

Clause combining in Kadorih

Kazuya INAGAKI

JSPS Research Fellow (Kyoto University)

kazuyainagaki@gmail.com

1. Overview

2. Coordination

2.1 Coordination and subordination

Haspelmath (1995) and Diessel (2001) for details

- cataphora
- the position of coordinate sentences
- insertion into the middle of sentences

- (1) a. *olu eam=ku nohto=ah, inai amai doro pasti oko ndai=ka.*¹
although not=I see=3 mother father twosome surely old (perfective)=also
'Although I haven't seen (lit. don't see) them, [his] parents must have been old.'
- b. *anai behtang amai Lawang, tutang anai kubura-i.*
there longhouse father (name) and there grave-his
'There is Amai Lawang's longhouse, and there is his grave.'
- c. **anai behtang ah, tutang anai kuburan amai Lawang.*
(Intended meaning: 'There is his longhouse, and there is Amai Lawang's grave')
- (2) a. *Enda molutuh konah uli Yoga matoi bari.*
(name) boil (soup).dish after (name) cook rice
'Enda cooked soup dish after Yoga cooked rice.'
- b. *uli Yoga matoi bari, Enda molutuh konah.*
'After Yoga cooked rice, Enda cooked soup dish.'
- c. *Enda molutuh konah, tutang Yoga matoi bari.*
'Enda cooked soup dish, and Yoga cooked rice.'
- d. **tutang Yoga matoi bari, Enda molutuh konah.*
- (3) a. *Enda, uli Yoga matoi bari, ... molutuh konah.*
'Enda, after Yoga cooks rice, cooks soup dish.'
- b. **Enda, tutang Yoga matoi bari, ... molutuh konah.*

- 'speech act perspective' (Haiman & Thompson 1984)
- illocutionary force is present in coordinate constructions
- it is absent in subordinate clauses
- Foley & Van Valin (1984), Hengeveld (1998), Verstraete (2005)

¹ In Kadorih, subordinate clauses rarely include a cataphoric pronominal clitic. In story-telling texts I have ever collected, (1a) is the only excerpt of subordinate clause in which a cataphoric clitic refers to an entity denoted by a noun phrase in the following main clause.

- (4) a. *kuwoh/inon Enda molutuh konah tutang Yoga matoi bari?*
 (polar.question) (name) boil (soup).dish and (name) cook rice
 ‘Did Enda cook soup dish and did Yoga cook rice?’
- b. *Enda molutuh konah, tutang kuwoh/inon Yoga matoi bari?*
 ‘Enda cooked soup dish, and did Yoga cook rice?’
- c. *kuwoh/inon Enda molutuh konah uli Yoga matoi bari?*
 ‘Did Enda cook soup dish after Yoga cooked rice?’
- d. **Enda molutuh konah uli kuwoh/inon Yoga matoi bari?*

2.2 Ellipsis in coordination

‘analysis, i.e. the ellipsis site is in the second coordinand’ (Haspelmath 2007: 39)

- (5) a. *Enda muhi pinjan tutang Enda jio-jion=ka muhi keceng.*
 (name) wash dishes and (name) quick-quick=also wash cooking.pot
 ‘Enda washed dishes and Enda also washed a cooking pot somewhat quickly’.
- b. *Enda muhi pinjan tutang jio-jion ka muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda washed dishes and [she] also washed a cooking pot somewhat quickly’.
- c. *Enda muhi pinjan tutang Yoga jio-jion ka muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda washed dishes and Yoga also washed a cooking pot somewhat quickly’.
- (6) a. *Enda jadi muhi pinjan tutang Yoga (jadi) muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda has already washed dishes and Yoga [has already] washed a cooking pot’.
- b. *Enda tou muhi pinjan tutang Yoga (tou) muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda can wash dishes and Yoga can wash cooking pots’.
- (7) *Enda ngopolum listrik tahpi eam ngopolop=ah.*
 (name) switch.on electricity but not switch.off=3
 ‘Enda switched on the light but she didn’t switch it off’.
- (8) a. *Enda muhi pinjan tutang jio-jion ka muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda washed dishes and she also washed a cooking pot somewhat quickly’.
- b. **Enda muhi pinjan tutang jio-jion ka keceng.*
- c. *Enda muhi pinjan tutang Yoga muhi keceng.*
 ‘Enda washed dishes and Yoga washed a cooking pot’.
- d. **Enda muhi pinjan tutang Yoga keceng.*
 (OK if it means ‘Enda washed dishes and Yoga is a cooking pot’)
- (9) *Enda muhi pinjan tutang keceng.*
 ‘Enda washed dishes and cooking pots’.

3. Relative subordinator *ijo*

- (Restrictive) relative clause (Keenan 1985, Andrew 2007, Dixon 2010)
- Accessibility (Keenan & Comrie 1977, 1979).

- (10) a. *ijo dohop amai Busun umba papahtoi=rih baya keluarga,*
 (relative) help father (name)with death=(demonstrative) only family
 ‘It was only [his] family who helped Amai Busun [prepare] the funeral, ...’
- b. *baya iroh=ih ijo dohop ponguburan, dohop amai Busun.*
 only they=just (relative) help burial help father (name)
 ‘It was only they who helped Amai Busun [prepare] the burial’.

- (11) *lang=jo mahcu tiruh, lang=jo doni buli,*
(plural)=(relative) far sleep (plural)=(relative) near go.home
jo=bobulen k<an>itot uku-i,
(relative)=blind <undergoer.voice>send food-his
jo=bakalui k<an>uku-i.
(relative) have.sore <undergoer.voice>feed-him
‘Those who [came from] afar slept, those who [came from] nearby went home, a blind person was provided with a meal, and the one who has many sores was provided with a meal’.
- (12) *dolang panyakit ijo tou munu dolang kalunon*
(plural) disease (relative) can kill (plural) human
‘diseases that can kill humans’
- (13) a. *ulun bahkas ijo nonga Enda wadai(=rih Yoga)*
human male (relative) give (name) cake (=demonstrative name)
‘The man who gave Enda a cake (was Yoga)’.
b. **ukun ijo Yoga nonga Enda(=rih wadai)*
(Intended meaning: ‘The food that Yoga gave Enda (was a cake)’).
c. **ulun bawi ijo Yoga nonga wadai(=rih Enda)²*
(Intended meaning: ‘The woman to whom Yoga gave a cake (was Enda)’).
- (14) a. *ukun ijo t<an>onga Yoga ahkan Enda(=rih wadai)*
food (relative) <undergoer.voice>give (name) for (name)
‘The food that Yoga gave to Enda (was a cake)’.
b. *ulun bawi ijo tanonga Yoga wadai(=rih Enda)*
‘The woman to whom Yoga gave a cake (was Enda)’.
- (15) a. *ohcin louk ijo Yoga nahup ah (rih asu)*
animal (relative) (name) hit 3 (demonstrative dog)
‘The animal that Yoga hit (was a dog)’.
b. *ukun ijo yaduon Enda kuma-i(=rih sahang)*
food (relative) cannot (name) eat-3 (=demonstrative chili)
‘The food that Enda cannot eat (is chili)’.
- (16) a. *ulun ijo luhku=ah nihou*
human (relative) cigarette=his disappear
‘man whose cigarette disappeared’
b. *kalunon ijo ara-i Matun Tawan*
humankind (relative) name-his (name)
‘the human whose name is Matun Tawan’
c. *hati ijo kobua-i jaat (=rih aik=ku).*
clothes (relative) scent-its bad (=demonstrative possession/self=my)
‘The bad smelling clothes are mine’.

² In simple undergoer voice sentences, the postposition *kai* can be used to mark agents, but it will be ungrammatical if this postposition is used in relative clauses: **ukun ijo tanonga Yoga kai ahkan Enda*, **ulun bawi ijo tanonga Yoga kai wadai* are not acceptable.

- (17) a. **lowu ijo Yoga bagawi (*aang)*
village (relative) (name) work (at/in/on)
(Intended meaning: ‘the village where Yoga worked’)
- b. **lowu aang ijo Yoga bagawi*
- c. **pisou ijo Yoga napa bacang (*umba(=ah))*
knife (relative) (name) make spinning.top (with=3)
(Intended meaning: ‘the knife with which Yoga made a spinning top’)
- d. **pisou umba(=ah) ijo Yoga napa bacang*
- (18) *pisou ijo Yoga hapa-i*
knife (relative) (name) use-3
‘the knife that Yoga used’

4. Complementation

- Complementation (Noonan 1985: 42)

- (19) *ahku, jadi=ka mander ahka-i*
I (perfect)=also say/tell for-him
bahuwa ahku huang mandohop io nyamah ngolomi hawun.
that I (future/wanting) help him until night tomorrow
‘I also told him that I was going to help him until tomorrow night’.
- (20) a. *Racahaci mander auh orih.*
(name) say/tell voice (demonstrative)
‘Racahaci said that thing’.
- b. *auh orih, Racahaci mander=ah*
voice (demonstrative) (name) say/tell=3
‘That thing, Racahaci said it’.
- (21) (*bahuwa*) *ahku huang mandohop io nyamah ngolomi hawun,*
ahku jadi=ka mander=ah ahka-i.
‘That I was going to help him until tomorrow night, I also said it to him’.

- Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (hereafter, K & AK)

- (22) a. *ahku eam=ku taa-i inon(/*bahuwa) anak=ku=tuh cuhkup=ih*
I not=I know-it what(/that) child=my=this enough=just
homboh tolu.
together three
‘I don’t know whether [all] my three children will together [grow up] enough’.
- b. *ahku=rih ngalai arap=ku inon kolou(/*bahuwa) potaang pasawat.*
I=(demonstrative) study self=my how fly airplane
‘I learned how to fly an airplane’.
- c. *ahku ngisok inon(/*bahuwa) io tou nangui (inon eam).*
I ask what(/that) he can swim (what not)
‘I asked whether he could swim (or not)’.
- (23) a. *ahku eam=ku taai (bahuwa) inon anak=ku=tuh cuhkup=ih homboh tolu.*
b. *ahku=rih ngalai arap=ku (bahuwa) inon kolou potaang pasawat.*
c. *ahku ngisok (bahuwa) inon io tou nangui (inon eam).*

- (24) a. **ahku eam=ku taai anak=ku=tuh cuhkup=ih homboh tolu.*
 b. **ahku=rih ngalai arap=ku potaang pasawat.*
 c. **ahku ngisok io tou nangui.*
- (25) *ahku ngisok (bahuwa/*inon) ihko kani inon.*
 I ask (that/ what) you want what
 'I asked what you want'.
- (26) a. *ahku ngisok (bahuwa) pira behti jadi sohu.*
 I ask (complementizer) how.many body (perfect) go.downstream
 'I asked how many people had gone downstream'.
 b. *ahku ngisok (bahuwa) mira iroh sohu.*
 'I asked when they went downstream'.
 c. *ahku ngisok (*bahuwa) iai jadi sohu.*
 'I asked who had gone downstream'.
- (27) a. *ahku ngisok (bahuwa) iai jo jadi sohu.*
 'I asked who had gone downstream'
 (lit. 'I asked who is the one that had gone downstream'.)
 b. *ahku ngisok (bahuwa) ia-iai jadi sohu.*
 'I asked whether someone had gone downstream'.
- nominalization by means of a prefix *pVN-*
- (28) a. *ahku huang mander panyala-k=ku ondou hawun ahka-i.*
 I (future/wanting) say/tell PVN.walk-my=my day tomorrow for-him
 'I am going to tell him about my tomorrow's trip'.
 b. *ahku huang ngesah po-lombut oko amai=ku doro*
 I (future/wanting) tell.story PVN-come old father=my twosome
oko bokinai=ku tahkan Ngomili=nai.
 old foster.mother/stepmother=my from (place)=a.moment.ago
 'I am going to tell [you] about my father and foster mother's coming from Tumbang Miri'.
 b'. *ahku huang ngesah (bahuwa) oko amai=ku doro oko bokinai=ku lombut tahkan*
Ngomili=nai.
 'I am going to tell [you] that my father and foster mother came from Tumbang Miri'.
- (29) a. *panyalak=ku ondou hawun, ahku huang mander=ah ahkai.*
 'About my tomorrow's trip, I am going to tell it for him'.
 b. *polombut oko amai=ku doro oko bokinai=ku tahkan Ngomili=nai, ahku huang*
ngesah=ah.
 'About my father and foster mother's coming from Tumbang Miri, I am going to tell [you]'.
- (30) a. **ahku huang mander bahuwa panyalak=ku ondou hawun ahkai.*
 **ahku huang mander ahkai bahuwa panyalak=ku ondou hawun.*
 b. *ahku huang ngesah bahuwa polombut oko amai=ku doro oko bokinai=ku tahkan*
Ngomili=nai.
 'I am going to tell [you] about my father and foster mother's coming from Tumbang Miri'.

- (31) a. *io nyuhu ahku macek=ah huli.*³
 he request/command me check=3 re(turn)
 ‘He requested me to recheck them (=sentences)’.
- b. **io nyuhu bahuwa ahku macek=ah huli.*
- c. *ahku macek=ah huli, io nyuhu=ah.*
- (32) a. *oko amai=ku maksa ahku ngitot io nokuh Ngomili=nai.*
 old father=my force me deliver him toward (place)=there
 ‘My father forced me to take him to Tumbang Miri’.
- b. **oko amai=ku maksa bahuwa ahku ngitot io nokuh Ngomili=nai.*
- c. *ahku ngitot io nokuh Ngomili=nai, oko amai=ku maksa ahku.*
- (33) a. *ihco kobahtang lihat nguan ahku bojoin nohtok=ah*
 one (trunk) Lansium.domesticum make me many.times cut.off=3
jatuh nyamah aro tohtok=ku.
 that.particular until many cut=my
 ‘A tree of *Lansium domesticum* made me cut them (=its branches) many times until I got many cut [branches].’
- b. **ihco kobahtang lihat nguan bahuwa ahku bojoin nohtok=ah jatuh nyamah aro tohtok ku.*
- c. **ahku bojoin nohtok=ah jatuh nyamah aro tohtok ku, ihco kobahtang lihat ngua-i.*

- The same spatio-temporal profile (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001).

(34)	predicate type		bahuwa	fronting
UTTERANCE	<i>bakesah</i>	‘tell a story’	yes	yes
	<i>ngesah</i>	‘tell a story’	yes	yes
	<i>mander</i>	‘say, tell’	yes	yes
K & AK	<i>ngisok</i>	‘ask’	yes (+interrogative)	yes
	<i>taan</i>	‘know’	yes (+interrogative)	yes
	<i>ngalai arop</i>	‘learn’	yes (+interrogative)	yes
MANIPULATIVE	<i>nyuhu</i>	‘request, command’	no	yes
	<i>maksa</i>	‘force’	no	yes
	<i>nguan</i>	‘make’	no	no
FEARING	<i>mihkoh</i>	‘be afraid’	no	no
ACHIEVEMENT	<i>nihkos</i>	‘try’	no	no
THINKING	<i>mingat</i>	‘remember’	yes	no
	<i>ngira</i>	‘think’	yes	yes
FEELING	<i>ngomo</i>	‘feel’	yes	yes

- (35) a. *ahku mihkoh yaduo-k=ku nyokula anak=ku.*
 I be.afraid cannot-I=I enroll.someone.in.school child=my
 ‘I am worried that I cannot put my children in school’.
- b. *ahku nihkos nokuh koron Anoi holu.*
 I try toward hill (place) first.of.all
 ‘I am going to try to go to Anoi Hill before anything’.

³ If a TAM marker *huang* ‘(future/wanting)’ is used in a complement clause of *nyuhu* (e.g. *io nyuhu ahku huang macek=ah huli.*), then the sentence implies that the action denoted by the complement clause has not completed at the time of the utterance.

- (36) a. Epistemic: *Suster nohto (bahuwa) io ahkan mahtoi.*
 Sister see that he will die
 ‘Sister saw that he will die’.
- b. Perception: *Suster nohto (*bahuwa) io honong kuman.*
 Sister see that he (imperfective) eat
 ‘Sister saw he was taking a meal’.
- (37) a. Epistemic: *ahku nuneng (bahuwa) anak=ku beteng=tuh sehat.*
 I watch that child=my now healthy
 ‘I see that my children are healthy now’.
- b. Perception: *io nuneng (*bahuwa) mahtan ondou bolum tutang bolop.*
 he watch that sun alive and extinguished
 ‘He watched a sunrise and sunset’.

5. Adverbial subordinators

- Adverbial subordinate clauses (Thompson & Longacre 1985)
- Diessel (2001)

- (38) Adverbial subordinators
- a. time: *beteng* ‘middle, when’, *uli* ‘after’, *lius* ‘before (archaic)’,
saholu ‘before’, *sambil/sambir* ‘while (loanword)’
 - b. manner: *kolou* ‘like’
 - c. purpose: *ahkan* ‘for, in order to’, *bele* ‘lest’
 - d. reason: *kobaiu* ‘because’
 - e. concessive: *olu* ‘although’
 - f. conditional: *(ngi)ndoi* ‘if’, *amun* ‘if (loanword)’, *jakai* ‘if’

5.1 Time clauses

- (39) a. *beteng inai=ah ngomin arop=ah sakihtar tolu bulan, ahku*
 when mother=his conceive.baby=her approximately three month I
*hatuh tohko nuhpi. *tahpi io eam batohi beteng orih.*
 (past) exist dream but she not be.pregnant time (demonstrative)
 ‘When his mother conceived a baby, in the third month of pregnancy, I had a
 [special] dream. *However, she wasn’t pregnant at that time’
- b. *ahkan=kai narik=ah ahku nyawot dohop umba oka=ku.*
 in.order.to=we(exclusive) pull=3 I ask.for help with older.sibling=my
tahpi ihkai jaham narik=ah.
 but we(exclusive) not.yet pull=3
 ‘In order for us to pull it (=a betel nut tree) down, I asked my older siblings to help
 me. However, we have not yet pulled it down’.
- c. *kobaiu iroh uras aro deroh, mukin nyaro waktu ngomosai,*
 because they all many busy probably there.be.not time take.husband
nyaro waktu ngoruh. tahpi sabujur=ah, iroh uras eam deroh.
 there.be.not time take.wife but actually they all not busy
 ‘Because they all are busily occupied, probably there are no time to take a husband
 or wife. However, as a matter of fact, they all are not busy’.

- (40) a. *ahku mohcon aang lowu=tuh sambil (ah)ku ngindoi anak=ku*
 I live at/in/on village=this while I wait child=my
jo=honong lenga=ah.
 (relative)=(imperfective) infant=his
 ‘I [will continue to] live in this village, waiting until my child of young age [get older]’.
- b. **ahku mohcon aang lowu=tuh sambil ahku {hatuh[past]/ahkan[future]} ngindoi anak ku jo honong lenga ah.*

5.2 Purpose clauses

- (41) *rencana=ku ngorong=ah ahka-i tou bolum hino.*
 plan=my repair=3 for-it can alive again
 ‘My plan is to repair it (=an engine) in order for it to run again’.
- (42) *io narik=ah bele-u bolukang nokuh lohpu.*
 he pull=3 lest-it fall.down toward house
 ‘He pulled it (=a betel nut tree) lest it falls on the house’.

5.3 Reason clauses

- (43) *tongembah=kai=ih [kobaiu inai Yoga yaduo-i*
 cooked.bland.soup=we(exclusive)=just because mother (name) cannot-she
honong kuman sahang [kobaiu io rimbit biou].
 (imperfective) eat chili because she foster infant
 ‘We merely cooked bland soup [because Inai Yoga cannot temporarily eat chili [because she is bringing up a baby]]’.

5.4 Concessive clauses

- (44) *olu ahku nuhkan, paroi=ah eam bolum=ka*
 although I make.hole unhusked.rice=its not alive=also
kobaiu nyaro ondou uhcan.
 because there.be.not day rain
 ‘Although I will (make holes to) plant [them], the rice would not grow because there are no rainy days’.
- (45) a. **paroi ah eam bolum olu ahku ahkan nuhkan.* (general future)
 b. *paroi ah eam bolum olu ahku nuhkan ondou hawun.* (tomorrow’s future)

5.5 Conditional clauses

- (46) a. *jakai taa-k=nai, eam=ku ngua-i kadorih.*
 if know-I=a.moment.ago not=I make-it like.that
 ‘If I had known [it], I would not have done so’.
- b. *ndoi taak=nai eam=ku nguai kadorih.*
 c. *amun taak=nai eam=ku nguai kadorih.*
- (47) *jakai/ndoi/amun ahku tiruh, limo menit barangai,*
 if I sleep five minute whatever
koporos kuhung=ku nihou.
 ache head=my disappear
 ‘If I slept for [three minutes,] five minutes, whatever, my headache would go away’.

6. Conclusion

1. Coordinate and subordinate constructions
 - cataphora, clause movement, and clause insertion
2. Ellipsis in coordinate constructions
3. Relative clause formation: only to subjects; non-subjects & voice alternation
4. Complementation
 - looseness, constituenthood, and constituent order
5. The problems occurring in adverbial clauses

References

- Andrew, Avery D. 2007. Relative clauses. In *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, volume 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, chapter 4, 206–236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diessel, Holger. 2001. The ordering distribution of main and adverbial clauses: A typological study. *Language* 77 (2): 433–455.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. *Grammatical Topics*, volume 2 of *Basic Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin Jr. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*, volume 38 of *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haiman, John and Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. ‘Subordination’ in universal grammar. In *Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, eds. by Claudia Brugman & Monica Macaulay, 10: 510–523. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Linguistic Society.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1995. The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category. In *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective. Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms: Adverbial participles, gerunds*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, volume 13 of *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology*, 1–56. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2007. Coordination. In *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, volume 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, chapter 1, 1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hengeveld, Kees. 1998. Adverbial clauses in the language of Europe. In *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*, ed. by Johan van der Auwera, chapter 6, 335–419. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1985. Relative clauses. In *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, volume 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, chapter 3, 141–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- and Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1): 63–99.
- and ———. 1979. Data on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. *Language* 55(2): 333–351
- Noonan, Michael. 1985. Complementation. In *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, volume 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, chapter 2, 42–140. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi and Prashant Pardeshi. 2001. The causative continuum. In *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation*, ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani, volume 48 of *Typological Studies in Language*, 85–126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thompson, Sandra A. and Robert E. Longacre. 1985. Adverbial clauses. In *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, volume 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, chapter 4, 171–234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verstraete, Jean-Christophe. 2005. Two types of coordination in clause combining. *Lingua* 115: 611–626.