

Clause linking in Akawaio (Cariban)

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1. Background Information: the People and the Project

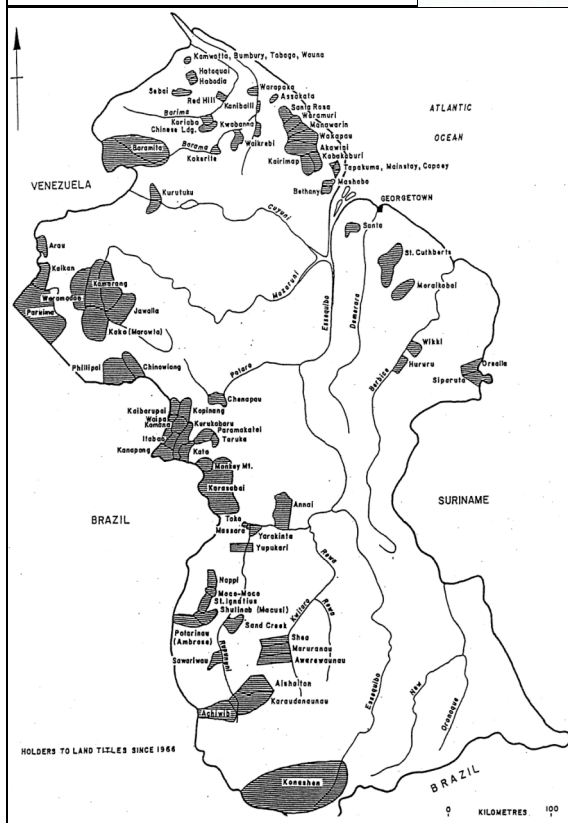
There are some 10,000 Akawaio people, most (around 6000) living in Guyana (formerly British Guiana) and most of the rest (around 4000) living across the border in Venezuela. Akawaios traditionally practiced slash and burn agriculture and maintained extensive trade relations with other tribes throughout 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 (*kanaimö*), 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).²
- **Orthography:** We use the orthography developed by Fox (2003), which is on the phonetic end of the phonetic-phonological continuum. Non-IPA graphemes include *ĩ* [i], *ö* [ə], *e* [e, ε], *o* [o, ɔ], *sh* [ʃ], *j* [ʒ, dʒ], *ch* [tʃ], *ñ* [ɲ], *y* [j], *ng* [ŋ], and ‘ [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 /ʔ/ 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/Iterative/Habitual).

[(detransitive-)**root**(-transitivizer)(-Aspect)]_{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 *mörö* can refer to preceding discourse, and as such plays an active role in clause linking. Most pronouns now end in the syllable *rö*, etymologically an emphatic particle/clitic; demonstrative roots can (rarely) occur without it, but to make a pronoun

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 *rö* is appended, e.g. *kirörö* ‘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]_{NP}, 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 *rö* is particularly common, and probably has lost most of its emphatic force due to overuse and lexicalization (cf. pronouns); the pronoun *mörö* 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.³

- **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.⁴
- **Progressive/Desiderative**
Personal prefixes indicate only O, in complementary distribution with an free (pro)noun O; intransitive verbs are invariant, taking \emptyset -, *a*- or *i*-, depending on the dialect. A/S is the

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 pökô* ‘Nzr-on’), and the intransitive progressive verb bears the suffix *-nöböök* ‘Prog.Intr’ (< **-nô pökô* ‘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* (< **-ri*) ‘Nonpast (imperfective)’, *-’pī* ‘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_{TR}]-A-ERG AUX
tu gaijarö nam tumunggö yamök enno'sai'ya ne'tai
 tu gaijarö namo t-munggö amök ennogī-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. [S V_{INTR}] AUX
kamoro ye'sak esh'pī
 kamoro yebi-zak eji-'pī
 3.PL.ANIM come-PERF be-PAST
 'They had come.' (EW Kanaimö 133)

- c. [A]ERG [O V_{TR}] AUX
pasta abdool a nya mari'ma-'pī mang
 pasta abdool ya nya mari'ma-'pī mang
 Pastor Abdul ERG 1+3 marry-PAST 3.be.PRES
 'Pastor Abdool married us' (AE Personal Narrative 030)

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------|--|--|-----------------|---------------------|
| | VCC | VCS | | VCS | COP? | VCC |
| (5) a. | <i>u-giibini</i> | <i>kirö -rö</i> | | b. <i>Gibsön</i> | <i>kirö -rö</i> | <i>kapin -ri'pi</i> |
| | 1-father | 3ANIM-EMPH | | Gibson | 3ANIM-EMPH | captain-PAST |
| | 'He's my father.' | | | 'Gibson was / used to be Captain.' | | |
| | | | | (lit. 'Gibson is ex-/former captain.') | | |

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.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | | [[[N | P] _{PP} | CS-COP] _O | V _{TR}]-A-ERG | NEG |
| (6) | <i>e'tane</i> | <i>ji</i> | <u><i>idodo be</i></u> | <u><i>ye'sak</i></u> | <i>enauya</i> | <i>beng</i> |
| | <i>e'tane</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>idodo</i> | <i>pe y-eji -zak</i> | <i>ene-Ø-au-ya</i> | <i>beng</i> |
| | however | Emph | killer | Attr | 3-be-Perf | see-Nonpast-2-Erg |
| | Neg | | | | | |
| | 'However, you still would not see <u>that he has become a killer.</u> ' (EW Kanaimö 079) | | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
| | [S-V-NZN] _O | V _{TR}]-A-ERG | NEG | SC-AUX | |
| (7) | <i>tutötok</i> | <i>i'tuiya</i> | <i>bra</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>mörau</i> |
| | <i>t_i-tö-tok</i> | <i>i'tu-i_i-ya</i> | <i>bra</i> | <i>y-eji-Ø</i> | <i>mörau</i> |
| | 3 _I -go-NZR | know-3 _I -ERG | NEG | 3-be-NONPAST | there |
| | 'He _i did not know (where) <u>he_i was going</u> then,' (RA Eagle Story 032 <115.898>) | | | | |

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', *dibo* '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 *mörö* '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 enabödi*] [*möröbang ji emo'ka-i-ya mörö ege-be ege-be tok ena-pödi-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'nabödi'pi mörö*] [*doh i-wönö-Ø i-ya tok pök ji i-enda'na-pödi-'pi 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. [ADV [N N]_{SC} COP [PRO P]_{CC}]_{FC}
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-EMPH
 ‘That is why our home is like this’ (AE Personal Narrative 040 <163.364>).

- b. [S V_{INTR}]_{SC}
nya ri'kwörö e'traimadane
 nya ri'kwö-rö e'traima-dane
 1+3 DIM-EMPH try-WHILE
 ‘Although we are trying our best’ (AE Personal Narrative 041 <165.808>)

(11) [[CC] Cop]_{sc} [[CC] [CC]
wagī genik so'chi dau eji'ma, e'nek au rö tīwe'kingmaik
wagī genik jo'chi tau e-eji-i'ma e'nek yau rö t-e'-kingma-ze
 good specifically church within 2-be-While sick in EMPH ADV-DETR-hurt-PRTCPL

N (COP-NZR)]_{vcc} VCS
tugo'mangzanggong genik amörö'nogong
t-go'mamī-ze-ang-gong genik amörö-'nogong
 ADV-live-PRTCPL-PL.NZR-PL specifically 2SG -PL
 '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 ri'kwö rö ebobö'sak tamboro ri'kwörö e'tane*
nya ya ri'kwö rö eboro-bödi-zak tamboro ri'kwö-rö 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 ri'kwö go'mamī se gaza rö*
nya ri'kwö ko'mamī-Ø serö kaza rö
 1+3 DIM live-NONPAST this like EMPH
 'We live just like this' (AE Personal Narrative 043 <169.613>)

[V SC.AUX]_{sc} [O-V-A-ERG [N P]_{pp}]_{fc}
 (13)a. *diöbai ye'tane niingbödiuya mö skur dau,*
i-tö-bai y-eji-dane i-nimī-bödi-u-ya mö 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,'

[[N P]_{pp} S-V]_{fc?}
 b. *e'tane serö be ji yebori'mazak chi mörö*
e'tane serö pe ji y-eboroi'ma-zak ji mörö
 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 *piya'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.

- (14) *e'tane ji wik po gio'mami?*
e'tane ji wik po i-ko'mami-Ø
 but EMPH mountain Loc 3-live-NONPAST
 'But, does he live in the mountains?' (TL Piyai'ma 015 <52.657>)

The distinction between *e'tane* 'but, although' and the phonologically identical form *ejj-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) *ejj-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:

[[... ejj-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 *ejj-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 ejj-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 töwö yeji i'che ejj goro'tau ye'nonggazak pök*
nai gaza töwö y-eji-Ø i'che Ø-eji-Ø goro'tau y-e'nongga-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. *örö be ku ji ke sa'ne ye'nonggazak mö go*
örö be kuru y-eji-Ø ge sa'ne y-e'nongga-zak 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'tuiya bra ji ge*
i-parö'ma pe sa'ne ji y-i'tu-Ø-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'pīng ni'kwö rö za'ne öni'ang ebozau'ya,*
gia'nö-bīng rī'kwö rö sa'ne öni'k-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'nonggazak wenai ning*
a-e'nongga-zak 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-Caribbean 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-aik 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 wagī kuru bra rö ,*
 mörö wenai ji tok maimu eji-Ø wagī 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 miği te'tok au rö, nigabö'ang*
 piyai'chang ya nörö tok enuba-Ø miği t-eji-dok yau rö n-ka-bödi-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 Kanaimö 141)

- (##) *mörö ge ji zenubaga'zak pra rö yeji mörö*
mörö ke ji Ø-senuba-gabī-zak bra rö y-eji-Ø mörö
 that INSTR EMPH 1-learn-CMPLTV -PERF NEG EMPH 1-be-NONPAST ?
 ‘That is why (lit. ‘With that’) I have not really had an education...’
 (LE Personal Narrative 054 <232.845>)

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) *wagī be zenubado'pe bra rö tok a biningbabodi'pī mörö*
wagī pe senuba-do'pe bra rö tok ya Ø-pinimī-ba-bōdī-'pī 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_i to not study properly, they made me_i 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 döng mang*
kago pona kajiri eng-ik tö-nnö mang
 Kako unto manioc.beer drink-SUPINE go-1+2S 3.be.PRES
 ‘We are about to go to Kako to drink kajiri.’ (EW Kanaimö 123)

- (24) *a'chise'na ji ye'sak inggebra*
Ø-a'chi-ze'na ji i-yebī-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) *möröbanggong ji arö'piya mörö i'nö'panggaik*
möröbang-gong ji arö-'pī-i-ya mörö Ø-i'nö'pamī-ga-ik
 thereafter-PL EMPH carry-PAST-3-ERG ? 3-cool.down-TRAN-SUPINE
 ‘Then he_i 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'pī bo ganang ji tok ense'na*
emeng-ri'pī 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. *tiüdödo'pe ji migi yegonega'pī*
t-tö-do'pe ji migi y-egonega-'pī
 3R-go-PURP EMPH HES 3-create-PAST
 ‘He_i prepared it (in order for himself_i) to go’ (TL Makanaimo 036)

- b. *mörö ji, chiya ji a'tu'mado'petuya,*
mörö ji chiya ji Ø-a'tu'ma-do'pe-t-ya
 that EMPH far.away EMPH 3-push-PURP-3.RFL-ERG

iwödo'petuwa ji migi mörö abiyondö'piya
i-wönö-do'pe-t-wa ji migi mörö abiyondö-'pī-i-ya
 3-kill-PURP-3.RFL-ERG EMPH HES that request-PAST-3-ERG
 ‘And then, in order that he_i could push him far off (over the cliff), in order that he_i could kill him, he_i 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 tuna a'mu yau t̄id̄odo'pe m̄iḡi m̄ör̄o chiya yeno'maḡo daa*
chiya tuna a'mu yau t-t̄o-do'pe m̄iḡi m̄ör̄o chiya y-eno'ma-ḡo ta-i-ya
 far.away water depths in 3R_i-go-PURP HES that far.away IO-throw-IMPER say-3_i-ERG
 “‘Throw me far away!’” he_i said, so that he_i could flee (go) down to the depths of the river.’
- b. *t̄iyan̄öya* _____ *namaik*
 t-an̄o-Ø-i-ya _____ namaik
 3R_i-eat.meat-NONPAST-3-Erg NEG.PURP
 ‘So that he (the tiger) would not eat him_i.’ (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-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 *mör̄o* 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) *e'tane i'tui'ma bra ganang ji mörö bök azennagazak a'tai*
 e'tane 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 tigiudigüuma'piya nong bo eji'ma mörau rö eji'ma*
 t-ewa tigiudigüuma-'pi-i-ya nong po eji-i'ma mörau rö eji-i'ma
 3R-rope shake-PAST-3-ERG earth on be-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 e'tane urö güübini ji ma'ta'pi mörö*
 aigo-be ri'kwö Ø-eji-dane urö kii'bini 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) *ye'kwörö'tanek, biira tok emi'ni'pödi'piya shirup!....*
 y-e'kwörödi-dane-ng i-bira tok emi'nigi-bödi-'pi-i-ya shirup
 3-cross-while-STYLE 3-dangerously 3PL drown-PL.ABS-PAST-3-ERG go.under.water
 'While they were crossing it, it kept drowning (submerging) them, shirup!'
 (RA Piyai'ma Story 090 <297.239>)
- (34) *a'chigö ta'piya ji mörö, biöringgadaneuya 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)
- (35)a. *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. *enda'nabai ja' ye'tane*
 enda'na-bai sa'ne y-eji-dane
 eat-DESID EMPH 3-be-while
 '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 *t-V-ik* that derives a verbal adverb; this can serve as a copular complement or an adverbial adjunct to any clause, or it can be further nominalized to serve as a nominal modifier. The participle SC may precede the matrix FC (11 above, 36) or follow it (37).

- (36) *chi'nak pök, chi'nak pök tuzewa'töik tok egainumbödi'pī*
 chi'nak pök chi'nak pök t- z- ewa'tö-ik tok egainumī-bödi-'pī
 bush.rop.e on bush.rop.e on Adv-Detr-tie.up -Prtcpl 3Pl climb -Hab -Past
 'While being tied up with a wild bush rope, they used to climb.'
 (TL Birdman Story 022-023)

- (37) *höp! kaiguze ya a'chi, tök paga be tegamaik*
 höp kaiguji ya a'chi-Ø tök paga pe t-egama-ze
 take.off jaguar ERG hold-NONPAST rock cow Attr ADV-think-PRTCPL
 '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 *mörö goro'tau* 'meanwhile, in the meantime' (lit. 'within that') before the FC. Example (38) comes after a long discussion about the speaker's parents, and how they lived when they first arrived in the village.

- (38) *mörö gazarö tok es'pī, mörö koro'tau ji serak tüye'pö'seng*
 mörö kaza-rö tok eji-'pī mörö koro'tau ji serak t-yebī-bödi-ze-ng
 that like-EMPH 3PL be-PAST that among EMPH to.here ADV-come-HAB-PRTCPL-NZR
 'That is how they were. In the meantime, (I was) one who used to come here, ...'
 (RA Personal Narrative 056-57 <155.665>)

- **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 *wabiya* 'before' (39), the other time preceding *pona* 'to, until' (40). In future research, we will look for more.

- (39) *ane azegamak mörö bök azaurogī wabiya,*
 ane a-z-egama-gö mörö pök a-saurogī-Ø wabiya
 wait.IMP 2-DETR-tell-IMPER that about 2-talk-NONPAST before
 'But wait awhile, tell me about yourself before you talk about that'
 (AE Personal Narrative 008 <40.559>)

- (40) *tinongga teburudong ya bonarö rö kio'mami*
 t-nongga-Ø t-eburu-dong ya bona -rö rö i-go'mami-Ø
 3R-leave-NONPAST 3R-boss-PL ERG until-EMPH EMPH 3-live-NONPAST
 ‘...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 *dibo* ‘after’; the SC marked by *dibo* may precede (42) or follow (41) the matrix FC
- by placing the linkage marker *mörö dibo* ‘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 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 dibö*
 a'sogo'pö ke rö mai'kwak reba-Ø tibo
 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 dibö ganang ji*
 möröbang gong kanang ji a-wönö-Ø dibo 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 embiri*
 y-u'na'tö-ik a-tö-zak a'tai tok ya e-embiri
 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 ri'kwö rögeng exam tabök tok na'nek migi passmabödi'piuwa*
 two times ri'kwö rögeng exam ta-bök tok nai-nek migi passma-bödi-'pi-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 dibö ji tok a mo'ka'pī rö ji*
 mörö tibo ji tok ya Ø-mo'ka-'pī 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>)

- (44) *mörabai ji meruwang bona nya u'tö'pī*
mörö abai ji meruwang pona nya u'tö-'pī
 that from EMPH Meruwang unto 1+3 come.down-PAST
 ‘Then (lit. ‘from that’) we came down to Meruwang’
 (LE Personal Narrative 039 <181.993>)

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'kanigisau'ya braiji*
si-ene-dai rö na'kö e'tane i-to'kanigī-zak-u-ya bra Ø-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'pī
möröbang ma'ta-'pī
 thereafter die-Past

‘And then he died’ (Lester Eugene Personal Narrative 023-24 <105.843>)

- [[O Vtr] A-Erg]_{FC}
 (46) *möröbang röning ji aurombödi'pī tok a mö dawa ning*
möröbang nöning ji auromī-bödi-'pī tok-ya mörö ta-u-wa ning
 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'tai* ‘when, if’ occurs at the end of the nominalized SC; usually the order is SC *a'tai* FC (24 cases), but the order FC SC *a'tai* is also attested (8 cases). Sequences of two and three *a'tai* 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 minonggaik, mörö eba'ka _____ a'tai ku ji*
yöi asa'nak mī-nonga-aik mörö Ø-eba'ka-Ø a'tai 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'pi sa'ne heh heh, ku'kuk taiya*
 am i-gururu'ka-do'pe-u-ya ta-'pi 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.'

c. *hai! wagibe ji, ka'pong moi be ji ya'tai*
 hai wagī 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 rōning ji embōksa'a mang
 e'tane ji tok nōning ji ene-bōdī-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
 Gildea 1995, 1998, 2004, 2005