Complement clauses in Hoocąk

Johannes Helmbrecht (University of Regensburg, Germany)

Handout

1 Introduction

1.1 The problem of complement clauses in Hoocąk

The generally accepted defining property of complement clauses is that complement clauses are sentential subject or objects, i.e. that they fill the subject or object argument slot of the predicate of the main clause.¹

If one takes the position – as I do – that the argument slots of the verb in Hoocąk (and this holds for other Siouan languages as well) are obligatorily filled by the pronominal affixes², a problem arises with respect to the identification of complement clauses in Hoocąk according to this definition.

How can complement clauses fill argument slots of the main verb, if those are already filled by pronominal affixes?

I will elaborate on this problem a bit:

- subject/ actor (A) and object/ undergoer (U) arguments are filled by pronominal affixes, the corresponding co-nominals are optional; see, for instance, example 1 with the complement taking verb (CTV) roogú ’want’. NP complements as well as complement clauses of this verb can always be dropped without any effects on the grammaticality of the expression. This holds for ALL complement taking verbs CTVs). NP complements and complement clauses are in brackets.
- Third person singulars are zero marked; this zero is a zero morpheme and not nothing; see, for instance, example 2 and 3. These zeros have an anaphoric reference and they are in a paradigmatic opposition with third person plural forms.
- The third person singular object/ undergoer affix may refer to the proposition expressed in the complement clause as in example 2, or may refer to a proposition expressed in the previous discourse, as in example 3.
- Another very typical situation is given in example 4. The CTV hajá 'see' pronominally inflects for the subject/ actor of the main clause, and for the subject/ actor of the subordinate clause. The latter appears, however, as object/ undergoer of hajá 'see'. The complement clause is not pronominally indexed at all on the main verb. In fact, the subordinate clause looks like an independent clause as the literal translation suggests. The only marker of subordination is the definite article. This funny kind of "subject to object raising" occurs only in complement clauses that express an activity (see also causative constructions in Hoocąk). It does not occur with complement clauses that express facts. The putative

¹ See e.g. Givón 2001; Foley & Van Valin 1984; Dixon & Aikhenvald (eds.) 2006; Dixon 2010:371–421)
² See for a detailed theoretical exposition of this view Van Valin (2013).
complement clause is rather an **adverbial clause**; one might speak of an **adverbialization** of the complement clause.

1. FOX135
   Kaaǧi niŋpaną roągwiiną.
   [Kaaǧi niŋpaną] roo<Ø-ha>gu-wi=ną
   [Menominee soup] <OBJ.3SG-1E.A>want-PL=DECL
   'We want some Menominee soup.'

2. ED10021
   heesge hegų hahuireanąga hiperes roogųįne žee 'aire wa'ųnąąk
   heesge hegu ha-huu-ire= 'anąga
   that's.why that.way COLL-come.here-SBJ.3PL=and
   [hiperes] roo<Ø->gu-ire žee Ø- 'ee-ire
   [know] <OBJ.3SG>want-SBJ.3PL that OBJ.3SG-say-SBJ.3PL
   wa'ų-nąąk
   do/be-POS.NTL.PL
   'that's why they come to me, they say, they want to learn'

3. ED10022
   'eegi hąąke hiʒą rooŋųŋiŋe hąąke hawe wahanį
   'eegi hąąke hiʒą roo<Ø->gu-nį=ge
   and.then NEG.IN one <OBJ.3SG-SBJ.3SG->want-NEG.FIN=CAUSAL
   hąąke hawe<wa>haa=nį
   NEG.IN <OBJ.3PL>bother\1E.A=NEG.FIN
   'if someone doesn't want to, I don't bother them'

4. BO.1161
   Nąįą jaasge hat'ąpra hąąke hijānį.
   [Nąį=’eja jaasge ha- t'ąap= ra]
   [tree= there how 1E.A-climb.down=DEF]
   hąąke ha-<j-Ø->ja-nį
   NEG.IN <1E.U-SBJ.3SG >see-NEG.FIN
   'He didn't see how I got down the tree'.
   (Literal translation: 'He did not see me, how I climbed down there from the tree')

The conclusion is: complement clauses in Hoocąk do not fulfill the central defining criterion for complement clauses; it is therefore better to speak of 'complementation strategies' in Hoocąk (see Dixon 1995, 2010:405-413).

However, these pseudo-complement clauses (complementation strategy) in Hoocąk may be distinguished from other types of subordinate clauses; therefore, I will stick to the term "complement clause" throughout this paper.

The question I will try to answer in this paper is:

How do "complement clauses" in Hoocąk look like and how are they distinguished from other subordinate clauses?
1.2 Some methodological remarks

**Data:** the complete DOBES corpus of Hoocąk texts in the archive of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. The text examples that are presented in this paper have a unique **utterance id:** usually two/ three upper case letters plus a number like FOX135 above. There is also elicited data, which is identified by means of the name of the language consultant (abbreviated) plus a number, as BO.1161. The speaker is Bill O'Brien, one of our most important language consultant for the DOBES project.

**Method of investigation:** I looked for the lexical equivalents of semantic classes of complement clause taking verbs (CTVs) that are mentioned in the typological literature (see Foley & Van Valin 1984; Noonan 1985; Givón 2001; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2010); the corresponding verbs are found in the Hoocąk Lexical Database; partially published as Helmbrecht & Lehmann (eds.) 2010); see Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>semantic classes of complement taking verbs (CTVs)</th>
<th>Hoocąk verbs</th>
<th>meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>modal verbs</strong></td>
<td>=nà</td>
<td>'POT'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kje heesgé</td>
<td>'must'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruxurük</td>
<td>'accomplish', 'earn', 'be able to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jire (hii)</td>
<td>'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jikere (hii)</td>
<td>'start'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>phasal verbs</strong></td>
<td>jije</td>
<td>'become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kirije</td>
<td>'become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jiinąk</td>
<td>'become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rahe</td>
<td>'become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiyuša/hiwuša</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>trying verbs</strong></td>
<td>nàą'į</td>
<td>try, attempt, long for, want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>higicgá</td>
<td>try, attempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hì'ųjá</td>
<td>try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>want verbs</strong></td>
<td>roogų́</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cause verbs</strong></td>
<td>=hii</td>
<td>make/CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gigi</td>
<td>let/cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šií</td>
<td>tell so to do sth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>attention/ perception verbs</strong></td>
<td>hajá</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nqaxgú</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>howesį́́ wį</td>
<td>'notice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>higí</td>
<td>'recognize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>thinking verbs</strong></td>
<td>higiré / hiraną́į / hiré / wewį́</td>
<td>think</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 See the website of the DOBES funding initiative of the Volkswagen Foundation ([http://dobes.mpi.nl/](http://dobes.mpi.nl/)). The glossed texts and audio and video files of the Hoocąk documentation project are stored in the digital archive of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics called "The Language Archive"; the corresponding URL is: [http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/hocank/](http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/hocank/). The website of the DOBES project "Documentation of the Hoocąk Language" led by Johannes Helmbrecht and Christian Lehmann at the University of Erfurt, Germany can be found under the following URL: [http://www2.uni-erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/Vgl_SW/Hocank/index_frames.html](http://www2.uni-erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/Vgl_SW/Hocank/index_frames.html).
Complement clauses even in a single language vary structurally with regard to the tightness of its syntactic integration into the main clause. It is hypothesized in the typological literature mentioned above that the CTVs from top to bottom in Table 1 represent a cline from tightly integrated/ bound on top to loosely integrated/ bound at the bottom.

I searched for all complement clauses the verbs in Table 1 have in the DOBES corpus, and examined their morphosyntactic properties. In order not to be overflown with data, I choose only one or two verbs from each semantic class usually the one that occurs most frequently in our corpus.

2 Object complement clauses

Summary of the morphosyntactic properties of complement clauses in Hoocąk:

- Complement clauses in Hoocąk appear mostly immediately left to the predicate of the matrix clause. Sometimes other lexical material may occur between main clause predicate and complement clause predicate; or there are cases when the order of complement clause predicate and main clause predicate is reversed.
- The verb of the complement clause often suspends person marking of subject/ actor (if there is coreference with the subject/ actor of the matrix verb).
- Tense/ mood/ modality categories of the matrix verb have scope over the embedded clause.
- Occasionally, the complement clause is marked by a definite article/ demonstrative indicating some kind of nominalization of the complement clause.
- Otherwise, complement clauses look very much like regular finite main clauses. There are no non-finite verbal categories like gerunds, participles, and the like.
These properties, however, do not always come together and vary depending on the semantic type of the complement taking verb in the matrix clause.

I will illustrate these observations with some examples approximately following the semantic classes of complement taking verbs in Table 1.

### 2.1 Modal verbs

Modal categories such as obligation ('must', 'should'), permission, and others are usually not expressed by means of verbs. A verb that has modal meaning in certain contexts is **ruxurúk** 'earn, be able, accomplish, etc'.

5. WIL023

\[ ζeζeζeūņa jaaguagre hanāąc hakāranį 'ųįįe ruxūрукires'āže. \]
\[ \text{ζezeğę}=\text{ra} [\text{jaagu}=\text{agre} \text{hanąc} \text{that's.how}=\text{DEF} [\text{what}=\text{POS.HOR:PROX} \text{all} \text{ha}<\text{kara}>\text{nį} 'ųų-ire] \text{ruxuruk-ire=s'a=že} <\text{POSS.RFL}>\text{have.NTL do/make-SBJ.3PL} \text{accomplish-SBJ.3PL=ITER=QUOT} \text{'In that way they were able to keep all of these things.'} \]

- Complement clauses of this verb are always immediately before the main clause predicate; no other lexical material appears in between and the order cannot be reversed;
- Person indexing of the subordinate verb may be suppressed, or not (both cases occur);
- Tense, modality and mood categories of the verb in the main clause have scope over the complement clause;
- Complement clauses of **ruxuruk** 'able to' never occur with a definite article.

### 2.2 Phasal verbs

Many verbs in Hoocąk express aspects of the **temporal structure of an event** such as the beginning and the end of it. All these phasal verbs take complement clauses.

6. BOF021

\[ \text{hegų wažą warocgųnį yaahąte hajitee.} \]
\[ \text{hegų} \text{[wažą warocgųnį that.way [something be.strange hi<ha>hate]} ha-jiite} <1E.A>\text{dream.of}] 1E.A-begin\text{1E.A} \text{'I started dreaming about real odd things.'} \]
7. DOL142
caaxšep nąąka hegų 'eeja waašira hipušara hisge hi'ųcąľąra ha'ųjaire
waŋgra hopahire
caxšep nąąka                        hegų       'eeja
eagle     POS.NTL:DIST.PL that.way  there
waaši=ra      hipuša=ra
dance=DEF 1E.A/stopped=DEF some
ha<hį>kížu-ńąągre              nįsge
<1E.U>-be.with-POS.NTL:PROX.PL VAGUE
hiyuša-ire   wa-haja-ire
stop-SBJ.3PL OBJ.3PL-see-SBJ.3PL
waŋk-ra    hapahi-ire
upper.area-DEF going.towards-SBJ.3PL

"When I stopped dancing, the ones I was with, stopped too, they were all looking up to
those eagles."
(lit. 'These eagles there, when I stopped dancing, those who were with me, stopped,
they looked up, going towards the upper region')

- Complement clauses of this type of verbs are always immediately before the main clause
  predicate; no other lexical material appears in between, and the order cannot be reversed;
- Person indexing of the subordinate verb may be suppressed (see example 7), or not (see
  example 6); the cases with the definite article and suppression of person indexing are
  comparably rare in the corpus.
- Tense, modality and mood categories of the verb in the main clause have scope over the
  complement clause; both examples do not show this, though.

2.3 Want verbs

A similar structural pattern can be found with rooğú 'want'; however, slight differences can be
observed:

- Complement clauses of this semantic type are usually immediately before the main clause
  predicate; but there are instances that show that other lexical material can appear in
  between the verb of the complement clause and the verb of the main clause (see 8);
  demonstrative pronoun and adverb.
- Person indexing of the subordinate verb may be suppressed (see example 9), or not (see
  example 8); suppression of person indexing does not correlate with the definite article
  as can be seen in 9.
- Tense, modality and mood categories of the verb in the main clause have scope over the
  complement clause;
- There are only two instances of a complement clause of this verb with definite article in the
  entire corpus.
8. CHT040
zhē wirāperēeste žēsgē roonįgigû, 'eessgē wanigi'ũnã jaagu nįįgi'ũyre.
[ţēe wa<ra>perës tee źēsgē]
[that OBJ.3PL-<2.A>know this thus]
[roo<ńį-gi>gû] [ţēsgē
[
[<1&2-APPL.BEN>want] [thu
wa<ńį-gi>'ũq= nà] [jaagu nįį-gi-ũq=re]
<1&2-APPL.BEN>be/do=DECL] [what 1&2-APPL.BEN-be/do-DEM.PROX]
"Wanting you to learn this, so I did to you, what I did to you.'

9. CHT064b
woorák te'é, hiperës nąągigü, 'eessgē wáa'ũnã.
[woorák te'é hiperës nąągigü
[story this know <1&2-APPL.BEN>want=CAUSAL]
['eessgē wa<ha>'ũq=nà]
[thus <1E.A>be/do=DECL]
"Because I wanted you to know this story, I did this.'

2.4 Thinking verbs

The following examples with the matrix verbs hiperës 'know' and hirë 'think' illustrate that their complement clauses are less tightly integrated into the main clause.

- The verbs in all three complement clauses are fully inflected;
- Lexical material may appear between subordinate verb and matrix verb as illustrated in 11 (Negation, adverbial);
- Complement clauses are marked by definite articles, or the topic marker =gi ('if, when'); both may indicate subordination, or other subordinators.
- Complement clauses may be marked independently by tense/mood categories.

10. BOF040
"Hąą, 'eegi jaagu ţ'-ũq waš'ũšanagra yaaperes hajee!"
hąą [ţee jaagu ţ'-ũq
yes [here what 2.A-do/make
wa<š>-š=naŋ=ra] hi<Ø-ha>peres ha-jee
"Yes, I know what you're doing here!"

11. ED4025
jaanąga hahirekjanegi hąąke hąąkešge haga źee yaaperesnį
[jaanąga ha-hii-ire-kjane=gi]
[how.many COLL-arrive.there-SBJ.3PL-FUT=TOP]
hąąke hąąkešge haga źee hi<Ø-ha>peres=nį
NEG.IN NEG.IN=also instance that <OBJ.3SG-1E.A>know=NEG.FIN
'We never knew how many of them were coming'
2.5 Saying verbs

The complement clauses of verbs of saying/speaking are often preceding the matrix verb, but it is easy to find instances, where there is other lexical material in between, or where the complement clause follows the matrix clause.

• Both clauses in square brackets represent the complement of the matrix verb 'ee 'say'.
• They are independently fully inflected for person.
• They have their own tense and mood marking, and
• they are collectively marked by the QUOT marker =že, which in this contexts marks indirect speech. This marker has scope over two connected clauses. However, the QUOT marker =že is not obligatory with indirect speech, cf. 14. It occurs mostly with complements of the verb 'ee 'say', and is missing with higé 'say'.

14. BOF065
Hahi hopį waagiwekjane, hįgaire.
[finally APPL.INESS-be.good <1E.A>take.path-FUT] <1E.U>say.to-SBJ.3PL 'That I'm going to have good luck, they said to me.'
Example 15 contains two verbs of saying, one with an indirect speech complement, the second with direct speech. I do not consider direct speech as a complement of the verb of saying in a grammatical sense.

3 Subject complement clauses

Subject complement clauses occur with intransitive verbs that take a sentential complement as in the subsequent examples. These are in Hoocąk – as far as I can see – only intransitive inactive verbs that have an evaluative meaning such as: waxjá 'be funny' or wogizúk 'be truthful'. See the illustrating examples in 16 and 17.

16. HOR119
Šųųkxe hamįnąkra waxja hiranąą'<šųųnų hįxųųni<gregi hegų goišip hegų.
[šųųkxe hamįnąk=ra] waxja hiraną<ha>'į= šųųnų
[horse sit.on=DEF] be.funny(OBJ.3SG) <1E.A>think.of=HAB
hį-xųųni=regi hegų goišip hegų
1E.U-be.small=DIM=SIM/LOC that.way always that.way
'Then I was little I used to think it was fun to ride the horse all the time.'
(lit. 'I thought it was funny to ride the horse, when I was little, always')

Actually this example HOR119 contains two complement clauses, one with the verb hiranąą'į 'think.of, imagine', which is an object complement clause, and one with the intransitive verb waxja 'be.funny', which is a subject complement clause.

17. ONE018
Hąąke jaagu waagitakra wogizuknį waagera nunįge hąąke pįįk'ų
tuuxuruknįną.
haąke [jaagu ho<ha-gi>tak=ra ] wogizuknį
NEG.IN [what <1E.A-APPL.BEN>tell\1E.A=DEF] be.truthful(SBJ.3SG)-NEG.FIN
wa<ha>ge-ra hi<ha>peres nunįge
<1E.A>mean=DEF <1E.A>know nevertheless
haąke pįį-k'-ųų
NEG.IN be.good(OBJ.3SG)-POSS.RFL-do/make(SBJ.3SG)
tuuxuruk-nį=ną
accomplish\1E.A-NEG.FIN=DECL
'I knew that what I had told them was not accurate, but I had no alternative to choose another word.'

- The subject complement clauses are always marked by the definite article =ra
- They are fully personally inflected.
- They precede immediately the matrix verb.
- They show no separate tense, mood/ modality marking.

4 Conclusions

A summary of the morphosyntactic properties of complement clauses in Hoocąk are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Morphosyntactic properties of object complement clauses in Hoocąk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>semantic class of complement taking verb</th>
<th>Position immediately before the matrix verb</th>
<th>Lexical material in-between</th>
<th>order can be reversed</th>
<th>suppression of person marking in the complement clause</th>
<th>independent tense marking in the complement clause</th>
<th>modal verbs</th>
<th>phasal verbs</th>
<th>trying verbs</th>
<th>want verbs</th>
<th>cause verbs</th>
<th>attention/ perception verbs</th>
<th>thinking verbs</th>
<th>liking verbs</th>
<th>speaking verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modal verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes/yes (TOP, OPT, FUT)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phasal verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trying verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attention/ perception verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thinking verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liking verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (TOP)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes/yes (IMP)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes/yes/yes</td>
<td>no/yes/yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The different semantic classes of CTVs indeed show a slight cline from tightly syntactically bound on top to looser syntactically bound on the bottom of the table.

So, how may complement clauses be distinguished from, for instance, adverbial clauses?
### Table 3. Order of constituents in the clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pre-clausal position</th>
<th>clausal positions</th>
<th>post-clausal position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( p_{pre} )</td>
<td>( p_1 )</td>
<td>( p_F )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial</td>
<td>( S_{A/A} )</td>
<td>adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eegi</td>
<td>saanįk</td>
<td>woorák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and then</td>
<td>on that side</td>
<td>our story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>just a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I'll talk about it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Properties of adverbial clauses/ adverbial strategies in Hoocąk:

i. Adverbial clauses modify (in a broad sense) the predicate of the main clause or the entire main clause.

ii. The preferred structural position of adverbial clauses correspond to the positions adverbials occupy in the normal declarative clause, i.e. they appear either in the \( p_{F-1} \) position immediately before the main clause predicate, or in the \( p_1 \) position before the core argument NPs (cf. Table 3). Adverbial clauses may easily be moved to a position after the main clause predicate.

iii. Adverbial clauses are structurally almost identical to main clauses. They are always finite, i.e. the subordinate verbs are fully inflected for person, and they take tense and mood marking almost independently.

iv. Adverbial clauses are marked by means of clause-final enclitics that indicate the semantic relation between adverbial clause an main clause, or they are marked by means of a determiner, most notably the definite article (no specific semantic relation is marked by this means), or they are not marked at all.

v. The clause-final enclitics that mark adverbial relations are \( =\text{regi} \) (SIM/LOC), \( =\eta \) (SIM), \( =\text{ga} \) (CONT), \( =\text{gaj} \) (SEQ), \( =\text{gi}/=\text{gi}\_j \) (TOP), \( =\text{ge} /=\text{ge}\_j \) (CAUSAL). However, these enclitics are neither obligatory nor do they indicate subordination in all cases. Some of these enclitics can be found also with complement clauses or even just with main clauses.

### 5 Abbreviations

| 1, 2, 3,      | first, second, third person, |
| A             | actor; agent                  |
| APPL.INESS    | inessive applicative prefix; |
| APPL.INST     | instrumental applicative;    |
| APPL.SUPESS   | superessive applicative prefix; |
| ASSUMP        | assumptive;                   |
| CAUSAL        | causal;                       |
| COLL          | collective marker;            |
| CONT          | continuative;                 |
| CTV           | complement taking verb        |
| DECL          | declarative;                  |
| DEF           | definite;                     |
| DEM           | demonstrative;                |
| DEM.DIST      | demonstrative, distal;        |
| DEM.PROX      | demonstrative, proximal;      |
| DIM           | diminutive;                   |
| DIST          | distal;                       |
| DU            | dual;                         |
| DUB           | dubitative;                   |
| E             | exclusive;                    |
| EMPH          | emphatic;                     |
| FOC           | focus;                        |
| FREQ          | frequentative;                |
| FUT           | future;                       |
| HAB           | habitual;                     |
| HYP           | hypothetical                  |
| I             | inclusive;                    |
| IMP.POST      | delayed imperative;           |
| INFER         | inferential;                  |
| INTS          | intensifier;                  |
| ITER          | iterative;                    |
NEG.FIN = final negator
OBJ = object;
OPT = optative;
PL = plural;
POS.HOR = 'be (lying/ horizontal position)';
POS.NTL = 'be (sitting/ neutral position)';
POS.VERT = 'be (standing/ vertical position)';
POSS.REFL = possessive reflexive;
POT = potential;
PROP = proper name marker;
PROX = proximal;
SBJ = subject;
SEQ = sequential;
SG = singular;
SIM = simultaneous;
SIM/LOC = simultaneity/ locative;
TOP = topic;
U = undergoer; patient;

6 References


