

CHAPTER 7: CLAUSE COMBINING

One crucial property I had recourse to for characterising *basic clauses* was to be "independent, *i.e.* able to stand on their own, in other words, not belonging to a higher syntactic constituent." (chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES). I resume here this feature to introduce the topic of the present chapter: exploring what observable facts in clause sequences supply clues as to the existence of a constituent — syntactic in nature — embracing more than one clause. Occasionally I will use (*complex*) *sentence* as a shortcut to such constituent.

Obviously, in a specific universe of discourse *independent* won't entail completeness at all levels of structure since a significant part of such universe serves as input to the felicitous decoding of a given clause. A mere globalising prosody — potential pause, one single lowering intonation contour — can turn a sequence of finite clauses into a broader constituent (see Queixalós 1986 111-112 for acoustic data). In (1) such constituent is formed of a sequence of three formally independent clauses in asyndetic coordination, notwithstanding the fact that the last two rely on the first for providing the referent of their subject, and on the previous discourse as to the referent of their direct object. Coordination, thus, is characterized by the joining of two or more constituents of equal status. In the case of whole clauses, all have the form of independent main clauses.

- (1) [baha powa₁ yamaxüto₂ ø₂-pita-ba-ø₁]...
 BOUNDARYCROSSING 3FEMENINE shotgun 3ACCUSATIVE-grab-REALIS-3NOM
 'The woman₁ grabbed the gun₂,...'
- ...[ø₃-kaitaropita-ba-ø₁]...
 3ACCUSATIVE-aim-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 '...aimed at him₃,...'
- ...[baha pina saya ø₃-beyaxua-ba-ø₁]...
 BOUNDARYCROSSING REPORTATIVE CASUALLY 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-REALIS-3NOM
 '...and just killed him₃, they₀ say.'

As a practical option we will hinge on segmental markers to tell apart two main ways for clauses to be linked to one another within a larger syntactic domain, flat (or co-ranking) *versus* hierarchical. We will, notwithstanding, deal with a subtype of clause-combining that backs the widespread view of their fuzzy mutual boundaries (*cf.* the clitic =**atha** in the following subsection and in ♦♦ **HIERARCHICAL 2.2.1**).

1 NONHIERARCHICAL

Segmental exponence for coordinating clauses — *i.e.* joining clauses placed on a syntactically equal footing relative to one another — is provided by the same elements used in coordinating noun phrases, the suffix **-behe** and the postpositive particle **nua**, chapter 3: **THE NOUN 3.4.2**.

-Behe is invariably attached to the second-clause subject noun-phrase. (As we know since the just mentioned chapter and section 3: **THE NOUN 3.4.2**, in coordinated noun phrases sharing the same verb the subject is favoured.)

- (2) [**Pharansiku**₁ **merayo**₂ **ø₃-rahuta-ø₁**] ...
 F. ALittleWater 3ACCUSATIVE-give-3NOMINATIVE
 'Francisco₁ gave him₃ a little water₂,...'

...[**Kasaruru**₄-**behe** **ø₃-tokaria-ø₄** **merayo**₅]
 K.-COORDINATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-bring-3NOMINATIVE LittleWater
 '...and Kasaruru₄ too brought him₃ a little water₅.'

The particle **nua** is more versatile as clause coordinative, and slightly richer functionally. It contrastively highlights some constituent brought in by the second clause. See it anchored to the subject in (3a) and (b); to the direct object in (c); to the indirect object in (d); to the second verb in (e); to an adjunct in (f). This pragmatic facet may account for **nua**

1. often conjoining same-predicate clauses, (a) through (d), plus (f);
2. recurrently following the constituent that stands in clause initial position, (a), plus (c) through (f); and
3. not being, still, a hundred per cent coerced as to occurring with the initial constituent, (g), plus (h) compared to (e).

- (3) (a) [**powayo**₁ **nuka-ø₁**] [**pena**₂ **nua** **nuka-ø₁**]
 ThatLittleWoman stand-3NOM HerMother COORD stand -3NOM
 'That little woman₁ was standing (there), and her₁ mother₂ was standing (there) too.'

- (b) [**hiwixi**₁ **hinawonopa-ø₁** **tahetabotha**]...
 people live-3NOMINATIVE OnTheBeach
 'The people₁ have been living on the beach,...'

...[**kowü** **awiri**₂ **nua** **ponapona-ø₂**]
 SENSORIALINFERENCE dog COORDINATIVE live-3NOMINATIVE
 '...and seemingly a dog₂ has been living there too.'

(**Hinawonopa** and **ponapona** are diffuse / dense suppletives of the same verb 'live'; chapter 2: **THE VERB 2.2.1.2.4**.)

- (c) [**amo**₁ **owebi**₂ **ø₂-upaxuaba-ø₁**]...
 grand-father deer 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE
 'Grand-father killed a deer,...'

...[**metsaha**₃ **nua** **ø₃-upaxuaba-ø₁**]
 tapir COORDINATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE
 '...and he killed a tapir too.'

(Resumed from chapter 3: THE NOUN 3.4.2.)

- (d) [**taxuyo**₁ **yorotoyo**₂ **ne₃-to-kuena-ø₁**]...
 MyUncle LittleFeatherHat 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-weave-3NOMINATIVE
 'My uncle₁ will weave a little feather hat₂ for me₃,...'

...[**pemonaebo**₄ **nua** **taenawa**₅ **ne₃-to-kuena-ø₅**]
 WoolBraid COORDINATIVE MyAunt 1ACC-INVOLVING-weave-3NOM
 '...and my aunt₅ will weave wool-braids₄ for me₃.'

- (e) [**merawia** **nawiatsiana-ø₁** **penakuenebinü**₁]...
 to-morrow WillReturn-3NOMINATIVE worker
 'To-morrow the worker₁ will go back,'

...[**patsiana-ø₂** **nua** **peyakinaenü**₂]
 WillArrive-3NOMINATIVE COORDINATIVE writer
 '...and the writer₂ will arrive.'

- (f) **Busumomowi-tha** **nawiatsiana-hü**₁...
 ToadClan-SOCIATIVE WillReturn-1NOMINATIVE
 'I₁ will return to the Toad Clan,...'

...[**tahamonaetha** **nua** **nawiatsiana-hü**₁
 MyFamily-SOCIATIVE COORDINATIVE WillReturn-1NOMINATIVE
 '...and I₁ will return to my family's.'

- (g) [**pabi**₁ **ø₁-nakuenebiana-hü**₂] ...
 garden 3ACCUSATIVE-WillWork-1NOMINATIVE
 'I₂ will work on my garden₁,...'

...[**tahamonaetha** **nawiatsiana-hü**₂ **nua**]
 MyFamily-SOCIATIVE WillReturn-1NOMINATIVE COORDINATIVE
 '...and then I₂ will go back to my family's.'

- (h) [**merawia** **nawiatsiana-ø₁** **penakuenebinü**₁]...
 to-morrow WillReturn-3NOMINATIVE worker
 'To-morrow the writer₁ will go back,'

...[**patsiana-ø₂** **peyakinaenü**₂ **nua**]
 WillArrive-3NOMINATIVE writer COORDINATIVE
 '...and the writer₂ will arrive.'

We now turn to the announced in-between device for clause combining, neither exclusively coordinative nor subordinative. The additive =**atha** is part of both verb and noun morphology, as we know. In a grammar where arguments *primarily* surface as indexes, coordinating two predicates — verbal, nominal — is tantamount to coordinate two entire clauses, as in (4), resumed from chapter 2: THE VERB example (43). (This is the reason for not having opened a section on coordination in that chapter.) Predicates coordinated in that wise often feature identical or close semantic content. Significantly, and auguring for its use as a fullfledged subordinator (2.2.1), the additive triggers the irrealis mood on verbs proper, a symptom of downgraded finiteness.

- (4) **ba-apo-ka₁-bihia-nae-tsi₂** **apo-ka₁-isa-ruru-kae-tsi₂=atha**
 HAB-NEG-2ACC-damage-IRR-4NOM NEG-2ACC-EMBRACING-StayHanging-IRR-4NOM=ADD
 'I₂ never had sex with you₁ and I₂ even didn't hold you₁ against my body in the hammock.'

Now, appending a noun with the additive can be used as another tool for coordinating clauses. While in the first line of (5a), resumed from chapter 3: THE NOUN 3.4.2, =**atha** links two nouns, 'my family' and 'my mother', in the third line of the same example and in (b) it links two clauses. These two examples also show that the linear-order position of the coordinated noun is immaterial.

- (5) (a) [**tahamona₁** **taena₂=atha**] **piha₃-hume₄** **apoyapütae_{1&2...}**
 MyFamily MyMother=ADDITIVE 3POSSESSOR-language TheyDidNotKnowIt
 'My family₁ and even my mother₂ did not know their₃ language₄,...'

...**patamo** **hiwi₃** **piha₃-hume₄...**
 OurAncestor people 3POSSESSOR-language
 '...(that is,) our ancestors'₃ language₄,...'

...**Kawiri₃-hume₄** **takuepihiwami₅=atha** **apohumetae₅**
 Kawiri-language MyLateGrandmother=ADDITIVE SheDidNotUnderstandIt
 '...the language₄ of the Kawiri₃ even my late grand-mother₅ did not undersand.'

- (b) **ahenakonoxae** **waxaitsi₁** **Sikuani-tsi₁** **na-yanihoba-biaba-tsi₁ ...**
 nowadays 1INCLUSIVE Sikuani-4NOMI MIDDLE-ask-DoITERATIVELY-4NOM
 'Nowadays we₁ the Sikuani₁ we₁ ask ourselves...'

...**Wowai₂=atha** **na-yanihoba-ø₂** **paliwaisi** **yabara** [...]
 Whites=ADDITIVE MIDDLE-ask-3NOMINATIVE ThatStory FOCUSsingON
 '...even the Whites₂ ask themselves, regarding that story: [...].'

2 HIERARCHICAL

Dependent clauses supply the need for manners-of-existing be allotted to argument or modifier positions. As arguments of a predicate — complement clauses —, they embrace typical noun phrase properties such as (to a variable extent) loss of finiteness, and linear order relative to the predicate. When used as modifiers, they occur subordinated either to a predicate — adverbial clauses — or to a head noun inside noun phrases — relative clauses.

As a rule, formal clues to subordination are more clear-cut than those underpinning coordination, having irrealis mood — with verbs proper — as the cornerstone of complementations and a variety of adverbialisations, propped up by the lack of clause

particles (*cf.* Queixalós 2022 for Katukina-Kanamari, and Bardagil & Groothuis 2023 for the jê family). These dependent verb-forms typify nonverbal predicates. Contrastingly, however, relative and some temporal dependent clauses display realis mood along with particles, as in (6). They are not asserted, but even so their formal make-up is that of independent clauses.

- (6) (a) **marapowa₁** **[itsa baha panasitamebehe]...**
 ThatWhat's-her-name TEMP/COND BOUNDCROSS YouBothGetFat
 'Regarding What's-her-name₁ there, as you both get fat...'

...pa-ka-hayabiana-ø₁-behe
 PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-WillPalpate-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
 '...she₁ will palpate you.'

(Warning local Hansel and Gretel against the witch.)

2.1 COMPLEMENTS

Let me posit from the onset that a verbal predicate occurring as the argument of a higher-predicate has, as a rule, the form of a nominalisation, *i.e.* a noun phrase that features 1. as its lexical head, a verb in unvarying irrealis mood; 2. as active morphology, nominal affixes pointing toward a referent — the intrinsic linkee prefix — and modelling a type of entity — the gender-class suffix —, as well as the nominative series *proper to nominal predicates*; finally, 3. as its arguments exponence, the just mentioned intrinsic-linker prefix, plus, as a retained verbal trait, the ^{II}verb accusative series; only one genitive-like lexical constituent is allowed. All these aspects are displayed in (8); note the linear order of the complements, typical of subject / direct object noun phrases. This notwithstanding, finite complement clauses are exceptionally found. They have the form of an asyndetically connected independent clause:

- (7) **Kuwai₁ ø₂-wünütane-ø₁** **[kulima₃ ø₃-exa-na-ø₄]₂**
 K. 3ACCUSATIVE-HearTheNews-3NOMINATIVE kulima 3ACC-make-3NOM
 'Kuwai₁ heard [they₄ were preparing (the beverage) kulima₃]₂.'

Since the standard "complement clauses" *are not* genuine clauses, they have been suitably illustrated in chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.4, so that here I will just broach a few relevant issues from the perspective of the current chapter.

The closest to a complement-clause nominalisation is the pattern I named manner-of-existing nominalisation or nonoriented nominalisation in 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.1, brought into being by the nonanimate gender suffix **-hawa**. Expectably, clause-selecting main verbs are often of the psych / perception kin.

- (8) (a) **[[pihawa]₁ pe₂-ø₁-xai-nae-nü]₂...**
 HisWife 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-have-IRREALIS-MASCULINE

...[pe₂-n-ue-hawa]₃ **ø₃-kopata-ø₂**
 3INTRINSICLINKEE -cry-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE 3ACC-GiveUp-3NOM
 'The husband₂ [lit. the wife₁ owner₂] stopped (his) crying₃.'

 (b) **ø₁-kopata-hü₂...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-GiveUp-1NOMINATIVE

- Only one lexical argument can surface inside the complement phrase. It retrieves as a genitive dependent either the subject of the nominalised ¹verb, **newüthu**, 'jaguar', in (9a), or the direct object, **pihawa**, 'his wife', in (8a), and **kalawa**, 'balata fruits' in (8b). An agent participant as lexical genitive argument is something exceedingly scarce yet detectable in natural speech, **penakuetonüyo**, 'little boy', in (9b). We thus observe — in accordance with the nominalisation-based nature of complements — a predominant absolutive-ergative alignment of lexical arguments along with a strict nominative-accusative alignment in verb indexation. Since nominalisations are open to personal passivation, no restriction specific to the passive complement obtains, (10).

- (10) **ø₁-yapütane-ø₂** **baha...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-know-3NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING
 'He₂ was aware of...'

 ...[**pe₂-koxi-x-ae-hawa-tsi₀**]₁
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-children-eat- IRREALIS -NONANIMATE
 '...having had his₂ children eaten [lit. he₂ knew [his-children-having-been-eaten]₁].'

Complements of nominal predicates are common, (11). Nominalisations are distributionally nouns. Hence complements occur in the typical positions that noun phrases occupy relative to

the verb: the direct object complement either pre- or post-posed to the main verb, the subject complement sentence-initially, see both in (8a)-(9). ¹Verb-subject complements often occur following the main clause, (11b) first line.

- (11) (a) [**petiriwa-nü**]₁₂ **apo-Ø₂-hitsipae-nü**₁
 woman-1NOMINATIVE NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-want-1NOMINATIVE
 'I₁ don't want [to be₁ a woman]₂.'
- (b) **patahopa-Ø**₁ [**pe₁-Ø₂-t-ae-wi**]₁...
 arrive-3NOM 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-look-IRREALIS-COLLECTIVE
- ...[[**pihawa** **hiwi**]₃ **pe₁-Ø₃-yapühai-tsi-wi**]₁
 wife people 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-search-IRR-COLLECTIVE
 'The visitors₁ arrived, the ones₁ in search of wives₃.'

2.2 MODIFIERS

A subtype of modifying clause sets some circumstantial manner-of-existing that interferes with the manner-of-existing described in an independent clause. These are adverbial clauses. The other subtype mainly imparts clues as to the referent instantiated in a noun phrase. These are relative clauses. Adverbials are part of complex sentences while relative clauses are part of noun phrases. I however opt to include the latter in the present chapter on clause combining.

2.2.1 ADVERBIAL

The most conspicuous earmarks of adverbial clauses are 1. the disparity of the formal devices they implement, and 2. likewise class-changing processes, the retrieval of material from other regions of grammar for subordinating purposes.

Some adverbial clauses denoting a temporal / conditional / causal background are attested in asyndetic make-up joining a formally-independent clause, (12). Explicitly connected adverbial clauses use particles, case markers, and postpositions.

- (12) [**hiwiyo**₁ **tüpa**]₁, **pa-warapa-hü**₂
 LittlePerson die PLURAL-MoveOff-1NOMINATIVE
 'A person₁ dies, we₂ move off.'

As the nominative suffix in (13) shows, nominal predicates — in the example a nominalised adjective — can be used as adverbial subordinated clauses. Note that what corefers with the first-person accusative index **ne-** is not the whole dependent clause **kaewayo-nü**, 'I am a lonesome little girl', but the noun **kaewayo**, 'lonesome little girl'.

- (13) [[**kae-wa-yo**]₁-**nü**]...
 one-FEMENINE-DIMINUTIVE-1NOMINATIVE
- ...**ne₁-xua-ba-ru-ta-e-ta-Ø**₂
 1ACCUSATIVE-throw-REALIS-^{II}hang-REALIS-^{II}sit-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'They₂ left me₁ alone in my hammock, [lit. ...left poor me₁ [lonesome-little-girl]₁].'

2.2.1.1 CONCESSIVE

We have so far met the additive **=atha** as a coordinator targetting either noun phrases or clauses (chapter 3: THE NOUN 3.4.2, and 1 above, respectively). In a congruent manner with its additive use flavoured with unexpectedness, **=atha** as a subordinator links the current state of affairs to a more or less unexpected circumstance, (14a). Further, as a genuine concessive subordinator it introduces a clause that logically *should* entail the nonexistence of the manner-of-existing described in the main clause, (b). As we know, nominal predicates also convey participants' manners-of-existing, denoting either inclusions or identifications. (b) illustrates nominal and verbal subordinate predicates (first line). Note the subordinate verb bearing the irrealis mood and the nominative-suffix used in nonverbal predicates. (For ease in processing two-line examples, free translation will abide by the original order of clauses regardless of some potentially-laborious phrasings.)

- (14) (a) **itsahumatabükuhiru₁ Ø₁nahumatabüxainataba-Ø₂...**
 BadThought ThinkSUDDENLY-3NOMINATIVE
 'They₂ suddenly conceived bad thoughts₁...'

...[**awiri pekoikoihaihawa₃ Ø₃-hume-t-ae=atha-Ø₂**]
 dog ItsLanguage 3ACC-language-see-IRREALIS=ADDITIVE-3NOM
 '...since, I must say, they₂ understood the dog's language₃.'

(Villagers listening the dog tell of how its masters do this and that in the privacy of the garden.)

- (b) [**pihawa=atha-nü₁**] [**ponapo-nae=atha-nü₁**] ...
 HisWife=CONCESSIVE-1NOMINATIVE live-IRREALIS=CONCESSIVE-1NOMINATIVE
 'In spite of being₁ his wife, in spite of living₁ (here),...'

...merawi kahena xanü apo-ta₁-mahi-tsi-wa₁
 night well 1 NEG-1INTRINLINK-sleep-IRREALIS-FEMENINE
 '...at night I₁ don't sleep throughout [lit. I₁ am no entire-night sleeper].'

(Ogre's wife warning two abducted girls.)

As a rule, the linear location of **=atha** relative to the nominative series is preceding the latter. This may be complicated by idiosyncrasies in the distribution of the fourth-person **-tsi** suffix like those encountered in chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9. See also, above, example (4) in 1, now renumbered as (15a). Furthermore, (b) and (c), with the second person suffix, are held as equally acceptable by speakers. In all, such oscillations may be diagnostic of distributional instabilities in the grammaticalisation processes of **-tsi** and **=atha**. (Glosses ADDITIVE and CONCESSIVE for **=atha** purposeful.)

- (15) (a) **ba-apo-ka₁-bihia-nae-tsi₂...**
 HABITUAL-NEGATION-2ACCUSATIVE-damage-IRREALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 I₂ never had sex with you₁...'

...[**apo-ka₁-isa-ruru-kae-tsi₂=atha**]
 NEGATION-2ACCUSATIVE-EMBRACING-StayHanging-IRREALIS-4NOM=ADDITIVE
 '...and I₂ even didn't hold you₁ against my body in the hammock.'

7: Clause Combining

- (b) [**pexaniadopatubinü=atha-mü**]₁... (c) [**pexaniadopatubinü-mü₁=atha**]₁...
 FineShaman=CONCESSIVE-2NOM FineShaman-2NOMINATIVE=CONCESSIVE
 'Even though you₁ are a fine shaman,'

...**penakueto₂** **ka₁-to-tüpa-ø₂**
 LittleBoy 2ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-die-3NOMINATIVE
 '...the little boy died on you.'

Finally, let us mention the concessive subordination of an adverb as predicate:

- (16) **atahü=atha-ø₁** **naekapona-boka-ø₂** **ayaikotia-hawa**
 far=CONCESSIVE-3NOM walk-LIE-3NOM HeavySun-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE
 'In spite of (the garden) being far away, she₂ kept walking, poor her,
 under the heavy sun.'

(Linguist's wife carrying manioc tubers.)

2.2.1.2 PURPOSE

The auxiliary **-hitsia**, a frozen reduced offshot of the verb **hitsipa**, 'want', primarily marks imminent aspect on independent verbs, keeping a touch of volitionality with a human subject (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9.1). It signals a target or goal when used as a nominal case (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.6). In subordination it forms purpose clauses and, likewise **=atha**, prompts the irrealis mood and the nonverbal predicate nominative series, (17a). The example shows that the dependent verb is no nominalised form since it lacks the intrinsic-linker series. Both clause orders, dependent - main, (17a), or main - dependent, (b), are common. This allows us to rule out the mere auxiliary reading of **hitsia**, *i.e.* the two-clause sequence as an asyndetic coordination like 'X did this and that *and* was about to etc.'

- (17) (a) [**kulima₁** **pa-ø₁-a-pae-hitsia-nü₂**]₁...
 AKindOfBeverage PLURAL-3ACCUSATIVE-drink-IRREALIS-PURPOSE-1NOM
 'In order to drink₂ **kulima₁**...'

...**pa-naaponabiaba-hü₂**
 PLURAL-goITERATIVELY-1NOMINATIVE
 '...we₂ are used to go (there).'

- (b) **Phurunaminali₁** **maseta₂** **ø₂-pita-ø₁...**
 Ph. machete 3ACCUSATIVE-take-3NOMINATIVE
 'Phurunaminali₁ grasped the machete₂...'

...[**ø₃-boso-ukuta-bi-hitsia-ø₁**]
 3ACCUSATIVE-tail-cut-IRREALIS-PURPOSE-3NOMINATIVE
 '...to cut₁ its₃ tail.'

(Culture hero vs. giant anaconda.)

2.2.1.3 TEMPORAL-CONDITIONAL

One single device serves for introducing simultaneous-temporal clauses and conditional ones: the particle **itsa** in clause-initial position. (Homophonous with the noun prefix for

indefiniteness / alterity **itsa**-; chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.3. So far nothing points to any shared functional attribute.)

In a text count on a hundred clauses, the **itsa**- clause is ten times more frequent preceding the main clause than following it. Furthermore, when occurring after the main clause it lacks the conditional meaning. See it initially as temporal in (18a) and conditional in (b). **Itsa** subordinates nominal predicates as well, (c). In the dependent clause, noun-phrase fronting at the left of the subordinator is common, *e.g.* active subject in (19a) and further below (40) first line; passive subject in (b), and case-marked adjunct in (c).

- (18) (a) [**itsa** **pinihiwa-mü₁** **tsane**] **pexaniawa-mü₁** **tsane**
 TEMP/COND AdultWoman-2NOM FUTURE BeautifulWoman-2NOM FUTURE
 'When you₁ are grown-up you₁ will be an attractive woman.'

- (b) [**itsa** **kopai₁** **ø₁-xaina-hü₂**]...
 TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL metal 3ACCUSATIVE-have-1NOMINATIVE
 'If I had metal₁...'

...**sipali-esetoyo₃=atha** **bokae-hitsipa-ø₃**
 ax-SmallFragment=ADDITIVE LieAround-WANT-3NOMINATIVE
 '...at the least some small fragment of an ax₃ would be lying around.'

(Master-of-Metal averse to supply humans with metal.)

- (c) [**itsa** **Sikuaninü-mü₁**] **tamononü-mü₁** **tsipae**
 TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL Sikuaniman-2NOM MyHusband-2NOM POSSIBILITY
 'If you₁ were a Sikuanian man you₁ would be my husband.'

- (19) (a) [**Sikuani-tsi₁** **itsa** **kaeliwaisi₂** **ø₂-xai-nae-ena-tsi₁**]...
 Sikuanian-4NOM TEMP/COND OneStory 3ACC-have-IRR-FUTURE-4NOM
 'When we the Sikuanian₁ get mutually like-minded [lit. ...have one single story₂], ...'

...**baharapamatakabi** **pexaniakuene₃** **naka₁-to-ø₃** **tsane**
 ThatDay GoodThings 4ACC-belong-3NOM FUTURE
 '...that day good things₃ will ensue for us₁ [lit. ...will be ours].'

(Political meeting.)

- (b) [**wahaxi₁** **hiwixi₁** **itsa** **ø₁-tahui-ta-tsi**]...
 OurChildren SmallOnes TEMP/COND 3ACCUSATIVE-burn-REALIS-4NOM
 'When our young children₁ get burnt... '

...**ba-ø₁-matawahi-ba-ø₂** **makibü₃tha**
 HABITUAL-3ACCUSATIVE-pray-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE ToTheCaimanSp.
 '...they₂ (the people) invoke the caiman₃ Sp. for them₁.'

- (c) **baharapowa₁** **ø₁-namataxüna-bia-ba-tsi₀**...
 ThatWoman 3ACC-meet-ITER-REALIS-4NOM
 'That woman was met...'

...[**pabi-ya** **itsa** **pona-Ø₁**]
 garden-INESSIVE TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL go-4NOMINATIVE
 '...as she wandered in the garden.'

(Anaconda's lover.)

A distinctive feature of conditional clauses is that some exponent of alethic modality *can* occur in the main clause, (18b)-(c). Tense agreement between main and dependent clause seems to be little constrained. A future main-verb tends to trigger a future dependent-verb in both settings, temporal, (18a), (19a), and conditional, (20). Though, both temporal and conditional **itsa**- clauses can disregard such tense agreement, (21).

(20) [**itsa** **pa-mahi-tsi-ena-me₁-behe₁**]...
 TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL PLURAL-sleep-IRREALIS-FUTURE-2NOMINATIVE-DUAL
 'If you₁ both fall asleep...'

...**baharaponü₂** **pa-ka₁-x-ae-ena-Ø₂-behe₁**
 ThatMan PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-eat-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
 '...that man₂ will devour you₁ both.'

(Again, Ogre's wife warning girls.)

(21) (a) [**itsa** **pa-ta-me₁** **beria**]...
 TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL arrive-REALIS-2NOMINATIVE ABLDOWNVENITIVE
 'When you₁ arrive there, ...'

...**hiwitonüyotha** **raha** **pa-tsi-ena-me₁**
 InHumanAppearance ASSERTIVE arrive-IRREALIS-FUTURE-2NOMINATIVE
 '...do arrive₁ in human appearance.'

(b) [**itsa** **ne₁-hume₁pi-ta-Ø₂**]...
 TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL 1ACCUSATIVE-understand-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'If they₂ understand me₁, ...'

...**nexatha** **naka₃-to-xanepan-ae-ena-Ø₄**
 then 4ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-BeGood-IRREALIS-FUTURE-2NOMINATIVE
 '...then it₄ will all be ok for us₃.'

2.2.1.4 ADJUNCT-LIKE MARKED ADVERBIAL

We now consider the adverbial clauses that enroll postpositions and case-markers in subordination.

On the whole, clausal dependents introduced identically to basic-clause adjuncts display truncated nominalisations. We know from chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 5 that truncated nominalisations are verbs featuring the nominalising morphology, with gaps: they retain on their left edge the accusative series and the intrinsic-linker prefix embodying the nominative-argument participant of finite verbs, but they lack the gender-class suffixes, which turns the output a subtype of nonoriented nominalisation. Also, their nominative series is reduced to a dereferentialised third person.

However, speech-act participants as nominative may force an overt — hence referential — nominative suffix back to the scene. This happens in truncated-nominalisations involved in

adjunct-like clauses, as in (22a) and (30) below. A diachronic leaning toward dependent clauses getting *less noun more clause* may be under way here, as referentiality clearly signals finiteness. Yet, the issue may be not entirely settled since an overt nominative index is sometimes missing in contexts where it would be expected, for instance in (25a) and (27). (This would be the second circumstance, announced in chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.4, that triggers a referential nominative in truncated nominalisations.)

Three postpositions are involved: **nehewa**, privative, **yaniwa**, preventive, and **kuhinae**, primarily adessive. Despite its meaning, which should make it suitable for such use, the postposition **yabara**, 'relative to X, as regards X' (glossed FOCUSsingON), does not occur in the data as subordinator.

Notwithstanding the word status of postpositions, the nominative suffix migrates from the subordinate verb to the postposition (with one exception in the data that reminds a similar behaviour by the converb-form of auxiliaries, chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9). Whether this discloses some as yet unsettled diachronic stage in articulating postpositions as part of the subordination apparatus — particularly their integration into the word that accomodates the verb — remains to be seen. Be that as it may, the conjectured trend resonates with the linear pattern displayed by subordination through case marking, to be seen hereafter. In the following I will format the examples as per the assumed innovative move.

One postposition, **nehewa**, and one postposition-derived "pre-position", **pa-kuhinae**, occur as heads of finite subordinate clauses. The privative **nehewa** *directly* attaches to a nonnominalised verb, (22a), with irrealis mood in case of a verb proper, (b). Such grammatically-exceptional behaviour — finite subordinate clause — was chiefly observed in spontaneous productions by a specific class of speakers: young people engaged in educational- / political-rights action, hence used to verbal interaction in Spanish with government authorities (seventies-eighties period), e.g. (b)-(c).

- (22) (a) [itsakuhiruhawayo₁ apo-Ø₂-to-itsi-nehewa-nü₃]...
 SomeBadLittleThing NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-do-PRIVATIVE-1NOM
 'Although I₃ didn't do anything bad₁ to him₂ [lit. ...without I having done...]...'

...tahuyapihinü₂ ne₃-bihiatane-Ø₂
 MyYoungerBrother 1ACCUSATIVE-scold-3NOMINATIVE
 '...my younger brother₂ scolded me₃.'

- (b) waxaitsi₁ saya daxita₂ Ø₂-waeta-ba-po-na-tsi₁...
 4 CASUALLY all 3ACC-catch-REALIS-GO-REALIS-4NOM
 'We₁ blithely keep taking up all things₂...'

...[nahumatabüxai-nae-nehewa-Ø₁]
 think-IRREALIS-PRIVATIVE-3NOMINATIVE
 '...without mindfulness.'

(People embracing Whites' ways. No explanation is at hand for the lack, in the *finite* dependent clause, of the coreferential fourth-person nominative -tsi₁.)

- (c) itsamonae₁ nakueneba-Ø₁ [naka₂-yaniho-bi-nehewa-Ø₁]
 SomePeople work-3NOM 4INTRINLink-ask-IRREALIS-PRIVATIVE-3NOM
 'Some people₁ work without consulting us₂.'

(Linguists, anthropologists, missionaries...)

Nehewa also features the more regular pattern involving a truncated nominalisation.

- (23) **duhainü-nü₁** **ø₁-tsekona-ø₂...**
 OneFish-AUGMENTER RAL 3ACCUSATIVE-SpearITERATIVELY-3NOMINATIVE
 'He₂ kept spearing fishes₁...'

...[**pe₂-ø₃-yapüt-ae-nehewa-ø₂**]
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-know-IRREALIS-PRIVATIVE-3NOMINATIVE
 '...due to his₂ lack of awareness (on [prescriptions about parsimony in natural-resource acquisition]₃) [lit. ...without knowing...].'

(24) illustrates the preventive **yaniwa**, introducing active, (a), and passive, (b), dependent clauses.

- (24) (a) **ø₁-itaxuhuta-tsi₀-behe₁...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-PullEyesOut-4NOMINATIVE-DUAL
 'They₁ both had their₁ eyes pulled out...'

...[**pe₁-nawia-tsi-yaniwa-ø₁-behe₁** **boya** **berena**]
 3INTRINLINK-return-IRR-PREVENTIVE-3NOM-DUAL ToHouse ALLLEVELVENIT
 '...to prevent them₁ from returning home.'

- (b) **owebe₁ apo-ø₁-x-ae-ø₂...**
 deer NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-eat-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'They₂ do not eat deer₁...'

...[**pe₀-ø₃-kakua-tsi-yaniwa-tsi₀**]
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-horn-IRREALIS-PREVENTIVE-4NOMINATIVE
 '...for fear that he/she₃ (relative) would be horned (in his/her₃ grave).'

(Prophylactic measure for the mourning period.)

The spatial / temporal (posteriority) adessive **kuhinae** takes two distinct forms in introducing a temporal dependent clause. As the previous two postpositions, it occurs clause-final and launches a truncated nominalisation, conveying the posteriority of the main-clause manner-of-existing relative to the dependent one, (25a). However, when prefixed by the demonstrative **pa-**, it occurs at the outset of a finite clause as a subordinator, (b) (also, introducing a time-subsequential independent clause, *cf.* chapter 9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 5.2). No semantic difference between both distributions could be detected so far.

- (25) (a) **atahu-nü₁...**
 BeHot-1NOMINATIVE
 'I₁ feel hot...'

...[**iso₂ ta₁-ø₂-woko-bi-kuhinae**]
 firewood 1INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACC-ChopWood-IRREALIS-POSTERIORITY
 '...after chopping₁ firewood₂.'

- (b) **wahahume₁=atha naka₂-to-werewere-kae-ena-ø₁...**
 OurLanguage=ADDITIVE 4ACC-INVOLVING-GoExtinct-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOM
 'Even our language₁ will go extinct to us₂...'

...[pa- kuhinae	peruhwi ₃	pepopeyapütaewi ₃	tü-pae-ena-Ø ₃]
DEM-POSTERIORITY	OldPeople	RealKnowers	die-IRR-FUTURE-3NOM
'...after the old ones ₃ , the real knowers ₃ , die.'			

Probably due to its meaning, the comitative **yahawa** seems the less integrated of the subordinating devices. It merely heads a postposition phrase whose argument is a *fullfledged* oriented nominalisation, (26) (chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.2), that is, a noun.

- (26) (a) [[**pe-nawere-tsi-nü**₁]₁ **yajawa** **pona-Ø**₂
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-finish-IRREALIS-MASCULINE COMITATIVE go-3NOM
 'He₂ went away with the elderly.'

- (b) [[pe₁-o₂-taha-bi-nü₂]₂ yahawa]...
 3ACCUSATIVE-grill-IRREALIS-MASCULINE COMITATIVE
 'In company of a grilled one₂ (fish), ...'

...Ø₃-puenete-ta-tsi₀
 3ACCUSATIVE-LeaveBehind-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 '...she₃ was left behind, they₀ say.'

(Nubile girl exposed to evil spirits at night by staying alone in the village during a cooperative fishing party.)

Three case-markers occur as adverbial subordinators: **-nexa**, finality, **-xae**, cause, and **-tha**, sociative. Their hosts are: with **-nexa**, a truncated nominalisation, (27a); with **-xae** and **-tha**, either a full nominalisation or a truncated one, see **-xae** in (b)-(c), and **-tha** in (d)-(e).

- (27) (a) **nahetaruka-hü₁** **[ta₁-ka₂-pi-tsi-nexa-Ø₀**
 come-1NOM 1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACC-take-IRREALIS-FINALITY-3NOM
 'I₁ came to take you₂ away.'

- (b) [ta₁-ka₂-to-nanekoni-tsi-nü]₁-xae ne₁-itsi-mü₂
 3INTRINLink-2ACC-misbehave-IRR-MASCULINE-CAUSE 3ACC-do-2NOM
 'You₂ do me (that) because I₁ gave you₂ trouble [lit. ...because of me₁ being
 the one who gave you₂ trouble].'

(King Vulture to God Kuwai after the latter's retaliation.)

- (c) **wakuewa₁** **ø₁-beyaxuaba-tsi₂...**
 OurGrandMother 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-4NOMINATIVE
 'Let's₂ kill our grand-mother₁...'

...[pe₁-na-tsi-ponapo-nae-xae-Ø₁ merawi]
 3INTRINSIKLINKEE-MIDDLE-AIMINGAT-live-IRREALIS-CAUSE-3NOM night
 '...on account of her₁ drifting around (in search of food) at night.'

(She-tapir devastating the people's gardens.)

- (d) **Adai₁ bitso piakuhirubehenü-Ø₁ hiwi₂ Ø₂-bihia-na-Ø₁...**
 A. much UnprincipledMan-3NOM people 3ACC-damage-REAL-3NOM
 'Adai₁ was a very troublesome man₁, he₁ metamorphosed the people₂...'

...[**pe₂-yawahi-bi-hawa**]-**tha**
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-dance-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE-SOCIATIVE
 '...while they₂ danced.'

- (e) **hiopa-hü** **bitso** **apo-ta-ne-x-ae-mü**-**tha**
 BeSkinny-1NOM much NEG-1INTRINLINK-1ACC-eat-IRR-2NOM-SOCIATIVE
 'I am too skinny for you to eat me.'

(Trickster Rabbit to Jaguar.)

-**Nexa** in finality clauses entails a partial semantic overlapping with -**hitsia** in purpose clauses (see above 2.2.1.2). In (27b) — and (41) below —, it clearly denotes purpose. In (28) however, and due to disjoint-reference, it cannot do so, just signal that the heroes' deeds will result in they being burnt by the *witch*.

(God Kuwai rescuing his kidnapped wife.)

- (28) [**pe₁-pa-ka₂-se-bi**-**nexa**]-**ø₁-behe₂**]...
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-roast-IRREALIS-FINALITY-3NOM-DUAL
 'As planned by her₁ in order to roast₁ you₂ both...'

...**pa-na₂-tsi-ho-tsi-ena-me₂-behe**
 PLURAL-MIDDLE-AIMINGAT-carry-IRREALIS-FUTURE-2NOMINATIVE-DUAL
 '...you₂ will be carrying it₃ (firewood) for you both₂.'

(Warning local Hansel and Gretel against the witch.)

The following example displays a causal dependent clause in passive voice.

- (29) **ø₁-yamaxüitoro-ba-ø₂** **huya** **baharaponü₁...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-deceive-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE InHerTurn ThatFellow

...**pe₁-na-marue-ka-ponapo-nae-hawa₃...**
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-MIDDLE-HOLDING-OVERDURATIVE-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE

...**apo-pe₀-ø₂-rahu-tsi**-**xae-tsi**₀
 NEGATION-3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-give-IRREALIS-CAUSE-4NOMINATIVE
 'In her₂ turn she₂ deceived that fellow₁ because he₁ did not share his provisions₃ with her₂ [lit. ...for not having been given them₃].'

Let us now turn to the locus of the nominative suffix. As (30) shows, the latter follows the case marker, in accordance with the pattern featured by subordinated nominal predicates, (32) and (39) below. (And so are positionned the third person zeroes in examples above.) This, however, does not seem to apply to the sociative case -**tha**, (27e) above.

- (30) **ne₁-wajünaeewetanuka-me₂** **mahe...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-wait-2NOMINATIVE MILDASSERTION
 'I₁ guess you₂'ve been waiting for me₁...'

...[**xanü**₁ **ta₁-ne₁-tseko-nae-nexa-mü**₂]
 1 1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-spear-IRREALIS-FINALITY-2NOMINATIVE
 '...in order to spear₂ me₁.'

Beyond that, the placement of the fourth-person nominative index **-tsi** in adjunct-like marked dependent clauses deserves further examination when used nonreferentially as passive marker. On case-marked truncated nominalisations it canonically follows the case, (29) last line and (31a). And once again, we detect some oscillation regarding postpositional truncated nominalisations. Thus, it typically follows the postposition in (24b) above, reproduced here as (b) for ease of inspection, but in (c) it occurs bound to the nominalised verb, plausibly one more clue to the underway grammaticalisation of the fourth person thanks to its capacity for being totally dereferentialised.

(31) (a) [**Kahuyali**₁ **pe₀-Ø₁-topa-uku-tsi-xae-tsi**₀]...
 K. 3INTRINLINK-3ACCUSATIVE-thigh-chop-IRREALIS-CAUSE-4NOM
 'Because Kahuyali₁ had had his thigh chopped down,...'

...**wüpethaüepato-Ø**₁
 OneLeggedPerson-3NOMINATIVE
 '...he₁ (now) was a one legged person.'

(b) **owebi**₁ **apo-Ø₁-x-ae-Ø₂**...
 deer NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-eat-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'They₂ do not eat deer₁...'

...[**pe₀-Ø₃-kakua-tsi-yaniwa-tsi**₀]
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-horn-IRREALIS-PREVENTIVE-4NOMINATIVE
 '...for fear that he/she₃ (relative) would be horned (in his/her grave).'

(c) **pehewaxi**₁ **ba-Ø₁-to-matawahi-ba-tsi**₀...
 children HABITUAL-3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-pray-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 'The children₁ are mandatorily subjected to immunising invocations...'

...[**pe₀-Ø₁-ainawi-bi-tsi-yaniwa**]
 INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-GetVampirised-IRREALIS-4NOM-PREVENTIVE
 '...lest they fall victims₁ of the evil spirits.'

Dependent clauses built upon a nominal predicate, as in (32) and (39) below, are routine.

(32) **tahawa**₁ **ne₂-itoya-Ø₁** [**xuipaxaenü-xae-nü**₂]
 MyWife 1ACCUSATIVE-hate-3NOMINATIVE shaman-CAUSE-1NOMINATIVE
 'My wife₁ hated me₂ because I₂ was a shaman.'

2.2.1.5 OTHER ADVERBIAL

The constructions we now inspect are rather idiosyncratic. They provide clause-like time-adverbials while patterning differently from postposition / case subordinations.

A preposed particle **wekae** introduces a dependent clause which conveys a manner-of-existing propitious to that described in the main clause. Its initial syllable is remindful of the ablative prefix **we-**, something semantically not a hundred per cent surprising. Such modal

dependent clauses are unfrequent in texts, although easily elicited. In this respect, one speaker favoured main clauses with some prospective / jussive verb form (future, imminent, imperative, optative). Differently from **itsa** it does not occur clause-initially but just in pre-predicate position. It calls upon different subjects.

- (33) [**axu**₁ **wekae** **ruhaina-Ø**₁]...
 Father-In-Law PROPITIOUSLY GoFishOverThere-3NOMINATIVE
 'Since father-in-law₁ is fishing over there, ...'

...**axu**₁-**tha** **ne**₂-**to-wahütatabareme**₃**ria=he** **bo!**
 Father-In-Law-SOC 1ACC-INVOLV-You₃GoAskHimOverThere=MIRATIVE EXCL
 '...why don't you₃ rush to him₁ and ask him₁ (for my₂ share)?!'

The dependent clause is finite and its verb mood-ending remains active, bearing as usual on the factuality of the manner-of-existing. Compare

- (34) (a) [**amo**₁ **wekae** **mahi-ta**-Ø₁] **ponae-ena-me**₂!
 grand-father PROPITIOUSLY sleep-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE go-FUT-2NOM
 'Take₂ advantage that grand-father₁ is sleeping and go₂ away!'
- (b) [**amo**₁ **wekae** **mahi-tsi**-Ø₁] **ponae-ena-me**₂!
 grand-father PROPITIOUSLY sleep-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE go-FUT-2NOM
 'In case grand-father₁ falls asleep, take₂ advantage of it and go₂ away!'

(Ogre's wife advising two abducted sisters.)

-Wahünae and **-pua** are two divalent nouns, both used in temporal subordination to denote that the time relation between two hierarchised clauses is such that the main-clause manner-of-existing immediately follows that of the dependent clause. Three formal differences obtain between **wahünae** and **pua**: 1. the possibility of using **wahünae** adverbially; 2. the propensity of **pua** to prefix the subordinate verb; 3. the form adopted by the subordinated verb: finite with **wahünae**, truncated nominalisation with **pua**. No available data points to a possible temporal contrast between them.

Wahünae is a spatial ^{II}noun meaning 'the location in front of X', with X standing as the intrinsic-linker. Many of its occurrences show a semantic drift from space to time. In its more basic pattern it occurs in adverbial distribution, either as head of a postposition-like phrase, (35a), or as an adverb, (35b). As a subordinator it introduces a finite clause, (36). (For ^{II}nouns undergoing grammaticalisation as adpositions, Heine et al. 1991 and DeLancey 2011.)

- (35) (a) [[**pe**₁-**amono**]₂ **pe**₂-**wahünae**] **Ø**₁-**to-tüpa-nuka-tsi**₀
 3INTRINLINK-spouse 3INTRINLINK-InFrontOf 3ACC-INVOLV-die-STAND-4NOM
 'Her₁ husband₂ died on her₁ while she was in front of him₂ [more lit. (Someone₀) died on her₁ while she₁ was standing in front of her₁ husband₂; even more lit. She₁ was died-on in front of her₁ husband₂] . '
- (b) **Matsuludani**₁ **pe**₂-**wahünae** **nahaetabihiriba-Ø**₁...
 M. 3INTRINLINK-MOMENTBEFORE RunAway-3NOM
 'The instant before (that₂), Matsuludani₁ had run away...'

7: Clause Combining

...**pihawa**₃ **pe**₀-**Ø**₁-**ukunua-pae** **yaniwa-tsi**₀
 HisWife 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACC-CutOff-IRREALIS PREVENTIVE-4NOM
 '...to avoid being₁ cut off by his wife₃.'

- (36) **Ø**₁-**siwa-nahaetabika-Ø**₂ **metha...**
 3ACCUSATIVE-SEARCHING-GoDown-3NOMINATIVE ASSUMPTIVE
 'He₂ probably went down trailing him₁...'

...[**pe**₃-**wahünae** **ahibi-Ø**₁ **tsa-rukae**]
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-MOMENTBEFORE NotExist-3NOMINATIVE CONVERB-HANG
 '...at a time he₁ was no longer there.'

Pua is another ^{II}noun for 'the moment before X', seemingly void of any spatial semantics. In its basic use it is deictically-valued, denoting the existence of the intrinsic-linker participant at a time prior to present, (37). In the truncated nominalisation pattern it fills, as in (38a) (resumed from chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 5), the slot between the intrinsic linker and the accusative prefixes, suggesting some incipient cline toward grammaticalisation since this is no locus for an incorporated noun: as we know (chapter 6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.3). In (b) and (c) **pua-** lands between the ^Iverb stem and the intrinsic linker prefix. No evidence is available allowing to restore a referential nominative suffix on the truncated nominalisation, I will hence live unindexed the zero suffix.

- (37) **ta**₁-**pua** **powa**
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-MOMENTBEFORE 3FEMENINE
 'When I₁ was a young woman...'

...**matapania** **hilamaüto**₂ **Ø**₂-**tane-hü**₁
 FirstTime SowingThread 3ACCUSATIVE-see-1NOMINATIVE
 '...I₁ saw the sewing thread₂ for the first time.'

- (38) (a) [**pe**₁-**pua**-**ne**₂-**kü-tsi-Ø** **xaniawaetsia...**
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-MOMENTBEFORE-1ACC-tie-IRREALIS-3NOM well
 'Having tied₁ me₂ up...'

...**baha**] **ne**₂-**humaitsi-Ø**₁ [...]
 BOUNDARYCROSSING 1ACCUSATIVE-say-3NOMINATIVE
 '...he₁ said to me₂: [...]'

- (b) [**ta**₁-**pua**-**po-nae-Ø**] **nahaetaruka-me**₂
 1INTRINSICLINKEE-MOMENTBEFORE-go-IRREALIS-3NOM walk-2NOMINATIVE
 'You₂ walked in when I₁ was already gone.'

- (c) **hawaüto**₁ **Ø**₂-**ya-ünübotuaukunexuaba-tsi**₀...
 bat 3ACCUSATIVE-CONTAIN-CutTheVineSUDDENLY-4NOMINATIVE
 'They₂ suddenly had their vine cut off by a bat₁...'

...[**pe**₂-**pua**-**pane-pae-tsia-Ø** **daxita**₂]
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-MOMENTBEFORE-escape-IRREALIS-GoUP all
 '... just after they₂ all had escaped upward.'

(Humans climbing up to settle in the sky.)

7: Clause Combining

No principled limit is assumed as to the number and type of adverbial clauses allowed in a single complex sentence, but spontaneous productions do not go beyond two. Furthermore, they must be contiguous. The subordinating device can be different, (39), or identical as the coupled concessives in (14b) above. (The causal clause in the first line of the following example is based on a ^{II}noun predicate.)

- (39) [**xanü**₁ **ne**₂-**kueyanü**-**xae**-**nü**₁]₁...
 1 2INTRINSICLINKEE-rival-1NOMINATIVE
 'Because I₁ am your₂ rival...'
 ...[**ta**₁-**ka**₂-**to**-**pi**-**tsi**-**Ø**₀ **yaniwa** **nihawa**₃]₁...
 1INTRINLINK-2ACC-INVOLVING-take-IRREALIS-3NOM PREVENTIVE YourWife
 '...to prevent me₁ from taking away your wife₃ (again!), ...'
 ...**ne**₁-**itsi**-**mü**₂ **saya**
 1ACCUSATIVE-do-2NOMINATIVE CASUALLY
 '...you₂ treat me₁ so blithely.'

(God Kuwai's revenge on King Buzzard.)

More interestingly, the temporal-conditional **itsa** can be factorised so as to simultaneously introduce two dependent clauses mutually coordinated in an asyndetic fashion, (40). Also, a temporal-conditional clause type can, as superordinate, even host an embedded dependent clause, (41).

- (40) [**baharapamonae**₁ [**itsa** **naka**₂-**tuxune**-**Ø**₁]₁]₁...
 TheseBeings TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL 4ACCUSATIVE-smell-3NOMINATIVE
 'When these creatures₁ smell us₂...'
 ...[**naka**₂-**humatabü**-**xane**-**Ø**₁]₁]₁...
 4ACCUSATIVE-thought-eat-3NOMINATIVE
 '...and plan₁ to eat us₂...'
 ...**baharapamonae**₁ **pina** **phiaba**-**Ø**₁
 TheseBeings REPORTATIVE squeak-3NOMINATIVE
 '...they₁ squeak, ...'
 ...**naka**₂-**pübarahina**-**Ø**₁]₁...
 4ACCUSATIVE-chase-3NOMINATIVE
 '...then chase₁ us₂, ...'
 ...**naka**₂-**beyaxuaba**-**Ø**₁ **naka**₂-**xane**-**Ø**₁
 4ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE 4ACCUSATIVE-eat-3NOMINATIVE
 '...then kill₁ us₂, then eat₁ us₂, they₀ say.'

(Bogeymen.)

- (41) [**itsa** **ka**₁-**siwa**-**pitsa**-**pae**-**ena**-**Ø**₂ **pe**₂-**ka**₁-**kiho**-**ni**-**nexa**]₁...
 TEMP/COND 2ACC-SEARCHING-GoOut-IRR-FUT-3NOM 3INTRINLINK-2ACC-swallow-FIN
 '[When it₂ emerges after you₁ [to swallow₂ you₁ up]], ...'

...**bahara-saya** **ponü₃** **ø₂-si-ni-ena-ø₃...**
 DISTAL-CASUALLY 3MASCULINE 3ACCUSATIVE-bite-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE
 '...that one₃ will simply bite it₂...'

...**ø₂-beyaxua-bi-ena-ø₃** **ø₁-hai-ø₄** **pina**
 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE 3ACC-say-3NOM REPORTATIVE
 '...and kill it₂, he₄ told her₁, they₀ say.'

(Watchdog vs. giant anaconda.)

2.2.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

To begin with, let me state the sense in which I use *relative clause*: a clause-like constituent that is part of a larger constituent itself part of a clause / sentence. Such larger constituent is either a noun phrase if it has a noun as head, or an adjunct phrase if it has an adverb as head. In both cases the relative clause *modifies* its head. Thus seen, a relative clause is no complement / adverbial clause as those discussed in 2 above since their encompassing domains are different. Yet, whether a relative-clause section should be part of a chapter on "clause combining" will be left aside as a tangential matter.

I fully endorse DeLancey (1986)'s and Shibatani (2018)'s claim that a nominalisation used as modifier within a noun phrase is by no means a relative clause. I will further attempt at showing that, differently from the latter author's opinion in earlier work (2009), *the form counts*. Thanks to the noticeable productivity of its verb-nominalising tools, Sikuani imparts the opportunity to contrast a verb-based adnominal modifier that displays nouny formal properties — a nominalisation — and an adnominal modifier that displays clause-like formal properties — a relative clause. A subsidiary offshoot of the commencing discussion should be: grammars that analyse adnominal nominalisations as relative clauses ("headless" and the like) describe nothing but the grammar of the free translation provided for the examples.

Beyond that, the immediate constituent above a noun-headed relative clause is a noun phrase, and as such it can occur as argument of the main clause. Little should, then, distinguish it from a finite complement clause. It will be showed below that some hints favour the format of a noun phrase encompassing an internal clause-like modifier against the complement clause option.

Compare both examples in (42). Between the internal brackets in (a) we have a lexical noun 'turtle *Sp.*'. In the same position in (b), renumbered from chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.4, we have a verb 'sow' whose only active verbal morphology is the accusative series since the mood ending freezes as irrealis. On the nominal side, its gender suffix molds a type of *entity* and the intrinsic-linker prefix points to a referent as *participant* in the manner-of-existing (in nonoriented nominalisations like the one in the example, the *nonanimate* suffix may turn the manner-of-existing an abstract reified entity, hence 'sowing' and **pe₀**). No clause-like constituent can occur in this position. Parallely, a participle (chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 3) is not a clause but a nominalisation in which a lexical noun stands in

place of the gender suffix, (44) resumed from 5: 3. This makes it distributionally identical to an adjective.

In the full nominalisations displayed in (43), resumed from (11b), both [...]I constituents have the same internal form of the dependent constituent in (42b), occur likewise in noun-phrase positions, *denote* human entities, and *refer* to known participants that visit in quest of wives, reminding what was said above of "complements" as not genuine clauses but mere nominalisations.

All this must be appraised against (45), featuring relative clauses proper.

- (42) (a) [[**[hara]** **matakabi**]NP
TurtleSp. day/time
'a period situated sometime in January'
- (b) [[**pe_{1/0}-ø₂-u-bi-hawa**] **matakabi**]NP
3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-sow-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE day/time
'The day they₁ sowed it₂. / sowing₀ time'
- (43) **patohopa-ø₁** [**pe₁-ø₂-t-ae-wi**]₁...
arrive-3NOMINATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-look-IRREALIS-COLLECTIVE
- ...[[**pihawa** **hiwi**]₃ **pe₁-ø₃-yapühai-tsi-wi**]₁
wife people 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-search-IRREALIS-COLLECTIVE
'The visitors₁, the ones₁ in search of wives₃, arrived.'
- (44) **pe₁-tü-pae-baxuto₁**
3INTRINSICLINKEE-want-IRREALIS-leaf
'dead leaf'
- (45) (a) [**ponü₁** [**ka₂-tsipae-ba-ø₁**]]₃ **tü-pa-ø₃**
3MASC 2ACCUSATIVE-tell-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE die-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
'[The man₁ who₁ told you₂ (that₄)]₃ died₃.'
- (b) [**pa-petiriwa₁** [**ø₁-hitsi-pa-me₂**]]₃ **ø₃-pi-ta-me₂**
DEMONSTRATIVE-woman 3ACC-want-REALIS-2NOM 2ACC-take-REALIS-2NOM
'You₂ took [the woman₁ that you₂ wanted]₃.'
- (c) [**pa-hiwiyo₁** [**pitsapata-bi-ena-ø₁**]]₂...
DEMONSTRATIVE-child GoOutSUDDENLY-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE
'[The child₁ who will suddenly show up]₂...'
- ...Tsawaliwali-nü₃ ø₂-exa-nae-ena-hü₄
Ts.-MASCULINE 3ACCUSATIVE-make-IRREALIS-FUTURE-1NOMINATIVE
'...I₄ will turn into (a member of the) Tsawaliwali (family).'

In (45a) the constituent [...]₃, a noun phrase co-indexed with the nominative prefix of the finite main verb 'die' — *realis* —, contains a head noun **ponü**, 'that man', co-indexed with the nominative suffix of the dependent verb 'tell' — also *realis*. The constituent in [...]₃ has the form of an independent clause 'that man₁ told you₂ (that₄)', with a ^{II}verb flanked by its two argument indexes. A second clue to the finiteness of relative clauses is the possibility to have an overtly tensed verb, (c). Parallely, in (45b) the noun-phrase constituent [...]₃, co-indexed

with the accusative prefix of the finite main verb 'take', contains a head noun **petiriwa**, 'woman', co-indexed with the accusative prefix of the dependent verb 'want'. [...] is, formally, an independent clause 'you wanted that woman', with a ^{II}verb flanked by its two argument indexes, the suffixed one, **-me**, being characteristic of the finite verb-proper nominative series. A third clue to the finiteness of relative clauses is the possibility to have an overtly tensed verb, (c).

Proper nouns can be relativised provided they belong to the class of generics, e.g. ethnic names. The demonstrative is obviated, which makes the whole noun phrase even more commensurate with an independent clause.

- (46) [**Sikuaninüxi**₁ **pihakuaxae** **ø₂-haya-ba-ø₁**]₃...
 LittleSikuaniMen BecauseOfTheirFreeWill 3ACCUSATIVE-touch-REAL-3NOM
 ...**ø₃-huna-ta-ø₄**
 3ACCUSATIVE-call- REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'They₄ call the Sikuani men₁ that touch them₂ (human bones) at will [lit. the Sikuani men₁ touch them₂ at will they₄ call them₃].

(Second inhumation.)

Besides the contribution of prosodic patterns to signalling the difference between asyndetic /vs./ hierarchised sequences of two clauses, reference-related factors pick 'the woman that you wanted' in as the unmarked option against 'you wanted that woman'. I resume example (45b).

- (47) [**pa-petiriwa**₁ [**ø₁-hitsi-pa-me**]₂]₃ **ø₃-pi-ta-me**₂
 DEMONSTRATIVE-woman 3ACC-want-REALIS-2NOM 2ACC-take-REALIS-2NOM
 'You₂ took [the woman₁ that you₂ wanted]₃.'

1. In chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.1 we saw that the demonstrative **pa-** encompasses the three following functions: anaphoric, cataphoric and ostensive. Cataphora is relevant here: in relativisation the demonstrative announces the ensuing implementation, by way of a *verbal* clause, of a specific referent for the entity 'woman'. (See in Deutscher 2009 the role of the demonstrative in Old Accadian relative-clauses; on the cataphoric capacity of demonstratives, Wright & Givón 1987; Gernsbacher & Shroyer 1989.) As a corollary, the head noun in [...] must be introduced by the demonstrative **pa-** — more broadly, as we will see, by a deixis-valued element such as free third-person pronouns, a stipulation absolutely dispensable to independent-clause arguments.

2. The constituent [...] corefers, *as a whole*, with an argument index in the main verb, something that a clause cannot do (remind that "complement clauses" are formally nominalisations).

Deverbals such as full nominalisations, (42b), and participles, (44), on the one hand, and relative clauses, (45), on the other hand, all act as modifiers of a head noun within a noun phrase. Functionally, however, deverbals and relative clauses differ in that the contrast nonfinite / finite signals the semantic contrast between, respectively, a manner-of-existing which depicts a set of properties moulding a type of entity, say a 'visitor', and a discursively situated manner-of-existing that points toward a referent, the 'one who did such and such thing'. Working on sets of examples like the following showed, however, that other factors may make the mentioned contrast less clear-cut, for instance the habitual prefix downgrades the referentiality of the whole noun phrase, compare (48b)-(c). And, crucially, it showed that

speakers are not on a par as to their judgement concerning the very existence of the mentioned semantic contrast, compare (a)-(c).

- (48) (a) [**pe**₁-**ø**₂-**upaxua-bi-metsaha**₂]₃...
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-ShootOneSingleArrow-IRREALIS-tapir
 ...**hiwi**₄ **ba-ø**₃-**x-ane-ø**₄
 people HABITUAL-3ACCUSATIVE-eat-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 'The people₄ always eat [a tapir killed with one single arrow]₃.'
- (b) [**pa-metsaha**₁ **ø**₁-**upaxua-ba-tsi**₂]₃...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-tapir 3ACCUSATIVE-ShootOneSingleArrow-REALIS-4NOM
 ...**tahamona**₄ **ø**₃-**x-ane-ø**₄
 MyFamily 3ACCUSATIVE-eat-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 'My family₄ ate [the tapir we₂ killed (with one single arrow)]₃.'
- (c) [**pa-metsaha**₁ **ba-ø**₁-**upaxua-ba-tsi**₀]₃...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-tapir HABITUAL-3ACC-ShootOneSingleArrow-REALIS-4NOM
 ...**hiwi**₄ **ba-ø**₃-**x-ane-ø**₄
 people HABITUAL-3ACCUSATIVE-eat-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'The people₄ always eat [a tapir killed with one single arrow]₃.'

(Requirement on consuming tapir meat.)

Relative clauses are head-external and post-nominal. Head-internal relative clauses can occur, but hardly at all, (49). The linear distribution of the noun phrase that hosts a relative clause conforms that of plain noun-phrases, with a tendency to occur finally when syntagmatically heavy.

- (49) [**kopiaya** **pa-hiwiyo**₁ **baharaxua**₂ **ø**₂-**t-ane-ø**₁]₃...
 FirstTime DEMONSTRATIVE-LittleHuman that 3ACC-see-REALIS-3NOM
 ...**xaniawaetsia** **liwaisi**₄ **ø**₄-**yapüt-ane-ø**₃
 well story 3ACCUSATIVE-know-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 '[The one₁ who saw that₂ for the first time]₃ was well aware of the story₄.'

I will now address the accessibility issue, casting it — as is common practice — in grammatical-relation terms. The latter will be taken in the sense put forward all along the foregoing discussions — nominative and passive-accusative as subject, active accusative as direct object, third argument as indirect object. As we will see, no restriction obtains as to the constituents accessing relativisation. (Presumably ^{III}verb-subjects should behave like ^{II}verb-subjects, but the datum is currently unavailable; (50a) renumbered from (45c).)

1. Subjects:

monovalent

- (50) (a) [**pa-hiwiyo**₁ **pitsapata-bi-ena-ø**₁]₂...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-child GoOutSUDDENLY-IRREALIS-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE
 '[The child₁ who will suddenly come up]₂...'

7: Clause Combining

...**Tsawaliwali-nü₃** **Ø₂-exa-nae-ena-hü₄**
 Ts.-MASCULINE 3ACCUSATIVE-make-IRREALIS-FUTURE-1NOMINATIVE
 '...I₄ will turn into a (member of the) Tsawaliwali₃ (family).'

- (b) **ria-mü₁** **tsane** [**pa-matathaübü₂**] [**e-ka-ria-Ø₂**]]₃
 GoLevel-2NOM FUTURE DEM-DeepWaters sit-REALIS-GoLEVEL-3NOM
 'You₁ will go to [the deep waters₂ that lie over there]₃.'

divalent active

- (c) [**pa-monaē₁**] [**nonohi₂**] [**apo-Ø₂-matawahi-bi-Ø₁**]]₃...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-group ChiliPepper NEG-3ACCUSATIVE-invoke-IRR-3NOM
 '[Those₁ who don't invoke the chili pepper₂]₃...'

...**a-humatabü-tane-Ø₁**
 a-chest-FeelPain-3NOMINATIVE
 '...feel pain in the chest.'

passive

- (51) (a) [**pa-monaē₁**] [**baha**] [**Ø₁-b-ia-tsi₀**]]₂...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-group BOUNDARYCROSSING 3ACCUSATIVE-beat-REALIS-4NOM
 '[The people₁ that had been beaten]₂...'
 ...**na-maxü-matawahi-ba-Ø₂** **amoneya-bi-hitsia-Ø₂**
 MIDDLE-CONFLICTFULLY-pray-REALIS- 3NOMINATIVE retaliate-IRR-PURPOSE-3NOM
 '...prayed₂ themselves in order to retaliate.'

impersonal passive

- (b) [**pa-hiwi₁**] [**Ø₁-ainawi-ba-tsi₀**]]₂...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-people 3ACCUSATIVE-GetVampirised-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 ...**ba-buxubuxuhai-Ø₂**
 HABITUAL-cough-3NOMINATIVE
 'As a rule, [the people₁ who are victims of evil spirits]₂ cough.'

2. Objects, direct in (45a) above and indirect:

- (52) [**bahara-pa-naē₁**] [**ne₂-rahu-ta-me₃**]]₄...
 DISTAL-DEMONSTRATIVE-bow 1ACCUSATIVE-give-REALIS-2NOMINATIVE
 ...**Ø₅-ka-tseko-na-hü₂**
 3ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-ShootSeveralArrows-REALIS-1NOMINATIVE
 'I₂ shot it₅ (several arrows) [with the bow₁ you₃ gave me₂]₄.'

3. Adjuncts, (a) spatial, (b) temporal:

- (53) (a) [**pa-nakua₁**] [**hinawono-pa-tsi₂**]]₃...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-territory dwellDIFFUSE-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
 ...**pa-mene₄** **bubureka-Ø₄**

7: Clause Combining

DEMONSTRATIVE-river FloodToTheEast-3NOMINATIVE

'In [the territory]₁ where we₂ used to live]₃ that river₄ flooded to the East.'

- (b) [pa-emarapae]₁ [Yakutsi-hawa bereka...
DEM-RainySeason Y.-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE ALLATIVEDOWNANDATIVE

...po-na-hü₂]]₃ amo₄ tü-pa-ø₄
go-REALIS-1NOMINATIVE MyGrand-father die-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
'My grand-father₄ died during [the rainy season]₁ when I travelled to the region of Yakutsi]₃.'

Three observations are here in order. First, inside the noun phrase containing a relativised adjunct no oblique marking — case / postposition — occurs on the head noun, (53). However, one speaker's intuition runs counter to this: the overt marking in (54a) would be mandatory. Second, and this holds for examples (50a) and (52) above, no marking occurs on the *whole* noun phrase that would link it to the main clause as adjunct. And third, a relativised adjunct can yield a noun phrase that stands as argument of the main clause, (54b).

- (54) (a) [pa-emarapae]-tha [Yakutsi-hawa bereka...
DEM-RainySeason Y.-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE ALLATIVEDOWNANDATIVE

...po-na-hü₂]]₃ amo₄ tü-pa-ø₄
go-REALIS-1NOMINATIVE MyGrand-father die-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
'My grand-father₄ died during [the rainy season]₁ when I travelled to the region of Yakutsi]₃.'

- (b) [pa-tomara]₁ [taxa₂ tü-pa-ø₂]]₃...
DEMONSTRATIVE-village MyFather die-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
'[The village]₁ where my father₂ died]₃...'

...ahibi-ø₃ baha
NotExist-3NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING
'...doesn't exist₃ anymore.'

Manner relative-clauses are a subtype of adjunct relativisation. They take the ^{II}nouns **kuene** or **kuhiru**, 'things, acts, facts, ways, customs' as their head noun — **kuene** more frequently than **kuhiru** —, now marked by a locative case, **-tha/-ya**, (55a) and (b) (see chapter 8: SPEECH-ACT CLAUSE TYPES 1 for the mutual interchangeability of these cases here). Again, the whole noun phrase remains unmarked *vis-à-vis* its syntactic link to the main clause. And parallelly to the previous example, the *whole* noun phrase containing the relativised adjunct can occur, in spite of its adverb-like semantics, as argument of the main clause, (c).

- (55) (a) [pa-kuene-tha [pa-niha₁-nakua₂...
DEMONSTRATIVE-ways-SOCIATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE-2POSSESSIVE-territory

...pa-ø₃-xaeyena-me₁]] apo-ø₄-itsi-ø₅ tsane
PLURAL-3ACCUSATIVE-EatSitting-2NOM NEG-3ACCUSATIVE-do-3NOM FUTURE
'It₅ won't be [like (when) you₁ eat in your own country]₁.'

- (b) [pa-kuene-ya [ba-Ø₁-x-ane-Ø₂ Wowai₂]]₃...
 DEM-ways-INESSIVE HAB-3ACCUSATIVE-eat-REAL-3NOMINATIVE Whites

...Ø₄-aba-ta-tsi₀
 3ACCUSATIVE-feed-REAL-4NOMINATIVE
 'They₄ were fed [the way the Whites₂ eat (food₁)]₃.'

- (c) Kanonü₁ Ø₂-itoya-Ø₁ [pa-kuene-ya...
 K. 3ACCUSATIVE-hate-3NOMINATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE-ways-INESSIVE

...[Ø₃-exa-na-Ø₄ Kuwai₄]]₂
 3ACCUSATIVE-make-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE K.
 'Kanonü₁ hated [the way Kuwai₄ made it₃]₂.'

Finally, genitives of both ^{II}nouns and ^Inouns are eligible for relativisation. In that order:

- (56) (a) [bahara-ponü₁ [pe₁-huyapihiwi₂ pereba-Ø₂...]]₃
 DISTAL-3MASCULINE 3INTRINSIKLINKEE CookCassava-3NOMINATIVE
 '[The fellow₁ whose₁ little sisters₂ were cooking cassava]₃...'

...pina Ø₂-humaitsi-Ø₃ "Uhuae periyo₂ ne₃-rahu-re!"
 REPORT 3ACC-say-3NOM baby LittleCassava 1ACC-give-IMPERATIVE
 '...said them₂: "Hey babies, be kind, give me a little cassava!" '

- (b) [ponü₁ [piha₁-wakapa₂ niwehai-Ø₂...
 3MASCULINE 3POSSESSOR-club flah-3NOMINATIVE

...tsatabi]]₃ narutapitsa-pa-Ø₃
 INSTANTANEOUSLY/SUDDENLY BecomeVisible-REALIS-3NOM
 '[The one₁ whose₁ club₂ had suddenly flashed₂]₃ showed up₃.'

A second type of adjunct relativisation takes as head the deictic-based adverbs **hota**, 'here', and **ahena**, 'to-day' ('now' is currently **ahena(-)konoxae**, whose second element remains semantically opaque), (57). (See Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007 for similar relative-clause patterns in Hausa and other languages). The spatial adverb 'here' affords 'wherever' when prefixed by the indefinite **itsa-** (chapter 3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.3), (c) third line.

- (57) (a) Palupaluma₁ nukapo-na-Ø₁...
 Rabbit go-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE

...[hota [Newüthü₂ Ø₂-kütanu-ta-Ø₁]]₃
 here Jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-TieStanding-3NOMINATIVE
 'Rabbit₁ went [where he₁ had fastened Jaguar₂ (to a tree)]₃.'

- (b) [ahena [humarurube-na-Ø₁]]₂ naraeyaxua-ba-Ø₃
 to-day climbPLURAL-REALIS-3NOM urinateHASTILY-REALIS-3NOM
 '[At the precise moment they₁ were climbing]₂ she₃ hastily discharged
 a spurt of urine.'

- (c) **bahara-pa-liwaisi-xi₁** **Ø₂-nakaetua-ta-Ø₁...**
 DISTAL-DEM-story-DIMINUTIVEPLURAL 3ACC-BringTogether-REALIS-3NOM
 'Those little stories₁ unite...'

...**daxita** **Sikuani** **nakua₂...**
 all S. territory
 '...the whole Sikuani country₂...'

...[**itsa-hota** **[hiwi₃ hinawono-pa-Ø₃]]₄**
 INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-here people live-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 '...[wherever the people₃ live]₄.'

Corelative clauses (Downing 1973) are attested, although not frequently. At first sight, the relative-clause head noun and a main-clause nominal constituent echo each other as to reference. More precisely, it is the referent forged in the whole noun phrase enclosing the relative clause that the main-clause nominal constituent replicates. The latter can turn up as a deixis-based expression, (58a), a lexical copy, (b), or a more or less synonymous lexical entry, (c). In the relative clause the demonstrative occurs in its *cataphoric* function, while in the main clause it merely retains its general *anaphoric* capacity. Adjuncts as heads are overtly marked as obliques, (58b), contrary to plain relative clauses (remind, though, the caveat put forward by one speaker, example (54a) above).

- (58) (a) [**pa-tsikiri-bokobü-yo₁** **ba-Ø₁-t-ane-tsi₂]**₃...
 DEM-small-lizard-DIMINUTIVE HABITUAL-3ACCUSATIVE-see-REALIS-4NOM
 'Lit. [That small lizard]₁ we₂ habitually see (around)]₃...'

...[**bahara-ponü-yo₃** **kawününakopa-ta-Ø₃]**
 DISTAL-3MASCULINE-DIMINUTIVE GetOne'sName-REALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 '...[that small one]₃ got its₃ name].'

That is:

'The small lizard we habitually see (around) got its name.'

- (b) [**pexahawayo₁** **pa-tsoropa₂-tha** **Ø₃-rahutabia-ba-Ø₄]**₅...
 food DEM-calabash-SOCIATIVE 3ACC-GiveITERATIVELY-3NOM
 'Lit. [She₄ used to give it₃ (caiman) food₁ in that calabash₂]...'

...[**pa-tsoropa₅** **Ø₅-isareka-Ø₆** **tsahinae]**
 DEMONSTRATIVE-calabash 3ACCUSATIVE-CarryDown-3NOM DOITINERANTLY
 '... [that calabash₅ he₆ quickly brought down (to the lake shore).]'

That is:

'He₆ quickly brought down the calabash₅ in which₅ she₄ used to feed it₃.'

(Counteraction to caiman's lover misbehaving old-woman.)

- (c) [**pa-nae**₁ **nuka-Ø₁]**₂...
 DEMONSTRATIVE-tree Istand-3NOMINATIVE
 'Lit. [That tree]₁ stands (there)]...'

...[**pa-baka**₂-**tha** **ø**₃-**ewetsiana-me**₄ **petiriwa**₃]
 DEM-trunk-SOCIATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-waitFUTURE-2NOM woman
 '...[besides **that trunk**₂ you₃ will wait for the woman₂].'
 That is:
 'You₄ will wait for the woman₃ besides the tree₂ which stands (there).'

Nothing has so far been said about the linear order in cor(r)relative relative clauses because this issue will now enlist in a diachronic scenario intended to account for the emergence of the relative-clause type discussed above. The oscillating occurrence of oblique marking on relativised adjuncts, along with a few available instances of head-internal clauses, suggest that the pleonastic pattern featured by corelative relative clauses, remindful of some types of tail-head linkage, might be part of a diachronic path blending two independent clauses into one single sentential unit.

Let us take as the outset a sequence of independent clauses where the second serves the purpose of adding information to a referent mentioned in the first clause. Something of a clause-like afterthought. This should involve, against (58) above, a rigid order with initial main-clause. As a vestigial pattern, (59) would portray such order.

(59) [**kaebitsaütoyo**₁ **Omanabo-tsuto**₂-**tha** **panepa-ø**₁]₃...
 SmallGroupOfEnemies O.-hill-SOCIATIVE escape-3NOMINATIVE
 'Lit. [A small group of enemies₁ retreated to the **Omanabo hill**₂]....'

...[**pa-tsuto**₃ **Omanabo-tsuto**₃ **ø**₄-**hai** **tsabiabi-tsi**₅]
 DEMONSTRATIVE-hill O.-hill 3ACCUSATIVE-say DOITERATIVELY-4NOM
 '...[We₅ ordinarily name **that hill**₂ **Omanabo hill**₃].'
 That is:
 'A small group of enemies retreated to the hill that we ordinarily name Omanabo.'

(The accusative in **ø**₄-**hai** — the addressee of 'say' — is a typical instance of the possibility to have a maximally de-referentiated third-person accusative in saying-verbs; see chapter 2: **THE VERB 1.3.3**).

The more rarely attested head-internal relative clauses, that is, featuring a relativised noun *in situ* — (58b) and (49) above —, would also directly stem from such independent-clause stage. The ensuing extraction of the nascent head-noun turns the whole clause a noun phrase, which as such will occupy the position of a main-clause constituent — argument / adjunct —, thus leaving as dispensable both the initial location of the main-clause and the presence of the replica constituent in the now main clause. Corelative relative clauses thus led to the current standard relative clauses through a process of mutual syntactic integration of independent clauses.

3 REFERENCE TRACKING

In connected spontaneous speech, clause-argument noun phrases are liberally omitted as well as free pronouns ("pro-drop") when the universe of discourse warrants referent(s) identifiability (chapter 4: **BASIC CLAUSES 2**). This has as a consequence that two predicates — verbal, nominal — belonging to the same sentential domain are nothing essentially different from two coordinated or hierarchised clauses, something illustrated in (1) for coordination and (36) for subordination.

The purpose of this section is to gauge the extent to which — again: in naturalistic verbal productions — the speech-act protagonists rely on the universe of discourse to keep track of the specific participants involved in complex sentences, which is tantamount to saying that little can be adduced in support of formal constraints obtaining in a given syntactic domain for targetting the intended referent(s) (as to sequences of syntactically unconnected clauses, see chapter 9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 5.1). For instance (60): where it not that Adai is, all over the quoted passage, the sole potential metamorphoser, the second clause could alternatively be construed as 'even Liwinai didn't metamorphose him₂ (Tsamani) either.'

- (60) **Adai₁ Tsamani₂ apo- \emptyset ₂-bihia-nae- \emptyset ₁...**
 A. Ts. NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-damage-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'Adai₁ didn't metamorphose Tsamani₂,...'
- ...Liwinai₃=atha apo- \emptyset ₃-bihia-nae- \emptyset ₁**
 L.=ADDITIVE NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-damage-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 '...even Liwinai₃ he₁ didn't metamorphose.'

Yet, general preferences are clear, pointing to some — whatsoever loose — syntactic hierarchisation of arguments. (The illustrative data will be retrieved from this same chapter as often as possible in order to keep the latter within reasonable limits in size.)

The most conspicuous finding is that, in coding terms, the nominative argument of monovalent / divalent clauses and the accusative of passive clauses are controllers. Regarding the nominative, this can be spotted in (61) coordinated clauses and, turning to hierarchical make-ups, in (8a) and (62a) complement clauses (recall that in nominalisations the intrinsic-linker prefix stands for the nominative argument of the corresponding finite verb), and also in (22c), (38a) and (62b) as adverbial clauses. Foreseeably, the passive-agent noun phrase is not detected as controller.

- (61) [**amo₁ owebi₂ \emptyset ₂-upaxuaba- \emptyset ₁**]...
 grand-father deer 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE
 'Grand-father killed a deer,...'
- ...[metsaha₃ nua \emptyset ₃-upaxuaba- \emptyset ₁]**
 tapir COORDINATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE
 '...and he killed a tapir too.'
- (62) (a) [**pe₁-tü-pae-hawa**]₂...
 3INTRINSICLINKER-die-IRREALIS-NONANIMATE
- ...ikuli₁ apo- \emptyset ₂-hitsi-pae- \emptyset ₁**
 Turtle_{Sp.} NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-want-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
 'The turtle *Sp.*₁ didn't want to die [lit. ... its₁ dying₂].'
- (b) [**hiwi₁ metha \emptyset ₁-bihianae-hitsia- \emptyset ₂**]...
 people ASSUMPTIVE 3ACCUSATIVE-damage-PURPOSE-3NOMINATIVE
- ...baharaponü₂ Tsawaliwali₂ pitsapa- \emptyset ₂**
 ThatOne Ts. GoOut-3NOMINATIVE
 'In all likelihood that individual₂, Tsawaliwali₂, came forth planning to harm humans₁.'

Turning to the passive accusative as controller, it is found in (63a) coordinates, (b) in the complement, and (19c) as the antecedent of a ¹verb nominative in an adverbial clause. (31c), reproduced here as (63c), displays two passive accusatives mutually setting a co-reference pivot. The genitive index in a nonargument noun phrase is also within reach of the passive accusative, (d) (the immediately preceding context can be found as example (18c) in chapter 8: SPEECH-ACT CLAUSE TYPES 2).

- (63) (a) $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ -rahuta-tsi₀ baha baharaxuaxi₂...
3NOMINATIVE-give-4NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING ThoseLittleThings
'They₁ were given those little things₂,...'
- ... \emptyset_2 -kapona- $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ pina, pekaponaeui₁
3NOMINATIVE-carry-3NOMINATIVE REPORTATIVE carriers
'...and they₁ carried them₂ away, the carriers₁, they₀ say.'
- (b) [$\boxed{pe_1}$ - \emptyset_2 -püyana-tsi-nü]₁...
3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-follow-IRREALIS-MASCULINE
'The follower₁...'
- ... $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ -bihat-ane-tsi₀
3ACCUSATIVE-scold-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
'...was scolded.'
- (c) pehewaxi₁ ba- $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ -to-matawahi-ba-tsi₀...
children HABITUAL-INVOLVING-pray-REALIS-4NOMINATIVE
'The children₁ are mandatorily subjected to immunising invocations...'
- ...[pe_0 - $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ -ainawi-bi-tsi₀-yaniwa]
INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-GetVampirised-IRR-4NOMINATIVE- PREVENTIVE
'...lest they fall victims₁ of the evil spirits.'
- (d) [...] $\boxed{\emptyset_1}$ -hai-tsi $\boxed{pe_1}$ -amahitsinae-tha
3ACCUSATIVE-say-4NOMINATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-dream-SOCIATIVE
'[...] she₁ was told in her dream.'

Moreover, within active dependent clauses the nonnominative arguments — accusative and third argument (*cf.* chapter 6: VALENCE CHANGES) — prompt an explicit noun phrase / free pronoun *strikingly more* oftentimes than nominative arguments do, a fact which discloses a clear bias toward nominatively-aligned pivots. This quantitative disparity turns even more apparent when, in this respect, we append the passive-accusative controllee to the nominative set.

As to a precedence or linear-order factor, it appears to be inconsequential since the same controller-controllee pattern allows for two opposite orders, as in (62b) with dependent first *vs.* (17b) with dependent second, or in (40) with dependent first *vs.* (22c) with dependent second.

Notwithstanding a nonnull amount of facts that points to the above-announced role of the universe of discourse in the who-does-what prophylaxis, the reference-tracking evidence seems to make a case — surmised in chapter 6: **VALENCE CHANGES 3** and modest as it is — for three intertwined generalisations: 1. the existence in *syntax* of a hierarchy of arguments; 2. the syntactic promotion of the accusative argument in passive clauses; 3. the existence of a

grammatical relation *subject* neutralising two distinctly coded arguments, nominative and accusative.

4 SUMMARY

Coordination as a nonhierarchising combination of clauses resorts to the same segmental tools found in noun phrase coordination. Verb coordination and clause coordination are one and the same thing, since a finite verb sets up a complete clause by itself (on account of which coordination was not discussed in the chapter on the verb). Hierarchised sequences of clauses divide into complementation and adverbialisation. The former make use of fullfledged nominalisations, the latter call upon a wealth of formal devices, either dedicated morphemes, or retrieved from verb morphology, from noun oblique marking — cases, postpositions —, from the inventory of clause particles, even from the divalent-noun lexical class. As a rule, the form of the verb in adverbial clauses is that of truncated nominalisations. Relative clauses — finite and chiefly head external — are distinguished from verb nominalisations occurring noun-phrase internally in modifier position. Correlative relative clauses have been detected, giving rise to a diachronic scenario whereby the correlative pattern would stand as the precursor of to-day's relative clauses. The chapter closes on the generalisations that clause combining allows on the issue of reference tracking and its relevance for grammatical relations.