

Subordinate Clauses in Paumari

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14. Subordinate clauses

In the following subsections I discuss the various types of subordinate clause constructions that occur in the language, distinguishing them primarily by their syntactic function and/or the way the constructions are internally organized: adverbial clauses (14.1), complement clauses (14.2), relative clauses (14.3), nominalized verb constructions (14.4), indirect and direct quotation (14.5), embedded equative clauses (14.6) and subordination by juxtaposition of certain conditional clause constructions (14.7). I close the section (14.8) with a few examples of complex, multi-embedded clauses, and other examples of these are scattered through the other subsections.

14.1 Adverbial clauses.

The main characteristic of adverbial clauses is the verb-final suffix, which is either -vini 'DEP.TRANS' OR -ni/na 'DEP.INTRANS,f/m'. This replaces the verb-final thematic suffixes that occur in main clauses (sec. 18.6). Otherwise, the dependent verb has all the potential for affixation of a main verb. This dependent verb form is not restricted to adverbial subordinate clauses. It can also function as a subject, object, or equative predicate complement (14.2). It also occurs at times as the nucleus of an independent clause, with or without a form of the auxiliary verb hi following it, but without any main verb to which it is subordinated.

It is this dependent verb form characteristic that is common to the three main types of adverbial clause construction I discuss below: dependent verb form alone (14.1.1), dependent verb form and subordinating particle (14.1.2), and dependent verb form and hi auxiliary construction (14.1.3). In the case of particles, they sometimes occur with thematic suffixes instead of dependent suffixes. These adverbial clauses have the same word order patterns as main clauses. They most often consist only of the verb, but it is common to find a single nominal constituent plus verb, and the sequences VS, VO and OV all occur frequently. It is rare to get more than one nominal.

There is one other type of adverbial clause which occurs occasionally. This is the participial, in which neither the thematic suffixes nor the dependent suffixes occur (14.1.4).

14.1.1 Adverbial clauses in which the dependent verb form occurs without particle or auxiliary.

This is the most generally used type of adverbial clause and it covers a wide semantic range, including: time (217, 218), location (219), purpose (220), manner (221), reason (222).

- 217) o-voroni-kamari-'i-hi o-ka-si-na
ISG-fall-almost-ASP-THEME 1SG-MOT-up-DEP.INTRANS
'I almost fell as I climbed.'

- (218) hari hi-ni ida vakadi-badani
 end AUX-DEP.INTRANS DEM,f their-work
 va-ka-namonaha-ha ada moaba
 3PL-N.CLASS-make-THEME DEM,m festa:house
 'When they had finished their work they made a festa house.'
- (219) 'daja'daja-ni ari-hi-'i-hi
 thick:undergrowth-DEP.INTRANS 1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME
 'Where the undergrowth was thick we arrived.'
- (220) va-ka'domaha-ha ada sipatihi
 3PL-boil-THEME DEM,m bananas
 va-a-kojahari-ha-na
 3PL-VBLZR-banana:mush-ACTION-DEP.INTRANS
 'They boiled the bananas to make mush.'
- (221) a-varavara-ri-na a-o-kha-'i-hi
 1PL-converse-NEG-DEP.INTRANS 1PL-away-MOT-ASP-THEME
 'Without talking we went.'
- (222) Linda ho-ra kaja'oria-'i-ki
 Linda me-OBJ be:annoyed-ASP-NONTHEME
 o-fini-jora-'i-ni
 INTRNSTVZR-fear-beforehand-ASP-DEP.INTRANS
 'Linda was annoyed at me being fearful beforehand' (of impending danger).'

The only construction in which an adverbial clause of this type does not have the dependent verb suffix -vini or -ni/-na, is when the clause is negated with the proclitic ni- 'NEG'. As nearly always with this clitic, the verb-final suffix is -ki 'NONTHEME' (223). This example also shows the adverbial clause expressing another semantic function: result.

- (223) o-a-ka-noki-'i-hi ida ava'doro
 1SG-away-N.CLASS-see-ASP-THEME DEM,f raffhouse
 ni-o-o-fini-jana-ki
 NEG-1SG-INTRNSTVZR-fear-more-NONTHEME
 'I saw the raffhouse so I wasn't afraid anymore.'

14.1.2 Adverbial clauses with subordinating particles.

An adverbial clause with a particle retains the same dependent suffix on the verb, but also has a particle expressing time or purpose. These particles are: naothinia 'afterwards' (224), viahania 'before' (225), oadani 'during, until' (226), kaba'i 'while' (227), kamahini 'when, FUT' (229). The particle kaba'i may also express the adversative 'even though' (228). The purpose particles are kaimoni (230) and mahiya (231, 232), the latter occurring only

after an imperative. The particles naothinia 'afterwards' and kaba'i may also link independent clauses (sect. 8).

- (224) bi-ka-vi-kha-vini naothini-a
 3SG-canoe-COMIT-MOT-DEP.TRANS after-OBL
 ka-barava-'iana-ha
 VBLZR-fever-again-THEME
 'After he had brought it (turtle) he had another fever.'
- (225) hida ai ari-hi-na viahani-a
 DEM.LOC depart 1PL-AUX-DEP.INTRANS before-OBL
 o-na-na'dohi-vini ida Siri
 1SG-CAUS-ask-DEP.TRANS DEM,f Siri,f
 'Before we departed from here I asked Siri.'
- (226) jaha-ri-na oadani ho-vani o-na-abosi-hi
 well-NEG-DEP.INTRANS while 1SG-CONTR 1SG-CAUS-pay-THEME
 ida pa'itxi
 DEM,f small
 'Whilst he is not well I will pay some of it.'
- (227) vada o-ni-na kaba'i kha-'a-ha ada jara
 look 1SG-AUX-DEP.INTRANS while MOT-ASP-THEME DEM,m non:Indian
 'While I was looking the non Indian came.'
- (228) Siri-a bi-na-iha-vini kaba'i ni-jaha-ki
 Siri-ERG 3SG-CAUS-medicine-DEP.TRANS even:though NET-well-NONTHEME
 hida o-nokho
 DEM,f 1SG-eye
 'Even though Siri treated it, my eye was not better.'
- (229) kha-'i-na kamahini vara
 MOT-ASP-DEP.INTRANS when:FUT speak
 o-ni-'a-'a-ha
 1SG-AUX-DITRANSTVZR-ASP-THEME
 'When he comes I will speak to him.'

Verb roots having an auxiliary verb to carry affixation are discussed in sect. 18.8.

The particle kaimoni 'purpose' usually occurs clause final.

- (230) kanava-ra ka-kanikharia-ha ada Roberto hida
 canoe-OBJ N.CLASS-ask:for-THEME DEM,m Roberto,m DEM.LOC

kha-na kaimoni
 MOT-DEP.INTRANS,m PURP
 'Robert asked for a canoe to come here.'

The other particle expressing purpose, mahija 'so that', occurs clause-initial following an imperative verb.

- (231) i-dioni-'iana-Ø mahija o-kamitha-vini
 2SG-repeat-again-IMP PURP 1SG-hear-DEP.TRANS
 'Repeat it so that I can hear it.'

This mahija construction is unique in that even if the verb is intransitive the dependent suffix has the transitive form -vini 'DEP.TRANS'.

- (232) ai ari-hi-'iana-va mahija a-joi-joraki-vini
 depart 1PL-AUX-again-HORT PURP 1PL-return-quickly-DEP.TRANS
 'Let us leave again so that we may return quickly.'

If there are more than two elements other than the particle, kaimoni precedes a demonstrative.

- (233) ...joraki-a a'diahi-ja kaimoni hida vakadi-badani
 quickly-OBL finish-IMMED PURP DEM,f their-work
 '...for the purpose of finishing their work quickly.'

The form kaimoni can also function as a benefactive following a nominal. In this case it is inflected and inalienably possessed, the paradigm being:

kodi-imoni	'for me'
kada-imoni	'for you, SG'
kidi-imoni	'for her/for him'
akadi-imoni	'for us'
avakadi-imoni	'for you, PL '
vakadi-imoni	'for them'
ka-imoni	'for named person'
e.g. Maria kaimoni	'for Maria';
or following a grammatical construction,	
e.g. osokoaki kaimoni	'for me to wash'.

In this function, it occurs as an adverbial (oblique) constituent of the clause:

- (234) o-namonaha-'i-ki hida maravi kada-imoni
 1SG-make-ASP-NONTHEME DEM,f fan you-for
 'I made this fan for you.'
- (235) a-ka-sipatihi-ha-hi akadi-kodanahi kaimoni
 1PL-VBLZR-bananas-ACTION-THEME our-roasted:food PURP
 'We went to get bananas to roast them.'

In addition to its occurrence with noun phrases and clauses clearly marked as subordinate by the dependent verb suffix, kaimoni also occurs with clauses that have the thematic suffixes -ki 'NONTHEME' and -ja/-ra 'IMMED,f/m'. One construction in which the -ki suffix plus kaimoni is sometimes used is the complement clause of the verb nofi- 'to want' (236). (See sect. 14.2 for other ways of expressing complements of 'want').

- (236) ihai hida isai-a bi-nofi-ja bi-kidafi-ki
 medicine DEM,f child-ERG 3SG-want-IMMED 3SG-swallow-NONTHEME
 kaimoni
 PURP
 'It is medicine the child wants to swallow.'

- (237) joroma hida o-ka-risi-ja o-ka'domaha-ja kaimoni
 squash DEM,f 1SG-N.CLASS-peel-IMMED 1SG-boil-IMMED PURP
 'I'm peeling this squash to boil it.'

14.1.3 Adverbial clauses that have the dependent verb form and the hi auxiliary construction.

The simple form of "hi auxiliary construction" consists of a dependent verb followed by hi. All the normal verb affixation except the aspectual and final thematic suffixes occurs on the dependent verb; the aspectual and thematic suffixes occur on the auxiliary (see sect.18.8 for further discussion).

- (238) nama-ni makamaka-ni hi-ki
 surface-f be:dirty-DEP.INTRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 'The surface is dirty (because)...'
- (239) jara-ra o-a-kaja'oria-vini hi-hi
 non-Indian-OBJ 1 SG-?-be:annoyed:at-DEP.TRANS AUX-THEME
 'I was annoyed at the outsider (because)...'
- (240) vanami-ra o-ka-namonaha-vini hi-ja
 paddle-OBJ 1SG-N.CLASS-make-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'I am making a paddle (because)...'

That basic auxiliary construction can cooccur with adverbial clauses that have the dependent verb suffix. In this more complex construction which involves two dependent verb clauses, the auxiliary construction containing one of the dependent verb clauses is functioning as the main clause in relation to the other dependent verb adverbial clause. Compare the above three examples with the following:

- (241) nama-ni makamaka-ni hi-ki
 surface-f be:dirty-DEP.INTRANS AUX-NONTHEME

o-soko-ra-vini
 1SG-WASH-NEG-DEP.TRANS
 'The surface is dirty because I haven't washed it.'

- (242) o-na-kaidiva-vini ida kodi-piririka jara-ra
 1SG-CAUS-value-DEP.TRANS DEM,f my-fried:food outsider-OBJ
 o-a-kaja'oria-vini hi-hi
 1SG-?-be:annoyed:at-DEP.TRANS AUX-THEME
 'Because I valued my fried food (which the outsider had eaten), I was annoyed at the outsider.'

- (243) kodi-pavakari kaimoni ki-hi-ni vanami-ra
 my-selling:thing purpose N.CLASS-be-DEP.INTRANS paddle-OBJ
 o-ka-namonaha-vini hi-ja
 1SG-N.CLASS-make-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'For the purpose of it being my selling thing I'm making a paddle.'
 (i.e., 'I'm making a paddle to sell.')

The adverbial clause *my* precede (242, 243) or follow (241) the hi auxiliary construction. In the above examples, the adverbial clause expresses reason (241, 242) and purpose (243). The following examples show the auxiliary construction used with a manner clause (244) and with a purpose clause that has the particle kaimoni 'PURP' and a thematic verb-final suffix instead of the dependent suffix (245) (see 14.1.2).

- (244) Juracy-ra o-ka-'ojomo'i-vini hi-ki hida
 Juracy-OBJ 1SG-TRNSTVZR-teach-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME DEM,neut
 ino-i raso-ha-ni
 tooth-NONSPECFC pull-INTRNSTVZR-DEP.INTRANS
 'I am teaching tooth pulling to Juracy.'

- (245) papira-ra vada o-ni-'a-vini hi-ki
 paper-OBJ look 1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 o-og-ja kaimoni
 1SG-know-IMMED PURP
 'I am looking at my book in order for me to know.'

While (244) is semantically a manner clause, it would be more accurate to describe it syntactically as a demoted object (i.e. complement) clause than an adverbial clause. The main verb meaning 'teach' is ditransitive and in these constructions the recipient or beneficiary is always the direct object, marked by the enclitic -ra 'OBJ', with the patient being the demoted object marked either by -a 'OBL' or (as in 244) by a demonstrative. (See sect.1 for discussion of ditransitive clauses.)

There is one other more complex type of adverbial clause with which the hi auxiliary construction functions as the main clause. This is an equative clause in which the predicate

nominal is expressed by means of a dependent verb form. In this construction the whole equative clause is functioning as an adverbial. (For other functions of equative clauses in complex sentences, see 14.2 and 14.6). The equative clause always precedes the hi auxiliary construction. It consists of a predicate nominal, the copula mani and a demonstrative. The predicate nominal may consist only of the dependent verb (246) or it may also have a subject (247, 248) or object (249) nominal grammatically related to that verb. The nominal always precedes the verb and, when the verb is transitive, is marked by the appropriate enclitic, -a 'ERG' (248) or -ra 'OBJ' (249). The semantic functions expressed are either reason (246-249) or purpose (250, 251).

- (246) o-vai'ami-na mani ida ho-ra no'a-vini
 1SG-hungry-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,neut me-OBJ give-DEP.TRANS
 hi-ja 'bai-a
 AUX-IMMED food-DEMOT.O
 'Because I was hungry, she gave me food.'
- (247) nama-ni makamaka-ni mani hida o-soko-vini
 surface-f be:dirty-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,f 1SG-wash-DEP.TRANS
 hi-ki
 AUX-NONTHEME
 'Because the surface is dirty, I am washing it.'
- (248) jara-Ø bi-honaria-vini mani hida vanami-ra bada
 non:Indian-ERG 3SG-order-DEP.TRANS COP DEM,neut paddle-OBJ work
 ka-ni-'a-vini hi-ja
 N.CLASS-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'Because the non-Indian ordered he is making a paddle.'
- (249) honai-ra kajoni-vini mani ida o-da-vini
 order-GBJ refuse-DEP.TRANS COP DEM,neut 1SG-hit-DEP.TRANS
 hi-ja
 AUX-IMMED
 'Because she refused (to obey) the order, I hit her.'
- (250) o-ka-'ojomo'i-vini kaimoni mani ida
 1SG-TRNSTVZR-learn-DEP.TRANS PURP COP DEM,neut
 o-na-jiri-vini hi-ja
 1SG-CAUS-write-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'For the purpose of me learning I'm writing it.'
- (251) kodi-'ojomo'i-hi kaimoni hi-ni mani ida
 my-learning:thing-NOMLZR PURP be-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,neut

o-na-jiri-vini hi-ja
 1SG-CAUS-write-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'For the purpose of it being my learning thing I'm writing it.'

In (250) the purpose particle kaimoni governs the dependent verb form, whereas in (251) it governs a noun phrase and is itself governed by the dependent verb, which in this case is the dependent form of the auxiliary hi, glossed here as 'be'. There is no significant difference in meaning between the two uses of kaimoni.

There is, however, a significant pragmatic function served by the use of the equative clause in all these examples (246-251). As noted in 14.6 and sect. 9, whenever an equative clause is used in the sentence-initial position, as a single constituent of that sentence, it adds a degree of prominence to that constituent, whether it refers primarily to a participant or, as in these examples, to a proposition. It has much the same effect as a pseudo-cleft construction in English, so that (246), for example, could be glossed something like: 'It is because I was hungry that she gave me food'.

The hi auxiliary construction is also used as the second in a two clause sequence to express result. In this case, both clauses are main clauses, marked as such by the verb-final thematic suffix.

(252) ka-mokhi-ki ida gamo morobo-ni, athi-ra
 N.CLASS-deaf-NONTHEME DEM,f woman ear-f, speech-OBJ
 ka-mitha-ra-vini hi-ki
 VBLZR-hear-NEG-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 'The woman's ear is deaf so she can't hear speech.'

(253) bi-karaga-'a-ha ada ajotoro asaaka-na, ho-ra
 3SG-find-ASP-THEME DEM,m crab dried:up-m, me-OBJ
 na-na'dohi-vini hi- a-ha
 CAUS-ask-DEP.TRANS AUX-ASP-THEME
 'She found a dried up crab so she asked me about it.'

14.1.4 Participials.

The participial form of the verb rarely occurs. When it does, it functions as an adverb describing manner. It has no affixes, other than the adverbialiser -hi (sect. 20) and the enclitic -a 'OBL' marking it as a peripheral constituent, and there is no noun phrase grammatically related to it. The unexpressed subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

The following examples contrast the verb ki'daraha 'run' firstly as a participial (254) and then as an adverbial clause in which the verb has the dependent suffix (255) (sect. 14.1).

(254) a-kaikahi-'i-hi ki'darahi-hi-a
 1PL-arrive-ASP-THEME run-ADVBLZR-OBL
 'We arrived running.'

- (255) o-ki'daraha-ha-na o-o-kha-hi
 1SG-run-distance/time-DEP.INTRANS 1SG-away-MOT-THEME
 'I was running as I went.'

14.2 Complement clauses.

Subordinate clauses function as subject and object complement clauses. They occur also as predicate complements in equative clauses (14.6). An example is first given showing the basic equative clause construction (256). The equative clause can then function as the subject complement of a causative verb (257), but it is the dependent verb predicate complement that carries the semantic content. See 14.1.3 for a similar adverbial function of equative clauses.

- (256) kodi-amia ho-ra da-vini mani ida
 my-mother me-OBJ hit-DEP.TRANS COP DEM,neut
 'My mother's hitting me...'
- (257) kodi-amia ho-ra da-vini mani ida ho-ra
 my-mother me-OBJ hit-DEP.TRANS COP DEM,neut me-OBJ
 na-asara-ja
 CAUS-cry-IMMED
 'My mother hitting me caused me to cry.'

In (257) the dependent clause predicate nominal is transitive and has both subject and object nominals. The order SOV is virtually obligatory in this construction, since nominals never seem to occur following the dependent verb. When only a subject nominal precedes the verb, it has the a 'ERG' marker, but there is no ergative marking of the whole equative clause subject of the transitive (causative) main verb, nor does the other marker of ergativity, the prefix bi- '3SG', occur on the main verb (258).

- (258) masi-a bi-anani-vini mani ida na-abini-na
 bat-ERG 3SG-bite-DEP.TRANS COP DEM,neut CAUS-die-a
 hi-ja
 AUX-IMMED,neut
 'The bat's biting of it (a cock) caused it to die.'

The main verb in these constructions can be passivized, with the result that the equative clause can also function as a passive agentive phrase:

- (259) kidi-so'dini-a bi-na-kavamoni-ha-vini
 his-chest:pain-ERG 3SG-CAUS-be:ill-durative-DEP.TRANS
 na-badani-ri-na hi-ki
 CAUS-work-NEG-DEP.INTRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 'He was made to be unable to work by his chest pain causing him to be ill.'

In all the preceding examples, the dependent verb predicate complement has been transitive. It can also be intransitive, and the equative clause in which it occurs may be the subject (260) or the passive agent of the main verb (261).

- (260) o-noko'isi-na mani hida ho-ra ni-'oma-ja
 1SG-sleepy-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,neut me-OBJ CAUS-lie:down-IMMED
 'My being tired caused me to lie down.'

- (261) o-noko'isi-na mani hida ni-'oma-ni
 1SG-sleepy-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,neut CAUS-lie:down-DEP.INTRANS
 hi-ja
 AUX-IMMED
 'Through my being tired I was caused to lie down.'

A fronted equative clause can also be the object complement of the main verb, though this seems to occur less frequently than the subject complement construction. In this case, the predicate nominal is a nominalized, not a dependent verb and the equative clause is not followed by the direct object marker enclitic -ra:

- (262) vakadi-fajafaja-hi mani oni va-vi-'oma-ja
 3PL-be:exhausted-NOMLZR COP DEM,f 3PL-COMIT-lie:down-IMMED
 'They are lying down with their exhaustion '

In (262), the comitative prefix makes the verb transitive (sect. 18.5.3).

The dependent verb clause may also occur as subject of a main verb without being part of an equative clause. The same semantic function of cause is involved. The dependent clause subject may precede (263, 264) or follow (265, 266) the verb phrase in the main clause.

- (263) o-ka'da'di ka-'bana-ni o-kaaboka-jana-ra-vini ho-ra
 1SG-head N.CLASS-pain-f 1SG-bear-more-NEG-DEP.TRANS me-OBJ
 ni-'oma-ja
 CAUS-lie:down-IMMED
 'My not being able to bear the headache is causing me to lie down.'

- (264) korio-ra bada o-ni-'a-vini vani
 type:of:fish-OBJ work 1SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-DEP.TRANS CONTR
 o-sa'a-ra o-na-hado-ja
 my-hand-OBJ 1SG-CAUS-cut- IMMED
 'My cleaning fish caused me to cut my hand.' or 'Whilst I was cleaning fish I cut my hand.'

- (265) ho-ra ka-na-siho-ki o-vai'ami-na
 me-OBJ BEN-CAUS-fire-NONTHEME 1SG-hunger-DEP.INTRANS
 'My being hungry caused me to cook.'

- (266) ho-ra a-ra-kha-ri-ki bahi
 me-OBJ away-CAUS-MOT-NEG-NONTHEME rain
 kha-rari-na mahi oada-ni arabo'oa
 MOT-down-DEM.INTRANS day long-f non:flood:land
 'What is causing me not to go to non-flood land is it's raining all day long.'

The dependent verb construction can also be the direct object of the main verb. This includes complements of the verb *nofi* 'want' (268), but it is not restricted to this category (267). When it precedes the verb, the enclitic *-ra* 'OBJ' occurs (268).

- (267) khai bi-ni-'a-'a-ha ada kahami-ra
 happy 3SG-AUX-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME DEM,m palm:nut-OBJ
 ha-vini
 eat-DEP.TRANS
 'He was excited about eating palm nuts.'

- (268) o-joi-na-ra o-nofi-vini hi-ki
 1SG-return-DEP.INTRANS-OBJ 1SG-want-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 hida Maraha
 DEM.LOC Maraha
 'I want to return here to Maraha.'

14.3 Relative clauses.

A relative clause has an inflected verb with the suffix *-ki*. This suffix is glossed 'NONTHEME' when it occurs in a main verb and 'DESC' when it occurs as a nominal modifier. In this function, it can often be regarded as a simple adjective (sect. 15.3), as well as a relative clause. The head noun which the clause modifies may be the subject (269, 270), direct object (271, 272), or oblique constituent (273, 274) of the main clause. There do not appear to be any restrictions on the syntactic functions which the relativized constituent can have in the relative clause, the following examples illustrating subject (269, 270, 271), object (272, 273) and genitive (274) relativization. The relative clause normally follows the noun it modifies (but can have another constituent of the noun phrase following it, as in (273) and (274)), and the case markers *-ra* 'OBJ' and *-a* 'ERG' (270, 271) follow the relative clause when this is the final constituent of the whole noun phrase and when that phrase functions as object or subject, respectively, of the main clause in the preverbal position.

- (269) siri ka-jokira-ri-ki ho-ra na-ihamahi-'i-hi
 turtle VBLZR -salt-NEG-DESC me-OBJ CAUS-be:angry-ASP-THEME
 'I was angry because the turtle was unsalted.'
- (270) kidi-abi'i kahano-ki-a bi-akadai-'i-hi
 her-father drunk-DESC-ERG 3SG-squash-ASP-THEME
 'Her father who was drunk squashed her.'

- (271) bano ka-si'aha-na hoja-roni-ki-ra
 piranha,m GEN-pot-m remain-still-DESC-OBJ
 a-na-ibavi jaha-'a-ha
 1PL-CAUS-put:away-ASP-THEME
 'He put away the cooking pot of piranhas which had remained.'
- (272) jara anani pa'isi-a bi-ka-va-ki'daraha-'i-hi ida
 non:Indian female small-ERG 3SG-N.CLASS-COMIT-run-ASP-THEME DEM,f
 sapiva o-a-vi-kha-'i-ki
 hat 1SG-away-COMIT-MOT-ASP-DESC
 'The little non-Indian girl ran with the hat which I had brought.'
- (273) a-va-ko-'omisi-'a-ha kaasi o-rakhai-vini
 away-3PL-canoes-dock-ASP-THEME beach 1SG-plant-DEP-TRANS
 o-nofi-ki a'ini-ni-a
 1SG want-DESC upriver-f-OBL
 'They docked at the upriver beach which I wanted to plant.'
- (274) jara anani kidi-isai jaha-ni bodi-ni-a abini-ki kani
 non-Indian female her-child abdomen-r inside-f-OBL die-DESC place
 gora-ni adamini-ni a-ko-'omisi-'iana-hi
 house-f port-f 1PL--canoe-dock-again-THEME
 'We docked at the port of the house of the non-Indian woman who had her dead baby in her abdomen.'

In (275), there is a headless relative clause ('Ones who kill our people') embedded in a purpose adverbial clause. The 'f/neut' gender form of the demonstrative *ida* precludes this from being the head of the relative clause (*ida*, in fact, refers to the whole dependent clause that follows).

- (275) Orobana kidi-isai-ra honaria-vini hi-ni ida
 Orobana,m his-son-OBJ order-DEP.TRANS AUX-DEP.INTRANS DEM,neut
 akadi-ija'ari-ra na-abini-ki joroni-ni
 our-people-OBJ CAUS-die-DESC gather-DEP.INTRANS
 'Orobana ordered his son, so that those who were killing our people should gather together.'

14.4 Nominalized verb constructions.

Nominalized verb constructions are more fully discussed and exemplified in sect. 15.4. Here I just summarize the different types of subordinate clause they express: adverbial clause (276), subject complement clause (277), object complement clause (278).

(276) kodi-kana-i naothinia o-vadi-'i-hi
 mv-bath-NOMLZR after 1SG-sleep-ASP-THEME
 'After my bathing, I slept.'

(277) 'bana-ki hida o-sii-na
 be:painful-NONTHEME DEM,f 1SG-wound-1SG:neut
 'My wound hurts.'

(278) bi-kamitha-'i-hi ida kodi-asara
 3SG-hear-ASP-THEME DEM,f my-cry
 'He heard my crying.'

14.5 Indirect and direct quotation.

There are a number of verbs which govern an indirect quotation as either the object (279) or the demoted object (280). The type of quotation is reflected in the choice of verb. For example, kahi- 'say' governs a statement, na'dohi- 'ask' governs a question and honaria- 'order, request' governs a command.

(279) a-ka-sipatihi-ha-na-ra kahi-ha ada papai
 1PL-VBLZR-bananas-ACTION-DEP.INTRANS-OBJ say-THEME DEM,m father
 'Father said that we would go to get bananas.'

(280) Siri-a bi-na-na'dohi-vini hi-ki ida siriga
 Siri-ERG 3SG-CAUS-ask-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME DEM,neut rubber
 mahi hahavi hado-na
 day every cut-DEP.INTRANS-m
 'Siri asked about rubber being cut daily.'

Note that in (280) siriga 'rubber' is masculine so the suffix on 'cut' is also masculine. The form of the demonstrative ida 'neut' shows grammatical agreement with the entire dependent clause in the demoted object place. The indirect speech complement functions as a demoted object, since the direct object of the verb na'dohi 'ask' is the person of the addressee (not overtly expressed in this example).

(281) oma-na bi-honaria-ha ada jomahi
 lie:down-DEP.INTRANS 3SG-order-THEME DEM,m dog
 'He ordered the dog to lie down.'

(2281) akadi-ija'ari-ra nahina kaimoni va-na-abini-vini
 our-people-OBJ what PURP 3PL-CAUS-ask-DEP.TRANS
 va'o-ra va-na-na'dohi-vini adani sorara
 3PL-OBJ 3PL-CAUS-ask-DEP.TRANS DEM.PL soldier
 'They asked the soldiers for what purpose they were killing our people.'

Some quotation verbs only occur with indirect quotation complements, e.g. kahi- 'say'; others may have either a direct or an indirect quotation complement. Compare the following direct quotation sentences with (280) and (281) above, where the same main verbs are used:

(282) Siri ho-ra na-na'dohi-'i-hi, nahina mani hida?
Siri me-OBJ CAUS-ask-ASP-THEME, what COP DEM,f
'Siri asked me, "What is this?" '

(283) bi-honaria-ha ada jamahi, oma'a
3SG-order-THEME DEM,m dog, lie:down
'He ordered the dog, "Lie down." '

Other verbs that require the addressee to be the direct object are: naamina- 'to ask (someone) for help with', kanamoni- 'to tell', kaabani- 'to warn', nanantha- 'to recount, to tell' and nava'isohi- 'to advise'. The enclitic -ra marks the addressee and the content of the communication is the oblique (demoted) object.

Verbs that may take either a direct or an indirect quotation usually take the latter.

Direct quotation is, however, very common and usually has the verb ni- 'say' as the main verb governing the quotation. The verb ni- always takes a direct quotation complement. Other verbs are also used as speech verbs (285-288).

(284) i-o-fini-mani-ja? o-ni-'a-'i-hi
'2SG-INTRNSTVZR-fear-Q-IMMED?' 1SG-say-TRNSTVZR-ASP-THEME
' "Are you afraid?" I said to her.'

(285) kidi-vabo-a bi-kaabani-'a-ha Ajabona, hari'a
his-brother:in:law-ERG 3SG-warn-ASP-THEME Brother:in:law, don't
bana varavara-jana
warning talk-any:more
'His brother-in-law warned him, "Brother-in-law, don't talk any more." '

(286) kaihivadi-'i-hi ida kidi-gamo ho-ra kada-isai-a
tease-ASP-THEME DEM,f his-wife me-OBJ your-child-OBL
'His wife teased, "Give me your child." '

(287) kidi-amia-a bi-kaja'oria-'a-ha hari'a asara
his-mother-ERG 3SG-be:annoyed:at-ASP-THEME don't cry
'His mother was annoyed at him, "Don't cry." '

(288) Jara-Ø bi-na-na'dohi-hi ida prima Bitxi nahina-ra
non-Indian-ERG 3SG-CAUS-ask-THEME DEM,f cousin Bitxi what-OBJ
vi-fini-vini adani isai?
3PL-fear-DEP.TRANS DEM.PL children
'The outsider asked cousin Bitxi, "What are the children afraid of?" '

The 'say' verb margin may precede or follow the quotation. Occasionally it both precedes and follows (290). There may also be direct quotation without any 'say' verb (291). In most others, however, the margin follows the quotation.

- (289) amo'amo Basai ho-ra na-na'dohi-mai-hi, mamai, ada
 cousin Basai,f me-OBJ CAUS-ask-nearby:house-THEME, mother, DEM,m
 vanavana-ha-maina-ha?
 go:to:see-distance-next-THEME
 'Cousin Basai asked me, "Mother, has he gone along to have a look?"'
- (290) o-ni-ha-hi, 'ba'da-ki hada, o-ni-ha-hi
 1SG-say-distance-THEME, seedy-DESC DEM,m 1SG-say-distance-THEME
 'I said, "It is seedy," I said.'
- (291) Ho, Raofanaro, kahami hada a-karaga-'iana-ra
 Ho, Raofanaro, palm:nuts DEM,m 1 PL-find-again-IMMED
 va-na-bavi-Ø va-vi-kha-ra-foni-Ø
 2PL-CAUS-container-IMP, 2PL-COMIT-MOT-downwards-port-IMP
 "'Ho, Raofanaro, we've found palm nuts again." "Put them in a container
 and bring them to the port."

The quotative margin is usually an independent clause in which the 'say' verb has theme suffix -hi/-ha 'THEME', indicating that the speech act is regarded as an event in the discourse structure. The subordinating affixes -vini or -ni/-na also occur quite frequently.

14.6 Embedded equative clauses.

In earlier subsections of sect. 14, I have shown that equative clauses with dependent verb predicate nominals can be embedded as a limited number of constituents of a main clause: subject, passive agent and adverbial clause. In this subsection I discuss some general characteristics of these embedded equatives.

Equative clauses are described in sect. 1. Only those clauses that have the copula mani are involved in these embeddings. In every case, mani is followed by a demonstrative. In the simple equative clause, the predicate complement is a noun phrase and the demonstrative agrees with the head noun of that phrase.

- (292a) nahina mani ida
 what COP DEM,f
 'What is that?'
- (292b) si'aha mani ida
 cooking:pot COP DEM,f
 'That is a cooking pot.'

Where the predicate complement contains as its nucleus a dependent verb form or a nominal derived from a verb, the gender distinction is neutralized and the feminine

demonstrative is used as the neutral form. This rule applies irrespective of the gender of subject or object nominals that may occur with the dependent verb. Either hida, the "near" deictic, or ida, the "far" deictic, may be used.

- (293) bada o-ni-na mani hida hida ho-ra
work 1SG-AUX-DEP.INTRANS COP DEM,neut DEM.LOC me-OBJ
na-ho ja-ja
CAUS-stay-IMMED
'My working is causing me to remain here.'

- (294) o-karahoba-ra-vini mani ida bahi-a
1SG-cover-NEG-DEP.TRANS COP DEP,neut rain-ERG
bi-na-a'ba-vini hi-ja
3SG-CAUS-wet-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
'Because I didn't cover it over the rain made it wet.'

There are two types of predicate nominal involving kaimoni 'PURP' that result in embedded equatives that function as adverbials. In one, the particle kaimoni governs a noun phrase and the demonstrative takes the gender of the head noun (295). In the other, kaimoni governs a dependent verb construction and the demonstrative then has neutral (feminine) form (296).

- (295) o-jora-na kaimoni mani hada o-namonha-ra
1SG-mat,m-neut PURP COP DEM,m 1SG-CAUS:make-IMMED, m
'For it to be my mat I'm making it.'

- (296) kodi-makari-ra o-rokhoi-vini kaimoni mani hida
my-cloth-OBJ 1SG-sew-DEP.TRANS PURP COP DEM,neut
o-nofi-ja, va'a
1SG-want-IMMED, thread
'For sewing my material I want it, thread.'

In these embedded constructions, the equative clause is always the first constituent of the main clause. This fits the pattern of fronting constituents and adding certain elements (in this case mani + COP) for the purpose of emphasis, contrast, or prominence of some kind. In the case of the embedded equative construction, as I suggest in 14.1.3, the effect seems to be much the same as the pseudo-clefting device in English. See also sect. 9.

The equative clause, as a constituent of the main clause, usually stands alone, without any enclitic or particle following it. Occasionally, as in (297), a particle (viahania) may follow, and it seems to function as part of the (adverbial) constituent.

- (297) o-a-na-ja'di-vini mani ida viahani-a
1SG-STATVZR-CAUS-new-DEP.TRANS COP DEP,neut before-neut-OBL

o-na-tarara-vini hi-ja
 1SG-CAUS-pull:down-DEP.TRANS AUX-IMMED
 'Because before I renew it (house) I'm pulling it down.'

When the predicate nominal is a dependent verb construction, the function of the equative clause appears to be restricted to the three categories: subject, passive agent and adverbial, and the semantic functions seem to be limited to agent, cause-reason and purpose. Equative clauses with noun phrase complements also occur as direct objects (298), as well as subjects (299).

(298) nahina mani hida i-nofi-ja
 what COP DEM,f 2SG-want-IMMED
 'What is it you want?'

(299) nahina mani ida abini-ja
 what COP DEM,f die-IMMED
 'What died?'

14.7 Subordination by juxtaposition: conditional clauses.

A full conditional sentence consists of two sets of two juxtaposed clauses, showing a condition and a result and the alternative condition and result.

(300) i-o-kha-hi; o-o-kha-hi; i-o-kha-ri-hi;
 2SG-away-MOT-THEME 1SG-away-MOT-THEME 2SG-away-MOT-NEG-THEME
 ni-o-o-kha-ki
 NEG-1SG-away-MOT-NONTHEME
 'If you go, I'll go; if you don't go, then I won't go.'

The alternative condition is often omitted.

(301) o-karaga-hi; o-a-vi-kha-hi
 1SG-find-THEME 1 SG-away-COMIT-MOT -THEME
 'If I find it, I will take it.'

There is no morphological marking for a conditional clause, but it is phonologically marked by rising intonation at the end of the first clause and falling intonation on the second.

If the clause is positive the -hi/-ha 'THEME' suffix occurs on both clauses (301). The conditional clause may be negated with the suffix -ri 'NEG' and the result clause may be negated with the negative enclitic ni- and the thematic suffix becomes -ki.

(302) aihota-ri-hi; ni-o-joi-joraki-ki
 better-NEG-THEME NEG-1 SG-return-quickly-NONTHEME
 'If she doesn't get better, then I will not return quickly.'

In modern speech, every Paumari uses the Portuguese se 'if' clause initially which makes it unambiguously conditional.

The contrafactual conditional relationship is also expressed by two clauses. The first is obligatorily marked by the particle vaha 'CONTRAFACT', which usually occurs immediately following the verb, and the thematic suffix is -ja/-ra 'IMMED,f/m' and the optional negative marker is the verb suffix -ri. The second clause has a -hi/-ha 'THEME' suffix, unless the clause is negative, in which case the -ki 'NONTHEME' occurs and the negative enclitic is ni-. The particle vaha may optionally be repeated in the second clause.

(303) o-ko-'bai-ja vaha; i-ra o-no'a-hi
 1SG-VBLZR-food-IMMED CONTRAFACT you-OBJ 1SG-give-THEME
 'If I had food I would give you some.'

(304) i-a-ka'oaha-ja vaha ida bakatha;
 2SG-N.CLASS-shut-IMMED CONTRAFACT DEM,f door:
 ni-voroni-ki ida isai
 NEG-fall-NONTHEME DEM,f child
 'If you had shut the door, the child wouldn't have fallen (out of the house).'

(305) o-ka-oho-ri-ja vaha;
 1SG-VBLZR-cold-NEG-IMMED CONTRAFACT;
 o-kana-ha-hi
 1SG-bathe-distance-THEME
 'If I didn't have a cold, I would go for a bath.'

14.8 Complex multi-embedded clauses.

Throughout sect. 14 there have been several examples of complex clauses with more than one dependent clause embedded. I close the section by summarizing, with a few examples, the degrees of complexity that can result from multi-embedding.

In (306), there are two -vini dependent verb clauses. The first, kodi-badava ho-ra baranaha-vini-ra, is a direct object complement clause (note the -ra 'OBJ' enclitic at the end of it, as well as another -ra 'OBJ' (ho-ra) which is the direct object phrase within the clause). This complement clause is embedded within a purpose adverbial clause, which has the dependent verb o-naba-vini in the final position. The main clause is sentence-initial, as is usual when purpose clauses occur.

(306) o-o-kha-mani-ki-ho ida Sete Boca,
 1SG-away-MOT-COP-NONTHEME-1SG DEM.LOC Sete Boca,
 kodi-badava ho-ra baranaha-vini-ra o-naba-vini
 my-nephew me-OBJ call-DEP.TRANS-OBJ 1SG-obey-DEP.TRANS
 'I'm going to Sete Boca, to respond to my nephew's calling me.'

In (307), there is a complex subject complement clause which begins with arakava and ends with oavikhahavini. The other constituents of the main clause are all that precedes arakava, including direct object, main verb and oblique (locative) phrase. Within the subject

complement clause is a direct object, arakava ... va'o-ra, which has embedded in it the relative clause vakaaraboriki-ra, which also has the object enclitic -ra, since it is in apposition with va'o-ra ('The chickens that had no land, them').

- (307) ho-ra a-ra-kha-misi-ki arabo'oa kani-a
 me-OBJ away-TRNSTVZR-MOT-high:land-NONTHEME non:flood:land place-OBL
 arakava va-ka-arabo-ri-ki-ra va'o-ra arabo'oa
 hen 3PL-VBLZR-land-NEG-NONTHEME-OBJ them-OBJ non:flood:land
 o-a-vi-kha-ha-vini
 ISG-away-COMIT-MOT-distance-DEP.TRANS
 'My taking to highland those chickens that had no land (is what) caused me to go to
 the highland.'

In (308), there is a coordinate sequence of three juxtaposed adverbial clauses, which semantically are a combination of manner and reason, and function to modify and explain the main part of the predication which occurs at the end of the sentence. All three dependent clauses are transitive, with verb-final -vini, but each has a slightly different internal structure: the first has an -a 'EGR' subject nominal preceding the verb and the hiki form of the auxiliary following; the second has a -ra direct object preceding the verb and -hini, the dependent form of the auxiliary, following; and the third has only the verb.

- (308) Raimundo-a bi-obari-vini hi-ki
Raimundo-ERG 3SG-drop:in:water-DEP.TRANS AUX-NONTHEME
 vajahari-ra ka-n-oba-vini hi-ni
 alligator-OBJ N.CLASS-CAUS-strike-DEP.TRANS AUX-DEP.INTRANS
 bi-ka-sa'a-faro-vini, o'omari-'i-hi ida jori
 3SG-N.CLASS-hand-slip-DEP.TRANS, sink-ASP-THEME DEM,f axe
 'Raimundo dropping (the axe) in the water, striking the alligator, his hand slipping,
 the axe sank.'