

Second Position Without Movement: Enclitic Particles in Passamaquoddy

Like many Algonquian languages, Passamaquoddy (spoken in Maine) makes extensive use of a set of enclitic particles (expressing tense, aspect, and various adverbial notions) that occupy second position in a clause, where second position may be the position following the first word in the clause (“second word” placement) or the position following the first constituent in the clause (“second daughter” placement).

Johnson and Rosen (2015) present an analysis of clitic placement in Menominee (Wisconsin) and several other Algonquian languages that takes clitics to occupy a functional head high in the structure of the left periphery of the clause, and then postulates movement of one item into a specifier position to the left of this head, leaving the clitic in second position. I argue that an analysis of this kind cannot be carried through for Passamaquoddy: (i) the movement operation in question would have to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint in two classes of cases, and (ii) clitic placement in certain sentences with discontinuous constituents cannot be accounted for under Johnson and Rosen’s proposal.

I present an alternative account of Algonquian clitic placement in the framework of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar that postulates no movement operations. Instead, clitic positions are determined by a small number of maximally simple constructional statements.

Reference

Johnson, Meredith, and Bryan Rosen. 2015. The syntax of discontinuous noun phrases in Algonquian languages: Left branch extractions and focus movements. In Monica Macaulay and J. Randolph Valentine (eds.), *Papers of the Forty-Third Algonquian Conference*, 135–153. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.