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] Ɂ 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] Ɂ 2SG.Poss spec child-LK DIST loc NMNZ-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] Ɂ 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 . 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 salvation-PV SPEC leaf

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

**Nhína 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.

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Pred Mod:

\[
[\text{Biğla} \quad \text{suy}-\text{ng} \quad \text{nagbangon}]
\]

sudden 3SG-LK REALAV:rising

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

**Kharia**

Pred-Ø/RDP (‘Freestanding form/masdar’)

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

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

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

Nominal categories: May take case and number

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

**Examples:**

**Pred Head:**

\[
[\text{i} \quad \text{ɲ} \quad \text{ɖ} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{bi} \quad \text{Ɂɖ} \quad \text{bi} \quad \text{Ɂɖ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{ɲ}]
\]

1SG water pour.out-RDP=3SG.PST=1SG

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

**Ref Head:**

\[
[\text{O} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{bay-bay}]
\]

house=GEN build-RDP NEG=1SG like=M.PRS

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

**Ref Mod:**

\[
[\text{i} \quad \text{ɲ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{dura=} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{ru} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{ɲ} \quad \text{ji}]
\]

1SG=GEN door-obl open-RDP key

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

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

\[
[nə=\text{tc} \quad [\text{ɖ} \quad \text{oko} \quad \text{ɖ} \quad \text{oko} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{mukum}]
\]

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

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

**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:**

\[
[\text{in} \quad [\text{u} \quad \text{iku} \quad \text{Ɂɖ} \quad \text{sundar} \quad \text{kon} \text{the} \quad \text{Ɂɖ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{bajhay=} \quad \text{kon}]
\]

1SG this very beautiful bird=OBL trap=SEQ.CONV

torture=INF NEG=1SG want-ACT.PRS

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

**Ref Mod:**

\[
[\text{Ho=} \quad \text{ka} \quad [\text{Ɂ} \quad \text{kho} \quad \text{ɽ} \quad \text{bulk=} \quad \text{na}]
\]

that=hum [village.section wander=PTC] means INSTR Kharia=PL=GEN all

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

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

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

\[
[\text{…} \text{lekin} \quad [\text{lam=} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{lamna} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{iku} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{jugh} \quad \text{ɖ} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{piyas} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{Ɂ} \quad \text{=} \quad \text{ki}]
\]

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

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

[Arc-na avna]-te khatiyar=ki bai-te stay=INF RDP=ORL Kharia=PL that=ORL (=there) again house

dira bay=kon ikud-ga memon jou av=ki=may door build=SEQ.CONV very=foc year up.to stay=M.PST=3PL

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

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

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

It denotes iterativity and habituality.

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement

Nominal categories: None (no case agreement)

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

**Example:**

Ref Mod:

[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 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., =kon ‘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

**Example:**

Muda mop Brahman [bo=ko=r=9] dar=te teq=al] jane=te ye=yo?

But one brahman that=SGHUM=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[r]. 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., =kon ‘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] goj=juh bayri=may

dig scrape=CONV path make=PFV=3PL

‘… they have built the path by digging and scraping [the dirt away].’ (Peterson 2006: 244)

rakin oqo? jughay khatiyar=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 be kuda kholo=a? daru sambhe=te { [jnam=ga [umnga] goj jem=ta
and that millet bread=GEN tree base=OBJ CRY=CONV RDP die AP=3.M.PRS
‘And crying and crying, she just died at the base of that millet bread tree.’ (Peterson in prep: 248)

Pred=ta (‘imperfective converb’)
=ta is homophonous with the general imperfective middle marker.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Voice/Tense/Person agreement
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod:
ele [am=pe=te go=ta] ban=ti/] we=t] que=e=le
1PL.EXCL 2=2PL=OBJ carry.on.sholders=CONV RDP that=side this=side take=ACT.IRR=3PL.EXCL
‘We will carry you around on our shoulders.’ (=we will take you, carrying you on our shoulders) (Peterson 2006: 248)

no/Ø + clause
Remark: Used for object complement clauses, especially with utterance predicates.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
ap=qi'm rata=te remah=a? ro gam-a? [no babu musa ip kimir
father=3ross Rata=OBJ call=ACT.PST and say=ACT.PST COMP child today 1SG forest
onna am=ip pal=e]
go=INF NEG=1SG be.able=ACT.IRR
‘His father called Rata and said “child, today I will be unable to go to the forest.’ (Peterson 2006: 298)

gam=kon + clause
Remark: The form gam=kon is the sequential converb of gam ‘to say’. It is occasionally found instead of no as a kind of quotative form.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
[je javar tar=ki be javar=sya? gbos ol=ki] gam=kon] gam=a?
cr animal kill=ACT.IRR=PL that animal=GEN meat take=ACT.IRR QUOT say=ACT.PST
‘Whatever animal they kill, that animal’s meat they should bring, he said.’ (Peterson 2006: 299)

Correlative construction
Remark: There are two types of correlative constructions:
(i) With je-class markers: all correlative forms begin with j- and have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan.
(ii) With a/i/other question particle-class markers: all correlative forms are homophonous with interrogatives. This construction is not borrowed from Indo-Aryan, although it could be an older calque of the Indo-Aryan correlative construction, using purely language-internal means.
In both construction types, the head is usually repeated in the main clause, preceded by a demonstrative. Alternatively, the head is not repeated and only the demonstrative is there.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT (optional gapping)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Mod:
(\(i\)-class)
\[\text{ani} \ [\text{be bhere} \ \text{ng\=ki} \ \text{se bhere an}\=i\=ya \ \text{pa}\=j=\text{te} \ \text{sore} \ \text{kui}=\text{ki}\]
\[\text{anaph}\ \text{CR} \ \text{time} \ \text{return}=\text{m.pst} \ \text{DEM} \ \text{time} \ \text{anaph}=\text{gen} \ \text{bundle}=\text{obl} \ \text{stone find}=\text{m.pst}\]
‘Which time he returned, (at) that time he found a stone in the bundle.’ (Peterson 2006: 302)

(a/i-class)
\[\text{a}=\text{bo} \ \text{Ɂ}=\text{te} \ \text{pujapa} \ \text{ʈ}=\text{karay}=\text{na} \ \text{aw}=\text{ki},] \ \text{ho} \ \text{bo} \ \text{Ɂ}=\text{te} \ \text{ɖ}=\text{am}=\text{ke}, ….
\[\text{q}=\text{place}=\text{obl} \ \text{sacrifice do}=\text{inf} \ \text{cop}=\text{m.pst} \ \text{DEM} \ \text{place}=\text{obl} \ \text{arrive}=\text{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:
\[\text{i} \ \text{ɲ}=\text{yo}=\text{yo} \ \text{Ɂ} \ \text{lebu}=\text{ki} \ \text{i} \ \text{ɲ}=\text{a}\]
\[\text{1sg} \ \text{see}=\text{act.pst} \ \text{person}=\text{pl} \ \text{1sg}=\text{gen} \ \text{hotel}=\text{obl} \ \text{live}=\text{m.prs}=\text{pl}\]
‘The people I saw live in my hotel.’ (Peterson 2006. 303)

\[\text{i} \ \text{ɲ}=\text{te} \ \text{yo}=\text{yo} \ \text{Ɂ} \ \text{lebu}=\text{ki} \ \text{ula} \ \text{Ɂ} \ \text{likha}=\text{yo} \ \text{Ɂ}=\text{ki}
\[\text{1s}=\text{obl} \ \text{see}=\text{act.pst} \ \text{person}=\text{pl} \ \text{letter write}=\text{act.pst}=\text{pl}\]
‘The people who saw me wrote a letter.’ (Peterson 2006. 303)

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

Examples:
Ref Head:
Ta-pakiring \[\text{pa-tinu-n} \ \text{na} \ \text{lau}\] \text{haromu}
\[\text{1pl.nom-start comp-weave-3sg.dat art sarong tomorrow}\]
We will start to weave the sarong tomorrow.’ (Klamer 1998: 338)

Ref Mod:
Ta-pakiri-nja \[\text{da} \ \text{lau} \ \text{pa-tinu-nda}\]
\[\text{1pl.nom-start-3sg.dat art sarong rel-weave-1pl.dat}\]
‘We start (with) (them) the sarongs woven by us.’ (Klamer 1998: 338)

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

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

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

Unmarked nominalized clause
Remark: Nominal clauses can be dependent or independent. In combination with a conjunction, the construction can apparently also be used in adverbial function as a simultaneity clause (see Pred Mod examples below).
Functional distribution: Flex: Pred Head/main clause, Ref Head (+ CONJ also Pred Mod, simultaneity).
Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)
Verbal categories: (Some) aspect and mood marking is retained (also lexically). (Kambera has no tense-marking).
Nominal categories: DET, when functioning as such construction is cross-referenced on the main predicate as an object, with a DAT form.
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT
The subject is expressed through a genitive pronominal enclitic.

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

Ref Head:
Nda ku-pí-anggau [na ngàndi-mu rà kuta]
NEG 1SG.NOM-know-MOD-2SG.DAT ART take-2SG.GEN leaf pepper plant
‘I didn’t know that you would bring kuta.’ (lit.: I didn’t know (of ) your bringing kuta.’) (Klamer 1998: 97)

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

Pred Mod:
[Ba meu-meu-na,] ba na-imbu-ya
conj RDF-roar-2SG.GEN conj 3SG.NOM-search-3SG.ACC
‘And it roared (a tiger), while it went after him.’ (Klamer 1998: 100)

[ba jiapa-ma na hanggapit-na-nya dá]
conj continuously-EMPH ART clasp-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT inside
‘while he kept clasping it inside…’ (Klamer 1998: 97)

wá + clause
Remark: Quotative construction.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
Ka [na-ngàndi-ju 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-ğä
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, ≠ PoS (contentives, adverbs)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No TAM marking
Nominal categories: DET/CASE
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT (occasionally also POSS - POSS)

Examples:
Ref Head:
A le faalavelave le tupu i [le ai- ga]
pst neg trouble art king ld art eat-nmlz
apa ma moli a le pipili ma le tauaso]
apple and citrus poss art lame and art blind
‘The king was not troubled that the lame and the blind ate the apples and oranges.’

At na oo lava in moumou malie atu le pisa
But pst reach emph conj disappear gentle dir art noise
o [e sapini-ga o Pale ma Maria e o lu Tina]
poss art whip-nmlz poss Pale and Maria erg poss 3du mother
‘But finally the noise of the whipping of Pale and Maria by their mothers gently faded away.’
(Mosel 1992: 279)

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

Example:
Ref Head:
E lelei [l-a-u tunu ia]
genr good art-poss-2sg roast fish
‘Your fish roasting is good.’ (Mosel 1992: 267)

-o/a/ina + deranked clause
Remark: o/a 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:
aa taga [ona inu ava maliu tatou]
pfy allowed comp drink ‘kava’ strong 1.incl.pl
‘It is allowed that we drink alcohol.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 599)

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

Example:
Ref Mod:
‘O lea ‘o le tama’ita’ai l-[i na tatu o 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  ʻē  Tūgūlu [ʻū  saʻu  Sina]"
PAST know ERG Tūgūlu PPV comes Sina
‘I knew that S had come.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 589)

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

Guaraní
clause + ʻbd/hagwē/O
Functional distribution: Rg: 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 1 I-be.sick comp
‘You heard that I was sick.’ (Gregores & Suárez 1967:158)

ai-kwas la [u  o-ù  moq̂ 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-moʔ/ [še-tav]
You-think 1 I-be.silly
‘You think that I am silly.’ (Gregores & Suárez 1967: 157)

Pred-va + clause
Functional distribution: Rg: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)
The relativized item is gapped, but there is a person prefix on the dependent predicate.

Example:
Ref Mod:
"A-hechal  a  karai [o-jagua-ua-ekue ka  angu’a].
I-see def man 3-buy-rel-pst def mortar
‘I saw the man who bought the mortar.’ (Velázquez-Castillo 2002: 162)

Clause + ʻwe:
Functional distribution: Rg: Pred mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Pred Mod:
"H-aš [o-š ʻve]
She-cry she-go.out adv
‘She goes out crying.’ (Gregores & Suárez 1967: 180)

Santali
Unmarked clause; pred without -a (IND)
Remark: In Ref Head subject function, the construction shows no subject marking, while middle voice markers and TAM can be expressed. In Ref Head object function subject marking and TAM are lost, while object markers are retained. Only with verbs of perception subject marking and TAM can be expressed. In Ref Mod function, subject pronominals are omitted, but all TAM suffixes can be expressed.

* The status of the relativizer is not entirely clear: it does not seem to change the internal syntax of the dependent clause, but does attach to the predicate, preceding the tense marker.
The relativized element is gapped. In Pred Mod function, with case-marking, there is neither person marking (subject/object) nor TAM marking, but middle voice can be expressed. In combination with a postposition (with simulative semantics), all verbal categories are expressed, except for the indicative marker.

**Functional distribution:** Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod (+ case (LOC/INSTR)/postposition also Pred Mod) ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)

**Structural type:** 2 (D-SENT)

**Verbal categories:** Variable (see above)

**Nominal categories:** CASE

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

**Examples:**

**Ref Head:**

**Subject:**

\[
\text{[her} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{sun} \quad \text{set-conv} \quad \text{camp-M-TOP NEG good-IND}]
\]

‘It is not good to camp after sunset.’ (Neukom 2001: 181)

**Object:**

\[
\text{[onko} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{mana-ko-m} \quad \text{those} \quad \text{pl. bring-3PL.OBJ forbid-3PL.OBJ-2SG.SBJ}]
\]

‘Forbid them to bring those.’ (Neukom 2001: 182)

**Perception predicate:**

\[
\text{[mɔ̃ɔ̃-gɔt'} \quad \text{ɔt̥e} \quad \text{nə} \quad \text{imə} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{dak'} \quad \text{lo=ko} \quad \text{hij-uk'kan-e} \quad \text{ɲel-} \quad \text{gɔt'} \quad \text{ɔt'}-kat'-ko-a}
\]

‘He saw five women come to fetch water.’ (Neukom 2001: 183)

**Ref Mod:**

\[
\text{Uni-y-} \quad \text{[e} \quad \text{bujhə} \quad \text{u-ɲɔ̃} \quad \text{k'-kat'} \quad \text{hɔr-} \quad \text{ɛ} \quad \text{ə} \quad \text{rat-gɔt'} \quad \text{ɔt'}-ad-e-a.}
\]

‘He beckoned the man who had understood a little.’ (Neukom 2001: 197)

**Pred Mod:**

\[
\text{Case-marked: [cal-a-k'-calak'-te} \quad \text{mit'-paj} \quad \text{tjo-ko} \quad \text{pel-tiok'-ked-e-a.}
\]

‘While they were walking along, they caught sight of a jackal.’ (Neukom 2001: 187)

\[
\text{uni} \quad \text{gidra-do} \quad \text{[budip-ge-y-e} \quad \text{tahikan-re]}
\]

‘While the child was (still quite) young, his mother died.’ (Neukom 2001: 189)

**With postposition (simulative):**

\[
\text{[one-y-e} \quad \text{met'-at'-ko} \quad \text{leka-ge} \quad \text{jɔt'} \quad \text{bog-ko} \quad \text{ala-k'-kan-a}
\]

‘They all went along as he had told him.’ (Neukom 2001: 195)

**Pred-kate:**

\[
\text{Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (contentives, verbs)}
\]

**Structural type:** 2 (D-SENT)

**Verbal categories:** No Tense/Mood, no Person’, voice can be expressed

**Nominal categories:** CASE

**Argument encoding:** Ø - SENT

**Example:**

\[
\text{Pred Mod:} \quad \text{[nonka} \quad \text{budii-kate} \quad \text{bhshwsa-kate-ko]} \quad \text{ala-k'-kan-a}
\]

‘Thinking so and being hopeless, they walked on.’ (Neukom 2001: 186)

---

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

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

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

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

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

Clause + mente

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

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-pfv-ind this(AN)-TOP
[skin-ren apa-t kan-a-e mente]
they(DUAL) father-3POSS cop-pfv-3SG.SBJ comp/quot
'They did not recognize that he was their father.' (Neukom 2001: 183)

WARAO

Pred-kitane ('infinitive'):

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

Functional distribution: RIG: Pred Head ≠ PoS (non-verbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: None
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

Clause + kotai:

Functional distribution: RIG: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (non-verbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - Ø/Ø - SENT (gapping)

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

TURKISH

Pred-DIK/-y)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:

(Ref Head) [Ahmed-in śil-düğ-ün]-ü duy-du-m

I Ahmed-gen die-NMLZ-3SG-ACC hear-PST-1SG

'I heard that Ahmed died.' (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[Orhan-bir şey yap-ma-yen]-i belli-ydi.
Orhan-gen anything do-NEG-NMLZ-3SG.poss it.was.obvious

'It was obvious that Orhan wouldn’t do/wasn’t going to do anything.’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 423)

Ref Mod:

(adam-in git-tıq-i) okul
man-gen go-PTC-3SG school

'the school that the man goes/went to’ (Kornfilt 1997: 50)

[Fatma-ın yarım gör-eçi-i] film
Fatma-gen tomorrow see-PTC-3SG.poss film

'the film that Fatma is going to/will be seeing tomorrow’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 442)

Pred Mod:

Pastaya [anne-m-in analat-tıq-i] gibi yapmaya çağıtım
mother-1SG.poss-gen describe-NMLZ-3SG.poss like

'I tried to make the cake [as my mother had described].’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 477)

Pred-mAK

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

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Lütfen pencere-yi aç-maq]-i unut-ma
please window-ACC open-INF-ACC forget-NEG

'Please, don’t forget to open the window!' (Kornfilt 1997: 51)

[(ben) Ahmed-a käy-maq]-a zorla-di-m
I Ahmed-ACC flee-INF-DAT force-PST-1SG

'I forced Ahmet to flee.’ (Kornfilt 1997: 51)

[Şokaşı iç-mak] isti-yir-um
go out-INF want-IPFV-1SG

'I want to go out.’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 413)

Pred-mA

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

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

[Kerkes-in birier kikaye anlat-ma-i] iste-n-tıyör-mus
everyone-gen one.each story tell-NMLZ-3SG.poss want-PASS-IPFV-EV.COP

'It seems they want [everyone to tell a story].’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 420)

Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle-me-sin]-i syle-di-m
a-DAT I-ACC wait-NMLZ-3SG.poss-ACC tell-PST-1SG

'I told Ahmet to wait for me.’ (Kornfilt 1997: 53)

Pred-An

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

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

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

[araba-sı (at-in-an) komşu-muz
car-3SG.POSS steal-PASS-PTC neighbour-1PL.POSS
‘our neighbour, whose car was stolen’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 440)

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

Example:
Pred Mod:
Ben [etraf-im-a bak-arak] yürürüm
I around-1SG.DAT look-CONV(manner) walk-aor-1SG
‘I walk looking around (myself).’ (Kornfilt 1997: 73)

Pred-(y)d... 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 kadın [ağala-ya ağala-ya] hikayesini anlattı
The young woman told her story [continuously weeping]’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 476)

Adam [it-e kak-a] öne geçmeye çaldı
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:
İsti-yor-um [ki yarin ben-imle sinema-ya 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

Example:
Ref Head: Meral [Turgut onu Selimle görürse diye] korkuyordu
Meral Turgut with Selim see-2sg-pst go=aor comp/quot be.afraid-pst.prg
‘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] sanıyor
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/privative nominalization’)
Remark: Active plain nominalizations may, apart from their dependent uses, function as main clauses describing ongoing, uncompleted actions (Evans 1995: 472).
In Ref Head function, the construction can occur only as the complement of a perception predicate.
In Ref Mod function, it is used when the subject of the dependent clause is relativized. This subject is gapped.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head (perception complements), Ref Mod (subject clauses), Pred Mod = PoS (non-verbs).
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
Argument encoding: All overt arguments take the associating oblique case (A.OBL) or proprietive/localive modal case (MPROP/MLOC).

Examples:
Ref Head:
Ngada kurri-ja [ki-l-wan-ji dalwani-ki thawalurrk]
1sg.nom see-3pl-pst-mloc dig.up-nmlz-mloc yam-mloc:a.obl
‘I saw you digging up yams.’ (Evans 1995: 472)

Ngada kurri-ja [niwan-ji budii-n-marri]
1sg.nom see-3pl-pst-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-nurru kari-i-n-da] ngada warra-j
blanket-ASSOC cover-M-NMLZ-NOM 1SG.NOM go-ACT
‘I went along, covering myself in a blanket.’ (Evans 1995: 474)

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

Pred-Thirri-n (resultative nominalization)
Remark: This construction can also be used as a main clause, and as an adverbial clause expressing
temporal sequence.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: Nominal agreement
Argument encoding: Ergative alignment: Objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitives (S and P)
take nominative case; (demoted) subjects of transitive verbs (A) take oblique case.

Examples:
Ref Mod:
Bath-in-ki bal-umban-ji
[niwan-jiyarrng-niaba-ya]
west-from-MLOC west-orig-MLOC 3SG.Poss-DU-ABL-MLOC
jibarna-yarrng-kinaa-ya bidura-thirri-n-ji
uncle.in.law-DU-ABL-mloc miss-res-NMLZ-MLOC
‘One coming from the west, that had been missed by his two uncles-in-law.’ (Evans 1995: 480)

Nyingka kada buru-tharra [wungi-jirri-n-jina]
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-ALT construction.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: Resultative case (see above)
Argument encoding: Resultative case (see above)

Example:
Ref Mod:
Nyinka kamburi-ja dathin-a dangka-a
[yarbu-nyarrba balangkali-ngarrba ka-yii-n-ngarrbb]
2SG.NOM speak-IMP that-NOM man-NOM snake-CONS brown.snake-CONS bite-M-NMLZ-CONS
‘You speak to that man who was bitten by a brown snake!’ (Evans 1995: 481)

Clause + -ntha (oblique complementizer case)
Remarks: This construction ‘closely resembles normal finite clauses, permitting almost the full range of
verb inflections’. (…) Commonly a Complementizing Oblique or Locative case appears after all other
inflections, usually on all constituents.” (Evans 1995: 488)

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

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

The tense-system deviates slightly from independent clauses:
Independent clause: ACT(tal), which covers present, past and immediate future, the
latter two of which can be marked if extra precision is desired.
- POT(ental)
Dependent clause: PAST
- IMMED (= present and immediate past)
- POT(ental)
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 [ngijewa] kuda-ntba thaa-thau-ntb
1sg.nom know.nom 1sg.subj:c.obl again-c.obl return-pot-c.obl
'Thank you, I will come back again.' (Evans 1995: 490/491)

Ngada kamburri-ja nianan-ji [wathu-ntba dathin-inja barji-njarr-ntb]
1sg.nom say-act 3sg-mloc raft-c.obl that-c.obl capsize-appr-c.obl
'I told him the raft would capsize.' (Evans: 516)

Ngada marin-marri-i-jarr [dathin-kurrk wungal-kurrk kamburri-jurrk]
1sg.nom self-hear-m-psl that-loc:c.obl thing-loc:c.obl speak-immed:c.obl
'I heard myself speaking on that thing (the radio).’ (Evans 1995: 491)

Ref Mod:
nyinka kurri-jarra dathin-kina dangka-na
2sg.nom see-psl that.plabl man-plabl
[thawurr-inaa-ntba raa-jarra-ntba niwan-jinaa-ntb]
throat-plabl-c.obl spear-psl-c.obl 3sg-plabl-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:
fina-a dathin-a dangka-a, [dan-kina yijarrma-thara wungal-kina]
where-nom that-nom man-nom, here-plabl put-caus-psl boomerang-plabl
'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:
marhekeji ti-naju [tu luqalq-en ni-a-maju]
where-nom that-nom man-nom, here-plabl put-caus-psl tickle-plabl
'He is afraid that she will tickle him.’ (Egli 1990: 177)

na maararu a rhuavats [tu rigu ti Yohan],
where-nom very obl prophet where-nom
'He believed strongly that John was a prophet.’ (Egli 1990: 192)
She regretted that she hadn’t married the snake.' (Egli 1990: 202)

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)

Examples:
Ref Head:

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

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

Ref Mod:

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

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

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

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

Example:

Pred Mod

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

Remark: This is a perfective participle construction, formed with the perfective affix -(e)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: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)

Example:

Pred Mod

‘to work steadily.’ (Egli 1990: 124)

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:

‘to work steadily.’ (Egli 1990: 124)
Example:
Ref Mod: k-in-a-ldj-’-an a impis
ʔ-pfv-point(pass)-ptc lk pencil
‘the pointed pencil’ (Egli 1990: 122)

Imbabura Quechua
Pred-j/-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 kay-pi ka-shka]-tu ya-ni
I-top Juan this-in be-nmlz:pst-acc think-I
‘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)

With noun-stripping:
Juzi-ka [ñuka kaya llama-Ø randi-na]-ta kri-n
José-top I tomorrow sheep 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 kulki-ta kara-na] warmi
José silver-acc give-ptc:fut woman
‘the woman to whom José gave money’ (Cole 1982: 54)

Extraposed:
Kušita-ta jiya-ni [Juan-wan tsušu-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:
mana-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-\textit{chun} (subjunctive)**

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

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

Structural type: 2 \(\text{(D-SENT)}\)

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

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**Example:**

Ref Head:

\textit{muna-ni [Juzi pay-paj mama-ta riku-\textit{chun}]}

\textit{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-\textit{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 \(\text{(D-SENT)}\)

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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pred Mod:

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

sing-inf sing-inf come-pst-1

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

**Pred-\textit{shpa}**

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

Structural type: 2 \(\text{(D-SENT)}\)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/subject agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (coreferentiality)

**Example:**

Pred Mod:

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

sing-conv-val come-pst-1

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

**Ma’\textit{di}**

**Pred-\textit{t}**

Remarks: Apart from the subordinating suffixes \textit{lì, kà, rë, bë}, and \textit{dzə}, 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 \textit{a}, 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 \(\text{(D-SENT/D-ALT)}\)

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  [̀bú  ‘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  p  ɨ́  Ɂ  à  d  Ʒɨ̄]  r ɨ̀  pá  n  ā  d  ī  rā.
car  Òpí  poss  (n)-take-ptc  def  leg  afr  deflate  aff
‘The car which Òpí took certainly has a flat tyre.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

ílí  [ŋɔ̀]  r ɨ̀  l  ɔ́  t  ʃɨ̄
knife  (n)-break-ptc  def  sharp
‘The knife which was broken is sharp.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

ág  ɔ́  [tí  n  àr  ɨ́  á  ñgwá  r ɨ̀  Ɂ  à  ɛ̄  -ɗɛ́]  r ɨ̀
man  cow  afr  child  that  poss  (n)-steal-ptc  def
‘The man whose cow that child stole…’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 201)

Pred-âs
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.

Examples:
Ref Head:
ɔ́  p  ɨ́  ɛ̄ɗɔ́  ˚s  ī  -d  Ʒɔ́  rā
Òpí  start  [n-build-nmlz]  aff
‘Òpí has certainly started to build (with) it.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22 / 207)

Ref Mod:
bélè  ág  ɔ́  r ɨ̀  p  ɨ̄  ˚mgb  ā  -d  Ʒɔ́  r ɨ̀  d ɨ̀  Ɂɨ̄
stick  [man  def  plpron  n-beat-ptc  def  this  foc]
‘The stick with which the man and his associates was beaten is this one.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 22)

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

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

Má  ndrē  ˚ărângwá  r  ì  ˚e-Ô-Ì  rā
1sg  see  [bird  def  poss  (n)-ve-fall-nmlz]  aff
‘I saw the bird’s falling/fall.’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 21)

 Pred-râ/kâ
Remark:  râ  is the plural equivalent of  -r
Only in non-active cases can an overt subject appear, which is
then marked with a postposition (see second example).

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod (subject/possessive clauses)  PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense

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Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
ág ɔ́́ àm-à dʒɔ́̀n ɨ́n-ɓá rì
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: Ríg: Pred Head ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: CASE (postposition)
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:
ɲɨ́ʄō k-ē-mú ɔ̀ɓʊ́
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 zɨ + ɨ
Remark: This construction is marked by the grammatical verb zɨ and the source propositiona ɨ. It expresses simultaneous action.
The subject is co-referential but overtly expressed (SENT). (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 421).
Functional distribution: Ríg: Pred Mod = PoS (small and derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: CASE (postposition)
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod:
ká ɨ́ tà ɲā ɗā nā kā-zɨ rā ɨ́
3 pepper (n) eat [tears afr 3-n-sim leak] sr
'She was eating pepper as her eyes were (continuing) running.'
(Blackings & Fabb 2003: 440)

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

Examples:
Ref Head:
Fontos volt [Péter-nek olvas-ni-3l]
important was Peter-dat read-inf(-3sg)
'It was important for Peter to read.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 35)
Anna most akar [olvas-ni]
Anna now wants read-inf
'Anna wants to read now.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)

Anna meg-próbál-t-a [meg-tanul-ni a verset]
Anna pref-try-pst-def.3sg pref-learn-inf the poem.acc
'Anna tried to learn the poem.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 33)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Pred-ás/-és**

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

Functional distribution: Raw Ref Head ≠ PoS (nominals)

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: CASE, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: POSS/OBL – POSS

**Examples:**

Ref Head:

János [a *kincs* el-rej méthode *javasol-t-a*]

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-érkez méthode *nek*]

be.happy-indef.1SG Paul unexpected pref-nmlz POSS.3SG-DAT 'I am happy about Paul’s unexpected arrival.' (Kenesei et al. 1998: 207)

**Pred-ó (‘active present participle’):**

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No tense/aspect/mood/agreement

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: Ø - SENT (gapping)

**Example:**

Ref Mod:

Az [Anna által tegnap olvas-ó] könyv

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

**Pred-vá / -vé (‘simple converb’):**

Functional distribution: Raw 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/SENT-Ø/Ø-Ø

**Examples:**

Ref Mod:

a [el-jövvénd -ó] kor

the pref-come-FUT-PRT age ‘the age to come’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 319)

a [ki-javítván] dolgozat-ok

the pref-correct-FUT-PRT paper-pl ‘the papers to be corrected’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 320)

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

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

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

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

Anna azt mondta, [(hogy) tanul-ja-d meg a verset]
Anna it.acc said.def comp learn-imp/sbjv-def.2sg pref the poem.acc
‘Anna told you to learn the poem.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 32)

Nem szükséges, [(hogy) Péter meg-tanul-j-a a verset]
Not necessary comp Peter prefix-learn-sbjv-def the poem-acc
‘It is not necessary for Peter to learn the poem.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 32)

Clause úgy + hogy
Remark: úgy is the adverbial form of the pronominal az in the main clause (most often ‘thus’). Optionally a relative pro-adverb is attached to the subordinator hogy.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS ((derived) manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Pred Mod:
Péter úgy akadt el, [(hogy olvastat]
Peter adv.pron slept pref sub read.3sg
‘Peter fell asleep in such a manner that he was reading.’ 2 ‘Peter fell asleep reading.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 50)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

REL.PRON + clause
Remarks: The relative pronoun takes case-marking according to the function of the head noun in the dependent clause. Optionally, the construction can be combined with a clause-initial demonstrative along with the lexical head noun.
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:
(Ás) a könyv, [amely-et Anna olvas-ott] érdekes volt
‘The book that Anna was reading was interesting.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 38)

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/no hon o kai-ta koto ga] yoku sira-re-te iru
‘It is well known that that person wrote a book.’ (Lombardi Vallauri 1997: 497)

Unmarked REL clause
Remark: There is no relative marker, but resumptive pronouns (in the form of demonstrative, personal, or reflexive pronouns) can be optionally used.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nominals)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Tense retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT-SENT/Ø - SENT/SENT-Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
Dakara, [tamago motte-ru] hito mo ita shi,
so eggs hold-pst person too were and
[juusu mo motte-ru] hito mo ita shi…
juice too hold-pst person too was and
‘So, there were people holding eggs, and people holding juice, and…’ (Hinds 1986: 59)

With resumptive pronoun:
[Sano mae ni kuruma ga tomatte-iru] mise
dem front dir car nom stopped shop
‘the shop in front of which a car is parked’ (Hinds 1986: 61)

Pred-te/-de/-ite
Remark: Overt subjects can take the topic marker in stead of the nominative.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No Tense

Peter slept in his childhood. ‘Peter fell asleep the way he used to in his childhood.’ (Kenesei et al. 1998: 50)
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 satafu o kun-de] shigoto o shi-te i-ru
Song Mr. top other attr Japanese staff obj unite-conv job obj do-conv be-prs
‘Mr Song is working together (in a united manner) with other Japanese staff.’
(Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 469)

Different subject:
Yasuko wa juugoroku no koro ibiki no kuse ga
Yasuko top fifteen:sixteen attr time snore attr habit subj
at-te, oya wa kyousei ni kushin shi-ta-soo da
be-conv parents top correction loc 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 fas 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 yoo same-ta daroo
Shingo top face d.obj frown-inf Shuuichi top drunkenness subj abate-pst tent
‘Shingo frowned, [and] it seemed that Shuuichi got sober.’ (Alpatov & Podlesskaya 1995: 468)

Hmong Njua
qhow + 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:
Qhow cee ngaj ngi tsiw tacom wa kuu zoo sax
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 want COMP Paul buy cl car*

'Peter wants Paul to buy a car.' (Harriehausen 1990: 220)

Ref Head: *I know that he has bought flowers.' (Harriehausen 1990: 22)

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.

Ref Head: *The man that I saw was tall.' (Harriehausen 1990: 141)

Ref Head: *I want to kick the ball.' (Noonan 1992: 213)

Ref Head: *The killing of a dog by a woman is bad.' (Noonan 1992: 214)

ni + clause
Remark: The dependent predicate is indicative when there is independent time reference and subjunctive when there is dependent time reference.

Reference 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 [nî lôcô dôgô tic]
1sg-know-HAB COMP man 3sg-hate-HAB work
'I know that the man hates work.' (Noonan 1992: 191)

ámîttô [nî dôkô bâllì attî bâk]
1sg-want-PROGR COMP woman 3sg-buy-REN-SBJV child book
'I want the woman to buy the child a book.' (Noonan 1992: 191)

àmê * clause
Remark: The marker àmê is a combination of the attributive particle à and the relative particle mê. 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:
łôcô [àmê màrô gwîk]
man REL-ATTR.PRT 3sg-like-HAB dog
'The man that likes the dog.' (Noonan 1992: 215)

âttîn [àmê dôkô bâllì bûk]
child REL-ATTR.PRT woman 3sg-buy-REN-PFV-3SG book
'The child for whom the woman bought a book.' (Noonan 1992: 215)

Ket
Bare infinitive
Remarks: The bare form is used in Ref Head function for the complements of phasal and modal (ability) predicates. The object, if expressed, is incorporated. For the complement of desiderative or modal (necessity) predicates, the infinitive is marked for translative case.
The bare infinitive is also used in Ref Mod function, but this may involve lexical derivation, since the infinitive apparently cannot take any arguments.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, modifiers, small/derived adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-AL T)
Verbal categories: None (i.e. no tense/mood, no subject-object agreement)
Nominal categories: (CASE)
Argument encoding: Ø - INC/POSS - INC

Examples:
Ref Head:
[sk-nô qû-bît] bînît
pl-ANIM.PL.GEN tent-making,INF it.ended
'We finished making the tent.' (Lit: 'Our tent-making ended.') (Vajda 2004: 78).

[at iplî] òtpèram
1sg sing,INF I know
'I know how to sing/I can sing.' (Vajda 2004: 78)

[Àb-àŋ aâss àno-ësi] màrô
1sg-DAT hunt,INF-TRI need
'I need to hunt' (Vajda 2004: 77)

Ref Mod:
baî sâgedî
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:

dótàm-báàm iyöcilide [bícìnim kìgígìnàntọ̀nog]
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:
Tu˙r; [ital’em] keŋ
dem he.has.knowledge person
‘This knowledgeable person’ (lit: this person who has knowledge) (Werner 1997: 355)

Clause + ña
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

Examples:
Ref Mod
Taj ɔbɔn, [e tə qɔr’a bɛr’ɛta].
It has become cold, as if it cuts
‘It has become piercingly cold.’ (Werner 1997: 348)

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

Examples:
Ref Mod:
ū-k hrip [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:
ä ɡɪm diyarən [ɡè-rɛ sòŋ dʃàrəŋ]
1sg woman L.sec.her who-fem there she.lives
‘I am looking at the woman who lives there.’ (Vadja 2004: 30)
All the people who lived here have died. (Vadja 2004: 30)

Pred-\-s / -bes + clause

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

Functional distribution: 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:
\[ \text{mámùl dóblà-s} \]  díl
milk  he.drink.it-NMLZ child
'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

\[ \text{dóblà-bes mámùl} \]  díl
he.drink.it-NMLZ milk  child
'a child who drinks milk' (Vajda 2004: 79)

Itelmen
Infinitives (various forms)

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

Ref Head:
\[ \text{Utú-z-en [nq̡ya boljë jowal-s.]} \]
can.not-PRS-3.SG something  more say-INF.I
'He cannot say anything anymore.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 168)

Komna \-iti-\čen [p'ë-ch no-ka-s.]
1.SG 1.SG-force-3.SG.PAT child-DIM eat-CCM-INF.I
'I forced the child to eat.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 169)

Pred-\-kilh-kalh / -kila \- (PL) (INF II) (Used for complements of direct perception predicates.)

Ref Head:
\[ \text{Truk \- Sin } 'agec-t k-ečku-\-ìn [t'it'im \-t-ticket \-h.]} \]
suddenly  S. INF.III-see-INF.II  smoke  come.out-INF.II
'Suddenly S. saw that smoke was coming out.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 173)

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

Ref Head:
\[ \text{A Sin'agec-t-n nita nq̡ya-kit k-uzu-knen [ąq̡nx-ki.]} \]
INTERJ s.-poss soul  WAI-CAUS INF.III-start-INF.III hurt-INF.V
For some reason S. became sad. (lit.: S’s soul began to hurt.’) (Georg & Volodin 1999: 180)

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

Ref Head:
\[ \text{T-utu-r-\-en [Ememqut met'el-e.]} \]
1.SG-can.not-PRS-3.SG.PAT  e.  kill-INF.IV
'I cannot kill E.' (Georg & Volodin 1999: 182)

Unmarked clause

Remark: Used for subject clauses and sometimes for object complements of perception predicates.
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

Qetew [ki-qiimen qeqiyq].

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

Utre n-esxl̪ i-k t-laxl̪-ki̱̪en [ə n-k'esxl̪-ki̱̪en 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-çki-ki̱̪en nu Nwilwejŋen [min k-qi̱̪-kñen kulaka-ʔŋk].

'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:

Ecem f fora celaj qhlal [qatz k-nig-ʔn] t-lax-k.

'thus yesterday whole day as if infini-loaded-infini 1.sg-go-prs-1.sg

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

Koasati

'Nominalizations' (various forms)

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

[lo sammicci-t inkāb-kd] vehāyi-l
deer do:how-conn to:shoot&hit-nmlz know-1sg.sbj

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

[Aybacikā a;wb-kā] ca-bān-ko-V
law ruin-nmlz 1sg.sbj.stat-want-neg-phtm

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

Participles (various forms)

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

Ref Mod:

Yilahá [é-pa-li-säya-ok] kämá-chaxi-t

‘The orange that I am eating is very good.’ (Kimball 1991: 289)

Yilahá [am-híská-säy-on] é-pa-li-t

‘I ate the orange that you just gave me.’ (Kimball 1991: 289)

**Pred-γólli (‘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 [é-pa-γólli-ok] níhá:bo:si

‘A person who eats all the time is very fat.’ (Kimball 1991: 290)

**Pred-ka (‘Past participle’)**

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

Ref Mod:

Yilahá [nibá-ka-on] ám-híská-ka-on

‘I ate the orange that you gave me yesterday.’ (Kimball 1991: 291)

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

Remark: This formation is a combination of the present participial suffix -sáya with the verbal suffixes -lab- (IRR), and -t-, a hearsay suffix with the meaning ‘deduction’ (Kimball 1991: 292):

Ref Mod:

Yilahá [am-híská-λab-sýay-on] épa-l-laha-V

‘I intend to eat the orange that you will give me.’ (Kimball 1991: 292)

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

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

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

Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)

Verbal categories: No TAM, no phrase-terminal marker

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

**Examples:**

Pred Mod:

[ýyí-k atákka-n] wáyka-Vhei

‘It flies with its legs hanging down.’ Lit.: ‘Its legs hang down and it flies.’ (Kimball 1991: 488)

[Talása-ci-n] kópti-li-t

‘I cut it up thinly, (as thinly as possible)’ (Kimball 1991: 488)

**Pred-t**

Remark: The suffix is a connector. This construction is used when the verb modifier can be considered as
an action that takes place at the same time as the action of the matrix verb (= simultaneity clause).

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

Example:
Pred Mod: 
[Fololóhákci-ɬ] cokkicii-n kíísa-]-p im-ca-matátíí-\'h\'\'o-k be.coiled.up-conn sit(3c)-sw see-1ss-sbjv 3stat.obj-1sbj,stat-be.afraid(3c)-h\'o-ss
‘If I see one sitting coiled up, I am afraid of it.’ (Kimball 1991: 489)

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

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

Example:
Pred Mod: 
[Wayéh\'á\'k-] ho-pálki-pálámmi-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:
[3\'h-ka-mlaa\' \'a-th wax] dii t\'h \'aap-kaay exercise every day good towards body
‘Doing exercise every day is good for your body.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 253)

Khâw yâak [\'a na b\'u kh\'a] 3 want pierce ear prt
‘She wants to have her ears pierced.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 231)

Ref Mod:
\'ek pen \'i\'k [\'ri\'an k\'i\'i\'y]
Ek cop child study well
‘Ek is a child who studies well.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 250)

\'h\'i\' + clause:
Remark: This construction is used in Ref Head function, as the complement of predicates expressing evaluation and emotion, and sometimes (optionally) of desiderative predicates. In Ref Mod function it is used in combination with a gapping strategy or a resumptive pronoun.

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

Ref Head:

t2-wâa dîi ná [thîi máy mii khay pen alay]
but good PRT COMP NEG have who COP what
‘But it was good that no one was hurt.’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 255)

Ref Mod:

Khon [thîi duulée] ni pen pen acaan b3
person REL take.care PRT COP COP teacher Q
‘Is the person who takes care [of the students] a teacher?’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 243)

Khon [thîi khâw pay yâu kan taam râpiran]
person REL_rsp3 go stay rcp school
‘people who want to stay at school’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 245)

(thîi+) wâa cà + 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) cà remain.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type:   1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories:   No Tense, mood and agreement
Nominal categories:  DET
Argument encoding:  SENT - SENT

Example:

Ref Head:
khit [wâa cà bâa qaam tham thîi-nil]
think say/COMP CM look.for work do here
‘I think that I will look for work here.’ (Iwasaki & Preeya Ingkaphirom 2005; 262)

Basque

Pred-ř(te)
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type:   2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories:   No Tense, mood and agreement
Nominal categories:  DET
Argument encoding:  SENT - SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

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

[bauvek etxean likuruk sari irakur-tze]-a
children._erg home._loc books often read-nmlz-det
‘children’s often reading books at home’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)

Pred-tu/da/-i/-Ø (‘perfective participle’)
Remark: this is the perfective counterpart of the nominalization with -tze (see above). In combination with instrumental or partitive case10, or with a postposition such as gabe ‘without’, this construction can also be used in Pred Mod function.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type:   2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories:   No Tense, mood and agreement
Nominal categories:  DET
Argument encoding:  SENT - SENT

Examples:

Ref Head:

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

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

- 'children's having often read books at home' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 666)

- 'I need/want to buy a house in Bilboa.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 694)

- 'Money is earned by working, not by being lazy.' (Saltarelli 1988: 55)

- 'With Jon being in America right now, there's very little we can do to make progress with the work.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 746)

- '(subjunctive) clause -(e)n

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

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

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: (DET/CASE)

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

Examples:

Ref Head:

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

- 'I heard that Amaia's brother died.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 646)

- 'I knew that Mikel would arrive late.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 646)

- 'Two police officers have denied that they had been Rubio's bodyguards during the trip.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 643)

Ref Mod:

- 'I lost the money that Peter brought.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003:764)
Clause + –en bezala
Functional distribution: Rge: 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 do AUX.ADV do AUX job
'I did my job the way you told me.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 722)

(subjunctive) clause -(el)la
Remarks: With desiderative and manipulative main predicates, the auxiliary in the dependent clause takes subjunctive form. -(el)la can be used in Pred Mod function for adverbal manner clauses, either by itself or combination with the partitive case -riik. In its basic form -(el)la has a modal/temporal (simultaneous) meaning.

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

Jaikutzen da, [jausi egenten du]-ela-rik
rise.ipfv AUX, jump do.ippfv AUX-ADV-PART
'(S)he gets up, jumping.' (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 713)

Saltarelli (1988) seems to analyze the suffix -(el)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 -(el)la is not exactly homophonous with the completive -(el)la since they have a different accentual pattern (in some Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian dialects)."
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Behaunem Dona Martine, Donoztia eta 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 kowza ne nde]
3sg know comp 3sg close.to there neg
‘He knew not to [go] close to there.’ (Berry & Berry 1999: 189)

An  syogat pa  [jogru san].
3sg order child take.off clothes
‘He ordered the girl to take off (her) clothes.’ (Berry & Berry 1999: 187)

**gato + clause**

Remark: The relative clause can be followed by a determiner.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod # PoS (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - Ø/SENT (gapping)

**Examples:**

Ref Mod:

Men  mu  gu  ye  [gato man siri su men bi nggon].
1pl go kill person rel do wrong with 1pl poss woman
‘We will go and kill the person who committed adultery with our (clans) woman.’ (Berry & Berry 1999: 146)

Men  mu  dw  syur  mo  syur  wak  [gato nje ben]  ne
1pl go go.in water at water hole rel people make det
‘We went and washed at the well that people had made.’ (Berry & Berry 1999: 146)

**sa gato + clause**

Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod # (modifiers)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: none
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

**Example:**

Pred Mod:

An  da  ben  mó  sarewo  an  yo  ben  kete
3sg actual do exist however 3sg neg do too.much
bodo yo teker  [sa gato nyim ne nde re.]
maybe neg too.much adv earlier det neg pfv
‘Although she does [these things] she does not do [them] very much, I mean, not like [she did them] before.’ (Berry & Berry 1999: 158)

**Bambara**

Clause + ka

Remark: The exact coding details are unclear; the literal translation suggests that this is a balanced construction.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained?
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT
Examples:
Ref Head:
*M’b’a fè i ka tags*
I want that you go ➔ I want you to go.

*M’b’a fè au ka fo for cikè*
I want that you cultivate your field ➔ I want you to cultivate your field. (Brauner 1974: 80)

**Pred-le/-ne (perfective participle):**
Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite and the relativized item is gapped.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: None
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT/Ø?

**Examples:**
Ref Mod:
*Mvigè [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 mana Kulikòrò] oye tubahu ye*
Stranger rel come K. cop European cop
’The stranger who has come to K is a European.’ (Brauner 1974: 82)

**Pred-tò (present participle ➔ convert)**
Remark: Apparently, the dependent predicate is non-finite, and the co-referential subject is coded twice.
It is not clear how other argument(s) are coded.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: None
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT

**Example:**
Pred Mod:
[A kasi-tò ségina] a ka dugu
3sg cry-prs.ptc go.back.2 3sg pst pst place/village
’He went back to his village, crying.’ (Brauner 1974: 72)

**Georgian**
**Pred-a:**
Remark: Argument coding is in ergative alignment: subjects of intransitive and objects of transitive verbs (S and P) are POSS. Transitive subjects (A) are typically OBL: accompanied by mier ‘by’ (or -gan ‘from, by’) (Hewitt 1995: 542).
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense/mood/person-number agreement; aspect is retained.
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: POSS/OBL - POSS

**Examples:**
Ref Head:
*minda [st’at’iiis 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

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<th>Example</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td>'I prefer to do this.' (Vamling 1989: 99)</td>
<td>'I prefer'</td>
<td>1.3.prefer.PRS this-gen do-nmlz-dat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the standing down of the president' (Hewitt 1995: 542)</td>
<td>president-gen prev-stand.down-ths-nmlz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the making use of their rights by the citizens' (Hewitt 1995: 542)</td>
<td>mokalake-ta mier upleb-eb-is ga-mo-q'en-eb-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Shevarnadze had the young ones, who hijacked the plane executed.' (Hewitt 1995: 608-609)</td>
<td>Ševardnaje-m tvitmprinav-is ga-m-t'ac-eb-el-i axalgazrd-eb-i</td>
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<td>'Nuclear energy, which is subordinate to no control…' (Hewitt 1995: 609)</td>
<td>k'ont'rol-s da-kuqemdebar-eb-el-i birtvul-i energia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Georgia was a country (that had been) occupied by the Arabs.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)</td>
<td>Sakartvelo ara-eb-is mier da-p'q'r-ob-il-i kveq'ana i-q'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the variant recorded by Razikashvili' (Hewitt 1996: 611-612)</td>
<td>razik'ashvil-is ča-c'er-il-i varian'-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'legends linked to the golden ram' (Hewitt 1996: 609)</td>
<td>sa-pred(-el/-al/-r) future participle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example:
Ref Mod:
\[
\text{Ager} \quad \text{m-i-k'au-i-a} \quad \text{[xel-mo-sa-\text{c'er}-i]} \quad \text{kagald-eb-i} \\
\text{here} \quad \text{I-ov-hold-PRS.STAT-3} \quad \text{hand-PREV-FUT.PTC-sign-NOM} \quad \text{paper-PL-NOM}
\]
'I am holding here the papers which are to be signed.' (Hewitt 1995: 609)

rom + (subjunctive) clause
Remarks: In Ref Head function, the strategy can be combined with a suitable correlative in the main clause. This is obligatory when the clause is dependent on a postposition or functions obligatorily (i.e. follows a verb that governs instrumental case). (Hewitt 1987: 218)
Complements of modal and desiderative predicates combine with the subjunctive mood (optative when the matrix verb is present or future tense and pluperfect when the matrix verb is past). The complementizer is often omitted with subjunctive complements, whereas it is usually obligatory with indicative complements (Vamling 1989: 32/33). With subjunctives, the complementizer 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)

Examples:
Ref Head:
\[
(\text{is}) \quad \text{uk'ev} \quad \text{ie-o-a-men-i-e} \\
1.3.want-PRESENT.IND \quad \text{someone-NOM trustworthy-NOM} \quad \text{not BE-PRES-IT}
\]
'I have already noticed that this people is not trustworthy.' (Hewitt 1995: 613)

REL PRON + clause
Remark: The relative pronouns are vin-c 'who', ra-c 'which', and ro-mel-i-c 'who, which'.

REL PRON = PoS (adjectives)
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:
\[
[\text{gu\text{in} rom be\text{c'ed}-i m-a-\text{cuk-e},}] \quad \text{is} \quad (\text{be\text{c'ed}-i}) \quad \text{sad} \quad \text{ar-i-i} \\
\text{yesterday REL ring-NOM me-ly-PRESENT-AOR.IND that(NOM) (ring-NOM) where BE-PRES-IT}
\]
'Where is that ring which you presented to me yesterday?' (Hewitt 1995: 607)

'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 cin-c 'who', ra-c 'which', and ro-mel-i-c 'who, which'.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: Case agreement on the REL.PRON
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Ref Mod:
\[
[\text{q'ile}a,] \quad \text{cin-c} \quad \text{nacionalizm-s} \\
noc\text{all(NOM) WHO(NOM)-REL nationalism-DAT} \quad \text{a-h-q'v-eb-s} \quad \text{samislo-b-s} \quad \text{u-galat\text{eb}-s} \\
\text{PREV-IT-FOLLOW-THS(FUT)-HE homeland-DAT OV-BETRAY-THS(FUT)-HE}
\]
'Everyone who follows nationalism will betray this country.' (Hewitt 1995: 601)
**Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples**

- **ru 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:
    
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb

- **Rogor (‘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:
    
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb

- **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:
    
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb
    &nb

- **Clause + (a)li**
  - Remark: The relativized item is gapped, but it is cross-referenced (with a prefix denoting class and number) on the dependent predicate.
  - Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
  - Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
  - Verbal categories: Retained
  - Nominal categories: None
  - Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
**Example:**
Ref Mod:
H-a-gab-we-yagú agú-dak
3PL-MASC.SUBJ-REAL-FIX-CL3.SG-OBJ CL3.SG.DEM-this
nebe-gali trag [g-a-lahe-mu bhensin 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)

**bauidouk + 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:
[Bauidouk ceceh eb-a-kili-mu]
like they.MIX 3PL-MIX.SBJ-REAL-SAY-like
'Like they said' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 968)

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

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

[darà 1sg.poss-them-by(instr) today Čerkessk-to our-send-nmlz it-prev-1sg-be.surprised.at-FIN]
'I am surprised at their sending us to Čerkessk today.' (Hewitt 1979: 31)

**Pred-N.FIN**
Remark: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

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

**REL.PRON + Pred-N.FIN**
Remarks: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.
The person affix that is used in independent clauses is replaced with one of two relative affixes. -y(ə) is used in stead of all person affix of the first declination, regardless of the person, class and number of the head noun, whereas -ɀ(ə) performs this function for all person affixes of declinations 2 and 3. (Hewitt 1987: 200)
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm
Nominal categories: Class agreement of REL.PRON
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

Examples:
Ref Mod: [a-ph ś] 
\[də-z-əš-a-] a-xàc d-aa-yt' 
det-woman her-who(REF)-kill-N.FIN(pst.indf) det-man he-come-fin
'The man who killed the woman came.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

[r-ɕ-a-yə] a-ph ś 
\[də-z-dər-wə-yt'\] teacher=ADV who(REF)-be-N.FIN the-woman her-he-know-DYN-FIN
'He knows the woman who is a teacher.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

[a-ə-ə] a-xà'a 
\[yə-dər-wə-yt'\] the-man whom(REF)-he-see-pl-N.FIN the-women them-1-know-DYN-FIN
'I know the women whom the man saw.' (Hewitt 1987: 201)

ş-Pred-N.FIN
Remark: This construction makes use of a special non-finite paradigm. It expresses nearly all verbal categories that are also expressed in independent clauses, but in a different form.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Almost all retained, but dependent paradigm
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Example:
Pred Mod: [Ye-ʃ-w-ə-sə-] yə-q'a-cə 
it-adv-you-to-I-say-nfin(pst.indf) it-prev-do.IMP
'Do it as I told you!.' (Hewitt 1987: 120)

Polish
Pred-nie
Remark: Occurs with A-argument unexpressed under co-referentiality and P-argument SENT, but also with an A-argument oblique A and a P-argument POSS.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense, aspect, agreement
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: OBL - POSS/Ø - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head: 
'I request the dismissal from work of the two women workers.' (Comrie 1976: 191)

[kupowa-nie mies-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:
-ac -ac'
-ć -ć
-ic -ć
-yc -owac
-wć -owac'
-ć -ć
-ć -ć
-ć -ć

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: 
Postaniwiɫ em [kupić dom].
I.decided buy:inf house
'I decided to buy a house.' (Bielec 1998: 19)
**Pred-c- ('present active participle')**

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

**Structural type:** 2 (D-SENT)

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

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

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

**Example:**

**Ref Mod:**

\[ \text{Widzę chłopca ['chłopiec'-c-go radio]} \]

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

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

\[ \text{Odziaż [sprzedaw-ana] tam jest tania.} \]

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:**

\[ \text{Mikołaj ma [zmianą] nogę} \]

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

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

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

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

**Structural type:** 2 (D-SENT)

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

**Nominal categories:** None

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

**Example:**

**Pred Mod**

\[ \text{[słuchaj=}c \text{mszyki, ubratem sie \}} \]

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

**ż = clause**

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

**Structural type:** 1 (Balanced)

**Verbal categories:** Retained

**Nominal categories:** None

**Argument encoding:** SENT - SENT
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions

Key Examples

**Example:**
Ref Head: 
Myśle, [że ona jest mężatką].
*I think that she is married.* (Bielec 1998: 239)

**kktóry/która/które/co (REL.PRON) + clause**
Functional distribution: Ríg: 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 mieszkali,] była mała. [w którym]
The cottage in which they lived was small.' (Bielec 1998: 155)

**Jak (gdyby) + clause**
Functional distribution: Ríg: PredMod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**Example:**
Pred Mod:
Agata spojrzała na mnie, [jak gdyby chciała o coś zapytać].
Agatha looked at me as if she wanted to say something,' (Bielec 1998: 238)

**Burushaski**
Pred-(á)as (INF)
Remarks: Used as the complement of modal, phasal, desiderative, and manipulative predicates. With phasal and desiderative predicates, the dependent verb form it is declined like a regular noun. When combined with an inherent (dative, inessive, adessive, superessive or locative) case marker, this construction can be used as an adverbial simultaneity clause.

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

**Examples**:
Ref Head:
but mulkil bilda [gía-lir-as]
very difficult be.IV 2-show-INF
*It is very difficult to show (it) to you.* (Anderson 2002: 545)

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

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

[dás-ar]-ulb
subj.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 (privileged) case marker this construction can be used as an adverbial simultaneity clause. The durative form of the aorist participle can also function adverbially, in combination with locative or superessive case, or with the comitative marker káa and the genitive case. These constructions seem to have ‘true’ manner semantics.

Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples | 429
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 \text{ burúm-man-úm}] \text{ mapéer-an}
he-beard white be(come)-aor.ptc elder-sg.art
'an old man with a white beard.' (Anderson 2002: 546 / Berger 1998: 166)

Pred Mod:
\[\text{ill } \text{ be-1-aor.ptc-iness } \text{ God-obl-dat } \text{ prayer aux-tr-1-aor.ptc}
'When I was ill I prayed to God.' (Anderson 2002: 549)

\[\text{neg-cry-aor.ptc-superess}

Khos chigír-an-e
This.III goat-sg.art-erg III-tail wag aux.tr.dur-aor.ptc-loc 1-side become-aor-iii
'The goat came before me wagging its tail.' (Anderson 2002: 550/Berger 1998: 171)

\[\text{work neg-aor.ptc-loc}

\[\text{song aux.tr.dur-aor.ptc-gen com dance-aor.ptc-i}
'He danced singing' (Anderson 2002: 551/Berger 1998: 140)

n-Pred-(a)n (RDP)
Remark: This is the only primary converbal form, i.e. one that is not derived from another non-finite form by case-marking. It normally expresses anteriority but it may also express manner of action or an accompanying circumstance, in which case the conjunctive participle is often reduplicated.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: Tense, mood and subject agreement are lost. Aspect and object-agreement are retained.
Nominal categories: (CASE), see above
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT / Ø - SENT

EXAMPLES:
Pred Mod:
\[\text{father(erg) mother(erg) 1-dat trouble conv-1sg.io-give-conv big-pl 3cl.poss-son(pl)-dat}
'strouble for their big sons, giving me a lot of trouble.' (Tikkanen 1995: 502)

'Going on talking and talking, the vizier spoke.' (Tikkanen 1995: 502)

Clause + ke/ki
Remark: This construction is borrowed from Persian/Urdu. It can be used as the object complement of utterance and cognition predicates (no example available), as a relative clause (no example available), and as a simultaneity clause.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref mod (Simultaneity clause) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives, small/derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: All retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
Example simultaneity clause:

Zungating village-ill =flower-pref -(come)- CLG -3CLG ke
bane dstiar-ən b-l-um

‘The apricots coming into blossom, when the flowers came to the village of Zungating, there was a custom ...

(Tikkanen 1998: 498)

Clause + -sên/-êt (QUOT)
Remark: The quotative marker takes the form of the anterior converb of the quotative verb sên- ‘to say’ or ët- ‘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

Laukaleve
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 [nǥa-bo'rea la o-ма-ə]
1sg 1sg.poss -arrow sg.fem.art 3sg.fem.obj -take-nmlz
e-lili-re tə a-lei
3sg.neut.obj -want-n.fin just 1sg.subj-exist

‘No! I just want to take my arrow.’ (Terrill 2003: 352)

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: DET (+ adjectival gender and number agreement)
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

Examples:
Ref Mod:
[Ali nga-fɔ'sal a-ə-m na] a-le-m fin.
man 1sg.poss-fish 3sg.masc.obj-eat-sg.masc ART 1sg.subj-see-sg.masc 3sg.masc.foc
'I saw the man who ate my fish.’ (Terrill 2003: 442)

[Ali a-na so-ɪkə-ne a-ngooa-m na] o-fəe
man 3sg.masc.obj-in rdp-laugh-IPFV 1sg.subj-stay-sg.masc sg.masc.art 3sg.poss-pig
na o-lufu-m sg.masc.art 3sg.subj-leave-sg.masc

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

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

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)
Verbal categories: No agreement (actor and undergoer)
Nominal categories: Gender and number marking on predicate
Argument encoding: INC/POSS/SENT - SENT/POSS

EXAMPLES:
Ref Head:
Yifemr 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)

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)

Pred-kfët (INF)
Remark: Unlike the nominalization in -nef, the infinitive does not take gender/number markers.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (ALT-SENT)
Verbal categories: No tense/agreement (actor and undergoer)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: INC/POSS - INC/POSS

EXAMPLES:
Ref Head:
Na  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)

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

(ɨnd – Pred) + clause
Remark: Relative clauses are optionally marked with ɨnd, but mostly unmarked. The function of the head
noun is not marked, except when a possessor is relativized.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head, Ref Mod (occasionally) ≠ PoS (nouns, adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT- SENT
Examples:

Ref Head:

ya klaroh k-ita-k [kah wits ne siwa-t].
He clear it-see-PRET come the woman-ABS

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

teu ki-mati katka [ku ne i-siwa-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)

kusib ahb-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 siwa-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:

Kah 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)

ken-aken (‘just as’) + clause
Remark: This construction has simulative 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-paxa:lua [kenaken taha ti-kis-tuk ti-paxa:lua]
Oh I-walk just-as you you-leave-PFV you-walk

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

ADV + clause
Remark: This construction has simultaneity semantics.
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no lexical strategy)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT
Example:
Pred Mod:

\[Ke:ma\] n\[yaba\] y\[yavvi\] ka\[taka\] der\[e\]robe ne k\[ase\] yah k\[isi\-ki\] i\-\[xapan\] isi\-uanxw\[a\]t

*When he was going (down) the street, he came out in front of (the) Shaunaba.* (Campbell 1985: 131)

**Wambon**

\(-e\) (CONN) + clause

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

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

Structural type: 1 (Balanced)

Verbal categories: Retained

Nominal categories: None

Argument encoding: SENT - SENT/Ø - SENT

Example:
Ref Head:

\[Kono\h[ela\-khe\-n\[-e\] lava\-t\[mbo\]…\]

\[Aliv\[a\] ndu\[-n\[-e\] takhima\-lep\[-n\[-eve\]

*I do not see the man who shoots the pig.* (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 56)

\[Aliv\[a\] ndu\[-n\[-e\] takhima\-lep\[-n\[-eve\] setelep\[-khe\]

*The sago I bought yesterday is delicious.* (De Vries & De Vries-Wiersma 1992: 57)

**Pred stem-\(\text{mo}\)**

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:

\[Jakhv\[-e\] matet\[-mo\] ka\-lembo?\]

\[Jakhv\[-e\] matet\[-mo\] ka\-lembo?\]

*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: 
Jatbas-e 
[ke-~a] 
ngem 
li-knde 
they-conn 
go-tr-ss 
song 
sing-3PL-PRS 

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

clause-ka
Remark: The suffix -ka (and its allomorphs) is a circumstantial suffix that also occurs with inanimate NPs that specify the circumstances of the event denoted by the verb, including time, location, instrument, and manner.

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

Example:
[Nuñb-e 
ande-lepo-ngga] 
ke-e 
ka-~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: 
Yu 
[kian kosolenn=ua] 
ku 
?argi 
I 
you 
laugh,PFV=DET 
you,OBJ 
see,PFV 

‘I saw that you were laughing.’ (Tosco 2001: 287)

yu 
[kian 
bi] 
fsili=ua 
fedé 
I 
you 3(verb pron) 
open,DEF=DET 
want,IPFV 

‘I want you to open it.’ (Tosco 2001: 288)

Ref Mod: 
Máa 
[fi=od 
ggò=iti=ua] 
?i 
ye 
?og 
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: 
Yu 
[fi=od 
fi 
ka] 
Máa 
pigjé=atti=ua 
du 
seòl 
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: 
[rüh 
mummur-an] 
?i 
beyyi 
soorghum 
cut,RDP,M-NNMZ 3,SUBJ 
finish,PFV 

‘The harvesting of the sorghum is finished.’ (Tosco 2001: 121)
Yu [āy ɡəli-p ɕi]-a ʃe Đây.
I want to skin the animal myself." (lit. 'I want my animal skinning.') (Tosco 2001: 121)

BERBICE DUTCH CREOLE
(fu/fl) + 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  langetic ka]
1sg  be.able  stand  long  NEG
'I am not able to stand up for very long.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 249)

Governor  ma  suk-a  [fi  nimi  bosa  ju  krik-te-ke.]
Governor  irr  want-IPFV  comp  know  how.FOC  2sg  get-PPFV.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  new eke  boro  [dat-o  mw-a]
but  now  1sg  hear  comp-3sg  go-IPFV
'But now I hear that he is leaving.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 244)

Bateni  nim-te  [dat-ek  ma  ku-mona-ngga]
but.3pl  acquire.knowledge.PP  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  bi fi  ka]
1sg  tell-PPFV  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-PPFV  much
'I don’t believe he knows much.' (Kouwenberg 1994: 242)

Eni  pama-te-ke  [bifi  date-ke  ma  mu  danga  ka]
3pl  tell-PPFV.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:
Ds  jigu  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Functional Distribution</th>
<th>Structural Type</th>
<th>Verbal Categories</th>
<th>Nominal Categories</th>
<th>Argument Encoding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Di</strong></td>
<td>'the one'</td>
<td>The one that was ill, it became numb first.'</td>
<td>Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)</td>
<td>1 (Balanced)</td>
<td>Retained</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>SENT - SENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'the same girl I told you about'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Babungo</strong></td>
<td>'he'</td>
<td>'Lambi said that he was sick.'</td>
<td>Flex: Ref Mod, Pred Mod (similative) ≠ PoS (small/derived adjectives, small manner adverbs)</td>
<td>2 (D-SENT)</td>
<td>Restricted aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I have seen the man who has stolen your fowl.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'That hammer which my father came with (it), that hammer is in the house.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'He has cut that tree how / when he was told.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ki(i)/Ø</strong></td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>'She has planted the corn like her mother told her.'</td>
<td>Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (small manner adverbs)</td>
<td>2 (D-SENT)</td>
<td>Restricted aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø-SENT

EXAMPLES:
Pred Mod:
Anaphoric:
ŋwə́ kwə́ [kì shòŋ gwà] he sleep-IMPF sim rest-IPPF body
‘He was asleep, resting his body.’ (Schaub 1985: 220)
ŋwə́ nì tò́ fi fàu jìí, [gwaá nyóyúá] he PST walk-IPPF from on road sing-IPPF songs
‘He was walking on the road, singing songs.’ (Schaub 1985: 220)

Kataphoric:
ŋwə́ [kìi tò́ fi fàu jìí], gwsókó gũ nsi
he sim walk-IPPF from on road suddenly fall-pfv ground
‘When he was walking on the road, he suddenly fell down.’ (Schaub 1985: 221)

Nama
Clause without ke (= DECL) + !xáis-a
Remark: This construction is marked by the nominal class marker !xáis (SG. FEM), which can be shortened to -s, and the object marker -à.
Apart from the declarative marker ke, no verbal categories are lost.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS (small manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained except declarative marker
Nominal categories: Nominal class
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

EXAMPLES:
Ref Head:
Tsíí / / 'iípàk-kxm̀ ke kè míípa [!úu-kxm̀ ta !xáis-à]
And him-we DECL told were.going-we sg.fem-obj
‘And we told him that we were going.’ (Hagman 1974: 257)
//tìpe 'atìase kòré ñ̃ó [/'aá-/amsó xuú-kxm/xii háa !xáis-à]
he DECL really believed we had come from Windhoek sg.fem-obj
‘He really believed that we had come from Windhoek.’ (Hagman 1974: 257)

Unmarked clause without ke (= DECL) (+ RSP)
Remark: When the head of a relative clause functions as an oblique argument, the construction is usually marked with an appropriate postposition or associative particle, and a resumptive pronoun may be added which agrees with the head in person/number/gender.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained except declarative marker
Nominal categories: (Nominal agreement of RSP)
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

EXAMPLES:
Ref Mod:
[//naá thìarà xuú kë /xii háa 'ií] kàñèh
from that land had come the.people
‘the people who had come from that land’ (Hagman 1974: 229)
Oblique argument:
[Tííta / / 'iá tàpa sìi nií//sáá//xàa] !üas
I which(rsp) at am going to teach town
‘the town I am going to teach (in).’ = ‘the town where I am going to teach’ (Hagman 1974: 231)

Deranked clause without ke (= DECL) + -se / 'aa / tsíí /Ø
Remark: The declarative marker ke cannot be expressed and the marking of aspect is restricted: the dependent clause must have non-punctual aspect. Usually, the subject is unexpressed under coreference.
The adverbial manner suffix -se and the general adverbial subordinating conjunction 'aa are completely interchangeable, but -se is by far the most frequently used. The construction with tsíí requires punctual aspect in the dependent clause.
The unmarked variant has the same meaning, but can only be used with a special set of verbs in the...
dependent clause. Tense cannot be expressed in this variant (but aspect is retained).
Functional distribution: Rig: Pred Mod = PoS (derived manner adverbs)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No declarative marker, restricted tense/aspect
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: Ø - SENT

**Examples:**
**Pred Mod:**
\[
\text{[tā] tā-ndō} \quad \text{ra-se-p ke kē pē}\]
rejoicing-adv-he DECL left
‘Rejoicing, he left.’ (Hamman 1974: 244)

\[
\text{‘the-prisoners were transported bound with chains adv (Hamman 1974: 246)\text{‘}}
\]

**Hdi**
Clause + kā (+ 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: None
Argument encoding: SENT - SENT

**Examples:**
**Ref Head:**
\[
\text{[mnd-ā rāyā Mbākā kā] mbītsā mnā-tā}
\]
man-gen hunt Mbaka comp Mbitsa say-ref
‘Mbitsa said that Mbaka is a hunter.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 422)

\[
\text{Ndā sn-ī [zā-nā-p-zā-xān tā pīsākek-d-tān kā-ū]}
\]
stat know-1sg forget-dem-out-forget-3pl obj hoc-gen-3pl comp
‘I know that they forgot their hoe.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 450)

\[
\text{tā (OBJ/COMMENT) + deranked clause:}
\]
Remarks: The marker tā is an object/comment marker: It is also used to mark lexical objects and comments in focus constructions (cf. glosses in examples).
In Ref Head function the subject is POSS. In Ref Mod function it is gapped, but marked with a possessive pronoun on the dependent predicate. In Ref Mod function, this construction is used only for perfective subject relative clauses.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No person marking
Nominal categories: Possessive person marking
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

**Examples:**
**Ref Head:**
\[
\text{Sī tā di-āy-xān [tā bīy-ā-mū]}
\]
pst ipfv want-po-3pl obj leave-gen-1pl.incl
‘They wanted us to leave.’ (lit. They wanted our leaving.) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 480)

\[
\text{Snā-n-nū [tā gbw-āy-tān tā ngārlīk-ā blā]}
\]
hear-3-hear obj slaughter-po-3pl.poss obj neck-gen cow
‘I heard them slaughter cattle.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470) (lit. I heard their slaughtering the cow’s neck?)

**Ref Mod:**
\[
\text{ghērīm [tā la-gbw-ī nā mā xātā]}
\]
hole com go-dso-ref assoc in ground
‘a hole that went deep into the ground’

\[
\text{māmā sān ngābām [tā kē-dī-tā mārākē xī]}
\]
exist certain chief com take-up-ref wife two
‘There was once a chief who married two wifes.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 470 406)

\[
\text{tā (IPFV) + verbal root form (+ kā (COMP)-subject pronoun)}
\]
Remark: The predicate takes dependent aspect marking, but is otherwise balanced.
This construction is used for (imperfective) object relative clauses only.
Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:
Wúyá s kwì [tà klá-ghá-tà-ŋnì, ká-xʒŋ]
here thing IPPV take-2SG-REF-1PL.EXCL COMP-3PL
‘Here is the thing that we give you.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 409)

tà (IPFV) + clause with nominalized verb
Remark: Used for subject relative clauses only.
Functional distribution: Ríg: 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:
Màmú tsə̀mə̀ k-xà kɗérí [tà írí ndá tʃ]
exist enemy-plgen Kderi IPPV envy.
envy. nmlz assoc 3sg
‘There were enemies of Kderi who envied him.’ (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 404)

Pred-a (dependent perfective aspect):
Remark: Used for (perfective) object relative clauses only.
Functional distribution: Ríg: Ref Mod = PoS (small adjectives)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Retained (dependent perfective aspect)
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT - Ø (gapping)

Example:
Ref Mod:
Gítà kàm ná dzá’a plá-ghá-m-plá-ŋní tá dá-ghá [dzá-xʒŋ]
today then dem fut return-2SG-return-1PL.EXCL OBJ father-2SG kill:DEP.PFV-3PL
Today, we will avenge your father whom they have killed. (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 410)

Mandarin Chinese
Unmarked clause
Remarks: In Ref Mod function, the relativized element is gapped; in Pred Mod function it can be left unexpressed under co-referentiality.
In Ref Mod function, this construction is called a "descriptive clause". It is semantically similar to a relative clause marked with de (see below), although according to Li & Thompson it constitutes a separate assertion: "Semantically, a descriptive clause simply adds another assertion to the first one. A relative clause, on the other hand, is a part of the noun phrase naming the item in question, and as such expresses a pre-established class of items with the property it names." (Li & Thompson 1981: 618)
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, small adjectives, small manner adverbs)
Structural type: 1 (Balanced)
Verbal categories: Not applicable
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping/co-referentiality)

Examples:
Ref Head:
Wǒ pānwàng [nǐ kuài yidiàn biye]
I hope you soon a.little graduate
‘I hope you’ll graduate a bit sooner.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 599)

Ref Mod:
wǒ mài-le yì-jiàn yìfu [tàí dà]
I buy-PFV one-cl outfit too big
‘I bought an outfit that turned out to be too big.’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 614)
Appendix iii: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**tā yǒu yì-ge mèimei [hěn xǐhuān kàn diànyǐng]**
3sg exist one-cl younger.sister very like see movie
'S/he has a younger sister who like to see movies.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 611)

**Pred Mod:**

*Tāmen [yòng shǒu] chī-fàn*
they use hand eat-food
'they eat with their hands.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 597)

**Clause + de**

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

**Examples:**

**Ref Mod:**

[Jīntiān yíng de] qián fù fāng-zú
today win conn money pay house-rent
'The money we won today goes to pay the rent.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 581)

**Pred Mod:**

*nǐ pàō [de hěn kuài]*
you run conn very quick
'You run very quickly.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 625)

**Pred-zhe (DUR)**

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

**Examples:**

**Pred Mod:**

[Xiǎo gǒu [yuān-zhe wěi] pǎo le]
small dog shake-DUR tail run crs
'The small dog ran away wagging its tail.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 223)

**Tamil**

**Pred-atu**

Remark: With locative case or postposition *poola* 'like' the construction can be used in Pred Mod function.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ case/postposition also Pred Mod: simultaneity and 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:

[tirun nakayellaam etputtakkitIrutkaran] naan patteen
thief jewellery-all take-prog-PRS-NMLZ/lacc 1 sec-FST-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: 22)

'the spoon with which elder sister gave rice to younger sister' (Asher 1982: 228)

'They say and it’s no lie, that your people are your people.' (Childs 1995: 278)

'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 ló [kísì́ é̀kùò].
I stay Kisi study
'I continued to study Kisi.' (Childs 1995: 281)

ò dèmál [sàá wàlló tòsl kp'å]
he fail Saa work do ideoph
'He failed completely to do the work for Saa.' (Childs 1995: 281)

Noun class pronoun + clause (+ RSP) + noun class suffix
Remarks: The head noun loses its noun class suffix, which is supplanted by a noun class pronoun (unless the noun belongs to the o-class) and the noun class suffix appears at the end of the relative clause. The relativized item is gapped, but when the syntactic role of the head noun is oblique, or when the head noun is distant, a resumptive pronoun can appear in the relative clause.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Mod = PoS (small/derived adjectives)
Structural type: 2 (D-SENT)
Verbal categories: No TAM
Nominal categories: None
Argument encoding: SENT/Ø - SENT/Ø (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Mod:
méng mù [é kós]-ång mù ngí le
water pron he drink-suff pron good neg
'The water that he drank wasn't good.' (Childs 1995: 286)

When the head noun belongs to the o-class, there is no pronoun, only a suffix:
Wànd [tòof ciòó]-ó b có lè hínå
person inspect towns-suff pron again come
'The person who inspects towns will return.' (Childs 1995: 286)

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:
Mù'hn [càng slóng vam] dày lò
you speak two sentences be.able all
'You can speak both sentences.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 55)

lò mu'hn ca tòo slóng [hèt vai]
then he about again desire do king
'Then he wanted to be king again.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 52)
Then they saw that there was much gold.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 111)

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

'Then that boy riding the goat gave the goat to that man Hongh riding the horse.' (Saul & Wilson 1980: 16)

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

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

Remark: This construction is a simultaneity clause. The subject is expressed in both the matrix and the dependent clause.
Example:
Pred Mod:
Lēo [mu’hn kát báhn cáh sla’] mu’hn láo lái
then he when see cl. tiger he fear much
‘Then when he saw the tiger he was very afraid.’ (Saul & Wilson 1980: 110).

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

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

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

Pred-a
Remark: With the suffix git-a ‘like’, this construction can be used as a simulative clause.
Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head (+ extra suffix also simulative) = PoS (nouns)
Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)
Verbal categories: No tense/aspect
Nominal categories: CASE
Argument encoding: POSS - SENT

Examples:
Ref Head:
ang-a [bi-ni giit ring’-a]-ko kin-a-a
I-nom he-gen song sing-nmlz-acc hear-neut
‘I hear him singing songs.’ (Burling 2004: 294)

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

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

Bi-a [kat-ang-na] 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-pte woman
'the woman who saw the child at the house.' (Burling 2004: 301)

[mechik-ni skang-o den-gip-a] a-bol
women-gen previously-loc cut-pte 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-jol-e] ha-ti-cha re-ang-a
Clement-acc take-along-conv market-loc go-neut
'(I) go to the market, taking Clement along.' (Burling 2004: 315)
Appendix III: Dependent Clause Constructions Key Examples

**Krongo**

**ærí (quot) - tïg = clause**

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

áà

Láwàalà ótò- ñ àñáày àà

[n-áa õ-áà Lúwáalà inf:say-tr dat:3.pl quót]

PL-FST-make-PRT you.pl plan conn:masc-IPFV:good

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

**(t-)Pred (“nominalization/infinite”)**

Remark: For class II verbs, the nominalization and the infinitive have the same form; for class I verbs, the infinitive is formed without the prefix.

The construction (NMLZ and INF) takes case marking when not in object function (the accusative is zero-marked). Infinitives in object function with subject-to-object-raising are locative case-marked. When an overt subject is a full noun, the subject takes a possessive prefix. If not, it is expressed by a dependent person suffix.

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

Structural type: 3 (D-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-áàsà àåy [t-óshò-ókò-tú àmà àåy]

1 / 2- impf:want I nmlz-IPFV:cook-ben-tr-2.sg(dep) thing dat:1

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

n-áàsà àåy [t-iminó kà- Sárrà àåy]

1 / 2-IPFV:want I nmlz-IPFV:help poss-Sarah me

'I want Sarah to help me.' (lit. I wanted Sarah's helping me.’) (Reh 1985: 333)

ålàmà-à àåy [má-t-àkkà- tò- bà- áà]

masc:IPFV:speak-ben person dat:i gen-nmlz-fut-3sg(dep) loc-inf:go dat:Tabanya

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

n-áàsà àåy [åkù úudà]

1 / 2-IPFV:want I nmlz-IPFV:eat meat 1 / 2-impf:want I

'I want to eat meat.' (Reh 1985: 335)

úìy [k-ókù-òkù àåy kì-níini nó-di]

you(acc) loc-INF:teach me loc-language gen-homeland

'I want you to learn me Kongo.’ (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

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*(Reh 1985: 334)*
Examples:

Ref Mod:

káaw [m-óó]  
person conn:FEM-IPVF:walk  
‘the woman, who walks’, ‘the walking woman’ (Reh 1985)

n-állá    áày    kí-ató-àndig  
1/2-IPVF:love    I    LOC-SG-clothes    conn:NEUT-IPVF:SEW-TR    poss-mother    my    ‘I love the dress that my mother is sewing.’ (Reh 1985:256)

Káaw [m-ásáala-sí]  
àkàkù  
person conn:FEM-IPVF:look.at    1sg(Dep)  
she.fem  
‘the woman that I looked at.’ (Reh 1985)

Pred Mod:

n-óocó-sí     àa    [ŋ-ásà    ŋí-tùlùnkwáaná]  
1/2-IMPF:laugh-DET    I    conn:NEG:have    loc-joy  
‘I laugh joylessly.’ (Reh 1985: 302)

n-áa    t-ánkwà-ànì  
conn:NEUT-DET    man    inf    -go.round-DET    conn:NEUT-IPVF:pay.attention.to    footprints    poss.3.PL  
‘She goes round, paying attention to their footprints.’ (Reh 1985: 333)

Hixkaryana

Pred-n ñ/r-ht-n/r-
Remarks: The construction is formed with the nominalizer-ñ, followed by the inflectional suffix -r’possessed item’, glossed as POSSD. For past tense, -ñ/r- is replaced by -thñ/. For negation, the form -bñ- is used.

Structural type: 3 (D-AL T)

Verbal categories: Aspect is lost; 3 out of 7 tense distinctions (non-past, simple past, remote past) are retained.

Nominal categories: Possessive prefixes

Argument encoding: POSS - OBL

Examples:

Ref Head:

ro-wanota-n ñ/r-
1.Poss-sing-NMLZ-POSSD  
‘my singing’ (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

Amna-y-omok-ñ/r-
1-3.Poss-come-PST,NMLZ-POSSD  
‘our coming (in the past)’ (Derbyshire 1979: 165)

i-niti-bò-ñ/r-komo  
3.Poss-sleep-NEG,NMLZ-POSSD-COLL  
‘their not going to sleep’ (Derbyshire 1979: 166)

Karyhe kamara G-to-bò-ri  
quickly jaguar 3.Poss-go-PST,NMLZ-POSSD  
‘the going quickly of the jaguar.’ (Derbyshire 1979: 23)
oxhe  nî-hanahî-nî-ri  komo wos  wya
well  3.Poss-teach-NMLZ-Possd coll woman by
'the good teaching of them by the woman.' (Derbyshire 1979: 24)

Koseryebaha,  [r-ebar-ka-nî-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:
[Terryewero  ro-cawasta-nî  me]  kweseryebaha
loudly  my-singing-NMLZ  DNMLZ  I.take.a.bath
'I take a bath singing loudly.' (Derbyshire 1979: 28)

Uro  ehtxemako,  [owchyà  Waraka  yahxeman-tî-ri  wypa]  me  treat.with.medicine  byyou  Waraka  treat-PST,NMLZ-Possd  like
'Treat me with medicine just like you treat Waraka.' (Derbyshire 1979: 31)

Slave
Clause + nî/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  táh ɫa ɨ]  kodeyihshá  yíle
boat 3.is comp 1sg.knew neg
'I didn’t know that the boat came in.' (Rice 1989: 1245)

metá  [Ɂekî  ťámndeb  gha]  nüä
3.father there 1sg.go FUT 3.say
‘His dad said that he is going there.’ (Rice 1989: 1224)

Ref Mod:
bejö  sà  [Jim  ţeghálayeda  nî]  si ʔ  agó’të
here probably Jim 3.work rel foc area.exist
‘This must be the place where Jim works.’ (Rice 1989: 1317)

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

Examples:
Ref Head:
[Ɂibálá  lits’e’à  gha]  kegòťà
canvas one.folds comp is.difficult
‘It is difficult for me to fold canvas.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)

[sab  bëbl]  gù  ìdegbò  nàwíṣí
bear 1sg.be comp refl/about 1sg.dreamed
‘I dreamed that I was a bear.’ (Rice 1989: 1246)

Clause + i/sîllî
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  [bîhà  i]
boat 3.is.big rel
‘the big boat’ (Rice 1989: 1309)
\[ \text{Parts of Speech and Dependent Clauses} \]

\textit{Kei dene \{\textit{\textit{g}ts'\'{e} whehk'\'{e} tt\'}}

\textit{the person who shot the moose} (Rice 1989: 1313)

\textit{t'\'{e}l\'{a} \{\textit{\textit{b}e} \textit{hi} \}}

\textit{the girl who is sleeping} (Rice 1989: 1309)

\textbf{Clause + gháré}

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

\textit{Functional distribution:} Rig: Pred Mod ≠ PoS (no manner adverbs)

\textit{Structural type:} 1 (Balanced)

\textit{Verbal categories:} Retained

\textit{Nominal categories:} None

\textit{Argument encoding:} SENT - SENT

\textbf{Example:}

\textit{Pred Mod:}

\textit{dene \{\textit{\textit{g}báts'eyeda gháré} yá \textit{g}â\'ès\'{e}deretq \}}

\textit{person one.watches ADV TOP one.teaches.REFL}

‘One learns through watching.’ (1063)

\textbf{Nivkh}

\textit{Pred-vut / vur (retelling converb):}

Used only for the complements of utterance predicates.

The allomorphy is conditioned by person agreement: -t for 1st person (SG/PL), -r for 2nd or 3rd person.

\textit{Functional distribution:} Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

\textit{Structural type:} 1 (Balanced)

\textit{Verbal categories:} Retained

\textit{Nominal categories:} None

\textit{Argument encoding:} SENT / Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{Ref Head:}

\textit{If} \{\textit{\textit{\textit{m}i}n-\textit{\textit{a}n} als \textit{\textit{\textit{p}e-\textit{ny} vur} it-t'} \}}

\textit{He they-DAT/ACC berry pick-FUT-COMP say-FIN}

‘He said [that] they would pick berries.’ (Gruzdeva 1998: 57)

\textbf{Unmarked clause}

\textit{Functional distribution:} Rig: Ref Head = PoS (nouns)

\textit{Structural type:} 1 (Balanced)

\textit{Verbal categories:} Retained

\textit{Nominal categories:} None

\textit{Argument encoding:} SENT / Ø - SENT (co-referentiality)

\textbf{Examples:}

\textit{Ref Head:}

\textit{\textit{\textit{R}aŋ}k} \{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{c}o n}T-d} eska-d} \}

\textit{woman fish eat-FIN dislike-FIN}.

The woman does not like to eat fish. (Gruzdeva 1998: 49)

\textbf{Pred without FIN SUFFIX (participles)}

\textit{Functional distribution:} Rig: Ref Mod ≠ PoS (no adjectives)

\textit{Structural type:} 1 (Balanced)

\textit{Verbal categories:} Retained except for FIN suffix

\textit{Nominal categories:} None

\textit{Argument encoding:} SENT / Ø - SENT / Ø (gapping)

\textbf{Example:}

\textit{Ref Mod:}

\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{N}t} zook}} \{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{t}a}ko tyr \textit{\textit{\textit{t}xy p}i-d'}}} \}

\textit{I break:PTC 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:

Haimaŋt ꝗawŋy ꛐ[n̩iŋ-kis nloqloq-d ꝗ-kawr- ꛜ t̩-dry]

old.man straight eye-instr blink-prt-neg-conv look-fin

‘The old man looked straight, not blinking [his] eyes.’ (Gruzdeva 1998: 54)

hoŋor ꛜ[ex-gu- ꛜ m̩y- dry]

therefore fast-caus-conv:2/3SG descend-ind

‘Therefore he descended quickly.’ (Matissen & Drossard 1998: 44)

**WEST GREENLANDIC**

**Pred-niq**

Remark: With intransitive predicates, the S takes relational case (RELC) and triggers possessive agreement. With transitive predicates, there are several possibilities. When only the P is present, the dependent predicate can be unmarked or marked with the passive suffix. The P appears in relative case and triggers possessive agreement. When both arguments are present, the dependent predicate bears the corresponding possessive suffix, while the P is in the instrumental. Thus, the possessive argument in the nominalization always corresponds to the absolutive argument in the corresponding finite clause12.

Functional distribution: Rig: Ref Head = PoS: nouns

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No mood, person/number agreement. Tense can be retained, but is usually not expressed.

Nominal categories: Case, nominal agreement

Argument encoding: RELC/POSS - Ø/INSTR

**EXAMPLES:**

Ref Head:

[umiarsu-up qassi-nut tikin-mi-sa-a]

ship-rel how.many-all arrive-nmlz-fut-3sg.poss know-1sg.3sg:ind

‘I know when the ship will arrive.’ (Fortescue 1984: 115)

Angutip tuqunnira

man:relec kill:nmlz:3sg.poss

‘the killing of the man’ (i.e. he is killed) (Fortescue 1984: 46)

[nalu-a]

not.know-3sg:3sg.indic [ginnuta-ata qanuq naammasi-nipar-mi-sa-a]

request-3sg.poss.relec how implement-pass-nmlz-fut-3sg.poss

‘She didn’t know how his request would be implemented.’ (Fortescue 1984: 45)

[i̱kinngum-mi-nik tuqut-si-nir-a]

friend-his.refl instr kill-semtr-nmlz-3sg.poss hear-1sg.3pl.ind

‘I heard of his killing his friend.’ (Fortescue 1984: 45)

**Pred-ta/sa (’passive participle’):**

Remark: Overt subjects are in relative or ablative case, non-gapped objects remain SENT.

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

Structural type: 3 (D-ALT)

Verbal categories: No tense, mood, verbal agreement.

Nominal categories: Nominal agreement (number and case)

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

**EXAMPLES:**

Ref Mod:

[angum-mut]

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 Kopjievskaja-Tamm 1993).
Participial mood clause
Remarks: The participial mood endings are parallel to the indicative ones, but built up on mood-marker *su* in the intransitive and *gi* in the transitive.
In Ref Head function, the construction is used for different-subject complements. When it functions as such, the dependent clause is morphologically marked as an object.
In Ref Mod function, the construction must be intransitive and can only take 3rd person inflection. Relative clauses that modify the subject of the matrix clause agree in (relative) case with their head.
When marked for instrumental case the participial mood can also be used in Pred Mod function.
Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Ref Mod, + CASE also Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for modifier functions)

Functional distribution: Flex: Ref Head, Pred Mod ≠ PoS (nouns, no lexical strategy for modifier functions)

Ref Head:
Ilisima-vaa [urni-ssa-giga]
know-3sg.3sg.ind come.to-fut-1sg.3sg.ptc
'He1 knew I would come to him2.' (Fortescue 1984: 36)

paasi-nngil-luinna-para [ilaar-juma-sutit]
understand-not-complete-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 [kalaallisut ilinnia-lir-suq]
girl Greenlandic learn-begin-intr.ptc
'the / a girl who has begun learning Greenlandic.' (Fortescue 1984: 49)

Pred Mod (with case):
[Kulturi-kkut sunniuti-par-luar-tu]-mik
culture-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 (gapping)

Examples:
Ref Head:
Uqar-sinnaa-vunga [tama-asa uuqattaar-sima-llugit]
say-can-1sg.3pl try-pfv-1sg.-3pl.cont
'He can say that I have tried them all.' (Fortescue 1984: 40)

Pred Mod:
[Irnis-luunge] isir-nga
do.hurriedly-1sg.cont go.in-1sg.ind
'He entered quickly/in a hurry.' (Fortescue 1984: 55)

[upa-nngua-rujat] ini-mi-nut isir-nga
say-little-4sg.neg.cont room-his.refl go.in-3sg.ind
'He entered his room without even speaking.' (Fortescue 1984: 62)