Clause linking in Akawaio (Cariban)

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1. Background Information: the People and the Project

There are some 10,000 Akawaio people, most (around 6000) living in Guyana (formerly British Guiana) and most of the rest (around 4000) living across the border in Venezuela. Akawaioos traditionally practiced slash and burn agriculture and maintained extensive trade relations with other tribes throughout the Guiana plateau and northern Brazil. Currently, Akawaio villages in Guyana are difficult to access without air travel from the capital, but the people are well-integrated into the national society: bilingualism in English is nearly universal, all children receive a standardized education (in English), and village leadership is decided via the same elections as the national government. Christianity has almost completely replaced shamanism, except in the area of black magic (kanaimô), which is still widely believed to be practiced by shamanic killers (idodo).¹

Akawaio is one of three recognized dialects of the Kapong language, the other two being Patamuna and Ingariko (Migliazza 1985); but clearly, the variation is deeper than three dialects, as Fox (2003) argues for three distinct dialects (and two sub-dialects) within just Akawaio as spoken in the village of Waramadong, and no detailed study exists for the other named dialects (although see Souza Cruz 2005). Kapóng, Pemón and Makushi form the Pemón Group, which then combines with Panare, †Tamanaku, Mapoya and Yawarana to form the core of the Venezuelan Branch of the Cariban language family (Gildea 2004). However, despite significant differences in phonology and grammar, there are many reports that Kapóng, Pemón and Makushi are mutually intelligible, and it is possible that the entire Pemón group is really more of a dialect area.

Our project: We are collaborating on a reference grammar of Akawaio, which will be based primarily on the collection of annotated texts supplemented with elicitation and participant observation. Desrey Fox is a native speaker of Akawaio who came to the US in 1998 as a Ph.D. student in linguistics at Rice University, which she completed in 2003, and Fox and Gildea have since worked together in Oregon and in Guyana. We currently have recorded roughly 11 hours of interviews with elders in the village of Waramadong, plus some village meetings. Fox (2003) transcribes, translates and annotates a subset of these texts (around 300 pages) and offers a 33-page grammar sketch. Our Shoebox database comprises 1684 records (most containing complex sentences, hence the number of clauses is probably in excess of 3000) and a lexicon of 1235 morphemes. Gildea has been to Guyana 3 times since 2004, during which time he has worked with other Akawaio speakers for a total of 4 weeks.

Nearly all our work on Akawaio has been done jointly. Although she did not have an active hand in preparing this talk, some of our conclusions here were already stated in Chapter 3 of Fox (2003). However, in the last 3 years we have added some new texts and refined prior transcriptions/analyses, sometimes leading to new or expanded conclusions. For more information, see Fox (2003) and/or ask Spike for copies of work in progress.

¹ Fox (1997, 2003 ch. 2) provides a rich look at discussion of Akawaio ethnography and spiritualism.
Map 1. The location of Guyana in South America
Map 2. The Approximate region of the Guiana Plateau
Map 3. Amerindian lands in Guyana
2. Typological Profile

- **General:** Cariban languages generally are agglutinative and mildly polysynthetic (generally between 2 and 7 affixes per verb, 0-3 per noun), but Akawaio shows a number of innovative analytical constructions that seem to be replacing older morphological operations. (e.g., causative, certain nominalizations)

- **Word Classes:** The distinction between root and word makes a difference. For roots, clear open classes are nouns and verbs, with moderate-sized (probably closed) classes of adverbs, postpositions, sound-symbolic words, and particles; for words, extremely productive category-changing derivational morphology shifts roots from one category to another, effectively making adverbs an open class and expanding adpositions to quite a large class. Quantifiers belong to the adverb class and roots with adjectival meanings are split between abstract nouns (size, weight, texture) and adverbs (color, etc.). Attributive modification (the big dog, the ugly man) is done syntactically by apposition of nouns (adverb roots must be nominalized to serve this function) and predicate modification (the dog is big, the man is ugly) is done by making an adverb the complement of the copula (noun roots must be adverbialized to serve this function).

- **Orthography:** We use the orthography developed by Fox (2003), which is on the phonetic end of the phonetic-phonological continuum. Non-IPA graphemes include ɨ, o [o, ɔ], sʰ [ʃ], j [ʒ], ð [tʃ], ɾ [ɾ], y [j], ng [ŋ], and ʔ [ʔ]. Unlike most Cariban languages, vowel length is not phonemic and there is no rhythmic stress system (in fact, the existence of systematic stress is not obvious). Recent phonological innovations in Akawaio include phonologization (in some cases morphologization) of intervocalic obstruent voicing and palatalization, plus a tense-lax distinction in mid front and back vowels (this latter is incipient, with very few minimal pairs, and it is not captured by the orthography). While distinctive at times, these innovative segments are all regularly found in morphophonological variation in synchronic morphemes, as well, complicating their analysis. Syllable reduction is ubiquitous in the Cariban family (Gildea 1995): in Akawaio, final syllables of noun roots reduce to /k/ or /ng/, final syllables of verb roots to /ɾ/ or /N/ (each of which interact differently with the first segment of subsequent suffixes). Different dialects handle individual phonological innovations differently (cf. Fox 2003.237-42).

- **The verb.** All verbs are either transitive or intransitive—there are no labile or ambitransitive verbs, nor is there syntactic evidence for a third core argument with semantically trivalent roots/stems. Valence may be adjusted morphologically by means of a detransitivizing prefix and a transitivizing suffix. Following the transitivizing suffix, derivational aspect suffixes may occur (Completive, Absolutive.Plural/Interative/Habitual).

\[([(\text{detransitive-})\text{root-(transitivizer)}(-\text{Aspect})])_{\text{STEM}}\]

- **Pronouns** distinguish 1Sg, 2Sg, 1+2 (inclusive), 1+3 (exclusive), 1+2Pl, and 2Pl. There is no dedicated third person anaphoric pronoun; instead, six demonstrative pronouns serve this function. They distinguish animate and inanimate participants, spatially proximal, medial and distal; all can be made plural. IMPORTANT: The inanimate singular distal demonstrative mûro can refer to preceding discourse, and as such plays an active role in clause linking. Most pronouns now end in the syllable rō, etymologically an emphatic particle/clitic; demonstrative roots can (rarely) occur without it, but to make a pronoun

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2 For a more detailed discussion of peridiocate modification, cf. Gildea 2005
emphatic (and when the pronoun occurs as the subject of a nonverbal predicate), a second rō is appended, e.g. kūrōrō ‘3Sg.Distal.Animate’.

- **Constituency** is not straightforward. There is strong evidence for two-word syntactic units, in which the first word is a dependent noun and the second word is the head of the unit: [OV]vp (in three verbal systems), [Abs V]vp (in the fourth verbal system), [Possr Possd]sp, and [N Postposition]pp. These phrases are prosodic and syntactic units that cannot be broken apart (although some nominal modifying clitics/particles can follow the first noun), and in all cases, the dependent free noun alternates with a personal prefix/proclitic. There is little evidence for larger syntactic units, including NPs (modifiers are other nouns (or pronouns) or adverbials, which occur in any order vis-à-vis the ‘head’ (the two-word unit), even sometimes discontinuously. Subordinate clauses are nearly all nominalizations with potentially discontinuous A arguments and oblique participants; however, in our text corpus, they usually occur with all their components contiguous.

- **Particles**: There are a lot of particles, and we don’t know precisely what they mean. ‘Emph(atic)’ represents Fox’s native speaker intuition, and further refinements await further investigation. Similarly we have not investigated the syntagmatic restrictions of individual particles: some are phrasal enclitics with semantic scope over the phrase they follow, the rest appear to have wider scope and appear to fall into first, second, or final position in the clause. The particle rō is particularly common, and probably has lost most of its emphatic force due to overuse and lexicalization (cf. pronouns); the pronoun mōrō also occurs as a postverbal particle, sometimes indicating future, other times with function unknown. While some of them may turn out to be relevant for this topic, for this talk, we have tried to restrict ourselves to claims that do not depend on deeper understanding of these particles.

3. **Structure of a main clause**

There are four distinct verbal inflectional systems in main clauses, each of which utilize personal prefixes, tense-aspect-modality suffixes, and number suffixes, but which differ in the grammatical relations coded by the prefixes and the number suffix, as well as in the tense-aspect-mood distinctions coded by the suffixes and the option (or required presence of) an auxiliary. The Imperative and Progressive/Desiderative systems are straightforward and semantically well-delineated, whereas the Ergative and Nonergative systems are grammatically distinct but have substantial semantic overlap. The vast majority of the clauses in the texts present the Ergative system, so I will only briefly characterize the other three without providing examples.

- **Imperative**
  
  Personal prefixes only occur on transitive verbs, distinguishing between 1O and 3O, in complementary distribution with a preverbal O (pro)noun; intransitive verbs take no prefix. Suffix meanings include ‘Imperative’, ‘go and V’, ‘come and V’, hortative, vetative (don’t V) and negative permissive (don’t let X V), all but the last varying for singular or plural (collective) subject; imperatives do not take an auxiliary. The imperative clause type reconstructs without important changes to Proto-Cariban.

- **Progressive/Desiderative**
  
  Personal prefixes indicate only O, in complementary distribution with an free (pro)noun O; intransitive verbs are invariant, taking Ø-, a- or i-, depending on the dialect. A/S is the

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3 For more details and illustrative examples, cf. Fox 2003, 103-137.

4 A mediated imperative inflection (polite command, ‘let me V’) structurally belongs to the Non-ergative system.
subject of the obligatory copular auxiliary, which may occur in any tense or aspect. The Desiderative verb bears the suffix -bai (etymology unknown) the transitive Progressive verb bears the suffix -pök ‘Prog.Tr’ (< *ri pökó ‘Nzr-on’), and the intransitive progressive verb bears the suffix -nöbök ‘Prog.Intr’ (< *nó pökó ‘Infinitive-on’).

• **Non-Ergative**
  Personal prefixes indicate S on intransitive verbs and a combination of A and O on transitive verbs. The 3A1O, 3A2O, and 3A3O prefixes are in complementary distribution with a preverbal O (pro)noun, but all the rest of the prefixes are obligatory, showing no sensitivity to free (pro)nouns in any role. The four inflectional suffixes come in two semantic pairs: immediate versus distant past (perfective) and nonpast (imperfective) certain versus uncertain epistemic modality. All four suffixes vary also for singular or plural (collective) SAP core argument. The non-ergative inflections do not take auxiliaries. The non-ergative clause type reconstructs (with substantial loss of complexity) to Proto-Cariban main clauses.

• **Ergative**
  Personal prefixes indicate absolutive, in complementary distribution with a preverbal absolutive (pro)noun. The most frequent inflectional suffixes in the texts are -Ø (< *-rî) ‘Nonpast (imperfective),’ -‘pî ‘Past (perfective),’ and -zak ‘Perfect,’ with future indicated in various ways, most frequently -Ø mörö ‘Future’ and -do’pe ‘Future/Obligation’. Personal prefixes/proclitics on the verb indicate absolutive (1d), in complementary distribution with a preverbal absolutive (pro)noun (1a-c); the A enclitic (1a, 1d) follows the inflectional suffix, bears the ergative suffix -uya/-ya/-wa/-a, and is in complementary distribution with an ergative-marked free (pro)noun A (1c). The free A may occur before or after the VP. An optional auxiliary may follow the VP, creating complex tense-aspect distinctions (e.g. pluperfect). Unlike in other Cariban languages, the negative is a standard Set II clause followed by the particle bra ‘Neg’, plus the optional auxiliary (1d).

(1) a. [ ] [ O ] V<sub>TR</sub>-A-ERG AUX
tu gaijarö nam tumunggö yamök enno'sai'ya ne'tai
tu gaijarö namo t-munggö amök ennogí-zak-i-ya n- eji-dai
two in.number UNCRTNTY 3R-children PL send-PERF-3-ERG 3S-be-PAST
'She had sent probably two of her children' (RA Personal Narrative 206)

b. [ ] [ O ] V<sub>INTR</sub> AUX
kamoro ye' sak esh'pî
kamoro yebí-zak eji-'pî
3.PL.ANIM come-PERF be-PAST
'They had come.' (EW Kanaimô 133)

c. [ A ] ERG [ O ] V<sub>TR</sub> AUX
pasta abdool a nya mari'ma-'pî mang
pasta abdool ya nya mari'ma-'pî mang
Pastor Abdul ERG 1+3 marry-PAST 3.be.PRES
'Pastor Abdool married us' (AE Personal Narrative 030)
All tense-aspect inflections in the Ergative verbal system come from nominalizations, and all still function as subordinate clauses (still nominalizations?) with no additional subordinating morphology. Several clause linkage strategies create adverbial clauses by simply placing a semantically appropriate postposition after a nominalized/main clause verb.

- **Copular clauses**

  There are two fully inflected intransitive verbal copulas, *eji* ‘be’ and *ko’mani* ‘live, continue, keep (Ving)’, plus two suppletive third person forms (that pattern exclusively as Non-ergative inflected verbs), *mang* ‘3.be.Present’ (certain, and with present relevance) and *nai* ‘3.be.Uncertain’ (the ‘uncertainty’ counterpart of *mang*). These same four copulas are the auxiliaries for the complex tense-aspects mentioned earlier. CS is identical to any S; the complement of the copula can only be an adverb or a postpositional phrase. For equative (2a-b) or inclusion predicates, the predicate N bears the suffix/postposition *be* ‘Attributive’ (semantically empty in some cases).

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  (2a) & \quad [N \ P]_{pp} \quad SC-COP \\
  & \quad u-gübiñi \quad be \quad y-\epsilon-\text{-Ø} \\
  & \quad 1-\text{father} \quad ATTR \ 3-be-NONPAST \\
  & \quad ‘\text{He is my father}’
  \end{align*}
  \]

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  (2b) & \quad [N \ P]_{pp} \quad SC-COP \\
  & \quad \text{radio} \quad Attr \ 3.be.IMMED \\
  & \quad ‘\text{It’s a radio}.’
  \end{align*}
  \]

  As mentioned earlier, predicate modifiers can only be adverbials: modifiers that are lexically nouns generally appear with *be* ‘Attr’ (3a-b), whereas modifiers that are lexically adverbs require no further morphology (4). The copula is also used with predicate locatives, existentials, and predicates of possession (English ‘have’).

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  (3a) & \quad [N \ P]_{pp} \quad SC-COP \quad S \quad S \quad SC-COP \\
  & \quad yuwang \quad be \quad y-\epsilon-\text{-p}i \quad kürö \quad -rö \\
  & \quad \text{hungry} \quad Attr \ 3-be-PAST \ 3.ANIM-EMPH \\
  & \quad ‘\text{He was hungry}.’ \quad (\text{before dinner})
  \end{align*}
  \]

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  (3b) & \quad [N \ P]_{pp} \quad SC-COP \\
  & \quad yöö \quad mang \quad kuzang-\text{-be} \\
  & \quad \text{tree} \ 3.be.IMMED \ 3-long-\text{-ATTR} \\
  & \quad ‘\text{The tree is tall}.’ \quad (\text{enough for some task at hand})
  \end{align*}
  \]

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  (4) & \quad [N \ P]_{pp} \quad SC-COP \\
  & \quad aimu’ne \quad 0-\epsilon-\text{-tai} \quad e-\text{tane} \quad seröbe \quad e-\text{tane} \quad juwee\hat{e} \quad 0-\epsilon-\text{-Ø} \\
  & \quad \text{white} \ 1-be-DIST.PAST \ 3-but \ 1-be-PRES \\
  & \quad ‘\text{I was white, but now I’m red}.’ \quad (\text{after I spent too much time in the sun one day})
  \end{align*}
  \]

- **Nonverbal clauses**

  Simple equative and proper inclusion clauses are usually done by juxtaposition of two nouns, generally (but not obligatorily) predicate noun first, subject pronoun second. The pronoun obligatorily bears -*rö* ‘Emph’ (5a) and if the subject is a full noun, then the pronoun still occurs, but now between the predicate noun and the subject noun (5b).
4. Non-main clauses

Nearly all non-main clauses are built around nominalized or adverbialized verbs. Finite relative clauses exist (based on the non-ergative clause type), but participant nominalizations are more frequent (instead of the women who made the beer, we find the women, the makers of the beer). Complement clauses are action nominalizations, identical to ergative main clauses in all details (6) except that there is no auxiliary (unless it, too, is nominalized) and a third person reflexive prefix *tī*– ‘3R’ can occur to indicate that a core argument is coreferential with the main clause subject (7). The absolutive argument obligatorily possesses the nominalized verb, and so cannot be ellipsed; while the oblique A is not obligatory, it almost always occurs.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[[( N \ P)_{pp} & CS-Cop]_0 \ VTR]-A-ERG & \text{NEG} \\
\text{e'tane} & \text{ji} & \text{idodo be ye'sak enauya beng} \\
\text{however Emph killer Attr 3-be-Perf see-Nonpast-2-Erg Neg} \\
\text{‘However, you still would not see that he has become a killer.’} & & & (EW Kanaimö 079)
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[S-V-NZN]_0 \ V_{TR}-A-ERG & \text{NEG SC-AUX} \\
\text{tutōtok} & \text{i'tuiya bra ji mörau} \\
\text{3-go-NZR know-3-Erg Neg 3-be-Nonpast there} \\
\text{‘He did not know (where) he was going then,’} & (RA Eagle Story 032 <115.898>)
\end{array}
\]

5. Types of Clause Linking

**Preliminary Orientation:** grammatical categories of Clause Linkage in Akawaio:

- One clause is an adverbial clause, dependent on the other, its matrix clause. The adverbial clause can occur in either order vis-à-vis the nucleus of its main clause. In such examples, I underline the entire adverbial clause. The two main strategies for creating the particular adverbial clauses relevant for clause linkage are:
  - Inflect the verb with an adverbializing suffix, e.g. *-dane* ‘while, although’, *-i'ma* ‘while’, *-ik/se'na* ‘Supine (Purpose of motion)’, *-do'pe* ‘Purpose, Result’. Some of these have obligatory S > S/A pivots with main clause argument structure.
  - Follow a nominalized verb with a postposition (double-underlined), e.g. *ke* ‘Instrumental’, *wenai* ‘from, because’, *koro'tau* ‘within’, *dībo* ‘after’, *abai* ‘from’. These clauses are nearly identical to main clauses, differing only in their ability to use reflexive possessive affixes to indicate core arguments.
- Place a conjunction-like word or phrase between the two clauses (underline only the conjunction). The two attested strategies for creating a conjunction-like word/phrase:
  - Inflect the copular verb with an adverbial suffix, e.g. *e'tane* ‘but’, *a'tai* ‘if, when’
  - Use the pronoun *mörō* ‘3.Sg.Inanimate.distal’ (or just ‘that’) to refer to preceding discourse, then make it the object of a postposition.
The Semantic Typology

A Addition (and) — juxtaposition only, in the order antecedent clause (and) following clause.

(8) a. möröbang ji emo'kaiya mörö egebe egebe tok enabödï
möröbang ji emo'ka-i-ya mörö ege-be ege-be tok ena-pödï-Ø
thereafter EMPH raise-3-ERG FUT big -ATTR big -ATTR 3PL become-PL.ABS-NONPAST
‘Then he will make them grow and they get very big’ (RA Piyai'ma Story 013 <29.673>)

b. doh! iwönö iya, tok pök chi yenda'nabödï'pï mörö
doh i-wönö-Ø i-ya tok pök ji i-endã'na-pödï-’pï mörö
wham! 3-kill-NONPAST 3-ERG 3PL on EMPH 3-eat-ITER-PAST AI
‘Doh! He would kill one and eat him (lit. ‘them’),’ (RA Piyai'ma Story 014 <33.968>)

No clear criteria to claim one clause is supporting the other—appears to be simple sequentiality.

Ao Disjunction (or) no examples

B Contrast — two strategies, all from various types of temporal ‘while’ clauses

• The SC marker is the verbal suffix -dane ‘while’, which creates a dependent (adverbial) clause. In all cases in the corpus, the verb that bears -dane is final in the SC. The order SC FC (example 9) is attested 9 times, the order FC SC (example 10) twice. In one case, the verbal suffix -i’ma ‘while’ expresses contrast (11).

(9) e'nek pe bra rö e'tane tok a yene bra rö ji ...
e'nek be bra rö Ø-eji-dane tok ya y-ene-Ø bra rö y-eji-Ø
sick ATTR NEG EMPH 1-be-while 3PL.ERG 1-see-NONPAST NEG EMPH 3-be-NONPAST
‘Although (lit. ‘while’) I am not sick, (I still say) they are not visiting me'
R (Personal Narrative 036 <157.960>)

(10)a. mörö wenai ri'kwö nya hom mang se gaza ri'kwörö
mörö wenai ri'kwö nya hom mang se kaza ri'kwö-rö
that because DIM 1+3 home 3.be.PRES this like DIM-EMPHE
‘That is why our home is like this’ (AE Personal Narrative 040 <163.364>).

b. nya ri'kwörö e'trainadane
nya ri'kwö-rö e'trama-dane
1+3 DIM-EMPHE try-while
‘Although we are trying our best’ (AE Personal Narrative 041 <165.808>)
good specifically church within 2-be-While sick in EMPH ADV-DET-hurt-PRTCPL

‘Although (while) you are in a good church, all of you seem to live while hurting each other.’ (R Personal Narrative 022)

• The more frequent contrast strategy utilizes the conjunction e’tane ‘but, although’ (< eji-dane ‘be-while’) at the end of the SC (12) or at the start of the FC (13-14); the latter type may be preceded by a SC (13), but sometimes occurs in the absence of any SC (14).

(12)a. nya a rî’kwô rô ebobô’sak tamboro rî’kwôrô e’tane
nya ya rî’kwô rô eboro-bôdî-zak tamboro rî’kwô-rô e’tane
1+3 ERG DIM EMPH find -PL.ABS-PERF all DIM-EMPH although
‘Although we have gotten all the other things,’ (AE Personal Narrative 042 <167.390>)

b. nya rî’kwô go’mamî se gaza rô
nya rî’kwô ko’mamî-Ø serô kaza rô
1+3 DIM live-NONPAST this like EMPH
‘We live just like this’ (AE Personal Narrative 043 <169.613>)

(13)a. diöbai ye’tane niïngbôdîuya mô skur dau,
i-tô-bai y-eji-dane i-nümî-bôdî-u-ya mô skur tau
3-go-DESID 3-be-while 3-leave-HAB-1-ERG ? school within
‘Although he wants to go, I always leave him at school,’

b. e’tane serô be ji yebori’mazak chi mörô
e’tane serô pe ji y-eboro’ma-zak ji mörô
but this Attr EMPH 3-be.happy-PERF EMPH ?
‘but this time he is (has become) really happy (that he is really going)’
(RA Personal Narrative 255 <868.064>)

Example 14 comes in a conversation about a mythical evil giant, piyai’ma, where the storyteller is speculating about whether piyai’ma might once have been a human when one of the listeners interrupts with a question, apparently using e’tane to indicate that the question does not follow the current discourse topic. The storyteller gives a cursory answer and returns to the introduction to his story.
The distinction between *e'tane* ‘but, although’ and the phonologically identical form *eji-dane* ‘be-While’ is seen in two ways: (i) *e'tane* ‘but, although’ never inflects for or takes a preverbal subject (contrast *y-e'tane* ‘3-be-While’ in 13a with *e'tane* in 13b), and (ii) *eji-dane* ‘be-while’ comes in the location of the verb in the SC (which may be final, but is never initial), whereas *e'tane* ‘but, although’ is always at the margin of its clause, at the end of the SC or initial in the FC. While I have no arguments for this scenario, the path of the reanalysis appears to be straightforward:

[[... eji-dane]_SC, [FC]] > [[SC e'-tane], [FC]] > [[SC], [e'tane FC]].

That said, it is not transparent that the FC/SC distinction is always clear for this strategy: not only is there not always a SC (cf. 14), in example (12) my intuition is that the preceding clause is actually the focus of this conversational turn, which is about going on the trip and that the speaker is not going alone, but is taking the grandson along; the *e'tane* clause feels more like a side-comment about how happy the boy is.

- A marginal contrast strategy is a separate extension of *eji-dane* ‘be-While’, in which the subject of the copula is the pronoun *mörö* ‘3.Inan.Distal’, which is usually glossed simply ‘that’. This pronoun is often used to refer to the preceding discourse, and when followed by *e'tane*, it gives the literal meaning ‘while (although) that (is so)’, which I would translate more colloquially as ‘even so’, or, ‘despite that’. To illustrate, consider the discourse preceding (15):

> ‘One person told this account, so my father-in-law/uncle said: ‘We are about to go to Kako to drink *kajiri,* they (*idodos* [killer shamans]) said. They had probably touched and used it (the *kanaimö* [black magic] charm) before travelling to Kako. Not even in one second, they went to Kako! From here, Kako is 6 hours walking!’

(15) *mörö ji* *e'tane* *hai!*
*mörö ji* *eji-dane* *hai*
that Emph be-While Wow!
‘despite that (lit, ‘While that is (so)’), Hai! (They did it.)’ (EW Kanaimö 128)

- One more marginal contrast strategy is the use of the postposition *koro'tau* ‘within, while, although’ following the nominalized SC clause (16).

(16) *naigaza* *tòwö veji* *i'che* *eji* *goro'tau, ye'nonggazak* *pök*
*nai* *gaza* *tòwö* *y-eji-Ø* *i'che* *Ø-eji-Ø* *goro'tau* *y-e'longga-zak* *bök*
what like let 3-be-NONPAST DESID 1-be-NONPAST within 3-leave-PERF on
‘While I wanted her to be like that, she has left’ (CB. Personal Narrative 006 <14.380>)
C Consequence

All three of the different subtypes of consequence are found in our database, some with multiple strategies. In this section, the pronoun mörö begins to really make its presence felt, occurring clause-initially with various postpositions to give different nuances to the links with the previous discourse: ‘with (Instr) that’, ‘because of that’, ‘from that’, ‘one that is like that (therefore)’, etc. (more of these are found handling temporal relations). Additionally, each of these subtypes can be expressed via one or more verbal inflections or postpositions following nominalized verbs to mark a dependent SC, connected to the main FC by the specific meaning it expresses.

C1 Reason

- The postpositions ke ‘Instrumental’ and wenai ‘for, from, because’ can follow nominalized verbs to create a reason SC, dependent on the main clause FC.

(17)a. ö'rö be ku ji ___________ ke sa'ne ye'onggazak mö go
ö'rö be kuru y-eji-Ø ge sa'ne y-ënggazak mö ko
what like EMPH 3-be-NONPAST INSTR EMPH 3-leave-PERF UNCRTN EMPH
‘For what reason is she really leaving?’ (lit. ‘With it being for what …’)
(CB. Personal Narrative 039 <122.985>)

b. biaröi'ma be sa'ne ji yi'tu[i]'ya ___________ bra ji ___________ ge
i-paröi'ma pe sa'ne ji y-i'lu-O-i-ya bra y-eji ke
3-according to ATTR EMPH EMPH 3-know-NONPAST-3-ERG NEG 3-be-NONPAST INSTR
zenumingga
Ø-senumingga-Ø
1-wonder-NONPAST
‘According to her, because she does not know (it) (lit. ‘with its not being known by her’), I am wondering/thinking’ (CB. Personal Narrative 040 <132.968>)

(18)a. gia'nö'ping ni'kwö rö za'ne öni'ang ebozau'ya,
gia'ño-böing ri'kwö rö sa'ne öniük-ang eboro-zak-au-ya
tasty-PRIV DIM EMPH EMPH who-PL find-PERF-2-ERG
‘These tasteless little ones, who(pl) have you found?’

b. ee'onggazak wenai ning
a-e'onggazak-za wenai ning
2-leave-PERF because EMPH
‘because you have left?’
(CB. Personal Narrative 091 <282.922>)

Note that the SC can be negative by simply placing the postposition after the nominalized copular auxiliary (17b), and that it may either precede (17a-b) or follow (18b) the FC. The use of the instrumental postposition in this way is a pan-Cariban strategy, and it is attested 10 times in our corpus; the extension of ‘for/from’ to ‘because’ following a nominalized verb is unattested.
elsewhere in the family, and is only attested 2-3 times in our corpus; the postposition pök ‘on (attached to)’ is attested once as well:

(19) abök ebori’maaik e’nonggazak pök bennö ning
    a-pök Ø-ebori’ma-aiik e-e’nongga-zak pök beng-nö ning
    2-on 1S-be.happy-PRES 2-leave-PERF on NEG-EMPH EMPH
    ‘I am happy for you but not because you have resigned/left,’ (lit. ‘not on your leaving’)
    (CB. Personal Narrative 093 <291.103>)

• An occasional Reason strategy is the use of the pronoun mörö followed by the reason postposition: mörö wenai ‘because of/from that’.

(20)a. mörö wenai ji tok maimu ji wagi kuru bra rö,
    mörö wenai ji tok maimu eji-Ø wagi kuru bra rö
    that because EMPH 3PL language be-NONPAST good EMPH NEG EMPH
    ‘That is why their language (other dialects of Akawaio) is not good,’

b. a’chi’tai tok maimu ji
    a’chi’tai tok maimu eji-Ø
    mixed.up 3PL language be-NONPAST
    ‘their language is all mixed up.’ (RA Personal Narrative 128 <429.650>)

Grammatically, this clause seems to belong with the result linkage described in the next section, but it seems that semantically it is closer to a reason than a result. Example (20) follows a long discursus (16 clauses) on different words used by different groups of Akawaios for the same concepts, after which this summarizes the conclusion that follows from all those examples. Grammatically, the preceding discourse does not provide a simple SC to support the FC, and semantically, the state expressed in the FC does not appear to be a result that is caused by the facts expressed in the preceding discourse, but rather a conclusion that is supported by those facts.

C2 Result

• In Result clauses, the SC comes first, often followed by a pause, and then a phrase that means ‘for that reason’/ ‘because of that’ at the beginning of the FC (21). In our corpus, 30 of the 31 instances of mörö wenai preceded result clauses; the same strategy is attested once with the Instrumental postposition: mörö ge ‘with/because of that’.

(21) piyai’chang ya nörö tok enuba migi te’tok au rö, nügabö’ang
    piyai’chang ya nörö tok enuba-Ø migi t-eji-dok yau rö n-ka-bööi-ang
    shaman ERG also 3PL teach-Nonpast HES 3R-be-Nzr when Emph 3S-say-ITER-PRES
    ne tok ko, mörö wenai tok zenjima ok pe
    ne tok ko mörö wenai tok z-enjima-Ø ok pe
    particularly 3PL EMPH that because 3PL DETR-transform-NONPAST game ATTR
    ‘They say that the shaman teaches them (the idodos) at being just like him, and because of that, they can transform themselves into game animals,’ (EW Kanaimo 141)
Additionally, one anomalous use of the purpose suffix -se'na occurs marking result (22). In addition to the semantic anomaly are two grammatical anomalies: in all other examples (and in elicitation), the -se'na clause is dependent on an intransitive verb of motion and the S of the -se'na clause is coreferential with the S of the matrix motion verb; in (22), the main verb is transitive (albeit still a verb of motion), and the S of the -se'na clause is coreferential with the O of the matrix clause.

(22) wagï be zenubado'pe bra rö tok a biningbabodî'pî mörö
wagï pe senuha-do'pe bra rö tok ya Ø-pinimû-ba-bûdî'-pî mörö
good ATTR learn-PURP NEG EMPH 3Pl.ERG 1-walk-TRAN-ITER-PAST ?
‘They took me with them everywhere, resulting in me not being able to study properly’
(lit., ‘In order Ø, to not study properly, they made me; walk’, O/S pivot)
(LE Personal Narrative 048 <213.156>)

C3 Purpose (so that, in order that)
The three purpose clause inflections are -ik ‘Supine’, -ze'na ‘Purpose’, and -do'pe ‘purpose’. Following Meira 1999, the term ‘Supine’ is used instead of ‘Purpose of Motion’. The supine is fairly rare, a fading reflex of Proto-Carib *-ce ‘Purpose of Motion’, pretty much found only on vowel-final verb stems; -ze'na has replaced it following most consonant-final verb stems, and even following some vowel-final stems. Both -ik and -ze'na are only found as adverbial clauses dependent on verbs of motion, in which the S of the verb of motion is understood to be coreferential with the S/A of the purpose verb. The intransitive purpose verb bears no prefix or the invariant a- ‘Gen’.
(Fox 2003.123)

(23) kago bona kajiri engik dönö mang
kago pona kajiri eng-ik tô-nmô mang
Kako unto manioc.beer drink-SUPINE go-1+2S 3.be.PRES
‘We are about to go to Kako to drink kajiri.’ (EW Kanaimô 123)

(24) a'chise'na ji ye'sak inggebra
Ø-a'chi-ze'na ji i-yebî-zak inggebra
3-hold-PURP EMPH 3-come-PERF quickly
‘He (the tiger) had come quickly to grab him (kone'o)’ (RA Kone'o Story 046)

We have six examples of the supine in our corpus, 4 in the order SC FC and two the order FC SC; we have 12 examples of the purpose of motion, 6 in the order SC FC, 2 in the order FC SC, 2 co-occurring in a sentence of order SC FC SC, and 2 with no FC. While I would have predicted that intransitive matrix verbs are obligatory for these two purpose inflections (this is true for 13 in our corpus), 4 anomalous cases were found, 2 with transitive matrix verbs and 2
with apparently elided matrix verbs. The first case with a transitive matrix verb is described under ‘result’ and the second is given in example (25). Unlike with the result clause, here the A of the purpose verb is coreferential with the A, rather than with the O, of the matrix verb.

(25) möröbangjong ji arõ‘pïya mörö i'nõ'pangaik
möröbang-gong ji arõ-'pĩ-i-ya mörö Ø-i'nõ'pamĩ-ga-ik
thereafter-PL EMPH carry-PAST-3-ERG ? 3-cool.down-TRAN-SUPINE
‘Then he, took them in order to cool it (them) down.’ (EW Tareng 040)

An example with a missing matrix verb is given in (26), an apparent sentence fragment that introduces the next episode in the story. The preceding clause, ‘They went away and left him,’ closes the previous episode, and hence could not provide the needed matrix verb, nor does the next clause ‘Hey! Are you still there?’ they shouted repeatedly,’ offer any obvious candidate,

(26) emengni‘pį bo ganang ji tok ense‘na
emeng-rũ‘pĩ po kanang ji tok Ø-ene-ze‘na
awhile-PAST LOC again EMPH 3PL 3-see-PURP
‘After sometime again, they (decided to go) in order to see him’
(TL Birdman Story 039 <115.392>)

The third purpose inflection, -do‘pe ‘Purp’, is also a main clause future inflection. In its purpose function, it is dependent on a main clause that does not involve motion, and it is used regardless of the coreference conditions between the main and purpose clauses. Just like main clause verbs, purpose verbs with -do‘pe take absolutive prefixes or preverbal absolutive NPs; transitive verbs take ergative enclitics or free ergative arguments. (Fox 2003.125-6)

When there is coreference in the purpose clause with the subject of the matrix clause, the argument in the purpose clause will be indicated by the third person coreferential prefix t- ‘3R’, either as the absolutive prefix on the purpose verb or prefixed to the ergative suffix to create the ergative enclitic.

(27)a. tiũdọdo‘pe ji mği yegonega‘pį
i-tũ-do‘pe ji mği y-egonega-‘pį
3R-go-PURP EMPH HES 3-create-PAST
‘He, prepared it (in order for himself) to go’ (TL Makanaimo 036)
b. mörö ji, chiya ji a‘tu‘madọ‘petuwa,
mörü ji chiya ji Ø-a‘tu‘ma-do‘pe-t-ya
that EMPH far.away EMPH 3-push-PURP-3.RFL-ERG

iwọdo‘petuwa ji mći mörü abiỳondọ‘pįya
i- wọnọ-do‘pe-t-wa ji mći mörü abiỳondọ-‘pĩ-i-ya
3-kill-PURP-3.RFL-ERG EMPH HES that request-PAST-3-ERG
‘And then, in order that he, could push him far off (over the cliff), in order that he, could kill him, he, requested that. (TL Piyai’ma 061)
The form *-do’pe comes from Proto-Cariban *-topo-me/pe ‘Circumstance.Nominalizer-Attributive’, a combination that yields a purposive suffix in many languages of the family (Gildea 1998.138ff); it is also attested in Akawaio marking result, future, and deontic obligation.

An exclusively negative purpose clause occurs 3 times in our corpus, formed by placing the form *namaik ‘Negative purpose’ at the conclusion of the clause describing the outcome to be prevented, with that clause then following (2 times) or preceding (1 time) the main clause.

(28) a. chiya tura a’mu yau tūdūdo’pe mīgī mōrō chiya yenō’magō daa
chiya tura a’mu yau tō-do’pe mīgī mōrō chiya y-enō’ma-gō ta-i-ya
far.away water depths in 3R,-go-PURP HES that far.away 1O-throw-IMPER say-3-Erg
‘Throw me far away!’ he, said, so that he, could flee (go) down to the depths of the river.’

b. tūyanōya namaik
 t-anō-Ø-ya namaik
3R,-eat.meat-NONPAST-3-Erg NEG.PURP
‘So that he (the tiger) would not eat him.’ (TL Turtle Story 014-015 <b 67.656>)

A dedicated negative purpose form has not been reported for other Cariban languages; the form *namaik could be parsed as *nama-i-ik ‘prevent-Supine’, giving a straightforward analysis of ‘A did X in order to prevent Y’ where Y is the nominalized complement of ‘respect’. Unfortunately, the verb nama is not attested with this meaning (it is a transitive verb, meaning ‘to respect/fear’), and the verb emabu’tō ‘prevent’ is not attested in this construction.

Cp Possible Consequence—no examples, although the Negative Purpose is semantically close.

D Temporal

Temporal, conditional and counterfactual clauses are all well-attested in Akawaio, most with multiple strategies. Again, strategies include subordinating verbal inflections, nominalizations followed by postpositions, and the pronoun mōrō occurring clause initially followed by postpositions and particles to give different links with preceding discourse: ‘one like that (and then)’, ‘after that’, ‘via that’, ‘from that’, ‘at that (time)’, ‘while that (in the meantime)’, ‘until that’, etc.

• Simultaneous ‘while’

The two types of ‘while’ inflections in Akawaio are both formed with suffixes. Like for purpose clauses, one suffix, *-i’ma ‘While’, requires that the subject of the main clause and the subject of the ‘while’ clause be coreferential, while the other suffix, *-dane ‘While’ has no coreference restrictions. The verb with *-dane bears the full set of absolutive prefixes, whereas the verb with *-i’ma bears only the accusative half of the prefixes, taking the invariant a- prefix on consonant-initial verbs and no prefix on vowel-initial verbs. (Fox 2003.127)

The dependent clause headed by the verb bearing *-i’ma or *-dane always expresses a more durative state or activity (it is not coincidental that a majority of each suffix occurs on the copula). The focal main clause that co-occurs with the *-i’ma clause generally expresses a durative state/activity that overlaps temporally with the state/activity expressed in the *-i’ma
clause (29-30), but in one case, the focal clause event might be interpreted as more punctual (31). The order is either SC FC (as in 29-30 and ## other examples) or FC SC (as in 31 and ## other examples).

(29)  
hee!  hee!  hee!  tai'ma  ji  a'numii'ma  ji  yebi  kariaugi,  
hee  hee  hee  ta-i'ma  ji  a'numi-i'ma  ji  i-yebi-Ø  kariaugi  
groan  groan  groan  say-While  EMPH  groan-While  EMPH  3-come-NONPAST  brown.deer  
‘While saying “hee!  hee!  hee!.”, while groaning, the deer came along’  
(EW Kanaimö 169)

(30)  
etane  i'tui'ma  bra  ganang  ji  mörö  bök  azennagazak  a'tai  
etane  Ø-i'tu-i'ma  bra  kanang  ji  mörö  pök  a-sennaga-zak  a'tai  
but  3-know-While  NEG  again  EMPH  that  about 2-play-PERF  if  
‘But again, not knowing, if you play around with that . . .’  (EW Kanaimö 120)

(31)  
tewa  tigüdigiüma'piya  nong  bo  eji'ma  mörau  rö  eji'ma  
tewa  tigüdigiüma'piya  nong  bo  eji'ma  mörau  rö  eji'ma  
3R-rope  shake-PAST-3-ERG  earth  on-While  there  EMPH  be-While  
‘He tugged his rope while being on the ground, while being there (still in the hole)’  
(TL Birdman Story 033)

In contrast to the -i'ma clauses, the linkage expressed by -dane clause only requires simultaneity, with the FC expressing either a punctual event (32), an extended activity (33), or even (in one case) an activity during which a punctual event in the -dane should happen (33). Order is either SC FC (32-34 and ## others) or FC SC (35 and ## others)

(32)  
aigobe  ri'kwö  etane  urö  gübini'ji  ma'ta'pi  mörö  
aigo-be  ri'kwö  Ø-eji-dane  urö  kübin'i  ji  ma'ta'-pi  mörö  
small-ATTR  DIM  1-be-while  1Sg  father  EMPH  die-PAST  ?  
‘While I was still small, my father died.’  (LE Personal Narrative 021)

(33)  
ve'kwöro'tanek,  büra  tok  emi'n'i'pödi'piya  shirup!....  
y-e'kwöroði-dane-ng  i-büra  tok  emi'nig bödi'pi-i-ya  shirup  
3-cross-while-STYLE  3-dangerously  3PL  drowned-Pl.ABS-PAST-3-ERG  go.under.water  
‘While they were crossing it, it kept drowning (submerging) them, shirup!’  
(RA Piyi'ima Story 090 <297.239>)

(34)  
achigö  ta'piya  ji  mörö,  biöringgadaneuva  a'chigö  
Ø-a'chi-gö  ta'-pi-i-ya  ji  mörö  i-böringga-dane-u-ya  Ø-a'chi-gö  
3-hold-IMPER  say-PAST-3-ERG  EMPH  ?  3-turn.over-while-1-ERG  3-hold-IMPER  
‘“Hold it!” he said, “While I turn the cow over, hold it!”’  (RA Kone'o Story 074)

(35a)  
mörö  era'tö  abonggauya  bra  sa'ne  ji  
mörö  era'tö-Ø  Ø-abongga-au-ya  bra  sa'ne  ji  
that  turn-NONPAST  3-take.hunting-NONPAST-2-ERG  NEG  EMPH  EMPH  
‘That will turn [on you], [because] you are not taking it regularly to hunt.'
b. \textit{enda'nami ja' ve'tane}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{enda'na-bai sa'ne y-\textit{eji-dane}}
  \item \textit{eat-\textsc{desi} \textsc{emp} 3-be-while}
\end{itemize}
\textquote{While it wants to eat} (EW Kanaimö 033-34)

A minor strategy for expressing simultaneous clause linkage is the use of present participle form of the verb, a circum-fix \textit{\textsc{t-}\textit{v}-\textsc{ik}} that derives a verbal adverb; this can serve as a copular complement or an adverbal adjunct to any clause, or it can be further nominalized to serve as a nominal modifier. The participle \textsc{sc} may precede the matrix \textsc{fc} (11 above, 36) or follow it (37).

\textbf{(36)} \textit{ch'i\textquoteright nak pök, ch'i\textquoteright nak pök tuzewa'töik tok egainumbödï'pï}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ch'i\textquoteright nak pök ch'i\textquoteright nak pök t- \textit{z}- \textit{ewa'tö-ik} tok egainumü-bödï-\textsc{pï}}
\end{itemize}
\textquote{bush.rope on bush.rope on Adv-Detr-tie.up -Prtepl 3Pl climb -Hab -Past}
\textquote{While being tied up with a wild bush rope, they used to climb.}
(TL Birdman Story 022-023)

\textbf{(37)} \textit{höp! kaiguze ya a'chi, tök paga be tegamaik}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{höp kaiguji ya a'chi-Ø tök paga pe t-egama-ze}
\end{itemize}
\textquote{take.off jaguar ERG hold-NONPAST rock cow Attr AD\textsc{v-think-Prtepl}}
\textquote{Whop! The tiger held on to the rolling rock, thinking it was a cow}
(RA Kone'o Story 080 <287.589>)

The final minor strategy for expressing simultaneity is to place the postpositional phrase \textit{mörö gorö'tau} `meanwhile, in the meantime` (lit. `within that`) before the \textsc{fc}. Example (38) comes after a long discussion about the speaker’s parents, and how they lived when they first arrived in the village.

\textbf{(38)} \textit{mörö gazarö tok es'pï, mörö koro'tau ji serak tüye'pö'seng}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mörö kaza-rö tok eji-'pï mörö koro'tau ji serak t-yebi-bödï-ze-ng that like-\textsc{emp} 3Pl be-Past that among \textsc{emp} to.here AD\textsc{v-come-HAB-Prtepl-NZR}}
\end{itemize}
\textquote{That is how they were. In the meantime, (I was) one who used to come here, …}
(RA Personal Narrative 056-57 <155.665>)

\textbf{• Anterior} `before, until`  
This type of clause linkage is attested only twice in the entire corpus, both times by a nominalized clause, once preceding a spatial postposition \textit{wabiya} `before` (39), the other time preceding \textit{pona} `to, until` (40). In future research, we will look for more.

\textbf{(39)} \textit{ane azegamak mörö bök azaurogï wabiya,}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ane a-z-egama-gö mörö pök a-saurogï-Ø wabiya wait.IMP 2-Detr-tell-IMPER that about 2-talk-NONPAST before}
\end{itemize}
\textquote{But wait awhile, tell me about yourself before you talk about that}
(AE Personal Narrative 008 <40.559>)
‘...she will remain (lit. ‘live’) there until her administrators remove (lit. ‘leave’) her.’

(CB.Personal Narrative 033 <104.398>)

- **Posterior** ‘after, then’

Posterior clauses are expressed by three means:

- a nominalization followed by a locative postposition dïbo ‘after’; the SC marked by dïbo may precede (42) or follow (41) the matrix FC
- by placing the linkage marker mörö dïbo ‘after that’ (43) or mörabai ‘from that’ (44) at the beginning of the FC, or
- by beginning the FC with the complex form möröbang(gong) ‘thereafter’ (’that-ATTR-NZR(-Pl’), lit. ‘one(s) that are like that’) (24, 42a, 45-46).

(41)a. ai’top! ibung ge kuning shi egi ge irebaiya
   ai’top! i-bung ke kuru ning ji egi ke i-reba-Ø-i-ya
   slam down 3-flesh INSTR EMPH EMPH cassava INSTR 3-give-NONPAST-3-ERG
   ‘Ai’top! With the real thing, with cassava bread she serves him’

   ~b. a'sogo'pö ge rö mai'kwak reba dïbo
      a'sogo'pö ke rö mai'kwak reba-Ø tïbo
      leavings INSTR EMPH duck give-NONPAST after
      ‘After serving the duck with leavings of sifted cassava flour’
      (PS Duck Story 049-50 <193.780>)

(42)a. möröbang gong ganang ji, awönö dïbo ganang ji
   möröbang gong kanang ji a-wönö-Ø dïbo kanang ji
   thereafter Pl again EMPH 2-kill-NONPAST after again EMPH
   ‘Then they, again, after killing you, again,’ (EW Kanaimö 102)

   ~b. yu'na'töik audözak a'tai, tok ya embïrï
      y-u'na'tö-ik a-tö-zak a'tai tok ya e-embïrï
      3-bury-PURP 2-go-PERF when 3Pl ERG 2-watch-NONPAST
      ‘When you go to bury it, they will watch you’ (EW Kanaimö 103)

(43)a. tu taimz rï'kwö rögeng exam tabök tok na'nek miği passmabödì'pi'uwá
   two times rï'kwö rögeng exam ta-bök tok nai-nek miği passma-bödì-pî-u-wa
   two times DIM only exam say-PROG 3Pl 3.be.PRES-REL HES pass-ITER-PAST-1-ERG
   ‘I only passed what they call (are calling) exam two times’

   ~b. mörö dïbo ji tok a mo'ka'pï rö ji
      mörö tïbo ji tok ya Ø-mo'ka-’pï rö ji
      that after EMPH 3Pl ERG 1-take.out-PAST Emph Emph
      ‘Thereafter (lit. ‘After that’), they really took me out (of school)’
      (LE Personal Narrative 055-56 <237.070>)
The form möröbang(gong) always seems to provide a semantic sense of continuity, ‘and then’, and as might be expected for a conjunction-like element, it always precedes the focal clause. However, its grammatical status is a bit odd, as it is morphologically a noun, and in 47 instances, it holds a grammatical role in the FC (1 VCS, 17 S, 16 O, 2 A, 9 oblique, and 2 possessor of another N); the referent is always anaphoric, drawn from one of the participants in the preceding discourse. #Verify which ones# In 15 instances the FC has all its arguments, apparently leaving möröbang(gong) free to behave as nothing more than a conjunction (42a). For the sake of brevity, we present only two examples of möröbang in its argumental status, once as S (45) and once as O (46).

(45) sendai rö na'kö e'tane dio'kanïgïsau'ya braiji
si-ene-dai rö na'kö e'tane i-to'kanigi-zak-u-ya bra O-eji-Ø
1A-see-Past EMPH maybe but 3-understand-PERF-1-ERG NEG 1-be-NONPAST
‘Maybe I saw him but I probably never recognised him’

[[ S V ]FC
möröbang ma'ta'pï
möröbang ma'ta-’pï
thereafter die-Past
‘And then he died’ (Lester Eugene Personal Narrative 023-24 <105.843>)

[[ O Vtr ] A-Erg]FC
(46) möröbang röning ji aurombödï’pï
möröbang nöning ji aurombödï-’pï
thereafter only EMPH tie-up-HAB-PAST 3PL-ERG ? say-1-ERG EMPH
‘Then he [the tiger] was tied up, I am saying’ (RA Kone’o Story 065 <230.682>)

• Punctual (when) / Dc Conditional (if, unless)
The punctual and conditional clause linkage is identical, and not always readily distinguishable semantically in text. The postposition a’傣 ‘when, if’ occurs at the end of the nominalized SC; usually the order is SC a’傣 FC (24 cases), but the order FC SC a’傣 is also attested (8 cases). Sequences of two and three a’傣 clauses in a row are not uncommon (attested 9 and 2 times, respectively, in our corpus), both preceding and following the FC.

(47) yöi asa’nak mïnonggaik, mörö eba’ka a’傣 ku ji
yöi asa’nak mï-nonga-aik mörö Ø-eba’ka-Ø a’傣 kuru ji
stick between 2A-leave-NONPAST that 1-come.out-NONPAST when EMPH EMPH
‘You must place it between the split made on a piece of wood, so when I come out…” ’
b. am giururu'kado'pewa ta'pî sa'ne heh heh, ku'kuk taiya
   am i-guru'ka-do'pe-u-ya ta'-pî sa'ne heh heh ku'kuk ta-Ø-i-ya
   um 3-suck.off -FUT-1-ERG say-PAST EMPH heh heh slurp! say-NONPAST-3-Erg
   'um, “I will suck it!” he said, “Heh, heh—ku’kuk!” he said.’

   hai! wagî be y-eji-Ø ka'pong moi be y-eji-Ø a'tai
   Anticipation good ATTR 3-be-NONPAST person pubic.hair ATTR 3-be-NONPAST if
   ‘“Hai! It will be good if it’s human pubic hair...’ (RA Piyai’ma Story 057-59)

• Counterfactual

We have only one counterfactual clause in our corpus, in which a nominalized clause is
followed by a'tai eji’no ‘if Counterfactual’. We have not investigated this clause type at all, but
the temptation still exists to parse eji’no into eji ‘be’ plus an otherwise unattested suffix-’no ‘??’.

(48) sungwa zemo'kazak a'tai eji’no,
   sungwa Ø-semo'ka-zak a'tai eji’no
   far.away 1-grow.up-PERF if COUNTERFACTUAL

   e’tane ji tok röning ji emböksa’a mang
   e’tane ji tok nöning ji ene-bödï-zak-u-ya mang
   but EMPH 3PL only EMPH see-ITER-PERF-1-ERG 3.be.PRES
   ‘If I had grown up over yonder (I would have known), but I have only observed them’
   (RA Personal Narrative 264 <893.473>)

References
Fox 1997, 2003