

# In-subordination and un-coordination in Hul'q'uminum' (with some special attention to temporal adverbials)

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## I. CLAUSE TYPES

- Two types of “and”.

**ʔiʔ** “and” is used for **simultaneity of events** (synchronization)

niʔ q̄əwətəm ʔiʔ ʔiləm kʷθə s̄ənʔeniʔ.

AUX drum and sing the women

‘The women drummed and sang.’ (at same time)

*Note: ʔiʔ also used for NP coordination: tʰə spa:l̄ ʔiʔ tʰə qʷəni ʔiʔ tʰə qʷəni ‘raven and seagull’*

Note: Conditional/when clause

(20) ʔiʔ haʔ\_č\_ceʔ wəʔ\_c-qeq ʔiʔ nan ʔəwʔ θəxʷəm̄.

CNJ if\_2SG.SUB\_FUT PERF\_VBL-baby CNJ very CN bleed

‘And when your baby is being born, you will bleed a lot.’

(45) ʔəwʔ ʔəwʔ=ələp yə=kʷəneʔt-əxʷ θəna ʔewʔqəm̄

CN not=2PL SER=take(DUR)-2DEP.SUB DEM mussel

ʔiʔ θə seʔəq, yəqʷ-t-aləm.

CNJ DT bracken.root burn-TR-2PL.PAS

‘If you do not have mussels and bracken fern roots, you will be burned.’

(36) niʔ wəʔ\_cələl ʔiʔ hay ʔiʔ ʔəwəʔ təs tʰə ʔe:ls̄.

AUX PERF\_almost CNJ finish CNJ also.PERF arrive DT Xeel’s

‘And he was almost finished and Xeel’s got there again.’

**səwʔ** “and then” is used for **sequence of events**.

(s- nominalizer + ʔəwʔ connective, used as complementizer and modifier linker)

niʔ ʔiləm kʷθə s̄ənʔeniʔ səwʔ q̄əyiləš-s.

AUX sing the women N-CN dance-3POS

‘The women sang and then danced.’

- Three ways of expressing subjects:

|                             | 1st person singular |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| main clause subject         | cən                 |
| subordinate clause subject  | -e:ŋ / -əŋ          |
| possessive (nominalization) | nə=                 |

“nəm cən ceʔ ʃeʔ wəl nəm [ʔəw] mɪ:s ceʔ ʃeʔ wəl yəsəq̄θət kʷə skʷeyəl.

“I am going to go again at the break of dawn.

(literally: I will again have gone (when) it again has come the splitting of the sky.)

[ʔiʔ] nəm cən ceʔ xʷiʔ yəsqʷəqʷis [ʔəw] nəm=əŋ təs ʔə kʷθey̆ skʷθeʔs.

And when I get to the island I will go into the water.

(literally: And I will next go get submerged into the water (when) I arrive at that island.)

nə=[səw] qʷsəθət nə=[s]nəm ʃlim ʔəwʔ xʷəstətəs ʔə kʷθə niʔ ʃniʔs.”

“I’ll go into the water so that I can get really close to the place where they are.”

(literally: My going into the water my getting really close to the place where they are.”

- Subject paradigms for 1st person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

|                                      | 1st sing | 3rd            |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------------|
| main clause subject                  | cən      | -əs (ergative) |
| subordinate clause subject           | -e:ŋ     | -əs            |
| possessive                           | nə=      | -s             |
| main passive “subject”               | -θeləm   | -təm (zero)    |
| subordinate clause passive “subject” | -θe:lt   | -tewət         |

- Two ways of expressing passive subjects:

ləmɲəm kʷə ʃes.  
seen-PASSIVE the sea lion  
The sea lions were seen.

səwʹ ʔa.a.ał-s tʰə swawʹləs ʔə tʰə snəxʷəł-s.  
N-CN embark-3POS the young.men OB the canoe-3POS  
And then the young men got on their canoe.

səwʹ ce:l-tewət kʷə ʃes.  
N-CN chase-SUB.PASSIVE the sea lion  
And then the sea lions were chased.

ʔiʔ θəqʰəqʰ-təm ʔə kʷə ʃətəstəm θəyəmən.  
and spear.PL-PASSIVE OB the so-called spear.  
And they were speared with the “spear”.

Free translation:

When they saw the sea lions, the young men got on their canoes and went after the sea lions and speared them with what’s called a *thuyumun*.

#### SUMMARY:

- ʔiʔ - simultaneous semantics; clauses are coordinated
- səwʹ - sequential semantics; clauses are subordinate (chains show insubordination)

## II. Two types of nominalizations

səwʹ “and then” is used for **sequence of events**.  
(s- nominalizer + ʔəwʹ connective (also used as complementizer))

niʔ cən ʔiləm nə=səwʹ qʷəyiləʃ.  
AUX 1SUB sing 1POS=N.CN dance

“I sang and then I danced.”

kʷənəs kʷə determiner + nə= 1 sg possessive + s- nominalizer

ʔəy kʷənəs ʔiləm. ‘It would be good for me to sing.’  
good DT-1POS-NM sing (I’d better sing.)

s kʷey kʷənəs ʔiləm. ‘It’s impossible for me to sing.’  
impossible DT-1POS-NM sing (I can’t sing.)

### Insubordination

“kʷə=nə-s scəwət kʷə=nə-s cnəxʷəl.”  
 DT-1POS-NM smart DT-1POS-NM make.canoe  
 “I’m very smart at making a canoe.”  
 (literally: my being smart my making canoe)

nə=s-ʔiʔ kʷə=nə-s tələnəxʷ ʔəwʔ ni:s ctamət kʷey.  
 I want to know what happened to that person.  
 (literally: my wanting my knowing...)

kʷə=nə-s ʔəwʔ=qʷal=ʔəl ʔə-kʷ ʔəxʷi:n nə=siʔem nə=si:yeʔə ʔə təʔi sqiqələs.  
 DT-1POS-NM CN=speak=just OB-DT little 1POS=respected 1POS=friends OB DEM sad.  
 “I just want to say a few words, my respected friends, to the bereaved.”

Titles:

“kʷənəs nem ʔ=mətuliyeʔ”  
 DT-1POS-NM go go.to=Victoria  
 “When I went to Victoria”

### III. Temporal adverbials

- adverbial precedes

[kʷin ceʔ skʷeyəl kʷə=nə-s ʔi ʔə təna] ʔiʔ [nem cən həyeʔ].  
 how.many FUT day DT=1POS-N and OB here and go 1SUB go.away  
 [I will stay here just so many days] and [I will depart].  
 (literally: It will be a number of days that I am here and I leave.)

- adverbial follows (as oblique phrase form with the catch-all preposition ʔə)

nem cən ceʔ həyeʔ ʔə təna kʷeyəl.  
 go 1SUB FUT go.away OB DEM day  
 I’m leaving today.

“Generally, initial adverbial clauses tend to have a more global role in structuring the discourse, while final clauses tend to be limited to the more localized role of qualifying the main clause.” (Wash 2001)

**temporal expressing a span of time**— higher predicate and nominalization

snet ceʔ [kʷənəs nem ʔakʷ].  
 night FUT DT-1POS-NM go go.home  
 I will go home in the dark.  
 (literally: it will be night my going home)

niʔ hiθ, wəwəʔ niʔ ɬix<sup>w</sup>-əs ɬqel̥c̥, [k<sup>w</sup>ənəs niʔ q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>ət].  
 AUX long.time maybe AUX three-3SUB month DT-1POS-N AUXchopping.TR  
 It took me about three months working on it.  
 (literally: a long time passed, maybe three months, my chopping it)

**point of time (synchronized to the event)— coordination (with ʔiʔ “and”): point of time**

[x<sup>w</sup>ənaʔ ceʔ mi təwʔ yət<sup>θ</sup>et<sup>θ</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>əl̥ t<sup>θ</sup>ə sk<sup>w</sup>eyəl] ʔiʔ [wəl nem̥ ct ceʔ ʔiməʃ].  
 first FUT come MIT brightening DT day and PERF go we FUT walk  
 We will start our travel at the first break of daylight.  
 (literally: the day will first be lighting up and we will go walk)

[hiθ ceʔ snet] ʔiʔ [nem̥ cən ɬak<sup>w</sup>], ʔəwə ceʔ sk<sup>w</sup>eyəl-əs.  
 [long.time FUT night] and [go I go.home] not FUT day-3SUB  
 It will be late at night when I go home, not during the day.

x<sup>w</sup>əñ̥ ʃətə ʔiʔ niʔ wəl həyeʔ ɬətək<sup>w</sup>.  
 still doing and AUX PERF go.away flying  
 Then they suddenly flew away.

net=ət ʔiʔ ʃeʔ wəl=nem̥ ʃak<sup>w</sup>-ətcləm. // \*ʃak<sup>w</sup>-ətclt.  
 night=PST and again PERF=go bathe-1PASSIVE bathe-1SUBORD.PASSIVE  
 ‘The next morning, they bathed me again.’

**“Topic time”: points of orientation, often relating to previous material**

[x<sup>w</sup>əneʔənt] ʔiʔ [həñ̥cew],  
 evening and arrive.from.higher.place  
 At night time he would be home,

[k<sup>w</sup>eyəl] ʔiʔ [ʃeʔ wəl həyeʔ nem̥ cə ʃax<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>əm̥].  
 day and also PERF leave go H/S bath-IMPF.  
 and the next day he would leave again for his bath.

**and-topic**

t<sup>θ</sup>ə sməyət ʔiʔ ʔəwə nə-s-ʃiʔ-əs.  
 DT deer and NEG 1POS-N-like-3SUB  
 ‘I don’t like deer meat.’ (Leslie 1979:261)

ɬx<sup>w</sup>-iws səmiyət ʔiʔ həñ̥-cəw-nəx<sup>w</sup>-əs k<sup>w</sup>θə swəy̯qəʔ.  
 three-body deer.PL and arrive-down-TR-3ERG DT man  
 ‘The man managed to bring down three deer from the mountains.’

### Asymmetrical coordination NP and S

Another can of beer and I'm leaving. (Culicover & Jackendoff 1977)

Clitic placement as test for clausehood.

- (2) [nə́cəʔ skʷəyəl] ʔiʔ [niʔ cən ɣáɣiʔ].  
 one day and AUX 1SG.SUB sick  
 “One day I was sick.”  
 (literally: one day and I was sick)

“clitic climbing” is not possible with time phrase.

- \*[nə́cəʔ cən skʷəyəl] ʔiʔ [niʔ ɣáɣiʔ].  
 \*[nə́cəʔ cən skʷəyəl] ʔiʔ [niʔ cən ɣáɣiʔ].

### təm̩tem “when”

- (1) |təm̩tem=ceʔ|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩=č yə=ʔəm̩məšʔ|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 when=FUT and go=2SG SER=hunt.IPV  
 ‘When are you going to hunt?’ (RP, confirmed by DL)
- (2) \*| təm̩tem=č=ceʔ|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩ yə=ʔəm̩məšʔ|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 when=2SG=FUT and go SER=hunt.IPV (RP)
- (3) |təm̩tem=č=ceʔ|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩=č yə=ʔəm̩məšʔ|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 when=2SG =FUT and go=2SG SER=hunt.IPV (RP)

**ḥəxʷleʔ| “sometimes”**

- (4) |ḥəxʷleʔ|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩=cən ʔiwiʔəʔ.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 sometimes and go=1SG pray  
 ‘Sometimes I go to church.’ (RP)
- (5) \*|ḥəxʷleʔ=cən|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩ ʔiwiʔəʔ.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 sometimes=1SG and go pray (RP)
- (6) |ḥəxʷleʔ=cən|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩=cən ʔiwiʔəʔ.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 sometimes=1SG and go=1SG pray  
 ‘Sometimes I go to church.’ (RP)

**cələl “almost”**

- (7) |wəʔ=cələl=cən=ceʔ|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem̩=cən=ceʔ həyeʔ-sta:m.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 PRF=almost=1SG=FUT and AUX=1SG=FUT leave-CS.2s.OBJ  
 ‘It’s almost time for me to start taking you along.’ (EW)

**ḥʷəm “fast”, “right away” >> “can”**

- (1) \*|ḥʷəm|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |ḥʷčənəm=cən.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 fast and run-1SG
- (2) |ḥʷəm=cən|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |ḥʷčənəm.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 fast-1SG and run  
 ‘I can run.’
- (3) \*|ḥʷəm=cən|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |ḥʷčənəm=cən.|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 fast-1SG and fast-1SG

xʷəm kʷənəs ḥʷaŋčənəm.  
 fast DT.1POS-N run.IMPERF

“I run fast.” (literally: fast my running)

**Stage 1: Conjoined clauses with synchronicity.**

[x<sup>w</sup>ə́nəʔ ceʔ mi təw' yə<sup>θ</sup>e<sup>θ</sup>ə́k<sup>w</sup>ə́l t<sup>θ</sup>ə sk<sup>w</sup>eyə́l] ʔiʔ [wə́l nem ct ceʔ ʔimə́š].  
 first FUT come MIT brightening DT day and PERF go we FUT walk  
 We will start our travel at the first break of daylight.  
 (literally: the day will first be lighting up and we will go walk)

**Stage 2: High frequency phrases, that work like topics; clausal boundary is maintained.**

[x<sup>w</sup>ə́n ʃə́tə] ʔiʔ niʔ wə́l həyeʔ ɬətə́k<sup>w</sup>.  
 still doing and AUX PERF go.away flying  
 Then they suddenly flew away.

[k<sup>w</sup>eyə́l] ʔiʔ [ʃeʔ wə́l həyeʔ nem ʔə ʃax<sup>w</sup>ə́k<sup>w</sup>ə́m].  
 day and also PERF leave go H/S bath-IMPF.  
 and the next day he would leave again for his bath.

NOTE: Another language with time phrases and coordination

(1) *Plains Cree* (Wolvengrey 2011)

kētahtawē **ēkwa** kā-nīmihito-hk kā-nīsosimo-hk ōma.  
 suddenly **and** CJT-dance-XACT CJT-jig-XACT FOC  
 ‘Well, when the dancing, rather the jigging started.’ (HP10:48-9)

(1) *Plains Cree* (Wolvengrey 2011)

anohc **ēkwa** kahkiyaw ēwako anima māci-pīkonikātē-w...  
 today **and** all that that start-broken-0s  
 ‘Today all that is beginning to break down,...’ (HP2:65)

**Stage 3: Un-coordination: coordinator no longer a barrier.**

(1) |čəx<sup>w</sup>leʔ=cən|<sub>Z1</sub> ʔiʔ |nem=cən ʔiwīʔə́l|<sub>Z2</sub>  
 sometimes=1SG and go=1SG pray  
 ‘Sometimes I go to church.’ (RP)

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