

Beginning a DELPH-IN Grammar for Lushootseed

Lexical Representation of Nouns and Verbs

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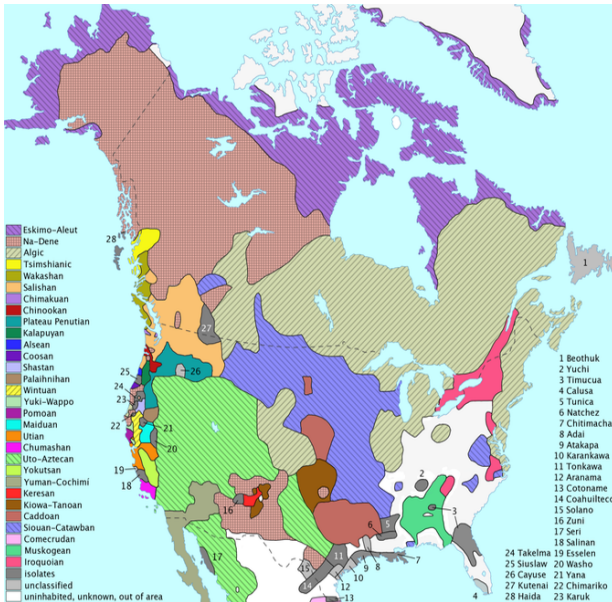
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In this talk:

- ▶ disclaimer!
- ▶ quick introduction to Salish languages and Lushootseed
- ▶ quick intro to Lushootseed clauses and structures
- ▶ some tricky facts about lexical representation

Salish within North American Language families





Lushootseed, typologically

overview

iso-693-3	lut
word-order	VSO
morphology	polysynthetic

phenomena of note

phenomenon	gr.domain
complex consonant series, few vowels	sonority sequencing (phon)
no nasal consonants	phonological typology
contrasting reduplication patterns	morphophonology
“lexical suffixes”	morphosyntax, semantics
overlapping categories	morphosyntax

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The Lushootseed Consonants

Phonology-lite

<i>vcl stop</i>	p	t	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	?
<i>glz stop</i>	p̣	ṭ	ḳ	ḳ ^w	q̣	q̣ ^w	
<i>vcd stop</i>	b	d	g	g ^w			
<i>vcl aff</i>		c	č				
<i>glz aff</i>		c̣	č̣				
<i>vcd aff</i>		d ^z	ǰ				
<i>vcl fric</i>	s	š	x	x ^w	ṣ̌	ṣ̌ ^w	h
<i>lat/res</i>	l	ɬ	y	w			
<i>glz lat/res</i>	ḷ	ɬ̣	ỵ	ẉ			
<i>vowels</i>	i	u	a	ə			
<i>diphth</i>	uy	ay	əy	iw	aw	əw	

Clause structure

- ▶ Adv* PredicateP DirectArgP? ObliqueArgPP*
- ▶ A group of clause level enclitics will appear after the first p-word (usually the PredicatePhrase)

- (1) $\check{x}^w u l' \check{c} \acute{a} d$ $\text{ʔ} u l \acute{a} ? u \check{x}^w t x^w$ $t i ? \acute{a} ?$ $\text{ʔ}(u) a d s ? \acute{a} \text{ʔ} t x^w$
 $\check{x}^w u l' \check{c} \acute{a} d$ $\text{ʔ} u - l \acute{a} - ? u \check{x}^w - t x^w$ $t i ? \acute{a} ?$ $\text{ʔ}(u) - a d - s - ? \acute{a} \text{ʔ} (\acute{a} d) - t x^w$
 just 1SG.SUBJ IRR-PROG-go-TR DEM IRR-POSS.2SG-NMLZ-eat-TR
 $\acute{a} l g^w \acute{a}$
 $\acute{a} l g^w \acute{a}$
 3PL.OBJ
 'I'll just take what you are going to feed them.'

Clause structure

- ▶ Adv* **PredicateP** DirectArgP? ObliqueArgPP*
- ▶ A group of clause level enclitics will appear after the first p-word (usually the PredicatePhrase)

- (2) $\check{x}^w u l' \check{c} \acute{a} d$ $\text{f} u l \acute{a} ? u \check{x}^w t x^w$ $t i ? \acute{a} ? \text{f}(u) a d s ? \acute{a} \text{f} t x^w$
 $\check{x}^w u l' \check{c} \acute{a} d$ $\text{f} u - l \acute{a} - ? u \check{x}^w - t x^w$ $t i ? \acute{a} ? \text{f}(u) - a d - s - ? \acute{a} \text{f}(\acute{a} d) - t x^w$
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Clause structure

- ▶ A group of clause level enclitics will appear after the first p-word (usually the PredicatePhrase)
- (3)
- a. ***č̣**wul̥ ɬuləʔuχ̣ʷtxʷ **č̣əd** tiʔəʔ ɬ(u)adsʔəɬtxʷ əlgʷə
'I'll just take what you are going to feed them.'
 - b. ***č̣əd** ɬuləʔuχ̣ʷtxʷ tiʔəʔ ɬ(u)adsʔəɬtxʷ əlgʷə
'I'll take what you are going to feed them.'
 - c. ɬuləʔuχ̣ʷtxʷ **č̣əd** tiʔəʔ ɬ(u)adsʔəɬtxʷ əlgʷə
'I'll take what you are going to feed them.'

Clause Structure

- nb: verbal morphology can manipulate which semantic arg is realized as the direct complement, the others can appear as obliques

(4) ʔuʔuχʷ ti čáčas.
 ʔu-ʔuχʷ ti čáčas.
 PERF-go DET boy
 'The boy went.'

(5) ʔuʔuχʷtxʷ ti čáčas.
 ʔu-ʔuχʷ-txʷ ti čáčas.
 PERF-go-TR DET boy
 [Someone] took the boy
 somewhere.

Who's who amongst Lushootseed words

- ▶ in Lut. the traditional syntactic categories exist (we know from their morphology) but
- ▶ their syntax often overlaps with respect to clausal structure
- ▶ surprisingly, Nouns, PPs, Verbs, Adjs can head a clauses and combine with arguments.

Verbal, Nominal, PP heads of sentences

(6) ʔuχ^w čəd.

V CLI

go 1SG.SUBJ

'I go.'

(7) stubš čəd.

N CLI

man 1SG.SUBJ

'I am a man.'

(8) tuʔal čəd sqajet.

PREP CLI N

from 1SG.SUBJ Skagit

'I'm from Skagit.'

Verbal, Nominal, PP heads of sentences

(9) ʔuχ̣ʷ čəd.

V CLI

go 1SG.SUBJ

'I go.'

(10) stubš čəd.

N CLI

man 1SG.SUBJ

'I am a man.'

Ok, so how do we know these aren't all verbs?

(11) tuʔal čəd sqajet.

PREP CLI N

from 1SG.SUBJ Skagit

'I'm from Skagit.'

Nouns and Verbs have different morphology

	marked	unmarked
trans (verbs)	q̣ʷəl-d 'cook smt' šaba-d 'dry smt' yəc-əd 'tell smt'	–
intrans (verbs)	q̣ʷəl-b 'cook smt' šab-əb 'dry smt' yəc-əb 'tell'	q̣ʷəl 'ripe' šab 'dry' ʔəʔəd 'eat' saliʔ 'two'
intrans (nouns)	s-ḳʷuy 'mother' s-badil 'mountain' s-yəc-əb 'news' s-ʔəʔəd 'food'	bad 'father' q̣ʷuʔ 'water' ʔalʔal 'house'

Nouns and Verbs have different morphology

transitive and intransitive stems

- ▶ transitives are all verbal and explicitly marked
- ▶ intransitives are verbal or nominal, marked or not

Some differences then:

- ▶ only nouns can take possessive affixes
 - ▶ bad → dbad ('my father')
 - ▶ sʔəʔəd → dsʔəʔəd ('my food')
 - ▶ daʔ ('name smtg') → sdaʔ ('name') → dsdaʔ ('my name')
 - ▶ *dʔəʔəd
- ▶ only verbs can take aspect affixes
 - ▶ ʔəʔəd → ʔuʔəʔəd
 - ▶ *ʔusʔəʔəd

Heads and Complements

back to similarities

Either a noun or verb with a third person object or subject can combine with an article to create a complement for another predicate. Category of the predicate is irrelevant here:

(12) k^wax^wa-c ti stubš
help-TR.1SG.O DET man
'The man helped me'.

(13) stubš ti k^wax^wa-c
man DET help-TR.1SG.O
'It is a man who helped me'.

Shared Morphology

full reduplication

Copies the first two consonants of a root (nominal or verbal).

- ▶ when N: plurality, collectivity
- ▶ when V: repetition, intensity

Example

- ▶ sčətx^wəd ‘black bear’ → sčətčətx^wəd ‘black bears’
- ▶ ʔalʔal ‘house’ → ʔalʔalʔal ‘houses’
- ▶ saq^w ‘fly’ → saq^wsaq^w ‘flying all about’
- ▶ ʔuluʔ ‘travel by water’ → ʔulʔuluʔ ‘move residence’

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(is this the same semantic feature (augmentative) or two similar ones?)

Mixed category recap

and a discussion question

	N	V
redup	Y	Y
poss	Y	N
aspect	N	Y
combine with DET	Y	Y
head sentence (intrans)	Y	Y
head sentence (transitive)	N	Y

A question for the experts

building a lexicon

These facts suggest two possible lexical implementation strategies:

1. The lexicon has a class of shared stems whose instances are to be realized as an N or V
 - ▶ explicit morphology derivation
 - ▶ semantic derivation specifies *e* or *x*
2. every item is underlyingly N or V and semantics are changed when/if explicit morphological marking is found

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