

Adverbial clauses in Hoocąk: A case of weakly grammaticalized subordination*

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Abstract: The goal of this paper is to give an overview of the structure and meaning of adverbial clauses in Hoocąk. This topic is interesting for two reasons. First, Hoocąk lacks most of the morphosyntactic features that are usually associated with adverbial clauses in European languages (e.g. infinite verb forms, subjunctive mood, alternative word orders, etc.). And secondly, Hoocąk has a number of sentence-final enclitics that indicate adverbial-like relation between the subordinate clause and main clause. However, these enclitics are not always subordinating conjunctions like the European ones. Some may appear with complement clauses as well, and even with main clauses. The question that will be answered is: are there really adverbial clauses (from a morphosyntactic point of view), and how can they be distinguished from complement clauses. It will be shown that there are indeed very small morphosyntactic differences between complement clauses and adverbial clauses. This result confirms the idea that subordination is only very weakly grammaticalized in Hoocąk (and probably in other Siouan languages too).

Keywords: adverbial clauses, subordinating and non-subordination conjunctions, Hoocąk, clause linkage

1. Introduction

Adverbial clauses are subordinate clauses that modify—in a broad sense—the predicate of the main clause and/or the entire main clause. They replace paradigmatically adverbials of the main clause and are hence a structural part of the main clause. The state of affairs expressed in adverbial clauses have certain semantic relations to the main clause such as time, location, manner, and many others. These semantic relations between adverbial clause and main clause resemble the ones that adverbials have. This traditional definition of adverbial clauses may serve as a guideline for the exploration of this type of subordinate clauses in an individual language. The postulated paradigmatic relationship between adverbials and adverbial clauses usually does not hold for all kinds of adverbial expressions, and the proposed semantic relations between adverbial clause and main clause need not be expressed exclusively by adverbial clauses, or are not expressed by adverbial clauses in a language at all (see [van der Auwera 1998](#); [Van Valin & LaPolla 1997](#); [Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007](#)). In addition, the morphosyntactic properties of adverbial clauses vary within a language as well as from language to language.

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The goal of the proposed paper is to give an overview of the structure and meaning of adverbial clauses in Hoocak. This topic is interesting for two reasons. First, Hoocak lacks most of the morphosyntactic features that are usually associated with adverbial clauses in European languages (e.g. infinite verb forms, subjunctive mood, alternative word orders, etc.). And secondly, Hoocak has a number of clause-final enclitics that indicate adverbial-like relations between the subordinate clause and main clause. However, these enclitic are not subordinating conjunctions like the European ones. Some may appear with complement clauses as well, and even with main clauses.

The questions that will be answered in this paper is: are there really adverbial clauses (from a morphosyntactic point of view), and how can they be distinguished from complement clauses. It will be shown that there are indeed very small morphosyntactic differences, mostly distributional differences, between complement clauses and adverbial clauses. This confirms the general impression that subordination is only very weakly grammaticalized in Hoocak (and probably in other Siouan languages too).

The data for this paper come from the DOBES corpus of Hoocak texts digitally archived at The Language Archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen; the Netherlands.¹ The corpus of glossed and transcribed audio and video recordings was compiled during a five years project "Documentation of the Hoocak language" financed by the Volkswagen Foundation (2003-2008).

2. Semantic and morphosyntactic properties of adverbial clauses in Hoocak

- i. Adverbial clauses modify (in a broad sense) the predicate of the main clause.
- ii. The preferred structural position of adverbial clauses correspond to the positions adverbials of the same semantic type occupy in the normal declarative clause; i.e. they appear either in the PF-1 position immediately before the main clause predicate, or in the PI position before the core argument NPs. Adverbial clauses may easily be moved to a position after the main clause predicate, though.
- iii. Adverbial clauses are structurally almost identical to main clauses. They are always finite, i.e. the subordinate verbs are fully inflected for person. There is no instance of the suppression of person indexing in adverbial clauses even if the subject/actor of the adverbial clause is coreferential with an argument of the main clause. Suppression of person indexing is often possible in complement clauses.
- iv. In addition, adverbial clauses take tense and mood/ modality marking almost independently. This does not hold for the illocutionary force.
- v. Adverbial clauses are often marked by means of clause-final enclitics that indicate the semantic relation between adverbial clause and main clause, or they are marked by means of the definite article (no specific semantic relation is indicated here), or they are not marked at all.

¹See the website of the DOBES funding initiative of the Volkswagen Foundation (<http://dobes.mpi.nl>). The glossed texts, audio and video files of the Hoocak documentation project are stored in the digital archive of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics called "The Language Archive"; the corresponding URL is: <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/hocank/>. The website of this DOBES project can be found under the following URL: http://www2.uni-erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/Vgl_SW/Hocank/index_frames.html.

- vi. The clause-final enclitics that often mark adverbial relations are =*regi* (SIM/LOC), =*u* (SIM), =*ga* (CONT), =*gajq* (SEQ), =*gi/=giži* (TOP), =*ge/=gejinı* (CAUSAL). However, these enclitics are neither obligatory, nor do they indicate subordination in all cases. Some of these enclitics can be found also with complement clauses or even just with main clauses.

3. Some structural properties of the Hoocak clause

Hoocak is a SOV language. The verbal predicate is obligatory and appears very regularly at the end of the clause. All other NP-constituents in SA, SU, A, U, and other functions, as well as adverbials of different kinds are optional and almost always precede the clausal predicate. The structural patterns found in the corpus are remarkably regular. They are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Order of constituents in the clause

pre-clausal position	clausal positions						post-clausal position
p ^{pre}	P ^I	P ^{F-4}	P ^{F-3}	P ^{F-2}	P ^{F-1}	P ^F	p ^{post}
	adverbial	S _A /A	U _{REC}	S _U /U	adverbial	predicate	
' <i>eegi</i>	<i>saanık</i> ' <i>eeja že'e</i>			<i>woorák</i> <i>haanıwına že'e</i>	<i>coowéxjı</i>	<i>ha'e</i> <i>haakjenehé</i>	
and then	on that side			out story	just a little	I'll talk about it	

'I'm going to talk about our story on that side.'

(1) WIL010

'*Eegi, saanık 'eeja že'e woorák haanıwına že'e coowéxjı*
'*eegi saanık 'eeja že'e woorak ha<ha>nı-wı=ra že'e coowexjı*
and.then side there that story <1E.A>.have.NTL-PL=DEF that just.a.little
ha'e haakjenehé.
ha'e_haa=kjenehe
talk.about\1E.A=FUT
'I'm going to talk about our story on that side.'

The first expression in utterance (1) is '*eegi* 'here, and then'. This word is intonationally clearly separated from the rest of the utterance. It is classified as adverb in the Hoocak Lexical Database² contrasting with '*eeja* 'there', but it has no deictic function in this context. '*Eegi* is very often used as a kind of introduction to the next clause or episode in a narration quite comparable to 'and then', which is very common in oral narrations. It fills hence the pre-clausal position in Table 1. In addition, '*eegi* often fills pauses between different constituents in a clause. Another word,

²The Hoocak Lexical Database (HLD) is a Toolbox database that includes all lexical entries from previous lexical sources such as Marino (1968), Miner (1992), Zeps (1996) and from our own fieldwork during the DOBES documentation project. In addition, about half of all entries have been checked and cross-checked with different speakers and enriched with elicited example sentences (see also Helmbrecht & Lehmann 2010).

that is frequently used in these functions is *hegú*, which is glossed variously as ‘that way, well, whatever, then’ in the HLD. This pre-clausal position may be filled also with nominal appositions.

The next expression in (1) is *saanjik ’eeja že’e* ‘on that side’. This expression refers to one of the different sides of the family of the speaker. It contains the general marker of locative adverbials *’eeja* ‘there’, which is classified as locative adverb in the HLD. This adverbial fills the P^I position which is frequently filled by temporal adverbials in the corpus. In this context, this expression represents the topic of the utterance. Adverbs with a local and modal meaning can be found in this position likewise.

The next expression is *coowéxji* ‘a little bit’. A second clausal position that is filled with adverbials is the P^{F-1} position immediately to the left of the predicate. This position is preferably filled with locative adverbials either local adverbs or complex locative phrases. If there are two adverbials in a clause, the first one in P^I is usually a temporal adverbial and the second one in P^{F-1} a locative adverbial.

If there are NPs in the clause that refer to the referents of the core arguments in S_A, S_U, A, and U role, these appear in P^{F-4} and P^{F-2} position always preceding the predicate and in between the adverbials, if there are any. Transitive clauses with A and U NPs are rare in the corpus, though. If there are two core argument NPs in the clause, their order is usually A preceding U thus disambiguating the semantic roles agent and patient, if both are third person singular.

There are almost no underived ditransitive verbs in the Hoocak lexicon. The only ditransitive verb in the lexicon is *hok’ú* ‘to give’ (see [Hartmann 2015:1274](#)) and the question arises how the two undergoer arguments U_{PAT} and U_{REC} are ordered vis-à-vis each other and the A argument. I did not find instances with three NPs (A, U_{REC}, and U_{PAT}) in the corpus, but will present elicited examples of this type below (see (6) and (7)). The corpus does only provide examples with two U NPs. It seems that the default order is U_{REC} preceding U_{PAT}; compare the subsequent examples in (2)-(4).

(2) WTR004

hixuynuxji haniharegi waagax hocijeja žežeegesge
 hi-xuynux=xji ha-nihe=regi waagax hoci=’eeja žee-žeegesge
 1E.U-be.small=INTS 1E.A-be/PROG=SIM/LOC school house=there that-thus

Maq’uñq **’eeja nqacgera waak’uñq**
Maq’u=ra **’eeja nqacge=ra** ho<ha>k’u=nq

Earthmaker=DEF there heart=DEF <1E.A>GIVE=DECL

‘When I was really small, in school, I gave my heart to the Earthmaker.’

(3) DOL250

maqñikisak haksika žee waak’u
 maqñikisak haksik=ga žee ho<ha>k’u
 Christmas **third.daughter=PROP that** <1E.A>give(OBJ.3SG.REC.3SG)

‘I gave that to Haksika for Christmas’

(4) JON006

tee žee Gracega žee waak’u že’e.
 tee žee **Grace=ga** žee ho<ha>k’u že’e
 here/this that **Grace=PROP that** <1E.A>give(OBJ.3SG.REC.3SG) that

‘I gave that to Grace.’

All three examples from different texts and different speakers suggest that the preferred order is $U_{REC} > U_{PAT} >$ predicate. The patient U NP directly precedes the verbal predicate, and is in turn preceded by the U_{REC} NP. The A argument is marked pronominally on the verb in all three cases. Note that the speaker in WTR004 (2) marks the recipient NP with the generalized locative marker *'eeja* 'there', which is otherwise used only for locative adverbials. In the same text, the speaker uses an alternative ordering with regard to the two U NPs some utterances below; compare (5).

(5) WTR013

<i>hišge tee žeesge niġitawinq</i>	<i>nəqçgera Maq'uñq</i>	<i>hinikra</i>
hišge tee žeesge niġ-gi-taa-wi=na	nəqçge=ra Maq'u=ra	hinik=ra
also this thus 1&2-APPL.BEN-ask.for-PL=DECL	heart=DEF Earthmaker=DEF	son=DEF
<i>horak'uwinq</i>		
ho<ra>k'u-wi=na		
<2.A>give-PL=DECL		
'and I ask you this: you give your heart to the Earthmaker's son'		

The order of U_{PAT} and U_{REC} is reversed in this example and there is no special focus or emphasis associated with this ordering.

However, the order of major constituents is more liberal than Table 1 suggests. If I check the fieldnotes I elicited with some of the Hoocqk consultants, most noteworthy with Phil Mike and Bill O'Brien, than it seems that much more syntactic variability is possible than the majority patterns found in the text corpus suggests. Thus the template representation of the constituent order above should rather be taken as a summary of these majority patterns. The elicited examples (6) and (7) below demonstrate a) that the order U_{REC} and U_{PAT} may be reversed without a change in meaning, and b) that the temporal adverbials may appear likewise at different places in the clause, even between the core argument NPs. However, to the best of my knowledge, I never found such examples in the text corpus.

(6) PM (II:45)

<i>Johnga waagaxra Billga s'iigaja</i>	<i>haganijiina</i>
John=ga waagax=ra Bill=ga s'ii=gaja	haganij=jii=na
J.=PROP book=DEF B.=PROP long.time=SEQ	take.sth.to.so=come.arrive=DECL
'John brought the book to Bill late'	

s'iigaja Johnga waagaxra Billga haganijiina
 Johnga **s'iigaja** waagaxra Billga haganijiina
 Johnga waagaxra **s'iigaja** Billga haganijiina
 *Johnga waagaxra Billga haganijiina **s'iigaja**

The adverbial *s'iigaja* 'late' may appear in clause-initial position (P^1), between the core argument NPs (A, U, and between U_{PAT} and U_{REC}), and immediately before the predicate. The only position that is not possible is the position after the predicate.

(7) PM (II:45)

haqpnúp hijihúwira *Johnga Billga waagaxra*
 haq-núup hi-jiihu-wi=ra John=ga Bill=ga waagax=ra
 day-two 1I.A-come.PAST-PL=DEF J.=PROP B.=PROP book=DEF

haganjiinaq

haganj=jii=naq

take.sth.to.so=come.arrive=DECL

‘Two days ago, John brought the book to Bill.’

haqpnúp hijihúwira *Johnga waagaxra Billga haganjiinaq*
Johnga Billga waagaxra haqpnúp hijihúwira haganjiinaq
 **Johnga Billga waagaxra haganjiinaq haqpnúp hijihúwira*

Similar patterns hold for the rather complex adverbial *haqpnúp hijihúwira* ‘two days ago’ which is actually an adverbial clause that can be translated literally as ‘we (INCL) came beyond/ past two days’; cf. (7).

It is an important morphosyntactic property of adverbial clauses in Hoocak that they occur in the same structural slots as adverbials do, in P^I and in P^{F-1} position.

4. Types of adverbial clauses

The following types of adverbial clauses can be distinguished in Hoocak (cf. Helmbrecht in prep). Note that some of the types of adverbial clauses listed in Table 2 are not really grammaticalized in Hoocak.

Table 2: Types of adverbial clauses in Hoocak

1.	Temporal clauses	= <i>regi</i> (SIM/LOC)
2.		= <i>ga</i> (CONT)
3.		= <i>gajq</i> (SEQ)
4.		<i>keenj ... =nij</i> (ANT.IN...ANT.FIN)
5.		other construction with temporal meanings
6.	Locative clauses	
7.	Manner clauses	
8.	Purpose and reason clauses	
9.	Circumstantial clauses	
10.	Simultaneity clauses	
11.	Conditional clauses	counterfactual conditionals
12.		negative conditionals
13.		concessive conditionals
14.		other functions of = <i>gi</i> /= <i>gižj</i> (TOP)
15.	Concessive clauses	
16.	Substitutive clauses	
17.	Additive clauses	

In the remainder of this paper, I will present two kinds of adverbial clauses, temporal adverbial clauses and conditional adverbial clauses. They are at least weakly grammaticalized in Hoocak and they could serve as a kind of prototype for all other adverbial clauses.

5. Temporal adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses that express some kind of temporal relation with regard to the main clause are very frequent in our text corpus. The state or event expressed in the adverbial clause may temporally precede the event in the main clause, may follow it, and/or may show some kind of temporal overlap with the main clause event. There are four enclitics that are frequently used to indicate temporal relations between adverbial clause and main clause. They could be considered as a kind of subordinate conjunctions, but they deviate from this classification quite often. There are many instances in the corpus, where they appear with an independent main clause with no subordinating function. These enclitics will be discussed individually in the subsequent sections.

5.1. =regi (SIM/LOC)

The enclitic =regi (SIM/LOC) is used to express an anterior temporal relation and sometimes to express simultaneity. These two main uses of this form will be illustrated with some textual examples.

(8) BOF023

'Eejaxji	hegu	haap hitanihqija	hegugaja	hegu	žige
'eejaxji	hegu	haap hi-taanj-ha=hija	hegu=gaja	hegu	žige
about.there	that.way	day	ORD-three-times=there	that.way=SEQ	that.way again
hišjuwak,		hegu	hegu	'eeja hamiknaka,	žige
hi-šjuwa='ak		hegu	hegu	'eeja ha-mjik-naka	[[žige
1E.U-get.sleepy=POS.HOR	that.way	that.way	there	1E.A-lie.down-POS.NTL:DIST	again
hanqañegi,		'eeja wažq	yaahqtenq.		
ha-naq=regi]		'eeja wažq	hi<ha>hate=na]		

1E.A-sleep=SIM/LOC there something <1E.A>dream.of=DECL

'About on the third day I got sleepy again, lying there **I went to sleep again**, I dreamed again.'

(lit. 'About on the third day, I was getting sleepy again. After lying down, **when I slept again**, I dreamt something there')

The 'sleeping' event in (8) – given in bold and brackets – precedes the 'dreaming'-event in the main clause with some overlap. This adverbial clause fills the P^I position of the main clause, which can be inferred from the fact that the undergoer argument of the main clause 'thing, something' is placed directly before the main clause predicate and after the adverbial clause. Note that the adverbial clause shows person indexing of the core arguments of the verb 'sleep'. The same semantic relation is expressed in MAP001 in (9).

(9) MAP001

s'iireja *hiḡuḡuḡiregi* *hi'ḡuḡi* *haara* *taaniḡu naḡ 'eeja*
s'iireja *hi-xuḡuḡ-ḡk=regi* *hi'ḡuḡi* *haa-ra* *taaniḡu naḡ 'eeja*
 long.time.ago 1E.U-be.small-DIM=**SIM/LOC** mother have.kin\1E.A-DEF sugar tree there
ruusḡuḡiregi *hagijiteḡuḡu*
ruus-ḡuḡu=regi *ha-gijite=ḡuḡu*
 take(SBJ.3SG)-HAB=**SIM/LOC** 1E.A-help\1E.A=HAB
 'A long time ago, **when I was small, when my mother used to take the sugar tree there**, I helped her.'

There are two temporal adverbial clauses marked by the same enclitic =*regi*. With regard to the discourse, they have different functions. The first one sets the stage of the following events. The entire episode is placed in the childhood of the speaker. The second subordinate clause gives the background of the activity with regard to which the child/speaker is acting.

That =*regi* (SIM/LOC) also may indicate the simultaneity of two events is illustrated in PM (X:6), an elicited example. This usage often comes with the progressive aspect in the adverbial clause marked here by means of the 'be' auxiliary *niḡe* 'be'. The adverbial clause is in PI position followed by the core arguments of the main clause.

(10) PM (X:6)

Johnga niḡkḡankra wakiḡgac *niḡheregi*, *Maryga waruc 'uḡuḡ*
John=ga niḡkḡank=ra wa-ki-ḡgac *niḡe=regi*, *Mary=ga waruc 'uḡuḡ=naḡ*
 J.=PROP child=DEF OBJ.3PL-REFL-play be=**SIM/LOC** M.=PROP food do/make=DECL
 'While John played with the children, Mary prepared the food.'

The gloss for =*regi* (SIM/LOC) signals that there is a temporal and a local/locative meaning associated with this form. The local/locative function never shows up with adverbial clauses. It can be found frequently with adverbs and local/locative adverbials, though.

5.2. =*ga* (CONT)

The enclitic =*ga* (CONT) designates very similar temporal relations between a subordinate (adverbial) clause and its main clause. These relations can be translated in English as 'when, after, once, and then' and the like. A very typical use of =*ga* is illustrated in ED3018 in (11).

(11) ED3018

haniḡ *heḡu* *waḡq* *honiḡnega* *heḡu* *waniḡ waniḡnaḡ* *rooḡaḡḡe*
haniḡ *heḡu* *waḡa* **honiḡ-ire=ga** *heḡu* *waniḡ waniḡ=ra* *rooḡaḡ=ḡḡe*
 have.NTL that.way something **hunt-SBJ.3PL=CONT** that.way meat meat=DEF a.lot=also
haniḡkiriḡe
haniḡ ha-kiri-ire
 have.NTL COLL-arrive.back.here-SBJ.3PL
 'When they went hunting, they brought back a lot of meat'

The =*ga* (CONT) marked clause presents an event that precedes temporally the main clause event 'hunting'. As is often the case, this adverbial clause could also receive a conditional interpretation. The =*ga* clause is placed in PI position before the lexical core argument of the main clause 'a lot of meat'.

That the enclitic =*ga* often occurs with independent clauses simply indicating a temporal succession or continuation without any subordinating function is illustrated in the following examples from the text corpus.

(12) WIC002

Wichąwąra kiisak wamačanąkga, rookra, suura hanąqac
wicąwą=ra kiisak wa-mąące=nał=ga rook=ra suu=ra hanaąc
 squash=DEF half OBJ.3PL-cut=POS.NTL=CONT inside=DEF seed=DEF all
waigopnąkga, k'orok'oros jiińąkiregi
wa-gigop=nał=ga k'orok'oros jiińąk-ire=gi
 OBJ.3PL-hollow.out=POS.NTL=CONT be.hollowed.out(OBJ.3SG) become-SBJ.3PL=TOP
 'eegi haruce waamačaranąqń.
 'eegi haruce wa-hamačara=naą=na
 and.then cross(SBJ.3SG) OBJ.3PL-slice=POT=DECL
 'Cut the squash in half, scoop out the inside, and when it is hollowed out, it may be sliced
 crosswise.'

The translation of this utterance, that is given in [White Eagle \(1988\)](#), is to some extent misleading. There is no imperative form in the Hoocąk text as it is used in English recipes. A more literal translation would give 'and then one cuts the squash in half, and then one scoops out all the seeds inside, and if it is hollowed out, it can be sliced crosswise'. Here, =*ga* expresses a temporal continuation of actions that are necessary for the preparation of squash, better translated as 'and then'. Both =*ga* clauses are certainly not subordinated, rather almost independent adjoined clauses that are ordered iconically.

The following example presents an utterance that consists of two independent but subordinate clauses. The first and semantically prominent clause designates the arrival of the brave man. This clause is marked by the definite article indicating that the fact that a man is coming is already mentioned in the previous clause (BOF033) in the text. BOF034 makes the claim more specific, it is a 'brave man' that is coming. The definite article is often used as a kind of indicator for subordination (marking givenness and thus backgrounding the event). The second clause in BOF034 has =*ga* indicating simultaneity here in this context.

(13) BOF034

Wąqk wašoše hižą 'eeja huhera hegy šųk haminaąkga.
wąqk wašoše hižą 'eeja huhe=ra hegy šųk_haminaąk=ga
 man be.brave one there be.coming.here=DEF that.way ride.horseback(SBJ.3SG)=CONT
 'A brave man came here riding a horse.'

The next utterance WIL054 contains likewise a clause that is marked with =*ga* and does not show any dependency to another clause in the immediate discourse context. The enclitic simply marks the continuation of the narration.

(14) WIL054

Wokáragixetexjire meežegy hiirega.
 woo<kara>gixete-xji-ire meežegy hii-ire=ga
 <POSS.RFL>love-INTS-SBJ.3PL this.way make/CAUS-SBJ.3PL=CONT
 'They really loved their own.'

Etymologically, =ga (CONT) is derived from the distal demonstrative pronoun *ga'a* ‘that’ that does not occur once in the entire corpus, but was mentioned in older descriptions of Hooçak (see [Susman 1943](#), [Lipkind 1945](#)).

5.3. =gajq (SEQ)

There is a third temporal marker of adverbial clauses =gajq (SEQ), which can be translated often with English ‘when, after, and then’. This form is mostly used with adverbial clauses that express time or weather conditions; see the utterances in (15) and (16).

- (15) BOF019 *Hegü hqahe hakirigajq hegü 'eeja niçe hamijkanğa*
hegü hqahe hakiri=gajq hegü 'eeja niçe ha-mijik='anğa
that.way night start.coming=SEQ that.way there somewhere 1E.A-lie.down=and
hanqqa naq'işge, hegü hqaqeşge naq tuuxurukni.
ha-naq naq<ha>'i=şge hegü hqaqe=şge naq tuuxuruk=ni
 1E.A-sleep <1E.A>try=also that.way NEG.IN=also sleep accomplish\1E.A=NEG.FIN
 ‘**When nightfall came**, I’d lie down and try to sleep, but I couldn’t go to sleep.’
- (16) NWB009 *Hokawasgajq 'eegi Jesusga haja hiiže*
hokawas=gajq 'eegi Jesus=ga haja hii=že
be.dark(OBJ.3SG)=SEQ and.then Jesus=PROP see arrive.there(SBJ.3SG)=QUOT
 ‘*aire.*
 ‘ee-ire
 say-SBJ.3PL
 ‘**When it got dark**, and they say he went to see Jesus.’

Likewise, =gajq (SEQ) marks an anterior relation between two events; compare the utterance BOF072 in (17). Note that the =gajq (SEQ) clause is surrounded by two hesitation markers *hegü* that often serve as lexical clause boundaries. There is also an intonation break between adverbial clause and main clause.

- (17) BOF072
Hegü hiş'agik taahera, hegü hakiri, žige
hegü hi-ş'aak=ik taahera hegü ha-kiri [žige
 that.way 1E.U-be.old=DIM be.going.there\1E.A=DEF that.way 1E.A-arrive.back.here [again
hegü hakirigajqşge, hegü žige hopi
hegü ha-kiri=gajq=şge] hegü žige ho-pij
 that.way **1E.A-arrive.back.here=SEQ=also**] that.way again APPL.INESS-be.good
waagiwe.
 ho<ha>giwe
 <1E.A>take.path
 ‘Now that I was getting older, I came back here, again when I got home, I came to some good times.’

(18) ONE002

Hagoreižq (1971) *hi'ac haara* *haakaraikižu* *Mqanico Horus*
 hagoreižq 1971 hi'ac haa=ra ha<ha-kara-kii>kižu Mqanico_Horus
 sometime 1971 father have.kin\1E.A=DEF <1E.A-POSS.RFL-RFL>be.together St. Paul
 'eeja *hahiiwigaja*, 'eeja *wqakšikra* *stohirekjaqe*
 'eeja *ha-hii-wi=gaja* 'eeja *wqakšik=ra* *stohi-ire-kjane*
there 1E.A-arrive.there-PL=SEQ there Indian/person=DEF gather-SBJ.3PL-FUT
 'aanqake *hija hahiwinq.*
 'ee=naqak=ge *hija ha-hii-wi=nq*
 say=POS.NTL.PL=CAUSAL there 1E.A-arrive.there-PL=DECL
 'Once my father and I, **when we went to St. Paul, Minnesota**, we heard that there was
 going to be a gathering of the local Indian people, and so we went there.'
 (lit. 'Once, my father and I, **when we went to St. Paul**, and then because they said the
 local Indians would gather there, we went there')

Like the adverbial clause constructions with the other temporal enclitics, temporal clauses with =*gaja* (SEQ) may easily be moved to a position after the main clause predicate; cf. the utterance NWB014 in (19).

(19) NWB014

Nicodemusga koore mee žee heesge higairegaja.
 Nicodemus=ga koore mee **žee heesge hige-ire=gaja**
 Nicodemus=PROP be.surprised(OBJ.3SG) this **that that's.why say.to-SBJ.3PL=SEQ**
 'Nicodemus was surprised when they told him this.'

Like the other already discussed temporal enclitics, =*gaja* (SEQ) is polyfunctional and cannot only mark subordinate clauses, but can also be used with main clauses; cf. the utterances BOF074 in (20).

(20) BOF074

Hegu jaagu raaguñq, hanqac haaniqjegaja.
 hegu jaagu roo<ha>gu=ra **hanaqac ha<ha>nj=ha-jee=gaja**
 that.way what <1E.A>want=DEF **all <1E.A>have.NTL=1E.A-POS.VERT=SEQ**
 'Whatever I want, I have it all.'
 (lit. 'Whatever I wanted, I am having it all')

It seems that =*gaja* (SEQ) is only weakly grammaticalized; it occurs as independent word in our corpus even in clause initial position; see ONE012 in (21) (and also HOR035, RL1016, which are not presented here).

(21) ONE012

Gaja, *wqakšik hinuknaagre hižq teegi hapahi*
gaja *wqakšik hinuk=naagre hižq teegi hapahi*
SEQ Indian/person woman=POS.NTL.PL:PROX one right.here go.toward
jiinqknqka weenq, "jaagu 'ee?"
jiinaq=naq=ga wee=nq jaagu 'ee
 run.into(SBJ.3SG)=POS.NTL=CONT talk(SBJ.3SG)=DECL what say(SBJ.3SG)
 'And so, one of these ladies turned to us and asked, "What did he say?"'

The =*gajq* (SEQ) is mostly attached to the verbal predicate of the subordinate clause (or independent clause), but it appears also with hesitation markers like *hegü* (BOF023) and *heesge* (WIL067), and can be translated in these cases as ‘and then’ like *’eegi*. Surprisingly, =*gajq* (SEQ) also appears on nouns, for instance with *soul=gajq* (e.g. in NWB017), and more frequently with temporal adverbs (e.g. TWI016).

5.4. *keenj* ... =*nj* (ANT.IN ... ANT.FIN)

Hoocak has a special construction that expresses a posterior temporal relationship. That is, the event in the adverbial clause happens after the event in the main clause. This relation is marked in English with ‘before’. The corresponding construction in Hoocak resembles the double negation construction used for clausal negation. The ‘before’ meaning is expressed by the negating word *keenj* plus the standard negative suffix =*nj* for verbs. That adverbial ‘before’ clauses contain some kind of negation is not unusual from a cross-linguistic point of view. The logic behind this construction is that the event in the adverbial ‘before’ clause did not happen, when the event in the main clause happened. Compare the example ED7004 in (22).

(22) ED7004

<i>heesge</i>	<i>heesge</i>	<i>keenjšge</i>	<i>jiikarani</i>	<i>hegü</i>
heesge	heesge	keenjšge	jiikere=nj	hegü
that's.why	that's.why	ANT.IN=also	be.started(SBJ.3SG)=ANT.FIN	that.way
<i>wažqñq</i>	<i>roohq</i>	<i>hugiraknqkajq</i>	<i>hegü</i>	<i>hanaqc</i>
wažq=ra	roohq	ho<hı-gi>rak=naq=gajq	hegü	hanaqc
something=DEF	a.lot	<1E.U-APPL.BEN>tell(SBJ.3SG)=POS.NTL=SEQ	that.way	all
<i>wqkšik</i>	<i>nqagre</i>	<i>hinuknqagrešge</i>	<i>jaasge</i>	
wqkšik	naagre	hinuk=naagre=šge	jaasge	
Indian/person	POS.NTL.PL:PROX	woman=POS.NTL.PL:PROX=also	how	
<i>hikorohohires'agi</i>	<i>heesge</i>	<i>hiišunü</i>		
hikoroho-ire=s'a=gi	heesge	hii=šunü		
get.ready-SBJ.3PL=ITER=TOP	that's.why	make/CAUS(SBJ.3SG)=HAB		

‘**Before she left**, there were a lot of things she told me about all these Indians, how the women used to dress, that’s what she used to do.’

The *keenj* ... =*nj* clause here appears like the other adverbial time clauses in P^I position. Further textual examples of this construction can be found in WIL011, ED2008, RIC011, and CAW048.

5.5. Other constructions with time relations

As has been mentioned several times, Hoocak has only very few grammatical means to mark subordination. The enclitics discussed in the previous sections are used typically to indicate temporal relations between two clauses. However, their distribution is much wider. They form adverbs and mark adverbials and they do not always mark subordination. In this section, I would like to give a brief overview of other constructions that are employed to express temporal relations between two clauses. Sometimes, these meanings are not really grammaticalized, but have to be inferred from the context, sometimes we are dealing with secondary uses of other adverbial enclitics.

5.5.1. The definite article =*ra* (DEF)

One general subordinating device is the definite article =*ra* (DEF). There are many instances in the corpus, where subordinate clauses with =*ra* receive a temporal interpretation. These temporal interpretations are not grammatical, but have to be inferred from the context. Compare the following examples. In each case, the =*ra* marked clause receives a temporal interpretation ‘after, when’.

(23) ED3035

<i>nunige</i>	<i>hahi</i>	<i>hixetera</i>	<i>hoxjugnijsge raže</i>
nunige	ha-hii	hi-xete= <i>ra</i>	hoxjuk=nijsge= <i>ra</i> =že
nevertheless	1E.A-arrive.there	1E.U-be.big=DEF	debris=VAGUE=DEF=QUOT
<i>wayakišere</i>	<i>ha'unaq'u</i>	<i>watupi</i>	
wa-hi<ha>kišere	ha-'uq-naq='u	watupi	
OBJ.3PL<1E.A>deal.with	1E.A-do/make-POS.NTL=SIM	know.how.to(manually)\1E.A	

‘Nevertheless, **after I grew older**, I used her scraps to do the same she was doing, finally I got to know how to do it.’

(24) JOK015

<i>hegu</i>	<i>žee rušjanq</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>gisga</i>	<i>hakiri</i>
hegu	žee rušja= <i>ra</i>	hegu	gisga	hakiri
that.way	that end(SBJ.3SG)=DEF	that.way	clear.up	start(SBJ.3SG)

‘**After that (=raining) stopped**, it started to clear up’

(25) BOF050

<i>Hegu</i>	<i>'eeja hakarawi,</i>	<i>cii</i>	<i>'eeja hagiwira</i>	<i>hegu</i>
hegu	'eeja ha-kere-wi	cii	'eeja ha-gii-wi= <i>ra</i>	hegu
that.way	there 1E.A-go.back.there-PL	house	there 1E.A-arrive.back.there-PL=DEF	that.way

nijpanq huyk'uiñe.
nijpanq ho<hi>k'u-ire
 soup <1E.U>give-SBJ.3PL
 ‘We went home, and **when we got home**, they gave me soup.’

The following example shows that =*ra* (DEF) marks subordinate clauses that express the time when the event in the main clause happens. Note that the word *haqp* ‘day’, which is categorized as noun in the HLD is personally inflected for the first person undergoer.

(26) BOF028

<i>Hegu</i>	<i>žige hijhaqpra,</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>haqp hijobahqna</i>
hegu	žige ha<hi>hap= <i>ra</i>	hegu	haqp hi-joop-aha= <i>ra</i>
that.way	again <1E.U>day.comes.upon=DEF	that.way	day ORD-four-times=DEF

hijhaqpra, *hegu mijnakanqaga...*
*ha<hi>hap=*ra** *hegu mij<ha>naq='anaga*
 <1E.U>day.comes.upon=DEF that.way <1E.A>sit=and
 ‘Then day came upon me again, the fourth day came upon me, I was sitting up.’

5.5.2. Adnominal demonstrative (“new” paradigm)

A subordinate clause with a temporal relation to the main clause may also be formed by means of an adnominal demonstrative of the “new” paradigm based on a positional auxiliary. This construction, which is illustrated in BOF023, seems to be rare in the corpus. The subordinate verb with the demonstrative receives a temporal interpretation such as ‘when, after’ rather on the basis of the context than on the basis of the semantics of this construction. The positional auxiliaries that are used to express progressive aspect preserve this function also in this example.

(27) BOF023

<i>'Eejaxji</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>haqp hitanihqija</i>	<i>hegugaja</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>žige</i>
<i>'eejaxji</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>haqp hi-taanı-ha=hija</i>	<i>hegu=gaja</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>žige</i>
about.there	that.way	day	ORD-three-times=there	that.way=SEQ	that.way again
<i>hišjuwak,</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>'eeja hamıknaka,</i>		<i>žige</i>
<i>hi-šjuwa='ak</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>hegu</i>	<i>'eeja ha-mıjk=naka</i>		<i>žige</i>
1E.U-get.sleepy=POS.HOR	that.way	that.way	there	1E.A-lie.down=POS.NTL:DIST	again
<i>hanqañegi,</i>	<i>'eeja wažq</i>	<i>yaahqte.</i>			
<i>ha-naq=regi</i>	<i>'eeja wažq</i>	<i>hi<ha>hate</i>			
1E.A-sleep=SIM/LOC	there something	<1E.A>dream.of			

‘About on the third day I got sleepy again, **lying there** I went to sleep again, I dreamed again.’

5.5.3. Enclitic =gi (TOP)

There is an enclitic form =gi (TOP) that is most typically used to form conditional clauses (see §6). Since conditional clauses are semantically close to temporal clauses ‘when’, it does not come as surprise that there are instances in the corpus, where =gi is used in a rather temporal way. Compare ED1035, where =gi is clearly not used in a conditional meaning.

(28) ED1035

<i>'eegi</i>	<i>'eesge hawa'ı ceek</i>	<i>mıxetera</i>	<i>mqa</i>	<i>'eegi</i>
<i>'eegi</i>	<i>'eesge hawa'ı ceek</i>	<i>mıxete=ra</i>	<i>mqa</i>	<i>'eegi</i>
and.then	thus	reason	first/new	white.person=DEF
			earth	and.then
<i>hajiiregi</i>	<i>raašge</i>	<i>wawok'ıjñe,</i>	<i>mıxete</i>	
<i>ha-jii-ire=gi</i>	<i>raaš=šge</i>	<i>wa-wa-hok'ı-ire</i>	<i>mıxete</i>	
COLL-arrive.here-SBJ.3PL=TOP	name=also	OBJ.3PL-OBJ.3PL-give-SBJ.3PL	white.person	
<i>hit'e</i>	<i>raaš</i>	<i>wok'ıjñe.</i>		
<i>hit'e</i>	<i>raaš</i>	<i>wa-hok'ı-ire</i>		
speak	name	OBJ.3PL-give-SBJ.3PL		

‘**When the white people first came to this country**, they gave them English names.’

5.5.4. Coordination

A third strategy to express temporal succession of two events is by means of a simple coordination of two clauses. In ED3028, two clauses are coordinated by ‘*anaga* ‘and’, and in addition, the coordination is reinforced by the =šge ‘also’ coordinate conjunction. The temporal order of both events has to be inferred.

(29) ED3028

waružaire *'anaga hegu* *maq̄x hagiciejašge* *hoo wiiruwĩne šge*
 wa-ruža-ire *'anaga hegu* maq̄x_hagici='eeja=šge hoo wiiruwĩ-ire šge
 OBJ.3PL-wash-SBJ.3PL **and** that.way farmer=there=**also** fish sell-SBJ.3PL **also**
 'After they'd washed them, the farmers went to sell the fish.'
 (lit. 'They wash them, and the farmers also went to sell the fish, also')

The same holds for the utterance ED3003. However, only the =šge 'also' conjunction is employed.

(30) ED3003

'eesge nige *howaraire* *hegu* *nq̄p̄q̄q̄ wiiruwĩ*
'eesge nige howare-ire hegu naq̄paq̄ wiiruwĩ
 thus somewhere go.forward-SBJ.3PL that.way basket sell(SBJ.3SG&OBJ.3SG)
harairesge *hegu* *warucra roohq̄xji hanĩ*
 ha-ree-ire=šge hegu waruc=ra roohq̄=xji hanĩ
 COLL-go.there-SBJ.3PL=**also** that.way food=DEF a.lot=INTS have.NTL
hakirire
 ha-kiri-ire
 COLL-arrive.back.here-SBJ.3PL
 'Whenever they went someplace to sell baskets, they brought back a lot of food.'
 (lit. 'And/also they went somewhere to sell baskets, they brought back a lot of food')

The last point to make here is that there is a construction that is translated as 'until'. Such a construction is illustrated in (31).

(31) BO (X:1)

Peterga hijcge kij *hipa warenaq̄*
 Peter=ga hijcge kij **hipa** ware=naq̄
 P.=PROP tired make.oneself **until** work=DECL
 'Peter worked until he was tired'
 (lit. 'Peter worked until he made himself tired')

The word *hipá* 'until' is categorized as adverb in the HLD with several meanings such as 'until, up to that far, near'. It is certainly not a subordinating conjunction even in this example. The clause 'until he made himself tired' is a subordinate clause, though. It is syntactically integrated in the main clause occupying the P^{F-1} position for adverbials. There is, however, no morphological sign of subordination at all.

6. Conditional clauses

In general, conditional clauses are complex clauses that express events that are not (yet) real. The first and dependent clause designates a condition, which—if met—has the consequence expressed in the main clause. Important formal distinctions, which can be found in English, have to do with the probability that the condition in the if-clause is fulfilled. Hoocak conditional clauses do not show such variation.

The most important means to mark conditional clauses in Hoocak are the so-called topic markers =*gi*/=*giži* (TOP). They mark the clauses that set the condition. They occur in the same structural slot, where all the other enclitics occur that have been discussed so far. Both forms are synonymous and freely interchangeably without any semantic effects.

A typical conditional clause is given in (32) (BOF015).

(32) BOF015

“*Žee šuruxuruki* *hija rahipgi* *wqak rajjekjane,*” *hige.*
 [žee šu-ruxuruk=**gi**] [hija ra-hiip=**gi**] wqak ra-jije-kjane hi<hi>ge
 that 2A-ACCOMPLISH=**TOP** there 2.A-reach=**TOP** man 2.A-become-FUT <1E.U>say.to(SBJ.3SG)
 ‘‘If you can do that, if you can make it that far, you’ll be a man,’’ he said to me.’

There are two conditionals juxtaposed preceding the main clause. These conditional clauses appear in the clause-initial P^I position of the main clause. Another example from the text corpus would be WIL035 in (33).

(33) WIL035

Wažqñq *hižq ’airegi* *wanqñqixgu* *šuruxúrukra*
 [wažq=ra hižq ’ee-ire=**gi**] [wa-naq<ra-gi>xgu šu-ruxuruk=ra]
 [something=DEF one say-SBJ.3PL=**TOP**] [OBJ.3PL<2.A-APPL.BEN>hear 2.A-accomplish=DEF]
méžegu.
 meežegu
 this.way
 ‘When they said something, you were able to hear (understand) them.’

The speaker in WIL035 is talking about the Ioways, who speak a language closely related to Hoocak and which was, obviously, to some extent mutual intelligible. The conditional clause is formed by the enclitic =*gi* with the meaning ‘if’. There are no other signs of subordination except the structural position. It is a finite clause in P^I position of the main clause. A similar conditional clause is presented in (34) (RIC042), but with =*giži* (TOP), which is an allomorph of =*gi* (TOP) and in free variation.

(34) RIC042

žige hacijja hahiwigiži *hacijja ’eeja Hoocakra* *hostoiregiži*
 žige hacijja ha-hii-wi=**giži** hacijja ’eeja Hoocak=ra ho-sto-ire=**giži**
 again where 1E.A-arrive-PL=**TOP** where there Hoocak=DEF APPL.INESS-gather-SBJ.3PL=**TOP**
’eeja heegu wanqñqxguži *hegu Hocakra* *hit’et’e hegu* *kiranijisge.*
 [’eeja heegu wa-naq<ra>xgu=**giži**] hegu Hoocak=ra hit’et’e hegu kira-nijisge
 [there that.way OBJ.3PL-<2.A>hear=**TOP**] that.way Hoocak=DEF talk that.way only-VAGUE
 ‘Wherever we went, wherever the Hocanks gathered, **if you listened to them there**, they’d speak Hocank only.’

Note that the first two occurrences of =*giži* (TOP) in RIC042 are not conditional, but illustrate a different function of this form. The general function of =*gi*/*giži* (TOP) is to present the setting, strating point, or topic for the subsequent main clause, hence the gloss TOP. This function will be discussed below in more detail.

Generic conditional clauses that present the condition as a general rule do not show any marking differences. Compare the example in (35) (RIC052) of the same speaker.

(35) RIC052

hąke wagax hašja wagax hajara hąke
hąke wagax_na<š>ja wagax_haja=ra hąke
 NEG.IN <2.A>go.to.school go.to.school=DEF NEG.IN
pjiiraanigiži woocexi hašurusikjane
pji-raa=ni=giži woocexi ha<šu>rus-i-kjane
 be.good(OBJ.3SG)-make/CAUS\2.A=NEG.FIN=**TOP** be.difficult <2.A>go.through.sth-EP-FUT
 ‘If you don’t go to school, if you don’t do good, it’s not going to be very pleasant for you,
 if you don’t do well at school, you’re going to go through bad times.’
 (lit. ‘If you don’t go to school, if you don’t do good, you’ll go through difficult times.’)

The condition is marked by =*giži* (TOP), and the main clause has future (FUT) marking. A predictive conditional is formed in exactly a parallel fashion. Compare the example in (36), with the marker =*gi* (TOP) in the conditional clause, and the =*kjane* (FUT) enclitic in the main clause.

(36) PM (X:1)

ware ’ugigiregi hanąc hiwožąkjanewina
ware ’uų gi-gi-ire=gi hanąc hi-wožą-kjane=wı=na
 work do/be cause-SBJ.3PL=TOP all 1I.A-celebrate-FUT=PL=DECL
 ‘If he gets the job, we will all celebrate it.’

Common distinctions among conditional clauses are counterfactual conditionals, negative conditionals and concessive conditionals. All three types of conditional clauses will briefly be dealt with in the following sections. It will be shown that there are only relatively minor formal differences in Hoocak between these different semantic types of conditionals. This fits in the overall picture that subordination is not deeply grammaticalized in the syntax of Hoocak.

6.1. Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditional clauses express conditions in the past that can by no means become real. Since Hoocak has no past tense, the temporal situation of the event has to be inferred from the context, and consequently the necessarily unreal situation, too. There are two similar ways to express a counterfactual conditional. Both have in common that the main clause is marked by the =*nąq* (POT) ‘potential’ enclitic. The counterfactual conditional in (37) expresses the condition in the same way as all other conditions are expressed, by means of the =*gi* (TOP) marker. That this is a condition in the past has to be inferred. The only sign that the entire event remains unreal is given with the POT marker in the main clause.

(37) PM (X:8)

hostoeja ranišegi, jagu airera hiraperesnąq
hosto’eeja ra-niše=gi, jagu ’ee-ire=ra hi<ra>peres=na=na
 meeting there 2A-be/2A=**TOP** what say-SBJ.3PL=DEF <2A>know=**POT**=DECL
 ‘If you were at the meeting, you would know what they said.’

By contrast, I found also a clearly counterfactual condition without the =*gi*/=*giži* (TOP) marker, but with two POT markers, one in the conditional clause, the other in the main clause; see (38).

- (38) ONE026
 (He)gʷ žige hiruxʷhi hɨnqʷɨkjawi 'aajenq hihanqışge
 [hegʷ žige hiruxʷhi hɨ-nqʷɨ-kje-wi 'ee=jee=nq hihe=**nq**=ışge]
 [that.way again be.lined.up 1PL.A-stand-FUT-PL say=POS.VERT=DECL say\1E.A=**POT**=also]
 'ee pijnqgaja.
 'ee pij=**nq**=gaja
 this be.good(OBJ.3SG)=**POT**=SEQ
 'Or, if I said that we are to form a line, it would have been better.'

The square brackets in ONE026 mark the conditional clause, followed by the main clause. The two **POT** markers in the main verb of the conditional clause, and the verb of the main clause are given in bold. Note that there is an unusual way to express obligation in the conditional clause. Usually, it is the combination of =kje (FUT) + heesge that means 'must'. Obviously, the FUT marker =kje may express an obligation meaning also in isolation.

6.2. Negative conditionals

Negative conditionals express a condition that is negated. English has a special word for this meaning 'unless'. Nothing comparable exists in Hoocak. Negative conditionals are simply expressed by negating a normal positive conditional, as is exemplified in (39) and (40).

- (39) PM (X:1)
 ke taanɨ hɨj šurušjanɨgi, honɨwažakjenenq
 ke taanɨ hɨj šu-rušja=**nɨ=gi**, ho<nɨ>waža-kjene=nq
NEG.IN tobacco smoke 2A-stop=**NEG.FIN=TOP** <2U>sick-FUT=DECL
 'If you don't quit smoking, you will be sick'
 'Unless you quit smoking, you will be sick'
- (40) PM (X:1)
 ke nižunɨgi, caqkeja hɨwarucwikjenawinq
 ke nižu=**nɨ=gi**, caqak 'eeja hɨ-waruc-wi-kjena-wi=nq
NEG.IN rain=**NEG.FIN=TOP** outside there 1I.A-eat-PL-FUT-PL-DECL
 'Unless it rains, we will have our picnic.'
 (lit. 'we will eat in the outside there')

6.3. Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditionals are conditionals that express that the condition itself is quite unexpected. Some languages have special markers for this. In English, for instance, the unexpected conditional is expressed by 'even if' or 'even though'. Hoocak has no lexical equivalent for that. However, I found that concessive conditionals in Hoocak often employ in addition to the =gi/=giži (TOP) marker the =šge 'also' enclitic. Compare the examples in (41), (42), and (43).

- (41) PM (X:1)
 nižugišge, caqkeja hɨwarucwinqna
 [nižu=**gi=šge**] caqak 'eeja hɨ-waruc-wi=nq=nq
 [rain=**TOP=also**] outside there 1I.A-eat-PL=**POT**=DECL
 'Even if it rains, we can have our picnic.'

(42) WTR011

jaajanągiži woocexi wažq woocexiižq horagiwe
 [jaajana=giži woocexi wažq woocexi=ižq ho<ra>giwe
 [when=TOP be.difficult something be.difficult=one <2.A>take.path
hašqnaqwišge wana'ı niğipikjanawi nirokegikjanawi
 ha-ša-naq-wi=šge] wana'ı ni-gipi-kjane-wi ni-rukek-i-kjane-wi
 COLL-2.A-POS.NTL-PL=**also**] mind 2.U-like-FUT-PL 2.U-comfort(SBJ.3SG)-EP-FUT
 'Even if you're going through a bad time, you'll be be in good spirits, and he'll comfort
 you.'

(43) ALV017

Žee hegųgi haqkésge waqkšik naqc hirasgikjene haqke
 žee hegų=gi haqke=šge waqkšik naqc_hi<ra>sgi-kjene [haqke
 this that.way=TOP NEG.IN=also Indian/person <2A>scold-FUT [NEG.IN
heesgani wažqnaq hižq haqke pij
 heesge=ni wažq=ra hižq haqke pij
 that's.why=NEG.FIN something=DEF one NEG.IN be.good
hiiranigišge haqké naqc wiirasgikje heesgani
 hii-ire-ni=gi=šge] haqke naqc_wa-hi<ra>sgi-kje heesge=ni
 make/CAUS-SBJ.3PL-NEG.FIN=TOP=also] NEG.IN OBJ.3PL-<2.A>scold-FUT thus=NEG.FIN
hazohícq worák hišára 'anaga žeegugi naqxgújñekjene žeegú hišge
 hazohi=caq wa-horak hiše=ra 'anaga žeegų=gi naqxgų-ire-kjene žeegų hišge
 carefully=instead OBJ.3PL-tell say\2.A=DEF and thus=TOP hear-SBJ.3PL-FUT thus also
nañáxgų 'aire.
 naq<ra>xgų 'ee-ire
 <2.A>hear say-SBJ
 'That way you don't scold them, even if they don't do something good, you are not sup-
 posed to scold them, instead tell them nicely and they will hear, that's what you heard
 they said.'

In all three cases, =šge 'also' follows the predicate of the conditional clause and occurs in all but one example immediately after the TOP marker. It seems that this 'also' that frequently occurs in our texts puts emphasis on the condition marking in these cases.

6.4. Other functions of =gi/=giži (TOP)

The two enclitics =gi/=giži (TOP) do not only mark conditional clauses, but have other functions too.

6.4.1. Formation of temporal adverbials

First of all, =gi (TOP)—and =giži (TOP) only rarely—forms temporal adverbials with words that designate phases of the day. For instance, there is the intransitive inactive verb *haqini* 'be.morning' in the HLD. With =gi (TOP) it is *haqinigi* 'in the morning (to come, tomorrow)' (cf. e.g. CAW066 and for =giži FOX028). Likewise, there is the intransitive inactive verb *hoxjana* 'be.evening', which will be an adverbial *hoxjanagi* 'in the evening' (cf. e.g. BLU029); and similarly *haqhé* 'be.night'

will become the adverbial *haqhégi* ‘in the night, tonight’ (FOX025). With regard to the formation of adverbials, =*gi* contrasts paradigmatically with =*re* ‘this’ forming adverbials that refer to a phase of the day that already passed with respect to the time of speaking. For instance, there is the adverbial *həjɛnɛre* ‘this morning (that just passed)’ vs. *həjɛnigi* ‘this (coming) morning’.

6.4.2. Formation of anaphoric adverbials

Secondly, =*gi* (TOP) and =*giži* (TOP) frequently occur in texts with adverbs like *žeegu* ‘thus’, *žeežeegu* ‘thus’, *meegu* ‘this way’, *hegu* ‘that way’, sometimes also *heesge* ‘that’s why, so’, and a few others. These adverbs have in common that they refer back to mostly immediately preceding parts of the discourse like episodes, events, and propositions. These forms thus are employed to create textual cohesion. If these adverbs are marked by the two TOP forms =*gi/ =giži*, this is meant to indicate that the episodes, events and propositions are the setting and starting point for the proceeding discourse or narration.

6.4.3. Marking of complement clauses

Thirdly, both forms are frequently used to mark complement clauses mostly with CTVs of ‘thinking’ and ‘speaking’. The following example WIL053 in (44) could illustrate this usage.

- (44) WIL053
Jáasge hiires’ági *heesge wakárągigı̂sire meegu.*
jaasge hii-ire=s’a=gi heesge wa-kara-gigı̂s-ire meegu
how make/CAUS-SBJ.3PL=ITER=TOP that’s.why OBJ.3PL-POSS.RFL-teach-SBJ.3PL this.way
 ‘They taught their own what to do.’
 (lit. ‘How to do it, that’s what they taught their own’)

The object of the teaching is a clausal complement of the trivalent verb *gigı̂s* ‘to teach sth. to so.’ This clausal complement is marked by =*gi* indicating that the content of the teaching is topical in the actual discourse. A very similar example BOF057 is given in (45).

- (45) BOF057
“Jaagu wašjagi hı̂ugırakre!”
jaagu wa-ha<š>ja=gi ho<hı̂-gi>rak=re
 what OBJ.3PL-<2.A>see=TOP <1E.U-APPL.BEN>tell=IMP
 “Tell me what you saw in your dream!”

The content of the dream in this narrated conversation is the topic of the actual discourse.

6.4.4. Presentational function: new topics and topic changes

A fourth and related function of =*gi/giži* (TOP) is to highlight new topics in discourse. In example WIL061 in (46), the grandmother is introduced for the first time and will be a discourse topic in the subsequent story.

- (46) WIL061
Žeežegú hegugiži hižá hikoróke haawigiži raašrášge
žeežegú hegu=giži hižá hikoroke haa-wi=giži raaš=ra=šge
 that's.how that.way=TOP **one grandmother have.kin\1E.A-PL=TOP** name=DEF=also
náqxgu nuniže hihanágre haqke peewi
naq<ha>xgu nuniže hihe=naGRE haake peewi
 <1E.A>hear(OBJ.3SG) nevertheless say\1E.A=POS.NTL:PROX NEG.IN think.about\1E.A
tuuxúrukni žeesge gigiireže.
tuuxuruk=ni žeesge gigi-ire=že
 accomplish\1E.A-NEG.FIN thus let/cause(OBJ.3SG.REC.3SG)-SBJ.3PL=QUOT
 'In that way, one of our grandmothers, I heard her name, but I can't think of it, they did that to her.'

In order to mark newly introduced topics in discourse, both forms may occur with NPs as demonstrated in the preceding example. However, they may also be used to mark a topic change as is the case in DES054 in (47). The “old” demonstrative pronoun *te'e* ‘this’ received a new referent in this example that differs from the referent of the previous clause.

- (47) DES054
Te'egi hižá hawaja kənqkirega.
te'e=gi hižá hawaja kənək-ire=ga
this=TOP one push place-SBJ.3PL=CONT
 'They put this one down and pushed it in.'

A fifth and likewise related function is to mark clausal topics. A very typical way of information packaging in Hoocak discourse is to start with the expression of an event in general terms and then to repeat the main predicate with a core argument of a more specific content. Compare WIL103 in (48).

- (48) WIL103
Raaš'újñegi hųc hikikárac hižá heesge
raaš'ų-ire=gi hųc hikikarac hižá heesge
name do/make(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL=TOP bear clan.member one that's.why
raaš'újñe.
raaš'ų-ire
 name do/make(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL
 'They named him a bear clan name.'

The sentence starts with the general statement that they gave him a name. This statement is the starting point or setting for the more specific claim in the following clause that it is a bear clan name. One could also characterize this function as a presentational function of the TOP marker. This presentational function can be found also with independent main clauses as in WIL068 in (49).

- (49) WIL068
 'Eeja maṛuhá wagigiregiži.
 'eeja maṛuha wa-gigi-ire=**giži**
 there move.cross.country OBJ.3PL-let/cause-SBJ.3PL=**TOP**
 'They made them move.'

The fact that the Ioway were deported to Oklahoma (Indian Territory) is introduced here in this clause for the first time in the story told. It is not a subordinate clause. And comments of other speakers (CL and CW) indicate that both forms are freely interchangeable in this context.

7. Conclusions

Subordination is only weakly grammaticalized in Hoocąk; there are no infinite verbs forms, no alternative word orders, no special moods of the subordinate verb, and no complementizers that mark subordinate clauses.

Given these facts, I posed two question in the beginning of this paper: are there really adverbial clauses (from a morphosyntactic point of view), and how can they be distinguished from complement clauses?

Adverbial clauses have the following morphosyntactic properties:

- i. appear regularly before the verbal predicate in P^{F-1} and/or in P^I position;
- ii. can be moved also in a position after the verbal predicate of the main clause;
- iii. are always finite pronominally marked (even if the subject of the main clause is coreferent with the subject of the subordinate clause);
- iv. tense/mood/modality marking is independently marked in the subordinate clause;
- v. there are enclitics that mark certain semantic relationship between the adverbial clause and the main clause; these enclitics are NOT subordinating conjunctions;

Complement clauses, on the other hand, have partially different morphosyntactic properties:

- i. position always immediately before the matrix verb; only complement clauses of verbs of 'saying' may be moved in a position after the matrix verb;
- ii. no other lexical material is allowed between complement clause and matrix verb in most cases;
- iii. almost all complement clauses allow the suspension of pronominal marking of the A/S (=subject) under coreference with the A/S (=subject) of the matrix verb; however, it is never obligatory;
- iv. there are no complementizers;
- v. object complement clauses are sometimes marked by a definite article (as if the clause has to be nominalized), but this marking of subordination is in no way obligatory; subject complement clauses, on the other hand, always occur with the definite article.

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