Clitics and Coordination in Two Salish Languages

Henry Davis and Marianne Huijsmans

1. Introduction

In this paper, we argue that second-position clitic placement in two Salish languages, St'át'imcets (Lillooet, ISO 369-3:lil) and ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox-Sliammon, 369-3:coo) occurs post-syntactically and pre-phonologically, i.e. in the morphology. Drawing on evidence from clitic placement in coordinate structures, we argue that the linear position of 2PCs in these languages cannot be derived syntactically (as in e.g., Franks & Progovac 1994, Progovac 1996 for Serbo-Croatian) nor through a combination of syntactic and prosodic operations (as in e.g., Halpern 1992, Schütze 1994 for Serbo-Croatian), though both approaches have been previously proposed for Northern Straits Salish (see Jelinek 1996 for a syntactic account and Huijsmans 2018 for an account involving prosodification of syntactic structure). While 2PC placement cannot be derived syntactically, we show that the syntax of coordination nevertheless plays a crucial role in determining possible clitic placements. We therefore pursue an analysis where clitic placement occurs at a point where syntactic structure is still accessible during the linearization of spans, which we take to be the domain of morphology (as in e.g., Svenonius 2012). With spans as the relevant domain for morphological operations, we are also able to capture the behaviour of the clitic string as a morphological unit.[1]

2. Empirical puzzle

The 2PC system in each of the languages is extensive, involving at least 15 items organized into sets marking force, modality, tense, etc. (see Van Eijk 1997 for St'át'imcets and Watanabe 2003 for ʔayʔaǰuθəm). Items from the same set cannot generally co-occur, while clitics from different sets form a strictly ordered 'clitic string' that can include three or more enclitics.[2,3]

* Henry Davis, University of British Columbia, henry.davis@ubc.ca. Marianne Huijsmans, University of British Columbia, marianne.huijsmans@ubc.ca. We are deeply grateful to the speakers who have so patiently and generously shared their languages with us. We also thank the Salish Working Group for helpful discussion and feedback. This work was made possible through a SSHRC Insight grant (#435-2015-1694) awarded to Henry Davis and the Jacobs Research Fund.

[1] Both St'át'imcets and ʔayʔaǰuθəm are spoken in southern British Columbia, Canada. St'át'imcets is a Northern Interior Salish language with less than 100 fluent L1 speakers Gessner et al. 2022), while ʔayʔaǰuθəm is a Central Salish language with less than 50 fluent L1speakers (Gessner et al. 2022). Though the language situation is dire, for both languages there are revitalization efforts underway. All data presented in this paper is from our own fieldwork with L1 speakers unless otherwise noted.

[2] First and second person subject agreement markers also form part of the clitic string in both languages. Since their properties are rather different from those of other 2PCs, and also differ between the two languages, we set them aside here (see Huijsmans 2023 for a more comprehensive account). For this reason, all examples given here involve third person indicative subject agreement, which is zero-marked. We omit zero-marking here in order to avoid complicating the glossing of examples: this does not affect our argumentation or conclusions.

[3] The abbreviations used in this paper are: ADHORT 'adhortative', AUX 'auxiliary verb', CLF 'cleft', COP 'copula', CTR 'control transitivizer', DET 'determiner', DPRT 'discourse particle', EPIS 'epistemic', ERG 'ergative', EST 'established', EXCL 'exclusive', EXIS 'existence-asserting', FRE 'final reduplication', FUT 'future', INF 'infinitive', MID 'middle', NCTR 'noncontrol transitivizer', NMLZ 'nominalizer', PL 'plural', POSS 'possessive', PROS 'prospective', PST REFL 'reflexive', RPT 'reportative', SG 'singular.'

 Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, ed. Robert Autry et al., 504-511. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

(1) hi=**c̓a=saʔ=ga=hiyt** kʷ=ƛ̓əx̌ʷay ʔə=ms=łaʔq̓-əm
COP=EPIS=FUT=DPRT=DPRT DET=dog.salmon CLF=1PL.POSS=wait-MID
'I guess we'll just have to wait for the dog salmon.'[4] (ʔayʔaǰuθəm | Watanabe 2003:527)

(2) kas=**qaʔ=máł=kł** nił s=łax̌ʷ=s
how=EST=ADHORT=FUT COP NMLZ=heal=3POSS
'How is he going to get better, then?' (St'át'imcets | van Eijk 1997:208)

We take these clitics to realize a series of functional heads above *v*P. The clitics obligatorily follow the first non-clitic element in the clause, either the main predicate (3a) or a preceding auxiliary (3b).

(3) a. *Main predicate*
ʔəyʔaǰus-θut=**kʷ̓a=səm** tᶿ=qiχ-tən
enjoy-CTR+REFL=RPT=FUT 1SG.POSS=younger.sibling-PL
'My younger siblings are going to have fun.'
b. *Auxiliary*
hu=**kʷ̓a=səm** ʔəyʔaǰus-θut tᶿ=qiχ-tən
go=RPT=FUT enjoy-CTR+REFL 1SG.POSS=younger.sibling-PL
'My younger siblings are going to go have fun.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm)

(4) a. *Main predicate*
qiɬq̓əɬt=**kəł=ƛ̓u?** ʔi=n-səsq̓ʷəz̓=a
enjoy=FUT=EXCL PL.DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS
'My younger siblings are going to have fun.'
b. *Auxiliary*
xʷúz̓=**kəł=ƛ̓u?** qíɬq̓əɬt ʔi=n-səsq̓ʷəz̓=a
PROS=FUT=EXCL enjoy PL.DET=1SG.POSS-younger.sibling=EXIS
'My younger siblings are going to have fun.' (St'át'imcets)

Both languages are strongly head-initial, which means that in the default case, height in the tree corresponds to left-to-right ordering of elements in the clitic string. Based on the standard correspondence between syntactic height and the order of semantic composition, we would therefore expect to find clitics which take clausal scope preceding the main predicate and any associated auxiliary. It follows that in order for the attested linear order to be derived syntactically, there would have to be movement of the first predicative element (either an auxiliary or the main predicate) to a position preceding the clitics.

This cannot be right. Data from coordination both confirm that the clitics occur above their host in the syntax and show that the predicative host cannot raise to a position above the clitics. In both languages, a single clitic in any conjunct may scope over two or more conjoined verb phrases, as shown for the future enclitics *=k(ə)ł* in St'át'imcets (5) and *=səm* in ʔayʔaǰuθəm (6):

(5) a. [wuw-əm=**səm**] [ʔi [q̓agatiχ]].
sing-MID=FUT [and [drum]]
'He's going to sing and drum.'
b. [wuw-əm] [ʔiy [q̓agatiχ=**səm**]]
[sing-MID] [and [drum=**FUT**]]
'He's going to sing and drum.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm)

(6) a. [ʔíƛəm=**kəł**] [múta? [pumákʔ-am]]
[sing=**FUT**] [and [drum-MID]]
'S/he'll sing and drum.'

[4] The ʔayʔaǰuθəm future enclitic *=səm* surfaces as *=saʔ* before the discourse particle *=ga*.

b. [ʔíƛəm] [mútaʔ [pumákʔ-am=**kəɬ**]]
[sing] [and [drum-MID=**FUT**]]
'S/he'll sing and drum.' (St'át'imcets)

In both languages, a clause may only be interpreted as future if it contains an overt future marker (Matthewson 2006, Huijsmans 2023). Since both conjuncts in (5)-(6) are interpreted in the future, the future morpheme must therefore be scoping over two non-clausal conjuncts in these examples.[5] However, in the (a) examples, the linear position of the future clitic in the first conjunct cannot be derived via verb movement to a site above the future clitic, because this would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint, which otherwise holds uniformly in both languages.

(7) * gat [k̓ʷən-əxʷ-axʷ-uɬ [***t*** [higa Gloria]]]?
who see-NCTR-2SG.ERG-PST and Gloria
(Literally: 'Who did you see and Gloria?') (ʔayʔaƛuθəm)

(8) a. *staw̓ [[kʷu=s-ʔíɬən-su kʷu=sc̓wan] [mútaʔ
what [[DET=NMLZ-eat-2SG.POSS DET=dried.salmon] [and
[s-ʔúqʷaʔ-su ***t***]]]
[NMLZ-drink-2SG.POSS ***t***]]]
(Literally: 'What did you eat dried salmon and drink?')
b. *staw̓ [[kʷu=s-ʔíɬən-su ***t***] [mútaʔ [s-ʔúqʷaʔ-su
what [[DET=NMLZ-eat-2SG.POSS ***t***] [and [NMLZ-drink-2SG.POSS
kʷu=sx̌ʷusum-atkʷaʔ]]]
DET=soapberry-liquid]]]
(Literally: 'What did you eat and drink soapberry juice?') (St'át'imcets)

In order to rescue a syntactic account, we could propose that placement within the first conjunct was achieved by a post-syntactic repair strategy such as Prosodic Inversion (Halpern 1995) or Local Dislocation (Embick & Noyer 2001). However, invoking such a strategy would leave the placement of the clitics in the second conjunct in the (b) examples in (5)-(6) as a puzzle, given that repair strategies should operate as locally as possible: any purely prosodic or linear condition on clitic placement should be satisfied if the clitic string follows the first word. Nor can we invoke predicate fronting over the clitic string as an alternative syntactic explanation for second conjunct clitic placement in (5b)-(6b), since it would overgenerate: it is ungrammatical to have 2PCs following a VP predicate (a verb plus direct object) as in (9) or an NP predicate (a noun plus prenominal modifier) as in (10)-(11), for instance.

(9) a. [kʷám•əm=**kəɬ** kʷu=xʷʔít sqlaw̓] b. * [kʷám•əm kʷu=xʷʔít sqláw̓]=**kəɬ**
[VP get•FRE=FUT DET=much money] [VP get•FRE DET=much money]=FUT
'She'll get a lot of money.' (St'át'imcets)

(10) a. [tih-mut=**səm** ǰaʔǰa] b. * [tih-mut ǰaʔǰa]=**səm**
[NP big-INT=FUT tree] [NP big-INT tree]=FUT
'It's going to be a big tree.' (ʔayʔaƛuθəm)

(11)a. [x̌zúm-alqʷ=**kəɬ** sɣap] b. * [x̌zúm-alqʷ sɣáp]=**kəɬ**
[NP big-log=FUT tree] [NP big-log tree] =FUT
'It's going to be a big tree.' (St'át'imcets)

These examples also show that an alternate prosodic account where clitics are placed following an initial prosodic phrase (as in e.g., Chung 2003) is not tenable; except in coordinate structures, 2PCs uniformly follow the first word, not the first phrase.

Even more strikingly, in coordinate structures with three conjuncts, a future clitic may appear on any of the three conjuncts and scope over all three. The appearance of the future in the middle conjunct

[5] See Section 4 below for arguments against an alternative account involving clausal coordination with ellipsis of one or more clitics in one conjunct.

in (12c) below clearly cannot be derived either by predicate fronting or by head movement, since this would have to involve fronting two out of three conjuncts.

(12) a. siq̓ʷúta=**kəɬ** múta? pumák?-am=**kəɬ** múta? ?íc̓̓-əm=**kəɬ**
dance=**FUT** and drum-MID=**FUT** and sing-MID=**FUT**
'S/he will dance and drum and sing.'

b. siq̓ʷúta=**kəɬ** múta? pumák?-am múta? ?íc̓̓-əm
dance=**FUT** and drum-MID and sing-**MID**
(same)

c. siq̓ʷúta múta? pumák?-am=**kəɬ** múta? ?íc̓̓-əm.
dance and drum-MID=**FUT** and sing-MID
(same)

d. siq̓ʷúta múta? pumák?-am múta? ?íc̓̓-əm=**kəɬ**.
dance and drum-MID and sing-MID=**FUT**
(same) (St'át'imcets)

We conclude that for both St'át'imcets and ʔayʔaǰuθəm, clitic placement in coordinate structures cannot be derived syntactically, while placement in the second conjunct cannot be derived either prosodically or through post-syntactic repair referencing prosodic constituents. In the following section, we pursue an alternative morphological account of clitic placement.

3. Analysis

We adopt a model of the grammar in which spell-out proceeds bottom-up phase by phase; we assume the left edge of a lower phase is visible to the next phase up. We also assume late insertion of vocabulary items, which are pairings of morphosyntactic features with their phonological realizations. We propose that vocabulary items can have purely morphological diacritics specifying whether they will behave as clitics or suffixes at the point of linearization.

We borrow the insight from Svenonius (2012) that linearization of 2PCs operates on *spans*, defined as sequences of heads in a complement relation; by default, we assume that linearization places heads before their complements.[6]

We propose that 2PCs are lexically specified with the feature [ENCLITIC], and that this information is available in the derivation once vocabulary items have been inserted. It is worth emphasizing that there is no straightforward way to derive the enclitic status of 2PCs from their phonological properties, since there is nothing about the segmental content of many of the clitics that would bar them from bearing word-level stress. Blake (2000), for instance, proposes that minimal words in ʔayʔaǰuθəm must contain feet, where feet are either bisyllabic or bimoraic: full vowels and coda consonants count as moraic, while schwa and onset consonants do not. Many 2PCs are bimoraic by this criterion (e.g. *hiyt* in (1a)), and should therefore have sufficient prosodic weight to qualify as prosodic words: yet they still pattern as enclitics. Prosodic weight cannot therefore determine the distribution of 2PCs.

At the point of vocabulary insertion, the lexical specification of 2PCs as enclitic becomes visible. This [ENCLITIC] specification acts as an instruction to linearize with the next highest head in the span, with simultaneous erasure of intervening brackets. When there is a string of clitics, clitics lower in the string linearize to the right of clitics higher in the string, successively erasing brackets to form a clitic string, as in the St'át'imcets example in (13b), repeated from (2) above.

[6] The default linearization proposed here specifically applies to enclitics, not to suffixes, whose linear order in both languages is the mirror image of their height in the tree. There is obviously much more to be said about how to capture mirror principle effects: we believe that the lexical specification of morphemes as suffixal (as opposed to enclitic) plays a role, but there is not sufficient space to expand on this here. For present purposes, it is sufficient to note that the domain of suffixation for the predicate complex ends at the *v*P phase, so that the input to encliticization consists of already linearized sequences of heads and suffixes.

(13) a. kas=**qaʔ=máł=kł** (nił s=łaǩʷ=s)
how=EST=ADHORT=FUT (COP NMLZ=heal=3POSS)
'How is he going to get better, then?'

b. [$_{WP}$ [$_{W}$ =qaʔ] [$_{XP}$ [$_{X}$ =mał] [$_{YP}$ [$_{Y}$ =kł] [$_{vP}$ [$_{v}$ kas]]]] → [[=qaʔ=mał=kł] [kas]]
[$_{WP}$ [$_{W}$ =EST] [$_{XP}$ [$_{X}$ =ADHORT] [$_{YP}$ [$_{Y}$ =FUT] [$_{vP}$ [$_{v}$ how]]]] → [[=EST=ADHORT=FUT] [how]]

Now consider what happens at the left edge of the clitic string. Because the clitics realize functional heads high in the clause, above the predicate and associated auxiliaries, the highest clitic (*=qaʔ* in (13)) will be left without any head higher in the span to attach to. In such cases, the satisfaction of the enclitic feature can take place through association with the closest *lower* non-clitic head remaining in the span, in this case the WH-predicate *kas* '(be) how'. (The predicate is at the left edge of the lower phase, and therefore forms part of the same span as the clitics). Satisfaction of the [ENCLITIC] feature takes precedence over maintaining default linearization, resulting in the order and bracketing in (14b) as the spell-out of (13a).

(14) [[=qaʔ=mał=kł] [kas]] → [kas=qaʔ=mał=kł]
[[=EST=ADHORT=FUT] [how]] → [how=EST=ADHORT=FUT]

The fact that the clitics first join with each other prior to being linearized relative to the predicate makes important predictions. If the clitics did not first attach to each other, they could recursively join with the predicate, beginning at the bottom and proceeding to the top. This would result in a linearization which is the mirror image of the hierarchical order of functional heads, contrary to fact.

Furthermore, while a string of 2PCs may appear on either conjunct, a clitic string may not be broken up across conjuncts.

(15) a. [ʔíɬ̓-əm=**há**=**kəł**] [múta ʔ [pumák ʔ-am]]
[sing-MID=Q=FUT] [and [drum-MID]]
'Is he going to drum and sing?'
b. [ʔíɬ̓-əm] [múta ʔ [pumák ʔ-am=**há**=**kəł**]]
[sing-MID] [and [drum-MID=Q=FUT]]
(same interpretation)
c. # [ʔíɬ̓-əm=**kəł**] [múta ʔ [pumák ʔ-am=**ha**]]
[sing-MID=FUT] [and [drum-MID=Q]]
(Only possible interpretation: 'He's going to drum, did he sing?')
d. # [ʔíɬ̓-əm=**ha**] [múta ʔ [pumák ʔ-am=**kəł**]]
[sing-MID=Q] [and [drum-MID=FUT]]
(Only possible interpretation: 'Did he sing?, he will drum.') (St'át'imcets)

This is also predicted if the clitics must join with each other prior to linearization relative to the predicate, but not if they are each able to attach independently to either conjunct.

3.1. Deriving clitic placement in coordinate structures

With the basic processes of linearization and encliticization in place, we can now examine clitic placement in coordinate structures. We adopt Chomsky's (2013) analysis of coordinate structures, where the conjunction itself does not project. Chomsky proposes that the coordinate structure starts as [& [XP YP]] followed by movement of XP, creating [XP & [XP YP]]. Movement of XP allows the first projection containing XP and YP to be labelled YP: [XP & [$_{YP}$ XP YP]] Since the conjunction does not project, the second projection containing XP and YP is labelled XP: [$_{XP}$ XP & [$_{YP}$ XP YP]]. Since both are the same category, both projections will in fact have the same label.

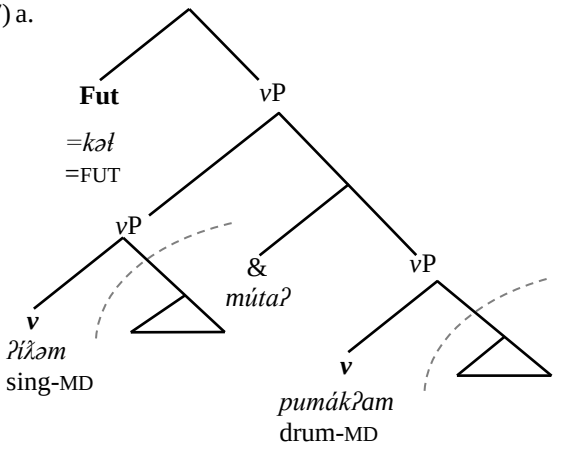
Now, suppose that the linearization algorithm operating on spans (head complement relationships) is sensitive to labeling. It will follow that if conjuncts have the same label, linearization cannot distinguish between them: the head of each conjunct is equally the complement of the next head up in

the span.[7] When a clitic string must linearize with respect to a set of conjuncts, this means that the head of each conjunct counts as equidistant. This creates **indeterminacy**, allowing the clitics to follow the head of any conjunct.

We exemplify this analysis using the St'át'imcets example in (5), repeated below as (16). Both of the *v*P conjuncts are spelled out in the lower *v*P phase. The predicate complex *v* in each *v*P is therefore an unanalyzable unit at the point of clitic linearization, but remains visible as a whole at the *v*P phase edge. Vocabulary insertion then takes place for the upper phase, and the future clitic is inserted with its [ENCLITIC] specification. Since it lacks a higher head to associate with, it will seek the closest visible lower head to satisfy its [ENCLITIC] feature, which will be the verbal complex *v* in *v*P. However, since *v*P is coordinated, both *v* heads will be equidistant to the future clitic. Since the linearization algorithm cannot distinguish between the two *v*s as potential hosts, the future clitic may linearize following either. Either (17b) or (17c) are therefore possible outputs for the linearization of the structure shown in (17a).

(16) a. [ʔíl̓əm=**kəɬ**] [mútaʔ [pumákʔam]]
[sing=**FUT**] [and [drum]]
'S/he'll sing and drum.'
b. [ʔíl̓əm] [mútaʔ [pumákʔam=**kəɬ**]]
[sing] [and [drum=**FUT**]]
'S/he'll sing and drum.' (St'át'imcets)

(17) a.



b. [[ʔíl̓əm=kəɬ] > [mútaʔ > pumákʔam]]
c. [[ʔíl̓əm] > [mútaʔ > [pumákʔam=kəɬ]]]

4. Against ellipsis

Despić (2017) provides an alternative account of 2PC placement in coordinate structures in Serbian: clausal conjunction with clitic elision in one conjunct. He examines cases where the future auxiliary enclitic *će* appears only in the first conjunct, but both conjuncts have a future interpretation. He gives a number of convincing arguments that coordination in these cases involves full TPs: each conjunct has an independent subject, as shown in (18), can contain TP-level adverbs, and acts as a binding domain for Conditions A and B.

(18) Ostaće Zoran a otići (će) Milan.
leave.AUX.3.SG.FUT Zoran and leave.INF AUX.3.SG.FUT Milan
'Zoran will stay and Milan (will) leave.' (Despić 2017:14)

[7] Between the conjuncts, the asymmetry of the coordinate structure allows a linear order to be established. This requires a linearization algorithm that goes beyond linearizing spans to deal with linearization between phrasal projections, such as Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom.

However, the same types of evidence that argue for 2PC ellipsis in Serbian show that ellipsis is *not* the correct analysis for the coordination facts in ʔayʔaǰuθəm and St'át'imcets. In particular, unlike in Serbian, a single future clitic cannot take scope over multiple conjuncts containing independent subjects. This is shown in (19) and (20): compare (5)–(6) above, where the subject is shared by both conjuncts.

(19) a. *Context: We're planning an event. You arranged with Drew and Sosan. You tell me:*
[wuw-əm **səm** Drew] [ʔiy [čiɬ-im **səm** Sosan]]
[sing-MD=FUT Drew] [and [dance-MD=FUT Sosan]]
'Drew is going to sing and Sosan is going to dance.'
b. # [wuw-əm **səm** Drew] [ʔiy [čiɬ-im Sosan]]
[sing-MD=FUT Drew [and [dance-MD=FUT Sosan]]
'Drew is going to sing and Sosan is going to dance.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm)

(20)a. [ʔíx̌-əm=**kəɬ** kʷ=s-Laura] [múta ʔ [siq̓ʷúta=**kəɬ** kʷ=s-Ləmya ʔ]]
[sing-MID=FUT DET=NMLZ-Laura] [and [dance=FUT DET=NMLZ-Lémya7]]
'Laura will sing and Lémya7 will dance.'
b. ʔíx̌-əm=**kəɬ** kʷ=s-Laura] [múta ʔ [siq̓ʷúta kʷ=s-Ləmya ʔ]]
[sing-MID=FUT DET=NMLZ-Laura] [and [dance DET=NMLZ-Lémya7]]
'Laura will sing and Lémya7 danced/is dancing.'
(#'Laura will sing and Lémya7 will dance.')
c. [ʔíx̌-əm kʷ=s-Laura] [múta ʔ [siq̓ʷúta=**kəɬ** kʷ=s-Ləmya ʔ]]
[sing-MID DET=NMLZ-Laura] [and [dance=FUT DET=NMLZ-Lémya7]]
'Laura sang/is singing and Lémya7 will dance.'
(#'Laura will sing and Lémya7 will dance.') (St'át'imcets)

Note that this contrast is not due to the length of the conjuncts. The future can take scope over more complex conjoined verb phrases (e.g. V + DO), as shown for St'át'imcets in (21): the inability of the future to take scope over the second conjunct in (19) and (20) is therefore not a length effect.

(21) [kʷámәm=**kəɬ** kʷu=xʷʔít sqlaẇ] [múta7 [məlyíh kʷu=kʷukʷpi]]
[get=FUT DET=much money] [and [marry DET=chief]]
'She'll get a lot of money and marry a chief.' (St'át'imcets)

Sensitivity to the height of coordination is predicted by our analysis, where a single future clitic can take scope over *v*P conjuncts but not over TP conjuncts, since each TP contains an independent specification for tense. However, it is not predicted under an analysis involving clausal coordination with clitic ellipsis, since this would fail to account for the distinction between (5)-(6) (with a shared subject) and (19)-(20) (with independent subjects): both would involve coordinated TPs, leaving the subject asymmetry unexplained. We conclude that a Serbian-style clitic ellipsis account cannot extend to the Salish cases discussed here.

5. Conclusion

Second position clitics are both extremely important and notoriously problematic for theories of the phonology-syntax interface and the role of morphology. In this paper we have examined 2PCs in two understudied Salish languages, employing novel evidence based on clitic placement in coordinate structures.

Our conclusions are striking. We have argued that no syntactic account of clitic placement is viable in the languages under discussion, since any putative syntactic movement of the predicate would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint. We have also argued against an alternative syntactic account involving full clausal coordination with clitic ellipsis, since it cannot explain why coordination under the scope of a clitic is subject to a 'shared subject' effect. On the other hand, a prosodic account of clitic placement fares no better, since it either over- or under-generates: if 2PCs were required to follow a prosodic word, placement in a second (or third) conjunct should never be possible, contrary to fact, while

if they were required to follow a prosodic phrase, we would predict additional clitic placements that are ungrammatical.

We conclude that clitic placement must occur post-syntactically but prior to prosodification, in a distinct morphological component which operates phase by phase, taking syntactic structures supplemented with morphological features as input, and producing linearized strings as output. We have further argued that clitic linearization operates on spans, sequences of heads in a complement relation. An important side-effect of the linearization process is the creation of a morphological constituent equivalent to a 'clitic string': we show that this gives us the right predictions for clitic placement in coordinate structures, where clitics can attach to any conjunct, but must do so as a group. Finally, we argue that labeling of heads in the span is crucial in explaining why clitic placement is 'indeterminate' in coordinate structures, by adopting Chomsky's (2013) account of coordination, where all conjuncts share the same label.

References

Blake, Susan. 2000. On the Distribution and representation of schwa in Sliammon (Salish): Descriptive and theoretical perspectives. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of British Columbia.

Chomsky, Noam. 2013. The problems of projection. *Lingua* 130:33–49.

Despić, Miloje. 2017. Suspended morphology in Serbian: Clitics vs. affixes. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 2(1):1–43.

Embick, David and Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:555–595.

Gessner, Suzanne, Tracy Herbert and Aliana Parker. 2022. Report on the status of B.C. First Nations languages (fourth edition). Brentwood Bay, B.C.: First Peoples' Cultural Council.

Franks, Steven and Ljiljana Progovac. 1994. On the placement of Serbo-Croatian clitics. In Indiana Linguistics Studies 7: Proceedings of the 9th Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and Folklore (pp. 69-–78). Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Halpern, A. 1995. *On the placement and morphology of clitics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Huijsmans, Marianne. 2015. Linearization and prosodic phrasing: The case of SENĆOŦEN second-position clitics. Master's thesis, University of Victoria.

Huijsmans, Marianne. 2023. Second-position clitics, from morphosyntax to semantics: The ʔayʔaǰuθəm perspective. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of British Columbia.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1996. Definiteness and second position clitics in Straits Salish. In Aaron Halpern and Arnold Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching second: Second-position clitics and related phenomena* (pp. 271–198). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Matthewson, Lisa. 2006. Temporal semantics in a superficially tenseless language. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 29:673–713.

Progovac, Ljiljana. 1996. Clitics in Serbian/Croatian: Comp as the second position. In Aaron Halpern and Arnold Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching second: Second-position clitics and related phenomena* (pp. 411–428). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Schütze, Carson. 1994. Serbo-Croatian second position clitic placement and the phonology-syntax interface. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics (pp. 373–473). Cambridge: MITWPL.

Svenonius, Peter. 2012. Spanning. Ms. University of Tromsø, available at ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001501.

Van Eijk, Jan. 1997. *The Lillooet language: Phonology, morphology, syntax.* Vancouver: UBC Press.

Watanabe, Honoré. 2003. *A morphological description of Sliammon, Mainland Comox Salish, with a sketch of syntax.* ELPR Publications Series AZ-040. Osaka: Osaka Gakuin University.

Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics

edited by Robert Autry,
Gabriela de la Cruz Sanchez,
Luis A. Irizarry Figueroa,
Kristina Mihajlovic, Tianyi Ni,
Ryan Smith, and Heidi Harley

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2024

ISBN 978-1-57473-481-2 hardback

Ordering information

Orders for the printed edition are handled by Cascadilla Press.
To place an order, go to www.lingref.com or contact:

Cascadilla Press, P.O. Box 440355, Somerville, MA 02144, USA
phone: 1-617-776-2370, fax: 1-617-776-2271, sales@cascadilla.com

Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at www.lingref.com. Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

Davis, Henry and Marianne Huijsmans. 2024. Clitics and Coordination in Two Salish Languages. In *Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Robert Autry et al., 504-511. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #3665.