11 Complement clause type and complementation strategy in Kambera
Marian Klamer


1 Introduction

Kambera is spoken by approximately 150,000 speakers in the eastern region of the island of Sumba (province Nusa Tenggara Timur) in Eastern Indonesia. In non-coastal and rural areas of the region, the language is still being spoken by children, while the absence of secondary education and mass media in these areas also limits the influence of Indonesian. Kambera is thus not an endangered language in number of speakers. It is classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup of Austronesian languages (cf. Blust 1993). Native speakers refer to the language as hilu Humba, the ‘Sumba language’ (in contrast to hilu Jawa ‘Indonesian’). In the past it has been referred to as ‘Sumbanesch’ (Wielenga 1909), ‘Sumba(a)sch’ (Onvlee 1925), ‘Kamberaas’ (Onvlee 1984), and ‘Bahasa Sumba/Kambera’ (Kapita 1982) and Klamer (1998a) is a recent grammar of the language while Klamer (2005) presents a short overview of it. Additional references on Kambera can be found in these publications. The information presented in this chapter is based on a corpus of 12-hours of spontaneous speech, plus additional elicitation, collected in Sumba during 12 months of fieldwork between 1991 and 1994. All speakers are native speakers, and come from the same village (cf. Klamer 1998a: 4-6). Kambera has one type of complement clause, as well as one complementation strategy, and both are discussed in this chapter.

2 Grammatical overview

Kambera is a head-marking language. A Kambera sentence is build on the basis of a ‘nuclear’ (or ‘minimal’) clause, which consists of a predicate phrase (PredP) (a verbal or
nominal phrase that functions as the predicate of the clause) as well as a clitic cluster
attached to that PredP.

The grammatical relations assumed for Kambera are intransitive subject (S), transitive
subject (A), and transitive object (O). These grammatical relations are marked on the
predicate by pronominal clitics. Kambera has two types of O: primary (direct) O (Patients,
Themes), and secondary (indirect) O (Recipients, Benefactives, Goals, Locations), and both
may be marked (also simultaneously) on the PredP.

The pronominal reference system of Kambera is rather complex (see Klamer 1997,
1998a,b, 2000), but for the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to present only the
following few basic facts. In a declarative, transitive clause the PredP has a verbal head, the
A is canonically nominative, and the O accusative (primary O) or dative (secondary O), see
(1). The NPs between brackets are syntactically optional.

(1) (na tau wütu) na-palu-ka (nyungga)¹
   ART person be.fat 3sg.NOM-hit-1s.ACC  I

   ‘The big man hit me’

The sentences in (2) illustrate how objects are marked. In case of a ditransitive verb, the
secondary O is always crossreferenced, as in (2a). In addition, the primary O may be
crossreferenced if it is definite, as in (2b). In such cases, it follows the secondary O marking
clitic. In this position, it must be dative because of clitic cluster restrictions.
(2) a. (i Ama) na-kei-nja rif
   ART father 3sg.NOM-buy.for-3p.DAT vegetable
   ‘Father buys them vegetables’ (indefinite Patient)

b. (i Ama) na-kei-ngga-nya
   ART father 3sg.NOM-buy-1sg.DAT-3sg.DAT
   ‘Father buys it for me’ (definite Patient)

Whether or not an O is crossreferenced depends on the grammatical definiteness of the referent NP. Definiteness is marked by the presence of an article: na for singualars, da for plurals, i for humans. NPs that are crossreferenced on the predicate are optionally doubled, usually for emphasis or disambiguation.

In the discussion on complement clauses below, the main criterion to analyse nominal clauses as verbal complements is the fact that they may receive overt marking as arguments of the main verb only when they are definite (i.e., have an article).

S is canonically nominative:

(3) [na ài] na-tambuta [dàngu amung]
   ART wood 3sg.NOM-drop.out with root
   ‘That tree is uprooted’

There are, however, other common strategies to mark S. They include: (i) using a combination of a genitive plus a third person singular dative clitic. This marking of S expresses that the clause has continuative aspect (Klamer 2000); (ii) using a genitive clitic.
Clauses with a genitive subject are referred to as ‘nominal clauses’, and are the topic of §6 below.

The unmarked constituent word order in a Kambera transitive declarative clause is (A)VO, though VOA and VAO are often attested as well (for V, one may also read PredP). What these configurations share is that their O follows the PredP, i.e., the canonical O position is postverbal. For intransitive clauses the basic word order is VS, though SV is also often attested.

The relative freedom of constituent order in Kambera has to do with the fact that Kambera argument relations are generally marked by the pronominal clitics, rather than by changes in constituent order. In fact, since the full NPs (if present) are used for disambiguation or emphasis, we expect their order to be rather free.

In addition to the variable position of NPs, the distributional properties of the argument marking clitics also show a lot of variation. Representing clitics marking S, A, and O as {s, a, o} attached to the PredP (where ‘o’ is either an indirect object (‘io’) or a direct object (‘do’)), two major types of clitic orders are attested; one where A/S is marked with a (nominative) proclitic: a-PredP-o; a-PredP-io-do, s-PredP; and another where A/S is marked with an enclitic: PredP-a-o; PredP-a-io-do; PredP-s. The former type is the standard type, while the latter includes includes for example nominal clauses (see §6), and clauses with a non-verbal predicate (cf. (5) and (6) below). (For more information, see Klamer 1998a).

In other words, a uniform statement concerning either the order of nominal constituents or the pronominal markers in Kambera is difficult to make. For the purpose of this chapter, it suffices to say that definite O constituents are marked on the verb as enclitics, and if they are (also) expressed as NPs, these canonically follow the verb; just like the S marking NPs.

In addition to the pronominal clitics marking the grammatical relations, a nuclear clause also contains clitics that mark modal and aspectual notions of the clause. The entire clitic
cluster may contain up to nine clitics. The following is an example of a clause with one verb and six clitics: three mark emphasis/mood, two are pronominal and one marks iterative aspect:

(4) njëpu-ma-du-a-na-nya-i           nú, na ngara ngia uhu
    finished- EMP-EMP-MOD-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT-ITER DIST ART way place rice
    ‘Thus it is finished, (the story about) the way to grow rice’

A Kambera sentence may start with a topicalised, left-dislocated constituent, which may be followed by a conjunction and a negation. Maximally two NPs precede the Pred P plus clitic cluster, maximally two follow it. Postpredicate NPs are followed by locational adjuncts (PPs).

3 Major clause types

Syntactically, Kambera has two major clause types: clauses with a verbal predicate, and clauses with a non-verbal (nominal, numeral, locational) predicate. In verbal clauses, the marking of S/A is variable (e.g., nominative, genitive, genitive & dative), in non-verbal clauses, the S is always accusative. Kambera has no copular verb.

(5) [tau hàmu ]-ya          (6) [lai nú]pp-ya
    person be.good-3sg.ACC   LOC DIST-3sg. ACC
    ‘s/he’s a good person’   ‘s/he/it (is) there’

Since nominal predicates are inherently states rather than events, the S of a nominal predicate is not a controlling participant. This absence of control makes the S of nominal predicates similar to the O of transitive predicates.²
4 Major word classes

Nominals are distinct from verbs because they may be marked for definiteness by an article (cf. above). Nouns can also be quantified by a numeral phrase, and modified by a demonstrative and/or an emphatic pronoun:

(7) [[[ tailu mbua [mbola] nuna] una]
     three CLF basket DIST.3sg. EMPH.3sg.

‘THOSE three baskets’

Typical verbal properties include (i) functioning as a predicate with a nominative S/A, and (ii) the possibility of being modified by a verbal adverb, e.g. tika ‘almost’.

Within the category of verbs, intransitive verbs can be distinguished from transitive ones because they have only one semantic argument. As a result, they cannot occur in transitive syntactic constructions. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, have at least two semantic arguments, so if it is at all possible to use a verb with two arguments crossreferenced on the verb, I assume it is transitive. (Of course, arguments of any verb may be left implicit, to be inferred from the context.)

Kambera has no exclusively nominal morphology. There are affixes that derive only verbs: pa- derives causatives, and -ng derives applicative verbs. There are no structural arguments to distinguish a separate lexical category of adjectives in the language, but it does have a separate category of adverbs (cf. Klamer 1998a).
5 Multi-clausal sentences

Kambera has six conjunctions, and all of them are coordinating. Clause coordination as well as juxtaposition are frequently used strategies to combine clauses. Kambera has three types of clauses that occur as embedded clauses: nominal clauses, controlled clauses and relative clauses. Examples (8)-(10) illustrate the contrast between a coordinated clause, a nominal clause and a controlled clause. Coordinated clauses are two independent clauses combined by a conjunction, e.g. ba in (8). Nominal clauses, as in (9), have a genitive subject, and may be marked on the main verb by a pronominal enclitic (here -nya). Clauses with a controlled subject, as in (10), cannot be crossreferenced as the O of the main verb and are thus not considered syntactic complements of that verb -- more explanation is given in §7 below.

(8) Coordination with ba ‘as, when, while, because’:
ku-parahaya-ya ba nda na-kambalik

1sg.NOM-trust-3sg.ACC CONJ NEG 3sg.NOM-lie

‘I trust him because he doesn’t lie’

(9) Nominal clause crossreferenced as O of main verb:
nda ku-pí-nya [na kambalik-mu] NPj

NEG 1sg.NOM-know-3sg.DAT ART lie-2sg.GEN

‘I didn’t know that you were lying/I didn’t know about your lies’

(10) Embedded clause with controlled subject
ku-parahaya-ya pa nda kambalik

1sg. NOM-trust-3sg.ACC CTR-NEG lie

‘I trust him not to lie’
Table 1 presents an overview of the Kambera verbs that take a nominal complement clause (see §6.1), which verbs take a controlled clause strategy (see §7), and which verbs may take both. The table also indicates which verbs have been attested with a quotative construction (see §8). The table represents what is in my corpus, but in fact complement clauses and complementation strategies may apply to further verbs. An empty box means that the construction is not attested in my database; it is unclear whether its absence means that it is ungrammatical or that it is low in frequency. (For logistic reasons, I have not been able to consult native speakers on Sumba island for this chapter.)

**INSERT TABLE 1 HERE**

The verbs namu ‘to love’ and namung ‘to remember fondly’\(^{13}\) are included in Table 1 for comparative reasons, although they have neither been attested with nominal complement clauses, nor with controlled structures -- instead, they take concrete O’s and occur in coordination structures. The verbs in the ‘Manipulation’ group express a concept where A manipulates O. This manipulation may involve speech, but the Manipulation verbs differ from Speaking verbs because they occur with an object-control clause rather than a quotative construction.

There are a few verbs that score in both the nominal complement column and the controlled clause column. Examples are pingu, njadi, and monung. As indicated in the table, the semantics of these verb change under influence of the type of embedded clause. For example, pingu with a subject controlled clause means ‘to be able to, can’ (see (12)), while pingu with a nominal complement clause is translated as ‘to know (about) something’, (see (19)). Similar differences are found with njadi with a controlled clause (‘to be able’) versus njadi
plus nominal complement clause (‘to be appropriate, to be possible’), and monung with a controlled clause (‘to hope’) versus monung with a nominal complement clause (‘to trust’).

6 Nominal clauses

The first identifying feature of Kambera nominal clauses is that they mark their S/A with a genitive enclitic, as in (11):

(11) [na apu-mu], katuda-naga [la pinu bolsak]-ka una...

   ART  granny-2sg.GEN  sleep-3sg.GEN  LOC  top  mattress-PRF  EMP.3sg.

   ‘Your granny, she will sleep on a mattress...’

Though they are syntactically independent, the discourse status of nominal clauses is dependent – usually, they represent the background information for a clause that is more prominent in the discourse, while the S/A of the nominal verb is presented as part of the event/situation expressed by the predicate more than an actively involved participant.

Nominal clauses may be independent clauses, as well as the main clause in a multi-clause construction, taking for example a controlled clause, as in (12):

(12) ...ba nda [lalu pingu hàmu]-a-naga [pa-kareuk] Concl

   CONJ  NEG  too  know  be.good-MOD-3sg.GEN  CTR-talk

   ‘...because he can’t talk very well yet’

Kambera nominal clauses have the external syntax of possessed NPs. They can be clefted, as well as compared:
(13) [hama pingu-mi₃] [dàngu [ama-mi]ₜₚ]ₚₚ
be.same know-2pl.GEN with father-2pl.GEN

‘You (pl) and your fathers are equally bright’

They may be marked for definiteness with an article (sg. na, pl. da), as illustrated in (14). The function of the article na in this example is to make the nominal clause definite so that it can be the referent of the definite demonstrative pronoun nuna ‘that one’ in the first clause.

(14) muda-a nuna, jáka jia [na pala-nda₃]
easily-just DIST.3sg if EXIST ART cross-3pl.GEN

‘That’s easy for us to cross’ (lit.: ‘ Easily that one, if (it's) our crossing’)

If a nominal clause is definite, it can be crossreferenced as an argument of the main verb.

This is further discussed below.

Internally, Kambera nominal clauses are similar to verbal clauses: they may contain mood and aspect clitics, as in (15a), as well as negations, as in (16). Such grammatical elements cannot occur inside possessed NPs, as illustrated in (15b).

(15) a. hili mandai-ma-na₃-i...
again be.long-EMP-3sg.GEN-ITER

‘It (was) some time later...’

b. * uma-ma-na-i

house-EMP-3sg.GEN-ITER
(16) panau-nya nyuna ka àmbu palu-naŋ-njaŋ-i [da ana-na]
tell-3sg.DAT he CONJ NEG.ïrr hit-3sg.GEN-3pl.DAT-ITER ART child-3sg.GEN

‘Tell him that he shouldn’t hit his children (anymore)’

Note that all of the nominal clauses discussed above are independent, i.e. they do not function as S/A or O of a main verb. There are, however, nominal clauses that do occur in such functions. Since this is a chapter on clausal complementation, the remaining part of this subsection will focus on those, though it is important to note that in my database nominal clauses that function as complements of a main verb are a tiny minority as compared to the nominal clauses that are syntactically independent.⁴

6.1. Nominal clauses as complement clauses

In (17) the nominal clause is marked as the S of the main verb hàmu ‘be good’. The nominal clause is a definite NP and follows the main verb. Its S is expressed as the enclitic -na on ludu ‘sing’, and the nominal clause also contains an S NP and a temporal adjunct.

(17) nda na₃-hàmu ndoku <na ludu-na na tau la rudung>₈
NEG 3SG.NOM-be.good NEG.EMPH ART sing-3sg.GEN ART person LOC night

‘That people sing at night is not nice at all’

In (18) the nominal clause functions again as the S of the main verb, but now it precedes the main verb. Note that the complement clause refers to the entire event of the meeting, not to for example the manner in which the meeting took place.⁵
(18)  \(<\text{na} \text{ hambur-na-nja}>_{\text{s}} \text{nda } \text{na}_{\text{s}}-\text{njadi-a}\>

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
ART & meet-3sg.GEN-3PL.DAT \\
NEG & 3SG.NOM-be.appropriate- MOD
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘His meeting of them (i.e. the fact that he met them) was inappropriate’

In (19) we find a nominal clause in O function. It follows the main verb, i.e. appears in the canonical position for O NPs:

(19)  \(<\text{nda} \text{ ku-pí-nya}_{\text{o}} \text{ <na} \text{ karuhi-na } \text{banda}>_{\text{o}}\>

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & 1sg.NOM-know-3sg.DAT \\
ART & demand-3sg.GEN cattle
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘I do not know about his demanding cattle’

A nominal complement clause can contain a negation. It can also contain two NP arguments, as in (20) and (21) where the O is a definite NP and the A is part of an NP headed by parai ‘work’. A nominal clause that contains an S NP is illustrated in (22).

(20)  \(<\text{na}-\text{ita-ya}_{\text{o}}\>

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
3sg.NOM-see-3sg.ACC & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{<na katáku-na-nya} & [\text{na hamayang-na} [\text{parai-na i Ama-na}>_{\text{o}} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
ART & accept-3SG.GEN-3SG.DAT & ART & pray-S.GEN & work-3SG.GEN & ART & father-3sg.GEN
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘He sees that his prayer is accepted by his father’

(lit. he sees his acceptance of his prayer (as) the work of his father)

(21)  \(<\text{ba lalu ita } \text{dá-na-nya}_{\text{o}}-\text{i-ka nû, } [...] \text{ <na lalu mbuha-na-nya}\>

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
CONJ & too & see & be-3sg.GEN-3sg.DAT-ITER-PRF DIST & ART & too & like-3sg.GEN-3sg.DAT
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘...because he saw only too well the big liking’
(22) ku-manggadipa-nyaO <na meti-na na ama-nggu>O
1sg.NOM-dream-3sg.DAT ART die-3sg.GEN ART father-1sg.GEN
‘I dreamed about my father dying’

The O of the main verb in (22) is -nya and this enclitic is coreferent with the nominal clause as a whole – that is, the event of my father dying. If the clitic had been referring to my father --who died-- the sentence would have been:

(23) ku-manggadipa-nyaO ba na-meti na ama-nggu
1sg.NOM-dream-3sg.DAT CONJ 3sg.NOM-die ART father-1sg.GEN
‘I dreamed about him, that he (my father) died’

Since only definite O’s are crossreferenced, an indefinite nominal clause cannot be crossreferenced with an O marking clitic on the main verb. An illustration is (24).

Articles mark definiteness in Kambera, and since the nominal clause lacks an article, it is grammatically definite and cannot be marked on the main verb. Instead, it occurs in a coordination. Note also that the O of pàda ‘notice’ in the first clause refers to a person, and has the same referent as the S of the nominal clause (na ama-nggu ‘my father’). This is not an instance of argument raising, since the argument is marked twice – in the first as well as the second clause.
(24) hina-ka hi ku-pà-da-ya ba <mbe-ni-na na ama-nggu>
   newly-PRF CONJ 1sg.NOM-notice-3sg.ACC CONJ be.angry-3sg.GEN ART father-1sg.GEN

‘Only then did I notice him, that my father was angry’

In conclusion, Kambera nominal clauses are clauses with a genitive subject that may be
marked for definiteness, and occur in comparative constructions in the same way that NPs do.
They are generally used as syntactically independent clauses, may be juxtaposed or coordinated
to another clause, or govern a controlled clause. The internal structure of nominal clauses is
verbal: they contain negations and modal and aspectual clitics. Nominal clauses function as
complement clauses when they are cross-referenced as the S or O of a main verb. (I have no
examples of nominal clauses in A function.) Nominal complement clauses are, however, a
small minority in my database; the majority of the nominal clauses is grammatically
independent. In addition, I have found no examples of nominal complement clauses which
contain negations and/or aspect or mood enclitics. To me this suggests that such configurations
are either ungrammatical or very marked.

7 Complementation strategy: Controlled clauses

A second type of embedded clause in Kambera I refer to as ‘controlled’ clauses. Controlled
clauses follow a main verb, and are introduced by a marker of subordination, the proclitic
pa. In (25a-b) the contrast between coordination and control is illustrated.
(25) a. Two coordinated clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
ta-pakiring & \quad [ka \quad ta-tinu-nya \quad na \quad lau \quad haromu]_{\text{ContrCl}} \\
1pl.NOM-start & \quad \text{CONJ} \quad 1pl.NOM-weave-3sg.DAT \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{sarong} \quad \text{tomorrow} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘We start (with this) so that we'll weave the sarong tomorrow’

b. Main and controlled clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
ta-pakiring & \quad [pa-tinu-nya \quad na \quad lau \quad haromu]_{\text{ContrCl}} \\
1pl.NOM-start & \quad \text{CTR-weave-3sg.DAT} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{sarong} \quad \text{tomorrow} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘We start to weave the sarong tomorrow’

By definition, controlled clauses do not have an overt S/A. Their S/A is implied and coreferent with an argument of the main verb - either the main S/A (‘subject control’, shown as ‘Subj’ in Table 1), as in (26), or the main O (‘object control’, shown as ‘Obj’ in Table 1), as in (27):

(26) pareta-ya \quad ka \quad na-pingu \quad [pa-ràma]_{\text{ContrCl}}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{instruct-3sg.ACC} & \quad \text{CONJ} \quad 3sg.NOM-know \quad \text{CTR-work} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Instruct him so he knows what to do’

(27) paràha-na-nja-ka, \quad [pa-laku \quad [pa-himbu \quad iyang]_{\text{ContrCl}}} \quad \text{ContrCl}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{command-3sg.GEN-3pl.DAT-PRF} & \quad \text{CTR-go} \quad \text{CTR-search} \quad \text{fish} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He commanded them to go and look for fish’

In a controlled clause the controlled S/A cannot be expressed, with neither a nominative nor a genitive (nor any clitic), compare (28a-b):
(28) a. ku-parahaya-ya [pa-nda kambàlik]ContCl

   1sg.NOM-trust-3sg.ACC CTR-NEG lie

   ‘I trust him not to lie’

   b. ku-parahaya-ya pa-nda *na-kambàlik / *kambàlik-na

   1sg.NOM-trust-3sg.ACC CTR-NEG 3SG.NOM-lie lie-3sg.GEN

Controlled clauses are not analysed as syntactic complements of the main verb for two reasons. First, because the verb heading a controlled clause may be intransitive and have its own S, so that the controlled clause cannot be the syntactic argument of the main verb.

Examples are the verb lua ‘go’ in the second part of (29), and laku and mài in (30) and (31):

(29) parenggang [pa-taku wài]ContCl ka u-lua [pa-manahu]ContCl

   hasten CTR-draw water CONJ 2sg.NOM-go CTR-cook

   ‘Quickly draw some water (from the well) so you can go cooking’

(30) na-laku mài-pa [pa-hili karai-ka]ContCl

   3sg.NOM-go come-IMPF CTR-again ask-1sg.ACC

   ‘He came yet again to ask me again’

(31) na-mài [pa-danggang winu]ContCl

   3SG.NOM-come CTR-sell betel.nut

   ‘He came to sell betel nut’
The second reason why controlled clauses are not considered syntactic arguments of the main verb is because they cannot be marked as such with clitics on the main verb. If the main verb is transitive, it can of course have an O marking enclitic attached to it, but this clitic always refers to a concrete entity, i.e. never to the (proposition of the) controlled clause. This is illustrated in (32)-(33). If the O of the main verb and the O of the embedded verb refer to the same person, this person is cliticised on both verbs.

(32) nda ku-mbuha-a-nggau-pa pa-lei-nggau
    NEG 1sg.NOM-want-MOD-2sg.DAT-IMPF CTR-have.as.husband-2sg.DAT
    ‘I no longer want you for a husband’

(33) na-bâtir-nggga pa-pa-meti-ka nyungga
    3sg.NOM-threaten-1sg.DAT CTR-CAU-die-1sg.ACC I
    ‘He threatens to kill me’

The internal structure of controlled clauses is more restricted than main clauses, because they (i) always lack an overt S/A, and (ii) do not have their own aspect and mood markers. At the same time, controlled clauses may have their own negation, as in (28), and also contain adverbs, as well as full object NPs, as illustrated in (34), which contains the adverb *mema*(ng) as well as the O NP *da makudu* ‘the small ones’:

(34) jàka u-mbuhang [pa-kahau mema-nja da ma-kudu]ContrCl
    if 2sg.NOM-want CTR-separate immediately-3pl.DAT ART REL-be.small
    ‘If you want to separate the small ones immediately...’
A sequence of several controlled clauses must involve either subject or object control; a combination of both is ungrammatical, as a comparison of (35a,b,c) shows.

(35) a. ta-parâha-ya pâ-kaliti njara
   1pl.NOM-force-3sg.DAT CTR-ride horse
   ‘We forced him to ride a horse’

   b. ta-kama nyâ, pâ-parâha-ya, ka na-kaliti njara
   1pl.NOM-try-3sg.DAT CTR-force-3sg.ACC CONJ 3sg.NOM-ride horse
   ‘We tried to force him to ride a horse’ (lit.: ‘...to force him so he rides a horse’)

   c. *ta-kama-nya pâ-parâha-ya pâ-kaliti njara
   1pl.NOM-try-3sg.DAT CTR-force-3sg.ACC CTR-ride horse
   Intended reading: ‘We tried to force him to ride a horse’

In conclusion, Kambera control clauses are a complementation strategy where the S/A or O of the main verb (transitive or intransitive) is coreferent with the unexpressed S/A of the embedded verb. In a number of respects, the Kambera control clauses are similar to the Potential type of complement clauses discussed in Chapter 1. However, since they are not a syntactic complement of the main verb and cannot be crossreferenced as an argument of it, they are not considered complement clauses in this book.
8 Perception verbs and the quotative construction

In § 6 we saw that the verb *ita* ‘see’ has a nominal clause complement if the perception is of an activity or an event rather than a person, cf. (20) and (21). *Rongu* ‘hear’ also takes a nominal clause complement in (36):

(36) na-rongu-ya₂ <na kareuku-na i Peteru >₀
    3sg.NOM-hear-3sg.ACC ART talk-3sg.GEN ART Peter

‘He heard Peter(’s) talking.’

However, perception verbs taking nominal complement clauses appear to be marginal. More often, the event/activity is expressed in a coordinated clause, as in (37), or as part of a complex NP, as in (38).

(37) da-rongu-ka ba na-ngândi-ya-ka tau kawini
    3pl.NOM-hear-PERV CONJ 3sg.NOM-take-3sg.ACC-PERV person woman

‘They heard that he had already taken a wife.’

(38) nda i-rongu-a nyimi tau kaphi?  
    NEG 2pl.NOM-hear-MOD you.pl person to.fart

‘Didn’t you all hear someone farting?’ (lit.’...hear a farting person?’)

In the majority of cases, *ita* and *rongu* have a personal O, followed by a coordinated clause, as illustrated in (39a) and (40a). Here, the O-marking enclitic cannot be used to refer to an event or an activity, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (39b), (40b), and *ita/rongu* cannot govern a controlled clause, as (39c), (40c) illustrate.
(39) a. na-ita-ka ba ku-wu-a mbuku
   3sg.NOM-see-1sg.g.ACC CONJ 1sg.NOM-give-3sg.DAT book
   ‘He saw me when I gave him a book.’

b. *na-ita-ya ba ku-wu-a mbuku
   3sg.NOM-see-3sg.ACC CONJ 1sg.NOM-give-3sg.DAT book
   Intended reading: ‘He saw it, (that) I gave him a book.’

c. *na-ita-ka pa-wu-a mbuku
   3sg.NOM-see-1sg.ACC CTR-give-3sg.DAT book
   Intended reading: ‘He saw me giving a book.’

(40) a. ku-ron-gu-kau ba u-lu-du wângu lulu hali
   1sg.NOM-hear -2sg.ACC CONJ 2sg.NOM-sing use song holy
   ‘I heard you singing hymns.’ (lit. ‘I heard you while you sang using hymns.’)

   b. * ku-ron-gu-ya ba u-lu-du
   c. * ku-ron-gu-kau pa-lu-du

Since it reports audible perception, the verb *ron-gu* is also frequently attested in combination with a quotative construction.

In a similar way, the verbs of speaking in Table 1 (e.g., *paning* ‘to tell’, *parâha* ‘command, force’) do not occur with a nominal complement clause but rather with a coordinated clause. They usually have the addressee as their O, followed by a direct quote.
A Kambera quotative construction consists of a direct quote juxtaposed to and followed by the verb *wà* ‘say’, as illustrated in the second clause of (41) below. *Wà* is an intransitive verb used to report speech (among other perceived events, cf. Klamer 2002). Its S is the speaker and is marked with a genitive enclitic. *Wà* can be derived with the applicative suffix -*ng* to become a transitive verb, in which case the additional O refers to the Addressee. The quote itself is never a syntactic argument of *wà*. Kambera speech reports are always expressed by quotative constructions; Kambera syntax does not distinguish direct and indirect speech.

(41) ‘...ka tàka ku-rongu-a-ya-i hamatuna i Umbu Mada,

CONJ arrive 1sg.NOM-hear-MOD-3sg.ACC-ITER with.respect.to ART Sir Mada

‘...but then when I heard Sir Mada again,

“ka ndia” wà-na-ma-a-ngga-i’.

CONJ NEG say.APPLIC-3sg.3GEN-MOD-MOD-1sg.DAT-ITER

he did deny it to me once again’ (lit. ‘he did say “no” to me again’)

The quotative construction is also used to express thoughts as internal speech, which may be preceded by a clause containing a verb of thinking such as *patandang* ‘think about’:

(42) ana patandang-na-nya-ka dá la eti,

DIM think.about-3sg.3GEN-3sg.DAT-PERV inside LOC liver

he thought about her for a bit in his heart,

‘jia na ina-nggu-ka ihi’, wà-na

exist ART mother-1sg.GEN-PERV maybe say-3sg.GEN

‘maybe (she’s) my mother’, he thought (lit. ‘maybe my mother exists’, he said).
Kambera has no plain verb ‘to think’, *patandang* and *pangàdang* always take as their O an object thought about. Kambera has borrowed the verb *pikir* ‘to think’ from Indonesian, but in Kambera, *pikir* also has an O with a personal referent, while a coordinated quotative clause expresses the thought itself:

(43) ‘ais’, na-pikir-ya, ‘ka tobu-nya na ana njara...’

EXCL 3sg.NOM-think-3sg.ACC CONJ kill-3sg.DAT ART child horse

‘Oh no’, he thought of him (i.e. his child), ‘if the foul is killed...’

9 Summary and conclusions

Kambera has only one type of complement clause, the nominal complement clause, but this type is not so frequently attested. In general, clause coordination is the preferred strategy to express notions that other languages may express by complement clauses. The coordinated clause may be a simple main clause, but it may also be a quote -- especially if the first verb is a verb of speaking or thinking. A very productive complementation strategy is the one where the main verb takes a controlled clause, whose S/A is empty and coreferent with either the S/A or the O of the main verb.

In Kambera, negation is expressed with a clause-initial negator, as illustrated in (17), (28a), and (38). Notions of causation and permission are expressed by deriving a verb with the causative prefix *pa* (cf. Klamer 1998a).
References


Klamer, Marian. 1998b. ‘Kambera intransitive argument linking’. Studia Linguistica 52.2.77-111.


Amsterdam: John Benjamins.


### Notes

1. Some conventions for Kambera orthography: ng = [ŋ], nγg = [ŋg], j = [ʒ], nj = [ŋj], ny = [ŋj], b = [ɓ], d = [ɗ], à = [ɐ], ā [aː], í = [iː], ū = [uː].

2. Elsewhere (Klamer 1998a, To appear) I describe how the accusative is used to mark (i) the S of imperatives, (ii) S’s with a generic or impersonal referent, and (iii) S’s of stative verbs that are modified for degree. In addition, the accusative is an option for all intransitive verbs to express (iv) an S that is less in control than it would canonically be expected. The common denominator in all these cases is that S lacks control of the situation/event described by the predicate.

3. Namu-ng is morphologically related to namu. The productive function of the suffix –ng is to derive applicatives, but its function in today’s namung is not (or no longer) transparent.

4. In this section, I discuss a subset of the clauses that are called ‘nominal clauses’ in Klamer 1998a (section 4.2): those nominal clauses that function like verbal arguments and are crossreferenced by a pronominal clitic on the verb are referred to as nominal complement clauses. Klamer (1998a: 315-316) also recognises that these clauses occur as one of the three types of subordinate clauses in Kambera.

5. The latter notion would be expressed using hori ‘custom’ and a relative clause:

   (i) na hori pa-hambur-na-nja nda na-njadi-a

   ART custom REL-meet-3sg.GEN-3pl.DAT NEG 3sg.NOM-be.appropriate-MOD

   ‘The manner in which he met them was inappropriate.’
The morpheme *pa-* that introduces a complement clause is not a prefix but a clitic since it attaches to the edge of a syntactic phrase (the embedded clause) rather than to a morphological base (e.g. a verb), as can be seen in e.g. (28) and (30), where it attaches to a negation and an adverb respectively.

Klammer (1998a:338 v.v.) describes the Kambera controlled clauses in section 8.2 which is called ‘Complement clauses’. The arguments presented in the current chapter show that the Kambera controlled clauses are not actually syntactic complements of the main verb. In the terms of the present book, Klammer 1998: section 8.2 describes various ‘complementation strategies’ in Kambera.