject clauses. The contemporative is formed with the mood-marker *lu/llu* followed by person markers (1st, 2nd, 4th) or 3rd person object markers.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for Pred Mod function)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement in Ref Mod function
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
Uqar-sinnaa-vunga [tama-asa uuqattaar-sima-lugit]
say-can-1SG.IND all-3PL try-PPV-1SG-3PL.CONT
‘I can say that I have tried them all.’ (Fortescue 1984: 40)

Pred Mod:
[Irriir-lange] isir-punga
do.hurriedly-1SG.CONT go.in-1SG.IND
‘He entered quickly/in a hurry.’ (Fortescue 1984: 55)

[uqa-ngua-rant] ini-mi-nut isir-puq
say-little-4SG.NEG.CONT room-his.REFL go.in-3SG.IND
‘He entered his room without even speaking.’ (Fortescue 1984: 62)