What We've Seen Thus Far:
Themes and Future Directions

General Question:
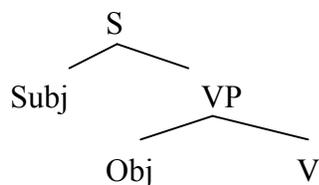*What do we learn by studying these languages?*

> (a)　　We'll see later on how a general (macroparametric?) perspective on these languages does emerge from the work we've been reading.

> (b)　　In each separate domain (configurationality, lexical categories, presuppositions, quantification, *etc.*), we've learned about:

>> (i)　　The accuracy of certain claims one sometimes encounters regarding these languages
>> (general theme: these languages are less 'exotic' than claimed)

>> **(ii)　　Specific ways in which these languages (still) challenge certain implicit typological assumptions**
>> (general theme: these languages challenge the common theoretical understanding of X).

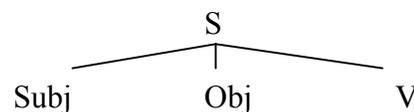## 1.　　Review of Particular Empirical/Theoretical Domains

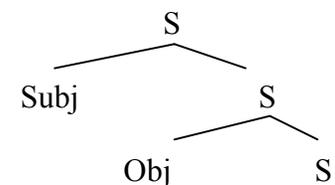### 1.1　　Configurationality

(1)　　Three Putative Structural Types

Configurational	Non-Configurational (Flat)	P(ronominal) A(rgument)
S and O generated in A-positions. S asymmetrically c-commands O	S and O generated in A-positions S and O mutually c-command	S and O generated as A-bar adjuncts

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(2)　　**Targeted Claim (Myth)**

Languages of the Pacific Northwest don't exhibit a configurational structure

Evidence:　　No positive evidence *for* a configurational structure
　　　　　　　Assuming a PA structure might explain lack of D-quantifiers (Jelinek)

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(3)   **Contrary Claim (Fact)**

For each of the major language families of the region (Salish, Wakashan, Tsimshianic, Na-Dene), there are languages for which there is evidence of a configurational structure.

Evidence:

a.   binding / scope / movement asymmetries between subjects, objects, adjuncts
        (*e.g.* scope asymmetries b/ Subj and Obj ; WCO effects)

b.   phenomena that directly suggest the existence of a VP
        (*e.g.* VP ellipsis, VP coordination)

Regarding the Putative Evidence for (2):

a.   'lack of evidence' argument is very weak (though very common in the literature)
        (i)   easy to disprove
        (ii)   why think 'no VP' is the null hypothesis, which you only give up if
                you have evidence *for* a VP?

b.   'lack of D-quantifiers' may be due to an accidental, lexical gap (see below)

1.1.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

General Problems with the 'Pronominal Argument Hypothesis'

- Each of the major surface features it is intended to capture (word-order freedom, pervasive null anaphora, lack of D-quantifiers, *etc.*) is either (i) definitely known or (ii) at least predicted to occur in fully configuational languages

- Relatedly, there are many cases now where people have argued that putatively PA-languages are actually configurational (Algonquian, Iroquoian, Athabaskan, Pama-Nyungan).

- This typological issue is paralleled by a learnability issue (Homework 1):
        There seems to be no positive evidence for a PA structure!

                PA   =   full DPs *must always* be dislocated
                (What evidence could a learner get that shows that **only** dislocation is possible?)

1.2   Lexical Categories

(4)   **Targeted Claim (Myth)**

There are no 'distributional' (morpho-syntactic) properties of the Salish or Wakashan languages that would require one to postulate distinct lexical categories of 'nouns', 'verbs', 'adjectives' in the languages.

Evidence: Predicate-argument flexibility

(5)   **Contrary Claim (Fact)**

There are some Salish and Wakashan languages where particular 'distributional' (morpho-syntactic) properties of roots cannot be captured via purely semantic or morphological generalizations alone.

Therefore, we need to appeal to primitive syntactic categories like 'noun', 'verb', 'adjective' in the analysis of these languages.

Evidence:

a.   Early morphological arguments for N/V distinction in Salish/Wakashan

b.   Order of elements in complex predicates (N must be final)

c.   Order of elements in complex relative clauses (N must be the head)

Regarding the Putative Evidence for (4)

Predicate-Argument flexibility still a problem (see below)

1.2.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

General Question: *What do these languages show us about the nature of lexical categories?*

(6)   **The Universality of Lexical Categories**

The evidence *for* lexical category distinctions in these languages is extremely subtle

     (i)   it took linguists decades to find it
     (ii)   it mainly relates to word-order in complex structures (5b, 5c)

This suggests that learners may be biased to look for evidence of lexical categories

(7)   **Different Theories of the Nature of Lexical Categories**

a.   The 'Classic' Theory
   (i)   Roots are stipulated in the lexicon to have one of a set of primitive syntactic features (N, V, A).

   (ii)   These primitive features determine the syntactic distribution of the root via subcategorization generalizations
   (*e.g.* the complement of D must be headed by an N)

   > **What PNW Languages (Allegedly) Show:**
   > *Davis, Matthewson, Wojdak argue that the facts in Lillooet and Nuu-chah-nulth are most consistent with this 'classic' theory.*

b.   The Exoskeletal Theory (Borer, Marantz)
   (i)   Roots are *not* stipulated in the lexicon as being a particular lexical category (N, V, or A)

   (ii)   All roots are free to combine with any functional category (D, I, Deg, *etc.*)

   (iii)   Which functional category a root combines with determines aspects of that roots phonology / semantics
   (*e.g.* D+DESTROY = destruction; I+DESTROY = destroy)

   > **What PNW Languages (Allegedly) Show:**
   > *Davis, Matthewson, Wojdak argue that the facts in Lillooet and Nuu-chah-nulth are most problematic for this 'exoskeletal' theory.*
   > Why? Because they argue that within the sister to D/I there are differences between particular roots.

c.   A Semantic Theory
   (i)   Lexical categories like N, V and A ultimately have a semantic nature.

   (ii)   While they may (or may not) be *syntactic* primitives, there are certain semantic properties that the members of each class chare, and which unifies them as a whole.

   > **What PNW Languages (Allegedly) Show:**
   > *While this is an open question, Davis and Matthewson issue a challenge:*
   > *'try to find a semantic generalization distinguishing the putative N class'!*
   >
   > *The semantic theory may end up being so complex that we'd prefer syntactic primitives.*

(8)   **The Nature of Predicate-Argument Flexibility**

There is still an open question regarding the nature of the 'predicate-argument' flexibility in the Salish and Wakashan languages.

We *know* that it can't (always) just be a matter of there not being any N/V distinction in the language….

… *so what accounts for this rather dramatic difference between these languages and Engish* (Homework 3)

Some Ideas:

a.   D and C/Infl in these languages simply don't c-select for their complement (i.e., the lexical categories are there, but two specific functional heads – D and C/Infl – don't pay attention to them)

b.   Maybe there *is* this alleged 'pred-arg flexibility' in English too (English also allows Ns to be direct complements to Infl. Unlike Salish/Wakashan, however, it doesn't have fully general/universal rules for interpreting Ns in that position [and so it's more irregular/unpredictable])

c.   Maybe there *isn't* really this alleged 'pred-arg flexibility' in Salish/Wakashan (revisit the question of whether there is a null copula in the sentences where Ns function as main predicates)

1.3   Presuppositions

(9)   **What We've Seen (So Far)**

a.   There is no distinction between 'definite' and 'indefinite' DPs in the Salish languages. *Rather, all DPs seem to be indefinite.*

b.   Pronouns in Salish languages (Lillooet, Nlhe7kepmctsin) do not need to refer to an already salient discourse referent. (maybe)

> Generalization:
> Salish languages do not encode (existence) presuppositions (on either DPs or Pronouns)

Additional Evidence: (to examine on Thursday)

Clefts in Salish do not have existence presuppositions

Various particles / aspectual auxiliaries in Salish do not trigger presuppositions in the way their English correlates do (maybe)

1.3.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

On Salish DPs and Bare NPs

In their ability to be interpreted either as 'definite' or 'indefinite', Salish DPs look a lot like bare NPs in other languages (Indo-Aryan, Na-Dene, *etc.*)…
> *Maybe these Salish 'DPs' really are structurally akin to those 'bare NPs'…*
> *Are we sure that Salish 'determiners' are instances of category 'D'?*

On the Alleged Lack of Presuppositions in Salish

A major claim of Matthewson 1998, Davis *et al.* 2004, Davis 2008 and Matthewson 2008 is that *presuppositions (as they exist in English) are not linguistically encoded (triggered) in Salish languages.*

However…

(10)   **The Problem of Modal Base Presuppositions**

   The analysis of Lillooet modals/evidentials by Rullmann *et al.* (2007) assumes that they *presuppose* (in the standard sense) information regarding the modal base.

(11)   **The Problem of *Takem***

   A phrase where *takem* 'all' combines with a DP in Lillooet does not allow a (predicted) reading akin to 'all of some group' / 'some group' (Homework 4)

   Some Ideas:

   a.   *Pragmatic Account*
        There would be something 'pragmatically off' about using a phrase of the form *takem DP* with the weaker meaning
        (the language does possess a D *nukw* 'some of', which would express such a meaning unambiguously)

   b.   *Type-Shifting Account*
        DPs in Lillooet are uniformly definite (as their basic meaning)
        In cases where they seem to have indefinite readings, they've been shifted up to a kind interpretation, and then shifted back down to an indefinite interpretation.
        The quantifier *takem* takes definites as arguments, and so won't force a type-shift

   c.   *Alternative-Semantics Account*
        DPs in Lillooet denote sets of alternatives (*cf.* Japanese indeterminate pronouns)
        If the alternatives percolate up to CP, we existentially close (giving indef. interp.)
        Takem takes alternatives directly as an argument (*cf.* Q-particles in Japanese)

1.4   Quantification

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(12)   **Targeted Claim (Myth)**

     No Salish languages have D-quantification (adnominal quantifiers).

     Note:
     Nobody actually makes such a strong statement in print. Jelinek & Demers only make this claim for *Straits Salish*

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(13)   **Contrary Claim (Fact)**

     Several Salish languages (Lillooet, Squamish, Secwepemctsin, Nlhe7kepmctsin) contain a correlate of adnominal *all* in English, which can be shown to be a D-quantifier:
         a.   Forms a constituent with the DP it appears with
         b.   Does not 'unselectively' quantify over all DPs in the sentence

     Nevertheless, it is true that no Salish language allows quantifiers in D(eterminer) position (...related to status of presuppositions in the language?)

1.4.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

On the Status of 'All' and its Correlates:

It is rather unclear, in the case of English, that 'all DP' is a true Generalized Quantifier

     (a)   There are analyses where it isn't:
           Brisson, Christine (1998) *Distributivity, Maximality and Floating Quantifiers*.
               Doctoral Dissertation. Rutgers University.

     (b)   'All' co-ordinates with things we *know* do not create GQs
               all <u>and only</u> dogs bark.

On the Absence of Certain Quantifiers from Certain Languages:

Thanks to the work of Barbara and others, we now know that there are rather few *unquestionably* quantificational Ds, *even in a language like English*.

Thus, we might expect that there would be languages that lack such Ds *simply as an accidental gap in their lexica*.

1.4.2   Possible Future Directions

There are some interesting readings that further touch on the question of the divide between A-quantification and D-quantification.

(a)   Quantification in Nuu-chah-nulth (Woo 2002)

Looks to be A-quantification, since the quantifiers are morpho-phonologically part of the 'verb / main predicate'.

But, there is evidence that they syntactically originate as D-quantifiers, and undergo a phonological/syntactic 'movement' operation to the verb.

(b)   Distributive/Pluractional Numerals in Lillooet (Matthewson 2000)

There are quantifiers in Lillooet that are (i) D-quantificational (adnominal) in their <u>syntax</u>, but (ii) A-quantificational (pluractional) in their <u>semantics</u>
(*cf.* Krfika '5,000 ships passed through the lock')

(c)   Quantificational Adverbials in Lillooet (Davis 2005)

There are quantifiers in Lillooet that are (i) A-quantificational (adverbial) in their <u>syntax</u>, but (ii) D-quantificational (selective entity quantification) in their <u>semantics</u>

1.5   Principle C

(14)   **What We've Seen (So Far)**

a.   Salish languages allow pronouns to co-refer with DPs that they c-command, *just so long as those DPs are in a separate clause.*

(i)   He$_1$ thinks [Bill$_1$ is nice]
(ii)   * He$_1$ saw [Bill$_1$'s mom]

b.   Despite these apparent violations of Principle C, the Salish languages still disallow SCO configurations

(i)   * Who$_1$ does he$_1$ think Mary likes?

c.   Furthermore, in addition to these apparent violations of Principle C, Salish languages (appear to) allow names to be interpreted as bound variables.

(i)   Only he$_1$ thinks [Bill$_1$ is nice] (= nobody else considers themselves nice)

(15)   **Davis's (2008) Analysis**

   a.   Salish languages permit 'backwards binding' of a pronoun by a c-commanded name (stated in 'linking theory'; no explicit semantics)

         [*pronoun* … [… *name* …]]
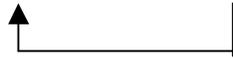
         C-commanded name <u>*binds*</u> *the c-commanding pronoun*

   b.   Such backwards binding is (i) possible in Salish languages and (ii) disallowed in English, because (i) pronouns in English have 'existence presuppositions', and (ii) pronouns in Salish languages don't.

1.5.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

<u>The Distinction Between SCO and 'Pronominal Obviation'</u>

That Salish languages permit sentences like (14ai) but not (14bi) provides further evidence against the proposal in 'Classic Binding Theory' that SCO effects (14bi) and 'pronoun obviation effects' (14ai) be derived from a single, unified principle (Principle C).

<u>Why Backwards Binding?</u>

While it is a rather poorly understood phenomenon, it does appear that names in English can also (in special circumstances) be interpreted as bound variables
(*cf.* Tom Roeper's examples like "Only Paris still looks like Paris these days…")

Maybe the real difference between Lillooet and English isn't that Lillooet allows 'backwards binding', but that it more freely allows 'forwards binding' of names (by pronouns).

Following the logic of Reinhart (2006), if forwards binding of the name by a pronoun were generally possible in Lillooet, then we'd also predict that co-valuation was possible!!

> *Henry's Reply:*
> You would need to stipulate that (for some reason) names can't bind other names in Lillooet, *though they can in English.*
>
> <u>Lillooet data:</u>
> ?? $Mary_1$ thinks that $Mary_1$ is nice.
>
> *Reply to the Reply:*
> … maybe there *is* a way of doing this…

The Names-to-Variables Rule (Homework 5)

As a follow-up to the question of whether Lillooet sentences like (14ai) have 'forward binding'…

    Suppose that Lillooet/English had the following rule:

(16)   **The 'Names-to-Variables' Rule**

    a.   If [[XP]] is of type e, then XP is able to bear an index.
    b.   For all phrases XP, $[[XP_i]]^g = g(i)$

(17)   **Accurate Predictions of the Names-to-Variables Rule**

    a.   Generates sentences of English where names seem to be interpreted as bound variables.

    b.   Correctly predicts that sentences like the following will not get 'bound readings'
        (i)   Most boys still talk like most boys when in the presence of royalty.

(18)   **Problems with the Names-to-Variables Rule**

    a.   Massively over-generates for English

    b.   Wrongly predicts that names can bind other names in Lillooet (as in English)

    c.   *Doesn't really capture the bound readings of Lillooet sentences like (14ci)*
        (What forces 'he' in such sentences to refer to the referent of the bound name?)

1.5.2 Possible Future Directions

There are some interesting readings that further touch on the 'weakened' status Principle C in languages throughout the Pacific Northwest.

    (a)   Principle C in Nlhe7kepmctsin (Koch 2003)
        Unlike Lillooet, also disallows Principle C violations when the referential DP is inside a relative clause.

    (b)   Principle C in Nuu-chah-nulth (Davis *et al.* 2007)
        Unlike Salish, also allows Principle C violations clause-internally.
        Like Salish, there may be a connection to a general absence of existence presuppositions.

    (c)   Principle C in Haida (Enrico 2003)
        Like Salish and Nuu-chah-nulth, allows Principle C violations.
        Unlike Salish and NCN, however, this <u>can't</u> be due to a general absence of existence presuppositions (i.e., cataphora in the language is very restricted)

1.6   Tense

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(19)   **Targeted Claim (Myth?)**

Languages of the Pacific Northwest are *deeply* 'tenseless':
       They don't possess 'tense' as a semantic, syntactic or morphological category (in
       the way that English and other European languages do).

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(20)   **Contrary Claim (Fact?)**

While languages of the Pacific Northwest do not have overt tense morphology, some
languages (Lillooet, Gitksan) seem to possess a phonologically null (and semantically
underspecified) tense head.

Evidence:

     a.   *For The Existence of Tense*
          Superficially 'tenseless' sentences in these languages are *not* unconstrained in
          their temporal reference
               They can only refer to past or present events, <u>not future events</u>

     b.   *For the Underspecified Meaning of Tense*
          Can truthfully co-ordinate subjects that differ in when the predicate holds of them

          (i)   VOMIT [Dave and Mary]
                 True in a context where Dave vomited earlier and Mary is vomiting now

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<u>Aside: Problems for the Argument in (20b)</u>

- The Lillooet example sentences that contain perfective verbs seem to employ semelfactives/activities, and so even the English translations seem to (marginally) allow a true reading.

- The Lillooet example sentences that contain imperfective verbs are (given standard assumptions about the imperfective) not assigned the correct meaning in Matthewson's (2006) account.

1.6.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

<u>On the Existence of Underspecified Tense</u>

If we accept Matthewson's (2006) arguments, we find that in addition to 'past' and 'present', UG
permits a special 'underspecified' tense.
       Are there, then, any languages where such an underspecified tense is overtly
       pronounced?

<u>On the Nature of the Future</u>

Matthewson's (2006) arguments rest on the assumption that it could in principle be possible for the Topic Time of a sentence to be a time in the future.

However, she also later in the paper suggests that there may be some general (metaphysical) principles that entail that Topic Times could *never* be times in the future.

> *If we accept this later view, then:*

> (a)   Matthewson's arguments for the existence of tense in Lillooet are undermined.

> (b)   Similarly, the notion that there exists such an 'underspecified' tense is undermined.

1.6.2   Possible Future Directions

There are some interesting readings that further explore the existence and nature of 'tense' in the languages of the Pacific Northwest.

> (a)   Tense in Gitksan (Johannsdottir & Matthewson 2008)

> Based on evidence analogous to that Matthewson (2006), argues that the superficially tenseless Tsimshianic language Gitksan actually has phonologically empty and semantically underspecified tense.

> (b)   Tense in Salish DPs (Demirdache 1998, Wiltschko 2003, Matthewson 2005)

> There is a notion in the literature on Salish languages that DPs contribute tense information (tense is interpreted on DPs)

> *Demirdache 1998:*
> Argues that in Lillooet, the Event Time of a sentence ('predication time of the V') is determined by the choice of determiner on the NPs of the sentence.
> (*cf.* Musan 1995)

> *Wiltschko 2003, Ritter & Wiltschko 2005:*
> Argues that in Halkomelem, tense is interpretable on DPs.
> Argues that a consequence of this is the following:
> > (i)   no Nominitive case; no A-movement (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001)
> > (ii)   instead of a TP, the VP projects a LocP

> *Matthewson 2005:*
> Argues against Demirdache and Wiltschko, and for a more conventional picture where Tense is a projection of the VP.

1.7   Modality

(21)   **What We've Seen (So Far)**

    a.   Modals in Lillooet seem to have a character that is something of the 'inverse' of what is found in English.

        (i)   *English:*   quantificational force: determined lexically
                                  modal base: determined by context

        (ii)   *Lillooet:*   quantificational force: determined by context
                                    modal base: determined lexically

    b.   Modals in both English and Lillooet can be captured via an analysis where they are assigned a meaning with the following schematic structure:

$$[[\text{MODAL}]]^{w,B,f} \quad = \quad \lambda p.\ \forall w' \in f(B(w)).\ p(w')$$

        (i) B = modal base
        (ii) f = choice function over the modal base

1.7.1   More General Conclusions and Reflections

On the Evidence for 'Quantificational Variability'

While Rullmann *et al.* (2007) claim that Lillooet modals have a default 'strong' (universal) interpretation, it seems that their evidence for a 'weak' (existential) interpretation is always the most convincing.
    (the sentences allegedly showing a universal interpretation are almost always translatable into English using a weak modal)

This is actually consonant with certain other aspects of their analysis:

- The notion that 'weak modals' in English have essentially the same meaning as modals in Lillooet.

- The parallels between their semantics for Lillooet modals and the (indefinite) semantics proposed by Matthewson (1998, 1999) for Lillooet DPs

On the Characterization of Modal Bases

How does one actually restrict the base a modal can take?
That is, how does one characterize the property of being a 'deontic', 'epistemic' or 'circumstantial' base?
    Maybe once a good theory of that has been developed, we might be able to make certain predictions regarding what kinds of base-restrictions exist across languages…

1.7.2   Possible Future Directions

Rullmann, Matthewson and Davis have done some further work applying their theory of Lillooet modals to other puzzling morphology in the language.

(a)   'Out-of-Control' Morphology (Davis *et al.* 2008)

Salish languages tend to contain a morpheme that admits of a puzzling array of interpretations ('be able to', 'manage to', 'suddenly', 'accidentally', 'uncontrollably').
Davis *et al.* (2008) analyze this 'out-of-control' morphology in Lillooet within their overall theory of Lillooet modals.

(b)   Evidential Morphology (Matthewson *et al.* 2008)

Matthewson *et al.* (2008) analyze the evidential morphology of Lillooet within their overall theory of Lillooet modals.
In this system, Lillooet evidentials are categorized as a type of modal, despite their superficial differences from modal auxiliaries in more familiar languages.

2.   General Themes and Overall Pictures

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An Initial Aside:

Much of this class has been rather 'Salish-centric', since most of the papers we've read have focused on languages of that family.

However, for each of the subjects we've been examining – presuppositions, quantification, Principle C, tense, modality – there has been similar work done on other languages of the region.

Thus, the following 'general themes' and 'overall picture' also encompass some of the other language families of the region (which will be flagged in the discussion).

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(22)   **General Theme: Underspecification in Semantics**

(a)   *No Distinction Between Definite and Indefinite DPs*

True for: Salish languages
                Some Wakashan languages (?) [Nuu-chah-nulth]
                Some Na-Dene languages (?) [Tlingit]

(b)   *No Distinction Between 'Strong' and 'Weak' Modals*

True for: Some Salish languages [Lillooet]
                Some Tsimshianic languages [Gitksan (evidentials)]

(c)   *No Distinction Between Past and Present Tense*

True for: Salish languages
                Some Tsimshianic languages [Gitksan]
                Some Na-Dene languages [Tlingit]

(23)   **General Theme: 'De-Exotification' of the Superficially 'Exotic'**

We've seen that one needn't necessarily diverge very far from standard syntactic/semantic assumptions in order to analyze the languages of this region.

That is, upon deeper examination, much of the superficially 'exotic' appearance of these languages belie a deep underlying similarity to more familiar, well-studied languages.

(a)   Configurational Structures   (Salish, Wakashan, Tsimshianic, Na-Dene)
(b)   Systems of Lexical Categories   (Salish, Wakashan)
(c)   Adnominal Quantification   (Salish)
(d)   Tense Structure   (Salish, Tsimshianic, Tlingit)
(e)   Modals   (Salish, Tsimshianic)

(24)   **General Theme: The Existence Some Non-Obvious 'Deep' Differences**

While many of the superficially 'exotic' properties of these languages have turned out not to be so, there are nevertheless certain ways in which the languages of the region appear to differ significantly from more well-studied languages.

Interestingly, these distinguishing properties are comparatively 'abstract', and aren't obvious as 'surface properties' of the language.

(a)   No encoding of (English-style) presuppositions   (Salish, Wakashan)

(b)   Violations of Principle C   (Salish, Wakashan, Na-Dene)

(c)   No 'strong' modals   (Salish)

(d)   No quantificational determiners   (Salish)

(25)   **An Emergent 'Unified Picture'**

Initial, General Observation:
Following (24a), there is potentially something 'funny' going on with presuppositions in the languages of the region (particularly the Salish languages)

(a)   No existence presuppositions in D   (Salish, Wakashan?, Tlingit)

(b)   No existence presuppositions in 'clefts'   (Salish, Wakashan, Tlingit)

(c)   No existence presuppositions in pronouns   (Salish, Wakashan)

(d)   No presuppositions triggered by particles and aspect verbs (Salish)

Crucial Observation
This 'funny' property of presuppositions has been linked to each of the 'deep differences' in (24).
        (24a): *trivial*
        (24b): *Davis (2008) links it to (25c)*
        (24c): *Rullmann et al. (2007) links it to 'no presupposition of maximality of f'*
        (24d)   *Matthewson (1998) links it to (25a)*

An Emerging 'Macro-Parametric View':

(a)   The languages of the Pacific Northwest are virtually identical in underlying structural principles to more familiar and well-studied languages.

(b)   What differences do exist between PNW languages and more familiar ones ultimately derive from a single source: the 'funny' status of presuppositions

3.   Other Subjects to Explore

The original 'Course Description and Syllabus' document describes each of these subjects in further detail.

(26)   **Wh-Questions**

Connects to issues in the prosody/syntax interface, as well as the nature of polysynthesis

Salish: What is their structure? Are they wh-fronting languages or not?

Wakashan: (Similar question; puzzling for different reasons)

Tlingit: Wh-fronting isn't what you think it is…

(27)   **Polysynthesis in Wakashan**

In Nuu-chah-nulth, polysynthesis (incorporation) seems to be neither lexical nor syntactic, but actually a purely PF phenomenon…

(28)   **Interface Between Prosody, Discourse-Structure and Syntax**

Koch (2008) argues that Salish languages – despite being 'stress languages' – do not assign new information any special prosodic prominence. Indeed, the syntax seems to position such information *away* from identifiable prosodic peaks…

(29)   **Ergativity and Transitivity**

(a)   The syntax and semantics of the Salish transitivizing system
         (Davis & Demirdache 2000)

(b)   The strange properties of 'transitive telics' in Salish languages
         (Bar-El *et al.* 2005)

(c)   Amy-Rose's work on the nature of ergativity in Nez Perce, and related phenomena in Salish languages (connects well with topic (30))

(30)   **Topic-Tracking, Argument Hierarchies and the Passive/Inverse**

(a)   The impossibility of sentences with 3rd subjects and local person objects

(b)   Relation to the use of 'passive/inverse' as 'topic-tracking' device
         (…and problems for a simple 'reductive' analysis)

(c)   Ways in which the 'passive/inverse' morphology seems to defy easy categorization as either a 'passive' or an 'inverse'