

# Subordinate Clauses in Surui

Carolyn Bontkes

## ABSTRACT

This paper is a description of three types of subordinate clauses in Surui: adverbial subordinate clauses, complement clauses, and quotative clauses. In adverbial and in one type of complement clauses, reflexive forms are used to show coreference with the subject of the independent clause. This type of complement clause is closely linked with its complementizer, whereas another type is only in loose construction with a demonstrative complementizer.

### 0. Introduction

In this paper, we will survey different types of subordinate clauses in Surui.<sup>1</sup> One of the first things one notices about subordinate clauses in Surui is their scarcity: ignoring direct quotations for the moment, only about 11% of all clauses are subordinate in text count, compared with 34% in English (Mithun 1984:493). Most complex sentences in English would be translated into Surui by means of strings of formally independent clauses (ibid., 494):<sup>2</sup>

- (1) éyab éká mekó-éy á a-ma-mokây káne a-pób-tě  
then SUBORD cat-PL ? 3-POSS-fire want 3-walk in line-PROC  
tá-jé é  
3PL-T/A SM  
'Therefore the cats went off walking (because) they wanted fire.'

- (2) été nhôrĩ té tóy-kin a-kah a-mi-pixá-ta é  
then hide INT 1PL EXCL-see 3-go 3-face-stand-STATE SM  
'Then they went and hid (behind trees) with their faces sticking out looking at us.'

The following types of subordinate clauses have been found:

adverbial subordinate clauses	7%
complement clauses	4%
Total	11%

When quoted material is added, the total goes up considerably. No relative clauses have been found in Surui.

The different kinds of subordinate clauses are now examined in turn.

### 1. Adverbial subordinate clauses

In Surui, an adverbial subordinate clause is recognizable by means of a clause subordinator enclitic which occurs clause final.

- (3) été ládé o-potó-ta étigá-té o-jé e-mere-pi é  
 then IMPF 1SG-sit-STATE while-INT 1SG-T/A REF-REP-hear SM  
 'While I was sitting I heard talking.'

Individual clause's subordinators will be discussed in later sections.

In most other respects, these clauses are not grammatically different from independent clauses. As in independent clauses, the normal word order is subject-object-verb. Aside from pragmatically controlled word order variation, the only special order in subordinate clauses seems to occur when the clause subordinator is (1)ádé-ká (IMPERFECTIVE-SUBORDINATOR) 'because'; in this case the subject is final, right before the subordinator. This is because the tense/aspect marker (1)ádé 'IMPERFECTIVE' only occurs as an enclitic on the free subject. (See Bontkes 1984.)

- (4) été o-jé a-wār ma-éy xádé-ká xipé máġa  
 then 1SG-T/A 3-go away other-PL IMPF-SUBORD trap make  
 lá-ká máyâ o-jé é  
 INTENT-go HORT 1SG-T/A SM  
 'Then I (thought), because the others are getting away, I will go to make a trap.'

Ideophones may occur in the subordinate clause and function in the same way as in the main clause; in this paper, they are indicated by CAPITALS.<sup>4</sup>

- (5) éé a-masódē éé nābekod ī mâ dé SAYSAYÁ a-kay  
 DEM 3-feel bad DEM knife INSTR other T/A cut 3REFL-to  
 éká a-masódē tér iwe ka éná é  
 SUBORD 3-feel bad INT that to FACT SM  
 'That one almost died, when he cut her with that knife, she nearly died because of it.'

Most (about 70%) adverbial subordinate clauses have tense/aspect markers, which occur with free subjects. Free subjects, however, do not always occur, and they can occur without tense/aspect markers. This situation is also what one finds with independent clauses.

- (6) été o-jé awuru siná áye a-sáráne yak-ád-éká  
 then 1SG-T/A dog bark soon 3-outside INDEF PRO-IMPF-SUBORD  
 KUH iná áye í  
 bark FACT soon EXM  
 'Then I thought, the dog will bark when/because it (the armadillo) comes out.'

- (7) étigá-té awuru dé TUROG TOROG walóy xádé  
 just then-INT dog T/A pushing on leaves armadillo IMPF  
 mosín-ġāy éká  
 leaf-old SUBORD  
 'Immediately the dog (sat up) when the armadillo pushed on the leaves.'

Besides the occurrence of the clause subordinator, a second way to recognize subordinate clauses is the following: whenever any argument (subject or otherwise) in the adverbial subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject in the superordinate clause, it will show reflexive inflection if it is morphologically possible to do so. (Reflexives also indicate coreferentiality with the subject in the same clause.)

- (8) áyab éká éé óy j- éná éé waled íkin a-jé  
 then SUBORD DEM man T/A FACT DEM woman see 3REFL-T/A  
 ma tar éká éná a-or éná má-aka éná é  
 other on top SUBORD FACT 3-come FACT other-kill FACT SM  
 'Therefore that man, when he saw that woman together (with the other man), he came to kill the other.'

- (9) été a-jé-ná nābekod ígá i-pi épí mâ dé bó  
 then 3REFL-T/A-FACT knife take 3SG-from after other T/A RESP  
 éná i-zár anókar éná é  
 FACT 3SG-top stamp FACT SM  
 'Then, after he had taken the knife from him, he (same subject) stamped all over him.'

See example (5) for a reflexive oblique object in the subordinate clause.

Reflexivity is recognizable primarily with third person, since first and second person are not inflected for reflexive except in possessive constructions.

- (10) été o-jé ma-pípe sádé-kah éká o-jé mâ  
 then 1SG-T/A other-footprint IMPF-go SUBORD 1SG-T/A other  
 boyána ih-zaga í o-jé é  
 EXCLAM water-beat EXM 1SG-T/A SM  
 'Then when I (saw) the other's footprints I (thought), "Another has already poisoned fish here."'

- (11) ātété lápo óh-ka be káne méy-xád-éká bó  
 I am here ?? 1SG-kill COMP want 2PL-IMPF-SUBORD RESP  
 méy-xá óh-ka yâ éná i-kay é  
 2PL-HORT 1SG-kill ?? FACT 3SG-to SM  
 "'Here I am, since you want to kill me then kill me," he (said) to him.'

First and second person possessives in adverbial subordinate clauses do show reflexive marking when they are coreferential with the subject of the independent clause.

- (12) o-sob ór éká lá-ká ġakoráh o-kah íyâ  
 1REFL-father come SUBORD INTENT-go hunting 1SG-go HORT  
 'When my father comes I will go hunting.'

Thus far, only one level of subordination has been found with adverbial subordinate clauses; that is, no adverbial subordinate clause has been found which is superordinate to another one. The adverbial subordinate clause usually occurs before the main clause in the sentence. See

examples 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. However, it may be surrounded by different parts of the independent clause, especially with the subject of the independent clause occurring first, the subordinate clause next, and the rest of the independent clause following. See example (5).

Adverbial subordinate clauses can also occur following the independent clause.

- (13) lah-d-éy j-éná a-wák-tě paíter-éy -kin  
 other Indian-PL T/A-FACT 3-run away-PROC Surui-PL see  
 éká é  
 SUBORD SM  
 'The other Indians ran away when they saw the Surui.'

- (14) Étígá té awuru dé TOROG TOROG walóy xádé  
 immediately INT dog T/A pushing on leaves armadillo IMPF  
 mosín-ǵāy éká  
 leave-old SUBORD  
 'Immediately the dog (sat up) when the armadillo pushed on the leaves.'

No reason has yet been found why some adverbial subordinate clauses occur before and others following the independent clause.

Certain of the clause subordinators can occur as adverbials at the beginning or at the end of an independent clause, with meanings that are related to their meanings as subordinators.

- (15) été oréwaowao d-éná máká é  
 then name of other tribe T/A-FACT first SM  
 'Then this is what the Uru-eu-wau-waus did first.'

These will be discussed individually in the following section.

## 1.1. Clause subordinators

### 1.1.1. epí 'after'

- (16) été a-j-éná nābekod ígá i-pi epí mâ dé  
 then 3REFL-T/A-FACT knife take away 3SG-from after other T/A  
 bó éná i-zar anókar éná é  
 RFSP FACT 3SG-top of stamp FACT SM  
 'Then after he had taken the knife from him, he stamped/stepped all over him.'

epí at the beginning of a sentence seems to mark a new topic or paragraph and to indicate some time interval between that event and the event that precedes it.

- (17) é-epí tóy-jé anókoyd tóy-jé yára kadab  
 DEM-later 1PL EXCL-T/A over there 1PL EXCL-T/A civilized man houses

é-î toy-ágoy toy-or é  
 REF-enter 1PL EXCL-get off 1PL EXCL-come SM  
 'Later we came into the city over there (and) got off (the bus).'

epí may occur at the end of a clause, also with the meaning 'later'.

- (18) PARASUG o-jé-pí  
 start off 1SG-T/A-later  
 'Later I started off.'

### 1.1.2. ámáká 'before'

- (19) Étag ó-wa b- ámáká é-yá ó-ud áğa té maré  
 put down 1SG-eat ? before 2SG-? 1SG-lying do INT HORT  
 'Before you eat me, put me down, please.'
- (20) méy-ētígá ámáká Bíog dé kariziána-éy koy a-kah é  
 2PL-meet before Bill T/A Karitiâna-PL to 3SG-go SM  
 'Before meeting you, Bill went to the Karitiâna.'

ámáká may occur final in an independent clause as an adverb meaning 'first'.<sup>6</sup>

- (21) iká ána bó o-méremi yá máká máyâ ta-kâyá  
 ? this way RESP 1SG-like this ? first HORT 3PL-to+HSAY  
 "'Do like I'm doing first," he said to them.'

### 1.1.3. (1)ába 'while, when'.

This subordinator may be inflected with personal pronouns or the pronoun iwe 'that', referring to a situation or entity.

- (22) été éná iwe sába paíter-éy jé-or iwe ká é  
 then FACT that while Surui-PL T/A-come that to SM  
 'Then while this was happening, the Surui came because of it.'
- (23) toy-ker toy-xába té-ré xi-pere d-éná é  
 1PL EXCL-sleep 1PL EXCL-while INT-HORT 3SG-REP T/A-FACT SM  
 ġar-ábi ká éná é  
 sun-on top to FACT SM  
 '(They came) while we were sleeping as we always do at noon.'

(1)ába undergoes the same morphophonemic changes as (1)ábé; see footnote 3. Also, since (1)ába seems to contain a tense/aspect marker of some kind, the free subject of the subordinate clause always occurs immediately preceding it. See also (1)ád-éká (section 1.1.6).

#### 1.1.4. étigá 'while'.

The first clause with the subordinator étigá at the end usually has the imperfective aspect marker (1)ábé, and the event in that clause is usually interrupted by the event in the independent clause.

- (24) anó nán ládé o-ně étigé té o-jé mēbe  
 over there this way IMPF 1SG-home while INT 1SG-T/A pig  
 káso tóta nán mēbekod-éy xádá ewe pí é  
 clicking teeth this way pig-PL IMPF COMP hear SM  
 'While I was on my way home, I heard the pigs clicking their teeth.'

When étigá occurs initially as a sentence adverb, it seems to show that the action in that sentence immediately follows the actions in the preceding sentence.

- (25) étigá té o-jé TUG ġab dé-or om-íway xē  
 immediately INT 1SG-T/A stinging wasp T/A-come 1SG POSS-leg sting  
 a-or é étigá o-jé PÚKÚB békâyáb aâ  
 3-come SM/ immediately 1SG-T/A pick up vine for climbing take  
 'Then immediately I (felt) the wasps which came to sting my leg. Right away I picked up the vine for climbing.'

Occasionally étigá occurs in the quotation margin of a quotative clause. Here it seems to show one action immediately following another. The étigá in the quotation margin perhaps connects it to the previous action.

- (26) pá-kah lahd íkin mâ Apõy jé étigá  
 1PL INCL-go other Indian see HORT Apoena T/A immediately  
 ó-ġay é  
 1SG-to SM  
 "'Let's go see the cabeça seca," Apoena said to me.'

#### 1.1.5. éká.

The clause subordinator éká seems to have a neutral meaning; it can usually be glossed 'when' or 'if'. Because it has no specific meaning, it does not occur alone at either the beginning or end of independent clauses as an adverb, as some other clause subordinators can. It only takes on a specific meaning in combination with other particles (see following section). Otherwise, the semantic relationship between the subordinate clause and the independent clause must be inferred from context.

With this subordinator, the dependent clause may precede the independent clause.

- (27) bó wábá TÁMÁ x-amókār épi káta waba  
 RESP HORT hit to cut 3SG-neck bone hit/cut HORT  
 a-j-éká má dé-ná léhġá éná é  
 3REFL-T/A-SUBORD other T/A-FACT dodge FACT SM

'Sure, when he (tried to) cut his neck, the other one dodged.'

Or, an éká subordinate clause may follow the independent clause.

- (28) étigá té awuru dé TOROG TOROG walóy sádé  
 just then INT dog T/A pushing on leaves armadillo IMPF  
 mosín-ǵǎy éká  
 leaf-old SUBORD  
 'Immediately the dog (sat up) when the armadillo pushed on the leaves.'

### 1.1.6. (1)ád-éká 'because'.

This is one of the combinations of the clause subordinator éká with another particle, which result in a specific meaning.

- (29) été o-jé a-wār ma-éy xádé-ká xípe máǵa  
 then 1SG-T/A 3-go away other-PL IMPF-SUBORD trap make  
 lá-ká máyâ o-jé é  
 INTENT-go HORT 1SG-T/A SM  
 'Then I (thought), "Because the others are getting away, I'll go make a trap (to catch them)."'

## 2. Complement clauses

Two kinds of complement clauses have been found in Surui: those with ewe as complementizer, and those with be.

### 2.1. ewe complements.

The first type of complement clause we will discuss occurs with the complementizer ewe. This complementizer appears to be a type of demonstrative pronoun which resumes the complement clause. As a complementizer, its most common function is object of a transitive verb; íkin 'see' or epi 'hear' are the verbs which it usually precedes in the normal object position. Only ewe seems to be the object, with the complement clause in loose apposition to ewe but not in grammatical relation with the transitive verb.

- (30) été awuru sádé a-peyare ewe íkin o-or é  
 then dog IMPF 3-bark COMP see 1SG-come SM  
 'Then I came (and) saw the dog barking.' (Literally, 'Then the dog was barking, I came (and) saw that.')

Though there are not many examples of it in the data, an ewe complement clause can also occur as an adjective or possessor modifying a noun.

- (31) été o-jé mēbe d- a-wák-tě ewe íbeb aâ  
 then 1SG-T/A pig T/A 3-run away-PROC COMP trail take  
 'Then I took that trail (where) the pigs had run away.'

Just as in independent clauses, ideophones may occur in a complement clause, usually accompanied by the verb.

- (32) ātér tá-yá-kah makálán e-sádé lakáyaba pey  
 now 3PL-T/A-go spider REF-IMPF honey stir  
MEYMEYMEYMEY makálán e-sádé ewe ikín á  
 stirring spider REF-IMPF COMP see HSAY  
 'Now they went (and) saw a spider stirring honey.'

Nearly all of these complement clauses include a tense/aspect marker with the free subject. Most have the IMPERFECTIVE (1)ádé.

- (33) áno nán ládé o-ně étigá té o-jé měbe  
 that this way IMPF 1SG-home while INT 1SG-T/A pig  
kásotóta nán měbekod-éy xádé ewe pi é  
 click teeth this way pig-PL IMPF COMP hear SM  
 'While I was on my way home I heard the pigs clicking their teeth.'

An object complement clause is usually surrounded by the independent clause, with the subject of the independent clause (and perhaps a verb of motion) preceding the complement clause, and with ewe and the rest of the independent clause following.

- (34) ātér tá-yá-kah a-xíjay amóa sádé ewe ikín á  
 now 3PL-T/A-go 3-play turtle IMPF COMP see HSAY  
 'Now they went (and) saw the turtle playing.'

The word order within the clause does not seem to be different from word order in independent clauses. There are a few examples in which one constituent of the complement clause may be put at the end of the independent clause.

- (35) a-pabokáb ǵáta a-j-éká dé lír akí ewe íkin  
 3REFL-finger cut 3REFL-T/A-SUBORD T/A blood flow COMP see  
xíter dé  
 much T/A  
 'When he cut his finger, he saw that it was bleeding a lot.'

It appears that the complementizer ewe is only loosely linked with the complement clause because it can be separated from it by a constituent of the independent clause.

- (36) o-pabokáb ǵáta o-jé-ká lír akí o-jé ewe íkin  
 1REFL-finger cut 1SG-T/A-SUBORD blood flow 1SG-T/A COMP see  
 'When I cut my finger I saw that it was bleeding.'

Similar evidence is provided by examples like (37), which shows that, unlike adverbial subordinate clauses and be complement clauses to be discussed, there is no reflexive agreement between ewe complement clauses and the independent clause.

- (37) boté o-jé ó-lob dé a-or ewe íkin  
 already 1SG-T/A 1SG-father T/A 3-come COMP see  
 'I saw my father coming.'

Examples (36) and (37) suggest that an ewe complement clause, besides being only loosely attached to the complementizer, is not in any grammatical relation with the independent clause.

There are also noun phrase objects of íkin which occur without the ewe. In these cases there is no tense/aspect marker either, even though the head noun may be modified by participle-like elements such as ékéd 'sleeping' in example (38).

- (38) tá-yá-kah takór ékéd aud íkin á ta-jé é  
 3PL-T/A-go nambu sleeping lying see HSAY 3PL-T/A SM  
 'They went (and) saw the sleeping nambu on the ground, they said.'

- (39) ātér o-jé-kah walóy ínháq íkoda íkin o-kah é  
 now 1SG-T/A-go armadillo feces in a row see 1SG-go SH  
 'Now I went (and) saw armadillo droppings.'

Consequently, the underlined portions in examples (38) and (39) are not analyzed as complement clauses, but rather as noun phrase objects.

## 2.2. be complements.

The other type of complement clause has the complementizer be (me after nasals, e after consonants). This complementizer seems to be more closely linked with the complement clause than ewe is. For reasons which will shortly be explained, the complement clause plus be are considered as a noun phrase constituent of the superordinate clause, as in the case of the object complement in the following examples.

- (40) éé-mi éná x-aká be káne é  
 DEM-INSTR FACT 3SG-kill COMP want SM  
 'With that he wanted to kill him.'

- (41) píġa me káne  
 pick up COMP want  
 'I want to pick it up.'

It appears that when a be object complement clause consists of an ideophone, the morpheme yed must occur before the complementizer. The meaning of yed is not known.

- (42) NÓBNÓBÁ yed e káne  
 chewing ? COMP want  
 '(He) wants to chew (it).'

- (43) DÚGDÚGÁ yed e káne  
 beat water ? COMP want  
 '(He) wants to hit the water (to poison fish).'

The above examples illustrate the apparent deletion of free subjects in be complement clauses which are preferential with the subject of the independent clause.

In be complements, there is no tense/aspect marker on the free subject, as can occur in the complement clause used with ewe. This is one indication that, unlike an ewe complement clause, a be complement clause is actually a constituent of the independent clause.

- (44) boté o-jé o-sob ór e íkin á  
 already 1SG-T/A 1REFL-father come COMP see SM  
 'I have seen my father coming.'

The reflexive form of a possessive prefix (actually shown as a consonant change on the possessed noun) occurs within the complement clause when it is coreferential with the subject of the independent clause.

- (45) o-sob a-ór e káne líyâ  
 1REFL-father 3-come COMP want HORT  
 'I want my father to come, please.'

This is not the case with ewe complement clauses, as the parallel example (37) shows. Hence, reflexivity provides a further indication that a be complement clause forms a tighter syntactic unit with its complementizer, and that this unit is in grammatical relation with the independent clause.

In be complement clauses with an intransitive verb, a third person subject is not the usual a- prefix, but rather the xi- (i-) prefix otherwise used only as direct object with transitive verbs (it has other uses not related to the verb).

- (46) été o-jé xi-masódě me íkin é  
 then 1SG-T/A 3SG-feel bad COMP see SM  
 'Then I saw him feeling badly.'

- (47) boté o-j- i-ór e íkin é  
 already 1SG-T/A 3SG-come COMP see SM  
 'I saw him coming.'

(In the above example the free subject ojé of the independent clause is fused onto the verb of the complement clause.) With ewe complement clauses, however, these prefixes are in the normal a- form:

- (48) été o-jé a-masódě dé ewe íkin é  
 then 1SG-T/A 3-feel bad T/A COMP see SM  
 'Then I saw him feeling badly.'

- (49) boté o-jé xi-en dé a-or ewe íkin é  
 already 1SG-T/A 3SG-EMPH T/A 3-come COMP see SM  
 'I saw him coming.'

It appears that, in the be complement clauses, the occurrence of direct object prefixes as subject markers indicates that the subject is in the accusative case, as is the case with English infinitive complements such as I told him to go. At any rate, it is yet another indication that be complement clauses are much more tightly attached syntactically to the independent clause than the corresponding ewe complement clauses are. At present, no meaning difference has been noted between the two constructions.

The be complement clause is sometimes found surrounded by the independent clause, as can occur in all the other subordinate clause types: the subject of the independent clause precedes the complement clause and the rest of the clause follows. (See example (44).)

One example was found with the complement clause itself split on either side of the verb of the independent clause.

- (50) é-ma-ór e káne o-we-kábi  
 2SG-CAUS-come COMP want 1SG-REFL-to  
 'I want you to bring him to me.'

### 3. Quotative clauses.

A third type of subordinate clause which we find in Surui is the quotative clause. It occurs frequently and probably replaces much of the indirect speech found in languages like English.

#### 3.1. Direct quotations.

One type of quotative clause is a direct quotation. When the quotative clause is spoken in a narrative, the intonation is different from the narrative part. There is no verb for 'say' in the quotation margin. This meaning is simply supplied from a recognition of the quotative construction. In direct quotations the quotation margin usually includes the free subject phrase, before the quotative clause. If there is a margin following, it almost always includes an indirect object.

- (51) étigá té Bíog dé pa-ma-káh wá tóy-kay é  
 immediately INT Bill T/A 1PL INCL-CAUS-go HORT 1PL EXCL-to SM  
 'Immediately Bill said, "Let's go," to us.'

- (52) été o-jé yé-pa-líya í-kay é  
 then 1SG-T/A ??-1PL INCL-HORT 3SG-to SM  
 'Then I said, "Shall we go?" to him.'

Sometimes, especially in dialogue/repartee, the margin is deleted before the quotative clause, and may also be deleted following it.

(53) ã tóy-xá é-wa maré ó-bay tá-yá i-káyâ  
 now 1PL EXCL-?? 2SG-eat HORT 1SG-cross cousin 3PL-T/A 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "Now we would like to eat you, cross cousin," they said to him.'

(54) atémaré e-ma-sóbaḡ aka lá-kah maré / iyé /  
 wait 2SG-POSS-animal kill INTENT-go HORT / ok /  
pá-kah mâ yá xi-wápaḡ-éy i-káyâ  
 1PL INCL-go HORT T/A 3SG-child-PL 3SG-to+HSAY  
 "Wait, I'll go kill you some meat (the anteater said)."  
 "OK. Let's go," his (cat's) children said to him.'

Occasionally the quotation margin following the quotative clause deletes the indirect object.

(55) ká-ḡoy zér kabéxa xéka mága Bíog dé  
 where-to INT cabeça seca is Bill T/A  
 "Where is the Cabeça Seca?" Bill said.'

(56) é-ḡaba tóy-zápor asá ré tá-iyâ  
 2SG-HORT NEG 1PL EXCL-tail/strap break HORT 3PL-HSAY  
 "Don't break our strap," they said.'

The quotation margin may have a reciprocal (identical with reflexive) form on the indirect object to mean 'to each other'.

(57) été paíter-éy jé pálob mábi té jesús e-yá or  
 then people-PL T/A god from INT Jesus REF-T/A come  
ye ná-po tá-jé a-wé-kay é  
 ?? ??-RESP 3PL-T/A 3-REFL-to SM  
 'Then the people said, "Jesus has come from God," they said to each other.'

Within the quotative clause, word order does not appear to differ from that of independent clauses.

### Quoted thought.

Quoted thought is much like direct quotes in appearance, except that an indirect object is lacking. Quoted thought is best analyzed as speaking to oneself, though not audibly. The subject can occur in the quote margin before and after the quotative clause, or in only one of those positions.<sup>8,9</sup>

(58) été o-jé nâbea maâ lá-ká máyâ o-jé é  
 then 1SG-T/A axe get INT-go HORT 1SG-T/A SM  
 "Then I thought, "I'll get my axe," I thought."

(59) ḡákorá lé-káh máyâ o-jé é  
 hunting INT-go HORT 1SG-T/A SM  
 "I'll go hunting," I thought.'

(60) été o-jé awuru sina áye a-sáráne yak-ad-éká  
 then 1SG-T/A dog bark soon 3-come out it?-IMPF-SUBORD  
 KÚH iná áye í  
 bark FACT soon EXM  
 'Then I thought, "The dog will bark soon when it comes out, he will bark soon!"'

## FOOTNOTES

1. Surui is a Tupi language of the Mondé family. It is spoken by approximately 350 Indians in southeastern Rondônia, Brazil. The author, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has been engaged in language research on Surui since November 1971. This paper is the outcome of a linguistics workshop held in Porto Velho, Rondônia, from September to November 1984 under the direction of Desmond Derbyshire. Robert Dooley served as consultant.

2. Surui phonemes are: vowels i, e, ɛ (written in the practical orthography as u), a, o; vowel nasalization (written with a tilde ~); vowel length (written as h following the vowel); obstruents p, t, ch (written as z), k, b, d, j, g; nasals m, n, ñ, ng (written as ḡ); fricatives θ (written as s), š (written as x); liquids l, r; semivowels w, y; and high and low tones. Examples in this paper are given in the practical orthography, which is the same as the phonemes above except as noted in parentheses. Although tone is not marked in the practical orthography, we have chosen in this paper to write high tone with the acute accent (´); low tone is unmarked.

3. The first consonant of (l)áde is l after silence or the prefix o, as well as after nasals and r, and becomes s after vowels, x after y, and is deleted after other consonants. Sometimes esáde is used in slow speech to replace the above variations.

4. For a further discussion of how ideophones function in Surui see Bontkes 1976.

5. One example in the data has been found which does not show this reflexive coreference. Further investigation is needed.

bó wábá TÁMÁ x-amókār épikáta waba  
 RESP HORT hit to cut 3SG-neck bone hit/cut HORT  
a-j-éká má d-éná léhḡá éná á  
 3REFL-T/A-SUBORD other T/A-FACT dodge FACT SM  
 'Sure, when he (tried to) cut his neck, the other one dodged.'

6. maḡér tér is an adverb which means 'first' and may occur initially, or in the middle of a clause.

(a) maḡér tér t-éyá óh-ka po  
 first INT ?? 1SG-kill RESP  
 'First he wanted to kill me.'

(b) ã-tété lanápo xí-en néyá maḡér ter éná áná  
 here-is ?? 3SG-EMPH ?? first INT FACT this way  
 óh-ka be káne pó mâ dé i-kay é  
 1SG-kill COMP want RESP other T/A 3SG-to SM  
 "'Here I am, he wanted to kill me first," the other said to him.'

7. Some examples in the data seem to indicate that ewe may also occur as the object of a postposition. The examples are not clear as to their meaning so that the possibility needs more investigation.

(a) mēbekod-éy xédé mixáma órpa ewe íbi ábir ka  
 pig-PL IMPF type of fruit eat COMP under pass to  
 walóy jé-kah é  
 armadillo T/A-go SM  
 'The armadillo went under the tree (where) the pigs (had) eaten fruit.'

Also, one example has been found of ewe sentence initial, apparently referring back to the preceding sentence.

(b) é-éwe ka bó tá-jé apa bágá é  
 DEM-COMP to RESP 3PL-T/A die all SM  
 'Because of that, they all died.'

8. There is one example in the data where a quoted thought has no quote margins. The meaning of the quotative clause is not clear.

ḡopáma bó sahnó í-kay í  
 electric eel RESP ?? 3SG-to EXM  
 'I saw an electric eel!'

9. In some examples there is the possibility that there are quotative clauses of perception. Example (25) may be one of this type. Further investigation is needed.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CAUS	–	causative	INT	–	intensifier
COMP	–	complementizer	NEG	–	negative
DEM	–	demonstrative	PL	–	plural
EMPH	–	emphatic	POSS	–	possessive
EXCL	–	exclusive	PROC	–	process
EXCLAM	–	exclamation	REF	–	reference
EXM	–	exclamation marker	REFL	–	reflexive
FACT	–	factual	REP	–	repetitive
HORT	–	hortative	RESP	–	response
HSAY	–	hearsay	SG	–	singular
IMPF	–	imperfective	SM	–	sentence marker
INCL	–	inclusive	SUBORD	–	subordinator
INDEF PRO	–	indefinite pronoun	T/A	–	tense/aspect
INSTR	–	instrumental	?	–	gloss not known

## REFERENCES

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