TALI-HO !

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1.   Introduction[1]

The suffix -tali is a mysterious yet central part of the syntax of St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish). Moreover, its analysis touches on some of the more intriguing aspects of Salish syntax in general, including the interaction of grammatical and discourse functions, the nature of split ergativity, and the status of extraction phenomena. Up to now, however, little detailed discussion of its syntactic function has taken place in the literature; van Eijk (1985) gives the basic morpho-syntactic facts, while Kroeber (1991), in a short discussion of its status, comments that it is an "...otherwise unattested affix".

This paper has three purposes. The first is to provide a more detailed description of the behaviour of -tali, drawing on the unpublished work of Mathewson (1993) and Roberts (1994). The second is to to place the St'át'imcets facts in a cross-Salishan perspective, this time relying heavily on the important published and unpublished work of M.D.Kinkade on Upper Chehalis and Columbian (see Kinkade 1988, 1989, 1990). The third is to attempt to provide a preliminary explanation for the facts, in the hope that someone will provide a better one.

2.   The grammar of -tali

2.1   Morphology

-tali appears exclusively on transitive predicates (i.e., those with a transitivizing suffix, as in (1))[2]; it attaches directly to the transitivizer, like object suffixes and reflexive and reciprocal markers, with which it is in complementary distribution (see (2)). Unlike object suffixes, however, -tali only appears in sentences with exclusively third person arguments (see (3); and also unlike object suffixes, it is in complementary distribution with all subject markers, including the third person ergative marker -as (4):[3]

1.(a) nilh ti   ucwalmícw-a ats'x-en-táli ti   sám7-a[4]
        foc det indian-det   see-tr-tali det white-det
        "It's the Indian who saw the white man."   (5-7-94 GN)

[2] Note that while retaining a reflex of the proto-Salish transitive marker -t-, -tali is synchronically monomorphemic; -t- has either been deleted or re-analyzed as part of an object suffix throughout the St'át'imcets transitive pronominal paradigm. For details see van Eijk (1985, pp. 129-154).
[3] Elicited examples are provided with consultant initials and are numbered according to their order in the syntactic database compiled by the Project on Lexical Interfaces with Syntax and Phonology in Northwest Coast Languages at UBC. Where no number is given, the date of elicitation is supplied.
[4] The Lillooet practical orthography as devised by Jan van Eijk is employed in all St'át'imcets examples; see e.g. van Eijk and Williams (1981) for justification. A key to the alphabet with standard phonemic correspondances is provided in Appendix A.

(b) nilh ti   sqáx7-a   culel-mín-tali   ti   míxalh-a
     foc det dog-det   run.away-appl-tali det bear-det
     "It's the dog who ran away from the bear."   (5-7-94 GN)

(c) nilh ti   k'ét'h-a   qam't-s-táli   ti   káoh-a
     foc det   rock-det   get.hit-caus-tali   det car-det
     "It's the rock that hit the car."   (5-7-94 GN)

(d) nilh ti   ucwalmícw-a nas-ci-táli   ti   sts'úqwaz'-a ti sám7-a
     foc det indian-det   go-appl-tali   det fish-det   det white-det
     "It's the Indian who brought the fish to the white person." (5-7-94 GN)

2.(a) nilh ti sám7-a   wa7 máys-en-tsut(*tali)
        foc det white-det prog fix-tr-refl(*-tali)
        "It's the white person who's making herself up."   (5-7-94 GN)

(b) nilh i   ucwalmícwa pzán-twal'(*tali)wit
     foc pl.det indian-det   meet(tr)-recip-3pl.
     "It's the Indians who are meeting each other."   (5-7-94 GN)

3.   nilh ti   ucwalmícw-a   ats'x-en-tsí-has
      foc det indian-det   see-tr-2sg.obj-3erg
      "It's the Indian who saw you."   (5-7-94 GN)

      *nilh ti   ucwalmícw-a áts'x-en-tsí-tali
      foc   det   indian-det   see-tr-2sg.obj-tali
      "It's the Indian who saw you."   (GN)

4.   nilh ti   ucwalmícw-a ats'x-en-táli-(*has)
      foc det indian-det   see-tr-tali-(*3erg)
      "It's the Indian who saw him/her."   (GN)

Moreover, -tali differs from all other agreement morphology in being obligatorily unmarked for number. Unlike the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, it may not be suffixed with the absolutive plural marker -wit, as shown below in (5), and it has no plural alternant *(tw)ítali equivalent to the third person plural ergative (tw)ítas, as shown in (6):

5.   * nilh i   ucwalmícw-a ats'x-en-táli-wit
      foc   pl.det indian-det   see-tr-tali-3pl
      "It's the Indians that saw him/her."   (5-7-94 GN)

6.   * nilh i   ucwalmícw-a ats'x-en-í-tali
      foc   pl.det indian-det   see-tr-3pl-tali
      "It's the Indians that saw him/her."   (5-7-94 GN)

Note that this is a morphological, not a syntactic phenomenon; plural antecedents are quite compatible with -tali:

7.   nilh i   stsmál't-s-a   ts'aq'w-an'-táli   i   sq'wél-a
      foc   pl.det child-3sg.poss-det eat-tr-tali   pl.det berry-det
      "It was his children that ate the berries'   (418 GN, RW)

Even from these basic facts, it is clear that -tali cannot be readily assimilated to any of the St'át'imcets pronominal paradigms. In fact, its closest morphological counterpart would appear to be the passive morpheme -em, which follows a transitivizer, as shown in (8), and has no formal effect on transitivity,

as shown by incompatibility with the third absolute plural marker in (9). These are both properties of -**tali**. However, passive is quite compatible with a first or second person object, as shown in (10); contrast this with the behaviour of -**tali** in (3) above.

8. áts'x-en-em   l-ta   sqáycw-a
    see-tr-pass   obl-det   man-det
    "He was seen by the man / The man saw him."   (28 RW, GN, BF)

9. * áts'x-en-em-wit   l-ta   sqáycw-a
    see-tr-pass-3pl   obl-det   man-det
    "He was seen by the man."   (5-7-94 GN)

10. ats'x-en-tsí-m   ha
    see-tr-2sg.ob-pass   interr
    "Did anyone see you?"   (950 BF)

It appears, then, that -**tali** is morphologically unique. Its syntactic behaviour reinforces this impression, as we will see.

2.2. Syntax

-**tali** appears in four syntactic environments. The first is in transitive subject-centred relative clauses, which in St'át'imcets, as in other Salish languages, consist of an embedded clause introduced by a determiner:

11. Sáma7   k'a   ku   sqwal'-en-táli
    white   appar   det   tell-tr-tali
    "Apparently it was a white person who told her."   (LLS: 70, MLR)

The second case is in transitive subject-centred clefts, introduced by the focus-predicate **nilh**[5]:

12. nilh   s-Bill   ti   tsúw'-en-tali-ha   ti   sqáycw-a
    foc   nom-B   det   kick-tr-tali-det   det   man-det
    "It was Bill who kicked the man."   (1838 AA)

The third is in transitive subject-centred WH-questions (see Davis, Gardiner & Matthewson 1993):

13. swat   ku   tsuw'-en-táli   ti   sqáycw-a
    who   det   kick-tr-tali   det   man-det
    "Who kicked the man?"   (1602 GN, RW)

Finally, -**tali** appears in environments where the quantifier **tákem** "all" has been fronted (together with a restricting DP) from subject position of a transitive clause:

14. T'ak tu7   káti7 ti   nk'yáp-a. Tákem i   sqáy-qeycw-a   ats'x-en-táli.
    go def.past   deic det coyote-det all   pl.det man-redup-det see-tr-tali
    "The coyote was going along and all the men saw him."   (2882 RW)

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[5]At least one of our consultants, BF, regularly produces clefts without **nilh**. Superficially, these resemble simple subject-predicate sentences (unusually, since St'át'imcets is otherwise strictly predicate-initial; see Gardiner, Davis & Matthewson 1993); however, the presence of -**tali** in transitive subject-initial sentences indicates that these structures involve extraction from a more basic predicate-initial word order rather than representing an alternate base order:

(i) ta   sqáycw-a   ats'x-en-táli   tákem i   sqáx7-a
    det   man-det   see-tr-tali   all pl.det   dog-det
    "The man saw all the dogs."   (824 BF)

It is important to note that while -**tali** never appears except in these environments, it is by no means the case that it always appears in them, either. To start with, it is never used if the object is first or second person (recall that it is in complementary distribution with overt object markers, as shown in (3) above). Moreover, it is optional when the subject is plural and the object is singular, as shown below:

15. nilh   i   ucwalmícw-a ats'x-en-ít-as ti   swúw'h-a
    foc   pl.det   indian-det see-tr-3pl-erg det   cougar-det
    "It was the Indians who saw the cougar."   (5-7-94 GN)

Most surprisingly, however, it turns out that subject-centred relative clauses, clefts, questions and quantifier extractions are all easy to elicit with the third person ergative marker -**as** instead of -**tali**, as shown in (16) - (19) below, equivalent to the -**tali** cases in (11) - (14) respectively :

16. áts'x-en-as ta   sqáycw-a ta   taw-en-ás-a   s-Mary   ta   púkw-a
    see-tr-3erg det   man-det det   sell-tr- 3erg-det   nom-Mary   det   book-det
    "S/he saw the man that sold Mary the book."   (462 GN, RW)

17. nilh ta   scwená7em-a   skícza7-s   k'íh-en-as   ta   sk'úk'wm'it-a
    foc det   indian.doctor-det   mother-3sg.poss   put.on.lap-tr-3erg det   child-det
    "It was the Indian doctor's mother that picked up the child."   (1060 RW)

18. swat   ku   túp-un'-as   s-John?
    who   det   hit-tr-3erg   nom-John
    "Who hit John?"   (1139 RW, GN)

19. tákem   i   smúlhats-a   ts'aqw-an'-ít-as   i   sq'wél-a
    all   pl.det   woman-det   eat-tr-3pl-3erg   pl.det   berries-det
    "All the women ate the berries."   (1775 RW GN)

In order to understand the factors governing this surprising alternation, it is necessary to add a third dimension of analysis: that of discourse structure, and particularly of topic-maintenance.

2.3. Discourse

The reason that it is very difficult in elicitation contexts to tell whether there is any significant difference in meaning between subject extraction with -**as** and -**tali** is because the alternation is sensitive to the relative "topicality" of the two arguments, which can often only be established through discourse. Topicality, of course, can be defined in many ways, and in St'át'imcets, there are at least two separate but overlapping types of topic. The first, which we will refer to here as discourse topic (d-topic), roughly corresponds to the protagonist(s) of a given discourse, while the second, which we will call sentence-topic (s-topic) - is what a particular sentence is "about" - i.e., a topic in the topic-comment sense (see Reinhart 1981). Since most sentences in a given discourse are about the protagonist(s), the two coincide in the majority of cases; but there are several significant differences between them.

The easiest way to represent a d-topic is in terms of the file-card semantics devised by Heim (1988) and adopted by Erteschik-Shir (1993) in her extensive account of topic-focus structure. Each new protagonist in a discourse is given a file-card, which can then be activated and de-activated during the discourse by topic maintenance and switching devices. It is assumed that first and second persons, being always present in a discourse, have permanently active file-cards, and thus are immune to d-topic-related morphology.

The most important syntactic characteristic of an active d-topic file-card is its ability to bind an empty pronominal, which in St'át'imcets as in other pro-drop languages is essentially anaphoric rather than deictic, and thus needs a discourse antecedent. This means that, since more than one empty pronoun can be bound from the discourse, there may be more than one d-topic (and corresponding file-card) available

to bind them. We will assume here, for concreteness' sake, that each active file-card licenses a referential index, which then binds a null pronominal.

The mapping of d-topic indices onto pronominals in transitive clauses is not random; generally, the primary d-topic (which may be defined as the first d-topic to have been introduced amongst those which are currently active) is mapped onto the subject position, and any subsequently introduced d-topics are then mapped progressively further down the tree. This is illustrated in the following text fragment:[6]

20.(a) Kacála kú7a áku7.
He got to the brow of the hill.

(b) Wa7 láti7 skits i st'epálwasa, i st'pfl'apa.
There was a pair of underpants lying there, a pair of long-johns.

(c) Ats'xnas, cwepnás ku7 láti7, ama !
He saw them there, he picked them up, they were good !   (LLS p.65: MLR)

(nb: relevant discourse-tracking morphemes are identified in bold-face, a convention I will adopt throughout this paper).

The primary d-topic, as represented by the null subject in sentence (a), is the agent of the transitive sentences in (c). Sentence (b), however, introduces a new referent, which corresponds to the null object of sentence (c). Both referents in (c) are null pronominals; by hypothesis, they must be discourse-bound, implying the existence of both a primary and a secondary d-topic, the first mapped to subject, the second to object position.

We can capture this behaviour in the file-card semantics model by assuming that file card indices are stacked in a particular order, with the primary d-topic index on the top of the pile; a secondary d-topic index will then only be available if the primary index has already been assigned. Assume further that index assignment is top-down, that is that the primary index will be assigned to the highest available pronominal in a sentence, the secondary index to the next highest, and so on. Finally, assume the process is repeated for each sentence, and the ordering effect falls out straightforwardly.

There are also cases where a primary and not a secondary d-topic is mapped directly onto an object pronominal. One such case occurs when a subject has different number and/or person features from the primary topic. In that case, a null object may easily be bound by the primary d-topic, as illustrated below:

21.(a) qwatsáts ku7 aylh lhelkw7ú ni7 ni núkwa,
So the other one left from there,

(b) kalhéxwa ku7 t'u7,
then he appeared,

(c) qwaxtminítas ku7.
then they noticed him.   (LLS p.3; BE)

The primary d-topic here, ni núkwa "the other", introduced in (a) and maintained in (b) via a null subject, is the null direct object of (c), since the subject of (c) is third person plural and thus incompatible with the features of the primary topic.

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[6] In textual examples, no morpheme-by-morpheme gloss is provided, for reasons of economy.

In fact, it turns out that not only feature-matching but also pragmatic compatibilty can affect the d-topic-subject mapping. Thus, in the following elicited examples, real-world knowledge has been manipulated to force a non-compatible mapping; these examples are perfectly grammatical in context.

22.(a) Wa7 ti pápel7-a smúlhats.
prog det one-det woman.
"There was this woman."

(b) Papt wa7 qwal'út-min-as ti   skúza7-s-a   ti   kúkwpi7-a.
always prog talk-appl-3erg   det   child-3sg.poss-det det   chief-det
"The chief's son is always proposing to the lady."   (23-6-94 RW)

23.(a) Wa7 lak ti   xzúm-a k'ét'h-a   sk'ík'ta7-s-a   ti   sqwém-a .
prog lie det   big-det rock-det   next-3sg.poss-det det   mountain-det
"The rock was sitting close to the mountain."

(b) Ats'x-en-as ti   sqáycw-a   nilh-s   úxwal.
see-tr-3erg det   man-det   foc-nom   go.home
The man went to see it and he went home."   (23-6-94 RW)

What these cases seem to indicate is that the d-topic-binding of a pronominal is a matter of relative prominence, rather than a fixed relation between syntactic subject and primary d-topic; in other words, a d-topic binds the highest available pronominal argument that matches its syntactic and semantic features.

In contrast to the hierarchical structure of d-topic index assignment in transitive clauses, any d-topic may bind a pronominal in intransitive clauses, whether primary or secondary; ambiguity is usually avoided by context. This is best illustrated by presenting a fragment of text, as below:

24.(a) sqwál'nas aylh ti stsitsá7a ku huy' száytens
She told the crow what to do

(b) lhtsícw-as áku7 úxwal' eki s7ístkn-a, eki slal'fl'temsa.
when he would get to the underground house, to her parents.

(c) nilh t'u7 stsúnas ku7 ti stsitsá7a ...
She said to the crow ...   (LLS, p. 22, MLR)

As can be seen from the transitive predication in (a), the primary d-topic is the girl, not mentioned here with a lexical NP. However, the crow, object of the predicate in (a), is subject of both the intransitive nominalized predicate száytens in (a) and the intransitive predicate tsícw in (b). These intransitive predications do not switch topic, as can be seen in (c), where the primary topic is once again the girl.

Note also that a d-topic, once established, can remain "hidden" through a serious of intransitive and sometimes even transitive predications, as illustrated in the text fragment below:

25.(a) Cw7aoz ku7 t'u7 kw cin's láti7,
It did not take long,

(b) ts7as ku7 t'elh ti skalúl7a,
before the owl came,

(c) plan aylh wa7 nxwetswetsálus
He had already scratches on his eyes

(d) lhwas k'a t'u7 ken skelhnás i sfkila múta7 i qwal'flha lti nkwt'ústen'sa
because he had been trying to take off the tree-bark and the pitch from his face

(e) i takmá t'u7 np'ukwalúsnas ti skalúl7a.
     everything she had poured into his eyes.   (LLS, p. 28, MLR)

At the beginning of this stretch of discourse, the primary d-topic is the girl, who is the main protagonist of the story. The owl, re-introduced in (b), is a secondary d-topic which controls the transitive predicate **skelhnás** in (d). However, as is clear from context, the subject of the following transitive predicate **np'ukwalúsnas** in (e) is the primary topic, the girl, who is not even mentioned by a lexical NP in this text fragment. Note that in this case, pragmatics overrules the normal mapping of the primary d-topic onto the transitive subject in (d).

In contrast to the discourse-sensitive properties of a d-topic, the s-topic, as its name is meant to indicate, is much more directly tied to sentence grammar. In fact, it is best understood as a partial deconstruction of the traditional notion of subject (see Li and Thompson 1976, Bresnan and Kanerva 1989 etc), more particularly in the subject-predicate/topic-comment sense, that is, as the person or thing which a particular predicate is "about". An s-topic is represented by a syntactic position, in contrast to a d-topic, which is present in the discourse context but not projected syntactically. This position is generally assumed to be canonically linked to a subject; a structural correspondance between the two has often been noted (see eg. Li and Thompson 1976, Delancey 1981). Erteschik-Shir (1993) captures this generalization in the following formula, which she refers to as the Topic Constraint (TC):

$$*TOP_i \ [SUBJECT \ [VP...NP_i...]]$$

The TC, which states that a non-subject cannot be linked to an (s-) topic, is adopted by Roberts (1994) in his extensive investigation of subject and topic in St'át'imcets. A stronger position is taken by Li and Thompson (1976), who claim that a subject is no more than a grammaticalized topic. It is this more extreme position which we will adopt in our treatment of s-topics in St'át'imcets, claiming that they directly project a subject position.

The following table summarizes the differences between d-topic and s-topic:

26.	d-topic	s-topic
unique	no	yes
anaphoric	necessarily	not necessarily
syntactically projected	no	yes

Now, with these differences in mind, let us examine how the two types of topic interact. In informal terms, it is easy to see why they might coincide: a sentence, after all, is quite likely to be "about" one of the principle protagonists of the discourse of which it forms a part. However, we have characterized the two types of topic in rather different formal terms: a d-topic is represented in the syntax as the index binding an empty pronominal, while an s-topic is the argument in a topic-subject position. How are we to link them together ?

The answer, of course, is that both are anchored in the syntax to a subject position. S-topics are directly represented in a VP-external subject position. D-topics are linked more indirectly: active file cards, ordered from most to least prominent, are mapped onto null pronominals in a top down fashion, beginning with the subject , the highest argument in a tree. Thus, in the canonical case, both d- and s-topics will be mapped onto a subject position.

Non-canonical mappings are obtained whenever either a d-topic is not mapped to an s-topic in subject position (as with object pro), or an s-topic subject has no corresponding d-topic binder (as with a lexical NP subject). In an anti-canonical mapping, normal mapping is reversed, and a d-topic will be linked to a pronominal object while a lexical NP will correspond to the s-topic. This is most easily illustrated by examining the range of possible transitive sentence types, which are schematically represented below:

27.(a) pro [$_{VP}$ V NP]

(b) pro [$_{VP}$ V pro]

(c) NP [$_{VP}$ V pro]

(d) NP [$_{VP}$ V NP]

In (a), a d-topic binds pro in the s-topic VP-external position, satisfying both topic-subject mappings. In (b) this is also the case, but a secondary d-topic also binds a pro inside VP; the latter is therefore bound to a d-topic, but not to an s-topic subject. In (c) a d-topic binds the VP-internal pro, while the s-topic is realized as an overt NP; and finally, in (d), no d-topic is present, while an overt NP realizes the s-topic function.

It should be readily apparent that the optimal discourse-structure is that of the canonical mapping in (a), while the least optimal is the anti-canonical mapping in (c). This gives rise to the well-known Salishan "one-nominal" (ONO) effect (see Gerdts 1988), whereby a single overt argument is almost invariably interpreted as object rather than subject.[7]

If the canonical mapping in (a) is clearly preferred and the anti-canonical one in (c) clearly dispreferred, the non-canonical structures in (b) and (d) have an intermediate status. (b) should be acceptable just in case two d-topics are being referred to, and this is indeed the case; the pro in object position may be bound by a secondary d-topic, since the pro in subject-position is bound by the primary d-topic.

Where two d-topics are cross-referenced across a stretch of discourse, a "parallelism effect" comes into play; see Matthewson (1993) and Roberts (1994) for detailed accounts of this effect in St'át'imcets, and Davis and Saunders (1984) for similar effects in Bella Coola. Matthewson's version of parallelism is given below:

> For two items to corefer, they must both fulfill the same discourse function (either topic of the discourse or non-topic). In addition, there is a preference for both coreferential elements fo fulfill the topic of the discourse function (Matthewson 1993:20-21).

The following example from Roberts (1994) illustrates the effect:

28.(a) Pz-án-twal'   wi   s-Bill   múta7   s-John. Wa7   wi7   cmán'-twal'-wit.
        meet-tr-recip pl   nom-B   and   nom-J   prog   emph   enemy-recip-3pl
        "Bill$_i$ and John$_k$ met each other. They're enemies."

(b) áts'x-en-as   nilh   s-qvl-qvl-ts-mín'-as
     see-tr-3erg   foc   nom-bad-redup-mouth-appl-3erg
     "he$_i$ saw him$_k$, and then {he$_i$ swore at him$_k$/*he$_k$ swore at him$_i$}"
     "he$_k$ saw him$_i$, and then {he$_k$ swore at him$_i$/*he$_i$ swore at him$_k$}"
                                                          (1595 AA, GN, RW)

It seems clear that parallelism is related to d-topics rather than s-topics. To start with, it operates across as well as within sentences: in the example above, (b) could be split into two separate sentences without altering parallelism; see Roberts (1994) for further justification. Moreover, it is crucially linked to binding of pro, which we have claimed is mediated by d-topics; this is explicitly mentioned in Matthewson's version of the Parallelism Constraint. Now, as already noted, d-topic file-cards are not randomly assigned to pronominals, but are mapped onto the syntax in a particular order, with the

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[7] Roberts (1994) provides a similar analysis of this effect in St'át'imcets, to which the present account is indebted, although his version differs from the one given here in that it appeals to the canonical realization of overt NPs in focus as well as topic positions.

primary d-topic index assigned to the highest pronominal, the secondary d-topic index assigned to the next, and so on. It seems that parallelism can be reduced to this independently needed mapping relation, since the same mapping will obtain in each sentence, barring a topic-switch; the parallelism effect is then simply the result of the same mapping procedure applying iteratively to sentences in a discourse.

While the cases in (27b) are non-canonical because they contain a d-topic which is not linked to an s-topic, those in (27d) exhibit the opposite effect, with two overt NPs (by hypothesis, not d-topics). It has often been noted that sentences with more than one overt NP are very rare in Salishan discourse, though they are relatively easy to elicit and in St'át'imcets at least perfectly grammatical in isolation. This follows from the fact that they completely lack a d-topic, and therefore can only be used in highly restricted discourse circumstances. Such circumstances obtain precisely when the primary d-topic is for some reason neither the subject nor the object of a given predication. This is best illustrated by some textual examples:

29.(a) Wa7 we7ánas ti cwík'tensa,
        She was holding her knife,

  (b) nilh ku7 t'u7 ti7 scúlels ti sám7a.
        then the white man ran away.

  (c) Ats'xenas ku7 ti7 ti cwík'tna ti sám7a -
        The white man saw the knife -

  (d) xzum7úl !
        it was huge !   (LLS p.82, SM)

30.(a) Qapts ku7 aylh,
        Spring arrived,

  (b) ligw'tsán'as ti sk'wal'tsa ti míxalha,
        the bear opened the cave,

  (c) cwits'citém ku7 ti texw7átssa,
        he was given his bow,

  (d) nilh t'u7 szuhumtsín' emnem.
        and he was bid farewell.   (LLS p.57, BE)

In the first case, (29), the primary d-topic (identified as the referent of the empty subject pronominal in (a)) is the bearer of the knife. The intransitive predication in (b) introduces a secondary d-topic, the white man, who is also the (overt) subject of the transitive clause in (c). Were the subject not mentioned explicitly, the rule mapping a primary topic to the highest pro would immediately interpret the subject as the knife-bearer; hence two overt NPs are necessary.

In the second case, in (30), the primary d-topic is the hunter, as evidenced by the passives in (c) and (d), which are diagnostic of patient-topic status. The bear (a secondary d-topic) must therefore be explicitly mentioned in the transitive predication in (b), since a pro-subject would be automatically interpreted as the hunter.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the effect of -tali on information structure. Perhaps the best way of showing its discourse-function is simply to examine a relevant stretch of narrative: the following text-fragment also contains a variety of other discourse tracking mechanisms, for comparison:

31.(a) Wa7 ku7 láti7 ti pápel7a smúlhats.
        There was once a woman.

  (b) Cw7aoz kwenswá zwáten lhenka7mecás k'a ti7 ku smúlhats,
        I don't know which people that woman came from,

  (c) lhenká7as k'a ti7 lht'íqas.
        where it was she came from.

  (d) Nilh ku7 t'u7 swa7s i wa7 qwal'utmintáli;
        So there were those who proposed to her;

  (e) tsicw ku7 aylh ti pápel7a sqaycw, qwal'útminem.
        one man came, and proposed to her.

  (f) Cw7ay t'u7 kwas xát'min'as i sqáyqeycwa.
        She didn't want the men.

  (g) Tsicw ku7 ti núkwa,
        Another came,

  (h) cw7ay t'u7 kwas xát'min'as.
        she didn't want him.   (LLS p.32; MLR)

The existential intransitive clause in (a) (which marks the beginning of the story) has an overt nominal, ti smúlhatsa, "the woman" which becomes the primary d-topic. (b) is a transitive clause with a first person subject (irrelevant to d-topic tracking), and a propositional complement, which itself contains an intransitive predicate with an overt nominal, further identifying the primary d-topic, which then binds the subject of the "amplificatory" clause in (c). (d) is an intransitive clause which introduces a new secondary topic, itself a subject-centred relative clause containing -tali, whose null object corresponds to the primary d-topic, the woman. (e) is an intransitive clause, introducing another secondary d-topic, followed by a passive, whose single null argument (the patient) once again corresponds to the primary d-topic. (f) is a typical transitive, with a null pronominal subject , the primary d-topic, and an overt object, introducing a new (plural) referent. The intransitive clause in (g) introduces another overt non-topic, and (h) illustrates a transitive predicate with no overt arguments, again with the null subject interpreted as primary d-topic, but this time with a null object also functioning as secondary topic.

From even this brief examination, it is clear that -tali has an effect on the mapping of discourse functions into the syntax. Whereas the canonical mapping, as we have seen, involves a d-topical null pronoun in subject position and an overt non-topical NP in object position, -tali allows a pro in object position to be bound by the primary d-topic, and a trace in subject position to be indirectly bound by a secondary d-topic. In this respect, its discourse function parallels that of passive (see (31e) above), and indeed sometimes the two can be found in the same sentence in virtually identical contexts:[8]

32. T'íqminem aylh eti wa7 tiqmintáli
        She was visited (lit; come for) then by the one who visited her
                                                           (LLS p.33, MLR)

While examples such as those above (and many similar) provide clear evidence that -tali is connected to topic maintenance in St'át'imcets, they do not show how. In particular, does -tali affect d-topics (i.e., pro-binders) or s-topics ? And is it a de-topicalizer for the subject, or a topicalizer for the object ? I will return to these and other related questions below; for the moment, however, it will suffice to point out that discourse-sensitivity provides a plausible explanation for the puzzling -as / tali alternation in elicited examples. Since such examples almost by definition contain no relevant discourse context, it appears that the correct environment for -tali is absent, leading to uncertainty as to whether it should be

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[8] In fact, passive is very commonly used as a means of topicalizing an object in many Salish languages, both those with and without a separate topical object marker, as pointed out by Kinkade (1988, 1989, 1990); see also Kroeber (1987).

used or not. Supporting evidence for this conjecture is provided by an analysis of the relevant extraction contexts: in LLS, I identified eighteen subject extraction cases, all with -tali , and fourteen cases of object extraction, all with -as. (See appendix B for a complete list of these examples). In other words, where discourse context is supplied -as and -tali are indeed in complementary distribution.

3.   What does -tali mark ?

With the basic facts in place, I will now turn to a consideration of possible analyses for -tali, drawing for cross-Salish comparison particularly on the work of Kinkade (1989, 1990). In section 3.1, I will show that -tali cannot be treated simply as an agreement marker; in 3.2, I will argue that though clearly diachronically related to the "Topical Object" markers described by Kinkade in several Salishan languages, -tali cannot be identified with any of them, either; in 3.3 I will turn to an alternative based on ergative extraction, which I willl also reject, as well as an analysis based on passive in 3.4. In section 4, I will then propose an account of the behaviour of -tali which avoids some of the problems encountered in section 3.

3.1   -tali as agreement

Perhaps the simplest hypothesis concerning -tali is that it is simply part of the agreement paradigm of the language. A number of morphological, syntactic, and discourse arguments weigh against such an analysis, however. There are two agreement possibilities: third person subject and third person object. If -tali is an object marker, then it should coocur with subject markers, which it does not (see (4) above); on the other hand, if it is a subject marker, then it should co-occur with object markers, which is also not the case (as shown in (3)). A third analysis, which would group it with the "special" object markers -tsut (reflexive) and twal' (reciprocal) is also precluded, on the grounds that both of these are intransitivizing suffixes (see (2) above) whereas -tali has no effect on transitivity. If -tali is an agreement marker, then, it behaves like no other agreement marker in the language.

Another morphological argument is provided by feature composition.To put it bluntly, -tali is featureless. In general, third persons (as the "other" person category) are unmarked in Salish (this being particularly apparent with the zero-marking of third person absolutives), but -tali is striking in that it is also obligatorily unmarked for number, as shown in examples (5-7) in 2.1 above.

A simple agreement analysis also fails to account for the most salient syntactic effect of -tali: it provides no explanation for why subject extraction is forced. And finally, it provides no insight into the discourse effects described in 2.3 above. In short, an agreement analysis fails to address any of the characteristic properties of -tali, and thus can offer no real insight into its behaviour.

3.2   -tali as topical object marker

The term "topical object" is taken from Kinkade (1989), who describes such markers as

"...special object inflections used to keep track of a topic when it is not an agent/subject, and specifically when it is the patient (or the like) of a transitive construction (which in its default role would be a direct object)."

Kinkade identifies topical object markers in four branches of Salishan: Tsamosan (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Quinault); Tillamook; Central Coast (Lushootseed); and Southern Interior (Columbian). All are clearly historically related, and reconstructible as Proto-Salish *-wali :

(33)   Upper Chehalis: -wal/wall

Cowlitz: -wal/wall

Quinault: -ull

Tillamook: -gel/egl

Lushootseed: -egʷl

Columbian: -wə́/u

Proto-Salish: *-wall

It is clear that -tali is related to these forms; the initial -t- is simply a fossilized transitive marker, and the only real puzzle is the disappearance in St'átimcets of Proto-Salish *-w-, which is still present in the reciprocal suffixes -twal'- and -twaxw (the latter residual). This is noted by Kroeber (1991), who rejects the affiliation of -tali with the topical object markers on this basis; their resemblance in form and function, however, seems too obvious to be an accident.

I thus conclude that -tali is historically derived from the Proto-Salish topical object marker. However, synchronically, it shows some highly significant differences. Most importantly, authentic topical object markers really do mark objects, as pointed out by Kinkade:

"Topical object constructions have the topical object suffix immediately following the transitivizing suffix, but in turn are followed by a subject suffix or clitic. In Lushootseed and Tillamook, and in the perfective aspect forms of Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz the third person transitive subject marker is again zero, so there is at this point no formal way in which to distinguish these constructions from passives. In the imperfective aspect of Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, and in Columbian, however, all third person transitives do have a subject suffix (which would not be present in a passive). Since the only thing that would ever be present between a transitivizing suffix and a subject suffix is an object suffix, the topical object suffixes must also be object markers." (Kinkade 1989, p.12).

However, as pointed out above, -tali shows none of the characteristics of an object suffix. Like Columbian and the Tsamosan imperfectives, St'át'imcets has an overt transitive subject suffix (-as); however, -as is in complementary distribution with -tali, indicating that the latter cannot be an object suffix. So, even if it induces a topical object effect, -tali cannot be a topical object marker.

There are also obvious syntactic differences between topical object markers and -tali. The former do not induce extraction, and can coocur with both subject (agent) and object (patient) arguments, as reported by Kinkade:

"Most commonly, Salishan languages allow only one lexical argument as a direct adjunct in a clause; in an intransitive clause this will be the subject, in a transitive clause it will be the object. With a topical object suffix, however, the lexical argument may be either subject or object, but is more commonly subject..." (Kinkade 1989, p.22)

However, as we have already seen, -tali is incompatible with an overt post-predicative subject, since the latter must be extracted.

In fact, further differences between the topical object marker and -tali emerge when we examine the "topical object effect" itself in more detail. Recall that d-topics are represented in the syntax by null pronominals, whose reference is filled in by indices associated with active file cards. This gives rise to a typical "null subject" pattern in transitives, where an overt argument is generally interpreted as object, in line with the ONO. Now, if -tali were to induce a topical object effect, we might expect exactly the reverse pattern, with objects generally being null. This, however, is not the case; overt lexical objects

appear to be freely available in both elicited and textual contexts. Some examples of the latter are presented below:

34.   wa7 k'a kwelh wa7 t'iqmintáli i nstmál'ta
    some people must be coming for my children   (LLS p. 36, MLR)

35.   Tsicw ku7 ti7 aylh p'an't múta7 et7ú éki ucwalmícwa ti7 ti pzantalíha i tewtwúw'ta ltsa píxem'wit
    The man who had met the boys where they were hunting went back to the people.
    (LLS p. 41, MLR)

36.   Put ha kelh tákemlhkalh nas szacentáli ku pépla7 t'u7 ts'i7 ?
    Do we really have to go all to pack one deer ?   (LLS, p. 60, BE)

In these examples, there is no obvious correlation between object and topicality; indeed, in (36) the object is indefinite, precluding such an analysis altogether.

Now, it might be argued that this lack of topicality is connected to the fact that extraction is induced by -tali, but not by topical object markers. However, in object extraction cases with -as, the subject is almost invariably null, just as in non-extraction cases, and unlike in cases of extraction with -tali.. The single textual case of an overt subject in an object extraction case is given below:

37.   stám'as k'a malh kwa ilalmínas ti sk'úk'wm'ita
    whatever it might have been that the child was crying over (LLS p. 19, MLR)

Here, the extracted object is indefinite, allowing the overt post-predicative DP to function as s-topic. What the rarity of overt subjects in object extraction indicates is that the d-topic is strongly correlated with subject - displaying, in fact, a "topical subject" effect; however, -tali does not induce a corresponding topical object effect.

We conclude that though clearly diachronically related to topical object markers, -tali cannot be one. It is time to explore other possibilities.

3.3.   -tali as ergative extraction marker

One promising alternative is that -tali is linked directly to the extraction of an ergative argument. As demonstrated by e.g. Campana (1992), Murasugi (1992) and many others, it is consistently harder in many languages to extract an ergative than an absolutive argument; whereas the latter can generally be extracted directly, the former must rely on special morphology to license an empty category in transitive subject position. Such mechanisms appear to be widespread in Salish (see Kroeber 1991 for an overview) and certainly exist (though in somewhat different form) in both Northern Interior neighbours of St'át'imcets, Shuswap (Secwepemctsín) and Thompson (Nlha7kapmuxcín), as documented by Gardiner (1993) and Kroeber (1992) respectively; see also Davis, Gardiner and Matthewson (1993). It seems quite plausible, then, that -tali should play a similar role. Moreover, such an analysis immediately accounts for why -tali should only appear in extraction environments, why it should appear only with third persons (since ergativity is confined to third person in Salish), and why it should be in complementary distribution with the ergative marker (since it marks an ergative gap).

Nevertheless, there are some major problems with this analysis. The most obvious is that, as we have seen, -tali is frequently replaced in elicited ergative extractions by -as. I have suggested above that the reason for this is that a proper discourse context is necessary for the appearance of -tali (as opposed to the default -as marker); but there is no reason, if -tali is simply a marker of extraction, why this should be the case. At best, an ad-hoc additional condition on discourse factors would have to be appended to the analysis.

In addition, for one of our consultants, both -tali and -as are optional in cases of subject extraction with an inanimate object.[9] Examples are given below:

38.   swat   ku   tsúw'-en   ti   k'ét'h-a
    who   det   kick-tr   det   rock-det
    "Who kicked the rock?"   (1503 GN)

39.   áts'x-en-lhkan   ti   káo-ha   ken'n'-alqw-mín   ti   k'ét'h-a
    see-tr-1sg.subj   det   car-det   bump-mass-appl   det   rock-det
    "I saw the car bumped the rock." / * I saw the car that the rock bumped. (2924 GN)

40.   nilh   ti   káo-ha   ken'n'-alqw-mín   ti   sqáycw-a
    foc   det   car-det   bump-mass-appl   det   man-det
    "It's the car that bumped into the man."   (2931 GN)

Such examples compound the problem of the apparent optionality of -tali in subject extraction contexts, arguing against an account based simply on the inaccessibility of an ergative gap to its antecedent.

3.4   -tali as passive

In contrast to the last hypothesis, a passive analysis for -tali looks at least initially to be highly unpromising. St'át'mcets, like all Salish languages, has a more-or-less readily identifiable passive construction (examples of which are given in (8-10) above). Though rather different from the English passive (in particular, in retaining accusative case), the St'át'imcets passive shows some familiar diagnostic properties: in particular, it demotes the agent to oblique status, as can be seen from the presence of a (somewhat evanescent) oblique marker (shown in (41) below), as well as a word order restriction between the (direct) patient and the (oblique) agent (shown in (42)):[10]

41.   ts7as ku7 aylh zwátenem éki ucwalmícwa tsa cw7aoz kwas tsícwsas eti sqátsza7sa.
    "It came to be known then by the people that he did not bring it to his father."
    (LLS p. 45, MLR)

42.   áts'x-en-em   ti   sqáycw-a   ti   smúlhats-a
    see-tr-pass   det   man-det   det   woman-det
    "The man was seen by the woman." / * The woman was seen by the man.
    (79 RW, GN)

None of these properties characterize either ordinary transitive clauses or clauses with -tali. On the other hand, the extraction-inducing property of -tali is not shared by either active transitives or passives. It appears, then, that the -tali and passive constructions have a very different aetiology.

Nonetheless, there are some striking functional parallels between the two. To start with, they are used almost interchangeably in discourse, as shown in (31) above. This is not surprising, if both are ways of maintaining topic continuity (see footnote 7), but the parallels seem to be deeper than simply functional, since -tali shows morphological similarities to the passive marker -em, as shown in section 2.1, as well as syntactic resemblances: both passive and -tali have a detransitivizing effect, though they achieve it in rather different ways. Informally, passive demotes the agent argument to adjunct status, leaving the

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[9] In fact, there is rather complex but systematic variation between our consultants in their use of -tali, -as, and zero-marking in ergative extraction contexts. For all speakers, -tali is grammatical with subject extraction. For more liberal speakers, -as is also possible when discourse conditions allow it. Our most liberal speaker, GN, also allows zero-marking. There thus appears to be an implicational relationship between these three possibilities.

[10] This word order restriction is rather more complex than a simple adjunct-argument distinction, because as pointed out in Gardiner, Matthewson and Davis (1993), order of adjuncts and arguments in ordinary transitive clauses is free.

patient as the sole direct argument; **-tali** demotes the subject to non-topical status by extracting it, leaving the object as the sole possible topical argument.

The question then arises as to exactly what the relation is between the two constructions. Is it merely functional convergence that has endowed them with parallel properties, or is there some deeper connection ? In the next section, I will attempt to provide an answer to this question.

4. -tali as a discourse-passive

At the risk of burgeoning terminology, I wish to suggest in this section that **-tali** really is a type of passive, but one that operates on a different order of relations than the more familiar thematic passive. To be more precise, whereas ordinary passive dethematizes a subject (in the sense of depriving it of its thematic role), discourse passive de-topicalizes a subject. The two operations are structurally as well as functionally parallel because both affect a subject; they are differentiated, however, by the type of subject which is affected.

This implies the existence of two subject positions, a lower thematic projection and a higher topical one. In fact, we have already seen the "topical subject" position in St'át'imcets; it is none other than the s-topic described in section 2.3. Let us then assume roughly the following structure:

43.
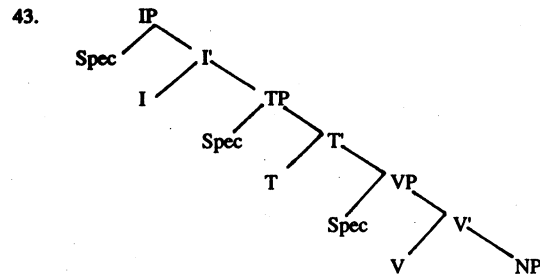
We assume that thematically selected arguments of the main predicate are generated in VP-internal positions (see Davis 1993a,b, Matthewson 1993, Roberts 1994). The subject will then raise from Spec, VP to Spec, TP, the position of an s-topical subject. The ergative marker **-as** will be generated in the head of the TP projection. Auxiliaries will be generated in the I position, above TP; Spec, IP will eventually be filled by the s-topical subject. Following Chomsky (1992), we will assume movement takes place at an abstract level of Logical Form to satisfy conditions on the identification of arguments by agreement.

The abstract topic position hypothesized here seems to have an overt counterpart in Secwepemctsín (Shuswap), as investigated by Gardiner (1993), who identifies a position below the focus projection and above the thematic projection, whose function is that of an internal topic; see also Aissen (1992). This suggests an LF/S-Structure movement parameter separating St'át'imcets from Secwepemctsín, which goes part way towards an explanation of the rather striking word-order differences between the two languages.

The "topical passive" analysis of **-tali** immediately accounts for a number of properties of the construction, including the "topical object effect" (which, as I argued above, is actually a "non-topical subject" effect), as well as its restriction to transitives (for precisely parallel reasons to thematic passive) and third persons (which are the only persons relevant to d-topic binding in the first place). One crucial property of **-tali**, however, remains problematic: there is in this account still no explanation for why it should always induce extraction.

One way to address this issue is to ask why it is that extraction has a de-topicalizing effect. There are in fact two possible answers to this question. First of all, it night be argued that extraction is invariably a focusing operation in St'átimcets, and focus is incompatible with d-topic binding. Of the four relevant extraction environments (WH-questions, focus clefts, relative clauses, and quantified argument fronting), the first two are canonical focusing devices; the extracted argument of a relative clause can also be plausibly argued to be focused, and there is some interesting evidence (see Demirdache et al, this volume) that quantified argument extraction, as opposed to bare quantifier fronting, can also play a focusing role. If this is indeed the case, then **-tali** might be argued to be a focusing device, rather than a detopicalizing one; however, such an analysis leads to the same problems as the ergative extraction marker analysis, in that it fails to account for cases where extraction to a focus position does not trigger **-tali**. Rather, the relation must be an indirect one, where the detopicalizing effect of **-tali** forces extraction.[11]

Another way of looking at this problem is to examine the nature of the empty category left behind after extraction. In all the cases under consideration, the gap is bound by a quantificational element, and thus counts as a "true" (non-pronominal) variable (see Cinque (1990) for the distinction).[12] Now, as we have seen, d-topics bind null pronominals. But pro may not be a true variable, as has been noted frequently in the literature: see in particular Baker (1991, 1993). It follows that in a subject-extraction case, the subject may not be d-topic bound; hence, extraction correlates with a de-topicalizing effect. Note that since an overt NP in argument can never be bound by a d-topic (since it has its own referential index), -**tali** will only be found in extraction contexts in the first place.

This analysis also accounts for the mysterious non-occurrence of **-tali** in elicited extraction contexts. There is nothing to stop extraction taking place without formally detopicalizing the subject; if a discourse context is missing, no d-topic will be present anyway, and therefore detopicalizing the subject will be unnecessary (and in fact, pragmatically rather odd). This is exactly what happens in elicitation contexts, where sentences containing initial -**tali** are frequently judged odd:

44. ?nilh ti sqáycw-a ti ats'x-en-táli-ha s-John tup-un'-táli
       foc det man-det det see-tr-tali-det nom-J hit-tr-tali
       "It's the man that saw John$_i$ that hit him$_i$"   (357 GN, RW)

On the other hand, their acceptability is greatly improved if an initial ergative **-as** is supplied instead of -**tali**:

45. nilh ti sqáycw-a áts'x-en-as s-John tup-un'-táli
       foc det man-det see-tr-3erg nom-J hit-tr-tali
       "It's the man that John$_i$ saw that hit him$_i$"   (350 GN, RW)

This follows straightforwardly if a topic has been introduced.

We now have the beginnings of an account of what -**tali** does. Its effect is to delink the d-topic from the (s-topic) subject position, forcing extraction as a means of licensing the empty category which results.

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[11] One way of rescuing the focus-analysis of -**tali** would be to claim that focus, just like topic, is dependent on a prior set of discourse presuppositions. Then the cases of ergative extraction with -**as** in elicited examples would fall out from the lack of a discourse context for focus, rather than topic. Whether this is plausible semantically is an open question, which I will make no attempt to answer here.

[12] Roberts (1994, chapter 2) argues that absolutive extraction cases involve a true gap rather than a zero pronominal. This is also true of ergative extraction in Coast languages; see Gerdts (1988) on Halkomelem, Jacobs (1989) on Squamish, and Kroeber (1991) for a general overview. Roberts assumes resumptive pronominal morphology in ergative extraction cases in St'át'imcets; however, if -**as** and -**tali** are not pronominal markers in the same sense as ordinary agreement, there seems to be no reason why a gap should not be present in ergative, as well as absolutive, extraction cases, as is obviously the case for ergative extractions with zero morphology.

The primary d-topic is then free to link to an object pro in -**tali** constructions, though as we have seen this topical object effect is not a necesssary consequence of detopicalizing the subject.

4.1. Split ergativity and the s-topic position

It remains to elucidate the relationship between -**tali** and the ergative marker -**as**. The latter, we will assume, is linked to the s-topic subject position, which is generated in all transitive clauses with a third person subject, regardless of whether there is a d-topic present in the discourse. This explains the presence of -**as** in sentences with first or second person object pronouns, which, as we have seen, are irrelevant to d-topic maintenance, as well as in sentences with two overt lexical NPs, neither of which by definition is linked to a d-topic. Following Roberts (1994), we further assume -**as** assigns ergative case, which is linked to the s-topic position; absolutive case, on the other hand, is assigned in VP.

This does not, however, explain the absence of -**as** in intransitives, which by hypothesis must lack an s-topic position. This amounts to the claim that intransitives have a completely different informational structure from transitives - they lack the "aboutness" relation encoded by the s-topic.[13] While this may appear counter-intuitive (how can a sentence be about nothing ?) it is probably easier to understand if the relevant notion of aboutness is taken to be a relation between two NPs within an S rather than a relation between the S and a discourse antecedent (which is the domain of d-topicalization). Note that there is nothing to prevent intransitive arguments from being d-topic bound; as we have seen, absolutive empty pronominals are readily d-linked.

This approach to intransitives allows us a rather simple account of the distribution of ergative -**as**: it marks s-topic subject. This in turn yields a structural parameter (presence versus absence of a syntactic projection corresponding to the s-topic subject) which underlies the ergative/absolutive versus nominative/accusative case parameter in St'át'imcets.

One further complication is presented by first and second person pronouns, which, in the pronominal split characteristic of most Salishan languages, appear as subjects of both transitives and intransitives. This case split correlates with a series of other marked differences between first and second persons on the one hand and third persons on the other. Morphologically, one and two subjects are clitics, while the third ergative is a suffix, as demonstrated, for example, by the ability of the former but not the latter to encliticize to the first of a string of pre-verbal auxiliaries (see Davis 1993a). Moreover, unlike ergatives or absolutives, first and second persons are fully inflected for number throughout the pronominal paradigm (see van Eijk 1985:172-189 for details). Syntactically, first and second person arguments, unlike third persons, never appear in argument positions; independent deictic pronominals may only be used either predicatively or as adjuncts, in which case they take third person agreement:

46.(a) (nilh) snúwa   ti   ats'x-en-ts-ás-a
     (foc) 2sg.emph   det   see-tr-1sg.obj-3erg-det
     "It was you that saw me."   (60 GN)

 (b) * snúwa   ti   ats'x-en-ts-ácw-a
     2sg.emph   det   see-tr-1sg.ob-2sg.conj-det
     "It was you that saw me."   (1403 GN, RW)

This suggests that first or second person clitics function as "true" pronominal arguments in the sense of Jelinek (1984), rather than as agreement markers, in the sense of Baker (1991, 1993); they directly saturate the the predicate to which they are attached, rather than indirectly, through an empty pronominal.[14] On the other hand, as argued in Matthewson et al. (1993) and Davis (1993b), third person

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[13] It seems clear that the s-topic of intransitives need not be the surface subject, as argued for example by Kratzer (1989) and Erteschick-Shir (1993), who assume that the s-topic of unaccusatives is actually an event variable, and of existential intransitives is an abstract location in space or time.

[14] Philips (to appear) demonstrates a split system in Yamas with precisely the same properties.

arguments are generated in argument position in St'át'imcets, and thus cannot be linked to pronominal arguments in either the Jelinek or Baker sense.

What all this means is that since first and second person clitics are Jelinek-type pronominal arguments, they do not project argument positions into the syntax at all. There is thus no s-topical subject present in clauses with first and second subject pronominals, which accordingly show a straight nominative accusative case-marking pattern.

5. Conclusion

Let us now summarize the preceding analysis. I have analyzed ergative -**as** as the marker or an s-topical subject position, to which the thematic subject moves at LF. This position is available only in transitive clauses, and only with 3rd person subjects, because intransitives and 1st and 2nd person arguments have no bearing on s-topicality. -**tali** is a type of discourse passive, which detopicalizes the s-topical subject by delinking it from a d-topic. The effect of this operation is to force extraction, since the only empty category which can be linked to a non-topical antecedent is a true (operator-bound) variable. A full NP is excluded from the subject position of a -**tali** clause simply because an R-expression can never be linked to a d-topic in the first place, and thus detopicalization will never apply. Likewise, -**tali** is only found in third person predications because it is only in this environment that there are two possible d-topic binders, one of which can be de-topicalized to alter the prominence relations between them.

I hope to have shown that the analysis of one small morpheme can lead to insights into the interrelation of morphology, syntax and discourse in Salish languages. Whatever the correct analysis of -**tali** might turn out to be, its description entails a detailed investigation of some of the most fascinating and enigmatic areas of Salish linguistics.

Appendix A

Key to St'át'imcets (van Eijk) orthography

orthography	phonemic script	orthography	phonemic script
p	p	q'w	q̓ʷ
p'	p̓	x	χ
m	m	xw	χʷ
m'	m̓	r	ɣ
t	t	r'	ɣ̓
ts	c	g	ʕ
ts'	c̓	g'	ʕ̓
s	š	gw	ʕʷ
n	n	g'w	ʕ̓ʷ
n'	n̓	h	h
t'	ƛ̓	w	w
lh	ɬ	w'	w̓
l	l	y	y
l'	l̓	y'	y̓
k	k	z	z
k'	k̓	z'	z̓
kw	kʷ	7	ʔ
k'w	k̓ʷ	a	æ
c	x	a	a
cw	xʷ	e	ə
q	q	v	ʌ
q'	q̓	i	i
qw	qʷ	u	u
		o	o

Abbreviations used

1	1st person	nom	nominalizer
2	2nd person	obj	object
3	3rd person	part	particle
abs	absolutive	pass	passive
appl	applicative	pl	plural
caus	causative	poss	possessive
conj	conjunctive	prog	progressive
def.past	definite past	recip	reciprocal
deic	deictic	redup	reduplication
det	determiner	refl	reflexive
emph	emphatic	sing	singular
erg	ergative	subj	subject (indicative)
foc	focus	tr	transitive
intr	intransitive		

Appendix B

Extraction Structures in Lillooet Legends and Stories (van Eijk and Williams 1981)

p.3

line 3: tákem t'u7 swat wa7 zwatentsálitas kwenswá nk'yap
everybody knows that I am a coyote

p.6

line 2: Tsukw t'u7 i sq'wáxtsa wa7 smul.
Only his legs were in the water.

line 5: Ati7 aylh gwelínsa lhwas kamulmulmúla lti qu7a, gwelínsa. Plan múta7 úqwa7.
It was his stomach that was in the water, his stomach. He drank again.

line 7: T'ak t'u7, nilh t'u7 slts7as kwt'ústsa lhtsicwálmenas ti qú7a.
So he carried on going, until the water nearly got up to his face.

p.7

line 1: lhq'iq'at t'u7 ti wa7 zwátenan
the bit I know is short

line 6: stam' kelh láti7 kwa zúqwsacw lti texwátsswa ?
what are you gonna kill with that bow of yours ?

p.9

line 1: stám'as k'a nukun' ku száytensu ?
what on earth have you done ?

line 5: lts7a k'a núkun' lh gúy'tan
I must have gone and fallen asleep

line 7: tsukw t'u7 ti wa7 zwátnan
that's all I know of it

p.10

line 3: kánem ses xzum i nk'wt'ústenswa ?
why are your eyes big ?

p.12

line 2: kanem su xílhtum'c ets7a ?
why did you do this to me ?

line 4: kánem múta7 sacw guy't ?
why were you sleeping ?

p.15

line 4: i wa7 estsmál't
the ones who had children

line 6: i wa7 estsúwa7
the ones who owned them

line 12: nilha cwilh k'a i stsmál'tkalha sq'welcitúmulhas
it's turned out that it's our cubs that she's cooked for us

line 13: i wa7 sk'wilh skezkwékwez7i
the ones that were left of the little children

p.19

line 5: stám'as k'a malh kwa ilalmínas ti sk'úk'wmi7ta
whatever the child might have been crying about

p.20

line 6: lhelt7ú nlhá7ctna lhelts7á úlhcwwit i ucwalmícwa
from the ladder that the people enter from

p.22

line 12: stám'as k'a wi7 múta7 kwelh wa7 mek'ilólya7 cw7aoz kwenswá zewáten.
whatever mek'ilólya7 might be, I have no idea.

p.23

line 3: lki wa7 estsítcw
to the ones who had houses

p.24

line 7: tákem t'u7 káti7 wa7 t'u7 t'íqsas
all that stuff that he brought

p.26

line 7: tákem ku7 t'u7 np'ukwalúsnas
everything that she poured into his eye

line 15: nílhas láti7 ti sáw'ta kwil' ínal'ap
let it be the slave that you get ready

p.28

line 3: i takemá t'u7 np'ukwalúsnas ti skalúl7a
everything that she had poured into the owl's eyes

p.30:

line 3: ti wa7 hal'acítitas
the one they had showed it to

p.32

line 3: i wa7 qwal'utmintáli
the ones that proposed to her

line 10: ti guy'tmintalíha
the one that slept with her

p.33

line 3: lhswátas kwa t'íqmintsas lhwas sitst
whoever comes for me at night

line 4: i wa7 nahenítas wa t'iq't
what they call t'iq't

line 5: iz' wa7 nahenítas kwa t'iq't
the stuff they call t'iq't

line 8: T'íqminem aylh eti t'iqmintáli.
She was visited by the one who visited her.

line 11: ti t'iqmintáliha ... ti wa7 t'iqmintáli, ti wa7 t'iq guy'tmintáli
the one who visited her, the one who had been visiting her, the one who slept with her

p.35

line 4: nilh ti snílhtsa ti sqáxa7sa wa7 t'iq guy'tmintáli
it turned out to be her dog that came to sleep with her

p.36

line 5: stám'as k'a wi7 múta7 kwelh wa7 k'ul'tsán'as
whatever it was that she brought for food

line 6: stám'as k'a múta7 kwelh wa7 s7ílhens i stsmál'tsa
whatever her children ate

line 10: wa7 k'a kwelh wa7 t'iqmintáli i nstmál'ta
apparently there are people who come for my children

p.37

line 1: lhstám'as kwa tiqmintáli i nstsmál'ta
whatever it is that comes for my children

line 12: s7icwlh ku7 múta7 lti skitsin'ása ti smém'lhatsa skwékwza7s, s7icwlh ku7 múta7 lti skitsin'ása ti qex7its'a7sa
it was a different place where the girl's one was lying, a different place where her dogskin was lying

p.38

line 3: nilh t'u7 stsukws i tewtwúw'eta i qex7its' 7íha kwánensas
so it was only the boys' dogskins that she took

line 9: ti smém'lhatsa, ti qex7íts'a7sa lhecwnás
the girl who had put on her dogskin

p.41

line 1: Tsicw ku7 ti7 aylh p'an't múta7 et7ú éki ucwalmícwa ti7 ti pzantalíha i tewtwúw'ta ltsa píxem'wit
So the one who had met the boys when they were hunting returned to the people

p.52

line 9: p'an't aylh múta7 lhelt'7ú i culelmintalíha tú7a ti twúw'ta
so the ones who had run away from the boy went back

p. 54

line 6: nilh s7áts'xenas ti q'wexq'wíxqwa míxalh wa7 smítsao7q káti7 nklústsa
so he saw a black bear who was sitting in front of him

line 10: ... ti wa7 szaytenstúmihas i k'sáytkenswa
... what your relatives are doing to you

line 12 ... stám'as kw stsúntsin
... whatever I tell you

p.55

line 9: ... lhstám'as ti wa7 sptínusems
... whatever he was thinking

p.57

line 3: Nilh múta7 ti súp'sa ti míxalha wa kanuk'wa7stáli kwas wa7 neqwálts.
It was the breath of the bear which made it warm inside.

line 9: nilh ti7 wa7 ts'úmun'as snilh. Nilh ti7 wa7 száyteni xw7útsin t'ánam'ten.
so he licked it. That's what they did for four months

p.59

line 3: pepla7úl ts'i7 ti st'íqcalsa
just one deer that he brought back

p.60

line 3: Put ha kelh tákemlhkalh nas szácentali ku pépla7 t'u7 ts'i7 ?
Do we really all have to go just to pack one deer ?

p.66

line 1: nilh t'u7 spzánas k'a lhswátas k'a káti7 ku pzánas
so then he met whoever he met around there

line 4: cw7aoz kw szwatenítas lhswátas iz' ku ústal'i
they didn't know who had thrown them out

line 6: K'a wá7a cwilh ti7 sqwenúxw ti ústal'i i st'epálwasa
So then the one who had thrown the underpants out got sick

line 10: cw7ay t'u7 kwas zwatenítas lhwas ti7 kánem, qwenúxw t'u7.
they didn't know what happened to him, that he got sick

p.68

line 2: ti t'íqa záq'il áti7 s7ístkena.
the one that came to peek inside the pithouse.

line 11: Plan t'u7 wa7 tákem wa7 xwayt láti7 i wa7 es7ístken
Already everybody had died who was in the pithouse

p.70

line 8: Sáma7 k'a ku sqwal'entáli
Apparently it was a white person who told her

line 10: Nilh malh ti7 sqweqwel'entsás ni nskícz7a i wan sk'úk'wmi7t.
My mother told me this when I was a child.

p.72

line 6: ... lhstám'as kwa lhecwsás
... whatever it was that he was wearing

p.74

line 1: ... ti Scwápmeca wa7 táwem
... the Shuswap who was selling things

p.76

line 5: Ts7a ti ucwalmícwa kúkwpi7 papt t'u7 ti7 wa7 qwel'qwl't mínitas kwas ...
So there was this Indian chief who they were always talking about ...

line 7: ... ku nik'alhq'weltántali ti7 ti súmikha
... the one who cut the shoemaker's throat

p.78

line 14: Nká7as t'u7 kwen qwenán ku sqlaw'.
Whenever I need money

p.79

line 6: tsukw t'u7 s7ents ti tsícwa áku7.
I'm the only one who went there.

line 9: ... sqwál'minas kwas snilh ku wa7 nk'etcusentáli ti7 ti súmikha
... he told me that it was him that cut the shoemaker's throat

p.80

line 1: Ts7a ti l'fl'tma smúlhats papt káti7 wa7 t'ak szácen ti ts'lá7a
There was this old woman who was always carrying a basket on her back

line 12: nilh ti cwík'tna wa7 sgetsqnawlhmínas
it was a knife that she had tied to her hip

p.82:

line 6: ... lti swá7sa sláwsas ...
... where she hung it ...

p.88

line 1: Nilh aylh lts7a sMama ti húz'a qweqewl'el'tmínan
It' s Mama I'm gonna tell you about

p.89

line 2: nao7q' sqawts ti kwanensása
it was a rotten potato that she grabbed

p.90

line 9: wa7 ku7 múta7 icwlh ti wa7 száytens ti skúza7sa
his daughter was doing something different

p.92

line 1: Nílha cwiíha k'a i tsítsla qwlhícens ti ktwámtssa wa7 sq"il lti np'ám'stna
It turned out to be her husband's new shoes that were put on the stove

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