First Position Clitics in Northwest Sahaptin

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Overview

- Previous descriptions of Sahaptin pronominal clitics
  - Mostly second position, one possible in first position
- Ellen Saluskin's texts
  - larger inventory of first position clitics
- Two possible analyses will be suggested
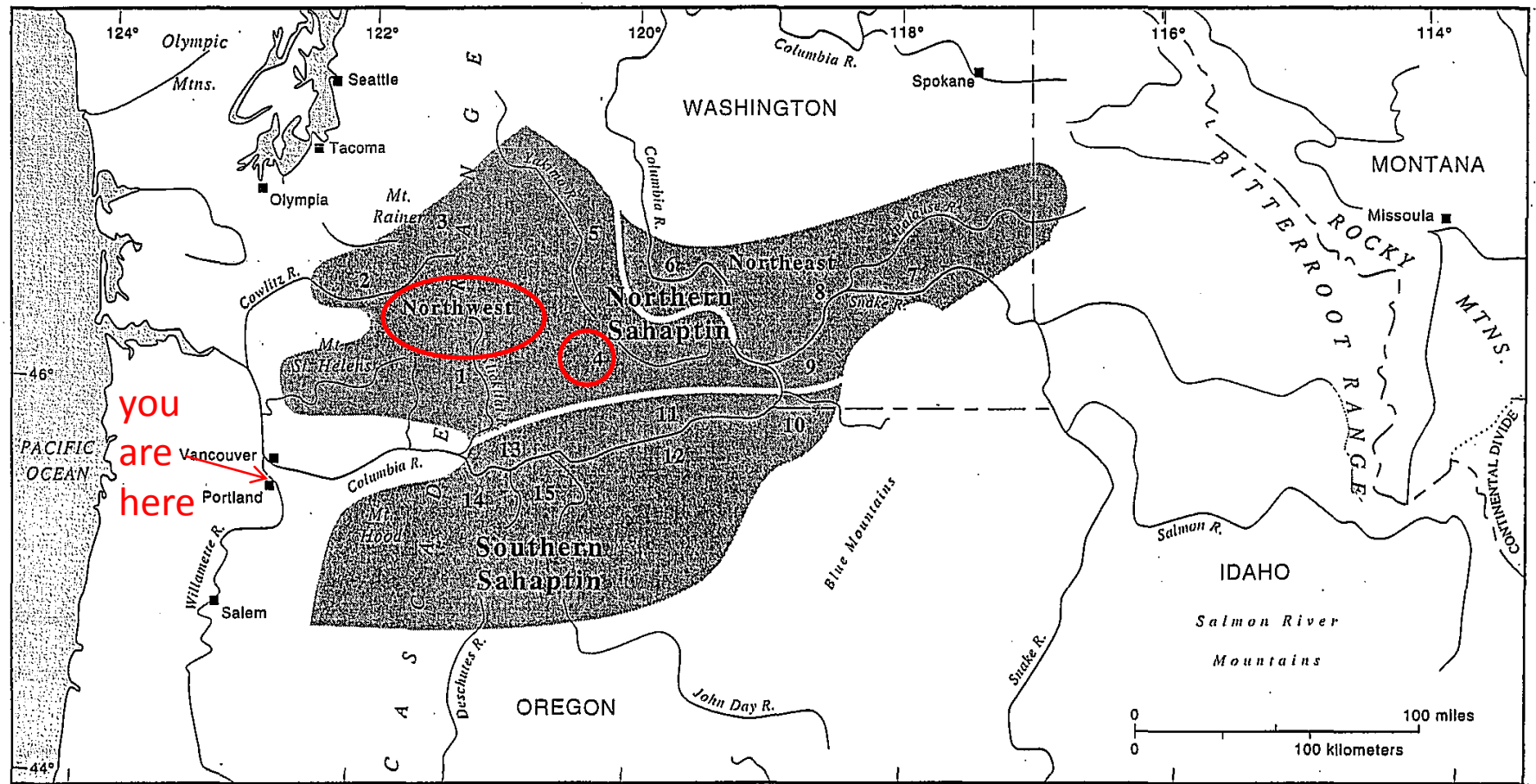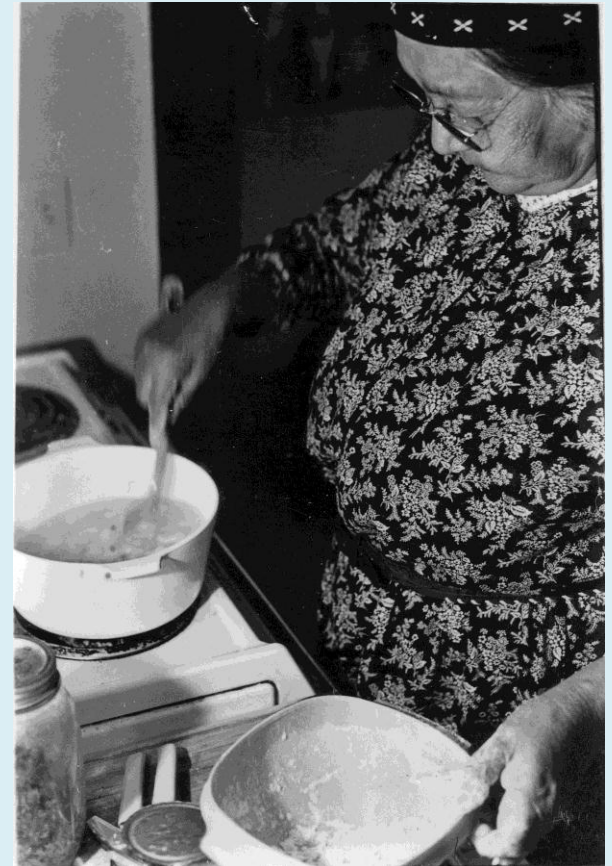
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Sahaptin

Fig. 1. Distribution of Sahaptin dialects and dialect clusters. Northern Sahaptin (Northwest cluster): 1, Klikitat; 2, Taitnapam (Upper Cowlitz); 3, Upper Nisqually (Mishalpam); 4, Yakima; 5, Pshwanwapam; (Northeast cluster): 6, Wanapam; 7, Palouse; 8, Lower Snake (Chamnapam, Wauyukma, and Naxiyampam); 9, Walla Walla (Waluulapam); Southern Sahaptin (Columbia River cluster): 10, Umatilla; 11, Rock Creek; 12, John Day; 13, Celilo (Wayampam); 14, Tenino; 15, Tygh Valley (Johnson 1993; Coe, Snow, and Benson 1986).

Rigsby, Bruce, and Noel Rude. 1996. Sketch of Sahaptin, a Sahaptian Language. In Ives Goddard (eds.), *Languages*, 666-692. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.

X̲ápt'iniks Sawyalíl̲x (Ellen Saluskin)

Ellen Saluskin text corpus

- Current study based on
  - 11 texts
  - recording length: 06:23:18
  - manuscript length (3-line interlinear glossed text): 548 pp.
  - genres: legend (1), autobiographical (2), local history/culture (8)
- More texts in various stages of completion

Sahaptin clitics

- Pronominal clitics

- Modal enclitics

- "…the sequence of clitics is **=x̲i** ['too'], **=tya** ['rather'], **=x̲a[sh]** ['probably'], the pronouns, the remaining modals…" (Jacobs 1931: 128)

Jacobs, Melville. 1931. A sketch of Northern Sahaptin grammar. *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 4. 85-291.

Pronominal clitic inventory

- **nash, =Vsh** 1SG
- **na** 1PL.INCL
- **tash, natash** 1PL.EXCL
- **nam, =Vm** 2SG
- **pam** 2PL
- **mash** 1SG>2SG, 2SG.POSS
- **matash** 1>2 (1 and/or 2 is plural), 2PL.POSS
- **pat** 3PL

Properties of Sahaptin pronominal clitics

- Syntactic position
- Phonological dependence

1. Syntactic position

- "In normal rapid speech the most frequent position is as enclitic to some connective or adverb…"

  áw=nash ítɬ'yawi-ta   'now he will kill me'

  now=1SG   kill-FUT

  now me   will.kill   (Jacobs 1931:127)

- "Where the phrase or sentence is merely the verb itself, no connective or other word appearing, the enclitic pronoun normally attaches to its verb"

  i-ḵ'ínu-na=ash   'he saw me'

  3SG-see-PST=1SG

  he.saw   me   (Jacobs 1931:127)

- "first and second person are represented in a sentence by pronominal enclitics, special forms that appear as the second element in a sentence" (Jansen 2010: 74)

- "Clitics follow the first word of the sentence, regardless of what that word is... the clitic is always in the second position in the sentence" (Jansen 2010: 78)

Jansen, Joana. 2010. *A Grammar of Yakima Ichishkiin/Sahaptin*. Eugene: University of Oregon PhD dissertation.

NW Sahaptin **pat** 3PL

- "third-person plural subject with third-person object" (Rigsby and Rude 1996: 675); "used with human A[nimate] and human or animate O[bject]" (Jansen and Beavert 2012)
- Dialect variation noted by Rigsby and Rude
  - Northwest Sahaptin **=pat + á- ~ áw-** verb prefix
  - Northeast Sahaptin **pa'á-**
  - Umatilla **patá- ~ patáw-**
    - "...the Umatilla **patá- ~ patáw-** prefix has resulted from the fusing of the older enclitic **=pat** and the **á- ~ áw-** prefix into a new unitary prefix..."

Jansen, Joana, and Virginia Beavert. 2012. Plurality and hierarchical alignment in Northwest Sahaptin. Paper presented at Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Portland, OR.

pat 3PL position

- Attested in first position

  Pat awkú á-shyak-a.

  3PL   then   3O-scout-PST

  they then   scouted.for.him

  'they [Prairie Chickens] scouted for him [Coyote]'
  (Jansen and Beavert 2012)

2. Phonological dependence

- "attachment is to the first word in a clause...[C]litics are always pronounced as part of the word to which they are attached..." (Rigsby and Rude 1996: 672)

- "...in slow speech...they may be rendered either...as independent words, or...as quasi-proclitics. Thus in normal rapid speech:

      awkúuk=pat áw-(ɨ)n-a   'then they told him'

    then=3PL   OBV-say-PST

    then   *they*   *told.him*

  In slower, hesitant speech:

      awkúuk pat-'áwna

(Jacobs 1931: 128)

Pause before clitic

Ellen Saluskin

Áw, nash= íkwaal áak sɨnwi.

now 1SG= that.long that talk

now I that.long that talk

'Now I have talked that long [about that].'

Root feast: 54

Clitics in Ellen Saluskin texts

- Some in first, not second syntactic position
  - not just **pat**

matrix S-initial	46
restarted S	1
beginning of quote	1

- First position clitics are proclitic, not enclitic

nam 2SG

Piná-wapawa-na **áswan.**

REFL-dress.in.regalia-PST boy

he.dressed.himself.in.regalia boy

'The boy got dressed up in his regalia.'

Nam= ák'inun-x̱a túx̱in-nan,

2SG= OBV-see-HAB sky-ACC

you see.it sky

i-luts'á-ta ayáyat ḵ'ínupa.

3SG-redden-FUT beautiful looking

it.will.turn.red beautifully

'When you see the sky, all those beautiful colors appear [in the west].'

Wind legend: 60

nash 1SG

Kushyúk i-kwíita-sha=ya,   íkush shíx̲.

normal   3SG-walk-IPFV=actually   thus   well

normal   she's.actually.walking   thus   well

'She was walking normally.'

Nash= áw-n-a,   "áw=nash páyu wáayawi-sha.

1SG=   OBV-say-PST   now=1SG   very   be.poor-IPFV

I   told.her   now.I   very   am.poor

'I told her, "I'm very short of money now.'

natash 1PL.EXCL

I-nak.'isíkw'a-m-a   awkú   pa-wína-m-a awkú

3SG-carry.show-CIS-PST then   3PL-go-CIS-PST   then

brought.back   then   they.came   then

pa-tmaaní-ta-m-a.   Natash= wáwtkw-a

3PL-pick.fruit-PURP-CIS-PST   1PL.EXCL= spend.night-PST

they.went.and.picked.this.way   we   spent.night

ku=tash   ɬkw'í-na   náx̱sh kwnák ɬlp   íkwna.

and=1PL.EXCL spend.day-PST   another that.LOC summit that.LOC

and.we   spent.day   another there   summit there

'Then they brought back, they went to pick those [blueberries]. Then
we spent the night and another day there at the summit.'

tash 1PL.EXCL

Áw=natash   kúuk kw'ínk   lá-xyaw-i   awkú,

then=1PL.EXCL   then   that.aforementioned leisurely-dry-PCPL   then

then.our   that   dried   then

tash=   awkú áak pa-wshtáyma-m-a awkú

1PL.EXCL=   then that   3PL-meet-CIS-PST   then

us   then that   they.met   then

kwínik   ɨníit-knik ts'íkts'ik-ki awkú.

that.ABL   house-ABL wagon-INS   then

from.that from.home with.wagon   then

'Then when ours [dog salmon] was dried, they would come and get us from home with a wagon.'

pam 2PL

Ku=ush á-nana-nuu-na ku=ush áw-n-a,

then=1SG OBV-took-DIR-PST and=1SG OBV-say-PST

then.I   took.it.to.them   and.I   told.them

"a-ka'iláwi-tk   íchiinak. Pam= á-tkwata-ta páysh=pam

OBV-taste.test-IMP.PL this.ACC   2PL=   OBV-eat-FUT   if=2PL

try.it   this   you.pl will.eat.it   if.you.pl

cháw á-tk'ix̱-ta   tⱡ'áax̱w kú-ta   kw'áx̱i náktux̱in-kik-ta."

NEG   OBV-want-FUT all   do-FUT   again   carry.return-TRANS-FUT

not   want.it   all   will.do   again   will.take.home

"Áa, atash   áw   aka'iláwi."

oh   now.1PL.EXCL now   OBV-taste.test

oh   we   now   try.it

"I took it to them and told them, taste this. You can eat it but if you don't want all of it, I'll take it home." "Oh, let's taste it."

Spiritual teaching: 23

p̓at 3PL

I-kwíita-m-sh,   i-tkw'anín-ɨm-sh.

3SG-walk-CIS-PRF   3SG-walk.by-CIS-PRF

she.walked.this.way   she.walked.by.this.way

'She was walking towards me.'

Pat= shuyápu-ma   áw-ik'ɨnk-sha, áwik'ɨnksha á-x̱tway-sha.

3PL= white.person-PL   OBV-stop-IPFV   OBV-greet-IPFV

they   white.people   are.stopping.her   are.greeting.her

'White people were stopping her and greeting her.'

Wahsise: 41

How common are first position clitics?

- following Pintzuk 1999

6.5 hours	# clitics	main		subordinate		coordinate	
		2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st
with **pat**	48	80.5%	1.9%	4.8%	0%	12.8%	0%
without **pat**	33	81.2%	1.3%	4.8%	0%	12.7%	0%

Pintzuk, Susan. 1999. *Phrase structures in competition: Variation and change in Old English word order*. New York: Garland.

Which pronominal clitics occur in first position?

- **nash, =Vsh** 1SG
- ~~**na** 1PL inclusive~~
- **tash, natash** 1PL exclusive
- **nam, =Vm** 2SG
- **pam** 2PL
- **mash** 1SG>2SG, 2SG.POSS
- ~~**matash** 1>2 (1 and/or 2 is plural), 2PL.POSS~~
- **pat** 3PL

=na 1PL.INCL

Pá-wanik-sha "núsu̱x,"

OBV-name-IPFV   salmon

he's.naming.it   salmon

núsu̱x=na   tkwáta-sha, shapáynak-sha núsu̱x.

salmon=1PL.INCL eat-IPFV   put.in.mouth-IPFV salmon

salmon we   are.eating   putting.in.mouth   salmon

'When he names the salmon then we eat it, putting it in our mouths.'

Clitic placement

- Usual analytic pieces
  - syntactic rule for placement
  - phonology-triggered adjustment

Prosodic inversion

- Typical pattern (e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Homeric Greek)
  - Clitics placed at L edge of syntactic phrase (a.)

  $$\text{a.} \quad [_{XP} \text{=clitic X Y Z}]$$

  - Invert to 2nd position when no suitable host to left (b.) (Taylor 1990) or when clitic is "prosodically deficient" (Hale 1996)

  $$\text{b.} \quad [_{XP} \text{X =clitic Y Z}]$$

Taylor, Ann. 1990. *Clitics and Configurationality in Ancient Greek*: University of Pennsylvania PhD dissertation.
Hale, Mark. 1996. Deriving Wackernagel's Law: Prosodic and Syntactic Factors Determining Clitic Placement in the Language of the Rigveda. In Aaron L. Halpern and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena*, 477-503. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

What is the rule for clitic placement?

- For ES
  - First position placement by syntax [___
  - Obligatory inversion to 2P if phonologically light (CV)
  - Otherwise optional inversion (but 98% rate of application)
- Alternatively
  - Second position placement by syntax [X ___
  - Optional inversion to sentence-initial position if phonologically heavy (CVC)

Related phenomena

- The minimal phonological word in Sahaptin is CCV or CVC (Hargus and Beavert 2006).

Hargus, Sharon, and Virginia Beavert. 2006. Word-initial clusters and minimality in Yakima Sahaptin. *Phonology* 23. 21-58.

wá/wásh 'be, have' allomorphy

"If the subject of the sentence is first or second person ('I, we, you') [and if]...the copula is first in the sentence, a special form (*wash*) is used, followed by the clitic."
Jansen 2010: 115

"**Wásh=mash k̲úyx̲ k'úsi-'?**"
 have=2SG.POSS white horse-Q

 have you   white horse?

"Do you have a white horse?"   (Beavert and Hargus 2010)

Beavert, Virginia, and Sharon Hargus. 2010. *Ichishkíin Sínwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary*. Toppenish and Seattle: Heritage University and UW Press.

For further investigation

1. Are predictions born out? (**matash=** possible, but ***na=**)

2. What is role of biconsonantal minimality in first position clitics?

First position clitics always followed by CVC or longer word (never by CV).

But sentence-initial CV (**ku** 'then, and') widespread.

3. What is/was special about **pat**?

4. "Second position" itself needs refinement

"Third position"

Chípshi-sha mísh=nam   ṯxána-sha   awkú.

vomit-IPFV   somehow=2SG   become=IPFV then

Root feast: 51

are.vomiting somehow you   are.becoming then

"You'll start vomiting."

"First position (the word order slot defined by the second-position enclitics) highlights or topicalizes."
(Rigsby Rude 675)

Áw=nash goodtime-**i-sha.**

now=1SG   -V-IPFV

now.I   *having.good.time*

"I'm having a good time.'"

Íkw'ak i-wá   chilwít íkwnɨmk=pam.

that   3SG-be bad   that.ERG=2PL

that   *it.is*   *bad*   *that*   *you pl.*

'That will do something bad to you (pl.).'

Íchayk-ani-ta kw'á<u>x</u>i íkuuni   imiinanák pxwí-t...

ruin-APPL-FUT   again   that.ALL   2DU.ACC   think.GER

will.ruin.one's   *again*   *that*   *your.du.*   *thought*

'That's what will interfere with your (du.) happiness...

Wedding song: 6

Conclusions

- In ES texts, larger inventory of first position clitics than previously reported for any Sahaptin dialect.

- The majority of clitics appear in second position.

- Two analyses suggested

Kw'aɬanúushamatash

A CD (of Virginia) is available for $15. See
www.northwestheritageresources.org