

Restriction on Covaluation α and β cannot be covalued if

- i. α A-binds β , or
- ii. the resulting interpretation is the same as the one that would result if α were to A-bind β

Problem This analysis rules out both SCO and Principle C violations. How do we allow inter-clausal Principle C violations in St'át'imcets?

Answer Alter the definition of covaluation: α and β are **covalued** iff neither A-binds the other and they both bound by the same operator.

Ellipsis and Focus

In ellipsis and 'only' constructions in which Principle C is violated, both the strict and sloppy readings are available.

- (4) A: wa7 xát'-min'-as kw=a=s nas áts'x-en-as
IMPF want-RED-3ERG DET=(NOM)IMPF=3POSS go see-TRA-3ERG
kw=s=Henry ta=sqátsza7-s=a lh=zánucwm=as
DET=NOM=Henry DET=father-3POSS=EXIS when=year=3CNJ
'pro_i wants that Henry_i go see his father next year'
B: wá7=hem'=t'u7 t'it kw=s=Lisa
IMPF=ANTI=PRT also DET=NOM=Lisa
'So does Lisa' (Can be that Lisa wants to see Henry's father or her own father.)
- (5) tsúkw=t'u7 snilh wa7 xát'-min'-as kw=a=s nas ts'úqwaz'-am
finish=PRT s/he IMPF want-RED-3ERG DET=(NOM)IMPF=3POSS go fish-MID
kw=s=John
DET=NOM=John
'only he_i wants that John_i go fishing' (Can be that others don't want John to go fishing, or that others don't want to go fishing themselves.)

Analysis None.