

Spelling Out Object Agreement in Central Salish

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1. Introduction

Salish languages mark object agreement following the use of one of several “transitivizer” suffixes. Both object agreement marking suffixes and transitivizers exhibit allomorphy, with the form of an object suffix potentially being sensitive to the preceding transitivizer, and the transitivizer potentially being sensitive to a following object suffix. Analyses of third person objects often feature an empty cell for third person objects, with a specific form of transitivizer for third person objects (Newman 1979, Kroeber 1999). Under such an analysis, the limited control and causative transitivizers must be analyzed as $-n\acute{x}^w$ and $-stx^w$ with an (unmarked) third person object, respectively, and as $-n$ and $-st$ before other suffixes, respectively.

In this paper, we examine the allomorphy found across the transitivizer and object agreement suffixes in Central Salish languages. We build on analyses previously proposed for Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1977, Wiltschko 2003), Squamish (Jacobs 2011), and Comox-Sliammon (Mellesmoen 2017), arguing in favour of overt third person analysis of object agreement in which the $(\acute{x})x^w$ component of third person object limited control and causative forms is in fact a suffix. Taken together, and in direct comparison, these languages lend support for overt third person object marking; it is more economical to posit that (some of) the locus of allomorphy in transitivizer-object pairs can be attributed to a non-null third person agreement suffix. Furthermore, we argue that the overt form $-x^w$ is the elsewhere case in each of the three Central Salish languages (Upriver Halkomelem, Squamish, and Comox-Sliammon), and that true instances of null third person object agreement are conditioned by one of the specific transitivizing suffixes (the CTR $-t$).

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we present relevant background on transitivity in Salish. We then present object agreement paradigms in three Central Salish languages (Upriver Halkomelem, Squamish, and Comox-Sliammon) in Section 3 and patterns of allomorphy in the object suffixes in Section 4. In Section 5, we detail our analysis of object suffix and transitivizer allomorphy. Section 6 concludes.

2. Transitivity in Salish

Across the Salish language family, transitivity may be overtly marked by one of several transitivizer suffixes (Kroeber 1999). What is particularly relevant for the current analysis is the position of these transitivizers: they follow the root, but come before agreement morphology (when present). They are immediately followed by suffixes marking object agreement, are before subject agreement morphology.

In addition to marking transitivity, the transitivizer suffixes in Salish also encode “agent control”, which is the ability of an agent to influence the outcome of an event (Thompson 1979, 1985). Two examples of this, from Comox-Sliammon, are given in (1).¹ In the first, the control transitive is associated with a breaking eggs event that is clarified to be intentional. Contrast this to the sentence in (2), has the same root $y\acute{a}p-$ ‘to break’, but is given in a context where the breaking events is accidental in nature, reflecting the semantic contribution of the LCTR transitivizer.²

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¹ The data in this section comes from our own fieldwork with speakers of Comox-Sliammon.

² Note that we gloss $\text{ʔo\acute{b}j}$ as an overt object suffix from the outset of this paper.

(1) Control Transitive in Comox-Sliammon

ʔəwk^w yəp-t-Ø-an χ^waχ^wit
 all break-CTR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG egg
 ‘I deliberately broke all the eggs.’

(2) Limited Control Transitive in Comox-Sliammon

paya yəp~yəp-u-x^w-an k^waɬt
 always PL~break-LCTR-3OBJ-1SG.ERG plate
 ‘I am always (accidentally) breaking the plates.’

The difference between the transitivizer suffixes further reflects a distinction in culmination: control transitivizers do not require an event to culminate (Bar-El et al. 2005). While a culmination entailment can be cancelled with a control transitivizer, this is not the case with a limited control transitivizer.

A third type of transitivizing suffix is the causative, which is found widely across the Salish language family. Gerdtz & Hukari (2006: 144) observe that the Halkomelem causative is found in “a wide range of constructions, which nevertheless seem to radiate from the properties of a classic causative” and observe it is used to add an additional argument (deriving transitive constructions from intransitive ones or ditransitive from transitives). Watanabe (2003: 221) further attributes both “causation and permission” to its function in Comox-Sliammon. We provide an example of this in (3).

(3) Causative Transitive in Comox-Sliammon

təg-it-s-x^w-as
 freeze-STV-CAUS-3OBJ-3ERG
 ‘They got it frozen.’ (‘They caused it to be frozen.’)

Work on Salish pronominal paradigms has outlined two series of object suffixes in transitive constructions that are delimited as “causative” (m-series) or “neutral” (s-series) (Kroeber 1999). The choice of object suffix series is sensitive to the transitivizer used: the causative transitivizer generally selects a different set of object suffixes than the control transitivizer.³ In the next section, we present the paradigms of object agreement found with these three transitivizers in the three languages in question.

3. Object agreement paradigms

The table below presents our analysis of the object agreement suffixes found with the three types of transitivizers discussed above (control, limited control, and causative) in Upriver Halkomelem (Wiltchko 2003), Squamish (Jacobs 2011), and Comox-Sliammon (Watanabe 2003).⁴ Recall that we assume that 3rd person object agreement may be overt or covert.

³ This is not the case in Squamish. The limited control transitivizer takes the “causative” series. As discussed later in this paper, Jacobs (2011) considers causative forms to involve be a combination of a causative and control transitivizer.

⁴ Transcriptions are slightly modified for consistency.

		U. Halkomelem (Hk)		Squamish (Sq)		Comox-Sliammon (Cx)	
		TR	OBJ	TR	OBJ	TR	OBJ
Control (CTR)	1SG	<u>-(ə)θ</u>	-óx	-t	<u>-s</u>	-(V)	-θ
	2SG	<u>-(ə)θ</u>	-ómè	-t	-umi	-(V)	-θi
	1PL	-(ə)t	-ó(1)x ^w	-t	-umuł	-(V)t	-umuł
	2PL	-(ə)t	-ólè	-t	-umi	-(V)t	-anapi
	3	-(ə)t	<u>-Ø</u>	-t	<u>-Ø</u>	-(V)t	<u>-Ø</u>
Limited Control (LCTR)	1SG	-l	-óx	-n	-əms̄	-ng	-ums̄
	2SG	-l	-ómè	-n	-umi	-ng	-umi
	1PL	-l	-ó(1)x ^w	-n	-umuł	-ng	-umuł
	2PL	-l	-ólè	-n	-umi	-ng	-anapi
	3	-l	<u>-əx^w</u>	-n	<u>-əx^w</u>	-ng	<u>-x^w</u>
Causative (CAUS)	1SG	<u>-(ə)sθ</u>	-óx	-s-t	<u>-s</u>	-st	-ums̄
	2SG	<u>-(ə)sθ</u>	-ómè	-s-t	-umi	-st	-umi
	1PL	-(ə)st	-ó(1)x ^w	-s-t	-umuł	-st	-umuł
	2PL	-(ə)st	-ólè	-s-t	-umi	-st	-anapi
	3	-(ə)st	<u>-əx^w</u>	-s-t	<u>-Ø</u>	<u>-s</u>	<u>-x^w</u>

Table 1: Transitivity and Object Suffixes in three Central Salish languages

We observe two types of allomorphy in Table 1. First, The form of the transitivity may be conditioned by the following object suffix (highlighted in **dark gray**). For example, in Halkomelem the control and causative transitivity have a form ending in θ rather than t when followed by a 1st or 2nd person singular object suffix. Second, the form of the object suffix may be conditioned by the preceding transitivity; cells where this takes place are highlighted in **light gray** and underlined (underlined cells indicate an overt 3rd person form). For example, in Comox-Sliammon the 1st and 2nd person singular object suffixes take the form $-\theta$ and $-\theta i$ following the control transitivity, respectively.

Importantly, these types of allomorphy are distributed differently across the three languages in the table. In Halkomelem, object suffixes are uniform outside the 3rd person, while allomorphy is found in the transitivity. In Squamish, transitivity are uniform across the paradigm, and object suffixes vary in form. In Comox-Sliammon, both transitivity and object suffixes exhibit allomorphy. This distribution is summarized in Table 2.

	Transitivity	1/2 object	3 object
Hk	✓	✗	✓
Sq	✗	✓	✓
Cx	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: Distribution of allomorphy types

The fact that transitivity allomorphy and object suffix allomorphy are distributed different across the sample of languages shows that they are independent of one another. In the next section, we discuss patterns of object suffix allomorphy in more detail. We return to transitivity allomorphy in Section 5.

4. Patterns of allomorphy in object suffixes

In this section, we examine patterns of allomorphy in the object agreement suffixes more closely. We will focus on the 1st and 2nd person singular and the 3rd person suffixes, because these suffixes exhibit allomorphy, while the 1st and 2nd person plural suffixes do not (see Table 1, above). The relevant suffixes are shown in table 3, below.

		Hk	Sq	Cx
CTR	1SG	-óx	-s	-θ
	2SG	-ómè	-umi	-θi
	3	-∅	-∅	-∅
LCTR	1SG	-óx	-əmš	-umš
	2SG	-ómè	-umi	-umi
	3	<u>-əx^w</u>	<u>-əx^w</u>	<u>-x^w</u>
CAUS	1SG	-óx	-s	-umš
	2SG	-ómè	-umi	-umi
	3	<u>-əx^w</u>	-∅	<u>-x^w</u>

Table 3: 1SG/2SG/3 suffix allomorphy

Shading indicates cells where the form of a suffix differs from other cells in the paradigm – as in Table 1, **light gray** shading marks allomorphy that occurs with the control and causative transitivizers and **underlining** indicates the overt 3rd person allomorph $-(ə)x^w$.

There are two series of object suffixes to mark a given person in Table 3. These two series of suffixes are known as the *s*-set and *m*-set object suffixes and continue a distinction reconstructed for Proto-Salish (Newman 1979). Historically, the *s*-set suffixes appeared with the control transitivizer and the *m*-set markers appeared with other transitivizers. This same split can be observed in Comox-Sliammon, where the limited control and causative object suffixes are identical to each other but distinct from the control object suffix. While this split has been maintained cleanly by one of the languages discussed here, Comox-Sliammon, the other two have rearranged the distribution. Consider the abstract representations of the the distributions of different object suffixes observed in Table 3 for each language in (4)–(6).

(4) Comox-Sliammon

	1	2	3	
-t	x	x	x	CTR
-ng	y	y	y	LCTR
-st				CAUS

(5) Halkomelem

	1	2	3	
-t			x	CTR
-l	y	y	y	LCTR
-st				CAUS

(6) Squamish

	1	2	3	
-(s)-t	x	y	x	CTR/CAUS
-n	y		y	LCTR

In the examples above, ‘x’ and ‘y’ represent the object suffix that is chosen for given person with a given transitivizer.⁵ In Comox-Sliammon there is a consistent split between the control and limited control/causative transitivizers. In Halkomelem, the same split is present but only in the 3rd person; for 1st and 2nd person, the same form is used with all three transitivizers. In Squamish, the picture looks similar but there are only two rows. This is because Squamish has treats the causative transitivizer *-st* as consisting of a causative morpheme *-s* and control transitivizer *-t* in its synchronic grammar. This has resulted in a slight leveling of the control/causative distinction in terms of object agreement – both now take the same suffix with 1st and 3rd person objects, while the limited control suffix takes a distinct suffix in those persons. For 2nd person objects in Squamish, there is only one suffix.

We can ask what determines the distribution of the different suffix series (x/y) in (4)–(6), and, more specifically, which series of suffix (x or y) is conditioned. It turns out that the patterns of syncretism (4)–(6) are consistent with either series of suffix as the conditioned variant. That is, if we posit an abstract

⁵ This notation does not mean that the *form* between person columns is identical. Instead, the split between x and y in a given column indicates that there are distinct forms for that person and shows how those are distributed.

feature [F] present on transitivizers that conditions the allomorph selection for the object suffix, the data in (4)–(6) are compatible with either (7a) or (7b).

- (7) a. x is conditioned by [F]
y is the elsewhere form
- b. y is conditioned by [F]
x is the elsewhere form

To demonstrate this, we have applied these two analyses to Comox-Sliammon in (8) and (9).

- (8) Comox-Sliammon: [F] on *-t*

	1	2	3	
<i>-t</i> [F]	x	x	x	CTR
<i>-ng</i> []	y	y	y	LCTR
<i>-stg</i> []				CAUS

- (9) Comox-Sliammon: [F] on *-ng/-st*

	1	2	3	
<i>-t</i> []	x	x	x	CTR
<i>-ng</i> [F]	y	y	y	LCTR
<i>-stg</i> [F]				CAUS

By just looking at the tables in (8) and (9), there is no way to determine which one is on the right track. However, we claim that there is in fact reason to believe that x object suffix is the conditioned allomorph in Central Salish. That is, there is reason to believe that *the object suffix found with the control transitivizer is the conditioned allomorph*. One argument for this conclusion comes from the distribution of the 2nd person object suffix *-umi* in Squamish. Consider the two possible distributions of the conditioning feature [F] in (10) and (11).

- (10) Squamish: [F] on *-t*

	1	2	3	
<i>-(s)-t</i> [F]	-s		-∅	CTR/CAUS
<i>-n</i> []	-əm	-umi	-x ^w	LCTR

- (11) Squamish: [F] on *-n*

	1	2	3	
<i>-(s)-t</i> []	-s		-∅	
<i>-n</i> [F]	-əm	-umi	-x ^w	

If [F] is on control *-t* in Squamish, as in (10), then each of the suffixes that appear with limited control *-n* (1SG *-əm*, 2SG *-umi*, and 3 *-x^w*) can straightforwardly be analyzed as elsewhere morphemes. Under this analysis, *-umi* occurs with *-t* because there is no other morpheme conditioned by the presence of [F] on *-t*. However, if [F] is on limited control *-n* in Squamish, as in (11), the status of *-umi* is more complicated. It must still be the *unconditioned* allomorph of 2nd person agreement, while *-əm* and *-x^w* must be conditioned by [F]. Even though this is certainly plausible, it is curious from the perspective that, historically, *-əm* and *-umi* come from the same series of object markers (the m-set), and would thus require a conditioned allomorph becoming unconditioned and then extending into another cell of the paradigm, without its counterpart doing so. Under the analysis where both *-umi* and *-əm* are unconditioned, we still must say that *-umi* has spread, but we do not have to explain why it has become unconditioned without *-əm* following suit.

Another argument for the suffixes appearing with the causative transitivizer being unconditioned comes from the nature of that transitivizer. Namely, across the Salish family, the causative transitivizer is the default transitivizer (Henry Davis, p.c.). Support for this idea comes from the fact that (i) the causative attaches to verbs to which other transitivizers cannot, such as middle verbs, active intransitives, and autonomous intransitives; (ii) it is not associated with any particular control properties, unlike the control and limited control transitivizers, and it is not associated with consistent aspectual properties; (iii) in languages in which the control suffix is restricted to agentive subjects (such as Státimcets), the causative is used with inanimate causers. If this idea is on the right track, then it seems reasonable to assume that the unconditioned form of object suffix would appear with this transitivizer.

While we acknowledge that neither of these observations is a knock down argument for the object suffix found with the control suffix being the conditioned form, we argue that it is more economical to pursue this analysis and, in the remainder of this paper, we will assume that it is the case. Specifically, we will assume that the control transitivizer has a feature which is able to condition allomorphy on the object

suffix and the limited control and causative transitivizers lack this feature. In the next section, we present an analysis that capture the patterns of transitivizers and object suffixes allomorphy.

5. Analysis

Following Davis (2019), we assume that in Salish the extended VP has the extended structure in (12). Transitive subjects are merged in Spec- v P, transitive subject agreement is hosted on Voice, and transitivizers and object agreement realize v . We assume that different transitivizer morphemes (CTR, LCTR, and CAUS) spell out different features on v as shown in (13).

(12) Structure of transitive predicate

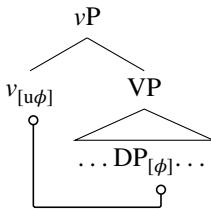


(13) Flavors of v

- a. Control transitivizer (v_{CTR}) \rightarrow [v , CTR]
- b. Limited control transitivizer (v_{LCTR}) \rightarrow [v , LCTR]
- c. Causative transitivizer \rightarrow (v_{CAUS}) \rightarrow [v , CAUS]

We assume that all of the v heads in (13) have a ϕ -probe. When v is merged, this probe searches for and copies back the ϕ -features of the highest DP in VP onto v , as shown in (14).

(14) Probe on v agrees with VP-internal DP



This analysis captures the fact that object agreement is only found with a transitivizer. After Agree has copied back ϕ -features from the object, a transitive v head will have the form shown in (15):

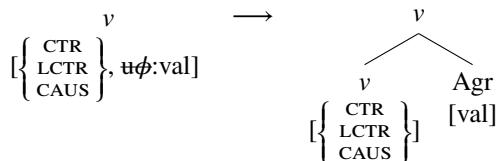
(15) Form of v after Agree in (14)



As shown above, a transitive v head will have its categorial feature v , one of the features [CTR], [LCTR], [CAUS], and a set of ϕ -features copied onto v by its ϕ -probe.

We adopt the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle 1990, Halle & Marantz 1993), in which the syntax manipulates abstract bundles of features and the morphology spells out these feature bundles by pairing these feature bundles with phonological realizations in a process called Vocabulary Insertion. Thus, it is the job of the morphology to pair the bundle of features in (15) with an actual exponent.

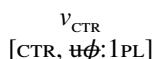
Recall that the object suffix is spelled out as a distinct morpheme from the transitivizer. Assuming that each bundle of features can only be paired with one exponent, we run into a problem – the ϕ -features are part of the same bundle as the feature that determines the spell out of the transitivizer (v_{CTR} , etc), and therefore we expect only one morpheme to be inserted. To solve this issue, we assume that the ϕ -features on v are *fissioned* into a distinct Agr(eement)-node (Halle & Marantz 1993, Noyer 1997), creating a complex head into which two morphemes can be inserted by Vocabulary Insertion. Specifically, we propose that the following rule is active in Salish morphology:

(16) Salish object agreement fission

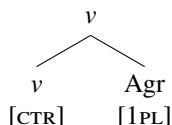
The rule in (16) takes a v with ϕ -features and creates a complex head consisting of the original v and an adjoined Agr-node with those ϕ -features. In doing so, it allows two morphemes to be inserted into the now complex head. This process is exemplified for Squamish for a control transitive v with a 1PL object in (17)

(17) Squamish CTR with 1PL.OBJ

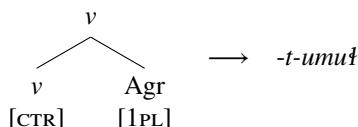
a. Output of syntax:



b. Output of fission:



c. Vocabulary Insertion:



In (17a), the Agree in the syntax creates a v head with the features [CTR] and [1PL]. The fission rule in (16) applies, yielding the complex head in (17b). That head serves as the input to Vocabulary Insertion, (17c). The feature bundle [v , CTR] is spelled out $-t$ and the feature bundle [Agr, 1PL] is spelled out $-umut$.

Given this analysis of object agreement, v and Agr are extremely local to one another at the point of Vocabulary Insertion. Therefore, we predict that the form of v can be conditioned by the features on Agr, and that the form of Agr can be conditioned by the features on v . As we have seen, this is exactly the case in the Central Salish object agreement paradigm. Recall that there are clear cases of the ϕ -features of the object conditioning the form of the transitivizer, as shown in (18), and clear cases of the flavor of transitivizer conditioning the form of the object suffix, as shown in (19).

(18) Halkomelem: transitivizer form conditioned by object ϕ -features

a. CTR-1SG.OBJ \Rightarrow $-(\text{ə})\theta\text{-}\acute{o}x$ / $*-(\text{ə})t\text{-}\acute{o}x$

b. CTR-1PL.OBJ \Rightarrow $-(\text{ə})t\text{-}\acute{o}(l)x^w$ / $*-(\text{ə})\theta\text{-}\acute{o}(l)x^w$

(19) Squamish: object suffix form conditioned by transitivizer

a. CTR-1SG.OBJ \Rightarrow $-t\text{-}\underline{s}$ / $*t\text{-}\underline{\text{ə}m\check{s}}$

b. LCTR-1SG.OBJ \Rightarrow $-n\text{-}\underline{\text{ə}m\check{s}}$ / $*t\text{-}\underline{s}$

The analysis here easily explains cases like these. In (18), we see that Halkomelem has two allomorphs of the control transitivizer: $-(\text{ə})\theta$ or $-(\text{ə})t$. We account for this with two control transitivizer vocabulary

items, shown in (20). An Agr node with the features [1SG] conditions a specific form of the control transitivity (- ə) θ , whereas the features [1PL] do not condition that form.⁶

(20) Control v VIs in Halkomelem

- a. $v_{[\text{CTR}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-}(\text{ə})t$
 b. $v_{[\text{CTR}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-}(\text{ə})\theta / [\text{— Agr}_{[1\text{SG}]}]$

In (19), we see that the form of Agr can be conditioned by the features on v . In the previous section, we argued that there were two types of object suffixes, one conditioned by an abstract feature [F], and one unconditioned. This is shown in (21).

(21) VIs for Agr with [1SG] in Squamish

- a. $\text{Agr}_{[1\text{SG}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-}\text{ə}m\check{s}$ (unconditioned)
 b. $\text{Agr}_{[1\text{SG}]} \leftrightarrow \text{-}s / [v_{[\text{F}]} \text{—}]$ (conditioned)

We argued that that feature is only found on the *control* transitivity. Thus, we will predict the right kind of split: an Agr node with the features [1SG] will be spelled out $-s$ after the control transitivity (bearing [F]), while the same set of ϕ -features is realized as $\text{-}\text{ə}m\check{s}$ when following other transitivity.

What is the identity of this conditioning feature [F]? There are two possibilities. The first is that [F] is simply the feature [CTR]. This would directly capture the fact that [F] is only found on control transitivity, because it is the feature that distinguishes them as such. A second possibility is that [F] is a feature distinct from [CTR], but is one only found on v heads with the [CTR] feature. This could be captured by placing [F] in a feature geometry (like those used for extensively for ϕ -features, see for example Harley & Ritter 2002) dominated by [CTR]. Under either analysis, there are at most two VIs to spell out Agr nodes adjoined to v in Central Salish languages, as shown for the [F]=[CTR] analysis in (22).

(22) Types of Agr VIs for Central Salish

- a. $\text{Agr}_{[\phi]} \leftrightarrow X$ (unconditioned)
 b. $\text{Agr}_{[\phi]} \leftrightarrow Y / [v_{[\text{CTR}]} \text{—}]$ (conditioned)

For 3rd person object agreement, this means that the overt allomorph $\text{-}\text{ə}\text{x}^w$ is in fact that unconditioned form, as shown in (23).

(23) Central Salish 3rd person object Agr VIs

- a. $X = \text{overt allomorph } (\text{-}\text{ə}\text{x}^w)$ (unconditioned)
 b. $Y = \text{null allomorph}$ (conditioned)

The conclusion we come to is that only v heads bearing the feature [CTR] are capable of conditioning allomorphy of the object suffix. Thus, we predict that, if one of the three slots in the paradigm of control, limited control, and causative agreement is distinct from the other, the distinct suffix will always be the object suffix that occurs with the control transitivity. This is exactly what we observe in patterns of syncretism in Central Salish object suffix paradigms discussed at length in the last section. Consider Table 4, which presents abstract representations of the five possible patterns of syncretism in a three member paradigm.

⁶ In fact, the VI here is too specific – the $\text{-}(\text{ə})\theta$ allomorph also surfaces with a 2nd person singular object suffix. This can be accounted for in a feature system where ϕ -features are decomposed, such as the one proposed by Harley & Ritter (2002). In such a system, both 1st and 2nd person share the feature [PARTICIPANT], and the VI rule in (20b) could be stated as in (i):

(i) $v_{[\text{CTR}]} \leftrightarrow Y / [\text{— Agr}_{[\text{PART}, \text{SG}]}]$

A $v_{[\text{CTR}]}$ node is spelled out $\text{-}(\text{ə})\theta$ when followed by an Agr node with a participant feature and a singular feature.

Pattern	1	2	3	4	5
Attested?	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗
CTR	X	Y	X	X	X
LCTR	X	X	Y	X	Y
CAUS	X	X	X	Y	Z

Table 4: Possible and attested syncretisms

Pattern 1, in which all three transitivizers occur with the same object suffix, is attested in Halkomelem for 1st and 2nd persons. Pattern 2, in which the control transitivizer is followed by a special allomorph is attested in all three languages in the 3rd person and in Comox-Sliammon and Squamish in the 1st and 2nd person. Patterns 3-5 are not attested, in which the the special allomorph occurs with in limited control or the causative only (patterns 3 and 4, respectively), or in which all three transitivizers are followed by distinct suffixes (pattern 5), are unattested.⁷

An important question that arises from our analysis is why the state of affairs sketched in 4 should be like it is. If we understand the conditioning feature [F] to be [CTR], then why can't the features [LCTR] and [CAUS] condition allomorphy like the feature [CTR] does? A priori, if these features are equal we should expect patterns like 5 in Table 4. However, if [F] is a feature *dependent* on [CTR] in some way, and thus only found with [CTR], we gain a better understanding of why Table 4 looks like it does. While we leave this question to future research for the time being, we note that any proposal regarding the features/flavors of *v* in Salish should be able to account for the observations in Table 4.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have offered new support for the argument that Central Salish has overt third person object agreement, building on and strengthening individual analyses for Upriver Halkomelem (Galloway 1977, Wiltschko 2003), Squamish (Jacobs 2011), and Comox-Sliammon (Mellesmoen 2017). Our analysis brings third person marking into line with other parts of the object marking paradigm and simplifies the analysis of transitivizer allomorphy. This work therefore paves the way for further exploration of the Central Salish object paradigms for languages not previous analyzed as having overt object agreement. Additionally, it offers the beginning of a framework to investigate the diachronic developments that would have given rise to the synchronic patterns.

We have further argued that the object suffixes found with the control transitivizer are conditioned allomorphs, with the form appearing after the limited control and causative transitivizers being the unmarked form. This means that the $-\emptyset$ form in the paradigm, which marks 3rd person objects with the control transitivizer, is a *conditioned* allomorph. Overt 3rd person marking is in fact *unconditioned*. A theoretical implication of this analysis that a morphological 'default', which we take here to mean the unconditioned form, does not necessarily have to be the lesser phonologically marked than its conditioned counterpart. This diverges from previous observations that the default should be the least phonologically marked form (cf. Waugh & Lafford 2008 on tense).

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⁷ While it may at first seem that Squamish presents an example of pattern 3 syncretism, recall from the previous section that that language in fact only has a two cell paradigm. This is because Squamish has reanalyzed the causative suffix *-st* as a combination of causative *-s* and control transitivizer *-t* (Jacobs 2011). Thus, Squamish is completely consistent with the patterns of attestation in Table 4.

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