Innovative Double Subject Marking in Nɬeʔkepmxcin (Thompson River Salish)*

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Nɬeʔkepmxcin closely approximates the Proto-Salish pattern of transitive subject marking via person agreement suffix and expletive (3rd person) clitic (Davis 1999, 2000). In Central Salish, however, transitive subjects tend to be marked with a clitic, and subject suffixes are eliminated. This paper sheds light on how this historical shift from Proto-Salish may have begun by presenting new synchronic evidence from Nɬeʔkepmxcin. In conjunctive transitive clauses, expletive clitics are sometimes reanalyzed as subject agreement markers, like in the Central Salish languages. In this innovative Nɬeʔkepmxcin pattern, transitive subjects are thus doubly marked, once as a clitic, and once as a suffix. The characteristics of this innovation may reveal or confirm what sychronic processes drive historical change.

key words: Salish, subject agreement, person, number, speech errors, morphology

1. Introduction.

This paper is meant to contribute to previous historical comparative work on subject marking in the Salish languages, and their Proto-Salish source (e.g. Hoard 1971; Newman 1979, 1980; Kroeber 1999; Davis 1999, 2000). However, rather than engage in broad cross-linguistic comparison, an approach which previous researchers have already succesfully undertaken, I concentrate instead on a synchronic development in Nɬeʔkepmxcin, the Salish language whose subject marking system is closest to Proto-Salish (Davis 1999). This development provides real-time clues as to how the diachronic shift in subject marking strategies observed throughout the language family may have begun. In this case study, I focus on the change in subject marking from suffix to clitic observed in the Central Salish languages on the Pacific Coast (Davis 2000).

In particular, I show how transitive subjects in Nɬeʔkepmxcin conjunctive (i.e. subjunctive) clauses are sometimes doubly marked, both as suffix and as clitic. In the remainder of this introduction, I give a brief overview of how this synchronic variation is linked to the overall pattern of diachronic change in subject marking in Salish.

Nɬeʔkepmxcin, a Northern Interior Salish language, has been claimed to closely follow the Proto-Salish pattern of transitive subject agreement via suffix only (Davis 1999, 2000).

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Subject agreement encodes person and number. In addition, an expletive 3rd person subject clitic co-occurs with transitive marked verbs. This expletive pattern is illustrated in the examples in (1). In the conjunctive locative clause in (1a), the verb *punmnx*^{w} 'find' is inflected for a 2nd person subject agreement suffix (2SG.TS) *-x*^{w}, but in addition is followed by an expletive 3rd person conjunctive subject clitic (3CnCl) *=us*. In the nominalized clause following the negation predicate *tete?* in (1b), the verb *ʕ*^{w}*eytene* 'burn' is inflected for a 1st person transitive subject agreement suffix (1SG.TS) *-ene*, but the preceding future auxiliary *x*^{w}*uy̓* also hosts an expletive 3rd person possessive subject clitic (3PoCl) *=s*. The relevant morphology is bolded.[1]

(1) a. n-hén̓ xe? k pún-mn-Ø-Ø-**x^{w}=us**.
at-where DEM COMP find-REL-TRANS-3OBJ-**2SG.TS=3CnCl**
'Where did you find it?'

b. teté? k s=x^{w}úy̓**=s** ʕ^{w}ey-t-Ø-**éne.**
NEG COMP NOM=FUT**=3PoCl** burn-TRANS-3OBJ-**1SG.TS**
'I'm not gonna' burn it.'

A major historical shift away from the expletive pattern in (1) is observable when we travel west and south through the Salish language family, from Nɬeʔkepmxcin in the Northern Interior, to Lushootseed in the Central (Coast) Salish area. Subject agreement marking in transitive clauses shifts from entirely suffixal to entirely composed of clitics (Davis 1999, 2000; Kroeber 1999; Bates, Hess and Hilbert 1995; Hess 1995). Davis (1999) characterizes this as a Type A to B shift, where Nɬeʔkepmxcín exemplifies the Northern Interior Type A pattern, and Central Salish the Type B pattern.

This trend is schematized in figure 1:

[1] Abbreviations used in the glosses (based on Thompson and Thompson 1992, 1996; Kroeber 1997; Jimmie 2002, 2003) are as follows: '-' = affix, '=' = clitic, * = ungrammatical structure or interpretation, % = accepted and produced as grammatical some of the time, AFF = affective reduplicant, APPL = applicative [transitive suffix], ART = article, AUG = augmentative reduplicant, AUT = autonomous [intransitive suffix], AUX = auxiliary, CAUS = causative [transitive suffix], CnCl = conjunctive subject clitic, COMP = complementizer, CTL = control transitivizer, DEM = demonstrative, D, DET = determiner, DRV = directive transitivizer, EMPH = emphatic, EXCL = exclusive, FUT = future, IDF = indefinite, IM = immediate [intransitive suffix], IMPF = imperfective, INCH = inchoative [intransitive suffix], InCl = indicative subject clitic, INSTR = instrumental, INTRANS, INTR = intransitive, IRL = irrealis, LOC = locative, MDL = middle [intransitive suffix], NEG = negation, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ, O = object, OBL = oblique, PL = plural, PoCl = possessive subject clitic, POSS, PS = possessive, Q = yes/no question marker, RED = reduplicant, REL = relational [transitive suffix], SG = singular, STAT = stative prefix, TRANS, TR = control transitivizer, TS = transitive subject. All examples are from Nɬeʔkepmxcin (Thompson) unless otherwise noted.

Data are presented in the orthography developed in Thompson and Thompson (1992, 1996). I use acute accent ´ on vowels to indicate word-level stress. The phonemic key to the orthography follows; symbols not listed have the standard International Phonetic Alphabet interpretation. See Thompson and Thompson (1992) in particular for the phonetic realizations of phonemic vowels across contexts. *c* = [tʃ] or [č], *ċ* = [ts], *c̓* = [ts'], *e* = [e, æ, a, ɛ, ə], *ə* = [ʌ], *i* = [i, ei, ai], *o* = [o, ɔ], *s* = [ʃ] or [š], *ṣ* = [s], *u* = [u, o, ɔ], *x̣* = [χ], *y* = [y, i].

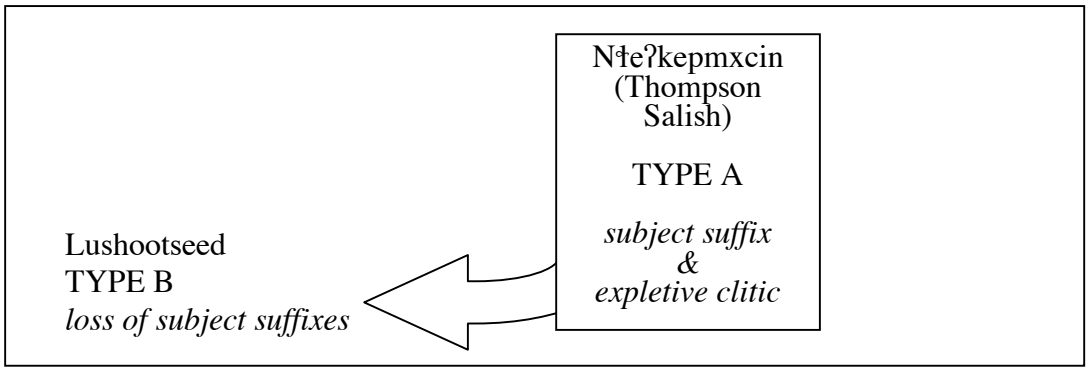

Figure 1. Salish transitive subject marking from the Northern Interior to the Coast.

Table 1 gives the languages in the Salish family. The two language types (A and B) relevant to this paper are highlighted in the boxes (see Davis 1999 for discussion of the remaining languages). Note the exceptional status of St'át'imcets, which, having borrowed most of its pronominal system from Squamish, patterns with the Central Salish Type B languages (Davis 2000).

A. Bella Coola	D. Tsamosan (Olympic)
	1. Inland
B. Central Salish	Upper Chehalis
Comox	Cowlitz
Pentlatch	2. Maritime
Sechelt	Quinault
Squamish	Lower Chehalis
Halkomelem	
Nooksack	E. Interior Salish
Straits	1. Northern Interior
Northern Straits	St'át'imcets (Lillooet)
Clallam	
Twana	Nɬeʔkepmxcin (Thompson)
Lushootseed	**TYPE A** Shuswap
TYPE B	2. Southern Interior
	Columbian
	Okanagan
C. Tillamook	Kalispel
	Coeur d'Alene

Table 1. Subject marking in Salishan (adapted from Kroeber 1999:4).

Lushootseed typifies the culmination of the Type B pattern, in that transitive subject suffixes have been replaced by subject clitics in all environments (Hess 1995; Davis 1999).[2] Example (2a) shows a 2nd person indicative subject clitic (2sgInCl) =*čax*^{w} after the transitive marked verb, while in (2b) the 2sgInCl follows the initial auxiliary (the 3rd person transitive object marker is null – see Hess 1973:90). The transitive subject suffixes found in Nɬeʔkepmxcin (1) and Proto-Salish have disappeared, and clitics have lost their expletive function.

(2) a. ʔuʔúx̣^{w}-c-bš=čax^{w} *Lushootseed*
go-TRANS-1SG.OBJ=2SGInCl
'You went after me.' (adapted from Hess 1973: ex. 22, 1995)

b. g^{w}aʔx^{w}=čax^{w} ɬu-háy-dx^{w}-Ø *Lushootseed*
eventually(AUX)=2SGInCl FUT-know-TRANS-3OBJ
'Eventually you will know.' (Bates, Hess & Hilbert 1995:95, cited in Davis 1999)

In the other Type B languages, the Type A to B shift is incomplete. A common occurrence is thus the use of both suffix and clitic to indicate subject agreement. This has been called the "copy" pattern (Davis 1999, 2000) or "doubling" (Gerdts 1989, Gerdts and Hukari 2001a, 2001b, on Halkomelem). In this paper, I present previously undocumented data from Nɬeʔkepmxcin showing a synchronic shift in transitive subject marking from suffix only to, optionally, suffix and clitic: that is, doubling.[3]

This double subject marking occurs in conjunctive transitive clauses. Though similar optionality is apparent in Type B languages (for example, in negative conjunctive clauses in Halkomelem and Comox – see table 4), the Nɬeʔkepmxcin case is particularly interesting since Thompson closely approximates the Proto-Salish pattern. Thus, the new data presented here address how, in the synchronic grammar of a particular (Proto-)Salish language, the historical shift to Type B transitive subject marking may have begun.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I summarize the shift in subject marking in transitive clauses from Northern Interior to Central Salish, as detailed by Davis (1999, 2000). I present data from Nɬeʔkepmxcin to illustrate canonical subject and expletive marking in that language. Section 3 presents cases of double subject marking in Nɬeʔkepmxcin conjunctive clauses. In Section 4, I speculate how this change may lead to the eventual replacement of subject suffixes by subject clitics in all environments (Davis 1999), and in section 5 I discuss what environments may condition the beginnings of the historical development observed here. Section 6 concludes.

[2] The Southern Interior Salish languages have developed a different shift away from the Proto-Salish subject-marking strategy, which Davis (1999) calls the Type C pattern, but it will not concern us here – see Davis (1999) for details.

[3] It is worth mentioning that I only present data where subjects are doubled in strictly monoclausal structures. Doubling in biclausal focus structures has also been recorded (Koch 2009) but has quite different properties.

2. Subject marking in Salish.
Reconstructions by Davis (1999, 2000) suggest that, in Proto-Salish, subjects were marked with clitics in intransitive clauses, and with suffixes and an expletive clitic (the 3rd person) in transitive clauses. This is summarized in table 2.

Clause Type	Intransitive	Transitive
Plain	Indicative Clitic (InCl)	Expletive 3InCl + Suffix
Nominalized	Possessive Clitic (PoCl)	Expletive 3PoCl + Suffix
Conjunctive	Conjunctive Clitic (CnCl)	Expletive 3CnCl + Suffix

Table 2. Proto-Salish subjects (Davis 1999, 2000).

In this paper, I will be concerned with the transitive Proto-Salish pattern in table 2. Davis (1999) calls this the "expletive" pattern (X). This is basically what we find today in Nɬeʔkepmxcin and it will be useful to illustrate by introducing the subject-marking paradigm of Thompson Salish here. Clitics are marked with '=' and affixes with '-.'

	1sg	2sg	1pl	2pl	3
Indicative Clitic	=kn	=k^{w}	=kt	=kp	=Ø
Possessive Clitic	n=	eʔ=	=kt	=ep	=s
Conjunctive Clitic	=wn, =un	=ux^{w}	=ut	=up	=us
Subject Suffix	-en	-ex^{w}	-et	-ep	-es

Table 3. Subject marking in Nɬeʔkepmxcin.[4]

The examples below illustrate expletive 3rd person clitic marking for transitive verbs marked with the 1sg subject agreement suffix *-(e)ne*. In matrix environments, the 3rd person indicative clitic is null, so the expletive is not overt (eg. *=Ø* follows the 1sg marked verb *pipstene* 'lose' in 3). However, in nominalized clauses (4) and conjunctive clauses (5), the 3rd person expletive subject clitic does appear, as *=s* and *=us* respectively. I follow Davis (1999, 2000) in glossing clitics as 'InCl' (indicative), 'PoCl' (possessive), and 'CnCl' (conjunctive); and I adopt Kroeber's (1997) glossing of transitive subject suffixes as 'TS.'

(3) pip-s-t-Ø-**éne=Ø** xeʔ ɬ n-núye-tn.
lose-CAUS-TRANS-3O-**1SG.TS=3InCl** DEM DET 1SG.POSS-beaver-INSTR
'I lost my wallet.'

(4) ʔe s=xʷúy̓=**s** xʷíʔ-Ø-Ø-**ne**.
and NOM=FUT=**3PoCl** look.for-TRANS-3OBJ-**1SG.TS**
'... and I'm gonna' try and find it.'

[4] Adapted from Thompson and Thompson (1992:58-61) and Kroeber (1997:378).

(5) ... ɬ wʔéx=**us** cúɬ-x-ə-Ø-**ne** t ɬ n-cítxʷ.
... COMP IMPF**=3CnCl** show-APPL-DRV-3OBJ-**1SG.TS** OBL DET 1SG.PS-house
'... when I show him the house.'

Expletive subject enclitics in Nɬeʔkepmxcin attach to the first phonological word of the clause, whether this is the verb (*punmnxʷ* in 1a, *pipstene* in 3) or an auxiliary/adverb (*xʷuy̓* in 4, *wʔex* in 5).[5] The ability of the clitic to appear on either the verb or the auxiliary is called "clitic mobility" by Davis (1999, 2000): clitics may attach to the verb, but "move" to an auxiliary if there is an auxiliary in initial position.[6] This mobility relative to the predicate indicates that clitics and affixes are in different syntactic positions (Gerdts 1989; Davis 1999, 2005; Brown et al. 2003, 2005). I also adopt this Clitic Mobility Criterion to distinguish affixes and clitics.

(6) CLITIC MOBILITY CRITERION
(i) If a bound pronominal occupies a variable position relative to a given predicate, it is a clitic.
(ii) Otherwise, it is an affix. (Davis 2000:502)

Since affixes are always affixed to the verb, they are low agreement (eg. within the extended projections of the verb phrase), or what Davis (2000:518) calls an "inner" position. Clitics, on the other hand, are high clausal agreement, or what Davis calls an "outer" position (Davis 1999, 2000; Wiltschko[7] 2002, 2006, 2008; Wiltschko and Burton 2004). More formally, I follow Davis (2005) in treating subject clitics as associated with the Inflectional head I°, while subject suffixes are associated with the transitive head *v°*.

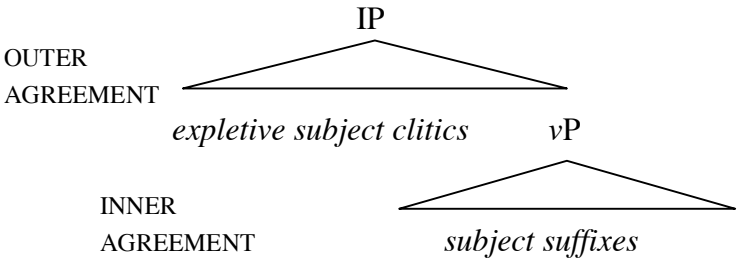

Figure 2. The expletive pattern of agreement (X).

[5] In fact, this is not quite right: in nominalized clauses, the possessive 3rd person enclitic surfaces only on auxiliaries, but never on transitive verbs in the absence of an auxiliary (Kroeber 1997:394-395; 1999:104-106). See section 5.4 for some more discussion, and example (30).
[6] "Mobility" here refers to the clitic's position relative to the verb: as Kroeber (1999) points out, clitics are not mobile relative to the clause as a whole, in the sense that they always appear in the same second position.
[7] Wiltschko (e.g. 2002) argues that clitics are in either the complementizer head (C° agreement – indicative clitics) or the inflection head (I° agreement – conjunctive and possessive clitics), I follow Davis (1999, 2000, 2005) who argues, convincingly to my mind, against Wiltschko's account, proposing instead that all three clitic series are best treated symmetrically – that is, as I° agreement.

A primary trend away from the Proto-Salish transitive subject marking system observable in the Thompson data in (3) to (5) has occurred in Central Salish and St'át'imcets (Lillooet). In these languages, the general pattern is to use only subject clitics in transitive main clauses. Subject suffixes have thus been lost. Davis calls this the "raising" pattern (R), in that subject agreement marking has raised syntactically from v^o (suffix) to I^o (clitic). In the prototypical raising system, the distinction between inner and outer agreement has become vacuous.

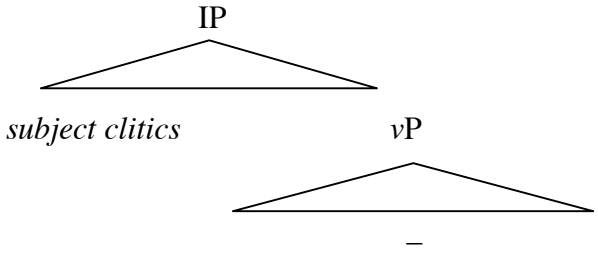

Figure 3. The raising pattern of agreement (R): subject clitics only.

We saw in (2) that Lushootseed best embodies the raising pattern shown in figure 3: transitive subjects are always marked as clitics, and never as suffixes, for all persons and all types of clauses (Hess 1995; Davis 1999, 2000). In other Type B languages, however, the raising pattern has been much less uniformly generalized. There is considerable variation according to person (1st/2nd versus 3rd), as well as clause type (matrix versus subordinate). In addition, some types of clauses optionally have both a suffix and a clitic which agree with the subject, the "copy" pattern (C). In negative clauses in Halkomelem and Sechelt, a variant of the copy pattern is observed, which Davis calls the "negative copy" pattern C* (see Wiltschko 2002 and Davis 2005 on negation; Gerdts 1989; Gerdts and Hukari 2001a, 2001b, also for object doubling in Halkomelem passives).

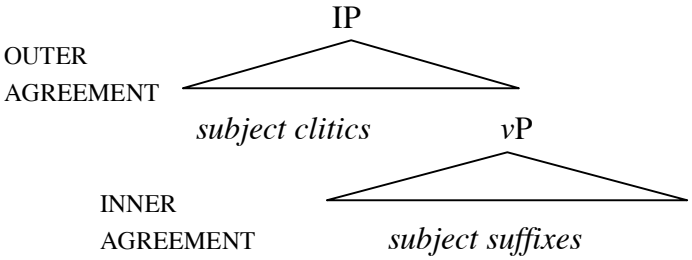

Figure 4. The copy pattern of agreement (C).

An example of the copy pattern of agreement is shown in the Squamish nominalized clause in (7). The transitive subject is marked both as the 1sg suffix *-an* and as the 1sgPoCl *ʔn=*.

(7) ... ʔn=s=c̓áw-at-an *Squamish*
... 1sgPoCl=NOM=help-TRANS-1SG.TS
'... (that) I help him' (Kuipers 1967:91, as cited in Davis 1999)

Table 4 summarizes Davis's findings on the shift from an expletive strategy (X) to a raising strategy (R) in subject marking from Thompson to Lushootseed; the Thompson column serves as a reminder of the likely Proto-Salish origin of the patterns found in the other languages. In between these two extremes, we find a mix of subject marking strategies depending on person and clause type.

		Thompson	Lillooet	Squamish	Halkomelem	Sechelt	Lushootseed
Indicative main	1&2	X	R	R	R	C+R	R
	3	X	X	X	X	C+X	R
Conjunctive	1&2	X	R	R	R+C*	R+C*	R
	3	X	X	X	X+C*	X+C*	R
Nominalized	1&2	X	X+R	C+R	R	R	R
	3	X	X	C+X	X	X+R	R
Indicative subordinate	1&2	X	X	X	R	X	R
	3	X	X	X	X	X	R
KEY: X=expletive, R=raising, C=copy, C*=negative copy							

Table 4. Transitive subject marking from Thompson to Central Salish (Davis 1999).

Since subordinate clauses are generally resistant to raising, Davis concludes that raising has spread from main to subordinate clauses. Secondly, 3rd person subject suffixes are more resistant to replacement by raising, which accounts for the appearance of "person splits." In section 5, I will examine these observations in relation to the novel Nɬeʔkepmxcin pattern examined in this paper.

3. Optional double subject marking in Nɬeʔkepmxcin conjunctive clauses.
In this section, I document an innovation in Nɬeʔkepmxcin that suggests a Type A to Type B shift, whereby expletive clitics are reanalyzed as transitive subject agreement markers.

Recall that in Nɬeʔkepmxcin, clitics in clauses with transitive marked verbs are expletives. That is, when the transitive subject is a first or second person, the clitic remains in 3rd person form. The second line of example (8) illustrates this pattern with a conjunctive temporal clause, where 3CnCl *=us* appears alongside a verb marked for a 1sg subject (*zíkəne* 'I chopped it down'). (8) is therefore an example of a "well-behaved" Nɬeʔkepmxcin conjunctive clause.

(8) wʔéx=Ø xeʔ ʔes-ḵʷéṅ-s-t-sm-s ɬ n-snúḵʷeʔ
IMPF=3InCl DEM STAT-look-CAUS-TRANS-1SG.OBJ-3TS DET 1SG.POSS-friend
ɬ uʔéx=**us** zík-ə-Ø-**ne** ɬ syə́p.
COMP IMPF=**3CnCl** fall-DRV-3OBJ-**1SG.TS** DET tree
'My friend was watching me while I was chopping the tree down.'

However, in transitive marked conjunctive clauses with 1st or 2nd person subjects, the expletive 3rd person conjunctive marker *=us* is sometimes replaced with the 1st or 2nd person conjunctive marker. This corresponds to the "copy" pattern discussed in section 2. Assuming an economy condition limiting agreement marking to a single instance (Wiltschko 2006), then copying is unexpected, since the number and person of the transitive subject is now doubly marked: once as a suffix to the transitive verb, and once as a conjunctive clitic. The second line of (9) shows an example with a 1sg subject, marked once as a clitic *=wn* and once as a suffix *-ne*.

(9) % wʔéx=Ø xeʔ ʔes-ḵʷéṅ-s-t-sm-s ɬ n-snúḵʷeʔ
IMPF=3InCl DEM STAT-look-caus-TRANS-1SG.OBJ-3TS DET 1SG.POSS-friend
ɬ uʔéx=**wn** zík-ə-Ø-**ne** ɬ syə́p.
COMP IMPF=**1SGCnCl** fall-DRV-3OBJ-**1SG.TS** DET tree
'My friend was watching me while I was chopping the tree down.'

To my knowledge, this Nɬeʔkepmxcin alternation has not been recorded elsewhere. To be sure, similar optionality to that apparent in (8-9) does appear in other languages (see the C and C* patterns in table 4). However, the finding presented here is interesting in two respects. First, Nɬeʔkepmxcin allegedly has no copying or raising patterns in any transitive clause type, and closely represents the Proto-Salish pattern in this regard (Davis 1999). The data in (9) is significant in this regard.

Secondly, the pattern is not robust enough to be called "optional" (I don't know to what extent it may be found across a larger community of speakers or dialects), yet is too common to be considered merely a rare (phonologically induced) speech error. In my data corpus, the copy pattern found in (9) is sometimes spontaneously produced, sometimes accepted and reproduced, and sometimes rejected. Hence I mark it with '%.' Thus, the pattern in (7) represents a weakness in the Proto-Salish expletive pattern outlined in section 2, and an earlier stage than the optional copy pattern documented in Central Salish languages in Davis (2000). A similar sort of limited optionality has been documented for doubling in Halkomelem passives in certain subordinate clauses. Interestingly, a 1st or 2nd person passive theme is marked once as an object suffix and once as a subject clitic (Gerdts 1989; Gerdts and Hukari 2001a, 2001b). Like double subject marking in Thompson conjunctives, the Halkomelem pattern appears to be innovative as not all speakers allow this construction. An example is shown in (10), where the passive 1sg theme is marked once as a suffix *-e:l* to the transitive verb, and once as a possessive proclitic *nə=*.

(10) sḵʷéy ḵʷə nə=s=xiʔ-n-e:l-t. *Halkomelem*
cannot ART 1PoCl=NOM=catch-TRANS-1SG-PASSIVE
'They can't catch me.' (Gerdts and Hukari 2001a: ex. 38)

3.1. Further double subject marking in temporal clauses.
In (11) and (12), we see further Nɬeʔkepmxcin examples of temporal adjunct clauses with a 1sg subject. Subject agreement is marked both as a *-(e)ne* suffix and as a 1sg *=wn* clitic. The relevant conjunctive clauses are in the second line of each example.

(11) % wʔéx=Ø xeʔ síq-m ɬ n-spápzeʔ te súypm
IMPF=3InCl DEM chop-MDL DET 1SG.POSS-grandfather OBL wood
ɬ uʔéx=**wn** ncéweʔ cu-t-Ø-**éne** ɬ n-káh.
COMP IMPF=**1sgCnCl** 1SG.EMPH fix-TRANS-3O-**1SG.TS** DET 1SG.POSS-car
'My grandfather was chopping wood while I was fixing my car.'

(12) % néxʷ=Ø e s-tékɬ-c
much=3InCl COMP NOM=rain=3PoCl
ɬ wʔéx**=wn** níc̓-ə-Ø-**ne** ɬ súypm.
COMP IMPF=**1sgCnCl** cut-DRV-3OBJ-**1SG.TS** DET wood
'It was really raining hard when I was cutting the log.'

In (13), (14) and (15), 2sg subjects are doubly marked, once by the transitive suffix *-(e)xʷ* and again by the 2sg conjunctive clitic *=uxʷ*.

(13) % wʔéx=Ø xeʔ cu-t-Ø-éne ɬ n-seʔlís
IMPF=3InCl DEM fix-TRANS-3OBJ-1SG.TS DET 1SG.POSS-knife
ɬ uʔéx=**uxʷ** qʷin-t-Ø-**éxʷ** ɬ n-skíxzeʔ.
COMP IMPF=**2SGCnCl** talk-TRANS-3O-**2SG.TS** DET 1SG.POSS-mother
'I was fixing my knife while you were talking to my mother.'

(14) % ɬaʔx̣áns=kn xeʔ ɬ nu-p-íkn̓=us
eat[INTRANS]=1SGInCl DEM COMP lunch-INCH-back=3CnCl
ɬ wʔéx=**uxʷ** kən-t-Ø-**éxʷ** ɬ scmém̓iʔt.
COMP IMPF=**2SGCnCl** help-TRANS-3OBJ-**2SG.TS** DET children
'I had my lunch while you were helping the kids.'

(15) % wʔéx=kn ɬaʔx̣áns ɬ s-ʕáp
IMPF=1SGInCl eat[INTRANS] OBL.DET NOM-dusk
ɬ uʔéx=**uxʷ** páqʷ-n-Ø-**xʷ** ɬ s-páqʷ.
COMP IMPF=**2SGCnCl** watch-DRV-3OBJ-**2SG.TS** DET NOM-watch
'I ate supper while you were reading a book.'

In (16), the 2pl subject is marked with the conjunctive clitic *=up* and again with the suffix *-ep*.

(16) % wʔéx=Ø xeʔ wúxʷt te néxʷ
IMPF=3InCl DEM snow OBL much
ɬ wʔéx=**up** cu-t-Ø-**ép** ɬe s-ḵíx
COMP IMPF=**2PLCnCl** fix-TRANS-3OBJ-**2PL.TS** DET NOM-fence
'It was snowin' hard while you guys were fixin' the fence.'

Example (17) involves the 1pl subject marker, once as conjunctive clitic *=ut* and once as suffix *-m*. In Nɬeʔkepmxcín, the 1pl subject suffix *-t* does not co-occur with 3rd person objects (Thompson and Thompson 1992). Instead, the passive *-m* suffix is used to express a 1pl subject (for more details on this constraint, see Brown et al. 2005).

(17) % wʔéx=Ø xeʔ kʷúkʷ ɬ n-kẓé
IMPF=3InCl DEM cook DET 1SG.POSS-grandmother
ɬ wʔéx=**ut** níḵ-ə-t-Ø-**m** ɬ súypm
COMP IMPF=**1PLCnCl** cut-DRV-TRANS-3OBJ-**PASSIVE** DET wood
'My grandmother is cooking while we're cuttin' up the wood.'

Interestingly, Henry Davis (p.c.) points out that doubling the passive with a 1pl subject clitic is fully grammatical in Lillooet, and used to disambiguate "true" passives from 1pl ergative constructions. Similar structures are found in the other Northern Interior language Shuswap, where the exclusive 1pl enclitic *=kʷuxʷ* is used disambiguate the passive from the 1pl ergative reading (18); and in the Southern Interior language Kalispel (Spokane dialect), where a 1pl proclitic *qeʔ=* serves the same purpose (19):

(18) qʷəl-n-t-ém=kʷuxʷ *Shuswap*
speak-ACTIVE-TRANS-PASSIVE=1PL.EXCL.InCl
'We spoke to him/her/it.' (adapted from Gibson 1973)

(19) qeʔ=tq-ən-t-ém *Kalispel*
1PLInCl=hit-TRANS-CTL-PASSIVE
'We hit him/them.' (adapted from Carlson 1972:37-38)

Based on these fully grammaticalized doubling forms in Lillooet, Shuswap and Kalispel, we might hypothesize that the dual role of the *-(e)m* suffix in marking both passive and 1pl subjects might make doubling structures like (17) more likely to develop for 1pl than for other persons. However, I have no evidence that this is the case in the presently documented innovation in Nɬeʔkepmxcin; in indicative clauses, no doubling is ever recorded, while in the conjunctive clauses examined here, 1pl is no more or less affected than other persons. However, larger quantities of data would have to be elicited and examined to see if conjunctive 1pl clauses are statistically more likely to exhibit double subject marking.

3.2. Double subject marking in conditional clauses.
The examples in section 3.1 all involve temporal conjunctive clauses. A second type of conjunctive clause has also shown double subject marking. Clauses introduced by *ʔe* and marked with the conjunctive receive a conditional 'if' interpretation (Thompson and Thompson 1992:178; Kroeber 1999). Examples (20–21) below involve a 2sg subject, and (22) a 1pl subject; again the second line of each example is the relevant one.

(20) % xʷúy̓=Ø xeʔ pínt-ə-Ø-ne e n-cítxʷ
FUT=3InCl DEM paint-DRV-3O-1SG.TS DET 1SG.POSS-house
ʔe xʷúy̓=**uxʷ** kən-t-sém-**xʷ**
if FUT=**2SGCnCl** help-TRANS-1SGO-**2SG.TS**
'I'm gonna' paint my house if you're gonna' help me.'

(21) % xʷúy̓=Ø xeʔ ʔúpi-Ø-Ø-ne ɬ épl̩s
FUT=3InCl DEM eat-TRANS-3O-1SG.TS DET apple
ʔe xʷúy̓=**uxʷ** heʔwí ʔúpi-n-Ø-**xʷ** ɬ sqyéytn
if FUT=**2SGCnCl** 2SG.EMPH eat-TRANS-3O-**2SG.TS** DET salmon
'I will eat the apple if you're gonna' eat the salmon.'

(22) % keʔ=Ø xʷúy̓ k s̩=c̓aχ̣-t-Ø-éxʷ e cítxʷ
is.it.the.case=3InCl FUT COMP NOM=clean-TRANS-3O-2SG.TS DET house
ʔe kən-t-sí-**t=ut**[8]
if help-TRANS-2SG.O-**1PL.TS=1PLCnCl**
'Will you clean the house if we help you?'

3.3. Double subject marking and 3rd person.
With 3rd person, it is impossible to distinguish the expletive from the copy pattern, since the conjunctive clitic *=us* is 3rd person in either case:

(23) we-wíyx=Ø xeʔ ɬ Moníque ɬ wík-t-Ø-**s=us**
AFF-cry=3InCl DEM DET Monique COMP see-TRANS-3OBJ-**3TS=3CnCl**
ɬ cítxʷ-s.
DET house-3POSS
'Monique cried when she seen her house.'

3.4. Interim summary: double subject marking.
In this section I have so far documented the start of a shift from purely suffixal subject agreement in transitive clauses (the expletive pattern), to subject agreement via both clitic and suffix (the copy pattern). This double subject marking has been observed in some Nɬeʔkepmxcin

[8] Henry Davis suggests that the 1PL.TS suffix here is actually a passive, and that this is certainly a diachronic possibility, since it is historically related to the Coast Salish subordinate passive *-t* (see the Halkomelem example in 10). In that case, we also might expect the 1pl suffix *-t* to be more likely to undergo subject doubling, parallel to the other "passive" *-m* forms discussed in (17-19). However, I again don't have enough evidence to say if that is the case, and no synchronic evidence to indicate that Nɬeʔkepmxcin speakers treat the *-t* suffix as a passive.

conjunctive clauses. Though the data represent a very preliminary stage of language change, I speculate in the next section how such a change could lead to a Central Salish raising pattern like in Lushootseed, where subject suffixes have been eliminated altogether (Hess 1995; Davis 1999).

4. A template for change from Nɬeʔkepmxcin to Lushootseed.

The optional copy pattern documented in section 3.1 represents the first stage of a potential shift in subject marking strategy in a Salish language. This is because, as already noted, Nɬeʔkepmxcin closely approximates the Proto-Salish pattern of subject marking (Davis 1999). How then might we end up with a system like that in Lushootseed, where subjects are marked as clitics only? Of course, there are many potential pathways we may imagine; I sketch one possible course here. A similar course has already been outlined in Davis (1999) by looking at comparative diachronic data. I propose a similar pathway, but take specifically as my starting point conjunctive clauses, the locus of the new synchronic data presented here.

It will be useful to present a modified version of table 4 here, to compare potential stages in Nɬeʔkepmxcin to the synchronic patterns evident in Type B (raising) languages. I have modified the table to indicate the occasional optionality of the copy strategy in Thompson conjunctives. I have not marked 3rd person as included in the optional copy pattern, though it is of course impossible to tell since expletive and agreement marking is equivalent for 3rd person; but, since the general pattern across the other Salish languages indicates a resistance to raising in 3rd person cases, I assume a similar resistance to copying for 3rd person in Thompson.

		Thompson	Lillooet	Squamish	Halkomelem	Sechelt	Lushootseed
Indicative main	1&2	X	R	R	R	C+R	R
	3	X	X	X	X	C+X	R
Conjunctive	1&2	%C+X	R	R	R+C*	R+C*	R
	3	X	X	X	X+C*	X+C*	R
Nominalized	1&2	X	X+R	C+R	R	R	R
	3	X	X	C+X	X	X+R	R
Indicative subordinate	1&2	X	X	X	R	X	R
	3	X	X	X	X	X	R
KEY: X=expletive, R=raising, C=copy, C*=negative copy, %=sometimes produced/accepted							

Table 5. Transitive subject marking from Thompson to Central Salish (from Davis 1999)

In Stage One, expletive clitics in the conjunctive paradigm are reinterpreted as overt agreement markers for transitive subjects. This results in the copy pattern, the beginnings of which were outlined in the Thompson data in section 3. A similar optional copy pattern is found, for example, in nominalized clauses in Squamish (Davis 1999; Peter Jacobs p.c.), in negative conjunctives in Halkomelem and Sechelt, and in indicative main clauses in Sechelt.

More formally, we can say that person agreement features (φ) are now present on both the *v*-head (inner agreement) and (perhaps only optionally) on the I-head (outer agreement – Davis 1999; Wiltschko 2006). The φ features encode the person and number of the subject.

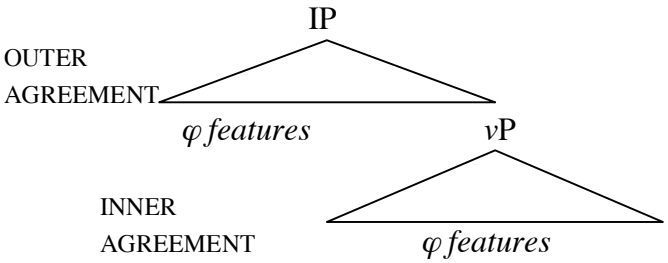

Figure 5. The copy pattern: subject agreement features in two positions.

In Stage Two, the copy pattern in conjunctive clauses is generalized to other types of clauses (indicative and nominalized). This stage has occurred to various extents in all of the languages in table 5 except Nɬeʔkepmxcin, though indicative subordinate clauses have proven resistant to generalization. 3rd person has also been resistant to generalization in numerous cases, leading to apparent "split ergativity" (Gerdts 1989; Davis 1999; Wiltschko 2003, 2006, 2008).

In Stage Three, subject suffixes are dropped altogether. Transitive subjects are marked as clitics only (the raising pattern). Lushootseed represents the logical culmination of this stage, while Lillooet, Squamish, Halkomelem and Sechelt are all at some intermediate position.

	OUTER AGREEMENT	INNER AGREEMENT	AFFECTED CLAUSE TYPE
INITIAL STAGE TYPE A: "X"	Expletive agreement clitic	Subject agreement suffix	All
STAGE 1 "C"	Subject agreement clitic	Subject agreement suffix	Conjunctive[9]
STAGE 2 "C"	Subject agreement clitic	Subject agreement suffix	All
STAGE 3 TYPE B: "R"	Subject agreement clitic	–	All
KEY: X = expletive, C = copy, R = raising			

Table 6. Stages in the Type A to Type B shift in transitive subject marking.

[9] As Henry Davis points out, there is no a priori reason to think that changes in the conjunctive paradigm in particular would drive the general process of historical change. Changes in any paradigm would suffice; I mark conjunctive in the table here to reflect the novel Nɬeʔkepmxcin data considered in this paper, and to re-emphasize that this innovation has been documented in just one clitic paradigm so far. Looking at the comparative data, Davis remarks that the raising pattern is driven by main (generally indicative) clauses, but this is precisely where the copy pattern is *least* common. He suggests that "the copy pattern may therefore not be a necessary intermediate stage between the the [expletive and raising patterns], or at least it is more marked in main than subordinate clauses, and thus only very fleetingly present in the development of the raising pattern from the expletive one." I return to the instability of the copy pattern in section 5.1, and the role of the conjunctive paradigm in section 5.3.

5. The link to diachronic change.

In this section, I make some speculative remarks about what language-specific synchronic features might characterize the beginnings of the general historical development observed in table 5. This is based on generalizations about the innovative double subject marking observed in the Nɬeʔkepmxcin data in section 3. The main observations are:

(i) doubling (the copy pattern) is unstable,
(ii) 3rd person does not undergo obvious reanalysis to a doubling pattern,
(iii) doubling is restricted to conjunctive clauses,
(iv) doubling is facilitated by the presence of an auxiliary, and
(v) doubling is not the result of speech errors.

5.1. The instability of doubling.

First, while the copy pattern has been documented for Nɬeʔkepmxcin, the raising pattern has not, even though raising seems to be the more robust option as we move through Central Salish (see table 5). This suggests that the copy pattern, though it may be a first stage in language change, is inherently unstable. An innovative copy pattern in Halkomelem passives (10) indicates similar instability (Gerdts 1989; Gerdts and Hukari 2001a, 2001b). In negative conjunctive clauses or nominalized clauses, a passive theme is marked once as an object suffix, and optionally once again as a subject clitic; but there is "speaker variation as to which constructions support this" (Gerdts and Hukari 2001a:110).

Indeed, in every documented case of the copy pattern in table 5, we observe that the copy pattern is never the only option. Rather, it exists alongside either a raising or an expletive option (like in the current Nɬeʔkepmxcin data). We can capture this instability with the economy condition in (24), from Wiltschko (2006):

(24) Economy of agreement:
Use agreement only if you need to. (Wiltschko 2006)

For Wiltschko, this condition is an instance of Williams' (1997) blocking principle (the Principle of Contrast), whereby "same-form-same-meaning" pairs are blocked. This economy principle will work to eliminate a situation where both the inner and the outer subject position encode the same information (subject agreement). That is, the economy principle will work to eliminate instances of multiple exponence, like the copy pattern seen in section 3. A double subject marking grammar in which this economy condition is active will therefore be pressured to either (i) eliminate one instance of subject marking (the raising pattern), or (ii) interpret one set of subject marking φ features as expletive clause-type marking (the expletive pattern).

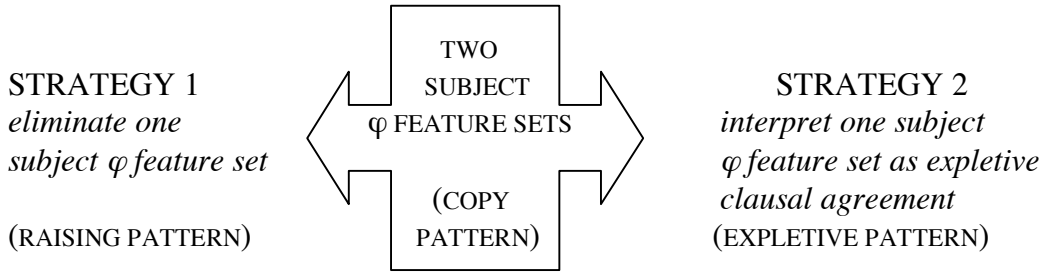

Figure 6. Two strategies for keeping two subject φ feature sets distinct.

The instability of the copy pattern observed both in the synchronic Nɬeʔkepmxcin data and the historical comparative data in table 5 suggests that such an economy condition may be active in Salishan subject marking.

However, as Henry Davis points out, this cannot be the only factor: under the economy condition outlined here, the original Proto-Salish expletive pattern with 1st and 2nd persons should be completely stable. However, we have seen that both in Nɬeʔkepmxcin and in the Central Salish languages in table 5, there is pressure to abandon the expletive system, particularly for 1st and 2nd persons. Under a constraint-based approach, this means that a second constraint is competing with (24) to force the person/number marking in clitics and suffixes to agree. Davis (p.c.) suggests a general ban on agreement chains with mismatched features, which could also account for the conversion of impersonal to personal passives in Central Salish (Squamish, Straits, and partially Halkomelem) and separately in Tsamosan. I leave this as a topic for further investigation.

5.2. 3rd person and doubling.

In section 3.3 I noted that only 1st and 2nd person subjects have obviously undergone a change from single to, occasionally, double subject marking. With 3rd person, it is impossible to distinguish the expletive from the copy pattern, since the clitic is 3rd person in either case (e.g. 23, 25, 26). Example (25) shows a 3rd person expletive/copy pattern in a conjunctive clause with both suffix and clitic marked on the verb *ʔuqʷeʔ* 'drink,' while in (26) we have an auxiliary *nweƛ̓* 'already' to host the expletive 3CnCl *=us*.

(25) ... ɬ ʔúqʷeʔ-Ø-Ø-**s=us** ɬ mlámn-s.
... COMP drink-TRANS-3OBJ-3TS=3CnCl DET medicine-3POSS
'... when he took his medicine.'

(26) ... ɬ nwéƛ̓**=us** níc̓-e-Ø-**s** e Ṣám.
... COMP already=3CnCl cut-DRV-3OBJ-3TS DET Sam
'... after Sam cut it.'

If (25-26) are interpreted as the expletive pattern, then this fact is consistent with Davis's (1999) finding that 3rd person is more resistant to raising in Central Salish, in that no change in morphological marking has been observed for 3rd person conjunctive clauses in Nɬeʔkepmxcin. We can see this in table 5, where 3rd person is predominantly marked with the X pattern.

On the other hand, it is also possible that the 3rd person expletive clitic *=us* is sometimes or even always analyzed as a subject agreement clitic (the copy pattern C) in cases like (25-26). We can speculate one step further: in the Proto-Salish expletive system (exemplified by the Thompson data in 25-26), transitive clauses with 3rd person subject were the only person type in which the outer (clitic) agreement could be interpreted as a copy (doubling) pattern without any change in overt morphological marking. Under this view, it is 3rd person clauses that initiate the shift from the expletive to the raising pattern of subject marking. But, despite initiating the shift, 3rd person clauses are themselves resistant to undergoing a full change to a raising pattern.

To account for this resistance, we need to make one observation and one assumption. Recall that the copy pattern violates the economy condition in (24). The observation is this: of the two strategies in figure 6, strategy 2 can only apply to 3rd person. That is because expletive subjects are marked as 3rd person, but never as 1st or 2nd person. Thus, in a doubling grammar, when 3rd person subjects are twice marked, the subject clitic is interpretable as an expletive; in other words, it is possible to employ strategy 2 for keeping the two subject φ feature sets distinct *only in the case of 3rd person subjects*. On the other hand, when 1st and 2nd person subjects are twice marked, the subject clitic is not reinterpretable as an expletive; strategy 2 is not available. Instead, strategy 1 may be employed, in which case subject suffixes are eliminated altogether (the raising strategy). When strategy 2 is applied to 3rd person, and strategy 1 is applied to 1st/2nd persons, we will get a split ergative system.

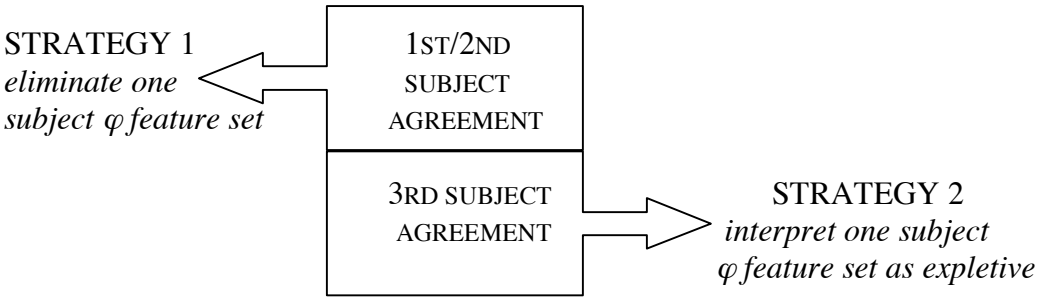

Figure 7. Two strategies for keeping two subject φ feature sets distinct: Split by person.

Assuming strategy 2 is preferred over strategy 1, the resistance to raising seen in 3rd person clauses in the languages in table 5 would be accounted for. I leave exploration as to the plausibility of this assumption to further research.

5.3. Restriction to conjunctive clauses.

The copy pattern has been found only in conjunctive clauses, but not in nominalized or indicative clauses. Let us look at each of those in turn. In nominalized clauses, only the expletive 3rd person clitic surfaces; in (27), 3PoCl *=s* is suffixed to the nominalized future auxiliary *xʷuy̓*. Attempting a copy pattern, with the 1sgPoCl *n=* instead, is not grammatical (compare the Squamish example in 7).[10]

[10] Henry Davis (p.c.) reports that such structures are not uncommon in Lillooet transitive nominalized subordinate clauses, but are regarded as substandard usage or speech errors.

(27) wʔéx=kn xeʔ ʔes-núye ʔe
IMPF=1SGInCl DEM STAT-beaver and
(*/n=)s=xʷúy̓**=s** ʔúz-Ø-Ø-**ne** he cítxʷ
(*/1sgPoCl=)NOM=FUT**=3PoCl** buy-TRANS-3ONJ-**1SG.TS** DET house
'I got money, I'm gonna' buy the house.'

Indicative clauses (main and subordinate) have also failed to show double subject marking. In these instances, I assume (following Davis 1999, 2000) that only the null expletive 3InCl clitic surfaces. Example (28) shows a main indicative clause with an auxiliary, where doubling the 1pl subject suffix *-t* with the 1plInCl *=kt* after the future auxiliary is not grammatical. The null 3InCl expletive clitic is used instead.

(28) xʷúy̓=**Ø (*/=kt)** xeʔ séw-e-t-s-t heʔwí.
FUT=**3InCl (*/=1PLInCl)** DEM ask-DRV-TRANS-2SG.OBJ-1PL.TS 2SG.EMPH
'We're going to ask you.'

In (29) the expletive 3InCl *=Ø* follows both the matrix verb *qʷintene* 'I talked to' and the imperfective auxiliary *ex* embedded in the relative clause *ɬ-ex wiktne* 'that I saw.' Attempting to double subject mark with the 1sg clitic *=kn* is not possible, neither in the main nor in the subordinate indicative clause here.

(29) qʷin-t-Ø-éne=**Ø (*/=kn)** xeʔ ɬ sḵʷúḵʷmiʔt
talk-TRANS-3OBJ-1SG.TS=**3InCl (*/=1SGInCl)** DEM DET child
ɬ-ex=**Ø (*/=kn)** wík-t-Ø-ne
DET-IMPF=**3InCl (*/=1SGInCl)** see-TRANS-3OBJ-1SG.TS
'I talked to the child that I saw.'

These findings are consistent with Davis's (1999) conclusion that raising in Central Salish was generalized from main to subordinate clauses.

Davis also notes that conjunctive and main indicative clauses have undergone the greatest shift towards the raising pattern, while nominalized clauses show mixed results (see table 5). However, the present case study indicates that the beginnings of a shift in subject marking strategy may be confined to a single clause type, either conjunctive as in the current case, or indicative. It is possible that conjunctive clauses are the more likely source for the historical shift, since they have an overt expletive clitic *=us* while in indicative clauses this clitic is null.

5.4. Auxiliaries and doubling.

Almost all observed cases of double subject marking occur when the clitic follows an initial auxiliary rather than an initial verb (22 is an exception in this regard). The examples we have seen include the imperfective *wʔex* and the future marker *xʷuy̓*. It appears that physical separation of the enclitic from the suffixed transitive verb leaves the expletive clitic more vulnerable to reinterpretation as an agreement marker. Perhaps the syntactic distinction between inner (v^o) and outer (I^o) agreement is simply more salient when suffix and clitic are not hosted by

the same morphophonological element (the verb). Insofar as this speculation is on the right track, the data in section 3 are consistent with the inner/outer model of subject agreement proposed by Davis (1999, 2000) and Wiltschko (2002, 2006) (see figures 2 and 5).

Henry Davis (p.c.) notes that there is, however, a general pan-Salish markedness about the Northern Interior/Proto-Salish pattern of [V-TRANS-TS.SUFFIX=CnCl] – that is, the expletive pattern in clauses lacking an auxiliary (e.g. 1a). These are in general unique to Type A languages. Type B languages typically only tolerate a single morphological subject marker per lexical host, either a subject or a clitic, but not both (see also Davis 1999). In fact, even in Nɬeʔkepmxcin, only the conjunctive expletive can be realized on the same verbal host as a transitive subject suffix; expletive 3PoCl are limited to appearing on auxiliaries, while 3InCl are simply null so by default do not overtly surface on transitive hosts (Kroeber 1997:394-395; 1999:104-106). Example (30) shows two nominalized clauses on the second and third lines respectively; neither has an auxiliary, and neither verb can host an expletive 3PoCl *=s*.

(30) ʔéx=Ø ʔes-k̓ʷéṅ-s-t-sm-s
IMPF=3InCl STAT-look-CAUS-TRANS-1SG.OBJ-3TS
ʔe s=wík-t-Ø-ne(***=s**)
and NOM=see-TRANS-3OBJ-1SG.TS(***=3PoCl**)
ʔe s=χ̣íyχ̓-Ø-Ø-ne(***=s**) téʔə.
and NOM=request-TRANS-3OBJ-1SG.TS(***=3PoCl**) DEM
'She was lookin' at me and I seen her and then I called her over.'

Given the general markedness of the [V-TRANS-TS.SUFFIX=CnCl] structure, we might speculate that double subject marking on a single morphophonological host is even less tolerated than double subject marking across both auxiliary and verb. In the synchronic grammar, this could be accounted for by a morphological constraint banning more than one instance of (non-expletive) subject marking on a single predicate head *[-SUBJ.SUFFIX=SUBJ.CLITIC].[11]

5.5. Speech errors versus abstract feature copying.

We have seen that subject doubling is more likely in the presence of an auxiliary. One possibility is that subject doubling is simply the result of an online processing decision: speakers begin producing an intransitive clause, in which subjects are marked as clitics, but after uttering the auxiliary switch to a transitive clause and produce a transitive-marked verb. Since the auxiliary and clitic encoding person and number of the subject have already been uttered, this results in double subject marking. An example where such a speech error seems likely to have occurred is shown in (31). The speaker produces the auxiliary and clitic *ʔex=ux*^{w}, evidently intending to produce an intransitive clause (intransitive subjects are uniformly marked by a clitic, not suffix). However, then the speaker pauses, and apparently decides for a transitive-marked verb *q̓*^{w}*iytex*^{w} after all. Under this analysis, what we are seeing in the doubling data in section 3 is simply an online switch from intransitive to transitive clause at the point after the auxiliary and clitic have been uttered.

[11] Thanks to Henry Davis for suggesting morphological filters and helping me to clarify this section.

(31) ... e ʔéx=ux^{w} ... [*producing intransitive clause*]
... COMP IMPF=2SGCnCl
——————— [*2.0 second pause*] ———————
... q̓^{w}iy-t-Ø-éx^{w} e száq̓. [*switch to transitive clause*]
... ripe-TRANS-3OBJ-2SG.TS DET bannock
'... when you cook bannock.'

However, cases of double subject marking like (31), where we see explicit evidence for online processing in the form of a lengthy pause, are uncommon (this was the only case I found). The instances of double subject marking in section 3 are produced without such pauses between auxiliary and verb. Moreover, if these cases were the result of such real-time syntactic processing decisions, we might expect the speaker to correct her use of a 1st or 2nd person subject clitic, but this does not happen. I thus reject the hypothesis that double subject marking is the result of a syntactic processing error.

The fact that subject doubling is more likely in the presence of an auxiliary also suggests that the data observed in section 3 are not the result of phonologically induced speech errors either. This is because they are more likely to occur when the clitic and verbal suffix are separated, and occur even when there is no phonological similarity between them (eg. *=ut* and *-m* in 17). Rather, the innovative pattern is based on copying the abstract, morpho-syntactic person and number agreement (*φ*) features (see Bock and Eberhard 1993 for similar findings for speech errors in number agreement in English; Deutsch 1998 for speech errors in gender and number agreement in Hebrew; Corbett 2006 for a general overview of speech errors in agreement).

On the other hand, we have also seen that the doubling observed in section 3 is limited to conjunctive clauses. Thus, there is no generalized abstract feature copying process at work here. Rather, abstract person/number feature copying is conditioned by clause type. Since clitics encode both person/number and clause type, this is perhaps not surprising, but does indicate that the shift in subject marking strategy is more complex than my rather simple syntactic diagram in figure 5 suggests. For example, in the Souther Interior Languages, the three clitic paradigms appear to have diverged completely: one is affixal, one disappeared altogether, and one appears to have retained clitic status (Davis 1999). How clause type and φ feature copying interact in a synchronic grammar, particularly one that is innovating a shift in subject marking strategy, will have to remain a question for future work.

6. Conclusion.

In this paper, I have documented a weakness in the expletive pattern of subject marking in Nɬeʔkepmxcin (and, by extension, Proto-Salish) transitive clauses.

Conjunctive clauses are sometimes produced or accepted (and sometimes rejected) with a copy pattern of subject marking. This amounts to double subject marking: both a clitic, and a suffix to the verb, are used to encode the person and number of the subject. This change has been documented for 1st and 2nd persons, both singular and plural. For 3rd person, it is not clear whether copying has occurred, since expletive clitics are already in the 3rd person. I outlined

how the observed pattern could develop into the raising pattern observed in Central Salish, with its culmination in Lushootseed.

I concluded by speculating on the relationship between the synchronic variability observed in this paper, and how it might relate to the general diachronic shift observed in table 5. In the present Nɬeʔkepmxcin, data The beginnings of this shift are confined to a single clause type, the conjunctive; though in the comparative data we find that indicative main clauses are equally robustly affected by the Type A to Type B shift (Davis 1999, table 5). We saw that the copy pattern is instable in Nɬeʔkepmxcin, a fact equally reflected in the comparative data. I also suggested that an economy condition limiting multiple instances of subject agreement (Wiltschko 2006) might account for the apparent instability of the copy pattern, as well as (as Wiltschko suggests) the rise of split ergative systems. In Nɬeʔkepmxcin, third person has not been obviously affected, again consistent with the general comparative picture. Next, I noted that the presence of an auxiliary seems an important trigger in the copy pattern. Finally, I proposed that the data observed here were not likely to have resulted from speech errors, but rather from the copying of abstract agreement features.

More generally, I hope to have shown that a careful account of a minor synchronic variation, and one that does not fit into the general grammatical description of the language, can provide important insights into better-documented processes of widespread diachronic change.

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