NP coordination, lists, etc. in Hul'q'umi'num' Salish Donna B. Gerdts & Zachary Gilkison (Simon Fraser University)

- Halkomelem (ISO code: hur) is a Salish language, of the Central Salish branch, spoken as a first language by around 40 elders in southwestern British Columbia, Canada, along the shores of the Salish sea.
- Data is from the Island dialect Hul'q'umi'num' drawn from our text corpus of transcriptions and translations of recordings of over forty different speakers made by Gerdts and research team as well as recordings made by other researchers—Wayne Suttles (1962) and Thomas Hukari (1970s, 1980s).
- For this project, data come from following speakers: approximately 1000 pages of transcriptionstranslations.
- Q1: What can the study of Elders' performance of stories teach us about speaking authentic Hul'q'umi'num'?

Q2: How do speakers package information?

Q3: How do they use prosodics to convey meaning and interest?

This paper is an investigation into NP coordinate structures expressed with and without the conjunction *?i?* 'and, but, or', which occurs between the NPs.

(1) $\theta = y - z^2 - t e^{-\psi} z = t^{-\psi} z =$

• a closed set

• items conceptually form a coherent unit (contiguous in time and space)

• overall declining intonation

We focus on cases of multiple NP, particularly on lists of NPs.

- (2) mək^w stem s²i²ltən²-s—sməyəθ, k^wewe²əc, spe²əθ.
 all what food-3POS deer elk bear
 They have everything to eat—deer, elk, bear. (ST)
- open list, items are given as exemplars
- items, although sharing something in common, are conceived of individually (don't need to be contiguous in time and space)
- intonation is reset for each NP

Roadmap of the paper

- 1. Internal structure—position of conjunction and use of determiners
- 2. External structure—lists used in argument positions versus other positions, headed versus non-headed structures
- 3. Discourse/pragmatics properties of lists-placement
- 4. Conclusion: What's special about lists?

1. Internal structure—position of conjunction and use of determiners **1.1** Location of conjunction

No conjunction

- (3) ²i² t^θeỷ ²əw' sắtekw, t^θə ắθəm, ²əỷ ²ə kwsəs xwə-sθəθi².
 CNJ DEM LNK carving DT box good OB DT.N.3SUB INCH-alright And the carvings and the boxes, it was good to use for those. (EW)
- (4) nił mi cəm-ət t^{θ}ə s[?]iłəwa— θ ə st^{θ}u:m, t^{θ}ə sc²əyx^w sməyə θ . 3PRO come carry-TR DT belongings—DT berries DT dried deer He was the one to go and help carry her belongings—berries, dried meat. (EJ)

Conjunction between each NP

(5) ni?=əł ċə ?əw? xəte:m t^θə ni? ?ə t^θə xeləw'?i? t^θə s?ənəm AUX=PST QUOT LNK DO.mid DT AUX OB DT ladle CNJ DT spear ?i? t^θə k wəyək w. CNJ DT hook
It's used for ladles and spears and hooks. (EW) (speaking about mecənəł 'black hawthorn')

Conjunctions can be used between any of the NPs on a list.

(6)	3pro dt	flounder b	utter.clam sea.urch	ni? ?aləx-ət-a in AUX gather-TR-2 urchins that we gathe	2pl.ssub
		-		x̃ix™ə ni? ?aĺ sea.urchin AUX gatl	
				žix ^w ə ni [?] sea.urchin AUX	⁹ aləx-ət-ət. gather-TR-2PL.SSUB
				?i? t ^θ ə Xix ^w ə CNJ DT sea.urchin	ni? ?aləx-ət-ət. AUX gather-TR-2PL.SSUB

Before last NP (1, 2, and 3)

(7)	t ^θ əẁ DT.LNK				- ·		s?ila?q™a?ł, Chemainus.River					
	?i?	k ^w θə	snəneyr	nəx	•							
	CNJ	DT	Snuneym	uxw								
	everywhere, the Cowichan River, the Chemainus River, and the Nanaimo River. (ST)											

1 and 2 and 3, 4, summary

(8)	qʷəqʷəl̍-təl̓ talking-REC	-		-	? θə J DT	
	?i?	-	sqʻəqa ⁹ -s,	1.	-	
	CNJ Daavan diaawaaa		be.with-3PO		•	la monte (E

Beaver discussed with Flicker and Tsuya', and many other companions, Mink, many. (EJ)

Table 1: Placement of conjunction with 3 NPs

1, 2, 3	1,2&3	1 & 2 & 3	1 & 2, 3	Total
5	4	4	3	16

Table2 : Placement of conjunction with 4 NPs

1, 2, 3, 4	1 & 2, 3, 4	12&3,4	1, 2, 3 & 4	1 & 2 & 3, 4	1 & 2 & 3 & 4	Total
2	2	1	1	1	1	9

Flexibility of placement of conjunction in multiple coordination is unexpected given that crosslinguistically conjunctions tend to have a fixed location, e.g. between each NP, before just the last NP, or after just the first NP (Drellishak 2004, Haspelmath 2000, Stassen 2001).

Drellishak, S. 2004. A Survey of coordination strategies in the world's languages. MA thesis, University of Washington, Seattle.

Haspelmath, M. 2000. Coordination. In T. Shopen, ed. Language Typology and Linguistic Description, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stassen, L. 2001. Noun phrase coordination. In M. Haspelmath, ed. Language Typology and Language Universals: An International Handbook. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

1.2 Determiners

All NPs in argument positions (subject, object, object of prepositions) require determiners, even plurals, proper nouns, and possessed nouns.

There is great flexibility in the use of determiners on NPs in lists.

 $(t^{\theta} a) s^{2} a \check{x}^{w} a^{2}, (t^{\theta} a) \check{x} i x^{w} a ni^{2} a^{2} a \dot{a} \check{x} \cdot a t - a t.$ t^θə (9) nił pəwi?. flounder (DT) butter.clam (DT) sea.urchin AUX gather-TR-2PL.SSUB 3pro DT It was the flounder, butter clams, red sea urchins that we gathered. (RP)

However, whenever a conjunction is used, so is a determiner.

									⁹ aləx-ət-ət.
3pr	O DT	flounde	r DT	butter.clar	n CNJ	DT	sea.urchin	AUX	gather-TR-2PL.SSUB
It v	vas the	e flounde	r, butt	er clams, a	nd red	sea u	rchins that w	ve gath	ered. (RP)
									⁹ aləx-ət-ət. gather-TR-2PL.SSUB
							x́ix™ə n sea.urchin A		aləx-ət-ət. ather-TR-2PL.SSUB

Determiner is required after ⁹i⁹ even when two NPs are closely connected (natural coordination).

AUX		DT	bow	t ^θ ə ṫ ^θ əṁe:ṅ-s. DT arrow-3POS
	k™ən-ət-əs take-TR-3SUB			

1 and 2, 3, and 4

(12) ni⁹ co λ ow' θ ey-tom t^{θ}o sqomol ⁹i⁹ t^{θ}o λ elow', q^w θ alos, ⁹i⁹ t^{θ}o lopla:š. AUX QUOT also.LNK make-PAS DT paddle CNJ DT ladle CNJ DT board platter They used to also make paddles, ladles, platters, and boards. (EW)

2.1.3 Summary

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Hul'q'umi'num' displays asymmetrical structures in which some of the conjoined elements are NPs and some are DPs.

This might be unexpected given constituency analysis of coordination assumed in syntactic theory, which posits parallel structures.

Not surprising from Hul'q'umi'num' perspective.

The conjunction ²*i*² is robustly attested in a variety of asymmetrical structures (Bätscher 2014).

(13) qəlet	skʷeyəl	?i?	mi	təs.
again	day	CNJ	come	arrive
The next	day, he got	here.		

Bätscher, K. 2014. Interclausal and intraclausal linking elements in Hul'q'umi'num' Salish. MA thesis, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

• Is there something about NPs in lists in particular that allow a wider range of morphosyntactic patterns than plain coordination?

2. External structure 2.1 Argument position

All NPs in argument positions (subject, object, object of preposition) require determiners, even proper nouns and possessed nouns.

When list is in an argument position, determiner is required on the first element.

- (14) nił t^θ p pwi?, s²ax̃wa?, xixwp ni? ²alpx-pt-pt.
 3PRO DT flounder butter.clam sea.urchin AUX gather-TR-2PL.SSUB It was the flounder, butter clams, red sea urchins that we gathered. (RP)
- (15) *nił powi?, s?axwa?, xixwo ni? ?alox-ot-ot.
 3PRO flounder butter.clam sea.urchin AUX gather-TR-2PL.SSUB It was the flounder, butter clams, red sea urchins that we gathered.

2.2 Non-argument positions

Predicate nominals do not use determiners:

(16) ⁹ esx ^w	?i?	θə	šes	t ^θ ə	ni?	ḋaḋi?−ət-əs	t ^θ ə	x ^w əlməx ^w .		
seal	CNJ	DT	sea lion	DT	AUX	kill-tr-3sub	DT	food		
Seals and	Seals and sea lions were what the natives killed (for their food). (PC)									

(17) * θə	?esx [™]	?i?	θə	šes t ^θ ə	ni?	dadi'	?-ət-əs t ^ə ə	x ^w ə]	lməx ^w .
DT	seal	CNJ	DT	sea lion	DT	AUX	kill-tr-3su	B DT	food

In some non-argument positions, (e.g. titles, appositives, increments) determiner is not required, but possible.

2.2.1 Titles

No determiner is required on first NP, but a determiner is required after ?i?.

(18) demi?			spa:ľ	b.	spa:İ	?i?	θə	demi?)
girl			raven			CNJ		girl	
"The gir	l and Ra	aven"			"Rave	n and th	e girl"		
(19) ?θə ἀe ṁ DT girl "The gir	CN.	DT	spa:Ì raven	b.	?t ⁰ ə DT "Rave	spa:Ì raven m and th	CNJ	θə DT	demi? girl
(20) *demi? girl "The girf	CNJ	spa:ľ raven aven"		b.		nCNJ ven and		girl)

2.2.2 Lists used as supplements (elaborations)

If the list is in a non-argument position, then the first element need not have a determiner.

(21) ni? cən ?iləq-ət t^{θ}ə s?əłtən-ct— sməyə θ ?i? t^{θ}ə sqew θ , səplil. AUX 1SUB buy-tR DET food-1pl.pos meat and DET potato bread 'I bought us some food—meat, potatoes, bread.' (RP)

Contrast: argument position, first element must have a determiner.

(22) ni[?] cən [?]iləq-ət t^{θ}ə sməyə θ , sqew θ , səplil. AUX 1SUB buy-tR DET meat potato bread 'I bought meat, potatoes, bread.' (RP)

2.3. Summary

The determiner on the first NP on the list is determined by its external syntax.

- First NP in multiple coordination must have determiner if the list is in an argument position.First NP in multiple coordination cannot have determiner if the list is a position,
 - e.g. predicate nominal, that does not allow determiners.

NP following the conjunction must also have a determiner.

Otherwise, the determiner is optional.

3. Discourse/pragmatics properties of lists

3.1 Anchoring the list: priming and summarizing

Lists can be in argument positions.

(23) ²əli²əýmət t^θə sċq^wənɨə-s, st^θamɨəcən-s, šeləmcəs-s ²i² t^θə cɨpq^wnistən-s.
 beautiful.PL.DIM DT earring-3POS bracelet-3POS ring-3POS CNJ DT brooch-3POS
 'He had beautiful earrings, bracelets, rings, and brooches.' (EC)

Hul'q'umi'num' lacks many higher-level generic terms (e.g. it lacks words meaning 'animal', 'bird', 'seafood', 'utensil', 'furniture', 'building', 'jewelry').

But you can just use a list of exemplars.

In some cases, a primer word such as a set-denoting generic NP anchors the list.

(24) [?]aləx-ət-əs t^θəwne[?]əlł s[?]i[?]łtən s, hay [?]əw yaθ [?]əl [?]əw s[?]i[?]łtən s gather-TR-3SUB DT.3PRO.PL N.eating-3POS very LNK always QLF LNK N.eating-3POS They can get food, there's really always food—

 $t^{\theta} = s^2 a \check{x}^w a^2$, $s \check{\lambda} = i^2 a^2 a^2 m^2 i^2 t^{\theta} = swe:m - 2 = v^2 a \check{y}^2 = s$. DT butter.clam cockles CONJ DT horse.clam LNK good-3POS butter clams, cockles, and the horseclams—they're good. (ST)

A cover term $m \partial \vec{k}^w$ stem 'everything' or $m \partial \vec{k}^w$ ' $\partial n c \partial$ 'everywhere' often introduces the list.

mək^w ?əl t^θeỷ °∍w' (25) š-səniw'-s təw' stem-N.O-inside-3POS DEM all LNK OLF MIT what They used to have all varieties of things inside that (sack)— ?i? t^θeỷ sqewθe:n ?i? t^θeỷ spe:nx^w, təw' šəw'qe:n. potato camas CNJ DEM carrot CNJ DEM MIT camas, potatoes, and carrots. (EW) mək^w γ əncə—t^{θ}ə qəwəcən, k^w θ ə s γ ila γ q^wa γ t, $(26) \dots t^{\theta} = \dot{w}$ where DT Cowichan DT DT.LNK Chemainus.River all k^wθə snəneyməx^w. ?i? CNJ DT Snuneymuxweverywhere, the Cowichan River, the Chemainus River, and the Nanaimo River. (ST)

A cover term can follow the list.

(27) t^θ aw' ² an s²it^θ am, lax^wtan, mak^w stem ²aw' š-ha²k^w-s.
DT.LNK 2POS clothing blanket all what LNK N.OB-using-3POS It was used to make clothing, blankets, all kinds of things. (EW)

Often the list is framed with anchor words on both sides.

(28) mək^w ?əl stem—st^θu:m, ?apəls, pes—mək^w stem ni? ?əw' ?aləx-ət-ət. all QLF what berry apple pear all what AUX LNK gather-tr-1PL.SSUB Everything—berries, apples, pears—we picked them all. (ArS)

3.1 Position of list

Table 3: Placement of the list in the sentence

	Beginning	Middle	End	Total
#	6	19	30	55
Percent	10%	35%	55%	100%

- Due to verb first order, NPs often come at end of sentence, so lists in argument positions often come at end as well.
- (29) ⁹i⁹ xətə-stəm k^wəsəw' cəx^wle⁹ ⁹i⁹ nan ⁹əw' ⁹əỷ k^ws ha⁹k^w-s CNJ saying-CS.PAS DT.N.LNK sometimes CNJ very LNK good DT.N using-3POS They said the wood was good to use

[?] $h^w as \theta ay-tam t^{\theta} a x e^{1} aw$ [?] $i^{?} q^w \theta a las ^? i^{?} t^{\theta} aw$ sqamal. OB DT.N make-TR.PASDT ladle CNJ platter CNJ DT.LNK paddle for making ladles, bowls, and paddles. (EW)

Discontinuous coordination is common; this allows NPs to occur later in class.

(30) nił	$t^{\theta} \mathfrak{d}$	sqəleŵ	c-we?	č-q ^w aləwər	n ?i? Øə	i ⁰ iqt	?i? 0ə	čəya,	t ^θ əŵ	
	mə	Å™.								
3prc	DT (beaver	V-own	V.N.O-idea	CNJ DT	flicker	CNJ DT	bird?	DT.LNK	all
It was Beaver who had that idea, and Woodpecker and Tsuya's, all of them. (EJ)										

Lists are often heavy, and general cross-linguistic tendency to place heavy information last.

CNJ DT U	nək ^w -əš-əx ^w k ^w ən-s ise-tr-2sub Dt.2pos-n i take along when you go	go	PRF		
shovel dig	ləx, šəptən, šq ^w a ging.stick knife pot knives, pots, bucket, oce	buck	tet	ocean.spray	
cedar.bark	sx ^w ək wiwətən, poking.strands s for stringing, and cover	CNJ	t ^θ ə DT	ẩx ^w iw'stən cover	l.

Lists at the beginning (only 10% of sample)

- (32) t^θəw' pəli? ⁹i? t^θə təw' st^θu:m-s k^wəs nem təw'=əł cəy x^w.
 DT.LNK bark CNJ DT MIT berry-3POS DT.3SUB go MIT =PST dry The bark and its berries, when they are dried, can be taken. (EW) (speaking about mecənəł 'black hawthorn')
- (33) x^wləmi?, səmyama?—nił ni? k^ws cecələłtən'-s ?ə t^θə cəlłtənəm— Lummi Semiahmoo—3POS AUX DT.N fishing-3POS OB DT fishing.ground Lummi people, Semiahmoo people—they are the ones there fishing at the fishing ground—

šsenic, $m \Rightarrow \vec{k}^w$ temc $? \Rightarrow$ $t^{\theta} \Rightarrow$ šsenicSaanichallkind.peopleOBDTSaanichSaanichpeople, all the tribes of Saanich---

nem hənəm kws kwen-nəxw-s t $^{\theta}$ ə sce:ltən. go going DT.N take-LCTR-3POS DT salmon going to catch salmon.

Going in and out of the list is extremely common—making a comment about something on the list, or restarting the list as more things are remembered.

(34) ce yx w-t-əs kwθə ?əw' məkw stem s?əłtən—qwənəs, məkw stem, dry-TR-3SUB DT LNK all what food whale all what They dried different kinds of food—whale, everything,

sca[?]t \check{x} —ni \check{t} sq^wəq^wis [?] ϑ t^{θ} ϑ $\check{\lambda}$ e \check{t} əm qa[?] s[?] ϑ \check{t} tən-s. halibut 3PRO be.in.water OB DT salt water food-3POS halibut—that's all different kinds of food from the salt water. (MG) (35) ²i² ni² θəł x^wi² ²iya²q-stəm ²ə k^wθə qəli:ma²—
 CNJ AUX ADV MIR change-CS.PS OB DT ugly
 And she changed them into ugly (children)—

stem ⁹alə, sq^wəmey, ⁹əłqi⁹ what INQ dog snake whatever, a dog, a snake—

hay ni? ?əw' qəl-stəm ?əl θə ?əłqi? very AUX LNK bad-CS.PAS QUAL DT snake they didn't like the snakes—

sq^wəmeý ?əłqi?, stem k^wθə ?i sa?səq^wt-əm. dog snake what DT AUX younger.sibling-MID dog, snake, whatever that youngest one was. (EC)

4. Conclusion

- Lists are an important device in authentic story performance.
- Plain coordination: uncommon, often other strategies are used
- Lists: very common (approximately one per 5 pages)
- Lists serve as a strategy to add NPs without taking up an argument slot.

Gerdts, D. B., and T. E. Hukari. 2008. The Expression of Noun Phrases in Halkomelem Texts, *Anthropological Linguistics* 50.3/4:1–41.

- How do we distinguish plain coordination from lists?
- Argument position?

plain coordination and lists can appear in both argument and non-argument positions

- Presence of conjunction? plain coordination and lists show same range of zero, some, to all
- Presence of Determiner on NPs Determiners on NPs in plain coordination and lists follow same rules.

plain NP Coordination

- tends to be a closed set
- items conceptually form a coherent unit (contiguous in time and space)
- overall declining intonation

lists

- tend to be open, though closed lists are possible
- items, although sharing something in common, are conceived of individually (don't need to be contiguous in time and space)
- intonation is reset for each NP

Cross-linguistic perspectives on lists?

- Selting, M. 2007. Lists as embedded structures and the prosody of list construction as an interactional resource. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 483–526.
- Wagner, M. 2010. Prosody and recursion in coordinate structures and beyond. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 183–237.
- Do all langages have lists?
- How are languages alike and how are they are different in the expression of lists?
- What the the key features to explore in a typology of lists?
- What aspects of the structure of lists are parasitic on other structures?
- In what ways are lists alike and different from plain coordination?

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