Complement Clause Types and Complementation Strategies in Tariana

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1. Background

Tariana has four types of complement clauses and four complementation strategies which include nominalizations, sequential subordinate clauses, and serial verb constructions. Complement clauses can only occur in O function, while nominalizations can be used in any other function, except for A. Unlike objects expressed with noun phrases, neither complement clauses nor most nominalizations can be targets of passive or any other valency-changing derivation.

Tariana is an endangered North Arawak language spoken by about 100 people in the linguistic area of the Vaupés river basin (north-west Amazonia, Brazil). A fascinating property of this area is its institutionalized ‘multilingual exogamy’ operating between speakers of Tariana and of languages belonging to the East Tucanoan subgroup (with Tucano as its major representative). One can only marry a person who belongs to a different language group (that is, a Tariana can marry a Tucano, or a Wanano, but not another Tariana). There is a strong cultural inhibition against language mixing viewed in terms of borrowing morphemes. Long-term interaction between East Tucanoan languages and Tariana has resulted in the rampant diffusion of grammatical and semantic patterns (though not so much of forms) and calquing of categories. A detailed study of areal diffusion and marriage patterns is in Aikhenvald (2002a).¹

¹ Tariana used to be a continuum of numerous dialects (one for each of several hierarchically organized clans). The only dialect that survives is that of the Wamiarikune, the lowest-ranking clan; within it there are two varieties (Santa Rosa: all children but one do not speak the language) and Periquitos (children do speak the language; but the influence of East Tucanoan languages is stronger).
At present, Tucano is rapidly gaining ground as the major language of the area. As a result of this encroaching dominance, innovative speakers of Tariana display more Tucano-like patterns in their language than do traditional speakers.

A striking feature of Tariana is the way in which the language combines features shared with genetically related Arawak languages and patterns acquired via areal diffusion from genetically unrelated East Tucanoan languages; there are also independent innovations. Comparison with Baniwa of Içana and Piapoco, two North Arawak languages closely related to Tariana but spoken outside the Vaupés area, is particularly instructive. Tariana shares about 85–89 per cent lexicon with Baniwa and about 60–70 per cent with Piapoco; but their morphology and syntax are very different. The structure and usage of both complement clauses and complementation strategies have been affected by the rampant diffusion of patterns from the neighbouring East Tucanoan languages. A combination of areally diffused and inherited patterns partly accounts for the complexity of the Tariana complementation.

2. Typological profile and clause types

Tariana is a polysynthetic agglutinating language with some fusion. Its head-marking properties are inherited from the proto-language, while dependent marking was acquired by areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages (see detailed discussion in Aikhenvald 2002a). For instance, unlike most other Arawak languages, grammatical relations in Tariana are marked by cases, calquing an East Tucanoan pattern. Constituent order mostly depends on discourse; word order within some constituents is fixed and within others depends on what is in focus. Open classes are nouns and verbs; underived adjectives form a closed class of about thirty members.

Nominal categories are noun classes (with agreement marked on adjectives) and classifiers (on numerals, demonstratives, in possessive constructions, and on verbs in relative clauses); number; and case. Nouns are inflectionally complex (there can be double agreement in noun class; double marking of grammatical function; and double marking of number).

Verbal categories include tense (fused with evidentiality), various aspects, moods, valency-changing derivations, etc. The structure of a verbal word in Tariana is fairly complex. A simple predicate has one prefix position, up to nine suffix positions, and over ten enclitic positions (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 253–4). Most enclitics are ‘floating’, that is, they attach either to the predicate or to any focused constituent (see Aikhenvald 2002b).
Just as in most Arawak languages, grammatical relations in Tariana are marked with personal prefixes, roughly on an active-stative basis. There is no object marking on the verb. Every verbal root in Tariana is either prefixed or prefixless. Prefixed verbs can be transitive (e.g. -wapeta ‘wait for something’), ditransitive (-bueta ‘teach’), ambitransitive (A = Sₐ, e.g. -hima ‘hear, see, think, understand’; or O = Sₐ, e.g. -thuka ‘break’) or active intransitive (Sₐ, e.g. -emhani ‘walk around’). Most prefixless verbs are stative intransitive (e.g. kasitana ‘be annoyed’); some are A = S₀ ambitransitives (e.g. nhesiri ‘like (not food)’) or O = S₀ ambitransitives (hui ‘like (food); be tasty’).

Grammatical relations are also marked by cases, on a subject/non-subject basis, as shown in Table 1. This system was calqued from East Tucanoan; the markers are of Arawak origin (the core case markers go back to reanalysed locative and oblique markers: Aikhenvald 2003b).

Prefixless verbs fall into two additional types. A prefixless stative Sₒ verb is shown in (1). Its subject, ‘her husband’, takes the zero subject case. (If focused, it would take the -ne/-nhe case.)

(1) harame-pu-pidana du-saniri
be.scared-aug-rem.past.rep 3sgf-husband
‘Her husband (Sₒ) got very scared’

Prefixless ‘oblique subject’ verbs (this constituent is termed Sₒ; see Aikhenvald 2001) cover physical and emotional states, and three complement-clause-taking Secondary-A verbs (‘be difficult’, ‘be difficult (to see)’, ‘be easy (to see)’). Unlike prefixless stative verbs, their only argument is in the object case—see (2).

(2) adaki-pidana di-na
be.fever-rem.past.rep 3sgnf-object.case
‘He had fever’ (lit. him was.fever)

Two further oblique cases are the instrumental -ne and the locative -se. All the case markers appear once per noun phrase, and go onto its last constituent (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 139–62).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical function</th>
<th>Discourse status</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject (A/S)</td>
<td>non-focused</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>ne/-nhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focused</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-subject (Non A/S)</td>
<td>non-topical</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>topical</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Grammatical relations and core cases in Tariana
In addition to simple verbs, Tariana has a variety of complex predicates which include passive, admirative, and a few more, with modal meanings (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 458–9). Contiguous multi-word serial verbs consisting of several grammatical and phonological words are highly productive (see Aikhenvald 2005).

When several clauses are combined to form one sentence, all but the main clause are marked differently depending on whether their subject is the same as, or different from, that of the main clause. This feature (known as switch-reference: see Roberts 1997 for an up-to-date account) is shared with Tucanoan languages, and provides a useful criterion for distinguishing subjects (A/Sa/So), alongside case marking and same-subject requirement in serial verb constructions. The subjecthood of the So constituent is somewhat problematic: it is treated on a par with A/Sa/So in serial verbs, but not with respect to switch-reference or case marking (see Aikhenvald 2001). The major definitional property of direct objects (which are marked in the same way as obliques) is that they can be targets of the passive derivation, while obliques cannot. Any non-subject constituent can be promoted to the subject slot provided it is more topical than the underlying subject (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 283–5). The subject then triggers classifier agreement on the verb, marked with the suffix -ni (this is called topic-advancing derivation).

Tariana has a variety of deverbal agent, object, action, and instrumental nominalizations. Of these, only agent nominalizations can be targets of passives or the topic-advancing derivation. The three fully productive nominalizations employed as complementation strategies (§4) are -nipe ‘action, state, and object nominalization’; -mi ‘past action, result, and locative nominalization’; and -ri ‘non-past nominalization; concomitant action or state’. All nominalizations formed on prefixed verbs cross-reference the A/Sa constituent. Like any other noun phrase, a nominalization can be preposed or postposed to the verb. Nominalizations take only a subset of nominal morphology. They cannot take a plural marker. For the purpose of agreement with modifiers they are treated as collective inanimate nouns, take the plural form of diminutive -tupe, and require that the specifier article occur in its singular form.

If a nominalization has a second argument, it cannot be case-marked. Such an argument occurs preposed to the nominalization, e.g. payaru pa-ni-nipe (manioc.whiskey impers.make-nom.act) ‘one’s making of manioc whiskey’. Constructions containing a nominalization with an overtly expressed A/Sa are similar to possessive constructions in the innovative younger speakers’ Tariana, e.g. ſamu di-ni-nipe (evil.spirit 3sgnf-do-act.nom) ‘evil spirit’s doing’, ſamu di-whida (evil.spirit 3sgnf-head) ‘evil spirit’s head’, literally, ‘evil spirit
Table 2. Main clauses, complement clauses, subordinate clauses, and relative clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Main</th>
<th>Complement Clauses</th>
<th>Subordinate Clauses</th>
<th>Relative Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>separate value for tense and evidentiality</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no (except for purposive clauses and clauses marked with interrogatives)</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>switch-reference</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes (some)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative tense</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes: simultaneous/preceding</td>
<td>yes: simultaneous/preceding/following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person marking prefixes</td>
<td></td>
<td>full set</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classifier agreement with the inanimate S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no (except for purposive clauses: see §3.2)</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative pronouns as subordination markers</td>
<td>no/a</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>case marking on the clause</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible (with some exceptions)</td>
<td>possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ability to occur as predicate head</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>most</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fixed constituent order</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes: verb final</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Except if the predicate is in the topic-advancing form.
his head’. In contrast, in traditional Tariana, possessive constructions of the structure Possessor-Possessed require that the possessed noun take an indefinite cross-referencing marker, e.g. di-whida (3sgnf-head) ‘his head’ and namu i-whida (evil.spirit indef-head) ‘evil spirit’s head’. That is, nominalizations with an overtly expressed A/S are closer to possessive structures in the innovative Tariana than they used to be in the traditional language.

Tariana distinguishes several types of dependent clause which differ from each other and from the main clauses in a number of properties. They are contrasted with main clauses and with each other in Table 2.

Dependent clauses allow the expression of a reduced set of verbal categories (especially tense and evidentiality). Non-indicative moods and modalities cannot be expressed in dependent clauses at all. Dependent clauses are somewhat similar to noun phrases in that they can be case-marked. Unlike non-clausal noun phrases dependent clauses cannot be targets of passive or the topic-advancing derivation. Complement clauses cannot be coordinated with non-clausal noun phrases; separate clauses are used then.

The marking of grammatical relations within complement clauses and subordinate clauses is the same as that in main clauses. In contrast, relative clauses require different person marking on the verb: the relative prefix ka-replaces all other person marking prefixes, and there are relative-clause specific verbal suffixes (see chapter 23 of Aikhenvald 2003a). All non-main clauses can include peripheral arguments which are marked as they are in main clauses. All clauses are negated in the same way. Complement clauses show more affinities with subordinate clauses than with relative clauses in most features.

Different complementation strategies are employed (a) if a complement clause cannot occur with a verb of a particular group, or (b) if a clausal complement is in the S function, as an alternative to complement clauses. In addition, innovative speakers tend to prefer a Tucano-like complementation strategy to complement clauses. Complementation strategies are addressed in §4. A brief conclusion is in §5.

3. Complement clauses

Table 3 features the types of complement clauses in Tariana and the verbs they occur with. The position of most complement clauses with respect to the main clause is fixed, except for those marked with interrogative pronouns only. All complement clauses but one share their marking with other clause types; but their morphosyntactic properties are different. The last two types of complement clause are characteristic of innovative speakers.
Complement clauses marked with the subordinator -ka are used in the O slot of verbs of attention. Like all non-main clauses they can take the case marker -nuku if topical. The major differences between -ka complement clauses and -ka sequential clauses are summarized in Table 4. The marker -ka is an enclitic because it acquires a secondary stress and conforms to other criteria for clitics (detailed in Aikhenvald 2002b).

I–III. A complement clause, in the O slot of a perception verb, is illustrated in (3). It precedes the main clause, and cannot have separate value for tense and evidentiality. The clitic -ka occurs on the predicate of the complement clause.

(3) <iya di-nawa-ka>\O wa-ka-na
    rain 3sgnf-pass-subord 1pl-see-rem.past.vis
‘We saw that the rain passed (or was passing)’

A -ka complement clause, in the O slot of the secondary A verb wade ‘be likely to’, is shown in (4). Unlike the clause illustrated in (3) it follows the main clause.

(4) wade-na <na-inu na-ńha-ka>\O
    be.likely-rem.past.vis 3pl-kill 3pl-eat-subord
‘They (powerful shamans) are likely to kill and eat (people)’

Note the absence of separate tense-evidentiality marking on the complement clause. In contrast, a sequential clause containing the same marker -ka can either precede or follow the main clause, and can have its own tense-evidentiality value, as shown in (5).

Table 3. Complement clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement clause marking</th>
<th>Verbs used with</th>
<th>Semantic type</th>
<th>Marking shared with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subordinator -ka</td>
<td>attention; wade ‘be likely to’</td>
<td>fact, activity potential</td>
<td>sequential subordinate clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive (§3.2)</td>
<td>be difficult, be easy; remain; appear; ask (for)</td>
<td>potential, activity</td>
<td>purposive clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative (§3.3)</td>
<td>attention, speech; knowledge</td>
<td>fact, activity</td>
<td>interrogative and relative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Mixed type’ (§3.4)</td>
<td>perception</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1. Complement clauses marked with -ka ‘subordinator’

Complement clauses marked with the subordinator -ka are used in the O slot of verbs of attention. Like all non-main clauses they can take the case marker -nuku if topical. The major differences between -ka complement clauses and -ka sequential clauses are summarized in Table 4. The marker -ka is an enclitic because it acquires a secondary stress and conforms to other criteria for clitics (detailed in Aikhenvald 2002b).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTIES</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH -ka</th>
<th>SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES WITH -ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verbs of attention</td>
<td>secondary verb 'be likely to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Position with respect to the main clause</td>
<td>precedes</td>
<td>follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Placement of the clitic -ka</td>
<td>follows</td>
<td>can precede or follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Separate value for tense and evidentiality</td>
<td>always on the predicate</td>
<td>on any focused constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Case marking on the clause</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Semantics</td>
<td>topica non-subject case</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Coreferentiality with the A/S of main clause</td>
<td>fact, activity</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no restrictions</td>
<td>A/S(main) = A/S (complement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Ability to be coordinated with another clause or NP</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Ability to occur as predicate head</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When one washes, when one reportedly hits one’s body strongly, you will be strong, if you wash in water’

In a sequential clause, the subordinator -ka can occur on any focused constituent, and not necessarily on the predicate, as is the case in (6). If the subordinator appeared on the predicate, this example could be that of a complement clause, since the main clause contains a verb of perception.

‘If/when your father speaks thus, I will recognize (him)’ (not: I recognize your father speaking)

IV. If topical, a -ka complement clause of a verb of attention can take the topical non-subject case marker -nuku. This is illustrated in (7).

‘He heard (in vain) them passing by (but to no avail)’

Complement clauses of the verb wade ‘be likely to’ take no case marking.

A sequential clause can take locative marking (not just topical non-subject marking, as can the complement clause: this is illustrated in chapter 22 of Aikhenvald 2003a).

V. The semantic differences between complement clauses and sequential subordinate clauses are shown in (3–7) above: the meaning of the sequential clauses is to do with temporal sequence (and may also imply condition), while complement clauses refer to fact and activity. The secondary verb wade ‘be likely to’ takes potential complement clauses.
VI. There are no restrictions on coreferentiality of the subject of a comple-
ment clause to a verb of attention with the subject of the main clause. These
are not coreferential in (3) and (7); an example of coreferential A/S of the
main, and of the complement clause, is under (8).

(8) \(<nu-\bar{n}u-\kappa a\ nuka>_O\ nu-\kappa a-na\)
1sg-go.up-SUBORD 1sg+arrive 1sg-see-REM.PAST.VIS
'I saw that I'd arrived on high ground'

Sequential clauses have no restrictions on the coreferentiality of arguments
either. In contrast, the A or S of the -\(\kappa a\) complement clause of \(\text{wade}\) 'be likely
to' has to be coreferential with its A or S. (If it is not coreferential, a different,
also biclausal, construction is used.)

VII. Two sequential clauses marked with -\(\kappa a\) can be coordinated, via
juxtaposition—which is impossible for complement clauses. An example is
under (9).

(9) \(<kayu\ pi-\kappa i-\kappa a\> [puwhi-\kappa a]\ pi-hwa-nha phia\)
thus 2sg-do-SUBORD be.glad-SUBORD 2sg-sit-PRES.VIS.INTER you
'Having done this, are you sitting being happy?'

VIII. A sequential clause can be a head of intransitive predicate on its own—
see (10).

(10) \(<\text{dekina\ dhipa-}\kappa a-se\> wa:-\kappa a\)
afternoon 3sgnR+take-SUBORD-LOC 1pl+go-REM.PAST.VIS
sei.hora [dhipa-\kappa a-se-na] Predicate.head
six.o'clock 3sgnR+take-SUBORD-LOC-REM.PAST.VIS
'At the very point when it became afternoon, we went (off). It was
(exactly) when it became six o’clock'

Once again, complement clauses are not used this way.

The origin of the Tariana subordinator -\(\kappa a\) deserves special mention.
Tariana shares the subordinator -\(\kappa a\) as a marker of complement clauses with
Baniwa of Ic\(\grave{a}\)na, its closest relative.\(^2\) The -\(\kappa a\) complement clauses in the two
languages differ in two respects. First, -\(\kappa a\) complement clauses in Tariana only
occur with verbs of attention, while in Baniwa they are used with a wider
variety of verbs, including ‘want’. (Tariana, just like Tucano, uses a serial verb

\(^2\) This marker in the same function is attested in Bare (Aikhenvald 1995), as part of subordinating
morphemes in Piapoco (Klumpp 1990: 188–9), and possibly also as a complementizer (Klumpp 1990:
224). Also see Metzger (1998), on the functions of \(\kappa a\) in Arawak, Tucanoan, and other South American
languages. I have no data concerning the origin of the complement clauses with \(\text{wade}\) 'be likely to'; no
cognates have so far been found for this verb.
construction if the subject of ‘want’ is the same as that of the embedded clause, or a nominalization if the subjects are different.) Secondly, in Tariana the -\(ka\) complement clause is preposed to the main clause, and in Baniwa it is postposed—compare (11a) and (11b). The translation is the same. Also see Aikhenvald (2002a: 161–2).

Baniwa
(11) (a) \(<\text{ri}-\text{wha}-\text{ka}-\text{pida}\>\;\text{kadzawata}_O\)
\(3\text{sgnf-see-Rep}\;3\text{sgnf-sit-subord-Rep}\;\text{like.this}\)

Tariana
(11) (b) \(<\text{ki}-\text{wha}-\text{ka}\>\;\text{di-ka-pida}\)
thus \(3\text{sgnf-sit-subord}\;3\text{sgnf-see-pres.rep}\)
‘He reportedly saw him sitting like this’

The suffix -\(k\)\(a\) in Tucano marks different subject in clause combining and is also employed as a complementation strategy with verbs of perception. Any subordinate clause in Tucano precedes the main clause, and a clause marked with -\(k\)\(a\) ‘different subject’ is no exception (Ramirez 1997, Vol. 1: 272):

Tucano
(12) \[\text{ko\(\text{O}\)}\;\text{bu\'e-k\(\text{a}\)}\text{complementation.strategy}\;\text{i\(\text{y\}}\)-mi}\)
\(\text{she study-ds}\;\text{see-pres.vis,3sgnf}\)
‘He sees her study’ (lit. ‘she studying (different subject), he sees’)

The -\(ka\) complement clauses in Tariana contain a marker inherited from the proto-language. Its functions as a complementizer have been reduced through matching a lookalike in the contact language. The position of the clause it is in is also changed to align with Tucanoan patterns. This is a process known as ‘grammatical accommodation’ (defined in Aikhenvald 2002a: 5). It involves grammatical change whereby morphemes with a phonological shape similar to those in a contact language acquire new meanings found in the contact language. Further examples of how Tariana morphemes acquire Tucano-like meanings under the influence of Tucano lookalikes are discussed in Aikhenvald (2002a: 148–51, 214, 225–7).

The interaction of genetic and areal patterns in the Tariana -\(ka\) complement clauses is summarized in Table 5.

3.2. **Purposive-marked complement clauses**

Tariana has two purposive markers, with an evidentiality distinction of their own. Unlike main clauses which distinguish five evidentials (visual, non-visual, inferred, assumed, and reported), all purposive clauses distinguish
visual -karu and non-visual -hyu. Complement clauses marked with the purposive have the same distinction. Table 6 contrasts complement clauses with purposive marking and purposive subordinate clauses. No purposive-marked clauses take any case markers. Instead, they can occur with the nominal future marker -pena.

I–II. A complement clause can fill an O slot of a complement-clause-taking verb with a non-canonically marked argument (see a non-canonically marked argument in (2)), as shown in (13).

(13) <du-haniri-ne pa-sape-hyu>₃⁴ manhina-ma-na
     3sgf-father-inst impers-speak-purp.nvis be.hard-exces-rem.past.vis
     nu-na₃io
     1sg-object.case
'It was hard for me [to speak with her father]'  

The verb ‘ask’ (in itself a serial verb construction, in square brackets, whose literal meaning is ‘greet-hear’) also takes a complement clause marked with purposive, as in (14). However, the complement clause is postposed to the main clause.

(14) pi-na [nu-sata nhuma-na]
     2sg-object.case 1sg-greet 1sg+hear-rem.past.vis
     <pi-wha-nipe pi-kalite-karu>₃⁴
     2sg-sit-nomn 2sg-tell-purp.vis
'I asked you to tell you life(story)'

A purposive clause can either precede or follow the main clause.
Table 6. Purposive-marked complement clauses and purposive clauses: a comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTIES</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH PURPOSIVE MARKING</th>
<th>PURPOSIVE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>I. complement-clause-taking verbs with non-canonically marked arguments: be difficult; be easy</td>
<td>II. ask any verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Position with respect to the main clause</td>
<td>precedes</td>
<td>follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Syntactic function</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Interrogative subordinator</td>
<td><em>kwe</em> 'how/what' (optional)</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Semantics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Coreferentiality with an argument of the main clause</td>
<td><em>S</em>&lt;sub&gt;ex&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Ability to be coordinated with another clause or NP</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Classifier agreement</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes (with S/O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Ability to occur as predicate head</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Two verbs meaning 'be difficult' (mahyuna 'be hard' and manhina 'be hard (to see, understand') can also occur with the subordinator kwe 'how/what', as shown in (15). This is not used with the verb 'be easy', kanhina, or 'ask'.

(15) ne \(<(kwe)\) pa-thaka-hyu>O mahyuna-ma-pidana
then how/what IMPERS-CROSS-PURP.NVIS be.hard-EXCES-REM.PAST.REP
na-na 3pl-oBJECT.CASE
'It was hard for them to cross (the rapids)'

IV. The complement clauses marked with purposive have potential meaning, while purposive clauses mark purpose—see (16).

V. The A/S of the predicate of the complement clause with verbs 'be difficult', 'be easy' is always coreferential with the S\(_o\) constituent (which, despite the object case it takes, has a certain number of subject properties), as in (13): 'it was hard for me\(_i\) to speak\(_i\) with her father'. The A/S of the verb 'ask' is coreferential with O. There are no such restrictions for purposive subordinate clauses.

VI. As is the case with all complement-clause-taking verbs, an NP can occur in the same slot as a clause (see the first clause in (13)). But the two cannot be coordinated; neither can two complement clauses. (Two purposive subordinate clauses can be coordinated, just like -ka sequential clauses in (9).)

VII–VIII. Example (16) illustrates classifier agreement with the object marked on a purposive subordinate clause, and the ability of a purposive clause to be the head of an intransitive predicate (underlined).

(16) dinheiro wa-na pi-panoa [panisi wa-phi-karu-dapana]\(_{\text{PURP.CL}}\)
money 1pl-object.case 2sg-send house 1pl-buy-PURP.VIS-CL:HOUSE
Sao Gabriel-se waka-karu-dapana-mhade,\(_{\text{PURP.CL.AS.HEAD.OF.PREDICATE}}\)
São.Gabriel-loc 1pl-+arrive-PURP.VIS-CL:HOUSE-FUT
'It send us money for us to buy a house. It will be a (house) for us to arrive at in São Gabriel'

This is comparable to how a sequential subordinate clause can head a predicate—see (10). None of these properties is characteristic of complement clauses.

Purposive markers in Tariana are shared with Baniwa of Ícana; both mark purposive subordinate clauses. The ways in which purposives are used in Tariana complement clauses are similar to Tucano future nominalizations.
We can thus hypothesize that the purposive-marked complement clauses in Tariana developed as a result of language contact.

3.3. Complement clauses marked with interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns mark complement clauses which occupy the O slot of verbs of perception and verbs of speech. They take the full set of tense-evidentiality values characteristic of main clauses, and can precede or follow the main clause. Speakers vary in whether they employ the declarative set of evidential markers, with five distinctions; or the interrogative set, with only three specifications: visual, non-visual, and inferred (which correspond to the inferred, assumed, and reported specification in the declarative system). This spread of this type of complement clause could have been influenced by Tucano and Portuguese (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 165–6). An example is in (17). No evidentials are used in the main clause, since it contains an imperative.

(17) pi-sata-tha\a phima di-na
2sg-greet-PRECATIVE 2sg+hear 3sgnf-OBJECT.CASE
<kida-nha kaweni>\O how.much-PRES VIS.INTER cost
‘Ask him how much (it) costs’

Complement clauses of this kind are also found in Baniwa and in Piapoco; their appearance may be due to the influence of Portuguese and Spanish.

The difference between a complement clause and a direct speech complement lies in the intonation: if (17) were a biclausal construction with an interrogative direct speech complement, there would be a pause between the two clauses, and a slightly rising intonation on the second clause characteristic of a question.

Unlike the complement clauses outlined in §§3.1–2, complement clauses with interrogative pronouns cannot be case-marked, and do not have to have a fixed constituent order. In this, they are closer to main clauses than other complement clauses.

Of all the ‘thinking’ Primary-B verbs, complement clauses marked with interrogatives can only occur with the verb of knowledge, -yeka ‘know’ (also see §4.1). Its negative counterpart, the inherently negative proclause h\aïda ‘I don’t know’ (used exclusively with first person), can only take an interrogative-marked complement clause. Note that h\aïda is not a verb.
I do not know how many houses there could be in Iauaretê’

This is the only negator expressed as a Secondary-A predicate (see Table 9). Since hāida does not take NP arguments, a complement clause in (18) cannot be replaced with an NP. This is unlike any other complement-clause-taking predicate head. Haída is typically used as a short response to questions directed at first person. A negated form of -yeka ‘know’ is employed under all other circumstances (see discussion in §4.1.2).

3.4. Complement clauses of mixed type

Innovative speakers employ an additional kind of complement clause in the O slot of verbs of perception. Its predicate is marked with -ka, just as in §3.1, and it contains an interrogative kwe ‘how/what’, as in (19). These clauses have all the properties of the -ka complement clauses, except for one: they cannot be case-marked (just like the interrogative-marked clauses in §3.3).

(19) <kwe di-a-ka>O wa-ka wha
    how/what 3sgnf-go-subord 1pl-see we
    ‘We’ll see what happens’ or ‘We’ll see what is going to happen’

The same structure occurs in the traditional language, but with a somewhat different meaning. All interrogative pronouns in Tariana are polysemous: they also have a distributive meaning, e.g. ‘who’ also means ‘whoever’, ‘where’ means ‘wherever’, and so on. The sentence in (20), from a story told by the oldest speaker of Tariana, Américo Brito, contains some of the same morphemes as in (19), but the meanings of the two are not identical. In the story, (20) is preceded by a description of various activities the Tariana people were involved in back in the good old days that only Américo was old enough to see all of.

(20) <kwe na-ni-ka>O nu-ka-na
    how/what/whatever 3pl-do-subord 1sg-see-rem.past.vis
    ‘Whatever they did, I saw (it)’

The tendency to introduce interrogative pronouns in complement clauses and in complementation strategies is typical of those who mostly speak Tucano.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTIES</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH -KA</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH PURPOSIVE MARKING</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITH INTERROGATIVES</th>
<th>MIXED TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Verb types</td>
<td>attention</td>
<td>‘be likely,’ ‘capable’</td>
<td>‘be difficult,’ ‘ask’</td>
<td>perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘be easy’</td>
<td></td>
<td>perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Position with respect to</td>
<td>precedes</td>
<td>follows</td>
<td>follows</td>
<td>precedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the main clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Separate value for tense</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes (evidentiality distinctions same</td>
<td>same as interrogative</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and evidentiality</td>
<td></td>
<td>as in purposive subordinate clauses)</td>
<td>or declarative clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Case marking on the clause</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Semantics</td>
<td>fact/activity</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>fact, activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Subordinating pronoun</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>optional ‘kwe ’how/what’</td>
<td>optional ‘kwe ’how/what’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Coreferentiality with the</td>
<td>no restrictions</td>
<td>A/S coreferential</td>
<td>S₀ coreferential</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main clause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>restrictions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5. Properties of complement clauses: a comparison
The four major types of complement clauses are contrasted in Table 7. As has been shown above, their major differences lie in: (i) verb types employed, (ii) position with respect to the main clause, (iii) separate value for tense and evidentiality, (iv) case marking on the clause, (v) the semantics of the clause, (vi) the presence of a subordinating interrogative pronoun, and (vii) coreferentiality with the A/S of main clause.

The properties shared by all complement clauses are:

I. All complement clauses can be replaced with an NP. The only complement-clause-taking negator, meaning ‘I don’t know’, is unusual in that it can only take an interrogative-marked complement clause which cannot be replaced with an NP.

II. All complement clauses occupy the O slot.

III. No complement clause can be the target of passive or other valency-changing derivation.

IV. No complement clause can be coordinated with another clause or with an NP.

V. No complement clause can be the head of an intransitive predicate.

4. Complementation strategies
The choice of one of four complementation strategies—serial verb construction, quasi-serial verb construction, sequential subordinate clause marked with -ka, and nominalizations—in place of a complement clause depends on (a) type of verb (see §4.1) and (b) type of syntactic function of the clausal complement (see §4.2). Table 8 summarizes these correlations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of strategy</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serial verb construction</td>
<td>some Primary-B and A, most Secondary-B and C (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-serial verb construction</td>
<td>Secondary-A modal type (§4.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential subordinate clause</td>
<td>some Primary-B verbs (including all stative verbs) (§4.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary-C verb ‘make’ (§4.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizations</td>
<td>some Primary-B and Secondary-B verbs (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syntactic function of clausal complement (§4.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1. Complementation strategies and types of verb

Verbs which cannot take complement clauses employ a complementation strategy. We discuss these one by one. Table 9 features the distribution of complement clauses and complementation strategies among verb types (following the types outlined in Chapter 1).

4.1.1. Verb serialization A number of Primary-B verbs, two kinds of Secondary-A verbs (beginning and trying types) and most Secondary-B

Table 9. Verb types, complement clauses, and complementation strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY-B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATTENTION:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) see, hear, show</td>
<td>-ka complement clause (§3.1), interrogative-marked complement clause (§3.3), mixed-type complement clause (§3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) recognize, find, discover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THINKING:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think, assume, suppose, remember</td>
<td>-ka complement clause (§3.1), nominalization (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dream</td>
<td>nominalization (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget, lie</td>
<td>serial verb construction (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know (that), teach</td>
<td>nominalization (§4.1.4), interrogative-marked clause (§3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understand</td>
<td>-ka complement clause (§3.1) (same verb as 'hear')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>believe, etc.</td>
<td>nominalization (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIKING:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) like, enjoy</td>
<td>-ka complement clause (§3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love, cherish</td>
<td>nominalization (normally only takes an NP) (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regret, be sorry</td>
<td>-ka sequential subordinate clause (§4.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) fear</td>
<td>-ka sequential subordinate clause (§4.1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEAKING:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a–d) say, report, tell</td>
<td>nominalization (§4.1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) ask</td>
<td>purposive-marked complement clause (§3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) order, command</td>
<td>serial verb construction (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY-A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) negator</td>
<td>hāida 'I do not know': interrogative-marked clause (§3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) modal type:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capable/likely</td>
<td>-ka complement clause (§3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able, know how to</td>
<td>serial verb construction (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not be able (intrinsic capacity)</td>
<td>serial verb construction (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not know how to</td>
<td>quasi-serial verb construction (§4.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>need</td>
<td>serial verb construction (§4.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be easy, be difficult</td>
<td>purposive-marked complement clause (§3.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and C verbs occur as Minor components of asymmetrical serial verb constructions. Any verb can occur in the Major component slot. Serial verb constructions in Tariana are sequences of verbs with no marker of syntactic linkage, which form one predicate, sharing the same person marking and tense, aspect, mood, modality, and evidentiality values. Details are in Aikhenvald (2005).

The only Primary-B verbs which have to be serialized are verbs of order and command (speaking type, subtype e) and the verb of forgetting and lying (thinking type; see Aikhenvald 2003c: 158, on how the two meanings are disambiguated through the use of evidentials). In serial constructions involving verbs of order and command, and also Secondary-C verbs meaning ‘make’, ‘cause’, and ‘help’, both verbs are marked for the same subject, despite the fact that their underlying subjects are different. In (21) the person who is ordering (‘I’) and the person to whom the order is issued (‘he’) are not the same; yet the serial verb requires the same cross-referencing on both components. A serial verb construction is in square brackets.

(21) [nu-ira-de nu-nu] di-na
   1sg-order-FUT.CERT 1sg-come 3sgn-f-OBJECT.CASE
   ‘I will order him to come’ (lit. I-order I-come him)

One Secondary-A verb of modal type, *ira* ‘need’; all the verbs of beginning and trying type; all Secondary-B verbs (with the exception of ‘plan’); and all Secondary-C verbs (with the exception of *-ni* ‘make, do’) occur in serial verb constructions (see details in Aikhenvald 2005).

4.1.2. Quasi-serial verb constructions The Secondary-A modal verb *-yeka* ‘know how to; be able to’ is used in a serial verb construction, where it follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9. (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(iii) beginning type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) trying type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary-B</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want (SS), be unwilling, intend, pretend, play at, imitate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want (DS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plan for, arrange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary-C</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make, cause, force, help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the major verb, e.g. ka-phya ka-yeka (rel-whistle rel-can) ‘the one who knows how to whistle; the one who can whistle’. When negated, it can be used either in a serial verb construction or in a quasi-serial verb construction (always following the major verb.) The only difference between serial verb constructions and quasi-serial verb constructions is the presence of the subordinator kwe ‘how/what’ in the latter. In the meaning of ‘not know/not to have a skill how to do something’, -yeka requires the subordinator. A quasi-serial verb construction is in curly brackets.

(22) ne kwe {ma-ni-kade nu-yeka-na}  
then how/what neg-do-neg 1sg-know.how.to-REM.PAST.VIS  
malie-ne  
knife-INST  
‘Then I did not know (how to cut the whole tapir) with a knife’  
(the knife was not big enough)

In a serial verb construction, -yeka means ‘be able to’, referring to an intrinsic uncontrollable ability, as in (23). A shaman was unable to die—he was immortal.

(23) [ma-yami-kade-tha-pidana di-yeka] diha-yana  
NEG-die-NEG-FRUST-REM.PAST.REP 3sgnf-be.able he-PeJorative  
‘The nasty one (shaman) could not die’

4.1.3. **Sequential subordinate clauses** Sequential subordinate clauses are employed as complementation strategy with Primary-B verbs of liking. All these verbs are stative (S₀). They rarely occur in serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2003a, 2005), and do not take complement clauses. To say ‘I am annoyed at X doing Y’, or ‘I am sorry that X did Y’ the only option is to use a sequential subordinate clause, as shown in (24). A sequential clause can be marked with the subordinator -ka (or any other subordinator: see list in Aikhenvald 2003a: 515–31). Their properties were summarized in Table 4.

(24) [kay du-ni-ka] hanipa kawalikupeda  
thus 3sgf-do-sUBORD much regret/be.sorry  
di-ya-ka-pidana diha du-sa-niri  
3sgnf-stay-DEC- REM.PAST.REP he 3sgf-spouse-masc  
‘She having done thus, her husband regretted it’

This sentence is ambiguous: it can be interpreted as ‘her husband regretted (it) after she did thus’, or ‘he regretted that she did that’. In the context of the
story either reading appears appropriate. The second reading is somewhat preferred because within the story the man is sorry for his wife and for the ritual blunder she had committed. Along similar lines, (9) can also be understood either as ‘are you sitting being happy at having done this’ or ‘are you sitting being happy after having done this’. The ambiguity can be resolved only by context.

Sequential clauses marked with the subordinator -ka occur with verbs of thinking, e.g. -hima ‘think, feel, understand, hear’, -hime(ta) ‘think, feel’,3 -awada ‘remember, think of past or future’, -anihta ‘reason, think’. The preferred structure is however different from (24): the verb of thinking occurs in a subordinate clause. Instead of saying ‘I think that it is right’, one says nhume-ta-ka pawali-naka (1sg+think+CAUS1-CAUS2-SUBORD right-PRES.VIS) ‘me thinking, it is right’. Another, more frequent, alternative is a nominalization: see the next section.

### 4.1.4. Nominalizations

Nominalizations are used as complementation strategies with Primary-B verbs of the thinking type, e.g. ‘teach’ and ‘know (that)’ in (25). Here, a nominalized serial verb construction ‘reach, arrive’ meaning ‘be sufficient’, with two overtly marked arguments ‘money’ and ‘to me’, takes just one marker of action nominalization -ripe. The serial verb construction and its arguments are in square brackets.

(25) nuha matʃi nu-rena-ka-mha [nu-na dineru
I bad 1sg-feel-dec-PRES.NVIS 1sg-OBJ-CASE money
ne: meru-kade di-uka-ripe] phia
NEG NEG+reach-NEG 3sgnf-arrive-NOM.ACT] you
pi-yeka-tha-pada
2sg-know-FRUSTR-COUNTER
‘I am in a bad way, you do know that money is not sufficient for me’
(and are not sending me any)

The verbs of mental processes mentioned at the end of §4.1.3 typically occur in the form of -ri nominalization whose main meaning is ‘non-past nominalization and concomitant action’. A frequent way of saying ‘I think that this is right’ is nhua nhume-ta-ri-nuku pawali-naka (I 1sg+think+CAUS1-CAUS2-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S right-PRES.VIS) ‘to my thinking it is right’.

3 The verb -hima takes a -ka complement clause when used as a perception verb. The verb -hime(ta) is formally a causative of -hima; see Aikhenvald (2000) on the semantics of causative morphology with transitive verbs in Tariana.
Primary and Secondary-B verbs which express secondary concepts and typically take only NP arguments include *tapulisa* 'dream', *mesa* 'cherish', *hepa* 'answer, obey', a serial verb *hepa-*de (obey have) 'believe', and *kakwa* 'plan for' and *-wa* 'mark, arrange'. All of them can also take nominalizations as arguments, especially in the innovative Tariana.

Synchronically, different meanings of a polysemous verb can be differentiated by the complementation strategy it occurs with. The verb *-wa* in the meaning of 'try' is obligatorily serialized and expresses a Secondary-A concept. The same verb also means 'plan, mark, arrange', expressing a Secondary-C concept. In this meaning it can only take an NP or a nominalization.

The choice of a nominalization as a complementation strategy with Primary-B verbs of speaking and Secondary-B verb 'want' depends on whether the subject of the clausal complement is coreferential with that of the verb in the main clause or not.

If its subject is not coreferential with that of the verb in the complement, the verb 'want' requires a nominalization (we can recall, from §4.1.1, that serial verb constructions have to have the same subject). The *-fï* nominalization is the preferred option:

(26) du-yami-*fï-pida* di-na-tha diha
3sgf-die-NOMN-PRES.REP 3sgnf-want-FRUST he
‘He wanted her to die in vain, I am told’

Innovative speakers tend to use nominalizations as a complementation strategy where a complement clause is expected in the traditional variety. This agrees with the patterns in Tucano and other East Tucanoan languages.


A nominalization with a verb of perception—where a *-ka* complement clause would be appropriate—is illustrated in (27). The translation is the same in both languages. The Tariana example comes from an innovative speaker. A traditional speaker would have used a *-ka* clause.

Tucano
(27a) mari diakîhî buû a’ti-gr’
we straight.towards agouti come-NOMN.MASC.SG
akóro-mi
hear-PRES.VIS.3NFG
Tariana

(27b) wa-dalipa phi fi di-nu-ri phema-ka-naka
   1pl-towards agouti 3sgn-cone-NOMN IMP+hear-DEC-PRES VIS
   ‘One can hear an agouti come towards us’

This usage is not considered good style by traditional speakers.

4.2. Complementation strategies, and the syntactic function of clausal complement

Unlike complement clauses which can only occur in the O function, deverbal nominalizations can occupy any slot except for A. An example of a nominalization in S slot is (28). Note that the nominalization has an overtly marked object (the verb ‘work (on) rubber’ is transitive). Unlike complement clauses, a nominalization can be an argument of a postposition, e.g. du-sape-mi kayu (3sgf-say-NOM.RES like) ‘in agreement with what she’d said’.

(28) diha i ri wehpani-nipe di-sisa-na
   ART sap 1pl-work-NOM.ACT 3sgn-end-REM.PAST VIS
   ‘Our working on rubber finished’

Nominalizations can be used in lieu of complement clauses, to distinguish between activity and fact. We saw, in §3, that complement clauses cover both and are thus ambiguous. The -mi nominalization explicitly focuses on the result, and the -nipe nominalization on the activity. That is, (29) and (30) are alternatives to (3), but their meaning is somewhat different.

(29) iya di-nawa-nipe wa-ka-na
   rain 3sgn-pass-NOM.ACT 1pl-see-REM.PAST VIS
   ‘We watched (the process of) the rain passing’

(30) iya di-nawa-mi wa-ka-na
   rain 3sgn-pass-NOM.RESULT 1pl-see-REM.PAST VIS
   ‘We saw the (result or the place of) the rain passing’

5. Conclusions

Tariana has four types of complement clauses and four complementation strategies. Two complement clauses share their morphological marking with a sequential and with a purposive subordinate clause; these differ in numerous properties (Tables 4 and 6). Another complement clause contains interrogative pronouns. The fourth clause, characteristic of the innovative Tariana, is of mixed type—it contains interrogative pronouns and the complementizer -ka.
A clause can be recognized as a complement clause through a variety of properties which include its ability to be replaced with an NP or a nominalization, lack of separate marking for tense and evidentiality, its inability to be coordinated with another clause or NP and to head an intransitive predicate. Parameters of variation include the position with respect to the main clause, the ways clauses are marked, and the amount of case morphology they can take. All complement clauses are O arguments to a verb.

The choice of a complementation strategy over a main clause is conditioned by the following factors.

A. **Verb type.** Some Primary-B and A, most Secondary-B and C verbs obligatorily occur in serial verb constructions; one Secondary-A modal type verb requires a quasi-serial verb construction, which differs from regular serial verbs by the presence of a subordinator kwe 'how/what'; some Primary-B verbs require sequential subordinate clauses; and some Primary-B and Secondary-B verbs can only take nominalizations as clausal complements. Direct speech complements are used with verbs of speaking.

B. **Syntactic functions of a clausal complement.** If a clausal complement is in a function other than O, a nominalization is to be used. A clausal argument cannot be in A function.

Innovative speakers tend to use **nominalizations** as a complementation strategy where a complement clause is expected in the traditional language, following the patterns in the dominant Tucano language. All the complement clauses bear an impact of language contact. The marking of -ka complement clauses and of purposive clauses is inherited from the proto-language, but their syntactic properties are largely due to areal diffusion from Tucano. Complement clauses with interrogative pronouns are a feature of most indigenous languages of the area, perhaps enhanced by the recent contact with national languages, Spanish and Portuguese. The use of nominalizations has been influenced by Tucanoan patterns.

Apposition of clauses can replace any other strategy or any complement clause as a preferred stylistic option in storytelling. This is undoubtedly the oldest strategy, and the only one Tariana shares with the North Arawak languages Piapoco and Baniwa of Êçana. This could indicate its Arawak roots, especially since apposition of clauses does not appear to be at all widespread in Tucanoan languages.
References


