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A grammar of Kumzari : a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman

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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	ğēla'-an	dī'-im	ba	tō.
now	1p	this	wheat –PL	give:2sIMPF -1p	to	2s
disc	pn	DEM	n-sfx	v-sfx	prep	pn

'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**	ẓēr	bālišt-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
bumr-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
baẓẓa-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	tēra-ō	ā,	ar	čō	ba	yē	ā,	radda	tō'-a	na.
DEM	path-the	SUB	that/which/who	go	on	3s	SUB	returning	become:IMPF-3s	NEG

'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	**či**	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	insī-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:

(449) B638
xwā **kard**.
salt drop:2sIMPER
'**Drop** the salt.'

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
qaḍy-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
qēṣarit-īn-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.'

(455) S665
ẓangērir-an jīr-in tō
slave-PL see:REAL -3p 2s
'The slaves saw you'

9.3.1.3 Deverbal predicates

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
panj-ta **gūnī** **ǧēla** šabaḥa gid-in
five-COUNT sack wheat tying on do:REAL-3p
'They tied on **five sacks of wheat**.'

(457) U79
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
maḥana **mē** tk-ī
bothering 1s do:IMPF -2s
'You are bothering **me**'

(459) S858
šayaxa **yē** gid-in.
appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:REAL -3p
'They appointed **her** as sheikh.'

Deverbs can also be intransitive:

(460) K345
ṣayaḥa tk-a.
shouting do:IMPF-3s
'He was shouting.'

(461) A623
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
saṭ-ta ādamī 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
salaḥ-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 pī 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 fõšnīs -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**.’

(478) G879

sōr	wa	pīma	wād-iš	**ba**	**šan**	**šām**.
salt.fish	and	onion	bring:REAL-3s	to	3p	supper

'He brought **them** salt fish and onions **for supper**.'

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,[89] 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=**in**	na	ā,	ādī=**'in**.
sheikh =EX:3p	NEG	SUB	normal =EX:3p

'**They were** not royalty; **they were** common.'

and with locational predicates (*āntē* below):

(480) P570

ẓangērir -an	āntē=**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 *ḥalla* 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 *astiy* 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 ğafala**=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**=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=**ī**?
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:

(487) P146
xwaš **=Ø**.
well =EX:3s
'He **is** well.'

(488) P608
xwaš **wābur**.
well become:3sREAL
'She **became** well.'

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= ǧarbī.
almond.tree dry become:3sREAL from -ward west
'The almond tree became **dry** from the west.'

(492) G231
jīr-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 **xōd-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** **ğrāb-ō**.
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** **ḥawy** **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
ẓōraq-ē wā yē.
zoraq.boat -a with 3s
'He had a *zoraq* boat.'

(503) R1510
šaš-ta ẓangērir ba mē =in wā yē.
six-COUNT slave to 1s =EX:3p with 3s
'He has six slaves that belong to me.'

(504) K138
jō'ār-ō wā mā.
pearl-the with 1p
'We have the pearl.'

(505) P933
jāmal-ē wā yē.
camel-a with 3s
'She had a camel.'

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)
šartağ-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 (*waḷa, 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

sēẓda-ta	ruppī	dār-**iš**	ba	yē	**wa**	pačaxčē-ō	kardīd-**iš**
thirteen –COUNT	rupees	give:REAL-3s	to	3s	and	chest –the	drop:REAL-3s

wā=	yē.
-ward	3s

'**He** gave him thirteen rupees **and he** laid down the chest before him.'

(510) P348

ḥubbō-ō	xaṭṭ-ē	kataba	gid-iš.	wāqā	gid-**in**	**wa**
grandmother-the	message-a	writing	do:REAL-3s	signature	do:REAL-3p	and

fānd-**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-ē	mē	**wa**	fans-ē	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:

(513) S557
nwāẓ paštin ā, byār-ē… ẓūly-an **wa**
prayer mid-afternoon SUB bring:MIR furniture-PL and
'At the late afternoon prayer, they brought... furniture! **and**'

ēwō pāk k-ē **wa**
here clean make:MIR-2p and
'here they cleaned! **and**'

indō-an āmad-in baladiyya **wa**
Indian.person-PL come:REAL-3p garbage and
'the Indians came to [pick up] garbage, **and**'

pāk yē gid-in **wa**
clean 3s make:REAL-3p and
'they cleaned it **and**'

sōnty-ō čōrid-in **wa** ka
raft-the wash:REAL-3p and LIST
'they washed the raft **and** also'

gmēẓ pana yē pāk gid-in **wa** ka
dirt beside 3s clean make:REAL-3p and LIST
'they cleaned up the dirt beside it **and** also'

xā ḥmām-ō pana yē pāk gid-in **wa**
house pigeon-the beside 3s clean make:REAL-3p and
'they cleaned up the pigeon house beside it **and**'

ẓūly-ē sōd-in **wa**
furniture-a put:REAL-3p and
'they put in furniture **and**'

šēx-ō āmad **wa**
sheikh -the come:3sREAL and
'the sheikh came **and**'

rōr-an āmō yē āmad-in **wa**
child -PL uncle (paternal) 3s come:REAL -3p and
'his uncle's children came **and**'

qaḍy-ō āmad **wa**
judge -the come:3sREAL and
'the judge came **and**'

ništ-in pana sōnty-ō.
sit:REAL-3p beside raft –the
'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

šaw	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	ṭiya	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**	ẓan	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	ǧāẓ	dō-um	ba	yē	**waḷa**	ṣirx	tāt-a	ā,
how.much	money	give:IMPF-1s	to	3s	or	gold	want:IRR-3s	SUB

ṣirx	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**	inda	ẓan-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):

(519) R812
wana inda tō **wana** inda ẓan 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** šuǧul, **na** īn.
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 īšū būs-um ẓāman awwal ā, **kana** ar rōẓ-ē
if living become:PERF-1s era before SUB otherwise each day-a

č-um ēmaǧ tk-um.
go:IMPF-1s firewood do:IMPF-1s
'If I had lived long ago, I **would have** gone to collect firewood every day.'

(523) N35
ǧāẓ-an mē byār **kana** č-um šurṭa škēwī
money-PL 1s 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:IMPF-2s NEG

čābē īšū 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:

(525) N36

ūn-ī	čāẓ	xōr	wā	mā	**midam**	ēw=ī.
sit:IMPER-2s	lunch	eat:2sIMPER	with	1p	otherwise	here=EX:2s

'Sit and eat lunch with us **otherwise** [**since unusually**] you are here.'

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

šū	mē	wā	mē	ēwō	**lakin**	sā	šū	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

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

tēmuš-um	xiẓinā-ō	wa	ẓīs-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	six	PERS-PL	2p	but

rōk-ō	čikk-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,	ōjuẓō	na'aṭa	tk-in,	**balkē**	raft-ē	ǧarbī,
3s.ANA	old.person	awaiting	do:IMPF-3p	however	go:PERF-3s	west

raft-ē	šarqī,	raft-ē	ēbar	ēbar,	maḍya	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

		/////			\\\\\
ādamī	ba	kāra-ō,	nām	yē	fālan.
person	to	gate-the	name	3s	such-and-such

'There's someone at the gate**;** his name is such-and-such**.**'

(532) R527

			/////				/////	\\\\\
gambil	kan	ba	yē,	dakka	kin	ẓa	xōr-ō,	wēl.
hole	dig:MIR	for	3s	burying	do:MIR	under	donkey-the	leave:MIR

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

(533) K529

		/////			\\\\\
gēnum	aẓala	gid-in,	jā	aẓala	gid-in.
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).

one clause	serial verbs	complement clauses	adverbial clauses	clause chains	relative clauses	coordination	two separate clauses

← ---------- →

high degree of grammatical integration — no grammatical integration

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

This 4.3chapter 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 *ā* to signal clause relationships, while less integrated verb constructions tend to use conjunctions.

9.4.2.1.1 The subordinating enclitic ā

9.4.2.1.1.1 Morphology, syntax, and semantics of the subordinator *ā*

The subordinator is a clause-final enclitic with grammatical, not lexical, meaning. It is the morpheme *ā*,[90] 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	indarāğ -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 *ā*/*ē* (Axenov 2006:57, 240), and Palula *ta* (Liljegren 2008:352), and in the Arabic conditional *wa* (Johnstone 1991:112) .

(538) B973

ka	rāyudu**u**m,	rōẓ	jumā**ā**t,	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 aḷḷāhī'illaḷḷā!
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,	ẓa	knār -ō,	āšinan	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.'

(543) K677

		/////				\\\\\
mū	ḥaraqa	kin,	mā	tā’ -im	ba	tō.
hair	burning	do:2sIMPER	1p	come:IMPF -1p	to	2s

‘Burn the hair [so that] we will come to you.’

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	barẓa	wāb	ba	bāǧ	almowẓ	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:

(547) U218

wa	āw	xwiš	pi	asp –ō	**ā**,
and	water	drink:3sREAL	from	horse –the	SUB

… ‘and he drank water from the horse,’**…**

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.[91] This is the case in Kumzari, where the a 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	jaḥḥa	kin	ba	rōk -ō	awēlī,	rōk -ō	jwān -ō.	
PEAK	swooping	do:MIR	for	boy -the	first	boy -the	fine -the	

jaḥḥa	**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 from 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).

(551) G365

sālam	dī-in	**bēw**	turwā	ḥasa	ba	āntē	ā,	“mamā,
greeting	give:IMPF-3p	SUB	run:3sIMPF	still	to	there	SUB	O mother

šām-an	kaš!”
supper-PL	serve:2sIMPER

‘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	in-ward

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	y’ā,	ğrāb –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	mī’ī	**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	ẓank -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:

(556) S115

ra	ba	nijjār -ō,	sōntī -ē	wād -iš	pi	ēwā	ḥata
go:3s	to	boatbuilder –the	raft –a	bring:REAL -3s	from	here	until

ṣaḥarē -ō,	ba	blindī.
cabinet –the	of	height

'**Going** to the boatbuilder, he brought a raft [that was] from here up to the cabinet in height.'

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**	**gīya**	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 –ō	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	ōjuẓō’ -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	**qafala**	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:

(565) P506
ništ -ē ba yē **walama** waḷḷa!
stay:PERF -3s for 3s readying by.God
'She waited for him **in readiness**, by God!'

9.4.2.1.6.3 Deverbs in complement clauses

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', *ḥata* '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 *inčka* '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 *ḥata* '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**.'

(570) R455

āxur	**bang**	**šmā**	**bẓēn-um**	**ā**,	arẓamē u yēkē	byāt.
after	calling	2p	hit:IMPF-1s	SUB	one.at.a.time	come:3sIRR

'**After I call out to you**, [you] should come one at a time.'

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 /*a*/ "delimits the reference of a noun phrase" (Andrews 2007:206), occuring 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	qiṣr-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	ṣirx-an	wā	yē	**a**	ẓank-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.'

(575) K322

ar	asp-an	insī-an	wās-ē	ā	mē=um.
that/which/who	horse -PL	humanlike -PL	bring:PERF-3s	SUB	1s =EX:1s

'**The one who** brought the talking horses was me.'

(576) U213

ar	ǧēla-an	mā	gis-ē	ā,	ēka	ā	yā	ǧrāb-ō.
that/which/who	wheat –PL	1p	take:PERF-3s	SUB	INF	SUB	DEM	crow -the

'**The one who** has taken our wheat, it must have been this crow.'

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

ar	jamma	tk-a	ẓīn-ō,	jamma	tk-a,
that/which/who	bending	do:IMPF-3s	thief –the	bending	do:IMPF-3s

sayya	ba	xō	**n=ā**,	ẓīn-ō.
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

yā	**qiṣr**	**dit**	**mē**	**na**,	**qiṣr**	dgur	tābaq	qublō
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

sōnty-ē	gap	byār,	**lōḥ-ī**	**gap-ē**	**na**,	wa	kin
raft –a	big	bring:2sIMPER	wood -ADJR	big -a	of.which	and	make:2sIMPER

ba	mē	inda	yē	xānaǧ-ē.
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

ḥafara	gambil-ē	tk-a	ā,	sō	**yē**	inda	yē.
digging	hole -a	do:IMPF-3s	SUB	put:3sIMPF	3s	in	3s

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

xaṭṭ-ē	āma	ba	mē,	law	yē	**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

xānağ-ē	kin	ba	mē	inda	yē,	**qafala**	pi	wā=indur,
house -a	do:2sIMPER	for	1s	inside	3s	locking	from	-ward=inside

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

sā	ōjuẓō-ō	y'=ā,	**āmas-ē**	pī-an	jōr-a	ā,
now	old.person -the	DEM=SUB	come:PERF-3s	fat -PL	look for:IRR-3s	SUB

ra	barra	ā,	aḥma tka	maltaqa	yē	wābur	
go:3s	outside	SUB	Ahmad-Does-It	face-to-face.meeting	3s	become:3sREAL	

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:

(584) P530

fān	yē	ba	rōk-ō,	**pi**	raft-ē	ḥijj.
send:2sIMPER	3s	to	boy –the	from	go:PERF-3s	hajj.pilgrimage

'Send it to the boy, **who** has gone on the Hajj pilgrimage.'

(585) U176

ēka	ā	yā-an	ā,	**pi**	drāẓ=in	ā,…	ḍaby-an.	ǧāẓalē-ē.
INF	SUB	DEM-PL	SUB	from	long=EX:3p	SUB	oryx-PL	gazelle-a

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

The particular use of the preposition *pi* 'from' as a relativiser bears a resemblance to the endemic use of a relativiser *bū* (in place of *illi*) in Arabic dialects of northern Oman (see Eades 2009:91).

9.4.2.2.5 Embedded relative clauses

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*.

(586) B1051 (relative clause embedded in subject complement)

ar	**čō**	**ba**	**yā**	**tēra-ō**	**ā**,	sō	yē	na!
that/which/who	go:3s	on	this	path	SUB	put:3sIMPF	3s	NEG

'**Whoever goes by this path** doesn't survive!'

(587) S454 (relative clause embedded in object complement)

ṭāraf	**adliyē-ō**	**kaft-ē**	**āntē**	**pana**	**šēx-ō**	**ā**,
side	gown -the	fall:PERF-3s	there	beside	sheikh -the	SUB

xabaqa	**yē**	gid-iš	ba	mqaṣṣ-ō.
piercing	3s	do:REAL-3s	with	scissors -the

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

9.4.2.3 Clause chains

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 verbs[92] and the subordinating enclitic, followed by a final, independent clause with a fully inflected verb (or alternatively with the sensory evidential *tamna*[93]). 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-Mōwẓ*, 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 <:

clause chain structure B422
'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 <, **it will foam**, the water on it will be white like this <, and **he will bring** a drum for himself.'

[92] See §4.3.5.
[93] Evidentials may take the place of verbs (see chapter 7).

(588) B422
wana āmad ā,
when come:3sREAL SUB
'When he comes,

tār -a qiẓ'an –ē ēka ā qiẓ'an –ō gap -ō sinslā'-an ba yē **ā**,
bring:REAL -3s cauldron –a INF SUB cauldron –the big –the chain –PL on 3s SUB
he will bring a cauldron, you know the kind of big cauldron with chains on it,

sō yē ba kirdan **ā**, **palla** yē **ka** āw,
put 3s on fire.pit SUB filling 3s do water
he will put it over the fire pit, **he will fill** it with water,

labaqa yē **ka** ba ḥalg, ḥalgāẓī yē **ka** ba ēmağ –an **ā**,
igniting 3s do with kerosene kerosene 3s do on firewood –PL SUB
he will ignite it [a fire] with kerosene, **put** kerosene on the firewood,

wa ṭambur –an **sō** ẓēr yē **ā**,
and log –PL put under 3s SUB
and **he will put** logs under it,

fağara **tk –a**, āw spēr inča ba yē **ā**,
foaming do:IMPF-3s water white like.this on 3s SUB
it will foam, the water on it will be white like this,

wa **tār –a** ba xō ṭabl –ē.
and bring:IMPF -3s for REFL drum –a
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:

clause chain structure U218
'He *cut* [the gazelle's] throat with a sharp stone <, and he *slit* it apart <, and he *struck* a spark on the horse's hooves <, and he *drank* water from the horse <, [sweat] from the horse's hair <, he **ate** the gazelle, and he **finished**.'

(589) U218
qaṣṣa māraq yē **giš** ba ğuṣṣ -ō **ā**,
cutting throat 3s do:3sREAL with sharp.stone –the SUB
'He **cut** its throat with a sharp stone,

wa **falaqa** yē **giš** pi angar **ā**,
and slitting 3s do:3sREAL from each.other SUB
and he **slit** it apart,

wa jumr **wāš** ba xō pi nixn –an asp –ō **ā**,
and ember bring:3sREAL for REFL from hoof –PL horse –the SUB
and he **struck** a spark on the horse's hooves,

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,

ğaẓalē-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[94]. 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 Šēxō*, 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:

clause chain structure R462
'He took a place for himself <, (now in this way he could strike with the what's-it-called, he could strike with the sword, killing them <), he *took* a place for himself <, he *took* the gold and things and what's-it-calleds out of his way <, he *finished*, it was heard <, "OK, come!", he [a thief] *went* to the gate <, he *went* to the gate <, he **went** [in to where the boy was]. He **cut off** his head with the sword!'

(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 bẓēn –a, šamšir -ō bẓēn –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:IRR -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** ẓindağ.
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

rhetorical structure of poem S82 (daughter goes on the raft)
When it is finished SUB, **go and plunge me into the sea**. **Plunging me into the sea SUB**, carry me to Momur Island, [there] release me. {place} should I go. **should I die** in {place} SUB, **should I become** in {place} **should I go** {place}, **should I go** {place}, **should I go** {place},

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	ğurbit-ō	**ā**	ẓank-ō	raf	xā	indarağ-an	xō.
if/when	sunset-the	SUB	woman –the	go:3sREAL	house	neighbour –PL	REFL

'When it was sunset, the woman went to her neighbours' house.'

(593) S272

sā	wa	ṭabil-an	šnuft-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.'

9.4.2.4.2 Location clauses

(594) B1031

inda	qiṣr-ō	**ā**,	sā	mardk-ō	pā	yē	drāẓ.
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	ditk-ō	y'=ā,
want:IMPF-1s	2s	room -a	do:2sIMPER	in	3s	SUB	for	girl -the	DEM=SUB

nwāẓ	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

(596) P608

ẓank-ō	yak	mā	sō	**ā**,	xwaš	wābur.
woman- -the	one	month	survive:3sIRR	SUB	well	become:3sREAL

'The woman, surviving one month, became well.'

9.4.2.4.5 Circumstantial clauses

(597) B647

jōr-in	šan	**ā**,	axara	būr-in	pi	šan.
search:IMPF-3p	3p	SUB	delayed	become:REAL-3p	from	3p

'By searching for them, they were delayed by them.'

9.4.2.4.6 Simultaneous clauses

(598) S350

wa	xwaft-ī	**ā**,	ditk-ē	āmad.
if/when	sleep:PERF-2s	SUB	girl -a	come:3sREAL

'While you were asleep, a girl came.'

9.4.2.4.7 Additive clauses

(599) S31

č-um	na	**ā**	xāna	na	**ā**,	tany-um	na	ēwō	na.
go:IMPF-1s	NEG	SUB	marriage	NEG	SUB	stay:IMPF-1s	NEG	here	NEG

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

9.4.2.4.8 Conditional clauses

Kumzari has several ways of expressing conditionality, both real and unreal, and including present, habitual, hypothetical and predictive, as well as counterfactual. Much of the semantics of conditionals depends on which verb forms are used with them, rather than having a direct or exact correspondence with other systems.

All of these subordinating conjunctions are clause-initial, and generally must take the clause-final subordinating enclitic *ā*. Similarly to the negative particle in Kumzari, the subordinator *ā* must be marked on each complement. In the same category as *ā* is another clause-final subordinator *bēw*, used much less often but having semantics of sequentiality and certainty, such as 'having done so'; thus it cannot be used with the unreality conditionals.

9.4.2.4.8.1 Clauses with *wa* 'if/when'

The conditional of reality is *wa*. It is clause-initial, and occurs on the subordinated clause It is the most common subordinating conjunction of conditionality, and it is also a subordinating conjunction of temporal adverbial clauses on noun phrases:

(600) B54

wa	bang-ō	ā,	yak-ē	mālāḷḷā	āmad	ba	kāra-ō.
if/when	dusk –the	SUB	one –a	beggar	come:3sREAL	to	gate -the

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

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

(601) A79

sā	tō	**wa**	č-ī	ḥijj	ā,	br-ī	ba	mqāwlan.
now	2s	if/when	go:IMPF-2s	hajj.pilgrimage	SUB	go:IRR-2s	to	travel.agency

'Now **if** you go on the Hajj pilgrimage, you go to [a] travel agency.'

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	jīr-iš	ā,	ditk-ō	dil	yē	bẓand-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

lāẓum	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	rōẓ-ō	raft-um	ā,	tēmuš-um	xiẓinā-ō	**wa**	ẓīs-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 imperfect verb, *wana* is predictive:

(608) N18

wana	šnēw-a	tō	ā,	tikš-a	tō.
if/when	hear:IMPF-3s	2s	SUB	kill:IMPF-3s	2s

'**If** he hears you, he will kill you.'

With an irrealis verb, *wana* is hypothetical:

(609) B124

mā	**wana**	šū	mā	aft-ta	rōr	wā	yē	ā,	yak-ē	čōt,
1p	if/when	husband	1p	seven-COUNT	child	with	3s	SUB	one –a	go:3sIRR

šaš	kas	wā	yē.
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 *ā*, denotes a threat:

(610) R124

ād	ba	mē	ayya	ẓāmē	xōr-ē,	šamšir-ē	**wana**	tukš-um	tō.
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

wana	dar-ō	wākiš,	**wana**	nwāẓ	nijjar-an	tār-um.
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

ka	sā	ādam-ē	dgur	jāga	mē	ā,	qaṣṣa	sar	tō	tk-a.
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

ka	sō'-um	tō	rē'in	inda	asp-ē	ā,	ḥata	asp-ō	byār-um,
if/when	put:IMPF-1s	2s	bond	in	horse –a	SUB	so.that	horse –the	bring:IRR-1s

āxur	dug-um	tō.
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.'

(614) U280

ka	čwānid-iš	bā	tō	ba	sālfit	ā,	yē	dug-ī	ẓēnī	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 *wa* without *ā* meaning 'whether', the discourse marker of listing parallelism *ka* probably has its origins in the conditional *ka* without *ā*:

(615) G765

sā	mā	yā	ğēla-an	dī'-im	ba	tō.	**ka**	āẓar	man-an
now	1p	DEM	wheat -PL	give:IMPF-1p	to	2s	if/when	thousand	measure –PL

wa	**ka**	panj	ṣad	man-an	wa	**ka**	dō	āẓar	man-an,
and	if/when	five	hundred	measure –PL	and	if/when	two	thousand	measure –PL

dī'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 *kana* 'otherwise'

The counterfactual unreality conditional is *kana*. This example shows the contrast of *kana* with the unreality conditional *ka*:

(616) R1256

ka	č-um	ẓēran	čō-ō	ā,	ar	šaš	kas-an	šmā	ma'r=ē,
if/when	go:IMPF-1s	down	well –the	SUB	each	six	PERS –PL	2p	tattoo =EX:2p

ma'r	bẓēn-um	ba	kūn-an	šmā.	wa	**kana**	č-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, *kana* contrasts with the reality conditional *wa*:

(617) R902

wa	jinjāwir	ā,	ar	sbū'-ē	čō	ẓēran	wālēyit
if/when	master.sorcerer	TOP	each	week –a	go:3sIMPF	down	country

šēx-ō	ā,	ditk-ē	txōr-a.	**kana**	āw	qaṭa'a
sheikh -the	SUB	girl –a	eat:IMPF-3s	otherwise	water	cutting.off

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*, *kana* is the substitutive disjunction 'instead' or 'rather' (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:263):

(618) K460

dō’-um	ba	tō	čō-ē	palla	āw.	wa	ṣabaḥa	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	šārar,	iš	inda	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	fãnd-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	č-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:2sIMPER	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,	dinyē'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[95] 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	šan	č-in	**ā**,	yē	tay	ḥawṭ-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

č-um	pi	šmā	**ā**,	wa	barq-an	wa	bāram-an	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

[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 & Aikenvald 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	**ǧēlā-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	**tay**	**wālēyit-ō**	**ā**,	čāẓ	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

nwāẓ	**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

nwāẓ	**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	←----------matrix clause----------→		
←----------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:

(634) S762

sā	gnūnud-in	**inna**	ẓank-ē	wā	yē	rāstī.
now	believe:REAL-3p	that(oath)	woman -a	with	3s	true

'Now they believed the **oath that** he had a wife was true.'

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,	ẓangērir	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**.']

(639) U476
xujm-ō tkum.
work -the do:1sIMPF
'I will do **the work**.'

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 *mardk-ē šām txōra* 'a man was eating supper.'

(640) G398
tamna ā **mardk-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 TAMM 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 (*awa* '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** …']

9.4.2.5.3.2 Participles

Complementation may use a perfect participial form of the verb:

(642) R422
tēmiš-um xēẓina-ō wa **ẓīs-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-iš 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!"?']