

Linearizing Clitics in Two Interior Salish Languages: Nsyilxcn and Nxaʔamxčín
John Lyon (California State University, Fresno); Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins (UVIC)

Nsyilxcn (a.k.a. Okanagan) and Nxaʔamxčín (a.k.a. Moses-Columbian) are closely related Interior Salish languages. Typical of Salish languages (cf. Gerds & Werle 2014, Huijsmans 2015), they have a wide range of particles, clitics in many cases, with various functions, e.g., mood, modality, emphasis, etc. The prosodic behaviour of these clitics differs markedly but consistently between the languages; our paper develops a theoretical analysis of this variation.

For Nsyilxcn, Lyon (2018a) discusses particles traditionally analyzed as clitics by Mattina (1973), and shows that clitics may be grouped into an ‘inner’, phonologically-integrated domain, and an ‘outer’, less phonologically-integrated domain. Inner clitics (e.g., absolutive subject in (1) and future *mi* in (1,2)) must attach prosodically to the main predicate as a host, while outer clitics (e.g., the question particle *ha* in (2)) may attach to an adverb or pre-predicative DP.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) mi kʷu $\sqrt{x^wuy}$.
 FUT_1PL.ABS_go
 Let’s go.</p> | <p>(2) ha $i?$ $yám\check{x}^wa?$ mi $k^wí[n]$-nt-xʷ?
 Q_DET_basket FUT_take-DIR-2SG.ERG
 Is it the basket you’re going to take?</p> |
|---|---|

Nsyilxcn clitics *mi* ‘future’ (and *kiʔ* ‘adjunct focus’) occur in the middle of a clause (in and around Tense; Lyon 2018b), and share properties of both inner and outer clitics, however outer clitics will always precede *mi* or *kiʔ* in a sentence, while other inner clitics must follow.

Very few clitics in Nsyilxcn can occur in more than one position relative to their host (excepting the question particle *ha*). However for Nxaʔamxčín, *many* clitics can vary their position (Czaykowska-Higgins 2018), as shown for example with the absolutive subject and question clitics in (3) and (4). It is a striking fact that the order of clitics in (4) *mirrors* that in (3). These examples illustrate a general pattern in Nxaʔamxčín whereby certain ‘inner’ clitics must occur closer to their prosodic host than other clitics, albeit *without* regard to strict linearity. There seems to be free variation with respect to the ordering illustrated in (3) and (4) in Nxaʔamxčín, though the equivalent of (4) is not possible in Nsyilxcn.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(3) sá kʷp k-pəqʷ·qʷ-ánaʔ ?
 Q 2PL.ABS DRV-spill·RED-ear
 Did it spill on you folks?</p> | <p>(4) ščhawiymíx kʷp a?
 hungry 2PL.ABS Q
 Are you folks hungry?</p> |
|---|--|

Our analysis utilizes Selkirk’s (1995) prosodic hierarchy: inner clitics which show phonological integration with their host are parsed as part of the same prosodic word (ω), whereas outer clitics, which do not, are parsed into a phonological phrase (φ). Such a parsing of (3,4) will yield (5,6):

- (5) (φ $sá$ (ω $kʷp$ $k-pəqʷ·qʷ-ánaʔ$)) (6) (φ (ω $ščhawiymíx$ $kʷp$) a)

We claim that the clitic syntax in (3,4) is identical: While a syntactic account of the ordering in (4) must be derived by *optional* head movement; our phonological account instead linearizes a clitic according to the prosodic level at which it is parsed. Linear alignment constraints also play a part: a family of STAY constraints (Agbayani & Golston 2010) tailored to specific phonological units assure linear correspondence is satisfied, as in (5), unless outranked by a family of STRONG-START constraints (Selkirk 2011), which derive the mirror image (6). Restricted partial constraint orderings (Antilla 2001) derive free variation, predicting only certain linearizations within a larger clitic mirror. Nsyilxcn (nearly) always favours STAY > STRONG-START.

Nevertheless, certain clitics (e.g. Nxaʔamxčín *ay’* ‘past tense’) do not conform to such mirroring. We explore the possibility that these exceptions involve syntactically local constituents, interacting phonologically via a mechanism which works in tandem with, yet overrules, the linearity derived via STAY or STRONG-START constraints.

Linearizing Clitics in Two Interior Salish Languages: Nsyilxcn and Nxaʔamxčín
John Lyon (California State University, Fresno); Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins (UVIC)

References:

- Agbayani, Brian & Golston, Chris. (2010). *Phonological Movement in Classical Greek*. *Language* 86:1, 133-167.
- Antilla, Arto (2001). *Variation in Finnish phonology and morphology*. Reviewed by Paul Boersma. *Glott International* 5:1, 31-40.
- Czaykowska-Higgins, Ewa (2018). A Preliminary Description of Particle Distributions in Nxaʔamxčín Salish. In *Wa7 xweysás i nqwal'utteniha i ucwalmícwa: He loves the people's languages: Essays in honour of Henry Davis*. Eds. Matthewson, Guntly, Rochemont, UBCOPL vol. 5.
- Gerdts, Donna & Werle, Adam. (2014). Halkomelem clitic types. *Morphology* 24: 245-281.
- Huijsmans, Marianne. (2015). *Linearization and prosodic phrasing: The case of SENĆOŦEN second-position clitics*. M.A. thesis. University of Victoria.
- Lyon, John (2018a). Clitic Distributions and Domains in Okanagan Salish: A Preliminary Study. In *Wa7 xweysás i nqwal'utteniha i ucwalmícwa: He loves the people's languages: Essays in honour of Henry Davis*. Eds. Matthewson, Guntly, Rochemont, UBCOPL vol. 5.
- Lyon, John (2018b). *Subject Raising and Null Copula Head Raising in Okanagan DP-DP Structures*. Presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association. University of Regina.
- Mattina, Anthony. (1973). *Colville Grammatical Structures*. PhD Dissertation, University of Hawai'i.
- Selkirk, Elizabeth. (1995). *The prosodic structure of function words*. Papers in optimality theory (University of Massachusetts occasional papers 18).
- Selkirk, Elizabeth. (2011). *The Syntax-phonology interface*. In *The handbook of phonological theory: Second edition* (pp. 435–484). Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell.