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9 Clause

9.1 Constituent order

9.1.1 Basic word order

The clause in Kumzari consists minimally of subject and predicate. The subject may be not be overtly stated, and a predicate verb may be replaced with an existential enclitic, the verb tō’a ‘become’, an evidential, a possessive construction, or an abstract plural. A deverb may operate with a light verb or existential enclitic to form a predicate. Unmarked constituent order is Subject-Object-Verb. Order may be altered to signify factivity or topicalisation. In simple clauses, subjects and objects are in the form of nouns or noun phrases or pronouns.

(424) G765
sā mā yā ġēla’-an dī’-im ba tō.
now 1p this wheat –PL give:2sIMPF -1p to 2s
‘Now we will give this wheat to you.’

(425) G198
ṭēr āmad.
bird  come:3sREAL
‘A bird came.’

Discourse markers and evidentials are clause-initial. Subject, object, and verb phrase are followed by verb goal arguments and prepositional phrases, each of which must additionally mark negation if the verb is negated:

(426) P418
sā tany-um na wā tō na.
now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG
‘Now I am not staying with you.’

As described in §4.3, when the object is in the form of a noun or noun phrase it precedes the verb or deverb, and when it is in the form of a pronoun it follows the verb or deverb:

(427) R1386
mā jīr-im yē na. mā brār xō jīr-im na.
1p see:REAL-1p 3s NEG 1p brother REFL see:REAL-1p NEG
‘As for us, we didn’t see him. As for us, we didn’t see our brother.’

(428) U416
jayb xō kand-iš. sōd-iš yē żēr bālīšt-ō.
gold.diaDEM  REFL put.away:REAL-3s put:REAL-3s 3s under pillow-the
‘She put away her diadem. She put it under the pillow.’

9.1.2 Minimal clauses

When a subject is not overt, a clause may consist of only an intransitive verb:
(429) G176
ništ.
sit:3sREAL
‘She sat down.’

(430) K289
raft.
go:3sREAL
‘He went.’

(431) G191
bum-r-in!
die:IMPER-3p
‘May they die!’

Some clauses appear as consisting of only a deverb, if there is a zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), and the deverb is acting as an intransitive predicate, and there is no overtly-marked subject:

(432) S485
xabaqa=Ø.
pierced =EX:3s
‘It was pierced.’

(433) S750
faja’a=Ø.
shocked =EX:3s
‘She was shocked.’

With the zero-marked existential enclitic (third-person singular), even a single noun or adjective may constitute a clause:

(434) K343
fālaj-ē=Ø.
water.channel-a =EX:3s
‘It is a water channel.’

(435) G20
bazza-ē=Ø.
poor.person-a =EX:3s
‘She was a poor person.’

(436) R1560
xālaṣ =Ø.
finished =EX:3s
‘It’s finished.’

(437) G147
knār-ē=Ø.
jujube tree-a =EX:3s
‘There was a jujube tree.’
9.1.3 Word order variation

9.1.3.1 Factive syntax

Word order is modified to indicate factivity; that is, the coming into existence of an entity. In factive syntax, that subject is post-posed to clause-final position. More information is given in § 4.3.

(438) K5
raf rōk-ē.
go boy-a
‘There was a boy.’

(439) P241
ka byō wā= bāla ditk-ō.
PEAK come:MIR -ward= up girl -the
‘Suddenly, there was the girl coming up!’

(440) G300
ām ba yē barra ẓank-ō wa martk-ō.
come:IRR to 3s outside woman -the and man -the
‘There was a woman and a man coming to him outside.’

Factive syntax applies even to non-verbal predicates:

(441) S14
wā yē si-ta ditk-an.
with 3s three-COUNT daughter-PL
‘There were three daughters he had.’

This modified syntax to specify existence operates similarly to the way in which Kurdish uses alternate word order with the same verb to distinguish between static and processual senses of the copula (Haig 2007:178).

9.1.3.2 Topicalisation

While factive syntax moves the subject to the end of the clause, topicalisation moves a highlighted argument to the beginning of a clause. When the object in a clause is topicalised, it takes clause-initial position:

(442) B766
yā rōk-ō ā, tēmiš-in yē āntē.
DEM boy-the SUB see:IMPF-3p 3s there
‘That boy, they would see him there.’

(443) B1100
yā ẓērā-ō ā, ar ẓō ba yē ā, radda tō’-a na.
DEM path-the SUB that/which/who go on 3s SUB returning become:IMPF- NEG 3s
‘That path, whoever goes down it does not return.’
Other morphosyntactic markers of topicalisation are discussed in §3.3 and §9.4.

9.2 Types of simple clauses

9.2.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses consist of a subject and a predicate.

(444) R1397
kō’ī-ō āmad.
mountain.bedouin -the come:3sREAL
‘The mountain bedouin came.’

9.2.2 Interrogative clauses

Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions) have the same word order as declaratives, but the interrogative enclitic ā follows at the very end of the clause:

(445) U452
ẓan mē bra wā mē =ā?
wife 1s go:3sIMPER with 1s INTERR
‘Should my wife go with me?’

In constituent interrogatives (information questions), an interrogative pronoun (see §3.2) occurs in clause-initial position and the interrogative enclitic is clause-final:

(446) R108
gīya brār-an mē ā?
where brother-PL 1s INTERR
‘Where are my brothers?’

The interrogative pronoun may also take the same syntactic slot as the constituent it replaces. This example uses an interrogative pronoun in place of the object:

(447) R400
šmā ēi wās-ē ā? gaft -in ba yē mā ruppī wād-im.
2p what bring:PERF-2p INTERR say:REAL-3p to 3s 1p rupee bring:REAL-1p
‘What have you brought?’ They said to him, ‘We brought rupees.’

In this example, the interrogative pronoun replaces the subject:

(448) K766
kē čwān-a čōt asp-an īnsī-an tār-a ā?
who can:IMPF-3s go:3sIMPF horse-PL humanlike-PL bring:IMPF-3s INTERR
‘Who can go [and] bring the talking horses?’

9.2.3 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have the same word order as declaratives, but use the imperative verb form:
Imperatives are treated in detail in chapter 4.

9.3 Types of predicates

9.3.1 Verbal predicates

9.3.1.1 Intransitive verbal predicates

In predicates with an intransitive verb, the pronominal suffix on the verb agrees with its subject (the subject may or may not be stated).

(450) S573
qady-ō āmad.
judge-the come:3sREAL
‘The judge came.’

(451) G956
ḥubbō yē tmur-a!
grandmother 3s die:IMPF-3s
‘His grandmother will die!’

(452) K544
qēṣar-in-an rēsid-in.
date.sp. -person.of -PL arrive:REAL-3p
‘The date-eaters arrived.’

9.3.1.2 Transitive verbal predicates

In predicates with transitive verbs, the verb’s pronominal suffix agrees with its subject, and the object precedes the verb or deverb. If the object is a pronoun, it follows the verb or deverb instead.

(453) S640
dāmar-ō wād-in.
groom-the bring:REAL-3p
‘They brought the groom.’

(454) K287
ḥaraqa yē kin.
burning 3s do:2sIMPER
‘Burn it.’
Deverbal predicates follow the same syntactic rules as verbal predicates, with the deverb taking the syntactic role of the verb in the clause; that is, an object in the form of a full noun precedes the deverb, and an object in the form of a pronoun it follows the deverb:

(456) G817
\[\text{panj} - \text{ta gūnī ġēla šabaḥa gid-in}\]
five-COUNT sack wheat tying on do:REAL-3p
‘They tied on five sacks of wheat.’

(457) U79
\[\text{mām-ō čō qāḥwē šaraba k-a}\]
mother-the go:3sIMPF coffee drinking do:IRR-3s
‘The mother would go to drink coffee’

(458) K591
\[\text{maḥana mē tk-ī}\]
bothering 1s do:IMPF-2s
‘You are bothering me’

(459) S858
\[\text{ṭayaxa yē gid-in.}\]
appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:REAL-3p
‘They appointed her as sheikh.’

Deverbs can also be intransitive:

(460) K345
\[\text{ṣayāḥa tk-a.}\]
shouting do:IMPF-3s
‘He was shouting.’

(461) A623
\[\text{ṣaffa kin inda šārō-ō.}\]
progressing do:MIR inside street-the
‘He paraded along the street!’

9.3.1.4 Verbal predicates with complements

Kumzari does not morphosyntactically differentiate an indirect object from an oblique argument; there is no grammatical marking particular to either. Diagnostics of omission and of relativisation for both yield equally ambivalent results; that is, indirect objects and obliques are equally capable of being omitted or relativised (Keenan and Comrie 1977:65). The indirect object as distinct from an oblique is ambiguous in many languages (Andrews
2007:191). Both obliques and indirect objects in Kumzari follow the verb phrase and are marked by a preposition. This is the case for indirect objects in intransitive verbal predicates:

(462) K416
sat-ta ādamū murs-in ba yē.
one.hundred-COUNT person die:PERF -3p for 3s
‘One hundred people have died for her.’

(463) A690
tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-ō
sticking do:IMPF -3s to shoe-the
‘It was sticking to the shoe’

(464) P938
ğalata gid-um ba yē.
harming do:REAL-1s to 3s
‘I did harm to her.’

and indirect objects in transitive verbal predicates:

(465) S652
dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē.
door-the open:REAL-3s to 3s
‘She opened the door to him.’

(466) K206
jō’ar mē ād ba mē.
pearl 1s give:2sIMPER to 1s
‘Give me my pearl.’

(467) P933
salāḥ-an mē gid-iš pi mē.
weapon-PL 1s take:REAL-3s from 1s
‘She took my weapons from me.’

(468) A582
ēka ā nakt-ē pi jāmal dar-iš ba mē.
INF SUB little-a fat camel give:REAL-3s to 1s
‘You know, she gave a little camel fat to me.’

(469) K117
mē mēy-ō fūsnīs -um ba šmā.
1s fish-the sell:PERF-1s to 2p
‘I have sold the fish to you.’

as well as oblique objects of both transitive and intransitive verbs:
(470) A259

dān-ī yē ba rū yē!
know:IMPF -2s 3s for face 3s
‘You recognise him by his face!’

(471) B1224

brō ba brār-an xō.
go:MIR to brother-PL REFL
‘He went to his brothers!’

Although indirect objects and oblique arguments are treated with the same prepositional phrase structure and placement after the verb phrase, Kumzari gives word order preference to indirect objects when both occur:

(472) K362

nakt-ē āw nakata tk-in ba mē ba gurmān-ō.
little-a water dripping do:IMPF-3p for 1s of cotton-the
‘They are dripping a little water for me from the cotton.’

(473) K310

mē lāṭī-ē wās -um ba xō ba tēnur xō.
1s small.amount -a bring:PERF-1s for REFL of stone-oven REFL
‘I have brought a small amount for myself for my stone-oven.’

Locational complements also take a preposition and follow the verb phrase:

(474) S640

sōd-in yē pana sōnty-ō.
put:REAL -3p 3s beside raft-the
‘They put him beside the raft.’

(475) B1111

qaḥama kin ba kāmar yē.
jumping do:MIR on back 3s
‘He jumped onto its back!’

In contrast, verb goal arguments are distinguished in not being marked with a preposition and by following the entire verb phrase, including direct and indirect objects (see chapter 8 for further details):

(476) A465

gambil-ē kin ḥawy-ō.
hole-a do:MIR courtyard-the
‘He made a hole in the courtyard!’

(477) R1545

bard-in šan xalwat-ē.
carry:REAL -3p 3p wilderness-a
‘They took them to a wilderness.’
9.3.2 Non-verbal predicates

Kumzari employs several strategies to form non-verbal predicates. Existentials, evidentials, abstract plurals, and possessive constructions fulfill the role of verbs. The verb tō’a ‘become’ also takes other predicates.

9.3.2.1 Clauses with existentials

Existentials are non-verbal in that they do not have verbal properties, such as the expression of tense, aspect, mood, and mirativity. There is a different existential enclitic for each person and number, but these are distinct from the pronominal suffixes found on verbs. In addition, the existential enclitics can attach to any predicate: adjectival, nominal, locative, or deverbal. On predicates with more than one word, the existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate.

Despite their similar appearance, the Kumzari existential enclitic and the Persian pronominal copula are morphosyntactically different. Unlike the copula in Persian, the Kumzari existential enclitic is incompatible with a verb. When a deverb precedes the existential, the deverb is in its predicative role and functions more as an adjective than a verb. The existential’s paradigm of forms also differs from that of the verbal suffixes. Existentials are treated in chapter 5.

An existential enclitic is obligatory in both nominal predicates (šēx below) and adjectival predicates (ādī below):

(479) U12
šēx=\textit{in} na ā, ādī=\textit{in}.
sheikh =EX:3p NEG SUB normal =EX:3p
‘They were not royalty; they were common.’

and with locational predicates (āntē below):

(480) P570
ząngērîr-an āntē=\textit{in}.
slave –PL there =EX:3p
‘The slaves were there.’

The existential enclitic occurs on predicates with deverbs (i.e., deverbs without a light verb)(ğafala and halla below):

89 It is conceivable that the Kumzari existential enclitics derived from the Old Persian h-existential, while these same forms merged with the Old Persian asīy verb (istad ‘stand’) to become the hast/ast of Middle Persian (Cheung 2007:152). In Kumzari the initial h would have been eventually dropped, leaving only the pronominal endings.
(481) A166
āwwa bār maxlōq-an ḡafala=in.
first time people-PL unsuspecting =EX:3p
‘The first time the people were unsuspecting.’

(482) B599
ḥalla ba ṭa’r=in.
landing on mountain-ledges =EX:3p
‘They are landing on mountain-ledges.’

and on predicates with perfect participles:

(483) N24
bukrit-an ẓās=in.
kid-PL give.birth:PERF-3p =EX:3p
‘The kids are born.’

and on predicates with prepositional phrases:

(484) R944
ammū šan inda xānağ-an=in wā dar –an qafl.
all 3p in house-PL =EX:3p with door-PL locked
‘All of them were in the houses with doors locked.’

(485) P548
inda munna=in.
in Mina (city) =EX:3p
‘They were in Mina.’

The existential enclitic attaches to the entire predicate, even to those with multiple words:

(486) P285
wēkil rōk-ō=T?
guardian boy-the =EX:2s
‘Are you the boy’s guardian?’

9.3.2.2 Predicates with the verb tō’a ‘become’

When a time reference or inchoative aspect of existentiality must be made explicit for pragmatic reasons, the fully-inflectable verb tō’a ‘become’ is used rather than the existential enclitic. The wa= morpheme evident in the Realis form of the verb wābur ‘become:3s’ represents inchoative aspect, and occurs in similar preverbal forms (wa-, vā-, vī, or ver-) in verb systems of other Western Iranian languages (Stilo 2012, Windfuhr 2012, MacKinnon 2011, Skjærvø 1988).

The first of the examples below has the existential enclitic, and the second has the same predicate with the verb tō’a ‘become’ to designate inchoative aspect:
In this example, both the existential enclitic and the verb $tō'a$ ‘become’ are used with the same predicate to specify aspect:

(489) S730
sā ditk-ō wustin=Ø. wustin wābur.
now girl-the pregnant=EX:3s pregnant become:3sREAL.
‘Now, the girl was pregnant. She became pregnant.’

Like the existential enclitic, the verb $tō'a$ ‘become’ can take nominal, adjectival, or locational predicates:

(490) K72
paštin $tō$-a.
mid-afternoon become:IMPF-3s
‘It is becoming mid-afternoon.’

(491) B1242
bāram išk wābur pi wā= ġarbī.
almond.tree dry become:3sREAL from -ward west
‘The almond tree became dry from the west.’

(492) G231
jit-iš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō.
see:REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave-the
‘He saw it go [lit. ‘become’] inside the cave.’

In its intransitive form, the verb $tō'a$ ‘become’ has the sense of ‘happening’:

(493) R1095
$tō$-a na! gur dit xō! dgō ba yē, abdin!
become:IMPF-3s NEG take:2sIMPER daughter REFL say:3sIMPF to 3s never
‘It shall not happen! Take your daughter!’ He said to him, “Never!”

In its capacity as a light verb, $tō'a$ ‘become’ is used in a compound verb in place of $tka$ ‘do’ with a deverb to produce the passive voice (see chapter 4):

(494) S714
pis šēx-ō adafa būs-ē.
son sheikh-the injured become:PERF-3s
‘The sheikh’s son has been hurt!’
9.3.2.3 Predicates with evidentials

Evidentials fulfil the syntactic role of transitive verbs in a clause, requiring a complement (see §9.4.2.5.2.5). The complement may take the form of a complement clause or a noun phrase:

(495) B148
sā tamna ā xēd-in.
now EVID SUB eat:REAL-3p
‘Now he saw that they ate.’

(496) G22
ēka ā bāram tō’-a na.
EVID SUB rain become:IMPF-3s NEG
‘You know it doesn’t rain.’

(497) R1547
tamna ā ar yak-ē ma’r-ē ba kūn yē.
EVID SUB each one-a tattoo-a on buttocks 3s
‘They saw that each one had a tattoo on his backside.’

(498) G213
ēka ā yā ġrāb-o.
EVID SUB DEM crow-the
‘It must be this crow.’

(499) P790
awa ā xwaft.
EVID SUB sleep:3sREAL
‘She said he is asleep.’

(500) S879
ēka ā dit šmā.
EVID SUB daughter 2p
‘You know your daughter…’

(501) G442
tamna ā jāmal-ē raxama=Ø inda ġawy yē.
EVID SUB camel-a reclining=EX:3s in courtyard 3s
‘He saw a camel reclining in his courtyard.’

9.3.2.4 Predicates with possessives

Clauses with the possessive construction do not require a verb. As described in chapter 8, the preposition wā is followed by the possessor in the form of a noun or noun phrase:

(502) K35
zōraq-ē wā yē.
zōraq.boat-a with 3s
‘He had a zōraq boat.’
9.3.2.5 Predicates with abstract plurals

A noun with the abstract plural can be a predicate without a verb, forming a complete clause. Abstract plurals used alone as clauses frequently depict a general situation, especially about time, location, or weather:

(506) šartāg-an.
storm-PL
‘It’s stormy.’

(507) P371
balya-an.
problem-PL
‘It was problematic.’

(508) B649
bang-an.
dusk-PL
‘It was dusk.’

The abstract plural is described in detail in chapter 3.

9.4 Complex clauses

9.4.1 Coordination

Syntactic coordination is a complex clause “linking two clauses of equal grammatical status” (Payne 1999:336). However, in some complex clauses, it is ambiguous whether the component clauses are equal, and thus in coordination, or dependent, and thus in subordination. This is the case in many languages, as Haspelmath explains: “The formal symmetry of the terms coordination and subordination does not correspond to a similar conceptual symmetry” (Haspelmath 2007:46). Some conjunctions in Kumzari may signal conditionality, depending on the semantics of the two clauses and whether the subordinating enclitic ā is present. Such cases, with flexibility in their status of coordination or subordination, reveal the typological fact that “the category of coordinators does not have
sharp boundaries” (Haspelmath 2007:48). Conjunctions that function alternately as conditionals are thus described as well in §9.4.2 on subordination.

Coordination in Kumzari generally uses one of the linking forms: conjunction (wa ‘and’; ka ‘also’), disjunction (wala, wana ‘or’; kana, midam ‘otherwise’), adversative coordination (lakin ‘but’; balkē ‘however’), or causal coordination (ka ‘so’). Most are of transparently Semitic origin (cf. coordination in Iranian languages: Stilo 2004:273), but do not necessarily function similarly. Examples of each type of coordinated clause are given below.

9.4.1.1 Conjunction

Conjunction in Kumzari uses wa ‘and’ between clauses. The subjects of clauses conjoined by wa ‘and’ may be coreferential:

(509) P126
sêzdâ-'ta ruppî dâr-iš ba yē wa paçaxê-ô kardîd-iš 
thirteen –COUNT rupees give:REAL-3s to 3s and chest –the drop:REAL-3s
wâ= yē.
-ward 3s
‘He gave him thirteen rupees and he laid down the chest before him.’

(510) P348
ḥubbō-ô xaṭṭ-ê kataba gid-iš. wâqâ gid-in wa 
grandmother-the message-a writing do:REAL-3s signature do:REAL-3p and
fând-in yē.
send:REAL-3p 3s
‘The grandmother wrote a message. They signed and they sent it.’

or the subjects of the two clauses may have disjoint reference:

(511) R1365
ẓank-an raft-in na wa šan raft-in.
woman- PL go:REAL-3p NEG and 3p go:REAL-3p
‘The women didn’t go and they [the brothers] went.’

In cases where the subjects of coordinate clauses are coreferential, the subject is usually not re-stated in the second clause, not even with a pronoun:

(512) P278
pis yē xēris-ê mē wa fans-ê mē. 
son 3s buy:PERF-3s 1s and send:PERF-3s 1s
‘Her son has bought me and has sent me.’

There is no grammatical limit to the number of consecutive clauses that may be conjoined by wa, as demonstrated by this example:
At the late afternoon prayer, they brought... furniture! and’

‘here they cleaned! and’

‘the Indians came to [pick up] garbage, and’

‘they cleaned it and’

‘they washed the raft and also’

‘they cleaned up the dirt beside it and also’

‘they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it and’

‘they put in furniture and’

‘the sheikh came and’

‘his uncle’s children came and’

‘the judge came and’

‘they sat beside the raft.’

The conjunction *wa* can be combined with the marker of listing parallelism *ka* ‘also’ to present consecutive conjunction. As an emphatic conjunction, *ka* is distinguished
semantically from *wa* in its emphasis that “each coordinand belongs to the coordination, and each of them is considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):

(514) S632

śaw ā, *ka* maylat gid-in, *wa* *ka* ammū čī gid-in

night SUB LIST wedding.poetry do:REAL-3p and LIST all thing do:REAL-3p

*wa* *ka* srō kēšid-in *wa* ĥiya būr-in.

and LIST sung poetry pull:REAL-3p and finished become:REAL-3p

‘At night, also they did the Maylad [poetry], and also they did everything, and also they sang the Sro [poetry], and they finished.’

9.4.1.2 Causal coordination

The conjunction *ka* is used alone for causal coordination (Haspelmath 2007:2):

(515) U457
tō āmō mē *ka* zan xō gr-um b-um wā=

2s father-in-law 1s so wife REFL take:IMPER-1s go:IMPER-1s -ward

mām xō, bap xō ā.

mother REFL father REFL INTERR

‘You are my father-in-law, so let me take my wife and go to my own mother and father?’

(516) B773

xalaqa ba yē *ka* tāt-um dig-um yē šū-ī.

(good).looks to 3s so want:IMPF-1s take:IMPF-1s 3s husband-ADVR

‘He is handsome, so I want to take him as a husband.’

9.4.1.3 Disjunction

Disjunction in Kumzari uses the word *waḷa* ‘or’ between clauses to indicate alternative possibilities:

(517) P468

kam ḡāz dō-um ba yē *waḷa* śirx tāt-a ā,

how.much money give:IMPF-1s to 3s or gold want:IRR-3s SUB

śirx dō-um ba yē.

gold give:IMPF-1s to 3s

‘I will give her however much money, or if she wants gold, I will give her gold.’

(518) R767

inda šmā ā *waḷa* ina żan-an šmā ā?

in 2p INTERR or in wife-PL 2p INTERR

‘Is it in you or is it in your wives?’

Emphatic disjunction uses the bisyndetic *wana* ‘either, or’ preceding each clause. Emphatic disjunction “emphasizes the contrast between both coordinands and requires that they be considered separately” (Haspelmath 2007:15):
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(519) R812

*wana* inda tō *wana* inda ṣan tō.
either/or in 2s either/or in wife 2s
‘Either it is in you or it is in your wife.’

In this example of emphatic disjunction, the verb and the preposition have undergone ellipsis:

(520) N33

*wana* tay ba baẓẓa-ē, *wana* pačē-ē.
either/or come:3sIMPF to poor.person-a either/or rich.person-a
‘It could come to either a poor person or a rich person.’

There is no clause-linking mechanism attested for emphatic negative disjunction (*'neither/nor'). As described in chapter 10, in noun phrases expressing rejection, the negative particle precedes each of its referents:

(521) A393

*na* ṭarb, *na* šuğul, *na* ṣūn.
NEG wound NEG mark NEG anything
‘Neither wound, nor mark, nor anything.’

As a linking device between clauses, the counterfactual unreality conditional *kana* ‘otherwise’ (see §9.4.2.4.8) can function in substitutive disjunction (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):

(522) N34

ka ḫū būs-um ṭāman awwal ā, *kana* ar rōz-ē
if living become:PERF-1s era before SUB otherwise each day-a
č-um ēmaq tk-um.
do:IMPF-1s firewood do:IMPF-1s
‘If I had lived long ago, I would have gone to collect firewood every day.’

(523) N35

ḡaż-an mē byār *kana* č-um šurṭa škēwī
money-PL is bring:2sIMPER otherwise go:IMPF-1s police accusation
tk-um bā tō.
do:IMPF-1s against 2s
‘Bring my money or I will go to the police and lay an accusation against you.’

(524) N9

šnaw majma-an pīru xō *kana* ‘alama tī-ī na
listen:2sIMPER word-PL grandfather REFL otherwise learning become:IMP-2s NEG
cābē ḫū bī-ī na.
how living become:IRR-2s NEG
‘Listen to the words of your grandfather or you will never learn how to live.’

Likewise, the counterfactual conditional *midam* can function in explicative disjunction (Haspelmath 2007:48) between clauses:
9.4.1.4 Adversative coordination

There are two conjunctions of adversative coordination. The first is the same as the Arabic adversative coordinator *lakin* ‘but’:

(526) P772

 sû mē wā mē ēwō lakin sā sû mē raft pi mē.
husband 1s with 1s here but now husband 1s go:3sREAL from 1s
‘I have a husband here, but now my husband left me.’

(527) R419

 rōz-ē č-um tē šmā, lakin wa rōz-ō raft-um ā,
day-a go:IMPF-1s before 2p but if/when day-the go:REAL-1s SUB

tēmuš-um xizinā-ō wa žīs-ē.
see:IMPF-1s treasure-the if/when steal:PERF-3s
‘One day I will go ahead of you, but when I go today, I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

(528) R675

 ammū šmā br-ē, ar šaš kas-an šmā, lakin
all 2p go:IMPER-2p each 6 pers PL 2p but

 rōk-ō čkk-ō pē ūny-a wā mē.
boy-the small-the only stay:IMPER-3s with 1s
‘All of you go, all six of you, but the youngest boy only shall stay with me.’

(529) S426

 ka byō ba yē lakin adliy-ē ba yē.
right.away come:MIR to 3s but gown-a to 3s
‘Right away he came to her but she was wearing a gown!’

The second conjunction of adversative coordination is partially also of Arabic origin: *balkē* ‘however’ (Stilo 2004:273):

(530) A599

 ān, òjuzō na’ata tk-in, balkē raft-ē ġarbī,
3s.ANA old.person awaiting do:IMPF-3p however go:PERF-3s west

 raft-ē šarqī, raft-ē ābar ābar, madya būs-ē.
go:PERF-3s east go:PERF-3s over.here over.here lost become:PERF-3s
‘The other one, they were waiting for the old person; however, having gone to the west, having gone to the east, having gone here and there, she had become lost.’

9.4.1.5 Asyndetic coordination
Some instances of coordination are asyndetic, lacking an overt coordinator. This strategy uses simple juxtaposition and varying intonation over the complex clause to link component clauses. The same patterns of intonation in asyndetic coordination are found in Iranian languages (Stilo 2004:277). Rising intonation between coordinated clauses, and falling intonation at the end of the sentence, are indicated in the following examples with rising and falling lines:

(531) P391

\[\text{ādamī ba kāra-ō, nām yē fālan.}\]

\text{person to gate-the name 3s such-and-such}

‘There’s someone at the gate; his name is such-and-such.’

(532) R527

\[\text{gambil kan ba yē, dakka kin za xōr-ō, wēl.}\]

\text{hole dig:MIR for 3s bury do:MIR under donkey-the leave:MIR}

‘He dug a hole for it, he buried [them] under the donkey, he left [them]!’

(533) K529

\[\text{gēnum azala gid-in, jā azala gid-in.}\]

\text{wheat separating do:REAL -3p barley separating do:REAL -3p}

‘They separated the wheat, they separated the barley.’

9.4.2 Subordination

9.4.2.1 Subordination strategies spanning all categories

Subordination in Kumzari is achieved by a number of morphosyntactic strategies. There are also subordination strategies that span more than one type of complex clause construction. It is thus extremely useful at this point to look at T. Payne’s continuum of degree of grammatical integration between two verbs in a multiple verb construction (1999:272).

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{relative} & \text{coordination} & \text{two} & \text{clause} & \text{verbs} & \text{clauses} \\
\text{serial} & \text{complement} & \text{adverbial} & \text{clause} & \text{chains} & \text{clauses} \\
\text{separate} & \text{clauses} & \text{no} & \text{grammatical} & \text{integration} \\
\text{high degree of} & \text{grammatical} & \text{integration} \\
\end{array}
\]

(reproduced with permission from T. Payne 1999:272)

This 4.3 chapter will first describe those strategies with overlapping functions among the different types of subordinated clauses. Thereafter it will explore four types of multiple verb construction found in Kumzari, from lowest to highest degree of grammatical integration between the two verbs: relative clauses, clause chains, adverbial clauses, and complement clauses. Serial and compound verbs are described in §4.3. In complex clauses, more integrated verbs use the subordinating enclitic ʰa to signal clause relationships, while less integrated verb constructions tend to use conjunctions.
9.4.2.1.1 The subordinating enclitic ā

The subordinator is a clause-final enclitic with grammatical, not lexical, meaning. It is the morpheme ā, with allomorphs wā and yā, following non-low back vowels and non-low front vowels respectively:

(534) R625
nwāšam-ī yā, šēx -ō ām ba yē.
evening -ADVR SUB sheikh -the come:3s to 3s
‘In the evening, the sheikh came to him.’

Usually a subordinator following a non-low-vowel-final word, inserts semi-vowels between them (yā or wā). However, commonly in cases of topicalisation and juxtaposition, the subordinator instead coalesces with the final vowel:

(535) U68
sā mām -ō ō, ču xa ḏaraḵ -an xō.
now mother -the SUB go:3sIMPF house neighbour -PL REFL
‘Now the mother, she would go to her neighbours’ houses.’

Juxtaposition of two independent clauses, with only the subordinator and no subordinating conjunction, is used to signal temporal and logical relations between two clauses:

(536) K146
asp -an insī-an byār ba mē ē, byō jō’ar tō
horse -PL humanlike -PL bring:2sIMPER to 1s SUB come:2sIMPER pearl 2s
dō’ -um ba tō.
give:IMPF -1s to 2s
‘Bring me the talking horses, [and then] come, I will give you your pearl.’

(537) A290
bard –in yā jitt -ō ō, dakka yē gid -in inda maqbart -ō.
carry:REAL -3p this corpse -the SUB burying 3s do:REAL -3p in grave -the
‘Carrying this corpse, they buried it in the grave.’

Infrequently the subordinator can also be realised as a lengthened final vowel before a consonant in the last word of a clause:

---

90 Similar morphemes with subordinating function in Indo-Iranian languages are found in Luri –a (MacKinnon 2011), Kurmanji =sa (Haig 2007:173), Baluchi ālē (Axenov 2006:57, 240), and Palula ta (Liljegren 2008:352), and in the Arabic conditional wa (Johnstone 1991:112).
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(538) B973
ka rāyuduum, rōz jumāāt, yē ka rāyud -um. ka
if/when be.able:1sREAL SUB day Friday SUB in.this.case so be.able:REAL -1s if/when
rāyud -um na ā, lā allāhi‘illāā!
be.able:REAL -1s NEG SUB there.is.no.god.but.God
‘If I am able, on Friday, then I am able. If I am not able, may God save us!’

The subordinator must be marked on every complement of the verb in a subordinated clause, thus the ā follows both the verb and the verbal complement:

(539) B649
wa āmad -in ā ba xwā ā, bang -an.
if/when come:REAL -3p SUB for salt SUB dusk -PL
‘When they came for the salt, it was nightfall.’

The subordinator ā is elusive. Despite being ubiquitous, the subordinator is difficult to trace because of its similarity to other segments. When it occurs in careful speech its presence is obvious, but in ambiguous cases it is not possible to ascertain its absence. One key is to look at clause-level intonation, for there is invariably rising intonation between subordinated clauses and falling intonation at the end of a sentence. The subordinator ā and rising intonation occur in the same functional contexts; in fact, it is probable that diachronically, the subordinator is in decline and is merging into intonation; hence its somewhat ambiguous allomorphs.

Sentence-level intonation has a role in many kinds of subordination, such as clause chains, anadiplosis, and conditionals, but even two independent clauses may show rising-falling intonation similar to that which occurs between a subordinate clause and a main clause, suggesting a logical link between the two clauses:

(540) B205

///// \\\
tumr -ī, bumur!
die:IMPF -2s die:2sIMPER
‘Drop dead!’ [lit: ‘You’re going to die, die!’]

(541) P590

///// \\\
bağa s‘āl, jwāb.
without question answer
‘[There was] an answer without a question.’

(542) G176

\\\ ///// \\\
wa ništ. ēwō, za knār -ō, āšinān raft-in.
and sit:3sREAL here under jujube.tree -the those.ones go:REAL-3p
‘And she sat down. There, under the jujube tree, [while] those ones left.’
Adverbial clauses and complement clauses, as well as other semi-subordinate constructions such as medial clauses in a chain and repeated clauses in anadiplosis, take the subordinating enclitic ā clause-finally. More specific lexical-semantic information of the clause falls on the subordinating conjunction (such as wa), if there is one, or on implicit information in the pragmatic and linguistic context.

9.4.2.1.1.2 ā in adverbial clauses

The subordinator is used in all types of adverbial clauses, at the end of the clause:

(544) R1397

paštin –ī ā, kō’ī -ō āmad.
afternoon.prayer –ADVR SUB mountain.bedouin -the come:3sREAL

‘In the afternoon, the mountain bedouin came.’

9.4.2.1.1.3 ā in complement clauses

The subordinating enclitic also joins to the end of various complement clauses:

(545) P110

mār, aqrab inda yē ā, dām na.
snake scorpion in 3s SUB know:1sIMPF NEG

‘I don’t know [whether] there was snake or scorpion in it.’

9.4.2.1.1.4 ā on evidentials

The subordinator occurs with all three evidentials, following the evidential:

(546) B1138

sā wa barza wāb ba bāğ almowž ā, tamna ā
now if/when appearing become:MIR to garden Ar.:the-banana) SUB SENS SUB

brār -an yē ḥaps=in.
brother -PL 3s bound =EX:3p

‘Now when he showed up at the banana garden, he saw that his brothers were bound.’

Much further discussion on the relationship between complement clauses and evidentials is in §9.4.2.5.2.5.

9.4.2.1.1.5 ā in clause chains

Medial clauses in clause chains take the subordinating enclitic because they are not independent clauses:
9.4.2.1.1.6 ā in topicalisation

Thompson and Longacre (1985:229) point out that topicalisation and subordination share common functional features as well as the same morpheme in many languages. This is the case in Kumzari, where the subject or an object is brought into focus by the enclitic ā:

(548) G992
xānağ –ō y’=ā, qētil -ē.
house –the DEM=SUB deadly -a
‘That house, it’s deadly.’

In its topicalisation function, ā can be distinguished from other functions because a topicaliser is marked on a noun phrase; thus it is found even in simple clauses. Pragmatically, topicalisation is parallel to anadiplosis, highlighting given or old information, but anadiplosis repeats an entire clause rather than a noun phrase only.

9.4.2.1.1.7 ā in anadiplosis

Anadiplosis is a grounding strategy in which a clause is repeated, sometimes with an alternate verb form or pronoun, and followed by ā to connect it to the following clause:

(549) B238
ka jaḥha kin ba rōk -ō awēlī, rōk -ō jwān -ō.
PEAK swooping do:MIR for boy -the first boy -the fine -the

jaḥha kin ba yē ā wa sayy yē pi mayya rōk -an.
swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and lift:up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL
‘Immediately he swooped for the first boy, the fine one. He swooped on him and lifted him up among the boys!’

9.4.2.1.2 The consecutive subordinating enclitic bēw

Like ā, and used in its place for linked clauses in logical or temporal sequence, bēw is a consecutive subordinating enclitic:

(550) N6
amū rēsid ba čō-ō bēw, āw gid-iš ba xō.
once arrive:3sREAL to well-the SUB water take:REAL-3s to REFL
‘Once she arrived at the well, then she drew water.’

---

91 Similar particles are used for topicalisation in Baluchi (u), Palula (ba), Bakhtiari, Kurmanji, and Gilaki (am) (Axenov 2006:233; Liljegren 2008:377; Lockwood 2012:210).
They were greeting [each other], then he ran still to there, “Serve the supper, O mother!”

9.4.2.1.3 Irrealis verbs signalling subordination

Irrealis verbs are used to signal that one clause is subordinate to another clause, usually with a different verb form:

(552) S57
xānağ-ē kin ba mē inda yē, qafala pi wā=indur,
house -a do:2sIMPER for 1s inside 3s locked from inward

āw byāt na inda yē na.
water come:3sIRR NEG inside 3s NEG

‘Make a house for me inside it, [that] locks from the inside, [so that] water does not go in it.’

9.4.2.1.3.1 Irrealis in adverbial clauses

Kumzari employs irrealis verbs in temporal and other adverbial clauses:

(553) G221
tē ba rēs -a ba yā, ġrāb –ō pōrid.
before to arrive:IRR -3s to 3s-SUB crow -the fly:3sREAL

‘Before he reached it, the crow flew away.’

9.4.2.1.3.2 Irrealis in complements

Irrealis verbs are also commonly used as a complementation strategy:

(554) N19
wašt -iš yē mīši xōr –a
leave:REAL -3s 3s fish eat:IRR -3s

‘She let him eat fish.’ [lit. ‘she-let him fish that-he-eat.’]

9.4.2.1.4 Reduced-TAMM verbs signalling subordination

In certain circumstances, such as subordinate clauses, verbs are shortened to the stem; that is, they have no affixes marking tense, aspect, mood, or mirativity:

(555) S332
ra ba żank -an wād -iš šan.
go:3s to woman--PL bring:REAL -3s 3p

‘He went to the women, to bring them.’ or ‘Going to the women, he brought them.’

9.4.2.1.4.1 Reduced-TAMM verbs in adverbial clauses

Reduced-TAMM verbs are used in logical and other adverbial clauses:
9.4.2.1.4.2 Reduced-TAMM verbs in complement clauses

Verbs are reduced to lack TAMM marking as a complementation strategy:

(557) G990
dām na rin giya na.  
know:1sIMPF NEG go:3p where NEG  
‘I don’t know where they went.’

9.4.2.1.4.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs in serial verb constructions

In Kumzari serial verb constructions, tense, aspect, modality, and mirativity are understood as encompassing the whole construction; thus the initial verb may have reduced TAMM markings:

(558) S679
āma ēnar yē gid -iš  
come:3s henna 3s do:REAL -3s  
‘she came [and] did his henna’

Serial verb constructions are described in more detail in §4.3.

9.4.2.1.4.4 Reduced-TAMM verbs in clause chains

A medial verb from a clause chain, about a boy’s survival in the desert, shows reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. The TAMM is instead marked on the final verb of the chain.

(559) U218
wa jumr wāš ba xō pi nixn – an asp – ū ā,  
and ember bring:3sREAL for REFL from hoof – PL horse – the SUB  
… ‘and he struck a spark on the horse’s hooves,’…

9.4.2.1.4.5 Reduced-TAMM verbs in anadiplosis

In anadiplosis, repeated information can take a verb with reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking, since the TAMM is already known:

(560) A69
rēsid dbay. rēsi dbay ā,… sā kas dāna na.  
arrive:3sREAL Dubai arrive:3s Dubai SUB now no.one know:3sIMPF NEG  
‘He arrived at Dubai. Arriving at Dubai, … now he knew no one.’
9.4.2.1.5 Participles signalling subordination

The perfect form of the verb is used as a participle, in an extension of aspect, to indicate the subordinate status of a clause.

9.4.2.1.5.1 Participles in relative clauses

The participle operates as a subordinate verb form in relative clauses:

(561) A485
wa ān ḏujūz-ō xwaft-ē indur, mām yē, xābr na.
and that old.person-the sleep:PERF-3s inside mother 3s in.the know NEG
‘And that old person sleeping inside, his mother, [she] didn’t know.’

9.4.2.1.5.2 Participles in adverbial clauses

Perfect participles are employed in adverbial clauses, including clauses of reason:

(562) S244
ēka ā y’=ā kas tāt--a yē na, kaft-ē ba čāf-ō bē.
INF SUB DEM=SUB PERS want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG fall:PERF-3s on beach-the only
‘Obviously no one wanted this, [since] it was just left on the beach.’

9.4.2.1.5.3 Participles in complement clauses

Complement clauses make use of the participle’s subordination function:

(563) B931
dit mē ṭal bur tō gis-ī xustār-ī.
daughter 1s decided become:3sREAL 2s take:PERF-2s fiancé-ADVR
‘My daughter has decided that you be taken as a fiancé.’

9.4.2.1.6 Deverbs signalling subordination

Deverbs in Kumzari have a flexibility that enables them to designate their status as less active than that of a verb in an independent clause. In this function, deverbs appear in subordinate clauses of all kinds.

9.4.2.1.6.1 Deverbs in relative clauses

A deverb can be the indicator of the relative status of a clause:

(564) P94
pačaxčē-ē qafāla pi indur, lēlām tk-in ba yē suq-ō.
chest--a locked from inside peddling do:IMPF-3p to 3s souq-the
‘A chest that was locked from the inside, they were peddling it in the souq.’

9.4.2.1.6.2 Deverbs in adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses take advantage of the less-verblike qualities of deverbs:
Deverbs are found as subject or object expansions in complement clauses:

(566) R360
ātiš -ē jīr -iš, ātiš -ē āntē čō-ō ā, ātiš -ē labaqa.
fire -a see:REAL -3s fire -a there well -the SUB fire -a burning
‘He saw a fire, a fire that was there by the well, a burning fire.’

9.4.2.1.7 Conjunctions signalling subordination

Subordinating conjunctions occur clause-initially, and may combine with other strategies in subordinate clauses. Certain prepositions, such as pi ‘from’, hatā ‘until’, āxur ‘after’, wa ‘when’, and others, also serve as subordinating conjunctions (cf. Schachter 1985).

9.4.2.1.7.1 Subordinating conjunctions in relative clauses

The relativising morpheme ka found in many Western Iranian languages now occurs in Kumzari only in idiomatic connective phrases such as inēka ‘in this way’ and byō tā bār ka ‘it came about one time that’ and ambē ka ‘already’:

(567) S254
sā byō tā bār ka pis šēx walēyit-ō ču xāna.
now it.came.about one time that son sheikh country -the go:3sIMPF marriage
‘Now it came about one time that the son of the sheikh of the country was to be married.’

(568) G741
ambē ka guryid, xinnō gidiš.
already that cry:3sREAL wailing -the do:3sREAL
‘He had cried already, [now] he wailed!’

The role of ka as a relativiser has been replaced by the clause-final particle na. Details on the relativiser na are in §9.4.2.2.2.

9.4.2.1.7.2 Subordinating conjunctions in adverbial clauses

A preposition in its subordinating conjunction role may be the head of an adverbial clause. The following two examples have prepositions hatā ‘until’ and āxur ‘after’ serving as adverbialisers in subordinated clauses:

(569) G142
ḥata tay wā=bāla ā gōsin-an txōr-in.
until come:3sIMPF -ward=up SUB goat -PL eat:IMPF-3p
‘The goats were eating until he came up.’
9.4.2.1.7.3 Subordinating conjunctions in complement clauses

Prepositions can likewise function as complementisers in subordinated clauses:

(571) S357
pi giya āmad, dām na.
from where come:3sREAL know:1sIMPF NEG
‘I don’t know where she came from.’

The conditional conjunction *ka* can equally function as a complementiser:

(572) N20
ṣwāl mām xō gid-iš ka jilbē yē čišt-ē.
question mother REFL do:REAL-3s if/when scarf 3s wash:PERF-3s
‘She asked her mother whether she had washed her scarf.’

9.4.2.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause, which describes the referent of a head noun (Comrie 1989:143), is recognised in Kumzari by three strategies: a relative pronoun *ar*, a relative particle *na*, and a gapped relative clause with nominalised verb form. A fourth strategy, employing a prepositional phrase, is used to relativise an argument.

9.4.2.2.1 The relative pronoun *ar*

The basic strategy for forming relative clauses in Kumzari is the use of the clause-initial relative pronoun *ar*. The relative pronoun has two allomorphs: /ar/ replaces an argument and may thus properly be called a complementiser, while /al/ “delimits the reference of a noun phrase” (Andrews 2007:206), occurring post-nominally. As for syntactic distinctions, within a complement *ar* precedes the main clause and as a non-complement relative clause it follows the main clause. When it is not part of a complement clause, the relative pronoun is externally headed, being coreferential to its head in the matrix clause (as in the first two examples below, the heads of the relative clauses are *šū yē* and *surxan*, respectively). An *ar* relative clause within a complement clause is internally headed (Comrie 1989:146), being self-referential (as in the third and fourth examples below, the heads of both relative clauses are *ar*).

(573) P1044
šū yē šwānd-iš, a kardīd-iš yē ẓēr pi qisr-ō.
husband 3s hear:REAL-3s that/which/who drop:REAL-3s 3s down from palace -the
‘She listened to her husband, the one who had thrown her down from the palace.’

(574) P511
sā širx-an wā yē a źank-ō wād-iš.
now gold -PL with 3s that/which/who woman -the bring:REAL-3s
‘Now, she had gold, that which the woman had brought.’
9.4.2.2.2 The relative particle *na*

Kumzari also uses a relative particle *na* to encode relative constructions, giving additional information about the head. The relative particle *na* occurs clause-finally, but when the relative clause is embedded in a complement clause, the relative particle *na* takes penultimate position in the clause, followed by and fused with the subordinator *ā* to form *nā*:

(577) A641

\[
\text{ar jamma tk-ā zīn-ō, jamma tk-ā,} \\
\text{that/which/who bending do:IMPF-3s thief—the bending do:IMPF-3s}
\]

\[
\text{sayya ba xō n=ā, zīn-ō.} \\
\text{picking up for REFL of which thief—the}
\]

‘The one who bends down is the thief, who bends down, picks up, is the thief.’

In this case, it is often a correlative strategy, in which the antecedent noun phrase is repeated rather than reduced:

(578) B945

\[
\text{yā qīṣr dit mē na, qīṣr dgur tābaq qublō} \\
\text{DEM palace daughter 1s of which palace other storey presenting}
\]

\[
yē gis-ē, ya’nī. \\
3s do:PERF-3s that.is.to.say
\]

‘This palace that is for my daughter, another multi-storeyed palace will be presented to her, I mean.’

Like Arabic, Kumzari has verbless relative clauses. Instead of a finite verb, a relative clause may comprise an existential enclitic, an adjective or deverb, or a participial verb. The relative particle *na* is particularly favourable in such cases of relative clauses with implied predicates:

(579) S51

\[
\text{sōnty-ē gap byār, lōḥ-ī gap-ē na, wa kin} \\
\text{raft—a big bring:2sIMPER wood—ADJR big—a of which and make:2sIMPER}
\]

\[
\text{ba mē inda yē xānāğ-ē.} \\
\text{for 1s inside 3s house—a}
\]

‘Bring a big raft, that is a big, wooden one, and make me a house inside it.’
A frequently-occurring extension of the role of *na* in clause combination is in discourse as a topicaliser, making a subject from the object of the previous sentence:

(580) A695

\[\text{ḥafara gambil-} \text{ tk-a } \text{ā, sō yē inda yē.} \]

*\text{digging hole-a do:IMPF-3s SUB put:3sIMPF 3s in 3s}*

\[\text{yā na, naqala wābur!} \]

*DEM of.which disappearing become:3sREAL*

‘Digging a hole, he puts [the gold] in it. This [gold], it disappeared!’

9.4.2.2.3 Gapped relative clauses

Cross-linguistically, nominalised and participial verbs are a very common feature of relative clauses, especially in languages with abundant verbal morphology (Payne 1999:294). Instead of using an overt relative marker, relative clauses in Kumzari may use a gap strategy of a nominalised verb in the form of a deverb or perfect participle. The following two examples are gapped relative clauses using the deverbs *ḥaraqa* and *qafala*:

(581) P1099

\[\text{xāṭṭ-} \text{āma ba mē, law yē } \text{ḥaraqa.} \]

*message-a come:3s to 1s edge 3s sealed.with.wax*

‘A message came to me, [of which] its edge was sealed with wax.’

(582) S57

\[\text{xānağ-} \text{kin ba mē inda yē, qafala pi wā=indur,} \]

*house-a do:2sIMPER for 1s inside 3s locking from -ward=inside*

\[\text{āw byāt na inda yē na.} \]

water come:3sIRR NEG inside 3s NEG

‘Make a house for me inside it, [that] locks from the inside, [so that] water does not go in it.’

This relative clause uses a perfect-participial form of the verb, without a relativiser:

(583) A570

\[\text{sā őjuž-} \text{ā, āmas-} \text{pī-an jōr-a ā,} \]

*now old.person-the DEM=SUB come:PERF-3s fat-PL look:IRR-3s SUB*

\[\text{ra barra ā, ahma tka maltqa yē wābur} \]

go:3s outside SUB Ahmad-Does-It face-to-face.meeting 3s become:3sREAL

\[\text{ba kāra dar-ō.} \]

*at entryway door-the*

‘Now, that old person, [who was] coming to look for some fat, went outside, came face to face with Ahmad Tka at the entryway of the door.’

9.4.2.2.4 Prepositional phrases

Arguments employ prepositional phrases as a relativisation strategy:
‘Send it to the boy, who has gone on the Hajj pilgrimage.’

‘You know these ones which, that are long [antlers]... oryxes. A gazelle.’

A relative clause can be a complementation strategy (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:6, 35); in Kumzari a relative clause can function as both subject complement, as in the first example below, and object complement, as in the second example below. A relative clause serving as an object complement (as in S454* below) needs a resumptive pronoun to replace it in its usual position in the matrix clause; a subject complement (as in B1051* below) does not need a resumptive pronoun because the relative pronoun ar fulfills this function. Because these relative clauses are embedded in complement clauses, they must take the subordinator ā.

‘Whoever goes by this path doesn’t survive!’

‘The side of the gown that had fallen there beside the sheikh, he pierced it with the scissors.’

A clause chain is a set of clauses in which the verb of the first or last clause is inflected, while verbs of medial clauses in the chain are “less finite than the verbs in independent clauses of the language, lacking the marking of one or more tense-aspect-modality operators” (Dooley 2010a:4). Since medial verbs may consist of a simple root and are neutral with respect to verbal categories, they “receive their finite feature designations from the final verb” (Watters 2002:323). The fully-inflected verb of the initial or final clause thus stands for the morphology of all chain-medial verbs.
The pattern of Kumzari clause chains is two or more clauses with truncated verbs92 and the subordinating enclitic, followed by a final, independent clause with a fully inflected verb (or alternatively with the sensory evidential tamna93). The clauses have the same subject unless otherwise explicitly specified, and are linked by semantics or sequence of action.

Cross-linguistically, there is typically a strong semantic affiliation between subordination and chaining. This closeness is apparent in Kumzari morphosyntax, as chaining uses the same subordinating enclitic as other subordinated clauses, but without subordinating conjunctions, instead morphologically demoting medial verbs. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that “both chaining and juxtaposition may occur in some languages to signal clause relationships which other languages use subordination for.” (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:242)

In chaining structures, it is recognised that syntactic ordination of clauses is gradient rather than binary (Givón 2001b:327-328). Cosubordination may be called a midway point on the scale, and it is different from both embedding (subordination) and juxtaposition (coordination) (Haspelmath 1985:20-27). In clause chains, medial verbs are cosubordinate; they are “syntactically and semantically dependent on a main clause, but are not syntactically or semantically a part of that clause” (Terrill 2004:440). The term cosubordination is used to describe such chain-medial clauses that, unlike subordinated clauses, do not modify the main clause, yet can neither stand alone as can coordinated clauses (van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Along with clause chains in Kumzari, in colloquial Persian and most other languages of western Iran there are long lists of serial-like verbs which form a syntactic unit and usually do not have overt coordination (Stilo 2004:294,296). Instead, these juxtaposed clauses are linked by ‘sustained’ (comma) intonation, different from that of coordinated clauses (Stilo 2004:277,294). It is not yet known whether lists in these languages also have truncated verbs with reduced morphology.

In Kumzari clause chains, medial clauses are subordinated with the enclitic =ā, and verbs show truncated marking of verbal categories, which are instead marked on a final finite verb for the whole chain. In the following clause chain from the tale Bāǧ al-Mōwz, medial clauses with shortened verb forms (ka ‘do’, sō ‘put’) are cosubordinated to the final clause, which contains the fully inflected Imperfect verbs tka ‘do’ and tāra ‘bring.’

In the glossed summary of the clause chain structure immediately below, medial verbs in the chain are italicised and final verbs with complete finite marking are in boldface font; the subordinating enclitic is marked with a <:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause chain structure B422</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘When he comes &lt;, he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it &lt;, he will put it over the fire pit &lt;, he will fill it with water, he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, put kerosene on the firewood &lt;, and he will put logs under it &lt;, it will foam, the water on it will be white like this &lt;, and he will bring a drum for himself.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92 See §4.3.5.
93 Evidentials may take the place of verbs (see chapter 7).
‘When he comes,
he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it,

he will put it over the fire pit, he will fill it with water,

he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, put kerosene on the firewood,
and he will put logs under it,

and he will bring a drum for himself.’

Semantically, clause chains bring together discrete but related actions within a single event. The following clause chain, in the tale Abūyi salaḥnī, Ummī rakabnī, describes a boy acting out desert survival:
wa āw xwiš pi asp –ō ā, and water drink:3sREAL from horse –the SUB
and he drank water from the horse,

pi mū asp –ō ā, from hair horse –the SUB
from the horse’s hair,

ḡażalē-ō xōd-iš, wa ṭiya wābur, gazelle –the eat:REAL-3s and finished become:3sREAL
he ate the gazelle, and he finished.’

Since the clauses forming a chain comprise parts of a whole—a set of actions—clause chaining contributes to cohesion in Kumzari discourse.

Clause chains in Kumzari and other languages are frequently begun by anadiplosis. The second half of the anadiplosis reveals itself as the orientational initial clause in the chain that contains background information, “by repeating the final clause of the preceding sentence, it is presupposed” (Dooley 2010a:4). In restricting the information to that which is already known, anadiplosis in a clause chain serves “to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain” (Chafe 1976:50).

In clause chaining examples cited by Dooley (2010a:4), an initial clause is dependent and contains background, repeated information, similar to the repeated clause with the subordinator ā in Kumzari anadiplosis. This verges into one or more dependent (medial) clauses containing foreground information, which are followed by a final independent clause in the foreground, marking verbal categories for all verbs in the chain. The pattern is exhibited in the following clause chain in the tale Rōran Šēvō, which describes a boy catching some thieves. The clause chain is initiated by anadiplosis, with the presupposed background information ‘he took a place for himself’, and ends with the foreground information of the thief going to the treasury gate and the boy killing him:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause chain structure R462</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“He took a place for himself &lt;, (now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them &lt;), he took a place for himself &lt;, he took the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way &lt;, he finished, it was heard &lt;, “OK, come!”), he [a thief] went to the gate &lt;, he went to the gate &lt;, he went [in to where the boy was]. He cut off his head with the sword!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(590) R462
jāga gid –iš ba xō ā,
place take:REAL-3s for REFL SUB
‘He took a place for himself,
inča sā īn –ō bzēn –a, šamšir -ō bzēn –a, kš -a šan ā,
like.this now what’s-it-called –the hit -3s sword –the hit -3s kill -3s 3p SUB
(now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them)

94 see §12.6 on the function of anadiplosis in discourse.
jāga g-iš ba xō ā,
place take -3s for REFL SUB
he took a place for himself,

axča mēnu g-iš pi xō ā. kār wa īn...
gold move.aside take -3s from REFL SUB thing and what’s-it-called
he took the gold and things and what’s-it-calleds out of his way,

xālaṣ wābu tamna ā. hē, byō.
finished become SENS SUB yes come:2sIMPER
he finished, it was heard, “OK, come!”;

yē ra ba kāra-ō ā, ra ba kāra–ō ā. raft.
3s go to gate-the SUB go to gate-the SUB go:3sREAL
he [a thief] went to the gate, he went to the gate, he went [in to where the boy was].

qaṣṣa sar yē kin ba šamšīr–ō.
cutting head 3s do:MIR with sword -the
He cut off his head with the sword!

In chains, consecutive cosubordinate clauses put focus on the whole action sequence and
direct attention to the outcome of the final clause. Pragmatically, the listener must continue
until the end of the chain to find out what happened; non-final intonation is an additional
signal that the medial clauses are part of a logical sequence.

Although not technically clause chains, embedded poems exhibit features similar to chains,
suggesting that ordination of verbs and clauses is a broad trend in the language (see §11.3.1
and Givón 2001b:355). Phrases or clauses that make up the LIST section of the poem tend to
be verbless (preferring existential or possessive constructions) or to contain Irrealis verbs.
Emphasis on action in the poem is then allocated to the finite verb(s) within the final part of
the FRAME. The first part of the FRAME, as well as the LIST, is also likely to contain one or
more subordinators, and the embedded poem is often begun or directly preceded by
anadiplosis. The following embedded poem is given below as an example of the chain-like
structures encountered in them (anadiplosis preceding the poem is included in this example):

(591) S82

xālaṣ tō’at ā,
finished become:3sIRR SUB
‘When it is finished,’

bō kard mē dirya–ō.
go:2sIMPER plunge:2sIMPER 1s sea –the
‘go and plunge me into the sea.’

kard -ī mē dirya -ō ā,
plunge:IIR -2s 1s sea –the SUB
‘Plunging me into the sea.’

bar mē ba mōmur, wākiš mē.
carry:2sIMPER 1s to (island name) release:2sIMPER 1s
‘carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.’
ar jāga b-um
any place go:IMPER -1s
'I shall go anywhere.'

murd -um ka wābur -um inda sōntī-ō yā ā,
die:REAL -1s if become:REAL -1s in raft – the DEM SUB
'If I should die on that raft,'

inda ḥamya bur –um,
in beached become:IRR -1s
'should I become beached,'

wa ra’-um wā bāla,
and go:IRR -1s at/ward= up
'and should I go up,'

ra’-um mağrab,
go:IRR -1s west
'should I go west,'

ra’-um mašraq,
go:IRR -1s east
'should I go east,'

ana yā tk-ī ba mē ā,
if DEM do:IMPF -2s for 1s SUB
'if you do these things for me,'

balkē mān –um zindağ.
perhaps stay:IRR -1s alive
'perhaps I will stay alive.'

wa ana tēl –ī mē jāga mē inda wālēyit –ō ā,
and if leave:IMPF -2s 1s place 1s in country – the SUB
'And if you make me [stay] where I am in [this] country,'

tumr –um.
die:IMPF -1s
'I will die.'

Table 52. Chain-like structures in an embedded poem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rhetorical structure of poem</th>
<th>S82  (daughter goes on the raft)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When it is finished SUB,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go and plunge me into the sea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plunging me into the sea SUB,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{place} should I go.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I die in {place} SUB,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I become in {place}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should I go {place}.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
if you do these things for me SUB, perhaps I will stay alive.
And if you make me [stay] where I am (lit. ‘let me my-place’) {place} in {place},
I will die.

It is apparent from the examination of clause chains that clause ordination is not binary. Kumzari takes its place among languages that exhibit longer clause-combining structures signalling coherence in the context of discourse.

9.4.2.4 Adverbial clauses

Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang note that there is a difference cross-linguistically in types of adverbial subordinated clauses, between those that can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot (Shopen 2007:243). This distinction is useful in the analysis of Kumzari adverbials, since in the first group, clauses usually need either a conjunction or a preposition in addition to the subordinator, and in the second group, only the subordinator is generally required. An exception to this generalisation is conditionals, which we have discussed.

Adverbials encompass a range of semantic roles, including, but not limited to, the following:

9.4.2.4.1 Time clauses

(592) P165
wa ǧurbit-ō ā zank-ō raf xā indarağ-an xō.
if/when sunset-the SUB woman—go:3sREAL house neighbour—PL REFL
‘When it was sunset, the woman went to her neighbours’ house.’

(593) S272
sā wa ṭabil-an  GlobalKey-iš ā, dar-ō wākid-iš.
now if/when drum—PL hear:REAL-3s SUB door—open:REAL-3s
‘Now when she heard the drums, she opened the door.’

9.4.2.4.2 Location clauses

(594) B1031
inda qiṣr-ō ā, sā mardk-ō pā yē drāz.
in palace-the SUB now man—the leg 3s stretched.out
‘In the palace, now, the man, his legs were stretched out.’

9.4.2.4.3 Purpose clauses

(595) S125
tāt-um tō hajrit-ē kin inda yē ā, ba dik-ō y’=ā,
want:IMPF-1s 2s room—do:2sIMPER in 3s SUB for girl—the DEM=SUB

nwāž tk-a inda yē ā, txwā-a inda yē ā,
praying do:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB sleep:IMPF-3s in 3s SUB
‘I want you to make a room in it, for this girl, so that she prays in it, so that she sleeps in it…’

9.4.2.4.4 Reason clauses
The woman, surviving one month, became well.

‘The woman, surviving one month, became well.’

By searching for them, they were delayed by them.

‘By searching for them, they were delayed by them.’

While you were asleep, a girl came.

‘While you were asleep, a girl came.’

Not only am I not going to marry; I am not staying here either.

‘Not only am I not going to marry; I am not staying here either.’

When it was dusk, one beggar came to the gate.

‘When it was dusk, one beggar came to the gate.’

With an imperfect verb, wa refers to generic reality conditions:
or to habitual reality conditions:

(602) S190
wa lanj-an tēmiš-in yē ā, č-in ba yē.
if/when dhow–PL see:IMPF-3p 3s SUB go:IMPF-3p to 3s
‘When dhows saw it, they would go to it.’

With a realis verb, the *wa* conditional refers to situations in the present (relative to time of speaking):

(603) S272
sā wa ṭabil-an šnaft-iš ā, dar-ō wākid-iš.
now if/when drum–PL hear:REAL-3s SUB door–the open:REAL-3s
‘Now when she heard the drums, she opened the door.’

(604) U310
sā wa rōk-ō ditk-ō jūr-iš ā, ditk-ō dil yē bžand-iš.
now if/when boy–the girl–the see:REAL-3s SUB girl–the heart 3s strike:REAL-3s
‘Now when the boy saw the girl, he was love-struck.’

When used without its clause-final subordinating counterpart ā, *wa* means ‘whether’:

(605) A162
lāzum ādam-ē xābr tī’-in wa ādamī-ē
necessary person-a in.the.know become:IMPF-3p if/when person-a

sabaya tk-in ba wālēyit-ō.
guarding do:IMPF-3p for country-the
‘Someone must find out whether they are standing guard for the country.’

(606) R421
wa rōz-ō raft-um ā, tēmuš-um xiziñā-ō wa žīs-ē.
if/when day–the go:REAL-1s SUB see:REAL-1s treasure–the if/when steal:PERF-3s
‘When I go today, I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

9.4.2.4.8.2 Clauses with *wana* ‘if/when’

With a realis verb, the subordinating conjunction *wana* can denote either reality conditional of past situations, or predictive (this is linked to the fact that the realis verb form signifies epistemic certainty rather than temporal notions):

(607) N17
wana šnuft-iš tō ā, tikš-a tō.
if/when hear:REAL-3s 2s SUB kill:IMPF-3s 2s
‘If he heard you, he will kill you.’
With an irrealis verb, *wana* is hypothetical:

(609) B124

\[
\text{mā } \text{wana } \text{šū } \text{mā } \text{aft-ta } \text{rōr } \text{wā } \text{yē } \text{ā, yak-ē } \text{čōt,}
\]

\[
\text{1p if/when husband 1p seven-COUNT child with 3s SUB one—a go:3sIRR}
\]

\[
\text{šaš kas wā yē.}
\]

\[
\text{six PERS with 3s}
\]

‘As for us, if our husband had seven children, and one left, he would [still] have six.’

The same conjunction *wana*, when used without its clause-final subordinating counterpart ǧā, denotes a threat:

(610) R124

\[
\text{ād } \text{ba mē ayya zāmē xōr-ē, šamšir-ē wana tukš-um tō.}
\]

\[
\text{give:2sIMPER to 1s quickly immediately donkey—a sword—a if/when kill:IMPF-1s 2s}
\]

‘Quickly! Immediately give me a donkey [and] a sword, or else I’ll kill you.’

Both clauses in a threat may take the conjunction *wana*, signalling a condition:

(611) S791

\[
\text{wana } \text{dar-ō wākiš, wana nwāž nijjar-an tār-um.}
\]

\[
\text{if/when door-the open:2sIMPER if/when tomorrow boatbuilder-PL bring:IMPF-1s}
\]

‘Either you open the door, or else I will bring the boatbuilders.’

9.4.2.4.8.3 Clauses with *ka* ‘if/when’

Contrasting with *wa* is the conditional of unreality notions *ka*. *Ka* can be used for hypothetical (with imperfect or irrealis verbs), or predictive (with realis verbs). No matter which verb form is paired with it, *ka* carries the connotation of a promise, suggestion, or plan.

(612) P1036

\[
\text{ka } \text{sā ādam-ē dgur jāga mē ā, qaṣṣa sar tō tk-a.}
\]

\[
\text{if/when now person—a other place 1s SUB cutting head 2s do:IMPF-3s}
\]

‘Were another person in my place now, he would cut off your head.’

(613) U110

\[
\text{ka } \text{sōʾ-um tō rēʾin inda asp-ē ā, ḥata asp-ō byār-um,}
\]

\[
\text{if/when put:IMPF-1s 2s bond in horse—a SUB so.that horse—the bring:IRR-1s}
\]

\[
\text{āxur dug-um tō.}
\]

\[
\text{after take:IMPF-1s 2s}
\]

‘If I were to put you up as collateral for a horse, so that [when] I brought the horse back, afterward I would get you.’
Chapter 9 - Clause 203

(614) U280

\[ \text{ka ěwānid-įs bā tō ba sāłfit ā, yē dug-į ğēnī na.} \]

if/when be:able:REAL-3s against 2s of riddle SUB 3s take:IMPF-2s as.a.wife NEG

‘If she overcomes you with a riddle, you will not marry her.’

Similar to the \text{wa} without ā meaning ‘whether’, the discourse marker of listing parallelism ka probably has its origins in the conditional \text{ka} without ā:

(615) G765

\[ \text{sā mā yā ělē-an dīv̑-im ba tō. kā āzar man-an} \]

now 1p DEM wheat -PL give:IMPF-1p to 2s if/when thousand measure –PL

\[ \text{wa kā panj șad man-an wa kā dō āzar man-an}, \]

and if/when five hundred measure –PL and if/when two thousand measure –PL

\[ \text{dīv̑-im ba tō jāga bap tō.} \]

give:1pIMPF to 2s place father 2s

‘Now we will give this wheat to you. If it’s a thousand bushels, or if it’s five hundred bushels, or if it’s two thousand bushels, we will give it to you for your father’s sake.’

9.4.2.4.8.4 Clauses with \text{kana} ‘otherwise’

The counterfactual unreality conditional is \text{kana}. This example shows the contrast of \text{kana} with the unreality conditional \text{ka}:

(616) R1256

\[ \text{kā ě-um ğēran čō-ő ā, ar šaš kas-an šmā ma’r-ę,} \]

if/when go:IMPF-1s down well –the SUB each six PERS –PL 2p tattoo =EX:2p

\[ \text{ma’r bžēn-um ba kūn-an šmā. wā kana ě-um na.} \]

tattoo strike:IMPF-1s on buttock –PL 2p and otherwise go:IMPF-1s NEG

‘If I go down the well, all six of you must get tattooed; I will brand tattoos on your bottoms. And otherwise, I will not go.’

In this example, \text{kana} contrasts with the reality conditional \text{wa}:

(617) R902

\[ \text{wa jīnjūwir ā, ar sbū’-ę čō ğēran wălēyit} \]

if/when master.sorcerer TOP each week –a go:3sIMPF down country

\[ \text{šēx-ō ā, ditk-ę txōr-a. kana āw qaṭa’a} \]

sheikh -the SUB girl –a eat:IMPF-3s otherwise water cutting.off

\[ \text{tō’-a fālaj-ō.} \]

become:IMPF-3s water.channel -the

‘When the master sorcerer goes down to the sheikh’s country every week, he eats a girl. Otherwise [if he doesn’t], the water is cut off at the water channel.’

Without the clause-final subordinator ā, \text{kana} is the substitutive disjunction ‘instead’ or ‘rather’ (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):
(618) K460
dō'-um ba tō čō-ē palla āw. wa şabaḥa tō'-um
give:IMPF-1s to 2s well—a full of water if/when waking.in.the.morning become:IMPF-1s
ā, kana yā čō-ō šārār, iš inđa yē āw na.
SUB instead DEM well—the dry any in 3s water NEG
'I will give you a well full of water; when I wake up in the morning, instead this well [must be] dry, without any water in it.'

9.4.2.4.8.5 Clauses with midam ‘otherwise’

Another counterfactual is midam ‘on the other hand’ or ‘otherwise’:

(619) B737
ana xāyar-ē bālağ fatta tō fānd-um yē ba tō ā,
if/when melon -a ripe succulent become:3sIMPF send:REAL-1s 3s to 2s SUB
yē mē xāna tāt-um. wa midam xāyar-ē xālal,
3s 1s marriage want:IMPF-1s and otherwise melon-a unripe
ḥasa xāna tāt-um na
still marriage want:IMPF-1s NEG
‘If I sent you a ripened, juicy green melon, it would mean that I wanted to marry. And if on the other hand [I sent you] an unripe melon, I still do not want to marry.’

9.4.2.4.8.6 Clauses with ana ‘if’

The hypothetical conjunction ana is used the same way as other unreality conditionals but is restricted to hortative speech acts (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:267), such as those with conditional commands and general requests. Often it is the case that the verb in the matrix clause is an imperative, but not necessarily.

(620) S391
wa wād-iš wā xō yē, ana ğaṭṭa tk-a bā
if/when bring:REAL-3s with REFL 3s if/when sound.sleeping do:IMPF-3s against
mē ā, āmad ā, mār mē k-ē, qaraṣa mē k-ē.
1s SUB come:3sREAL SUB awake 1s do:IMPER-2p pinching 1s do:IMPER-2p
‘When she comes along, if I fall fast asleep, when she comes, wake me up, pinch me.’

(621) S41
ana ē-um xāna ba rōr āmō xō, tumr-um.
if/when go:IMPF-1s marriage to child uncle REFL die:IMPF-1s
‘If I marry my uncle’s son, I will die.’ (this is followed by the girl’s request that instead of marrying she be put aboard a raft…)

Without the subordinator ā, ana signals a polite request:

(622) P693
ana sayy kūš xō? dār-iš ba yē.
if/when lift:2sIMPF lap REFL give:REAL-3s to 3s
‘Perhaps put it on your lap?’ He gave it to her.’
9.4.2.4.8.7 Clauses with *ida* ‘if ever’

The conditional *ida* is a remote hypothetical ‘if ever’ often used in threats:

(623) G935

*ida ḥubbō mē murd, dīnyē’ē, lūmū*

if.ever grandmother 1s die:3sREAL listen.to.what.I.am.saying blaming

mē k-ē na!
1s do:IMPER-2p NEG
‘*If* my grandmother dies, listen to what I am saying: don’t blame me!’

9.4.2.4.8.8 Absolutive conditional clauses

Conditionality can be conveyed via juxtaposition, with only the subordinator *ā*:

(624) B119

*yak-ē d-ē ba mē ā, mē tār-um ba šmā.*

one-a give:IMPER-2p to 1s SUB 1s bring:IMPF-1s to 2p
‘Give one to me, [so] I will bring [the boys] to you.’

9.4.2.4.9 Absolutive clauses

Most adverbial clauses other than conditionals and temporals could be classed as absolutive clauses. That is, there are many clauses in Kumzari which are marked as subordinate with the morpheme *ā*, yet their relationship with the main clause is not otherwise made explicit lexically; it must be determined through inference:

(625) B778

*sā ṣan ā, yē tay ḥawt-ō.*

now 3p go:IMPF-3p SUB 3s come:3sIMPF orchard.pool -the
‘*Now upon* their going, he would come to the orchard pool.’

(626) B141

*ē-um pi šmā ā, wa barq-an wa bār-aš-um ā,*

go:IMPF-1s from 2p SUB if/when lightning-PL and rain-PL SUB

tā-um ba šmā.

come:IMPF-1s to 2p
‘*[Although] I am leaving you, during the lightning and rains, I will come to you.’

In several languages conditionals, topics, and questions share the same morphology, and this can also extend to other categories like concession, reason, and time clauses. Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang offer the reasoning that these “can be presupposed parts of their sentences.” (Shopen 2007:292).

9.4.2.5 Complement clauses

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95 Even some conditionals are absolutive; they have the subordinator and conditional semantics despite their lack of a conditional conjunction (see §9.4.2.4.8).
A complement clause functions as the core argument of a clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:4). A complement is known as an argument of a predicate (Noonan 2007:52) and a sentential replacement of a subject or object (Longacre 2007:374). In consideration of more precise definitions of complementation (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:7, 15), it is essential to further distinguish between complement clauses and complementation strategies; the latter are not core arguments of the matrix verb in a clause, yet describe a proposition and are functionally equivalent alternatives to noun phrases. Kumzari has four types of complement clause, and four complementation strategies.

Kumzari allows subject, object, and oblique complements. Like adverbial clauses, complement clauses have the subordinator ā and may take a diminished or nominalised verb form, such as irrealis, the perfect participle, a deverb, or reduced tense-aspect-mood-mirativity marking. Negation of complement clauses applies and is marked on both the matrix verb and the entire complement clause, and rather than on the verb itself that is within the complement.

9.4.2.5.1 Syntactic roles of complements

9.4.2.5.1.1 Subject complements

A complement can be the subject argument of the verb:

(627) G167
mukē ġēlā-an gis-ē ā yumkin byāt pi sa ḥata nwāšam.
whoever wheat -PL take:PERF-3s SUB perhaps come:3sIRR from now until evening
‘Whoever has taken the wheat shall perhaps come between now and evening.’

9.4.2.5.1.2 Object complements

A complement clause can fill the object slot in a sentence:

(628) B19
tāt-a rōr-an bīyār-a.
want:IMPF-3s child –PL bring:IRR-3s
‘He wanted to beget children.’

9.4.2.5.1.3 Oblique complements

An oblique argument may take the form of a complement clause (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:10). In Kumzari this often involves the prepositions pi and ba. A resumptive pronoun is required to replace the oblique in its usual position in the matrix clause.

(629) U30
ar tāy wālēyit-ō ā, čāž tk-in ba yē.
of.which come:3sIMPF city -the SUB lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s
‘Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them.’

9.4.2.5.2 Complement clause types

9.4.2.5.2.1 The subordinator ā: a conjunction of complementation
The subordinator distinguishes complement clauses (first example below) from noun phrase arguments of the verb (second example below):

(630) U515
nwāž mičē tāt-im ā, tambār-im.
tomorrow whatever want:IMPF-1p SUB carry off:IMPF-1p
‘Tomorrow let’s carry away whatever we want.’

(631) N21
nwāž jāmal-an tambār-im.
tomorrow camel-PL carry off:IMPF-1p
‘Tomorrow let’s carry away camels.’

Like the subordinator in other contexts, in complement clauses ā must be marked on each complement of the verb:

(632) P112
yak-ē pi ahla šan ā, ya’nī pi walēyit yē ā,
one -a from relatives 3p SUB that.is.to.say from country 3s SUB
tay pi kwēt.
come:3sIMPF from Kuwait
‘Someone who was from his family, that is to say, from his country, was coming from Kuwait.’

Because it occurs in clause-final position and is a conjunction of general subordination, the subordinator ā is not the exclusive marker of complementation.

9.4.2.5.2.2 ar complement clauses

A clause employing the relative pronoun ar as a complementiser designates a relative clause embedded in a complement clause. In this case, syntactic, morphemic, and phonological factors distinguish it from the relative clause: the ar clause generally precedes the matrix clause, the complement clause takes the subordinator ā clause-finally, and the complementiser’s realisation is /ar/ rather than /a/. The following is a diagram representing a relative clause with the relative pronoun ar as its head embedded in a complement clause:

(633) P563
ar čō arafāt ā, lakin radda wābur.
of.which go:3s Arafat SUB instead returning become:3sREAL
relative pronoun relative clause subordinator complement clause matrix clause
‘The one who was going to Arafat instead returned.’

The ar relative pronoun is explained in further detail in §9.4.2.2.1.

9.4.2.5.2.3 inna complement clauses

In Kumzari there is a word from Arabic inna, which acts as a complementiser used specifically for oaths. What follows inna is a complement clause consisting of the terms of the oath:
It can also be spoken as a pronouncement of the oath itself (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:29):

(635) R1283
ma’r-an šan gid-iš. **inna** y’=ā. zangērīr mē=ē.
tattoo-PL 3p do:REAL-3s that(oath) 3s=SUB slave 1s=EX:2p
‘He tattooed them. “By this **oath** I declare **that** you are my slaves.”’

9.4.2.5.2.4 Deverb complement clauses

Deverbs are a distinct constituent in Kumzari, although their origins in Semitic roots are transparent. Morphosyntactically they share properties of verbs, nouns, and adjectives. More information on this part of speech is given in §4.1. For the current discussion, it is sufficient to say that in complement clauses, deverbs function as verbs, taking their own arguments with the same constituent structure as that of a clause. They occur in compound verbs with a ‘light verb’ in the matrix clause, light verbs being a closed class with only two members: *gidiš* ‘do’ and *wābur* ‘become’, with active-passive correlates. When it is in a compound verb with *ka* ‘do’, a deverb is transitive and can take its own object. When it is in a compound verb with *bur* ‘become’, a deverb is intransitive. TAMM is not marked on the deverb; rather, TAMM marking on the light verb covers the entire compound verb. Deverb complement clauses conform to clause-internal syntactic rules of verbs and objects: an object in the form of a full noun phrase always precedes its verb and an object in the form of a pronoun always follows its verb.

(636) R1575
šayaxa yē gidin.
appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:3pREAL
‘They appointed him sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh him.’]

(637) R1576
rōk-ō šayaxa gidin.
boy-the appointing.as.sheikh do:3pREAL
‘They appointed the boy sheikh.’ [lit. ‘They did appoint-as-sheikh the boy.’]

Deverbs may take the place of a noun phrase as an argument of a verb. In the following example, the matrix complement-taking verb is ‘do’, and the object is a complement clause *lōḥ-ō šaraxa* ‘chopping the wood.’ The position filled by a deverb complement clause is comparable to that filled by a noun phrase such as in the second example below *xujm-ō* ‘the work’:

(638) S793
lōḥ-ō šaraxa tkin.
wood-the chopping do:3pIMPF
‘They will **chop the wood.**’ [lit. ‘they will do **chopping the wood.**’]
9.4.2.5.2.5 Evidentials and complementation

Evidentials function as transitive verbs which require a complement clause or noun phrase. As effective complement-taking verbs, evidentials take the subordinator ā for their complementiser. According to Dixon (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006:38), in some languages the complementiser forms part of the matrix clause rather than the complement clause, and this would explain the appearance in Kumzari of the subordinator on evidentials. In the example below, the complement clause of the sensory evidential tamna is mard-ē šām txōra ‘a man was eating supper.’

(640) G398
tamna ā mard-ē šām txōra.
SENS SUB man- -a supper eat:3sIMPF
‘He saw that a man was eating supper.’

It is not uncommon cross-linguistically to find morphemes with verbal origins but without TAM marking “functioning as a complementizer for indirect quotation, cognition, and perception verbs” (Payne 1999:283): exactly the roles of the triad of evidentials in Kumzari. Considering that the Kumzari evidentials can be otherwise glossed as complement-taking verbs with complementisers (awā ‘they said that’, ēka ‘they thought/reasoned that’, and tamna ‘they saw/heard that’), it is not astonishing to find that evidentials take complement clauses (see chapter 7).

9.4.2.5.3 Complementation strategies

In addition to the complement clause types with dedicated grammatical structures already discussed, a number of ways of forming complements are to be found in Kumzari complex constructions. Some comprise a nominalised or diminished form of the verb: irrealis, perfect participles, and reduced tense-aspect-mood marking. Others are simply joined to the matrix clause without so much as a conjunction.

9.4.2.5.3.1 Irrealis verbs

Irrealis verbs may be used to replace a noun phrase as an argument:

(641) P439
tāt-um tō br-ī ḥijj.
want:IMPF-1s 2s go:IRR-2s Hajj:pilgrimage
‘I want you to go on the Hajj pilgrimage.’ [lit. ‘I want that-you-go …’]
(642) R422

tēmiš-um xēzina-ō wa ğis-ē.
see:IMPF-1s treasure -the if steal:PERF-1s
‘I will see whether the treasure is stolen.’

9.4.2.5.3.3 Reduced-TAMM verbs

Tense-aspect-mood-mirative marking may be omitted on a verb that is part of a complement clause:

(643) P916

ar čō pi tō, tār-a.
of.which go:3s from 2s come:IMPF-3s
‘Whatever leaves you comes back.’

9.4.2.5.3.4 Juxtaposition

Like many languages, Kumzari has one strategy for complementation that would seem to be a non-strategy: juxtaposition of the complement and the matrix clause without a conjunction or other overt signal of complementation. Occasionally these cases have to do with some technically verbless clauses, such as the copula or the wā ‘having’ preposition:

(644) S673

sā ahla yē gnūnus-in na yā ẓank-ō wā yē na.
now relatives 3s believe:PERF-3p NEG DEM woman -the with 3s NEG
‘Now, his relatives had not believed that this woman was with him.’

Often, however, there is juxtaposition of a complement with a full verb form:

(645) G231

jīr-īš yē daxl wābur gawd-ō.
see:REAL-3s 3s inside become:3sREAL cave -the
‘He saw [that] it went inside the cave.’

The juxtaposition strategy is particularly used for direct quotes with the verb ‘say’:

(646) U503

dgō-m ba tō ḥakama kin ēwō ā?
say:IMPF-1s to 2s ruling do:2sIMPER here INTERR
‘Am I to tell you [that] you must rule here?’ [lit.: ‘shall I say to you “Rule here!”’?]