

Configurationality and the Salish Languages¹

1. Jelinek & Demers (1994) “Predicates and Pronominal Arguments in Straits Salish”

Opening Comment:

Inexorably intertwined in this paper are a variety of issues that will concern us over the coming weeks (clausal structure, lexical categories, quantification).

In this discussion, I’m going to try to bracket the issues of ‘lexical categories’ and ‘quantification’ as much as possible.

This will prove to be difficult, as one of the major strengths of the paper is the way in which these seemingly distinct features of this language/dialect-continuum are woven together into a single, logically coherent system.

Outline:

- Present the overall model that they propose
- Review / critique the arguments that full DPs are adjuncts
- Mention a few criticisms of the paper as a whole

1.1 The Model

“In languages with exclusively pronominal arguments, only clitics and affixes occupy argument positions. In Straits Salish, lexical roots do not appear independently; they are always inflected for their arguments, and cannot themselves serve as arguments. As a result, any open-class root appears as the lexical head of its own clause. Complex utterances are composed of multiple clauses, with coindexing of pronominal arguments across main and adjoined clauses; no lexical item is governed by another.” (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 698)

Simplifying Caricature:

‘Salish languages are as close to 1st order predicate logic as natural languages get.’

Precursors:

Sapir on Navajo; Emmon Bach (?)

1.1.1 The Lexicon

Contains two kinds of elements:

PREDICATES (no N/V/A sub-types)

(cf. Predicates in FOL)

PARTICLES/CLITICS

Tense, modals (and other stuff we can ignore)

ARGUMENT CLITICS

(cf. variables in FOL)

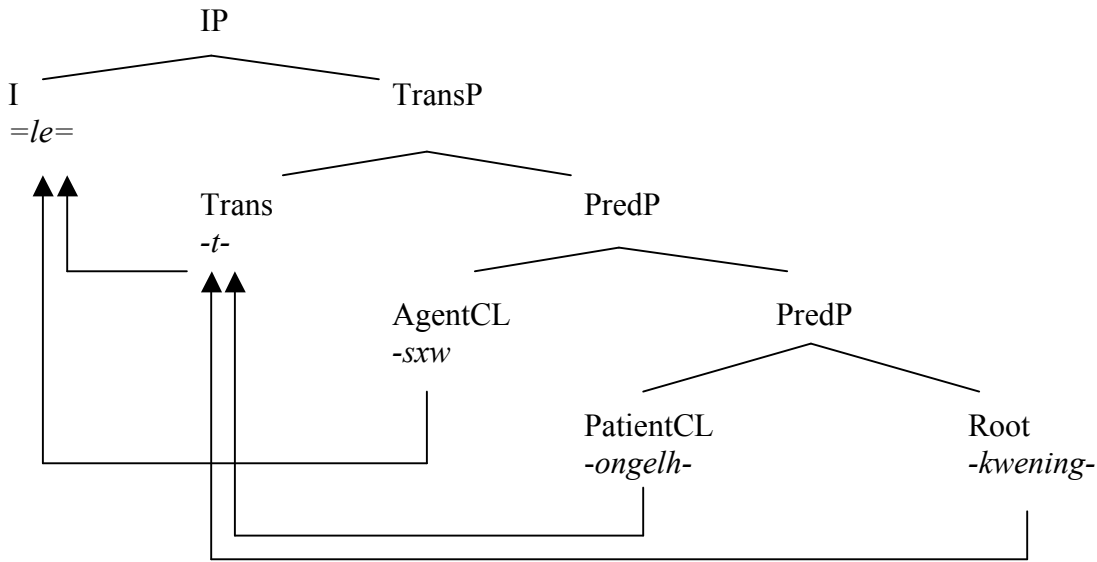
¹ Because of a lack of phonetic characters on my computer, my transcription of Straits Salish data throughout this handout will only be an approximation of that provided by Jelinek & Demers (1994). Please always refer to the original article for the actual data.

1.1.2 The Structures Projected by Lexical Items

PARTICLES: *none*

PREDICATES: *all predicates (regardless of whether they are ‘verb-y’ or ‘noun-y’) project a clausal IP structure as below*

(1) Structure Projected by a Predicate in Straits Salish



kwening-t-ongelh=le-sxw
 help-TRANS-1pACC-PAST-2sNOM
 You helped us.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 707)

The Derivation:

- (i) The root (*kwening* ‘help’) projects a PredP, that contains all its argument clitics (*and can only contain pronominal clitics*)
- (ii) The PredP is complement to a TransP, which
 - (a) determines the semantic transitivity of the clause
 - (b) assigns CASE to the Patient clitic
- (iii) The Patient Clitic moves to Trans to get CASE
 The root moves to Trans too (for reasons unknown)
- (iv) The TransP is complement to an IP, which
 - (a) contains any Tense/Modal information
 - (b) assigns CASE to the Agent clitic
- (v) The Agent Clitic moves to I to get CASE
 The (first element of the) root moves to I (for reasons unknown)

1.1.3 The Syntactic Environments of Clauses

The story thus far:

- The lexicon contains *predicates* and *particles*.
- All predicates project an IP structure akin to (1) (particles don't project anything)

But, what can then 'happen' to the IP structure projected by a predicate?

- (i) *It can function as an independent, main clause* (cf. (1))
- (ii) *It can function as a subordinate, propositional argument*

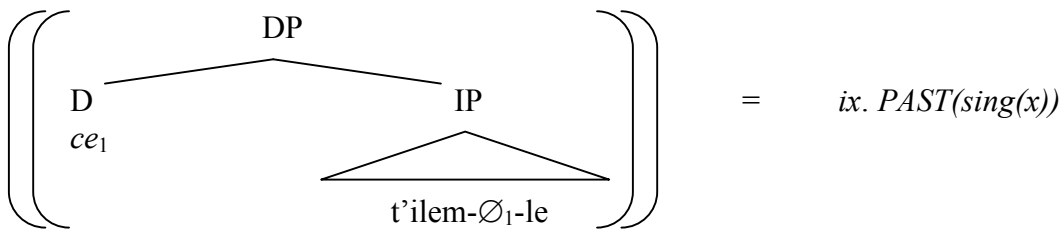
(2) Subordinated Propositional Clause in Straits Salish

'ew xcttØsen [kwe neslegnnongas]
 I.know C you.saw.me
I know that you saw me.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 722)

- (ii) *It can be complement to a DET, and function as a free relative*

(3) Free Relative in Straits Salish



ce1 t'ilem-Ø1-le
 DET₁ sing-3ABS₁-PAST
The one who sang.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 699)

The Derivation

- (i) The IP *t'ilemle* 'he sang' is sister to a determiner such as *ce*
- (ii) The determiner is semantically an iota operator, which binds one of the 3rd person arguments in the IP complement.

Core Sub-Proposal:

The only DPs in the Straits Salish language(s) are these free relatives.

Wait!

What about these DPs that looks just like plain DPs, where the DET takes a bare root as argument? Those looks like cases of regular [D NP] structure!

(4) A Simple (Non-Free-Relative) DP in Straits Salish?

cey ce swey'qe'
work DET man
The man is working.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 718)

Response:

These are still free relatives; the complement of DET in these sentences is a full IP, with all the functional structure. You just don't see it overtly because 3ABS marking is null.

(5) 3rd Absolutive Marking in Salish is Null

a. *cey-∅*
work-3ABS
He is working.

b. *swey'qe'-∅*
man-3ABS
He is a man. (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 699)

Thus, the proper way of viewing DPs like that in (4) is as follows:

(6) All DPs in Straits Salish are Free Relatives

cey-∅ [DP *ce*₁ [IP *swey'qe'-∅*₁]]
work-3ABS DET man-ABS
The man is working.
(Lit 'He works, the one who is a man.')

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 718)

Sidenote:

In a sense, the initial plausibility/challenge-ability of this theory of Salish DPs rests on the fact that 3ABS in these languages is null.

- If 3ABS were overt in main clauses but did *not* occur in DPs, that would weaken the theory.
- Also, if 3ABS were overt in main clauses *and* also occurred in DPs, that would be very interesting evidence in support of the account.

Some Additional Evidence that Even ‘Noun-y’ DPs are Free Relatives

(i) Tense can modify even ‘noun-y’ DPs

(7) **Tense Modifying a Putative NP**

ce swey’qe’-Ø-le
 DET man-3ABS-PAST
The late (deceased) man.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 719)

(ii) Plurality (of ‘noun-y’ things) and pluractionality (of ‘verb-y’ things) are marked identically

(8) **Plurality and Pluractionality in Straits Salish**

a. *slhen-slheniy-Ø*
 RED-woman-3ABS
They are women.

b. *ce slhen-slheniy*
 DET RED-woman
The women.

b. *ngeq-ngeqng-Ø*
 RED-dive-3ABS
She is diving repeatedly.

c. *ce ngeq-ngeqng*
 DET RED-dive
The ones who are diving repeatedly
 (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 719)

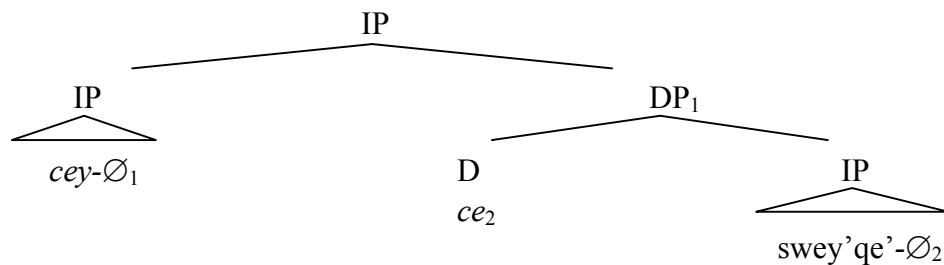
1.1.4 The Syntax of Free Relatives in Straits Salish Clauses

Core Sub-Proposal:

Given that Predicates in Straits Salish can *only* take pronominal clitics as arguments (cf. (1i)), where in the clause do free relatives like (3) go?

They are adjoined to the clause and are co-indexed with a pronominal argument of the main predicate.

(9) **The Syntax of Full DPs in Straits Salish (cf. (4)/(6))**



1.1.5 The Semantics of Free Relatives in Straits Salish Clauses

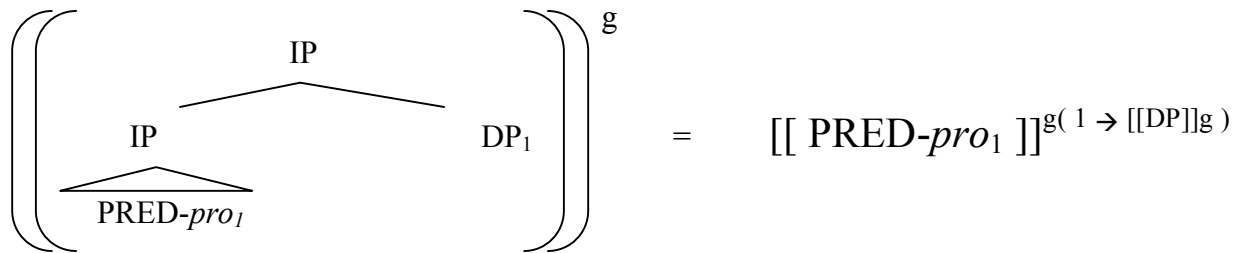
But how is a structure like (4) interpreted?

Kinda hard to put together what Jelinek & Demers have in mind...

But, it's rather clear what they *don't* have in mind:

(10) A Semantics that Jelinek & Demers (1994) *Don't* Want to Employ

Model: *Pronominal arguments are always referential (free)*
 The adjoined DP is referential, and (pragmatically) determines the
 reference of the pronoun.



Why Won't a Semantics like (10) work for Jelinek & Demers (1994)?

- (i) As a matter of fact, the model that they have in mind seems to be one where the pronominal arguments of the main clause are *bound*, and 'linked' to the adjoined free relatives via 'predication'

"Relative clauses are subordinate structures **linked by predication** to some argument of a main clause." (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 718)

- (ii) One area where this becomes crucial is in the way they handle DPs interpreted as *indefinites*.

(11) A DP in Straits Salish Receiving an Indefinite Interpretation

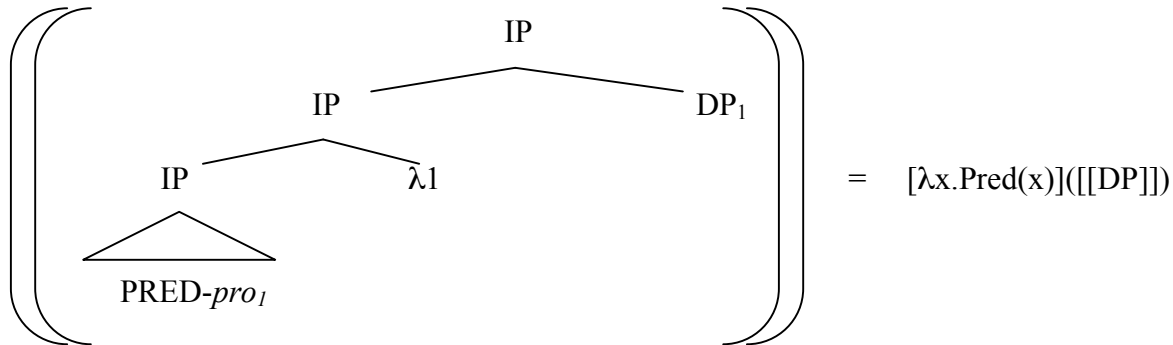
q'eq'enelh-Ø₁ 'elh ssetngs-Ø₁ [ce 'es'elexw]₁
 slow-3ABS CONJ walks-3ABS DET old.man
 [*An old man*]₁ is slow when he₁ walks. (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 731)

"When an adjoined DetP receives an indefinite interpretation, a main clause pronoun is treated as a variable." (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 731)

To get readings like (11), you must view pronominal arguments as sometimes being bound variables. (Discuss: what if the pronominal argument is a 'hidden' definite?)

(11) **The Semantics that Jelinek & Demers (1994) Seem to Prefer**

Model: *Pronominal arguments are always bound by a higher lambda*
This lambda effectuates predication of the adjoined DP



Supporting Quote:

“Relative clauses are subordinate structures **linked by predication** to some argument of a main clause.” (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 718)

NOTE:

This doesn't immediately solve the issue of how one interprets (11), which actually suggests that J&D's 'definite semantics' for DPs needs some tweaking as well...

1.2 Arguments for the Adjoined Position of the DPs

Why, ultimately, do J&D think that the DPs in Straits Salish are adjoined?
Why do they think Straits Salish is a 'Pronominal Argument' (PA) Language?

Generalization:

They don't actually offer much direct empirical evidence for this aspect of the model.
 (i.e., direct, syntactic tests of 'adjunct' status)

The principal arguments for the PA-status of Straits Salish are rather *abductive*, and rest on (challengeable) assumptions regarding the properties we'd expect a PA language to display.

1.2.1 Argument 1: Languages Lacking a N/V Contrast Must be PA

“...for a language to lack a noun/verb contrast, it must have only pronominal affixes and clitics in A-positions...**Otherwise, if each root heads its own clause, there would be an infinite regress in argument structure...In such a language, the predicates on which the argumental DetPs would be based would in turn have their own DetP argument structure, and so on ad infinitum...**”
(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 702)

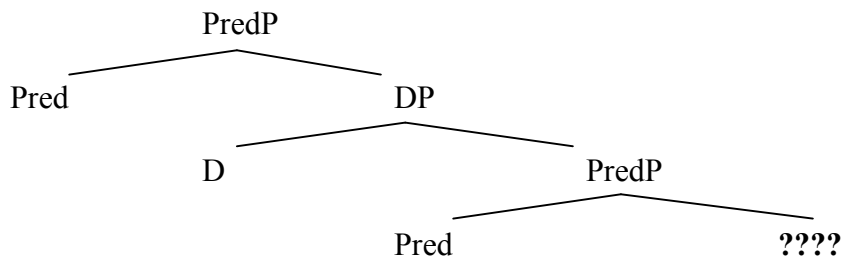
What is this argument?

Core Premise:

*A language lacking a distinction between nouns and verbs **must** be a PA language.*

How so? Suppose you had a language with just ‘Predicates’, and where DPs could occupy A-position.

(12) Structure of a non-PA Language *without* N/V-Distinction



*What does the embedded Pred (in the free relative) take as **its** arguments?
If it can only take another free relative as argument, then we have an infinite regress!!!*

Rebuttal:

What’s wrong with assuming that such Preds take pronominal arguments that are bound by the higher D, just as in Straits Salish?

*After all, a non-PA language is only one where arguments **needn’t** be pronouns.
A non-PA language doesn’t require that arguments **not** be pronouns! (Look at English)*

CONCLUSION:

Any evidence that a language lacks an N/V contrast (which is what most of the data in J&D94 are about) really is orthogonal to whether it’s PA

1.2.2 Argument 2: PA Languages Must Lack D-Quantification

“Straits Salish lacks determiner quantifiers...**Determiner quantifiers fix the scope of the quantifier to a particular argument position...**In a pronominal argument language such as Straits Salish, only pronouns occupy argument positions...**Since DetPs are not arguments, they cannot include D-quantifiers, which function to fix the scope of a quantifier to an argument position.**

The absence of determiner quantification in Straits Salish...is important support for the claim that argument positions in these languages are occupied only by pronominal affixes and clitics.”
(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 731)

What is this argument? (I still don't fully understand it.)

Abductive Argument:

- P1) D-quantification (selective quantification) can only occur when the DP in question occupies an argument position.
- P2) PA languages would therefore necessarily lack D-quantification (selective quantification)
- P3) Since Straits Salish lacks D-quantification, a PA analysis would account for this feature.

Core Premise:

D-quantification (selective quantification) can only occur when the DP occupies an argument position, because D-quantifiers ‘function to fix the scope of a quantifier to an argument position.’

Here's what I think they have in mind:

D-quantification is *selective*, partly because the rules for indexing traces entail that if a DP occupies A-position X , then X will be quantified over in the scope of the DP.

(13) Occupation of an A-Position by a Q-DP Determines Variables Quantified Over

- a. [The man put [every boy]₁ in his₁ bed] → (QR)
- b. [every boy] [$\lambda 1$ [the man put t_1 in his₁ bed]] → (Semantic Computation)
- c. EVERY (BOY) ($\lambda x.$ [the man put x_1 in x_1 bed])

... but I still don't see how this fact would suggest there'd be a problem with quantificational DPs generated in A-bar positions...

...particularly under their intended semantics in (11), where you can insert lambdas under adjoined DPs...

CONCLUSION:

Any evidence that a language lacks D-quantification (which is also what much of the data in J&D94 are concerned with) is really orthogonal to whether it's PA.

1.2.3 Argument 3: Surface Features of Straits Salish are What You'd Expect from PA

Features of Straits Salish that Accord with its Being PA:

- Freedom of word order (VSO / VOS)
- Obligatory pronominal clitics (agreement markers)
- No free stranding pronouns
- No overt NOM/ACC distinction in case morphology
- No *wh-in-situ*

However:

None of these are *sufficient* conditions for being PA...

Everyone acknowledges that each of these hold in languages you wouldn't want to call PA.

1.2.4 Argument 4: Condition C Violations

Their Argument:

Consider sentences like the following:

(14) Principle C Violations in Straits Salish

q'eq' enelh- \emptyset_1 ['elh ssetngs- \emptyset_1 [ce 'es'elexw]₁]
slow-3ABS CONJ walks-3ABS DET old.man
[*An old man*]₁ is slow when *he*₁ walks. (Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 731)

If you suppose that Straits Salish is a non-PA language, you'd **necessarily have to** suppose that *ce 'es'elexw* 'the/an old man' occupies a position inside the subordinate clause. *But this would violate Principle C* (cf. Baker's arguments from similar Mohawk examples).

Rebuttal:

FIRST:

It's not at all clear that a proponent of a non-PA analysis would need to view sentences like (14) as involving Principle C violations.

- Maybe *ce 'es'elexw* 'the/an old man' is adjoined in this particular sentence? Or maybe it's actually the matrix subject?

SECOND:

Similar facts have been found in other non-PA Salish languages (Davis 2008). There, it's been found that these kinds of Principle C violations can only take place *cross-clausally*.

The PA-analysis has no handle on this curious restriction (which may well have held in Straits Salish as well).

1.2.5 Argument 5: An Embarrassing Number of *Pros*

Their Argument:

If you hold to a non-PA analysis, then you have to assume that the person-markers in sentences like (15) are ‘agreement’.

(15) Local Person Subject and Object Markers

kwening-t-ongelh=le-sxw

help-TRANS-1pACC-PAST-2sNOM

You helped us.

(Jelinek & Demers 1994; p. 707)

But, the question must be asked, *what are these markers agreeing with?*

Well, null pronouns of course.

But, then we have to assume that the language has all the following null pronouns:

(16) Null Pronouns that a non-PA Analysis is Committed to for Straits Salish

<u>Local S</u>	<u>Local O</u>	<u>Non-Local</u>
1sNOM	1sACC	3ABS
2sNOM	2sACC	3ERG
1pNOM	1pACC	
2pNOM	2pACC	

But isn't it kinda funny that, with all these null pronouns, the language doesn't have any overt (free standing) pronouns at all?

By contrast, the PA analysis would state that the language *does* have overt pronouns, just no free-standing ones. (And it doesn't have to be committed to this wealth of lexical items you never overtly hear.)

Rebuttal:

Maybe the postulation of (16) just doesn't worry us as much.

After all, it isn't all that obvious that it's somehow more elegant to say ‘Straits Salish lacks free standing pronouns’ than it is to say that it lacks all overt pronouns *in toto*...

Conclusion Regarding Argumentation for PA-Status

There is no very compelling reason to suppose that Straits Salish is PA.

1.3 Some Criticisms of Jelinek & Demers 1994

1.3.1 On Their Argumentation

(17) What Jelinek & Demers 1994 *Don't* Do

They do not provide any 'direct' syntactic evidence that the DPs are obligatorily adjoined

- (a) *No discussion of (likely) complement/adjunct asymmetries*
- (b) *No discussion of (likely) asymmetries between Subjects and Objects*
- (c) *No discussion of (likely) phenomenon that reveal the V and the O to form a constituent (e.g. no discussion of VP-ellipsis, which happens in other Salish languages)*

WHY THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO CHECK: (as we know, *post-hoc*)

Nearly all the properties that J&D adduce as evidence for the PA-status of Straits Salish hold *throughout* the Salish family (hence, their analysis was once popularly viewed as a *pan*-Salish one):

- Pred/Arg Flexibility
- (Lack of D-quantification)
- Freedom of word order
- Massive pro-drop / radical head-marking
- No free-standing pronouns
- No overt ACC/NOM case
- Condition C violations

Nevertheless, subsequent research has found evidence that some Salish languages do have a configurational (non-PA) structure... (as Jelinek herself later acknowledged)
... and all the evidence has come from an examination of the properties in (17).

QUESTION:

Has / can anyone run the relevant tests for Straits Salish?

NO: The last speakers have either passed on or are too elderly to work as consultants.

BUT, CONSIDER THIS:

In all respects that we have data on, the Straits Salish languages/dialects are perfectly akin to the (closely related) Central Salish languages, languages for which the consensus view is that they are configurational (non-PA).

(...and wouldn't it be a funny coincidence if we *could* run the tests and found out that – despite these overlaps in surface form – the Straits Salish languages were indeed PA?)

1.3.2 One Possible Piece of Evidence *Against* a PA-Analysis of Straits Salish

Consider this: *Straits Salish doesn't always permit dislocation!*

(18) Impossibility of (Some) Dislocation Structures in the Language

* stitem'-sxw ce xwilnexw
 run.fast-2sNOM DET Indian
You, an Indian, run fast.

(Jelinek 1995; p. 532)

Bear in mind that local agreement markers (most likely) *can* be doubled by DPs based on the pronominal-predicates.

2. Davis (2005) "Coordination and Constituency in Stát'imcets (Lillooet Salish)"

Opening Comment:

For our purposes here, what's most important are the arguments that Davis gives for Stát'imcets (ST') being a configurational language (*i.e.*, a language where DPs occupy argument positions and Subjects asymmetrically c-command Objects).

BEAR IN MIND:

By the criteria which J&D94 advance for Straits Salish being a PA-language, ST' would also classify (incorrectly, perhaps) as a PA-language.

2.1 Predictions of a PA-Analysis that are Incorrect for ST'

2.1.1 No Argument/Adjunct Asymmetries (CED Effects) in Extraction

The Prediction: (following Davis 2005)

In J&D's system, all DPs/CPs are *adjuncts*, whether or not they happen to be co-referent with/binding argument positions.²

Thus, in their system, there should be no syntactic difference between:

- (i) extraction from a CP denoting a propositional argument (*e.g.* of 'say')
- (ii) extraction from a CP that's denotes a non-argument (*e.g.* a 'when' clause)

² Though I won't go through the details here, this isn't true for Baker's version of the PAH. Thus, Baker's theory of PA-languages would be immune to the following criticism.

The Facts:

In ST', at least, extraction can only occur from a CP denoting a propositional argument.

(19) **Adjunct/Argument Asymmetries (CED Effects) in ST'**

a. swat [kwu=scút=su [kw=s7ac'xenas ta=smulac=a]?
who DET-say-2sS DET-see DET-woman
Who did you say that the woman saw?

b. * stam' [kwu=sxwúlel=su [7i=7ac'xen=axw]?
what [DET-run.away-2sS WHEN-saw-2sS
* *What did you run away when you saw?*

(Davis 2005b; p. 11)

This suggests that not all CPs in ST' have an identical structural status.

More importantly, this kind of a contrast is often accounted for by assuming that the CP in (19a) occupies an A-position (while that in (19b) doesn't). [but, semantic/pragmatic accounts?....]

2.1.2 No Binding Asymmetries Between Subjects and Objects

The Prediction: (following Davis 2005)

In a PA-structure (like that proposed by J&D), all DPs are adjuncts, *and therefore they all occupy a structurally equivalent position.*

Thus, in such a system, there should be no syntactic difference between:

(i) **a quantificational subject binding a pronoun inside of the object**

[[PRED] Q-SUBJECT₁ [OBJECT ... *pronoun*₁ ...] ...]

(ii) **a quantificational object binding a pronoun inside of the subject**

[[PRED] [SUBJECT ... *pronoun*₁ ...] ... Q-OBJECT₁]

The Facts:

In ST', at least, subjects are able to bind pronouns inside of objects, *but not vice versa!*

(20) **Binding Asymmetries between Subjects and Objects in ST'**

wa7 xweys-twítas [i=kwek7íha] [tákem i=sqaycw-a]
IMP love-3pERG their.grandmothers all the.men

a. VOS: [All the men]₁ love [their₁ grandmothers].

b. VSO: [Their_{2/*1} grandmothers] love [all the men]₁ .

This provides some initial evidence for a structural asymmetry between S and O in ST'.

2.1.3 No Weak Cross Over (WCO) Asymmetries

Background:

English exhibits ‘WCO Effects’

(21) **WCO Effects in English**

- a. Who₁ loves their₁ mother.
Which x is s.t. x loves x’s mother?
- b. * Who₁ does [their₁ mother] love?
Which x is s.t. x’s mother loves x?

The facts in (21) are commonly thought to follow from a difference in the structural position of Subjects and Objects (in configurational languages like English).

(22) **A Syntactic Generalization Capturing WCO Effects**

If a wh-operator binds a pronoun and a trace, then the trace must c-command the pronoun.

The Prediction

So, if a syntactic account like (22) is the right story for the facts in (21), how do we expect PA-languages to behave?

... well, it depends on some additional assumptions that we make...

Possibility 1:

If we assume that PA-languages don’t have any A-bar movement (Jelinek & Demers 1994), then we predict that there will be *no* WCO-Effects. That is, the equivalent of both (21a) and (21b) will allow the bound readings.

(23) **No WCO Effects in the Jelinek & Demers (1994) System**

a. The Structural Equivalent of (21a)

WHO₁ [LOVES-ProS₁-ProO₂ [Pro-POSS₁ MOTHER]₂]
which x is s.t. x loves x’s mother?

b. The Structural Equivalent of (21b)

WHO₁ [LOVES-ProS₂-ProO₁ [Pro-POSS₁ MOTHER]₂]
which x is s.t. x’s mother loves x?

Possibility 2:

If we suppose that PA-languages *do* permit A-bar movement (Baker's version), then we predict that there will be WCO-Effects *even for the equivalent of (21a)*.

(24) **Extensive WCO Effects in the Baker System**

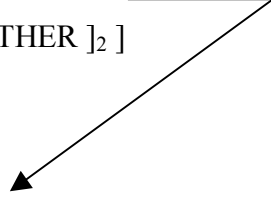
a. The Structural Equivalent of (21a)

WHO₁ [LOVES-*t*₁-ProO₂ [Pro-POSS₁ MOTHER]₂]
which x is s.t. x loves x's mother?

b. The Structural Equivalent of (21b)

WHO₁ [LOVES-ProS₂-*t*₁ [Pro-POSS₁ MOTHER]₂]
which x is s.t. x's mother loves x?

Trace does not c-command pronoun



The General Prediction

Whatever the particular version of the PAH, PA-languages are predicted *not* to show the English pattern in (21).

The Facts:

In ST', at least, a wh-operator binding a subject position can easily bind pronouns inside objects. *However, a wh-operator binding an object position cannot bind pronouns inside of subjects...*

That is, ST' exhibits the English pattern of WCO Effects in (21)!

(25) **Weak Cross Over Effects in ST'**

a. swat₁ [kwu=c'um'qsan-∅₂-as₁ [ta=xweys-as₁-a sqayxw]₂ ?
 who₁ DET=kiss-3ABS₂-3ERG₁ [DET=love-3ERG₁ man]₂
Who₁ kissed the man that they₁ loved?

b. * swat₁ [kwu=c'um'qsan-∅₁-as₂ [ta=xweys-as₁-a sqayxw]₂?
 who₁ DET=kiss-3ABS₁-3ERG₂ DET=love-3ERG₁ man
Who₁ did the man that they₁ love kiss? (Davis 2005b; p. 13)

2.1.4 No VP Ellipsis

Background:

VP ellipsis is a rule that deletes the main predicate of a clause and its internal arguments, but leaves the Subject (and AUXes) behind.

(26) **VP Ellipsis in English**

I gave a book to my father, but Mary didn't [~~give a book to my father~~].

For better or worse, VP-ellipsis has often been taken as an argument that English possesses a VP. After all, the reasoning goes, deletion rules can only target constituents.

The Prediction: (following Davis (2005))

In a PA language there is no constituent that (i) contains the main predicate and any lexical internal arguments, but (ii) excludes a lexical subject.

Therefore, PA-languages should not have a rule of VP-ellipsis.

The Facts:

ST' *does* appear to have a rule of VP-ellipsis. This can be seen in the sentences that follow, which (crucially) allow for 'sloppy identity' readings of the objects.³

(27) **VP-Ellipsis in ST'**

plan=lhkan tsukws ns7álksta múta7 plan sLisa t'it.
already-1sS finish my.work and already Lisa also

I've already finished my work, and Lisa's has already (finished her work) too.

(Davis 2005; p. 41)

This argument provides some rather striking evidence in support of a VP structure in the language. (Similar arguments have since been provided for other putatively PA-languages...)

2.1.5 No Pronominal VP

Background:

English has a rule of VP 'pronominalization' by the phrase *do so*.

(28) **VP Pronominalization in English**

I gave a book to my father, and Mary will [**do so**] too.

³ The fact that (27) allows a sloppy identity reading is crucial here. Otherwise, a possible analysis of (27) would be of simple V-ellipsis, with the object pro-dropped.

For better or worse, this VP-pronominalization has been taken as an argument that English possesses a VP. After all, the reasoning goes, pronouns can only ‘stand in’ for constituents.

The Prediction: (Following Davis 2005))

By reasoning akin to the prediction made regarding VP-ellipsis, *PA-languages should not have a rule of VP-pronominalization.*

The Facts:

ST’ *does* appear to have a rule of VP-pronominalization.

(28) **VP-Pronominalization in ST’**

qúscitas aylh taswel’áckena kwsTmícus. xílem t’it kwsPikáola.
shoot then a.buck Tmícus do.so also Pikáola
Tmícus shot a buck. Pikáola did likewise (i.e., shot another one).

2.1.6 **Free (Intraclausal) Violations of Principle C**

The Prediction:

Any version of the PAH predicts that a PA-language will generally appear to permit violations of Principle C. This is because any full names in any sentences are actually *adjuncts*, and so aren’t really bound/c-commanded by higher pronouns.

(29) **PA-Languages Should Permit Apparent Violations of Principle C**

[[BROKE-ProS₁-ProO₂] [JOHN₁’S KNIFE]]
He₁ broke [John₁’s knife].

The Facts:

While ST’ and other Salish languages permit *some* violations of Principle C, this isn’t fully general. *In fact, intra-clausal Principle C violations like that in (29) are disallowed!*

(30) **No Intra-Clausal Violations of Principle C in ST’**

* átsxen-as₁ [[taskícza7sa sJohn₁] tasnúk’wa7sa]
see-3sERG₁ mother John friend
* *He₁ saw John₁’s mother’s friend.*

(Davis 2008; p. 16)

The impossibility of (30) in ST’ is a strong indicator that full DPs really do occupy clause-internal A-positions.

(... and recall that it’s somewhat likely that Straits Salish has/had a similar pattern...)

2.2 Predictions of a Non-Configurational (Flat) Analysis that are Incorrect for ST'

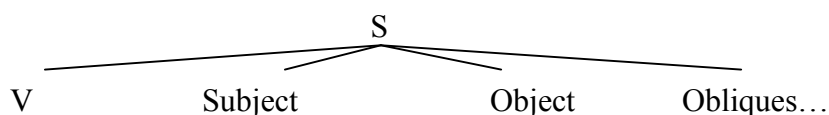
The preceding discussion has focused on predictions made by a PA-analysis that are incorrect for St'át'imcets.

However, Davis (2005) also wishes to argue against a so-called 'Non-Configurational' or 'Flat' structural analysis.

(31) Non-Configurational (Flat Structure)

Defining Property

Subject and Object occupy A-positions, but always mutually c-command one another.



Many of the predictions made by a PA-analysis are also made by a Non-Configurational analysis:

(32) Predictions Shared by Non-Configurational (Flat) Structure and PA-Structure

- a. No Complement/Adjunct Assymetries
In a flat structure, Comps and Adjuncts are still structurally parallel
- b. No WCO Asymmetries
In a flat structure, because S and O are mutually c-commanding, a trace in O position will bind any pronoun inside S (and vice-versa).
- c. No Binding Asymmetries
In a flat structure, because S and O are mutually c-commanding, a quantificational O will always be able to bind a pronoun inside S (and vice-versa).
- d. No VP Ellipsis
In a flat structure, there is no constituent that contains V,O to the exclusion of S
- e. No VP-Pronominalization
(same reasoning)

Since we've already seen that these predictions are false for ST', we can also conclude that it's not a Non-Configurational (Flat Structure) Language either...

Finally, there is a prediction that the Non-Configurational analysis makes which we can also see not to be true for ST'

No Superiority Effects:

While the literature on 'Superiority Effects' is gargantuan, most syntactic accounts in some way attribute the phenomenon to the fact that Subjects asymmetrically c-command objects.
Thus, a Non-Configurational (Flat) Structure predicts no Superiority Effects.

The Facts:

There *are* Superiority Effects in ST'.

(33) **Superiority Effects in ST'**

- a. swat ku=ats'centáli ku=stám'?
 who DET=saw DET=what
 Who saw what?
- b. * stám' ku=áts'cenas ku=swat?
 what DET=saw DET=who
 * *What did who see?*

(Davis 2005; p. 40)

3. Some Final Thoughts

3.1 What to Take From All of This

Given the facts listed above, there is now a consensus that ST' (and a few other Salish languages) are definitely **not** PA-languages or Non-Configurational languages.

But, should we necessarily conclude anything about Straits Salish, or the family as a whole??

Conservative Answer:

No... we're talking about different languages here. What Davis (2005) has discovered for ST' has no logical bearing on whether Straits Salish – a completely different language – is PA...

Stronger Answer (Davis's Answer):

YES! Consider the chart of features below:

(47) *Pronominal argument diagnostics across Salish*

<i>Predictions of the PAH:</i>	STRAITS	OTHER CENTRAL	LILLOOET	OTHER INTERIOR
(a) obligatory agreement	yes	yes	yes	yes
(b) optional DPs	yes	yes	yes	yes
(c) free word order	partial	partial	partial	partial
(d) no unregistered DP arguments	yes	no	no	no
(d') no unregistered CP arguments	no	no	no	no
(e) no determiner quantifiers	yes	yes	yes	yes
(e') no D-type quantifiers	no	no	no	no
(f) no interpretive differences between pronouns and lexical DPs	no	no	no	no
(g) no DP anaphors	yes	yes	yes	yes
(h) no NP-movement	no	no	no	no
(i) no strong crossover	?	?	no	?
(j) no CED effects	?	?	no	no
(k) no WH-in-situ	?	?	no	no
(l) no weak crossover	?	yes	no	?
(m) no infinitives	yes	yes	no	no

Image taken from Davis (2005b)

Except for the following features, Straits Salish is identical to ST' (Lillooet):

- (a) No unregistered DP arguments (b) No infinitives

Is it really that likely that some macro-parametric divide separates Straits from ST'?
Especially considering that whatever features of Straits you'd appeal to in motivating such a divide hold equally well for ST'?

Strongest Conclusion:

- (i) No Salish language is a PA-language (or a Non-Configurational language)
- (ii) Since Straits Salish is often held up as *the* paradigmatic instance of a PA-language (it's the closest human language can come to FOL, after all), this invites serious skepticism that *any human language is a PA-language*.

2.3.2 On Attempting Non-Syntactic Analyses of the ST' Data in Section 2.1

A proponent of a PA-analysis might try to counter Davis's arguments by providing analyses of his data that don't appeal to syntactic structure.

But, if one discounts these phenomena as 'semantic' or 'pragmatic', *what evidence is left that ENGLISH is configurational?*

... and if English isn't configurational either, doesn't this just still show that Salish languages are no different from English?