Complement clauses in Hoocak

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Handout

1 Introduction

1.1 The problem of complement clauses in Hoocak

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 Hoocak (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 Hoocak 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) *roog* ψ '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 Hoocak). It does not occur with complement clauses that express facts. The putative

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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

Kaağí nįįpąną roágųwiiną.

[Kaaği njipana] roo<**Ø-ha**>gu-wi= na

[Menominee soup] < OBJ.3SG-1E.A>want-PL=DECL

'We want some Menominee soup.'

2. ED10021

heesge hegy hahuireanaga hiperes roogyjňe žee 'aire wa'ynaak

heesge hegu ha-huu-ire= 'anaga

that's.why that.way COLL-come.here-SBJ.3PL=and

[hiperes] roo $<\emptyset$ ->gu-ire žee \emptyset - 'ee-ire

[know] <OBJ.3SG>want-SBJ.3PL that OBJ.3SG-say-SBJ.3PL

wa'u-naak

do/be-POS.NTL.PL

'that's why they come to me, they say, they want to learn'

3. ED10022

'eegi haake hiža roogunige haake hawe wahani

'eegi haake hiža roo<**Ø-Ø-**>gy-nj=ge

and then NEG.IN one < OBJ.3SG-SBJ.3SG->want-NEG.FIN=CAUSAL

haake hawe<wa>haa=ni

NEG.IN <OBJ.3PL>bother\1E.A=NEG.FIN

'if someone doesn't want to, I don't bother them'

4. BO.1161

Najja jaasge hat'apra haake hijjanj.

[Naa='eja jaasge ha- t'aap= ra]

[tree= there how 1E.A-climb.down=DEF]

haake ha-<j-Ø->ja-nj

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

However, these pseudo-complement clauses (complementation strategy) in Hoocak 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 Hoocak look like and how are they distinguished from other subordinate clauses?

1.2 Some methodological remarks

Data: the complete DOBES corpus of Hoocak texts in the archive of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands.³ 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 Hoocak Lexical Database; partially published as Helmbrecht & Lehmann (eds.) 2010); see Table 1.

Table 1. Complement taking verbs in Hoocak

semantic classes of complement taking verbs (CTVs)	Hoocąk verbs	meanings	
	=ną	'POT	
modal verbs	-kje heesgé	'must'	
	ruxurúk	'accomplish', 'earn', 'be able to'	
	jire (hii)	'begin'	
	jikere (hii)	'start'	
	jije	'become'	
phasal verbs	kirije	'become'	
-	jiinąk	'become	
	rahe	'become'	
	hiyuša/ hiwuša	'stop	
	nąą'į	try, attempt, long for, want	
trying verbs	higicgá	try, attempt	
	hi'ųjá	try	
want verbs	roogų́	want	
	=hii	make/CAUS	
cause verbs	gigí	let/cause	
	šíi	tell so to do sth.	
	hajá	'see'	
attention/ perception verbs	nąąxgų́	'hear'	
attention/ perception veros	howesį́wį	'notice'	
	higí	'recognize'	
thinking verbs	higiré / hiraną́'į / hiré / wewį́	think	

³ See the website of the DOBES funding initiative of the Volkswagen Foundation (http://dobes.mpi.nl//). The glossed texts and audio and video files of the Hoocak 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/. The website of the DOBES project "Documentation of the Hoocak Language" led by Johannes Helmbrecht and Christian Lehmann at the University of Erfurt, Germany can be found under the following URL:

 $[\]underline{http://www2.uni\text{-}erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/Vgl_SW/Hocank/index_frames.html}.$

	higiré	consider	
	hiraną́'į	imagine	
	hihąté	dream	
	hiperés	remember	
	karáigąš / rugą́š	forget	
	hiperés	know	
	hanąxgų́ / hiperés	understand	
	hiisgé hiraną́'į	believe	
	hiraną́'į	suspect	
	wağó, wooxjá hii,	love	
	woo(gi)xéte		
	gipį́	like	
liking verbs	hikibá kįį	regret	
	wooną́kewé, nąąǧíre	be frightened, fear	
	nąąğíre hii	frighten so.	
	gipį, higihóc	enjoy	
speaking verbs	'ee, wee, higé	say	
	'ee, hirokit'e, hit'e, kokit'é	speak	
	horák, hiší, šii, wagé	tell	
	hit'e, ha'e hii, hijajá, hiróit'e,	talk	
	hit'et'é, wee		
	ruxurúk	persuade	

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 Hoocak:

- Complement clauses in Hoocak 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

Žeežegųňą jaaguagre haną́ąc hakáranį 'úįňe ruxúrukires'áže.

žeežegų=ra [jaagu='agre hanąąc that's.how=DEF [what=POS.HOR:PROX all

ha<kara>ni 'uu-ire] ruxuruk-ire=s'a=že

<POSS.RFL>have.NTL do/make-SBJ.3PL] accomplish-SBJ.3PL=ITER=QUOT

'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 Hoocak 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

Hegų wažą warocgųnį yaahąte hajitee.

hegų [wažą warocgųnį that.way [something be.strange

hi<ha>hate] ha-jiite

<1E.A>dream.of] 1E.A-begin\1E.A

'I started dreaming about real odd things.'

7. DOL142

caaxšep nąąka hegų 'eeja waašira hipušara hisge hįkižą'ųnągre nįsge hi'ųcąįra ha'ųjaire waagra hopahire

caaxšep nąąka hegų 'eeja eagle POS.NTL:DIST.PL that.way there

waaši=ra hipuša=ra hisge dance=DEF 1E.A/stopped=DEF some

ha<hj>kížu-naagre nisge

<1E.U->be.with-POS.NTL:PROX.PL VAGUE

hiyuša-ire wa-haja-ire

stop-SBJ.3PL OBJ.3PL-see-SBJ.3PL

waak-ra hapahí-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 $roog \dot{u}$ '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

žée wiiráperéeste žeesgé roonígigý, 'eesgé wanigí'ýuna jaagu njigí'ýure.

[žée **wa-hi<ra>perés** tee žeesgé] [that OBJ.3PL-<2.A>know this thus]

[roo<nii-gi>gú] ['eesgé

[<1&2-APPL.BEN>want] [thus

wa<niį-gi>'ųų= ną] [jaagu nįį-gi-'ųų=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, hiperés naanígi'jgé, 'eesgé wáa'úna.

[woorák te'é hiperés naa<nii-gi>'ii=ge]

[story this know <1&2-APPL.BEN>want=CAUSAL]

['eesgé wa<ha>'uu=na]

[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 *hiperes* 'know' and *hiré* '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

"Haa, 'eegi jaagu š'uu waš'ušanagra yaaperes hajee!"

hạa ['eegi jaagu š-'uu

yes [here what 2.A-do/make

wa<š>'ų-šą-nąk=ra] hi<Ø-ha>peres ha-jee

<2.A>do/be-2.A-POS.NTL=DEF] <OBJ.3SG-1E.A>know 1E.A-POS.VERT

"Yes, I know what you're doing here!"

11. ED4025

jaanaga hahirekjanegi haake haakešge haga žee yaaperesni

[jaanaga ha-hii-ire-kjane=gi]

[how.many COLL-arrive.there-SBJ.3PL-FUT=TOP]

haake haake=šge haga žee hi<Ø-ha>peres=ni

NEG.IN NEG.IN=also instance that <OBJ.3SG-1E.A>know=NEG.FIN

'We never knew how many of them were coming'

12. HOR010

Heesge hegų šųųkxetera hahi wotoğoc nįįsge hegų hegų hižą hamįąnąkikje yaare nįįsge 'eesge hegų.

heesge hegy šyykxete=ra hahi wa-hotoğoc

that's.why that.way horse=DEF over.there OBJ.3PL-look.at\1E.A

nįįsge hegų hegų **hižą hamį<ha>nąk-i-kje** VAGUE that.way that.way **one <1E.A>sit.on-0-FUT**

hii<Ø-ha>re niisge 'eesge hegų <OBJ.3SG-1E.A>think VAGUE thus that.way

'...and I looked over the horses, and kind of thought I'd getting on one.'

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.

13. WIL092

Woorákire méežesge 'áirešųnųgiži šųųkxétera gigúcirekje wagi'ųįnegają wąąkjaane 'eecą́a guucíreže.

wa-horak-ire meežesge 'ee-ire=šunu=giži

OBJ.3PL-tell-SBJ.3PL this.way say(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL=HAB=TOP

[šuukxete=ra **gi-guuc-ire-kje**

[horse=DEF APPL.BEN-shoot(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL-FUT

wa<gi>'u-ire=gaja waak=jaane 'ee=caa

<APPL.BEN>do/be-SBJ.3PL=SEQ man=POS.VERT:PROX 3EMPH=instead

guuc-ire=že]

shoot(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL=QUOT

'They used to say, they were going to shoot the horse, they shot the man instead.'

- 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 hopi waagiwekjane, higaire.

[hahi ho-pjj ho<ha>giwe- kjane] hi<hj>ge-ire

[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.'

15. DEE004

Wanáaxgikje hjgaira nunige hake ha'uni 'anaga "nee wanaxgiwire" wiage.

[waną<ha>xgi-kje] hį-hige-ire nųnįge

[<1E.A>drive-FUT] 1E.U-say-SBJ.3PL but

hąąke ha-'ųų-nį 'anąga NEG.IN 1E.A-do-NEG.FIN and

[nee wanaxgi-wi=re] wa-hi<ha>gé

[EMPH2 drive-PL=IMP] OBJ.3PL-<1E.A>tell

'They told me to drive, but I didn't do it, and I told them "you drive".'

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: $waxj\acute{a}$ 'be funny' or $wogiz\acute{u}k$ 'be truthful'. See the illustrating examples in 16 and 17.

16. HOR119

Šųųkxete haminakra waxja hiranaa'įšųnų hixunųjgregi hegų goišip hegų.

[šyykxete haminak=ra] waxja hirana<ha>'j= šyny

[horse sit.on=**DEF**] **be.funny(OBJ.3SG)** <1E.A>think.of=HAB

hj-xyuny=jg=regi hegy goišip hegy

1E.U-be.small=DIM=SIM/LOC that.way always that.way

'When 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 *hiranq'i* '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 yaaperes nųnįge hąąke pįįk'ų tuuxuruknina.

tuuxurukiijiiq.

haake [jaagu ho<ha-gi>tak=ra] wogizuk-ni

NEG.IN [what <1E.A-APPL.BEN>tell\1E.A=DEF] be.truthful(SBJ.3SG)-NEG.FIN

wa<ha>ge=ra hi<ha>peres nunige

<1E.A>mean=DEF <1E.A>know nevertheless

haake pii-k-'uu

NEG.IN be.good(OBJ.3SG)-POSS.RFL-do/make(SBJ.3SG)

tuuxuruk-ni=na

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 Hoocak are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Morphosyntactic properties of object complement clauses in Hoocak

semantic class of complement taking verb	Position immediately before the matrix verb	Lexical material in- between	order can be reversed	suppression of person marking in the complement clause	independent tense modality, and mood marking in complement clause	complement clause with definite article
modal verbs	yes	no	no	yes/ no	no	no
phasal verbs	yes	no	no	yes/ no	no	yes/ no
trying verbs	yes	no	no	yes/ no	no	no
want verbs	yes	yes	no	yes/ no	no	yes/ no
cause verbs	yes	yes	no	yes/ no	no	no
attention/ perception verbs	yes	no	no	yes/ no	no	yes/no
thinking verbs	yes	yes	no	no	yes (TOP, OPT, FUT)	yes
liking verbs	yes	yes	no	yes/ no	yes (TOP)	yes
speaking verbs	yes	yes	yes	no	yes (IMP	no

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

pre- clausal position	clausal positions						post- clausal position
P ^{pre}	\mathbf{P}^1	P ^{F-4}	P ^{F-3}	P ^{F-2}	P^{F-1}	\mathbf{P}^{F}	P ^{post}
	adverbial	S _A /A	UREC	S _U /U	adverbial	predicate	
'eegi	saanįk 'eeja že'e			woorák haanįwį́na že'e	coowéxjį	ha'e haakjenehé	
and then	on that side			our story	just a little	I'll talk about it	

Properties of adverbial clauses/ adverbial strategies in Hoocak:

- 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 =regi (SIM/LOC), =ų (SIM), =ga (CONT), =gają (SEQ), =gi/=gižį (TOP), =ge/=gejinį (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,	DIM	= diminutive;
A	= actor; agent	DIST	= distal;
APPL.INESS APPL.INST APPL.SUPESS ASSUMP CAUSAL	= inessive applicative prefix; = instrumental applicative; = superessive applicative prefix; = assumptive; = causal;	DU DUB E EMPH FOC	= dual; = dubitative; = exclusive; = emphatic; = focus;
CAUSAL COLL CONT CTV DECL DEF DEM DEM.DIST DEM.PROX	 causal, collective marker; continuative; complement taking verb declarative; definite; demonstrative; demonstrative, distal; demonstrative, proximal; 	FREQ FUT HAB HYP I IMP.POST INFER INTS ITER	= frequentative; = future; = habitual; = hypothetical = inclusive; = delayed imperative; = inferential; = intensifier; = iterative;

= final negator **NEG.FIN PROP** = proper name marker; OBJ = object; **PROX** = proximal; OPT = optative; = subject; SBJ = sequential; PL= plural; **SEQ** POS.HOR = 'be (lying/ horizontal position)'; = singular; SG = 'be (sitting/ neutral position)'; POS.NTL SIM = simultaneous; POS.VERT = 'be (standing/vertical position)'; SIM/LOC = simultaneity/ locative; POSS.REFL = possessive reflexive; TOP = topic; POT = potential; U = undergoer; patient;

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