

Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol.
2^o. Reprinted 1976 by Kraus Reprint Co., New York.

Boas, Franz

1948 (unpublished) Kwakwaka Dictionary (edited by
Helene Boas Yanpolsky). Boas Collection of the
American Philosophical Society.

Lincoln, Neville J., and John C. Rath

1980 North Wakashan Comparative Root List. Paper no.
69, Mercury Series, National Museum of Man, Ottawa.

Conjunctive /so?/ in Cowichan

Thomas E. Hukari

University of Victoria

O. INTRODUCTION

The element /soʔ/ may function as a conjunction marker in Cowichan Halkomelem, indicating sequencing in time ("and, and then, so"). I show below that this element decomposes into the so-called /s-/ nominalizer plus the proclitic /ʔoʔ/. I also suggest that the latter has meaning in this construction, although it is difficult to say whether this is the same meaning that /ʔoʔ/ has in other constructions where it is optional.

/s-/ occurs in at least three syntactic constructions in Cowichan. It occurs in relative (i.e., attributive) clauses, where it is associated with the lexical head of the predicate and can be viewed as a lexical nominalization (cf, Hukari (1977, 1981) and Gerdtz (1981)). Here, the /s-/ marks oblique object nominalization. Compare (1) to (2), where the nominalized verb functions as a predicate whose subject corresponds to the oblique object of (1).

1. ʔexʷeʔθamə cən ceʔ ʔə təʔi sceeɬton!

give-20 IS FUT P this salmon
I will give you this salmon.
2. nə--s--ʔexʷeʔθamə təʔi sceeɬton.2,3

my S give-20 this salmon

This salmon is what I will give you.

/s-/ also occurs in clauses introduced with the marker /kʷ~kʷ/ (possibly an article). Such clauses may be purposive, possibly temporal and conceivably may function

in more clearly NP relations such as subject or object, although this is debateable (cf, Leslie, 1979). In such constructions /s-/ is a proclitic, occurring on the first word of the clause, although it frequently forms a phonetic word with the preceding /kʷ/, as reflected in the orthographical conventions used here.

3. ʔəwə kʷs ɪpəʔəm--s.

not kʷ-S smoke 3poss
He never smokes. He doesn't smoke.
4. ʔəwə kʷsəs ɪpəʔəm.

not kʷ-s-niʔ-s smoke
S AUX 3poss
He hasn't smoked (yet).

Note that the form /kʷsəs/ is analysed here as consisting of four elements, including the nonproximal auxiliary /niʔ/ which is realized phonetically as an allophone of /ə/ ([ɪ]).

The conjunctive use of /s-/ does not have the case-changing function of /s-/ in relative clauses or in nominalized predicates such as (2), nor do the clauses have any obvious NP grammatical role, in contrast to the /kʷ/ construction (assuming one can make a case for NP status in these). Semantically, the clauses involve temporal sequencing, such as one might find in coordinate conjunction. Purely syntactic considerations do not decide between coordinate conjunction and subordination. Although the fact that such constructions seemingly can stand as

independent sentences strongly suggests this is not subordination. In any case, such clauses do not function as NP arguments (e.g., subject, object) nor are any lexical items subcategorized for them.

2. FUNCTION

The conjunctive /s-/ construction links clauses when events occur in a temporal series, as in (5) through (7).

5. x^wo^loK^wt ceep ʔo K^w ʔo? stem ʔo^l? loX^wton
wrap 2PLSu P ART ʔo? some just blanket
an^ʔso^ʔ yag^wt.
2POSS-S-ʔo^ʔ burn

Wrap it up with something or a blanket and burn it.

6. so^ʔ ʔomot--s t^θo^ʔni^ʔ -- ʔomot so^ʔ iXilo^ʔ--s
S-ʔo^ʔ sit 3POSS ART sit S-ʔo^ʔ stand 3POSS
so^ʔ ʔi^ʔmo^ʔʂasəm^ʔ ni^ʔ ʔo t^θey^ʔ ni^ʔ ʂ--ni^ʔ--s.
S-ʔo^ʔ go walking at P ART AUX LOC-at-3POSS

So he got up--he sat up and then he stood up and he started walking around this place where he was.

7. so^ʔ tōs ʔo t^θo le^lom^ʔ--s so^ʔ nem^ʔ--s ʔo t^θo
S-ʔo^ʔ arrive P ART house 3POSS S-ʔo^ʔ go 3POSS P ART
ʂ--ni^ʔ--s t^θo s^ʔo^lʔelox^w--s t^θo^ʔni^ʔ.
LOC AUX 3POSS ART elders 3POSS ART

When he arrived home, he went to his parent's place.

The translation of (7), with the initial clause treated as temporal ("when") is typical of conjunction in Cowichan (even in a more transparent case of conjunction with the connective /ʔi^ʔ/). An equivalent translation would be

"he arrived home and went to his parents' place". Also, (7) is fully grammatical without the initial /so^ʔ/, which has a discourse function in the larger speech context, as does the initial /so^ʔ/ in (6). This is discussed below.

Note that the third person possessive suffix /-s/ is missing in several cases above. This may be a grammatical lapse, although it is a very frequent one on the part of Cowichan speakers. The element /so^ʔ/, although it is a proclitic, functions morphologically on the next word, which then takes subordinate subject markers (possessives or special /-t/ object markers in the passive). This variability extends to transitives, where the subject marker /-os/ may be used in place of the seemingly more correct possessive /-s/ and to passives, where /-m/ forms may replace the preferred /-t/ passives.

Nominal /s-/ conjunction may operate at the discourse level, where only one clause is involved in the syntactic construction, meaning something like "and then" or "so".

8. so^ʔ ʔe^ʔle^ʔke^ʔom--s ni^ʔ ʔo t^θo ʂ--ni^ʔ--s t^θo st^θam^ʔ.
S-ʔo^ʔ kneel 3POSS at P ART LOC at 3POSS ART bone

And then he knelt down in front of where the bone was.

9. so^ʔ c^ʔom--s t^θey^ʔ swiw^ʔlo^s.
S-ʔo^ʔ jump 3POSS ART young-man

Then this young man jumped.

Sentence (9), for example, introduces a new paragraph.

Given the fact that such nominalized clauses can function as main clauses, it seems unlikely that this construction

introduces subordinate clauses, although tests such as accessibility for relative clause formation have not been persued yet.

3. DECOMPOSITION

The proclitic /ʔoʔ/ does not precede an auxiliary verb of motion when the auxiliary verb is the first element of the clause. Since the nominal prefix is attached the first word (nonwithstanding my orthographic convention), this is a case where /soʔ/ splits up into its constituents.

10. netəʔ soʔ həyeʔ--s t⁰oʔneʔəʔlɪ təs ʔə t⁰eyʔ,
 morning S-ʔoʔ depart 3POSS ART-PL arrive P ART
 s--nemʔ--s ʔoʔ k^wiʔ, x^wəcicəʔ ʔə t⁰eyʔ smeent.
 S go 3POSS ʔoʔ climb go high P ART mountain
 The next morning they departed for their destination and upon arriving there, they climbed and reached the highest peak of the mountain.
11. *q^wətəs t⁰ə niʔ seʔwən--s s--nemʔ--s ʔoʔ qəʔet
 gather-3 ART AUX lunch 3POSS S go 3POSS ʔoʔ again
 ʔiməʂ.
 walk
 He would gather up his trail food and walk again.

Note that in (11) the proclitic goes on the adverb /qəʔet/ showing that, while it skips the auxiliary verb, it is not restricted to main verbs. We return to this in section (4) below. Note further that this skipping of auxiliary verbs is not a property of the lexical items per se, since when they function as main verbs they take the proclitic, as in example (7) above.

4. A SECOND CASE OF DECOMPOSITION

Additional evidence that /soʔ/ decomposes comes from clauses beginning with /səs/. It appears at first blush that the nominal proclitic can combine with the third person possessive suffix in conjunctives to form /səs/. In point of fact, it is consistent with the facts to consider this a reduction of //s--niʔ--s//, where /niʔ/ is the nonproximal auxiliary, as in the analysis of (4) above for /k^wsəs/. This fills a distributional gap when we compare sets of sentences such as the following.

12. niʔ cən ɬxiləʂ nəs niʔ ʔoʔ taant.
 AUX 1SU stand IPOSS-S AUX-ʔoʔ leave
 I stood up and walked away.
13. niʔ ɬxiləʂ səs ʔoʔ taantəs.
 AUX stand S-AUX-3POSS ʔoʔ leave-3SU
 He stood up and walked away.

This also applies to /səct/ with the first person plural possessive suffix: //s--niʔ--ct//.

14. niʔ cən ʔiləm nəs niʔ ʔoʔ q^wəyələʂ.
 AUX 1SU sing IPOSS-S AUX-ʔoʔ dance
 I sang and danced.
15. niʔ ct ʔiləm səct ʔoʔ q^wəyələʂ
 AUX 1PLSU sing S-AUX-1PLPOSS ʔoʔ dance
 We sang and danced.

As with auxiliary verbs, this morphological construction does not contain the proclitic /ʔoʔ/, but again it appears on the next word, supporting the conclusion that the proclitic is an independent element in the form /soʔ/.

Further, both the hidden auxiliary //ni?// and an auxiliary verb of motion are skipped by /ʔo?/ when the two cooccur.

16. $sos\ nem? \ ʔo? \ xpilʃos.$
 S-AUX-3POSS go ʔo? lower-him-3SU
 He then lowered him.
17. $sos\ mʔi \ ʔo? \ ʔaatom\ t^0\ naʔnəcaʔ\ sʔeləxʷ...$
 S-AUX-3POSS come ʔo? call-PASS ART one elder
 Then one of the elders was called upon to come forward.
18. $soʔ\ seʔstəwət\ sos\ nem? \ ʔo? \ ʔiməʃstom$
 S-ʔo? lift-PASS S-AUX-3POSS go ʔo? walk-with-PASS
 They picked him up and walked carrying him.

The simplest explanation for the distribution of /ʔo?/ in this construction would be to say that it must appear on the lexical head of the predicate. However (11) above indicates that it may appear on an adverb. This suggests that auxiliaries and auxiliary verbs may be outside some structural unit which includes adverbs and main verbs--a hypothesis which bears investigation in the future.

5. SEMANTICS

In a few rare cases, the /s-/ conjunctive construction does not contain the proclitic /ʔo?/. In particular, it never occurs when the clause contains the word /yeʃ/ 'then,next'. Since the temporal notion of 'then' or 'and then' seems to be associated with /s-/ plus /ʔo?/, the omission of the proclitic suggests that it may be

signalling temporal change and can be dispensed with when /yeʃ/ is present.

19. $\thetaəts\ t^0\ sʔeləxʷ,$ "ʔəyʔ\ toʔ\ hiθ\ ceʔ\ ʔeʔ
 say-3POSS ART elder good rather long fut indeed
 kʷs\ ʔistamə--ct\ θəyθamə--ct\ yəwʔenʔ,\ ʔiʔ
 kʷ-S keep you 1PLPOSS prepare you 1PLPOSS first CONJ
 yeʃ\ s--nemʔ--ct\ kʷeʔθamə."
 next S go 1PLPOSS let-you-go
 The elder says, "alright, but we will keep you here for a longer period, we will train you first before we let you go."

The force of this argument is, however, considerably diminished by the assumption that the /s-/ clause in the /yeʃ/ construction is grammatically equivalent to conjunctive /s-/
 If we accept the argument above, concluding that /ʔo?/ involves temporal sequencing, this may be compatible with the use of /ʔo?/ as an optional element in (21).⁴

20. $ʔi\ cən\ wəʃ\ ʃciwʔs.$
 AUX 1SU now tired
 I am tired now.
21. $ʔi\ cən\ ʔoʔ\ wəʃ\ ʃciwʔs.$
 AUX 1SU ʔoʔ now tired
 I am tired now. (Context: I am in training, running and you have asked me before if I was tired and I wasn't. This time I am tired.)

Here /ʔo?/ may index conversational events. That is, at the time of a previous speech context I was not hungry and at the time of this conversation I am.

6. CONCLUSION

Certain clauses in Cowichan Halkomelem are marked by the so-called nominal proclitic /s-/ plus /ʔo?/ and

signal temporal sequencing. Since these seemingly may occur as free sentences, it does not appear that this is a case of subordination, despite the possessive morphology of the subject marking system. Further these clauses do not fill the typical NP roles such as subject and object, nor are lexical items subcategorized for them. This may be a case of coordinate conjunction, although this hypothesis should be tested (e.g., by relative clause accessibility).

The element /ʔoʔ/ can be identified as a separate formative in this construction, which appears to signal temporal sequencing and, if so, it may be related to the use of /ʔoʔ/ as an optional element elsewhere.

FOOTNOTES

¹The following examples come from a story told by Wilfred Sampson of Shell Beach: 5,6,7,8,9,10,11,16,17,18 and 19. The remainder have been given by Ruby Peter of Duncan, B.C.

²This clause, without its subject, then can function as a relative clause.

t^θo sceełton ʔi nosʔexʔeʔθamə
the salmon which I give you

³See Davis and Saunders (1981) for a functional explanation of /s-/ in this use in Bella Coola.

⁴I omit discussion of the various contexts in which /ʔoʔ/ appears, assuming that contexts not cited here are not relevant. See Leslie (1979).

REFERENCES CITED

- Davis, Philip W. and Ross Saunders. 1981. The s- and si- prefixes in Bella Coola. Paper presented to the sixteenth International Conference on Salishan Languages.
- Gerds, Donna B. 1981. Object and absolutive in Halkomelem Salish. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at San Diego.
- Hukari, Thomas E. 1977. A comparison of attributive clause constructions in two Coast Salish languages. *Glossa* 11, 48-73.
- Hukari, Thomas E. 1981. Cowichan relative clauses. Working papers in linguistics, vol. 1, University of Victoria.
- Leslie, Adrian R. 1979. A grammar of the Cowichan Dialect of Halkomelem Salish. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Victoria.