Complementation strategies in Kambaata

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1. Introduction
- Choice of complementation strategy in Kambaata partly dependent on (morpho-)syntactic parameters and the semantic class of the complement-taking verb

- No independent complementisers but syntactic dependence is marked by verbal inflection and by clause-final enclitics

- Considerable overlap between the strategies employed for the encoding of complement, relative and adverbial clauses (purpose and conditional clauses, in particular)

2. Typological overview of Kambaata
- Exclusively suffixing language
- Head- and dependent-marking: elaborate case system, subject agreement on verbs
- Arguments of verbs can freely be omitted if retrievable from the context
- Consistently head-final

	MAIN VERBS		REL VERBS		CONVERBS		PURPOSIVES		VNS
SUBJ AGR	1s 2s 3m 3f/p 3hon	1p 2p/hon	1s 2s 3m 3f/p 3hon	1p 2p/hon	1s/3m 2s/3f/p 3hon	1p 2p/hon	1s/3m 2s/3f/p 3hon	1p 2p/hon	–
ASP	Imperfective Progressive *e*-Perfective *o*-Perfective		Imperfective Progressive *e*-Perfective *o*-Perfective		Imperfective Perfective		–		–
MOOD	Indicative Imperative/Jussive Preventive		–		–		–		–
SWITCH REF	–		–		+		+		–

Table 1. Inflectional categories on main verbs and dependent verbs in Kambaata

3. Complementation strategies

3.1. Introduction
Complementation strategies categorised acc. to the finiteness of their highest verb

3.2. Verbal noun complements
Non-finite complement clauses contain a case-marked **verbal noun**. Kambaata verbal nouns are categorial hybrids (Treis forthcoming a) that combine verbal and nominal properties:

	CASE ENDINGS
ACCUSATIVE	mar-ú
NOMINATIVE	már-u
GENITIVE	mar-í
DATIVE	mar-íi
ABLATIVE	mar-íichch
INSTRUMENTAL-COMITATIVE-PERLATIVE	mar-íin
LOCATIVE	mar-óon
OBLIQUE	már-o

Table 2. Case paradigm of verbal nouns (*mar-* 'go')

Verbal nouns retain their verbal argument structure almost completely: they can govern objects of all kinds as well as (co-)subordinate clauses; the subject of a verbal noun can be encoded in the nominative case and/or by a pronominal suffix (rarely by a genitive modifier).

In object complement clauses, accusative or dative verbal nouns are used:

(1) {*hugaaxáann-u-s*   ***qee'rr-ú**-ssa*}
     hunters-mNOM-DEF   be_far-mACC-3pPOSS

mooshsh-eemmá=hann-íichch   *zakk-íin* […]
make_sure-3honPVO.REL=NMZ-mABL   after-mICP

'After he had made sure that the hunters were far, (…).' (Lit.: 'After he had made sure the hunters their being far …') (Kambaatissata 1989.4: 76)

(2) […] {*mexxoomáan*   ***mar-íi***}   *ke'-óo'u*
          together   go-mDAT   start-3fPVO
     '[…] they started to go together.'

In subject complement clauses, nominative verbal nouns are used:

(3) {*ísi-n*   […]   *haqquuchch-í*   *al-í*   *ful-án*
     3mNOM-n   tree.SG-mGEN   top-mACC   climb-1s/3mICO

re'-ó   *kook-á*   *dirr-iis-án*   ***ít-u***}
ripen-3mPVO.REL   peach-mACC   come_down-CS-1s/3mICO   eat-mNOM

bajig-is-áno-s   *íkke*
enjoy-CS-3mIPV-3mO   INACT

'He enjoyed climbing onto a […] tree […], picking and eating ripe peaches.' (Lit.: '… eating ripe peaches pleased him.') (Kambaatissata 1989.4: 45)

Verbal noun complements are common with

- desiderative verbs (e.g. *has-* 'want')
- modal verbs (*dand-* 'can, be able; may')
- verbs of assistance (e.g. *kaa'll-* 'help, serve, be useful for, be used for')
- phasal (aspectual) verbs (e.g. *ke'-* 'start')
- achievement verbs (*akeek-* 'try') and
- commentative verbs (e.g. *bajig-is-* 'be pleasant, appealing').
(Semantic classes acc. to Noonan 2007.)

Beyond complement clauses, verbal nouns are used in adverbial clauses, e.g. in purpose clauses (if DAT-marked) (4) and in modal clauses (if ICP-marked):

(4)   *Hikkanníichch*   *zakk-íin*   {***oodam-íiha***}
       IDEM2.mABL   after-mICP   argue-mDAT

       had-á   *ameezan-n-á=b-a*   *mar-tóo'u*
       outside-fGEN   animal-PL-fGEN=PLACE-mACC   go-3fPVO

'After that they went to the wild animals to argue (their cases in court).' (Kambaatis-sata 1989.4: 77)

Complement clauses based on verbal nouns tend to be structurally less complex than other types of complement clauses but they are not (syntactically) reduced: subjects and objects can be overtly expressed; (co-)subordinate clauses can be integrated into verbal noun-based complement clauses; cf. (3) and (5):

(5)   {*ma'nn-áta*   *dájj*   ***ossa'-ú***}   *háshsh-o*
       bed-fACC   weave.1s/3mPCO   lie_down-mACC   want-3mPVO

'He wants to weave a bed (and/to) sleep on it.' (Kambaatissata 1989.4: 98)

Unlike relative-based complement clauses, complement clauses based on verbal nouns cannot be marked for aspect and they cannot be negated non-periphrastically.

3.3. Purposive complements

Purposive verbs can be marked for agreement with the subject of the complement clause and for subject (dis-)continuity between the subordinate and the matrix clause (switch reference). (No marking for aspect; only periphrastic negation)

		SS PURPOSIVE	DS PURPOSIVE
1s	3m	*-∅-ó-ta*	*´-∅-un-ta*
2s	3f/p	*-t-ó-ta*	*´-t-un-ta*
3hon		*-een-ó-ta*	*-éen-un-ta*
1p		*-n-ó-ta*	*´-n-un-ta*
2p/hon		*-teen-ó-ta*	*-téen-un-ta*

Table 3. Purposive paradigms[1]

Purposive verb forms are only used in object (but not subject!) complement clauses.

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[1] The multi-morphemic endings in the table subdivide into subject agreement morpheme, purposive morpheme and proximal demonstrative.

Same subject purposive verb form:

(6) {*kées*   ***ze'-o\<hé\>ta***   *íkko* *he'-is-o\<hé\>ta*}
    2sACC   herd-1s/3mPURP_{SS}\<2sO\> or   live-CS-1s/3mPURP_{SS}\<2sO\>

    has-áam-ba'a
    want-1sIPV-NEG
    'I don't want to herd or support you (any longer).' (Kambaatissata 1989: 6.123)

Different subject purposive verb form:

(7) {*mát-u*   *cíil-u*   *am-a-sí*   *unuun-á*
    one-mNOM   infant-mNOM   mother-fGEN-3mPOSS   breast-mACC

    xá'-unta}   *has-eemmá=da*   […]
    wean-1s/3mPURP_{DS} want-3honPVO.REL=COND
    'If one wants that a small child is weaned from his mother's breast, […].'

Purposive verbs in purpose clauses:

(8) {*híkka*   *ciil-i-sé*   *san-óon*   *fóoshsh-u*
    DDEM2.mOBL   infant-mGEN-3fPOSS nose-fICP breath-mNOM

    áag-unta}   *gunguushsh-itu'nnáachch*   *ossíis-see'u*
    enter-1s/3mPURP_{DS} cover_one's_head.CS-2s/3fNCO lay_down_to_sleep-3fPVE

    'She laid that child down to sleep without covering his head so that breath would enter through his nose.'

Purposive-based complement clauses are common with:

- desiderative (e.g. *has-* 'want')
- manipulative (e.g. *ass-* 'do, make, cause', *kaa'll-* 'help)
- modal (e.g. *dand-* 'can be able, may')
- commentative verbs (e.g. *makk-* 'be suitable')

Purposive-based complement clauses are not found with:

- verbs of perception (e.g. 'see', 'hear')
- knowledge verbs (e.g. 'know').
- utterance verbs used in a reportative sense (e.g. 'tell that X happened') **but** with utterance verbs with a manipulative sense (e.g. 'tell s.o. to do sth.').

→ The use of purposive verbs was extended from purpose clauses to complement clauses.

3.4. Relative-based complements

Near-finite complements:

    (i)   Headless nominalised relative clause
    (ii)   Relative clause + 'manner'
    (iii)   Relative clause + Conditional morpheme

Some information on relativisation (Treis 2008):

- Relative clauses precede their heads
- Most relative verbs differ only tonally (accentually) from fully finite main verbs
- Relative verbs have a separate negative strategy (Treis forthcoming a)

3.4.1. Headless relative clauses

Relative clauses without head nouns have to be nominalised through final vowel lengthening and the attachment of case-gender morphology:

- Accusative headless relative clauses end in …v́v(-*ha*) mACC

- Nominative headless relative clauses end in …v́v(-*hu*) mNOM

Verbs that take a headless relative clause as complements: e.g. *qaagg-* 'remember' (+ object complement clause) and *agud-* 'seem' (+ subject complement clause).

(9) […] {***kan-toonti-nnée***}   *qáagg-i-bee*
      refuse_to_give-2sPVO-1pO.REL.NMZ.mACC   remember-2sIMP-INDIG

  'Remember that you refused to give anything (to us)!'

(10) {*qamál-ch-ut*   *sawwitt-á-se*   *aass-íi*   *haqq-í*   *al-í*
      monkeys-SG-fNOM   suggestion-mACC   give-mDAT   tree-mGEN   top-mACC

  ful-too'íi}   *m-íi*   *agud-áno-he?*
  climb-3fPVO.REL.NMZ.mNOM   what-mDAT   seem-3mIPV-2sO

  'What do you think why the monkey climbed on a tree to make his suggestion?' (Lit. 'That the monkey climbed on a tree to make his suggestion seems to you for what?')

Headless relative clauses in adverbial function (as circumstantial adverbial clauses):

(11) […] *wo'-á*   {*méxx-u*   *haww-uhúu*
      water-mACC   single-mNOM   problem-mNOM.CRD

  yoo-ba'-íi}   *daqq-itáa'u*
  be-NEG.REL.NMZ.mACC   find.MID-3fIPV

  '[…] they find water without any problem.' (lit. 'Without there being a problem, they find water.')

3.4.2. Similative strategy

Most common relative-based complement clause type: relative clause + similative enclitic =*g-* 'like' (< noun 'manner')

Similative construction:

(12) ***adan-ch-ó=g-a***   *gá'l-a*   *agg-óomm*
      cats-SG-fGEN=SIM-mOBL shard-mOBL drink-1sPVO

  'I drank from a shard like a cat.'

The =*g*-morpheme is encliticised to complements of the following verb types:

- utterance verbs (e.g. *xa'mm-* 'ask', *kul-* 'tell')
- propositional attitude verbs (e.g. *amma'nn-* 'believe')
- knowledge verbs (e.g. *dag-* 'know')
- perception verbs (e.g. *maccoocc-* 'hear')
- manipulative verbs (e.g. *ass-* 'do, make, cause')

Object complement clause:

(13) *wotár-ch-u-s* {*iséta* *aass-íiha* **iittam-eemmá=g-a**}
foal-SG-fNOM-DEF 3fACC give-mDAT decide-3honPVO.REL=SIM-mACC

hattig-óon kaar-íi dand-itoo'íi agud-áno-he
how-fICP suspect-mDAT can-3fPVO.REL.NMZ.mNOM seem-3mIPV-2sO

'According to you (lit. '[it] seems to you'), how could the tiny foal suspect that one had decided to sacrifice (lit. 'give') her?'

Subject complement clause:

(14) […] {*danaam-ú* *lal-í* *sheef-á* *dóó'rr-u*
good-mACC cow-mGEN race-mACC chose-mNOM

hasis-anó=g-u} *dag-ámm-ee-haa*
be_necessary-3mIPV.REL=SIM-mNOM know-PS-3mPVE.REL-mCOP

'It is known that one has to choose a good cow race.' (Lit. 'That one has to choose a good cow race is known.') (Kambaatissata 1989: 8.108)

The *=g-*morpheme is multifunctional. Among its functions are standard marker in similative (12) and equative constructions, marker of various adverbial clauses as such similative clauses, accord clauses, temporal clause of immediate anteriority and purpose clauses.

Similative-marked purpose clause:

(15) {*gooc-á* **aag-úmb-o=gg-a**} *xúff-eemm*
door-mACC enter-1s/3mNREL-mOBL=SIM-mOBL close-1sPVE

'I closed the door so that he would not enter.'

3.4.3. Conditional strategy

Conditional clauses in Kambaata are based on relative clauses to which a conditional enclitic *=da* is attached.

(16) *ís* **ga''-ee-'é=da** *án* *da'll-í* *mar-áamm*
3mNOM call-3M.PVE-1sO.REL=COND 1sNOM do_fast-1s/3mPCO go-1sIPV

'If he calls me, I will go (to him) immediately.'

Indirect yes/no questions: complement clauses that are marked like conditional clauses:

(17) {*án* *min-íichch* **bá'-eemmí=da**}
1sNOM house-mABL disappear-1sPVE=COND
hiz-óonku-' *dag-áno*
brother-mNOM<n>-1sPOSS know-3mIPV
'My brother will come to know (i.e. find out) whether I left home (or not).'

The conditional strategy cannot be applied in subject complement clauses.

4. Complementation strategies with perception verbs

The proposition that is dependent on a perception verb is often encoded in a different subject imperfective converb clause (cf. Treis 2010):

(18) *íi*   *béet-o*   {*lank-íi*   *kánn*   *haqq-í*
1sGEN   son-mVOC   second-mDAT   DDEM1.mOBL   tree-mGEN

       al-í   **ful-táni-yan**}   *xuud-ókkoon-ke*
       top-mACC   climb-2s/3fICO-DS   see-1sPRV-2sO

'My son, don't let me see a second time that you climb this tree!' (Kambaatissata 1989: 4. 45)

5. Conclusion and Outlook

- Considerable formal overlap between adverbial, relative and complement clauses

- No clause type / strategy restricted to complementation, however:

  o If a clause is nominative-marked it has to be a subject complement clause
  o Accusative-/dative-marked clauses can be used as complement and adverbial clauses.

- The preference of one complementation strategy over another depends partly on formal criteria (aspect, polarity, subject (dis-)continuity), partly on the semantics of the complement-taking verb. The choice of one or the other strategy is, however, often not foreseeable and speakers have a certain degree of freedom to choose among two (or three) strategies for certain complement-taking verbs. Some tendencies can be identified, for example:

  o For negative complement clauses, the similative strategy is preferred.
  o Manipulative verbs apart from verbs of assistance are not used with verbal noun complements.
  o Desiderative and modal verbs do not take similative complements.
  o Utterance, propositional attitude and knowledge verbs take similative complements.
  o The proposition dependent on a perception verb can be encoded in a similative-marked complement clause or a different subject converb clause.

The correlations between the semantic class of the complement-taking verb and the complementation strategies are to be explored in more detail in the future.

Note furthermore that the overview of complementation strategies in Kambaata is not exhaustive, complements (e.g. of 'believe') with *y-* 'say' and two 'whether'-complements (cf. section 3.3) were not discussed.

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Abbreviations

ABL ablative, ACC accusative, COND conditional, COP copula, CRD coordination, CS causative, DAT dative, DDEM dependent demonstrative, DEF definite, DS different subject, f feminine, GEN genitive, hon honorific, ICO imperfective converb, ICP instrumental-comitative-perlative, IDEM independent demonstrative, IMP imperative, INACT inactual, INDIG indignation, IPV imperfective, m masculine, MID middle, n undetermined pragmatically motivated morpheme, NCO negative converb, NEG negative, NMZ nominalization, NOM nominative, NREL negative relative, O object, OBL oblique, p plural, PCO perfective converb, PL plurative, POSS possessive, PRV preventive, PS passive, PURP purposive, PVE *e*-perfective, PVO *o*-perfective, REL relative, s singular, SG singulative, SIM similative, SS same subject, VOC vocative