

Subordinate Clauses in Skw̓w̓mesh: Their Form and Function

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines three subordinate clause types in Skw̓w̓mesh: nominalized clauses, conjunctive clauses and /u/ clauses. These three clause types overlap in their syntactic functions. The first two clause types function as complement clauses. All three clause types function as adverbial clauses. I propose that the distribution of these clause types is due to the degree of certainty of the truth of the subordinate clause proposition, whether from the speaker's perspective or that of the main clause subject.

KEYWORDS: Skw̓w̓mesh, Salish, subjunctives, conditionals, subordination

1. Introduction

Skw̓w̓mesh (a.k.a. Squamish) is a Coast Salish language traditionally spoken in an area that extends from Burrard Inlet in Vancouver, along both sides of Howe Sound, and through the Squamish River Valley and the Cheakamus River Valley in southwestern British Columbia.¹ This paper is an examination of three subordinate clause types in Skw̓w̓mesh: conjunctive clauses, nominalized clauses and /u/ clauses.² Conjunctive clauses and nominalized clauses function as sentential complements and as adverbial clauses. /u/ clauses only function as adverbial clauses. This paper examines the semantic and functional-pragmatic factors that control the use of these clause types.

I do not provide an exhaustive examination of subordination in Skw̓w̓mesh. That is, I do not consider relative clauses nor clause chaining (a special type of nominalized clause). While such an examination is necessary to understand the full range of subordination strategies in Skw̓w̓mesh, it is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, I focus mainly on two constructions, nominalized clauses and conjunctive clauses, since they share the same syntactic functions, both as sentential complements and as adverbial clauses. The defining characteristics of these subordinate clause types are:

- i) how they mark the subject,
- ii) the presence of various clitics.

¹My research derives from original field work. Chen kw'enmantumiyap i7x̓wi7wayap na ch'awats.

²This paper is a minor reworking of my M.A. thesis (Jacobs 1992). I have largely left its analysis and conclusions as is. I have not incorporated further research after this point on either Skw̓w̓mesh, nor on Salish, although I have tried to footnote some current relevant research. For an up to date bibliography on Skw̓w̓mesh, the reader can refer to Jacobs (2011).

The structure of this paper is as follows. In §2 I provide a description of the syntax of main clauses in Skw̱w̱w̱mesh. Then in the next three sections, I provide a description of the internal and external syntax of conjunctive clauses (§3), nominalized clauses (§4) and /u/ clauses (§5). In §4, I also include an historical account of the person marking system of nominalized clauses. In §6, I examine the semantic factors that control the use of one subordinate clause type over another type. In §7 I provide a conclusion and some discussion.

2. Syntax of matrix clauses

In this section, I provide a basic, background description of the syntax of the noun phrase, the verb phrase and the clause.³

2.1. Noun phrases

2.1.1. Phrase constituents

The noun phrase in Skw̱w̱w̱mesh consists of a determiner, followed by a noun phrase, in that order. A noun phrase can consist of an adjective phrase followed by the head noun (1a). Relative clauses may either follow (1b) or precede the head noun (1c):⁴

- (1) a. ta hiyi miḵalh
 DET big bear
 ‘the big bear’
- b. ta miḵalh [na wa heḿi]
 DET bear RL DR come
 ‘the bear that is approaching.’
- c. ta [txwhuy na ip’ist-axw aḿusks] chemḵ
 DET remaining RL take-you.SN two.pieces pitch
 ‘the two remaining pieces of pitch that you have’⁵

³See Kuipers (1967, 1969) for a general description of the language.

⁴See the Appendix for a guide to the Skw̱w̱w̱mesh orthography. In this paper, I use the following abbreviations: 1E ‘first singular person ergative’, 1PL.SBJ ‘first person plural subject’, 1SG.SBJ ‘second person singular subject’, 2PL.SBJ ‘second person plural subject’, 2SG.SBJ ‘second person singular subject’, 3E ‘third person ergative’, 3N ‘third person nominative’, 3PL.SBJ ‘third person plural subject’, 3POSS ‘third person possessive’, 3SG.SBJ ‘third person singular subject’, ADV ‘advancement’, AUX ‘auxiliary’, COP ‘copula’, COMP ‘complementizer’, DET ‘determiner’, DIST ‘distal’, DR ‘durative aspect’, DT ‘detransitive’, FC ‘future conjunctive’, FT ‘future tense’, INT ‘intransitive’ IRR ‘irrealis aspect’, NM ‘nominalizer’, NP ‘noun phrase’, OBJ ‘object’, OBL ‘oblique case’, PRT ‘present tense’, PA ‘plural accusative’, PL ‘plural’, PN ‘plural nominative’, PROX ‘proximal’, PT ‘past tense’, RL ‘realis aspect’, Q ‘yes/no question particle’, SBJ ‘subject’, SG ‘singular’, SA ‘singular accusative’, SN ‘singular nominative’, TR ‘transitive’.

⁵The data in this paper is from original field work. Chen kw’emantumiyap i7ḵwiḵwayap na ch’awats.

2.1.2. Determiners

Słkwxwu7mesh has a set of 25 determiners (Kuipers 1967:137–141).⁶ See table 1. All nominals must have a determiner, except vocatives and nominal predicates. The determiners have a definite versus in-definite distinction. Definite NPs are those that are known by the speaker or can be identified by the speaker. The determiners also indicate gender (feminine, non-feminine). The feminine determiners are only used for single female humans and animals, and not plural. Proximity is also indicated (present vs. not present, proximal-distal). There is also a strong-weak distinction

which appears to be a demonstrative versus non-demonstrative distinction.

Table 1. Determiners in Słkwxwu7mesh

	DEFINITE					INDE-F INITE
	PRESENT			NON-PRESENT		
	WE AK	STRONG		WEAK	STRON G	
		PROXIM AL	DIST AL			
MAS C-ULIN E	ta	ti	ta'y	kwa	kwetsi	kwi
FEM -ININE	lha	tsi	alhi	kwelh á	kwelhi	kwes

The determiners also have a grammatical case division between plain and oblique case. The plain case determiners do not have any additionally morphology. The oblique case determiners take the proclitic /t/. There is also a special oblique determiner /t'l'a/ used with proper nouns. It cannot, however, be synchronically decomposed into case plus determiner.

2.2. The verb phrase

2.2.1. Phrase constituents

The verb phrase consists of optional aspectual clitics followed by the head verb. A small set of verbs may also appear as the first verb of what appears to be a type of verb serialization.

2.2.2. Tense and aspect

Słkwxwu7mesh utilizes a combination of tense and aspect clitics. The following in table 2 are the tense and aspect clitics.

⁶For a more contemporary analysis of Słkwxwu7mesh determiners, see Gillon (2006, 2013).

Table 2. Tense and Aspectual Clitics

na	‘RL; realis aspect’
ḵ	‘IRR; irrealis’
wa	‘DR; durative aspect’ ⁷
i	‘PRT; present tense’ ⁸
t	‘PT; past tense’
eḵ’	‘FT; future tense’
ch-	‘AUX; auxiliary verb’

Some of these clitics closely resemble full verbs or verb roots. The realis clitic /na/ comes from the verb /na7/ ‘to be at, there is’. The durative aspect clitic /wa/ is similar to the verb /wé7u/ ‘to keep doing something, to continue’. The clitic /i/ is identical to the verb /i/ ‘be here’. The auxiliary /ch-/ is a reduced form of the verb root /cha/ ‘to do, to make’. The irrealis clitic and the future clitic are very similar to each other but there appears to be no cognate verb. In certain contexts the irrealis clitic is also glottalized.

2.2.3. Verbal morphology

The intransitive verb consists of the verb stem and no inflection morphology. Some intransitive verbs, though, take a suffix /-em/ which appears to indicate the middle voice.

The transitive verb consists of the verb stem, followed by a transitive marker, followed by object suffixes, and finally by the subject suffixes. For example:

- (2) ch’aw-at-s-as
 help-TR-me-3E
 ‘he helps me’

2.2.3.1. Transitive marking

Sḵwḵwu7mesh, like most Salish languages, has transitivity marked on all verbs.⁹ As mentioned, in certain cases intransitivity, or middle voice, is also overtly marked. In addition to marking transitivity, these suffixes also indicate degrees of control for the agent. The transitivity suffixes are listed below. Some of these suffixes have a vowel depending on the shape of the verb root. The vowel is usually the same as the vowel of the verb root. For this paper I will gloss all the transitive suffixes as TR since the issue of different types of transitive marking does not affect the analysis of this paper. See table 3.

⁷See Bar-el (1998 and 2005) for a contemporary analysis of this clitic.

⁸I am unsure of the semantics of this clitic since it is not obligatory for present tense.

⁹For a reanalysis of the transitivizer system in Sḵwḵwu7mesh see Jacobs (2011).

Table 3. Transitive Suffixes

-(V)t	‘transitive, control; TR’
-n(exw)	‘transitive, limited control; TR’ ¹⁰
-(V)m	‘detransitive; DT’
[-(V)n	‘advancement’]
[-s	‘causative; CS’]

The transitive marking immediately follows the verb stem. With the causative /-s/ and transitive /-n/ suffixes, the transitive suffix /-t/ immediately follows only when any other overt suffixes follow. Otherwise /-t/ is deleted. This is due to a low level phonetic process. I will always gloss /-t/ even if it is not phonetically present. I will not gloss the causative suffix /-s/ nor the transitivizer /-n/. Rather I will treat them as part of the verb stem.

2.2.3.2. Person marking

Main clauses have a split ergative person marking system. First and second person are marked in a nominative-accusative system by clitic pronouns and third person is marked in an ergative agreement system. All person marking is by suffixes.

2.2.3.2.1. First and second person

The subject and object pronoun suffixes for first and second person are in the following table 4.

Table 4. Subject and Object Suffixes

	Nominative	Accusative
First person singular	-en	-s, -msh ¹¹
First person plural	-et	-umulh
Second person singular	-exw	-umi
Second person plural	-ap, -ayap ¹²	-umiyap

The subject suffixes are attached to the auxiliary verb /ch/ and never to the main verb. Kuipers (1967:§125) analyzes this auxiliary as a reduced form of the verb root /cha/ ‘to do, to make’. The combination of auxiliary and subject person marking has in many ways

¹⁰The /exw/ part of this suffix only appears when there is a third person direct object.

¹¹First person singular uses a different object suffix for verbs with the /-n(exw)/ suffix.

¹²In most cases the /-ap/ form of you.PN is used. Also only you.PN always maintains the full vowel /a/. The other persons have the full vowel /a/ in a few restricted cases, e.g. emphasis, in an answer to a question, for the future tense.

attained the status of pronoun. The following are examples of main clauses with first and second person subjects.

- (3) a. ch-en wa ílhen
 AUX-I DR eat
 ‘I am eating.’
- b. ch-exw-kw ílhen
 AUX-2SN-already eat
 ‘You already ate.’

2.2.3.2.2. Third person

The ergative person marking system for third person is in the table 5.

Table 5. The Ergative Agreement System

-as	‘3E’	-as-wit	‘3E-PL’
-Ø	‘3N’	-Ø-wit	‘3N-PL’

The ergative suffix immediately follows the object suffixes. The ergative system for third person is an agreement system since an overt NP for the ergative subject can be present and the third person ergative marking is still present on the verb.

The ergative agreement is always on the main verb of the verb phrase and not on any of the aspectual marking. For example, the ergative marking is never suffixed to the auxiliary /ch/. That is, /ch-as/ ‘AUX-3E’ never occurs to indicate ergative third person. Nor does the ergative third person agreement combine with the realis clitic /na/ to form /na-as/ ‘RL-3E’. The following are examples of ergative clauses:

- (4) a. na ch’ém-t-Ø-as ta sḵwemáy ta Tom
 RL bite-TR-3N-3E DET dog DET Tom
 ‘The dog bit Tom.’
- b. na wa ch’ém-Ø ta sts’úḵwi7
 RL DR bite-3N DET fish
 ‘The fish were biting.’

The ergative marking never appears with a second person object suffix. A passive construction is used instead for third person agent and second person theme (5a). An overt NP for the agent is in the oblique case (5b). For example:

- (5) a. *na ch'áw-at-umi-as kwa n-siyáy
 RL help-TR-you.SA-3E DET my-friend
 'My friend helped you.'
- b. ch-exw ch'aw-at-em t-kwa n-siyáy
 AUX-you.SN help-TR-DT OBL-DET my-friend
 'My friend helped you.' or 'You were helped by my friend.'
- b. *na ch'áw-at-umi-as t-kwa n-siyáy

Plurality is only marked once on the verb (or on the first aspectual clitic). This plurality marking is only for humans and also for animals in some contexts. Context decides whether the plurality is marking plural subject, plural object, or both plural subject and plural object. For example:

- (6) na kw'ách-t-Ø-as-wit
 RL look.at-TR-3N-3E-PL
 'He look at them.' or 'They looked at him.'
 or 'They looked at them.'

There is also an optional set of demonstrative pronouns for third person which are not part of the basic person marking system. They are not required for marking third person. They do not have the same syntax as the first and second person pronouns either. Rather they have the same syntax as other nominals (cf. section 2.4.1.). These pronouns are as follows in table 6.¹³

Table 6. Third Person Demonstrative Pronouns

	Proxi mal	Distal	Not Present
he/him	tiwa	taý	kwetsi
she/her	tsiwa	alhi	kwelhi
they/th em	iyáwi t	iytsiŵ it	kwetsiŵit kwaŵit

The following are examples of clauses with ergative and nominative arguments.

- (7) a. na húys-t-Ø-as ta s7íxwalh ta sts'úkwi7
 RL eat-TR-3N-3E DET child DET salmon

¹³Some of these pronouns are identical with the determiners. Others are unique demonstrative pronouns.

‘The boy (male child) ate the salmon.’

- b. na wa í7tut-Ø-wit ítsiʔwit
 RL DR sleeping-3N-PL they.DISTAL
 ‘They.DIST are sleeping.’

2.3. Word order

In the following sections I describe the word order first for realis (non-future tense) and then for future tense clauses. Word order must also be subdivided between that of the first and second person pronouns and that of third person arguments.

2.3.1. Realis aspect

2.3.1.1. Third person arguments

When there are two third person overt NPs present, the word order is either VOS or VSO. It is not clear which word order is preferred. Kuipers (1967:§245) notes that the VSO appears to be ‘the normal order’ (8a). From my own elicitation the VOS order is preferred for a elicited sentence elicited out of context (8b). A different stress pattern likely also distinguishes between the two patterns.

This word order holds only when the subject is not being emphasized. Otherwise the subject NP may be fronted for emphasis on the subject. When there is only one NP following the ergative marked verb, the NP is always the object (8c). In order to have an overt NP for the agent as the only overt NP, a passive construction must be used (8d). For example:

- (8) a. na ch'erḿ-t-Ø-as ta skwemáy ta swí7k̄a
 RL bite-TR-3N-3E DET dog DET man
 ‘The dog bit the man.’
- b. na ch'erḿ-t-Ø-as ta swi7k̄a ta skwemáy
 RL bite-TR-3N-3E DET man DET dog
 ‘The dog bit the man.’
- c. na ílhens-t-Ø-as kwa síyaʔ-s
 RL feed-TR-3N-3E DET friends-3POSS
 ‘He fed his friends.’
 *‘His friends fed him.’
- d. na ílhens-t-em-Ø t-kwa síyaʔ-s
 RL feed-TR-DT-3N OBL-DET friends-3POSS

‘His friends fed him.’

This grammatical restriction on a single NP following the transitive predicate probably indicates that when there are two NPs following, that the second NP is left-dislocated. Also when the first NP following the predicate is the subject, this may be a case of apposition. A better translation of examples (8a) and (8b) might be:

- (9) a. ‘It, the dog, bit the man.’
 b. ‘He bit the man, the dog.’

The subject NP can also be fronted. This construction is used for discourse-pragmatic purposes that are not yet clear.

- (10) taŷ skwemáŷ na ch'eŋ-t-Ø-as ta swí7ka
 that dog RL bite-TR-3N-3E DET man
 ‘That dog bit the man.’

As noted, earlier third person demonstrative pronouns (11a) have the same syntax as other NPs (11b). This can be seen from the following example where the demonstrative follows the verb phrase:

- (11) a. an tl'i7neŷas itsiwit
 very like.one.another they.DIST
 ‘They (there) like each other very much.’
 b. an tl'i7neŷas kwetsi stelmexw
 very like.one.another DET people
 ‘Those people like each other very much.’

The following clause is not allowed since the demonstrative does not follow the verb phrase:

- (12) *an itsiwit tl'i7neŷas
 very they.DIST like.one.another
 ‘They like each other very much.’

Compare the above examples with the following example with a first person plural pronoun. The auxiliary plus pronoun suffix follows the first word of the verb phrase (13a) and not the verb phrase (13b) as NPs do (11a,b).

- (13) a. an ch-et tl'i7neWas
 very AUX-we like.one.another
 'We like each other very much.'
- b. *an tl'i7neWas ch-et
 very like.one.another AUX-we
 'We like each other very much.'

2.3.1.2. First and second person

The pronouns for first and second person precede the verb phrase in the non-future tense. For example:

- (14) a. ch-en nam t'ukw'
 AUX-I go home
 'I went home.'
- b. ch-exw-kw wa ilhen
 AUX-you-already DR eat
 'You are already eating.'

The realis clitic /na/ does not normally occur with these pronouns. When it does occur it appears before the pronoun. It indicates an emphasis on the actuality of the event. For example:

- (15) a. na ch-an tsut
 RL AUX-I say
 'I did say (it).'
- b. na ch-an (ha7lh)
 RL AUX-I well
 'I am (well),' in answer to 'Are you well?'

2.3.2. Future/irrealis

There are two types of future constructions.¹⁴ One type refers to an intention for the near future expressed by first person (16a–c), or expressed about a third person (16e). This construction is also used for polite commands for second person (16c–d). The other type of future construction uses the future clitic /eḵ'/.

In the first future tense construction, the pronoun follows the main verb or the aspectual clitic /wa/ instead of preceding the verb as in realis clauses (16a–d). Third

¹⁴See Currie (1997) for a fuller discussion of future tense constructions in Skw̓xwu7mesh.

person has no syntactic counterpart to this (16e). For third person there is no word order difference and the only difference between a realis clause and this special type of future clause is the absence of the realis clitic /na/. Note that /na/ following the verb is ungrammatical (16f). It does not obtain a future tense reading.

- (16) a. naḥ ch-en t'ukw'
 go AUX-I go.home
 'I'm going to go home.'
- b. ch'áw-at-umi ch-et
 help-TR-you AUX-we
 'We are going to help you.'
- c. ch'áw-at-s ch-exw
 help-TR-me AUX-you.SN
 'Help me!'
- d. wa ch-ap yuu
 DR AUX-you.PN be.careful
 'Be careful!'
- e. lulum-Ø
 sing-3N
 'He' going to sing.'
- f. na lulum-Ø
 RL sing-3N
 'He sings,' 'he sang'
- g. *lulum-Ø na
 sing-3N RL
 'He will sing.'

Mere statements of future events use the future marker /ek'/. This clitic follows the pronouns for first and second person, which in this case can either precede (17a) or follow (17b) the main verb. For third person the future clitic follows the main verb and the realis clitic does not appear (17c). For example:

- (17) a. ch-en ek' txwnach'awtxw kwayl es
 AUX-I FT visit tomorrow 3N

‘I’ll be visiting tomorrow.’

- b. ts’its’áp’ ch-ap ek’ na7 t-taý
 work AUX-you.PN FT at OBL-there
 ‘You guys will be working there.’

- c. ts’its’áp’-Ø ek’
 work-3N FT
 ‘He will work.’

3. Conjunctive clauses

Conjunctive clauses, in Salish languages, are so named because they typically have the person marking suffixes conjoined to the main verb (Kroeber 1999). In *Skw̓w̓mesh*, in particular, they typically have the irrealis clitic /k̥/ at the beginning of the clause. Thus, Kuipers (1967:189–195) describes these clauses as /k̥/ clauses. However, it is not always the case that the clitic /k̥/ appears in a conjunctive clause.

There are two sub-types of conjunctive clauses. These subtypes are differentiated by the position of the subject marking in the clause. One subtype, the future conjunctive clause, has the subject marking directly suffixed to the main verb. These are Kuipers (1967:189–190:§285–290) Type I /q/ clauses. The other subtype, the non-future conjunctive clause, has the subject marking preceding the main verb and is suffixed to the irrealis clitic /k̥/. These are Kuipers (1967:192–194:§294–301) Type III /q/ clauses.

The semantic division of future and non-future tense between these two clause types parallels the difference in main clauses between those that have the first and second person pronouns before the main verb and those that have the pronouns following the main verb (cf. section 2.3). An important difference though is that third person also follows this pattern in conjunctive clauses unlike in main clauses.

3.1. The future conjunctive

Here I present the internal syntax of future conjunctive clauses and then their external syntax, i.e. their syntactic function with the rest of the clause.

3.1.1. Internal syntax of future conjunctive clauses

For the internal syntax of future conjunctive clauses, I describe their subject marking, their accusative verbal agreement pattern and then their word order.

3.1.1.1. Subject marking

Future conjunctive clauses mark the person of the subject in an accusative system for all three persons. Unlike declarative clauses, even third person is marked in an accusative system. This accusative system is still an agreement system for third person though, unlike the pronominal system for first and second person.

This set of subject marking clitics is identical to the person suffixes and the third person ergative agreement in declarative clauses. See table 5 above.

The following table 7 gives the complete paradigm for transitive future conjunctive clauses. The rows indicate person and number of the subject. The columns indicate person and number of the object.¹⁵

Table 7. The Future Tense Transitive Conjunctive Paradigm: *ch'awat* 'to help'

	1 SG.OBJ 3SA	2SG.OBJ	3 SG.OBJ
1SG.S BJ		ch'awat-umi-7an	ch'awat-Ø-an
2 SG.SBJ	ch'awat-s-axw ch'awat-Ø-axw		ch'awat-Ø-axw
3 SG.SBJ	ch'awat-s-as	(ch'awatem-axw)	ch'awat-Ø-as

	1 PL.OBJ	2PL.OBJ	3 PL.OBJ
1SG.S BJ		ch'awat-umi-yap-an ch'awat-Ø-an-wit	ch'awat-Ø-an-wit
2 SG.SBJ	ch'awat-umulh-axw		ch'awat-Ø-axw-wit
3 SG.SBJ	ch'awat-umulh-as	(ch'awatem-ap)	ch'awat-Ø-as-wit

	1 SG.OBJ 3SA	2SG.OBJ	3 SG.OBJ
1PL.S BJ		ch'awat-umi-7et ch'awat-Ø-at	ch'awat-Ø-at
2 PL.SBJ	ch'awat-s-ap		ch'awat-Ø-ap
3 PL.SBJ	ch'awat-Ø-as-wit	(ch'awatem-axw)	ch'awat-Ø-as-wit

	1 PL.OBJ	2PL.OBJ	3 PL.OBJ
1PL.S BJ		ch'awat-umi-7et-wit	ch'awat-Ø-et
2	ch'awat-umulh-ap		ch'awat-Ø-ap

¹⁵Note for third person agent to second person theme that only the passive construction can be used. These are the examples in round brackets.

PL.SBJ			
3 PL.SBJ	ch'awat-umulh-as-wit	(ch'awatem-ap)	ch'awat-Ø-as-wit

Table 8 gives the intransitive future conjunctive paradigm.

Table 8. The Future Tense Intransitive Conjunctive Paradigm: *ilhen* 'to eat'

1SG.SB J	ilhen-7a n		1PL.S BJ	ilhen-7et
2 SG.SBJ	ilhen-7a xw		2 PL.SBJ	ilhen-7ap
3 SG.SBJ	ilhen-7as		3 PL.SBJ	ilhen-7as-wit

3.1.1.2. Verb agreement

Like main clauses there is no agreement in addition to the person marking suffixes for first and second person. Third person is different though. It is marked in an accusative system. Compare the following examples, both with third person subjects. The first example has a third person subject of a transitive verb and the second example has a third person subject of an intransitive verb. Thus both transitive and intransitive subjects here take the /-as/ suffix.

(18) a. ha7lh, [ḳ ch'aw-at-Ø-as alhi]
be.good IRR help-TR-3A-3N her
'It would be good, if he helped her.'

b. ch-en ta7aʷn [ḳ huyá7-as kwa a siyáy̓]
AUX-I think IRR leave-3N DET your friend
'I thought your friend was going to leave.'

3.1.1.3. Word order

The word order for future conjunctive clauses is: the irrealis clitic /ḳ/, followed by the main predicate, optionally followed by NPs for third person arguments. When these conjunctive clauses are sentence initial the irrealis clitic does not appear. In some cases even non-initial conjunctive clauses do not have the irrealis clitic. There is no overt complementizer even when these clauses are used for complement clauses (19b). For example:

Non-initial conjunctive clause

(19) a. ha7lh [ḳ ilhen-7et]

be.good IRR eat-we
 ‘It would be good if we ate.’ or ‘We should eat.’

b. ch-en ta7aʷn [k̥ ilhen-7es]
 AUX-I think IRR eat-3N
 ‘I think he’ll eat.’

c. silha-7an-Ø ch-exw, [ha7lh-as]
 buy-TR-3A AUX-you.SN be.good-3N
 ‘Buy it, if it’s good!’

Initial conjunctive clause

(20) [ts’its’ap’-axw], hans-t-s ch-axw
 work-you.SN tell-TR-me AUX-you.SN
 ‘If you work, tell me!’

Future conjunctive clauses do not exactly parallel the special future construction in main clauses. Like the future tense for main clauses the person marking follows the main verb. Unlike main clauses though, the future conjunctive does not have an auxiliary to which the person suffixes are attached. Nor does combination of person marking with the irrealis clitic which appears in non-future conjunctive clauses appear after the main verb (cf. section 3.2.). The following clause is not acceptable:

(21) *ch-en ta7aʷn, [ts’its’ap’ k̥-as]
 AUX-I think work IRR-3N
 ‘I think he’ll work.’

3.1.2. External syntax of future conjunctive clauses—their functions

I list here the functions of future conjunctive clauses, as described in Kuipers (1967:189-190:§285-290) in his chapter on /k̥/ clauses. These clauses are used for conditional clauses and temporal adverbial clauses, for the complement clauses (indirect questions and of verbs of speech), the future tense of a subordinate alternative clause and for the negation of predicate nominals.

3.1.2.1. Conditional/adverbial clauses

These clauses may follow the main clause, in which case they have the irrealis clitic /k̥/. When these clauses are the initial clause of the sentence then they do not have /k̥/. Kuipers (1967:§295) notes that any use of conjunctive clauses as sentence initial conditionals can also be replaced by an /u/ conditional clause (cf. section 5). These

conditional clauses may often overlap with temporal adverbial clauses. The distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ is not kept apart strictly.

Non-initial conjunctive clauses

- (22) a. ha7lh n-skw_kwalwen, [kw ts'its'ap'-axw]
 be.good my-heart IRR work-2SN
 ‘I would be glad, if you worked.’
- b. xeta ek' kwetsi e-snaa kwi s-yetsem,
 be.far will DET your-name DET NM-report
 [kw ha7lh-axw stelmexw]
 IRR be.good-2SN person
 ‘Far will your name be discussed, if you are a good person.’

Initial conjunctive clause

- (23) a. [ts'its'ap'-axw], hans-t-s ch-axw
 work-2SN tell-TR-me AUX-2SN
 ‘If (when) you work, tell me!’
- b. [u ch-exw ts'its'ap'], hans-t-s ch-axw
 if AUX-2SN work tell-TR-me AUX-you.SN
 ‘If you work, tell me!’

In some cases only a temporal adverbial rendering is allowed.

- (24) a. kwayl, [kw ts'its'ap'-as]
 tomorrow IRR work-3SN
 ‘Tomorrow is when he’ll work.’
- b. kwayl, [kw mist-Ø-axw]
 tomorrow IRR bring-3A-2SN
 ‘(may you) bring it tomorrow!’
- c. kwekw^hin lhkwun, [esli7elxw-as]
 long.time could.be lying-3N
 ‘It was probably a long time ago when he was lying down.’

3.1.2.2. Complement clauses

Future conjunctive clauses are used for two types of complement clauses. It is used for indirect questions and for the complement of a verb of speech.

3.1.2.2.1. Indirect questions

In indirect questions, a future conjunctive clause has an irrealis clitic. The predicate of the indirect question clause is one of a set of question words. These clauses do not necessarily have to have the irrealis clitic though (cf. 13c).

- (25) a. na wilkw'-et-Ø-as tay̓ [k̥ swat-an]
 RL ask-TR-3N-3E him IRR be.who-I
 'They asked him who I was.'

- b. na wilkw'-t-s-as-wit, [k̥ stam-as
 RL ask-TR-me-3E-PL IRR be.what-3SN
 kwi na wa n-sts'its'ap']
 DET RL DR my-job

'They asked me, what kind of work I was doing.', or
 'They asked me, what it was, that which is my job.'

3.1.2.2.2. Verbs of speech

The complement of verbs of speech, jussive verbs, can take a future conjunctive clause. In this case the irrealis clitic is absent.

- (26) a. na wa tsun-t-s-as, [i e'mi-7an]
 RL DR tell-TR-me-3E now come-I
 'He was telling me to come here.'

- b. ch-en u-t-Ø, [mi-7as uys]
 AUX-I invite-TR-3N come-3N inside
 'I invited him to come inside.'

3.1.2.2.3. Subordinate alternative

The conjunctive clause is also used for the second member of an alternative sentence in the future, that is, an 'or' clause. In this case the predicate is preceded by the irrealis clitic.

- (27) a. ilhen u ch-en i [k̥ itut-an]
 eat Q AUX-I or IRR sleep-I
 'Should I eat or sleep?'

- b. ch-en t'anam̓en, [k̥ hiyi-7as]
 AUX-I measure IRR be.big-3SN

[k̥ etsim-7as]
 IRR be.small-3N

‘I measure whether it’s big or small.’

3.1.2.4. Negation

These clauses are used for the negation of predicate nominals and optionally for the negation of the present tense of some predicates. This is actually another type of complement clause with the negative verb as the main clause verb.

Negation of predicate nominals

- (28) a. haw [k̥ n-skwetsi7ts-as]
 not IRR my-relative-3SN
 ‘He is no relative of mine.’

- b. haw [k̥ n-stl'i7-as] kwi n-s-naṃ
 not IRR my-desire-3SN DET my-NM-go
 ‘I didn’t want to go.’ or ‘It wasn’t my desire to go.’

Negation of present tense

- (29) a. xwu7axw [k̥ tl'ik̥-as]
 not.yet IRR arrive-3SN
 ‘He hasn’t arrived yet.’

- b. xwu7axw [ilhen-7as-wit]
 not.yet eat-3N-PL
 ‘They haven’t eaten yet.’

- c. haw [k̥ tina7-an]
 not IRR be.from-I
 ‘I’m not from there.’

3.2. Non-future conjunctive

Here I present the internal syntax of non-future conjunctive clauses and then their external syntax, i.e. their syntactic function with the rest of the clause.

3.2.1. Internal syntax of non-future conjunctive clauses

For the internal syntax of non-future conjunctive clauses, I describe their subject marking, their ergative verbal agreement pattern and then their word order.

3.2.1.1. Subject marking

The non-future conjunctive marks the person of the subject using the same suffixes as for main clauses. These suffixes, however, are added to the irrealis morpheme /k̥/. Third person utilizes the morpheme /-as/ in this same set. This suffix marks third person in an accusative system unlike in main clauses. In this way non-future conjunctive clauses do not exactly parallel declarative clauses in the way they mark person, since third person is not marked on the auxiliary in declarative clauses. This third person accusative system is also an agreement system.

Table 9 below gives the set of pronouns used in non-future conjunctive clauses. These pronouns optionally glottalize the irrealis morpheme /k̥/.

Table 9. Non-future Conjunctive Clause Pronouns

k̥-'an	'I'
k̥-'axw	'you.SN'
k̥-'as	'3 nominative, singular or plural; 3N'
k̥-'at	'we'
k̥-'ap, k̥'ayap	'you.PN'

3.2.1.2. Verb agreement

These non-future conjunctive clauses have the same type of split ergative verbal agreement system as declarative clauses.¹⁶ There is no agreement for first and second persons and third person is marked in an ergative system. The object suffixes are the same as those used in declarative clauses. For example:

- (30) a. xwu7axw [k̥-an huya7]
 not.yet IRR-I leave
 'I haven't left yet.'
- b. haw [k̥-an kw'ách-nexw-Ø]
 not IRR-I see-TR-3A

¹⁶There is one exception to this: the verb /lhk̥'i7s/ 'to know'. When this verb is negated there is ergative agreement for first and second person also. For example:

- (i) haw k̥-an lhk̥'i7s-t-an
 not IRR-I know-TR-1E
 'I don't know.'

I didn't see him.'

Third person uses an ergative system. This means that transitive clauses with a third person subject have both the third person pronoun /k̥as/ and the ergative agreement /-as/ on the verb.¹⁷ For example:

(31) a. haw [k̥-as ch'aw-at-s-as]
not IRR-3N help-TR-me-3E
'He didn't help me.'

b. xwu7axw [k̥-as ilhen-Ø]
not.yet IRR-3N eat-3N
'He hasn't eaten yet.'

3.2.1.3. Word order

The word order in non-future conjunctive clauses is the same as in main clauses. The /k̥/ clitic with the person marking precedes the verb. Like future conjunctive clauses, these clauses do not have an overt complementizer when used as complement clauses.

(32) a. ch-en ta7aʷn [k̥-'axw huya7]
AUX-I think IRR-you.SN leave
'I thought you left.'

b. ch-en telnumut [k̥-'as huya7-Ø]
AUX-I find.out IRR-3N leave-3N
'I'll find out if he's going (now).'

3.2.2. Functions

I list here the functions of non-future conjunctive clauses, as described in Kuipers (1967:192-194:§294-301) in his chapter on /k̥/ clauses. These clauses are used for conditional clauses and temporal adverbial clauses, for complement clauses, for the past tense of a subordinate alternative clause and for negation in past/present tense.

3.2.2.1. Conditional and temporal adverbial clauses

The non-future conjunctive is also used for conditional clauses and temporal adverbial clauses. As in future conjunctive clauses, there is not a strict distinction between the two.

¹⁷It is rare to find an overt NP for third person ergative subjects. If it is possible for these /k̥/ clauses then the subject would be marked by /k̥'as/, the verbal agreement /-as/ and the overt NP. This needs to be checked. The more likely situation though is that a passive construction would be used instead if an overt NP is required for the ergative subject.

- (33) a. [k-ʼan pʼi7-nexw-Ø], sátsʰ-it-umi ch-an ekʼ
 IRR-I get-TR-3N give-TR-you.SA AUX-I FT
 ‘If I get it, I’ll give it to you.’
- b. [k-ʼaxw lhkʼi7s-Ø], hans-t-s ch-axw
 IRR-you.SN know-3N tell-TR-me AUX-you.SN
 ‘If you know it, tell me.’

A temporal reading of these clauses is determined by context.

- (34) a. itut ch-exw k-ʼas keŋp-Ø ta snekwem
 sleep AUX-you.SN IRR-3N set-3N DET sun
 ‘Go to sleep when the sun sets.’
- b. ch-en yeŵiŋtsni-t-umi k-ʼaxw uyum
 AUX-I understand-TR-2SA IRR-you.SN be.slow
 k-axw wa nichim
 IRR-you.SN DR speak
 ‘I understand you when you speak slowly,’ or,
 ‘I understand you when you are slow when you are speaking.’

3.2.2.2. Complement clauses

These clauses are also used as an alternative to nominalized clauses for object complement clauses.

- (35) a. ne-w ch-exw ta7aŵn
 RL-Q AUX-2SN think
 [k-as-kw huya7-Ø-wit]
 IRR-3N-already leave-3N-PL
 ‘Do you think that they’ve already left?’

b. ne-w ch-exw ta7aʷn
 RL-Q AUX-2SN think

[kwi s-Ø-s-kw huya7-Ø-wit]
 COMP NM-RL-3POSS-already leave-3N-PL

‘Do you think that they’ve already left?’

3.2.2.3. Past tense alternative

For an alternative in the past, that is, an ‘or’ sentence in the past tense, the non-future conjunctive is used to express the subordinate clause. For example:

(36) ne-w ts’its’ap’-Ø i [k-’as men itut-Ø]
 RL-Q work-3N or IRR-3N just sleep-3N
 ‘Did he work or just sleep?’

The non-future conjunctive clause also functions as the subordinate member of sentences expressing an alternative in the past, that is, an ‘or’ sentence in the past tense.

3.2.2.4. Negation

The non-future conjunctive is used in negation of the present or past tense, non-durative aspect. Again, as with negation in the future conjunctive, this appears to be a type of complement clause construction with the negative verb as the main verb and the non-future conjunctive clause as the subject or oblique complement clause.

(37) a. haw [k-an huýs(-t)-Ø kwi sts’ukwi7]
 not IRR-I eat-TR-3N DET fish
 ‘I didn’t eat any fish.’

b. haw [k-as lhk’i7s-t-Ø-as alhi]
 not IRR-3N know-TR-3N-3E her
 ‘He doesn’t know her.’

3.2.2.5. Non-future conjunctive clauses without /k/

There is another syntactic subtype of non-future conjunctive clause where the person marking appears as a separate clitic at the beginning of the clause without the irrealis clitic /k/. The person marking clitics are the same as in other non-future conjunctive clauses. There are only a few examples of these clauses. Both examples are with a third person subject. These clauses function only as adverbial clauses. They describe permanent qualities of generic nominals. The following example has a preposed relative clause before the head noun (in round brackets) with which this non-future conjunctive

clause (in square brackets) is co-temporal. This type of non-future conjunctive clause always follows the main clause.

- (38) nilh malh ti (na wa skaxw_kaxw)
 COP well these(ones) RL DR gather.together
 suk_w'uk_w'i7nexw [as wa sisi_k-Ø-wit]
 birds 3N DR flying-3N-PL

‘Well, these are the birds that group together when they are flying.’

4. Nominalized clauses

In this section I examine nominalized clauses in Sk_wx_{wu}7mesh. I examine their internal syntax (§4.1.). The person marking system of the nominalized clauses in Sk_wx_{wu}7mesh is the most complicated of all the subordinate clause types. I provide an historical account for some of this complexity (§4.2.). I then describe their external syntax, i.e. their function in the wider clause (§4.3).

Nominalized clauses usually have /kwi/, the indefinite determiner, as their initial constituent. Furthermore, the first word following /kwi/ is nominalized with the nominalizer /s-/, whether this word is the main predicate or an aspectual clitic. Thus the whole clause appears to be nominalized and not just the main predicate. Any optional NPs follow the verb.

4.1. The internal syntax of nominalized clauses

In this section I examine the syntax of nominalized clauses: their subject marking and their complex verbal agreement system.

4.1.1. Subject marking

Nominalized clauses have possessive agreement for the subject of both transitive and intransitive clauses. This is the only subject marking that is consistent throughout this clause type. The possessive affix is attached to whatever part of the verb phrase is nominalized. The possessive affixes used in nominalized clauses are in table 10 following.

Table 10. The Possessive Paradigm

n-	‘my’	-chet	‘our’
Ø-	‘your.SN’ ¹⁸	Ø- -yap	‘your- -PL’
-s	‘3POSS’	-s-wit	‘3POSS-PL’

4.1.2. Verb agreement

¹⁸This zero morpheme of the second person occurs only in nominalized clauses. Elsewhere it appears as /a-/.

It is difficult to describe the person marking and agreement system of nominalized clauses in Skw̓w̓mesh as either accusative or ergative or even a combination of the two. In some cases it is a three way system that marks differently the subject and object of a transitive, and the subject of an intransitive. The complete paradigm is in table 11 with the transitive verb /ch'awat/ 'to help'. The intransitive paradigm with the intransitive verb /7ilhen/ 'to eat' is in table 12. I include the possessive subject marking in both tables. These tables give the nominalized clause as it would be without aspectual marking and any overt NPs, i.e. the future tense nominalized clause. For ease of exposition in the table, the indefinite article /kwi/ is, also, not included in the tables. The rows indicate the person and number of the subject. The columns indicate the person and number of the object.

Table 11. Transitive Nominalized Clauses

	1 SG.OBJ	2SG.OBJ	3 SG.OBJ
1SG.S BJ		n-s-ch'awat-umi	n-s-ch'awat-an
2 SG.SBJ	Ø-s-ch'awat-s-axw		Ø-s-ch'awat-axw
3 SG.SBJ	s-ch'awat-s-as	(Ø-s-ch'awat-m)	s-ch'awat-as

	1 PL.OBJ	2PL.OBJ	3 PL.OBJ
1SG.S BJ		n-s-ch'awat-umi-wit	n-s-ch'awat-an-wit
2 SG.SBJ	Ø-s-ch'awat-umulh-axw		Ø-s-ch'awat-axw-wit
3 SG.SBJ	s-ch'awat-umulh-as	(Ø-s-ch'awat-m-yap)	s-ch'awat-as-wit

	1 SG.OBJ	2SG.OBJ	3 SG.OBJ
1PL.S BJ		s-ch'awat-umi-chat	s-ch'awat-chat
2 PL.SBJ	Ø-s-ch'awat-s-ap		Ø-s-ch'awat-ap
3 PL.SBJ	s-ch'awat-s-as-wit	(Ø-s-ch'awat-m)	s-ch'awat-as-wit

	1 PL.OBJ	2PL.OBJ	3 PL.OBJ
1PL.S BJ		s-ch'awat-umi-chat-wit	s-ch'awat-chat-wit
2 PL.SBJ	s-ch'awat-umulh-ap		Ø-s-ch'awat-ap-wit
3 PL.SBJ	s-ch'awat-umulh-as-wit	(Ø-s-ch'awat-m-yap)	s-ch'awat-as-wit

Table 12. Intransitive Nominalized Clauses

1SG.SB J	n-s-7ilhen	1PL.S BJ	s-7ilhen-chet
2 SG.SBJ	Ø-s-7ilhen	2 PL.SBJ	Ø-s-ilhen-yap
3 SG.SBJ	s-7ilhen	3 PL.SBJ	s-7ilhen-s-wit

For example compare the following examples with first person singular subjects:

- (39) a. kwi **n-s-ch'awat-Ø-an**
 DET my-NM-help-3N-I
 '(They know) that I will help him.'
- b. kwi Ø-s-ch'awat-s-axw
 DET your-NM-help-me-you.SN
 '(They know) that you will help me.'
- c. kwi **n-s-ilhen**
 DET my-NM-eat
 '(They know) that I will eat.'

In the first example, first person subject is marked by the possessive prefix and the verbal suffix /-an/. In the second example, first person singular object is marked by the object suffix /-s/. In the third example, with an intransitive verb, first person subject is only marked by the possessive prefix, and no additional morphology on the verb. This gives three different ways that first person singular is marked on the verb: /-an/, /-s/ and zero.

Now compare the verbal agreement in (40) below with example (39a). The expected first person, transitive subject agreement is absent in (40) compared to (39a). In this way the subject is like the intransitive first person singular subject, both being marked by zero on the verb.

- (40) kwi n-s-ch'awat-umi-Ø
 DET my-NM-help-you.SA-I
 'that I help you'

The same restrictions apply to third person agents with second person themes as in main clauses: a passive construction must be used. I include this passive construction in the table but in brackets since it is formally an intransitive construction.

In most cases, except combinations with second person objects or first person plural subject, the subject of a transitive is marked on the verb using the same subject marking suffixes as in main clauses. This subject marking is in addition to the possessive marking. The object is always marked on the main verb as in main clauses. The same object suffixes are used as in main clauses.

4.2. An historical analysis

A person hierarchy and reanalysis of possessive affixes appear to be the two factors that resulted in the present person marking system of nominalized clauses in *Skw̓w̓w̓mesh*. Further evidence for these hypotheses comes from clause chaining.

4.2.1. Person hierarchy

My first hypothesis is that this person marking system has the remnants of a strict person hierarchy. In this older system it was not possible to directly mark subject on the verb with a second person object. Jelinek and Demers (1983) discuss such a system for main clauses in Lummi, another Coast Salish language. This is still true for third person subjects with second person object in *Skw̓w̓w̓mesh*. In the nominalized transitive paradigm there are no combinations of second person object suffixes with any subject suffixes. Only possessive affixes are used with second person subjects.

4.2.2. Possessive affixes reanalyzed

My second hypothesis is that the possessive affixes are in some cases being reanalyzed as pronouns for nominalized clauses. In other cases these possessive affixes are being reanalyzed as inflections for person on a new complementizer.¹⁹

First person plural subject uses only the possessive suffix /-chet/ in nominalized clauses. This is phonologically identical to the subject pronoun in main clauses. It appears that this suffix is being reanalyzed as a pronoun in nominalized clauses. Some evidence for this is that there is no /-at/ 'we' suffix also present in any case in nominalized clauses. Further evidence for this reanalysis is that the realis clitic never appears with first person plural subject. Thus only (41a) is allowed and not (41b). Compare (41a), where the first person singular subject does have the realis clitic, with (40c), where the realis clitic does surface.

- (41) a. kwi s-Ø-chet tuyn(-t)-Ø
 DET NM-RL-our abandon-TR-3N
 'that we abandoned it'
- b. *kwi s-na-chet tuyn(-t)-Ø

¹⁹Thank you Doris Payne for the notion that the nominalizer may be synchronically functioning as a complementizer.

DET NM-RL-our abandon-TR-3N
 ‘that we abandoned it’

- c. kwi n-s-na tuyn(-t)-Ø
 DET my-NM-RL abandon-TR-3N
 ‘that I abandoned it’

A possible reanalysis that is taking place is that the determiner and nominalizer are being treated as a complementizer. In some cases this complementizer is inflected for person of the subject of the nominalized clause. This reanalysis is as in the following example (with the past tense nominalized clause):

- (42) kwis chet tuyn-(t)-Ø
 COMP we abandon-TR-3N
 ‘that we abandoned it’

Interestingly, the only difference between this construction (42a) and the future tense nominalized clause is the position of the first person plural possessive suffix (42a). This future tense counterpart is reminiscent of the future tense construction in matrix clauses (42b).

- (43) a. kwis tuyn-(t)-Ø chet
 COMP abandon-TR-3N we
 ‘that we will abandon it’
- b. tuyn-(t)-Ø chet
 abandon-TR-3N we
 ‘We will abandon it.’

Further evidence that Skw̓w̓w̓ is developing a new set of pronouns for the nominalized clauses in the realis aspect is with third person. Only when the main clause verb is a locative/preposition-like predicate does the nominalized clause have an overt realization of the realis clitic with third person. For example:

- (44) ti7encha [kwi s-ni-s p’i7-nexw-Ø-as]
 from.where DET NM-RL-3POSS get-TR-3N-3E
 ‘Where is it that he got it from?’ or
 ‘Where did he get it from?’

Compare this with the following example where the main clause verb is not a locative type predicate. In this case the realis clitic has a zero realization, just as it does with first person plural subject. The third person possessive suffix is affixed to the nominalizing prefix /s-/.

- (45) ch-en lhk'i7s(-t)-Ø [kwi s-Ø-s-kw huya7-Ø]
 AUX-I know-TR-3N DET NM-RL-3POSS-already leave-3N
 'I knew that he had already left.'

In fact, it is only first person singular subject that maintains all the morphology of a nominalization. Notice that second person subjects have a zero allomorph of the second person prefix. This allomorph only appears in nominalized clauses. Second person subjects do maintain the realis clitic though.

Basically what appears to be happening is the reanalysis of nominalized clauses where the complementizer is in some cases inflected for the person of the subject in the non-future tense. Paradigms of the reanalysis of both non-future and future nominalized clauses are in tables 13 and 14. This, in fact, is how present speakers of Skw̓w̓mesh write these clauses. For the remainder of this paper I will also gloss nominalized clauses in the same manner.

Table 13. Non-Future Nominalized Clauses Reanalyzed

kwins	na		huy	kwis	chet	huy
that.I	RL	finish	that	we	finish	
'that I finished'			'that we finished'			
kwis	na	huy	kwis	na	huy-yap	
that.you.SN	RL	finish	that.you.PN	RL	finish-PL	
'that you (SN) finished'			'that you (PN) finished'			
kwi	ses		huy	kwi	ses	huy-wit
that	3N		finish	that	3N	finish-PL
'that he finished'			'that they finished'			

Table 14. Future Nominalized Clauses Reanalyzed

kwins	ilhen	kwis	ilhen	chet
that.I	eat	that	eat	we
‘that I eat’		‘that we eat’		
kwis	ilhen	kwis	ilhen-yap	
that.you.SN	eat	that.you	eat-PL	
‘that you (SN) eat’		‘that you (PN) eat’		
kwis ilhen-s	kwis	ilhen-s-wit		
that.3N	eat-3POSS	that.3N eat-3POSS-PL		
‘that he eats’		‘that they eat’		

When they are functioning as adverbial clauses I will gloss them as in example (46a). When they are functioning as purpose clauses I will gloss them as in example (46b). Nominalized clauses functioned as adverbial clauses, complement clauses and purpose clauses before this reanalysis and they still share the same external syntax.

- (46) a. kwins ilhen
 when.I eat
 ‘when I eat’
- b. kwins ilhen
 in.order.for.me eat
 ‘(in order for me) to eat’

Kroeber (1999) claims that nominalized clauses historically began with the conjunctive-like subject suffixes for transitive verbs. But since this construction is also a nominalization, they had the additional possessive agreement with the subject. My hypothesis of the person hierarchy is an explanation for why not all transitive subjects are marked by subject suffixes on the verb. The subject suffixes could be deleted also because the subject is also encoded by the possessive affixes. Some Coast Salish languages have gone all the way with this reanalysis. Synchronically all subjects are indicated only by possessive affixes (Kroeber 1999).

A further step has taken place where some possessive affixes are being reanalyzed as separate pronouns for non-future nominalized clauses and in some cases also for future nominalized clauses. The other possessive affixes appear to be coalescing with the indefinite determiner to form a complementizer which is inflected for the person of the subject. This results in two separate processes going on, resulting in a lack of uniformity in the nominalized clause paradigm.

4.2.3. Clause chaining

Nominalized clauses are also used for a type of clause chaining indicating temporal succession. In this case the indefinite determiner /kwi/ is not used. The two are very similar and the clause chaining clause is derived from the nominalized clause. The clause chaining construction is interesting though in that it shows a further step that nominalized clauses have taken to form another construction. This is particularly true for the person marking system.

First person singular shares many properties with the nominalized clauses. The possessive prefix though is in its full form (with the initial glottal stop), indicating that it is the initial constituent of its clause.

- (47) ch-en ilhen [ʔen-s-na men naḿ t'ukw']
 AUX-I eat my-NM-RL just go go.home
 'I ate (and then) I went home.'

For first person plural subjects, though, the nominalizer /s-/ does not even appear in clause chaining. For example:

- (48) ch-et ilhen, [chet men naḿ tukw']
 AUX-we eat our just go go.home
 'We ate (and then) we went home.'

This clause chaining construction is identical to a main clause in the realis aspect with first person plural subject. For example:

- (49) ch-et men naḿ t'ukw'
 AUX-we just go go.home
 'We went home.'

The particle /men/ always appears in these constructions. It means 'just' in other cases. In clause chaining it appears to be a grammatical morpheme used especially for this clause chaining construction. With other persons it takes possessive affixation. But the first person plural possessive suffix does not affix to /men/ as other possessive affixes do. Again the realis clitic does not appear with the first person plural subjects.

Third person subjects in clause chaining also do not affix the possessive suffix to /men/ when in the realis aspect. Instead the possessive suffix is affixed to the nominalizer /s-/ as in other nominalized clauses. For example:

- (50) na ilhen-Ø [s-Ø-s men naḿ t'ukw'-Ø]
 RL eat-3N NM-RL-3POSS just go go.home-3N
 'He ate (and then) he went home.'

Again only second person singular and plural and first person singular subjects have an overt realization of the realis clitic. First person plural and third person, singular and plural subjects do not. Instead they have their own pronouns in clause chaining in the realis aspect as nominalized clauses do.

4.3. Functions

Nominalized clauses are used to express adverbial clauses, sentential complements and purpose clauses.

4.3.1. Adverbial clauses

The nominalized clause can function as a temporal adverbial clause (shown in square brackets).

- (51) a. na a^wits-Ø ta s^xwí7shen [kwis tskw'átsut-s]
 RL be.fast-3A DET deer that. 3N run-3POSS
 'Deer runs fast.' or 'Deer is fast when he runs.'
- b. [i kwi s-ne-s t^l'ik kwelhi huys
 and DET NM-RL-3POSS arrive DET most
 sintl' lhíxwem] na uyulh-Ø t-ta snexwilh
 eldest.sibling slug RL board-3N OBL-DET canoe
 'When the eldest sister, Slug, arrived, she boarded the canoe.'

4.3.2. Complement clauses

Nominalized clauses can function as both subject and object complements. The following are examples of subject complement clauses.

- (52) a. en-stl'í7-Ø [kwins nam t'ukw']
 my-desire-3N that.I go go.home
 'I want to go home,'
 lit. 'My desire is that I go home.'
- b. a-s^kwálwen-Ø u [kwis huy-s]
 your-thought-3N Q that.3N be.finished-3POSS
 'Do you think that he's finished?,'
 or 'Are your thoughts that he is finished?'

Only nominal predicates take subject complements. Note that there is no copula used for these expressions. Other nominal predicates, however, may take the copula /nilh/ (53), but the nominal predicates in (52) do not. For example:

- (53) nilh sxw7úmten tay̓
 COP doctor that
 ‘That is the Indian doctor.’

The following are examples of object complements encoded by nominalized clauses.

- (54) a. chen elhk̓'í7s(-t)-Ø [kwi ses huyá7-Ø-wit]
 I know(-TR)-3N that 3N leave-3N-PL
 ‘I knew that they had left.’
- b. na tel-nexw-Ø-as ta ek̓w'í7tel
 RL find.out-TR-3N-3E DET brothers
- [kwis k̓ey-s stelmexw]
 that.3N bad-3POSS person
 ‘The brothers found out that he was a bad person.’

4.3.3. Purpose clauses

A fact not specifically mentioned in Kuipers’ (1967) grammar but attested in his texts is that nominalized clauses are also used for purpose clauses. For example:

- (55) na u-t-s-as mi-7an uys [kwins ilhen]
 RL invite-TR-me-3E come-I inside so.that.I eat
 ‘He invited me to come inside (in order for me) to eat.’

5. /u/ clauses

Another type of subordinate clause is characterized by /u/ at the beginning of the clause. As for subject marking and verbal agreement, these clauses have the same morpho-syntax as main clauses except that the clitic /u/ appears at the beginning. The clitic /u/ is also used in main clauses for yes/no questions.

5.1. The internal syntax of /u/ clauses: Subject marking and verb agreement

The same combination of auxiliary and person marking used in main clauses is also used in /u/ clauses. Third person is marked in an ergative system. The following examples demonstrate this:

- (56) a. [u ch-en tsixw], tsut-Ø ch-en ek'
 if AUX-I arrive say-3N AUX-I FT
 'If I get there, I'll say it.'
- b. [u ch-en ch'áw-at-Ø], huy-nexw-Ø ch-et ek'
 if AUX-I help-TR-3N finish-TR-3A AUX-we FT
 'If I help him, we will finish it.'

These /u/ clauses can also appear in the future tense. For example:

- (57) [u ak' mi tl'ik-Ø], cheshn-(t)-Ø ch-an ak'
 if FT come arrive-3N send-TR-3N AUX-I FT
 'If he comes (will come), I'll send him.'

5.2. The external syntax of /u/ clauses—their functions

/u/ clauses function as temporal adverbial clauses and as conditional clauses. The particle /u/ also appears in yes/no questions as a second place clitic.

5.2.1. Temporal adverbial clauses

A fact not noted by Kuipers (1967) in the grammar but which is found in his texts (Kuipers 1967:220, sentence 14) is that /u/ clauses can also function as temporal adverbial clauses. This type of /u/ clause does not appear to be subordinate though, since it is conjoined by the preposition /welh/ which is used to conjoin independent clauses. Yet, an /u/ clause cannot stand alone syntactically. For example:

- (58) [u na wi7xwem-Ø ta s7ixwalh], welh na-kw kwemi7n-Ø
 as RL fall-3A DET children and RL-then thump-3N
 'As the children dropped, then they made a thump.'

5.2.2. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses have the morpheme /u/ at the beginning of the clause. In this case it is equivalent to 'if' in English. See §3 above for examples of conditionals. Kuipers (1967:160) notes that these conditionals differ from /k/ conditionals; he says of the /u/ conditionals that they: "(add) a sign 'given the condition that..' to a predicate expressing a fact." The /k/ conditionals "present the fact itself as not (yet) real."

5.2.3. Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions are also characterized by the /u/ particle. In these questions, though, /u/ is a second place clitic.²⁰ These clauses are identical to their declarative counterparts

²⁰The /u/ clitic and the realis clitic /na/ combine to form /new/.

except for the /u/ clitic. These clauses are definitely not subordinate. Rather /u/ seems to function like the English modal ‘would’ or ‘should’.

- (59) a. ha7lh-Ø u kwa e laḿ
 good-3N Q DET your house
 ‘Is your house good?’, ‘Would your house be good?’
- b. si7n-(t)-Ø u ch-en
 wipe-TR-3N Q AUX-I
 ‘Should I wipe it?’

6. The pragmatics and functions of subordinate clauses

In this section I will further elaborate on how these various subordinate clauses defined above function as sentential complements and as adverbial clauses. I provide an account wherein the choice of subordinate clause type is determined by the semantic feature: degree of certainty. There is essentially no different syntax internal to subordinate clauses to differentiate complement clause from adverbial clauses. They do differ though in their syntactic relationship to the main clause. The first section will examine sentential complements. The second section will examine adverbial clauses.

6.1. Sentential complements

There are two basic syntactic complement clause types: nominalized clauses and conjunctive clauses. I begin here with syntactic diagnostics for defining subject and object complements in S_kw_xwu7mesh. Then I examine non-future and future complement clauses.

6.1.1. Syntax

There are four main morphosyntactic features that distinguish when a subordinate clause is functioning as a complement clause and not as an adverbial clause. These features are replaceability, subject person marking of the complement clause, moveability of the complement clause, and noun phrase case marking.

6.1.1.1. Subject complements

Only intransitive predicates take subject complements. There are no cases of a sentential complement used for the subject of a transitive verb.

6.1.1.1.1. Replaceability

The nominal predicate /stl'i7/ ‘a desire, a need’ normally translated ‘to want, to need’ takes a subject complement encoded by a nominalized clause. This predicate does not have any of the transitive suffixes, so it does not have ergative marking. Lexically it is a noun, since it takes possessive agreement with its external argument. The theme is the

subject of this possessed nominal. This is clear when the theme is first or second person (43c). For example:

- (60) a. e-stl'í7-Ø u kwi slhuḿ
 your-desire-3N Q DET soup
 'Do you want some soup?,' lit. 'Is soup your desire?'
- b. n-stl'í7-Ø taḿ
 my-desire-3N that
 'I want that.' or 'That is my desire.'
- c. stl'í7-s-Ø ch-exw
 need-3POSS -3N AUX-you.SN
 'He needs you.' or 'You are his need.'

This predicate can also have a nominalized clause for the subject. For example:

- (61) a. n-stl'í7-Ø [kwins naḿ t'ukw']
 my-desire-3N that.I go go.home
 'I want to go home.' or 'My going home is my desire.'
- b. stl'í7-s-Ø [kwis naḿ txwnách'aḿtxw]
 desire-3POSS -3N that.you.SN go visit
 'He wants you to visit.' or 'Your visiting is his desire.'

6.1.1.1.2. Person marking

This construction does not allow the repetition of the subject of the complement clause in the main clause, with one exception. This is another way of saying that the subject of the complement clause cannot be raised to the main clause. The following example is disallowed with the given translation, that is, this is not a valid way to express a complement clause subject.

- (62) stl'í7-s-Ø ch-exw [kwis naḿ txwnách'aḿtxw]
 desire-3POSS-3N AUX-you.SN that.you.SN go visit
 '*He wants you to visit.'

This construction can be used if the nominalized clause has aspectual marking. In this case, though, the nominalized clause is functioning as a temporal adverbial clause and not as the sentential subject.

- (63) stl'i7-s-Ø ch-exw [kwis na wa eskw'uy]
 desire-3POSS-3N AUX-2SN when.you.SN RL DR be.sick
 'He needed you when you were sick.'

The exception to the repetition of the complement clause subject in the main clause is if the subject of the complement clause is indicated by one of the possessor affixes. Example (61a) above shows first person indicated by the possessive prefix in the main clause and again it is indicated by the possessive prefix in the nominalized clause.

6.1.1.1.3. Moveability

Another feature that differentiates temporal adverbial clauses from subject complements is movement. The temporal adverbial clause can be preposed before the main clause as in (64a). The subject complement clause cannot be preposed as in (64b).

- (64) a. [kwis na wa eskw'uy] stl'i7-s-Ø ch-exw
 'When you were sick he needed you.'
- b. *[kwins naḿ tukw'] n-stl'i7-Ø
 that.I go go.home my-want-3N
 'I want to go home.'

6.1.1.1.4. A further example

Another example of a subject complement is with the verb /huy/ 'be finished', an intransitive verb which normally takes a nominalized clause for the complement subject. The facts are very similar to /stl'i7/ except that it takes only third person zero agreement since /huy/ is lexically an intransitive verb and not a nominal. For example:

- (65) na huy-Ø [kwins na wa ts'its'ap']
 RL finish-3N that.I RL DR work
 'I'm finished working.' or 'My working is finished.'

This predicate can take subjects other than third person but in this case there is no accompanying complement clause. For example:

- (66) ch-et huy
 AUX-we finish
 'We're finished.'

When a subordinate clause follows then the subordinate clause is functioning as a temporal adverbial clause, as in the following example:

- (67) ch-et huy [kwis chet wa ilhen]
 AUX-we finish when we DR eat
 ‘We finished while we were eating.’

Other predicates that regularly take subject complements are /eskw’ay/ ‘be unable, cannot, impossible’ and /es7a7aʷts/ ‘be able, can, possible’.

6.1.1.2. Object complements

Object complements are defined by the same criteria as subject complements. The role of NP case marking is more significant.

6.1.1.2.1. Replaceability

The following examples show the same predicate taking a pronominal object in the first example and a sentential complement in the second example:

- (68) a. ne-w ch-exw lhk’i7s-t-s
 RL-Q AUX-you.SN know-TR-me
 ‘Do you know me?’
- b. lhk’i7s-t-Ø-as [kwins swi7ka]
 know-TR-3N-3E that.I be.a.man
 ‘He knows that I am a man.’

6.1.1.2.2. Subject marking

Another feature of complement clauses is that no argument from the complement clause is copied to the main clause verb. This can be seen from the above examples. The verb /lhk’i7s/ ‘to know’ can take a first person pronominal object. But when this verb takes an object complement the first person subject is not copied to the main clause. Thus S_kw_xwu7mesh does not allow the equivalent of: ‘He knows me to be a man,’ as in English.

6.1.1.2.3. Moveability

An object complement clause cannot be preposed before the main clause as an adverbial clause can. The following example is ungrammatical.

- (69) *[kwins na huya7] na lhk’i7s-t-Ø-as
 that.I RL leave RL know-TR-3N-3E
 ‘He knew that I left.’

6.1.1.2.4. Case marking

Another feature of object complement clauses is that they can be in the same syntactic slot as oblique case NPs. When the nominalized subordinate clause fills the oblique object slot, though, it does not take any oblique case morphology like a regular NP, except with a limited set of preposition-like predicates.

For example, the intransitive verb /lhchiws/ ‘be tired’ does not obligatorily take an oblique case object. The first example shows the verb without any oblique case argument. The second example shows the verb with an oblique argument. The third example shows a nominalized clause filling the syntactic slot of the oblique case NP.

- (70) a. ch-en lhchiws
 AUX-I be.tired
 ‘I’m tired.’
- b. ch-en lhchiws t-taʔ
 AUX-I be.tired OBL-that
 ‘I’m tired (because) of that.’
- c. ch-en lhchiws [kwins na wa ts’its’ap’]
 AUX-I be.tired that.I RL DR work
 ‘I’m tired (because) of (my) working.’

In example (70c), the nominalized clause does not take oblique case marking even though it fills the same syntactic slot as the oblique case NP in example (70b). In this manner, these subordinate clauses do not appear to have the same properties as other NPs.

The predicate /lhchiws/ can take additional morphology to allow an animate direct object. In fact the advancement suffix /-ni/ must be added when the object is animate.²¹ For example:

- (71) na-kw lhchiws-ni-t-s-as
 RL-already tired-ADV-TR-me-3E
 ‘He’s already tired of me.’

The advancement suffix, though, is not used with a complement clause. Although these complement clauses are in the syntactic slot of an oblique case object they do not take oblique case marking, nor do they advance to direct object.

²¹I use Gerds’s (1988) terminology here to describe verbal suffixes that advance oblique case arguments to direct object status.

As mentioned above, there are some cases where complement clauses do take oblique case marking. This seems to depend on what type of oblique argument the predicate takes otherwise.

The oblique case in *Skw̓w̓w̓mesh* indicates various types of non-core arguments, i.e. arguments other than subject or direct object. Some oblique case arguments are not subcategorized for by the predicate and some oblique case arguments are semantically dative or locative arguments and are part of the subcategorization of the verb.

There are only a few examples where a complement clause takes the oblique marker. In all these cases the verb is a member of a closed set of verbs that also function as prepositions. Kuipers (1967:153) calls them ‘relator verbs’; he notes that these verbs ‘imply a complement [i.e. argument] in the relative case [i.e. the oblique case] (if expressed)’.²² Basically, a ‘relator verb’ is a verb that is subcategorized for an object in the oblique case. When a ‘relator verb’ takes a complement clause for its object, the complement clause takes the oblique case marking. For example:

- (72) *xwekws-t-Ø-as ak’ txwnaṁ t-kwi shemán ikw*
 use-TR-3N-3E FT against/for OBL-DET enemies and
 t-[kwis wi-s yel̕lhalm]
 OBL-that.3N DR-3POSS look.for.food

‘(the bone which) he would use against enemies and for looking for food.’

Kuipers (1967:261) gives the following gloss for the verb /*txwnaṁ*/ ‘go, move along, with a view to, for (something desired), against (something disliked); also used for a comparison-word’. This verb is functioning as a preposition in the above example but it can also be the main verb of a clause. In this case though it does not obligatorily take an oblique case argument. For example:

- (73) *na txwnaṁ-Ø*
 RL going-3N
 ‘It is going.’

Kroeber (1999) notes that *Dxw̓lshucid*, another Coast Salish language, regularly inflects subordinate clauses when they are taking the place of an oblique case NP. This is not the case in *Skw̓w̓w̓mesh* except with complements of prepositions. The following example, though, shows that not all predicates that are subcategorized for an oblique case argument take a complement clause overtly marked in the oblique case. The verb /*tsunt*/ ‘to tell, to order’ always takes the semantically dative argument as the direct object. The theme, the proposition that is told, is often encoded by a future conjunctive clause without the irrealis marker /*k̕*/ (cf. section 3.1.3.5.).

²²Comments in the square brackets are my own.

- (74) na wa tsun-t-s-as [i eṃi-7an]
 RL DR tell-TR-me-3E now come-I
 ‘He was telling me to come here.’

Only one direct object is allowed for each clause. All other NPs are marked in the oblique case. Thus, if the complement clause was an NP it would be in the oblique case. This is unlikely with a future conjunctive clause since it is not nominalized. The complement of /tsunt/ can be a nominalized clause, though, when the verb is passivized.

- (75) na wa tsun-t-em-Ø [kwis tuyn-t-Ø-as]
 RL DR say-TR-DT-3N that.3N abandon-TR-3N-3E
 itsiṃwit ta laṃ-s-wit
 they.DIST DET house-3POSS-PL

‘It is said that they.DIST are going to abandon their house.’

In the above example the direct object has been raised to subject. This would still leave the complement clause in an oblique status to the verb. Even though this nominalized clause is more noun-like than a future conjunctive clause and is in an oblique relationship to the verb, it still does not take oblique case marking. Thus, only complement clauses functioning as the oblique case argument of a preposition take overt oblique case marking.

6.1.2. The pragmatics and functions of complement clauses

The two syntactic subordinate clause types, nominalized clauses and conjunctive clauses can function as object complements. They do so, though, in different functional-pragmatic contexts. The choice between the two types is, I propose, determined by degree of certainty of the speaker or main clause subject. I divide my discussion into two sections: non-future tense complements and future tense complements.

6.1.2.1. Non-future tense complements

The nominalized clause and the non-future conjunctive clause both function as object complements that have a non-future time in reference to the main clause. The choice of the use of a nominalized clause over a non-future conjunctive clause is, as proposed, the degree of certainty. This certainty can be from the viewpoint of the speaker at the time of the speech act or it can be from the viewpoint of the main clause subject.

The following examples demonstrate this difference. The clauses being compared are in brackets.

- (76) a. ha k-an lhk'i7s-t-Ø-an [kwi ses huya7-Ø]
 not IRR-I know-TR-3N-I that 3N leave-3N

‘I didn’t know that he left.’

- b. ha k-an lhk’i7s-t-Ø-an [k-as huya7-Ø]
 not IRR-I know-TR-3N-I IRR-3N leave-3N
 ‘I didn’t know if he had left.’

In the first example the speaker is reporting that he wasn’t aware of this actual event encoded in the complement clause which at some time in the past, but that now he knows it to be true at the time of the utterance. In the second example he is reporting that he wasn’t aware of whether the event in the complement clause had taken place at the time of the event. In fact he still may or may not know whether the event has taken place. The speaker’s present knowledge of the event is not indicated in the second example. This does not mean that he does not presently know the truth value of the event encoded in the complement clause since another clause may follow which clarifies his present knowledge. For example:

- (77) ha k-an lhk’i7s-t-Ø-an [k-as huya7-Ø].
 not IRR-I know-TR-3N-I IRR-3N leave-3N
- na men kwayl 7en-s-na men telnuṁut
 RL just be.next.day my-NM-RL just find.out
- kwi s-Ø-s ticháṁ.
 DET NM-RL-3POSS did.so

‘I didn’t know if he had left. The next day I found out that he did.’

This can also be seen with the intransitive predicate /ta7aṁn/ ‘to think, to expect, to wonder’. In this example the temporal point of reference for the first clause is some past time, while that of the second clause is from the speech act.

- (78) ch-en ta7aṁn [k-as huya7-Ø] welh men i-xw
 AUX-I think IRR-3N leave-3N but just be.here-still
 ‘I thought he’d gone, but he’s still here.’

A nominalized clause with /ta7aṁn/ can be used when the speaker is expressing an event that can be verified to have taken place. In this case it probably can only be followed by an assertion that the event in the complement clause did occur and not by a contradictory statement. For example:

- (79) a. ch-en ta7aʷn [kwi s-Ø-s huya7-Ø]
 AUX-I think COMP NM-RL-3POSS leave-3N
 welh men ticháŋ-Ø
 and just do.so-3N
 ‘I thought he left and he did.’
- b. ?...welh men i-Ø-xw
 but just be.here-3N-still
 ‘I thought he’d left but he’s still here.’

The second example could possibly be used when there is a high degree of certainty expressed in the first clause like ‘I was sure he’d left but ...’, but this needs to be checked.

The situation is different with utterance predicates when their complement is a non-future complement. Some utterance predicates only take a non-future conjunctive clause, such as the predicate /welkw’als/ ‘to inquire’ (80a–c), while others only take a nominalized clause, such as the predicate /tsut/ ‘to say’ (80d–f). The last two examples (80g–h) are of the transitive predicate /tsu-nt/ ‘to tell, to order’ which does not appear to take a non-future conjunctive clause.

- (80) a. ch-en welkw’als [k-as huya7-Ø]
 AUX-I inquire IRR-3E leave-3N
 ‘I inquired if he left.’
- b. ?ch-en welkw’als [kwi ses huya7-Ø]
 AUX-I inquire that 3N leave-3N
 ‘I inquired if he left.’
- c. ch-en welkw’als [ne-w huya7-Ø]
 AUX-I inquire RL-Q leave-3N
 ‘I inquired, “Did he leave?”’
- d. na tsut-Ø [kwi ses kw’akw’aý-Ø]
 RL say-3N that 3N hungry-3N
 ‘He said that he’s hungry.’
- e. *na tsut-Ø [k-as kw’akw’aý-Ø]
 RL say-3N IRR-3N hungry-3N
 ‘He said that he’s hungry.’

- f. na tsut-Ø ch-en kw'akw'aŷ
 RL say-3N AUX-I hungry
 'He said, "I'm hungry."'
- g. na tsun-t-s-as [kwi ses-kw ilhen-Ø]
 RL tell-TR-me-3E that 3N-already eat-3N
 'He told me that he had already eaten.'
- h. ?na tsun-t-s-as [ḳ-as-kw ilhen-Ø]
 RL tell-TR-me-3E IRR-3N-already eat-3N
 'He told me that he'd already eaten.'

The restrictions on types of complement clause allowed here are probably more a fact of the semantics of the verb, that is, how degrees of certainty are lexically encoded for these predicates. It is difficult to imagine a context for 'to say' where the complement clause would be semantically irrealis. When the complement clause has the word /iŷwayti/ 'maybe', the complement clause is a main clause and not a subordinate clause.

The same semantic restrictions hold for 'to tell'. It is possible that example (80b) might allow a translation such as: 'I inquired (about) his leaving.' This needs to be rechecked.

6.1.2.2. Future tense complements

Future tense complement clauses are future in regards to the time frame of the main clause. Both nominalized clauses and future conjunctive clauses are used to encode future tense complement clauses. The choice between a future nominalized clause and a future conjunctive clause is not entirely clear. The choice seems to be dependent on both semantics and syntactic constraints.

One case where future nominalized clauses must be used is when the subject of the complement clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause verb. Future conjunctive clauses cannot be used. For example:

- (81) a. ch-en ta7aŷn [kwins ilhen]
 AUX-I think that.I eat
 'I think I will eat.'
- b. *ch-en ta7aŷn [ḳ ilhen-7en]
 AUX-I think IRR eat-I
 'I think I will eat.'

When the main clause subject and the complement clause subject are not co-referent then either clause type is possible. For example:

- (82) a. ch-en ta7aʷn [k̥ heṁi-7as]
 AUX-I think IRR leave-3N
 ‘I thought he was coming.’
- b. ch-en ta7aʷn [kwis heṁi-s]
 AUX-I think that-3N come-3POSS
 ‘I think he’s coming.’

With this predicate /ta7aʷn/, the degree of certainty does appear to control the choice of complement clause. A greater degree of certainty necessitates a nominalized clause, and a lower degree of certainty a conjunctive clause.

Another controlling factor is the factuality of the complement clause. If the future complement clause is future with reference to the main clause but past or present with regards to the speech act then it can be verified to be factual or not at the time of the speech act. It is then encoded as a future conjunctive clause. Otherwise, the complement clause is encoded as a nominalized clause without any inflection for tense or aspect, i.e. a future nominalized clause.

6.1.2.3. Conjunctive clauses without /k̥/

Some future complement clauses are expressed as future conjunctive clauses without the irrealis clitic /k̥/. In some cases these clauses seem to be in free variation with clauses with /k̥/. In addition, clauses without /k̥/ can also take the future tense clitic /ek̥ʰ/. When a future conjunctive clause takes the future clitic then it is apparently not common to also have the irrealis clitic /k̥/. Kuipers (1967:§286), though, does record such examples. I was unable to elicit such examples. For example:

- (83) a. ch-en ta7aʷn [lulum-7es ek̥ʰ]
 AUX-I think sing-3N FT
 ‘I think he’ll be singing.’
- b. *ch-en ta7aʷn [k̥ lulum-7es ek̥ʰ]
 AUX-I think IRR sing-3N FT
 ‘I think he’ll be singing.’

The verb /tsunt/ ‘to tell’ always takes for its complement a future conjunctive clause without /k̥/, when the complement clause is expressing an order. Semantically this makes sense since the action in the complement clause has not happened yet. It is not clear, though, why the irrealis clitic is not present. I am also unsure of why the future nominalized clause is not used. For example:

- (84) ?ch-en tsun-t-Ø [kwis mi-s uys]
 AUX-I tell-TR-3N that.3N come-3POSS inside
 ‘I told him to come inside.’

6.2. Adverbial clauses

There are several types adverbial of constructions in Skw̓w̓mesh. In this section, I examine the nominalized clause, the conjunctive clause and the /u/ clauses when they function as adverbial clauses. The criteria that I use to diagnose when these clauses function as adverbial clauses are: subject person marking, moveability, and NP case marking.

Adverbial clauses do not fill any argument slot in the main clause, that is, they cannot be subject, object or oblique object of the main clause. Therefore it is not useful to refer to them as being replaced by a single NP argument in the main clause. This is not to say that there are not individual words in Skw̓w̓mesh that are semantically temporal adverbials. There are a number of these temporal adverbial words. They bear no grammatical relation in the clause, not even the oblique case as in some other Coast Salish languages.

6.2.1. Syntax

6.2.1.1. Subject person marking

The person marking of an adverbial clause is separate from the main clause. Whereas the complement clause does not have its subject marked in the main clause, the subject of an adverbial clause can be co-referent with one of the arguments of the main clause. The first example is a nominalized clause functioning as a temporal adverbial clause; the second example is a nominalized clause functioning as a complement clause.

- (85) a. na kw’ach-n-msh-as [kwins na wa ts’its’ap’]
 RL see-TR-me-3E that.I RL DR work
 ‘He saw me (when I was) working.’
- b. na lhk’i7s-t-Ø-as [kwins na wa ts’its’ap’]
 RL know-TR-3N-3E that.I RL DR work
 ‘He knew that I was working.’

In the first example the object of the main clause is coreferent with the subject of the nominalized clause. This is possible because the nominalized clause is functioning as a temporal adverbial clause. In the second example the subject of the complement clause cannot be copied as the object of the main clause verb. This is because the nominalized clause is functioning as a complement clause.

The verb /kw'achnexw/ 'to see' can also take a complement clause. In this case, though, the subject of the nominalized clause is not copied in the main clause. For example:

- (86) na kw'ach-nexw-Ø-as [kwins na wa ts'its'ap']
 RL see-TR-3N-3E that.I RL DR work
 'He saw that I was working.'

6.2.1.2. Moveability

Another feature of adverbial clauses, except for /u/ clauses, is that they can appear either before or after the main clause. Apparently /u/ clauses can only appear sentence initially. Complement clause can only follow the main clause. For example:

- (87) a. [kwi ses huy-Ø] na nam t'ukw'-Ø
 when 3N finish-3N RL go go.home-3N
 'When he finished, he went home.'
- b. na nam t'ukw'-Ø [kwi ses huy-Ø]
 RL go go.home-3N when 3N finish-3N
 'He went home when he was finished.'

6.2.1.3. Case marking

Adverbial clauses do not take oblique case marking. This is only significant for nominalized clause since they do share some features with NPs. This feature does not help distinguish when the clauses in question are functioning as adverbial clauses or complement clauses. It does indicate, though, that these clauses are not like regular NPs, which are always marked oblique when they are not a core argument in the main clause.

Kroeber (1999) notes that some Coast Salish languages do put the nominalized clause in the oblique case even when it functions as an adverbial clause. This is never the case in *Skw̓w̓mesh*.

6.2.2. The functions and pragmatics of adverbial clauses

The functional-pragmatic factors affecting the use of the various adverbial clauses are similar to those of complement clauses. In this case, though, there are three major types of subordinate clauses that can be encoded adverbial clauses. There are subtle differences in encoding adverbial clauses with one construction as opposed to another construction. Conditional and temporal adverbial functions are hard to separate functionally and I will not treat them separately.

6.2.2.1. Certainty

One controlling factor in the choice between the various subordinate clauses is the degree of certainty of the speaker. A lower degree of certainty is normally encoded by /u/ clauses while a higher degree of certainty is encoded by a future conjunctive clause. This corresponds to the subtle difference between ‘if’ and ‘when’ as used in English. For example:

- (88) a. [tl'ik-as], satshi-t-Ø ch-an ek'
 arrive-3N give.to-TR-3N AUX-I FT
 ‘When he arrives, I’ll give it to him.’
- b. [u7 ch-exw kw'ach-nexw-Ø tay'],
 when AUX-you.SN see-TR-3N him
 satshi-t-Ø ch-exw
 give.to-TR-3N AUX-you.SN
 ‘If (when) you see him, give it to him.’

The first example indicates a higher degree of certainty. It might be paraphrased as: ‘When he arrives (and I’m pretty sure he will)...’ The second example indicates a lower degree of certainty and it might be paraphrased as: ‘When you see him (and I’m not sure that you will)’.

6.2.2.2. Tense

A semantic factor that is involved in adverbial clauses is that of tense. As with complement clauses, a future conjunctive clause is used to encode future tense adverbial clauses. But unlike complement clauses, adverbial clauses do not use nominalized clauses to encode future tense. Instead, /u/ clauses may also be used to encode future tense adverbial clauses. The difference between future conjunctive clauses and /u/ clauses when they function as future tense adverbial clauses appears to be due to degree of certainty as mentioned above.

Non-future conjunctive clauses may also be used for future tense adverbial clauses. It does so on other grounds, though. The entire proposition is viewed from the viewpoint of some future event that is either stated or implicit. The event encoded in the non-future conjunctive is co-temporal with the viewpoint of this other event. Thus in relation to this other event it is non-future but in relation to the speech act it is future. For example:

- (89) itut ch-exw, [k-as keñp-Ø ta snekw̥m]
 sleep AUX-you.SN IRR-3N set-3N DET sun
 ‘Go to sleep when the sun sets.’

If the phrase ‘when the sun sets’ is viewed from the time that one is going to sleep then it is a non-future adverbial clause. A paraphrase of this clause might be: ‘as the sun sets’. This clause is still irrealis though because the encoded events have not yet happened, and definitely not because of a lack of certainty on the part of the speaker about whether the sun will set. A non-future conjunctive clause of this type is apparently always used with polite commands.

Present tense adverbial clauses are encoded by non-future conjunctive clauses and also by /u/ clauses. In the present tense these clauses always appear to be semantically conditionals. The only difference between this use of a non-future conjunctive and its use for the future is its time reference. It is not apparent what pragmatic difference there is between these two present tense conditionals. There may in fact be none. It is hard to distinguish these from future tense conditionals.

- (90) a. [k-as wa ilhen-Ø], ha k-w-at txwnach’awtxw
 IRR-3N DR eat-3N be.not IRR-DR-we visit
 ‘If he’s eating (right now), we won’t visit.’
- b. [u7 ha7lh-Ø], silha7an-(t)-Ø ch-exw
 if good-3N buy-TR-3N AUX-you.SN
 ‘If it’s good, buy it!’

6.2.2.3. Repetitive events

Adverbial clauses also encode different kinds of repetitive events. The /u/ clause is used for repetitive events in the past that have ceased by the present time. I repeat here example (58):

- (91) [u na wi7xwem-Ø ta s7ixwalh],
 as RL fall-3N DET children
 welh na-kw kwemi7n-Ø
 and RL-then thump-3N

‘As the children dropped (from a basket), they made a thump.’

This use of the /u/ clause differs from the nominalized clause, which is usually used for past tense adverbial clauses. Whereas nominalized clauses always refer to a specific event in the past as one event, /u/ clauses do not. The above example might be translated as ‘as (each) of the children dropped, they made a thump’ It does not refer to a specific instance of any of the children dropping from the basket, rather it refers to the event as series of events. Compare the following example with a nominalized clause. In this case the adverbial clause refers to the general time of ‘when the children were dropping.’ It does not focus on the fact of whether this was a series of individual children falling or if all the

children were falling at the same time. The /u/ clause can only have the former interpretation.

- (92) [kwi ses wa wi7xwem-Ø ta s7ixwalh]
 that.3N 3N DR fall-3N DET children
 na kwemi7n-Ø
 RL thump-3N

‘When the children were dropping, they thumped.’

Repetitive events that have not ceased to happen are encoded by either non-future conjunctive clauses or nominalized clauses. Non-future conjunctive clauses can also have a conditional rendering. For example:

- (93) a. ch-en yuwiñtsni-t-umi [k-’axw
 AUX-I understand-TR-you.SA IRR-you.SN
 wa uyum] [k-’axw wa nichim]
 DR be.slow IRR-you.SN DR speak

‘I understand you when you speak slowly,’ or

‘I understand you when (if) you are slow when you speak.’

- b. ch-en yuwiñtsni-t-umi [kwis wa uyum]
 AUX-I understand-TR-you.SA when.you.SN DR be.slow
 [kwis wa nichim]
 when.you.SN DR speak

‘I understand you when you speak slowly.’

There is no alternate conditional translation for a nominalized clause as there is for a non-future conjunctive clause. The durative aspect never appears with the future conjunctive construction. The implication expressed by the non-future conjunctive clause is that the hearer does on occasion speak slowly but at the time of the speech act he is not doing so. This is why it can be framed as a present tense irrealis. This type of repetitive event is one that has happened and which might still happen. This is how these type of repetitive events differ from /u/ clauses. The /u/ clauses are events which have taken place in the past and are finished.

One other case of a repetitive event expressed by a non-future conjunctive clause without the irrealis clitic described in section 3.2.4.4. Both examples of this clause type are used for describing the qualities of some general, non-specific nominal. I repeat the example given above:

- (94) nilh malh ti na wa s-kaxwkaxw-Ø
 COP well DET RL DR NM-gather.together-3N
 sukw'ukw'i7nexw [as wa sisik-Ø-wit]
 birds 3N DR flying-3N-PL

‘Well, these are the birds that group together when they are flying.’

This construction is not irrealis because it is not referring to any one of these birds specifically, thus the absence of the irrealis clitic. It does refer to an event that takes place in the real world, hence the use of the non-future conjunctive and not the future conjunctive. Possibly a nominalized clause could be used here without the realis aspect. For example:

- (95) [kwis wa-s sisik-Ø-wit]
 when DR-3POSS flying-3N-PL
 ‘when they are flying’

The difference from the non-future conjunctive clause though may be that the nominalized clause refers to specific instances of these birds, while the non-future conjunctive refers to the species as a whole.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I examined the form and function of three types of subordinate clauses in *Skw̓w̓w̓* mesh: i) the conjunctive clause, ii) the nominalized clause and iii) the /u/ clause. Important for this study, I noted that conjunctive clauses and nominalized clauses can function as complement clauses. Furthermore, all three clause types can function as adverbial clauses.

For complement clauses, I proposed that degree of certainty about the event of the complement clause is the controlling factor in the choice between a nominalized clause or a subjunctive clause. The locus of this certainty could be the speaker or the main clause subject. If the speaker, or the main clause subject, is certain that the event encoded in the complement clause actually happened/will happen, then a nominalized clause is used. If they are uncertain about the complement clause event, then a conjunctive clause is used. To demonstrate this, I repeat examples (76a) and (76b) here as (96a) and (96b):

- (96) a. ha k-an lhk'i7s-t-Ø-an [kwi ses huya7-Ø]
 not IRR-I know-TR-3N-I that 3N leave-3N
 ‘I didn’t know that he left.’

- b. ha k-an lhk'i7s-t-Ø-an [k-as huya7-Ø]
 not IRR-I know-TR-3N-I IRR-3N leave-3N
 'I didn't know if he had left.'

In example (96a), at the speech time, the speaker is sure that the event 'he left' actually took place and thus the event is encoded by a nominalize clause. In (96b), though, the speaker is not sure of whether this event has happened and therefore the event is encoded by a subjunctive clause.

I also proposed that degree of certainty is also a controlling in the choice of which clause type to use as an adverbial clause. I repeat examples (88a) and (88b) here as (97a) and (97b) to demonstrate this difference between a conjunctive clause (97a) and an /u/ clause (97b):

- (97) a. [tl'ik-as], satshi-t-Ø ch-an ek'
 arrive-3N give.to-TR-3N AUX-I FT
 'When he arrives, I'll give it to him.'
- b. [u7 ch-exw kw'ach-nexw-Ø tay'],
 when AUX-you.SN see-TR-3N him
 satshi-t-Ø ch-exw
 give.to-TR-3N AUX-you.SN
 'If (when) you see him, give it to him.'

In this case the conjunctive clause is used when the speaker has some certainty that the adverbial clause event will take place. The /u/ clause is used to express a more general possibility about its future event.

From this study, a number of questions remain. While degree of certainty appears to be an important criterion that controls the use of one adverbial clause over the other, other factors also appear to be involved, particularly in the use of conjunctive and /u/ clauses as conditional clauses. I was not able to determine what these factors might be. Current research on subjunctives would certainly help to further our understanding about these clause types.

I have characterized subordinate clauses in Skw̥w̥mesh as non-future and future. However, data from some of the examples in this paper (and from my further fieldwork) indicates that this description is inadequate. Some of these non-future clauses are used for future tense contexts. Some of the future tense ones are used for present tense. A further study may reveal the role that aspect and predicate types play in the temporal interpretation of Skw̥w̥mesh subordinate clauses.

Another interesting avenue of research is the interaction of these subordinate clauses with modal/evidential markers in Skw̥w̥mesh. Since these markers can explicitly encode degrees of speaker certainty, they may provide further tests to determine the role

that speaker certainty plays in the Skw̓w̓mesh grammar. Also, it is not clear what the semantic contribution of the clitic /k̓/ ‘irrealis’ to conjunctive clauses. It appears to add a sense that the event in its clause has not happened (yet). But, the conjunctive clitics themselves also seem to contribute this same meaning. An investigation of /k̓/ in main clauses may help to further our understanding of its role in both main and subordinate clauses.

Tiṁá tkwetsi tin snichim (this is all I have to say).

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Appendix: Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Official Orthography - IPA

The following table provides the IPA symbols that correspond to the Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Orthography. This Orthography has been officially adopted by the Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Uxwumixw (Squamish Nation) for the Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Snichim (Squamish Language)

Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Orthography	IPA
a	a
aa	a:
ch	tʃ
ch'	t'ʃ
e	ə
h	h
i	i [e, ε, æ, i]
ii	i: [e:, ε:, æ:]
k	c
k'	c'
kw	k ^w
kw'	k' ^w
<u>k</u>	q
<u>k</u> '	q
<u>k</u> w	q ^w
<u>k</u> w'	q' ^w
l	l
l'	l'
lh	ɬ
m	m
m'	m'
n	n

Skw̓w̓w̓mesh Orthography	IPA
ñ	n'
p	p
p'	p'
s	s
sh	ʃ
t	t
t'	t'
tl'	t'ɬ
ts	ts
ts'	t's
u	[o, u]
uu	[o:, u:]
w	w
w'	w'
xw	ɬ
<u>x</u>	ɬ
<u>x</u> '	ɬ'
y	j
y'	j'
ʔ	ʔ