Infinitives and Raising in St'át'imcets*

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Abstract: Only two out of 23 Salish languages, St'át'imcets (Lillooet) and Nłeʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish), both of the Northern Interior branch, have genuine infinitives. In this paper, I take a closer look at one class of non-finite clauses in St'át'imcets: those involving the raising predicate *c̓íla* 'like, sort of'. I show that the infinitival complements of *c̓íla* closely resemble finite (nominalized) complement clauses, differing only in lacking the nominalizer and associated possessive subject clitics, but allowing suffixal subject agreement, lexical (DP) subjects, and a full range of tense marking. I then examine subject-to-subject raising with *c̓íla*, which takes the form of movement-type raising in infinitives, but also surfaces in nominalized finite clauses in the form of copy raising. The latter turns out to have a broader distribution both in St'át'imcets and more widely in the Salish family, since it is not dependent on the presence of an infinitival complement. Nevertheless, it must still be lexically specified for individual predicates.

Keywords: St'át'imcets, Salish, infinitives, raising, copy raising

1 Introduction

I had originally intended this paper to cover the full range of infinitival structures in St'át'imcets (a.k.a. Lillooet; ISO 639-3: lil), which are rare and understudied in Salish. However, in the process of writing the paper, I have come to two conclusions which have made me shift its focus:

(i) *There is variation in the structure as well as the interpretation of infinitival complements.*
(ii) *(Subject-to-subject) raising in St'át'imcets is not confined to infinitives.*

Accordingly, I have decided to limit the current paper to a discussion of raising infinitives in St'át'imcets, leaving a broader treatment of the other types of infinitive for another occasion.

Happily, this enables me to do more justice to another understudied phenomenon in Salish, but this time, one that is not necessarily confined to one or two languages, since it is not dependent on infinitival syntax. The putative existence of 'copy raising' constructions in Salish has been noted in passing before: for example, Kroeber (1999:170), citing Kuipers (1967:184), gives the following Squamish example involving the predicate *ʔəsk̓ʷay* 'impossible'.

(1) **čn** ʔəsk̓ʷáy kʷ=**n**=s=tə́lʔ-nəxʷ**-an**.
1SG.SUBJ impossible C/D=**1SG.POSS**=NMLZ=know-LCT-**1SG.ERG**
'I cannot figure it out.'[1]

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[1] This particular example is complicated by the fact that aside from the copy-raising construction, which copies a pronominal from the subordinate clause onto the matrix predicate, there is also copying *within* the

Here the subject clitic in the matrix clause bears no thematic relation to the matrix predicate, but instead appears to have been copied from the complement clause: the structure thus partially resembles 'classic' subject-to-subject raising, but differs in two ways: first, the subordinate clause is finite, and second, rather than movement (copy-and-delete), the configuration involves copying without deletion.

In this paper, I examine both movement raising and copy raising in St'át'imcets. The former is confined to infinitives, as in English, and has a very restricted distribution, being limited to the infinitival complements of a single (though extremely common) predicate, *c̓íla* 'like, be alike, resemble'. The latter has a broader distribution, being possible with a number of impersonal predicates which take nominalized complement clauses, though copy raising must still be listed as a lexical property of particular predicates.

The paper is structured as follows. I begin in Section 2 by reviewing arguments for the existence of a distinctive class of infinitival clauses in St'át'imcets, and then provide a brief survey of the three major classes of infinitive-selecting predicate in the language. In Section 3, I give some background on the raising predicate *c̓íla*, before turning in Section 4 to examining the structure of raising-type infinitives in more detail. Section 5 gives the core data on movement raising in infinitives and its copy raising analogue in finite (nominalized) complement clauses. Section 6 concludes.

2 An overview of infinitives in St'át'imcets

Infinitives are rare in Salish: in fact, as far as we know, only two languages, nłeʔkepmxcín (Thompson) and St'át'imcets (Lillooet), close relatives in the Northern Interior sub-branch of the family, possess 'infinitive-like' constructions (the term is from Kroeber 1999). To my knowledge, the brief remarks in Kroeber (1999:220–221) constitute the only published report of infinitives in nłeʔkepmxcín. The situation is slightly better for St'át'imcets: following up on Davis and Matthewson (1996), where infinitives were first identified, Matthewson (2005b) discusses non-finite clauses as part of her argument for the existence of syntactically represented Tense (and associated nominative Case) in the language.

In this section, I review the evidence that St'át'imcets has genuine infinitives by comparing them with the two principal types of (non-relative) finite subordinate clause in the language (subjunctive and nominalized). I show that infinitives form a distinct third type, related to and probably derived from nominalized complement clauses, but crucially lacking the two crucial ingredients of finiteness: the nominalizer and an associated possessive subject clitic.

2.1 Finite subordinate clauses

There are two main types of non-relative finite subordinate clause in St'át'imcets. *Subjunctive clauses* occur as interrogative complements and as conditional, temporal, and locative adjuncts. They are generally introduced by the complementizers *ɬ=* or (in past tense temporal adjuncts only) *ʔi=*, though they may also occur as main clauses with the force of weak imperatives, with or without an accompanying circumstantial modal (see Matthewson 2010).

subordinate clause. The latter is a peculiarity of subject inflection in nominalized subordinate clauses in Squamish and is unconnected to copy-raising: see Davis (1999, 2000).

As their name suggests, subjunctive clauses are characterized by subjunctive (a.k.a. 'conjunctive') inflection, realized as subject enclitics that attach immediately after the first prosodic word in the clause, which may either be an auxiliary (if one or more are present) or the main predicate (if not). Typical examples are given in (2–4):[2]

(2) saw-ən-cál-itas [(**ɬ=**)nkáʔ**=as** [**ɬ=**wáʔ**=an** skʷul]].
ask-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.ERG [(**COMP=**)where**=3SJV** [**COMP=**IPFV**=1SG.SJV** go.to.school]]
'They asked me where I went to school.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(3) ʔáma=ka [**ɬ=**k̓ih**=ás** ta=sk̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt=a], plan wa**ʔ** ʔílal.
good=IRR [**COMP=**get.put.on.lap**=3SJV** DET=child=EXIS] already IPFV cry
'It would be good if the baby was picked up and put on somebody's lap, it's crying.'
(Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(4) x̌əp-xál=ɬkaxʷ [**ɬ=**cúkʷ-alc̓**=axʷ**].
stack-ACT=2SG.SUBJ [**COMP=**finish-food=**2SG.SJV**]
'Stack the dishes when you finish eating.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

In (2), we see a subjunctive interrogative complement to the verb *sáwən* 'ask', optionally introduced by the complementizer *ɬ=*; the embedded WH-predicate *nkaʔ* '(be) where' in turn takes another subjunctive complement, again headed by *ɬ=*, with the subjunctive subject enclitic attaching to the pre-predicative imperfective auxiliary *waʔ*. The example in (3) involves a subjunctive conditional *ɬ=* clause subordinated to the modalized adjective *ʔáma=ka* 'it would be good', and the example in (4) features a subjunctive temporal adjunct, again introduced by *ɬ=*.

Nominalized clauses, introduced by the proclitic nominalizer *s=*, occur exclusively in subordinate environments. Most types of complement clause are nominalized, as are certain kinds of clausal adjunct, including purpose and rationale clauses. In both argument and adjunct positions, nominalized clauses are usually introduced by the complementizer-like elements *kʷ(u)=* and *t(a)=* (the latter in factive contexts).[3] These elements are diachronically related to but probably synchronically distinct from the homophonous determiners *kʷu=* and *ta=/ti=*; I have labeled them

[2] Examples are given in the NAPA as employed in the Salish literature. All unattributed examples are from original fieldwork by the author. Unless explicitly mentioned, all examples are from the Upper (Northern) dialect of the language. Glossing abbreviations are as follows: ABSN = absent, ACT = active intransitive, AUT = autonomous intransitive (lexical reflexive), CAUS = causative transitivizer, CHA = characteristic, COMP = complementizer, CON = compound connective, COP = (equational) copula, CRED = consonant (CV́) reduplication, D/C = determiner-complementizer, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DIR = directive transitivizer, EPIS = epistemic modal, ERG = ergative (transitive subject suffix), EXCL = exclusive, EXIS = existential enclitic, FRED = final (V́C) reduplication, INCH = inchoative, INS = instrument, INTS = intensifier, IPFV = imperfective, IRR = irrealis modal, LCT = linited control, LOC = locative, MID = middle, NEG = negation, NMLZ = nominalizer, NTS = non-topical subject marker, OBJ = object suffix, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROS = prospective aspect, QUOT = quotative, RDR = redirective (applicative) transitivizer, REM = remote in time, RLT = relational (applicative) transitivizer, SJV = subjunctive ('conjunctive') subject clitic, SUBJ = indicative subject clitic, TRED = total (CVC) reduplication. An affix is marked with a hyphen (-), a clitic with an equal sign (=), an infix with angled brackets < >, a reduplicant with a bullet (•), and unsegmentable morpheme combinations with a plus sign (+).

[3] Immediately preceding the clausal nominalizer *s=*, *kʷu=* usually reduces to *kʷ=* and *ta=* to *t=* (Davis & Matthewson 1996).

D/C here.[4] Nominalized clauses are also common without D/C elements in 'clause chaining' contexts, where they are introduced by the equational copula *nił*; clause chaining creates sequences of temporally or logically ordered clauses across a discourse, and is particular common in narratives.

In intransitive nominalized clauses, subject agreement takes the form of possessive clitics; in transitive nominalized clauses, possessive clitics alternate with and sometimes co-occur with transitive subject suffixes, depending on the presence of an auxiliary and the person features of the clitic (see Section 4.1 below). The nominalizer and its associated possessive subject very frequently fuse with the imperfective auxiliary *waʔ* to yield special contracted forms whose components are not readily separable: see Kroeber 1999:115). Typical examples of nominalized clauses are given below:

(5) ʔą́•ʔ•ż-áł=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷ=n=s=**zəwát-ən kʷu=sámʔ-ac
NEG•CRED-INTS=EXCL [**D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=**know-DIR DET=white.person-mouth
pinániʔ], **nił** [**səs** ʔaẇt-əc-xi[t]-cal-ítas].
then] **COP** [**NMLZ**+IPFV**+3POSS** behind-mouth-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3PL.ERG]
'I didn't know any English at all in those days, so they interpreted for me.'
(Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(6) q̓iƛ̓-q-ám̓=łkan [**kʷ=n=s=**xʷuż ʔíłən].
set.down-bottom-MID=1SG.SUBJ [**D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=**PROS eat]
'I sat down to eat.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(7) wáʔ=łkał ǩáƛ̓-miṅ-əm [**kʷəłkáł** n-kál-s-tum̓
IPFV=1PL.SUBJ want-RLT-PASS [**D/C+NMLZ**+IPFV**+1PL.POSS** LOC-follow-CAUS-PASS
ta=ƛ̓ák-mən-s=a ʔi=s-kəl•kəlaʔ-łkáł=a].
DET=go-INS-3POSS=EXIS PL.DET=NMLZ-TRED•first-1PL.POSS=EXIS]
'We want to follow the path of our ancestors.'[5] (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

In (5), a negative predicate (*(xʷ)ʔą́ʔaz̓ał*) takes a nominalized subordinate clause containing a transitive predicate marked by the first person possessive proclitic subject *n=*; this is followed by another nominalized clause, this time introduced by the copula *nił*, containing a contracted combination of nominalizer, imperfective auxiliary, and third person possessive subject (*səs*), doubling third person plural ergative marking (*-itas*) on the embedded main verb. In (6), we see a

[4] Though it is tempting to treat D/C elements as 'clausal determiners', as in Davis and Matthewson (1996) and Arregui and Matthewson (2001), there are by now reasonably strong arguments that they should be classed as a separate functional category. These come from two sources. First, the range of determiner-like elements which introduce clauses is restricted in a way that cannot be entirely explained by the semantic differences between clauses and noun phrases: for example, it is unclear why 'absent' determiners, which assert the existence of a referent no longer present in the speech situation, cannot apply to events/situations as well as entities: see Kroeber (1999:126–127) for arguments along these lines. Second, the external distribution of DPs is different from that of D/CPs; for example, as Thompson (2012:163–164) points out, CPs in Salish (including D/CPs) can never occupy transitive subject positions, unlike DPs (in St'at'imcets, including those referring to events/situations).

[5] Passive morphology is used for first person plural transitive subjects in St'át'imcets, as in most other Interior Salish languages; however, it is possible to disambiguate passive from first person plural when an auxiliary is present by adding a first person plural subject clitic, as here.

nominalized purpose clause with the auxiliary *xʷuẓ̓* hosting the nominalizer and associated proclitic possessive subject, while (7) contains a nominalized clause acting as complement to the verb *x̌áƛ̓miṅ* 'want', again containing a contracted nominalizer+auxiliary+possessive clitic combination (*ḳ̓wəłkáł*).

2.2 Introducing infinitives

Now that we have had a quick look at how finite subordinate clauses work, we can contrast them directly with infinitives. In form, infinitives resemble nominalized clauses quite closely, with one crucial difference: they obligatorily lack a clausal nominalizer and associated possessive subject morphology.

(8) lák=ḳ̓a ʔi=q̓əm̓p-wi-palʔ-as-zánuxʷ=an ʔi=kəlʔ=án
be.there=EPIS when.PAST=ten-plus-one-CON-year=1SG.SJV when.PAST=first=1SG.SJV
zəwát•ət-s [**kʷu**=wáʔ suq̓ʷ].
know•FRED-CAUS [**D/C**=IPFV skin.and.bone]
'It must've been when I was about eleven years old when I first learned how to skin and bone a deer.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(9) "*well*, c̓íla [**kʷu**=ƛ̓úp-ləx n-ʕʷəlín=a]" cún=łkan.
well like [**D/C**=get.twisted-AUT 1SG.POSS-stomach=EXIS] say+DIR=1SG.SUBJ
"Well, my stomach is kind of twisting," I told him. (Mitchell *in prep.*)

(10) xʷuż x̌aƛ̓ [**kʷu**=wáʔ záxən tákəm ʔiż ʔi=sc̓úqʷaż =a].
PROS hard [**D/C**=IPFV get.carried all those PL.DET=fish=EXIS]
'It's going to be hard to pack all those fish.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(11) ḳ̓ín•ḳ̓n-ət [**kʷa** łum-un-táli kʷu=lakʷá
dangerous•TRED-CHA [**D/C**+IPFV install-DIR-NTS DET=crucifix
l=ki=lam-xal-áłxʷ=a], ʔalas-ʔúl c̓míxʷ-laqin!
on=PL.DET=pray-ACT-place=EXIS] really-too.much peaked-top
'It's dangerous to install crucifixes on churches: their roofs are too steep!' (Alexander et al. *in prep.)*

As shown in (8–11), infinitives are invariably introduced by the D/C element *kʷ(u)=*, which often fuses with a following imperfective auxiliary to yield the contracted form *kʷa*, as in (11).[6] I assume this introductory element is identical to the D/C *kʷ(u)=* which introduces finite (nominalized) clauses. This means that infinitival clauses are CPs, though defective in the sense that they invariably lack nominalization and associated subject clitics.

[6] In contrast to St'át'imcets, infinitives in nłeʔkepmxcín may be introduced either by a D/C element homophonous with the referential determiner *(h)e=* or one homophonous with the non-referential determiner *k=*, with the former occurring in "realis" and the latter in "irrealis" environments (Kroeber 1999:221).

2.3 The distribution of infinitives

In this subsection, I give a brief overview of the inventory of infinitival clauses in St'át'imcets, before turning more specifically to raising-type infinitives.

Infinitives in St'át'imcets are confined to complement positions; there are no infinitival adjunct clauses. Furthermore, all predicates which take infinitival clauses also take finite (nominalized) complement clauses. Both of these points likely relate to the fact that infinitives are a comparatively recent development in St'át'imcets (and Salish overall, as observed by Kroeber 1999:221).

The overwhelming majority of infinitival clauses appear as complements to three types of predicate:

(i) *Epistemic predicates* ('know', 'learn', 'teach', 'instruct', 'remember', 'forget')
(ii) *Evaluative predicates* ('good', 'bad', 'hard', 'easy', 'fun', 'dangerous'; 'like', 'dislike', 'enjoy', 'have a hard time with'); this class also includes complex nominal predicates with an evaluative component ('easy/hard work', '(take) a lot of thought')
(iii) *Approximative predicates* ('like/kind of')

Examples of each of these types are given in (12–23):

(i) *Epistemic predicates:*

(12) lan ʔayɬ waʔ **zəwát-ən**-əm [**kʷa** kʷukʷ].
already then IPFV **be.known-DIR**-PASS [**D/C**+IPFV cook]
'We already knew how to cook.' (Matthewson 2005a:479)

(13) **zəwát•ət-s**-as [**kʷa** píx̌əm̓].
be.known•FRED-CAUS-3ERG [**D/C**+IPFV hunt]
'He has learned how to hunt.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(14) xʷúż=łkan **zəwát•ət-xal** [**kʷa** c̓áẇ-xal kʷu=sqláẇ].
PROS=1SG.SUBJ **be.known•FRED-ACT** [**D/C**+IPFV wash-ACT DET=gold]
'I'm going to learn how to pan for gold.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(15) plán=ƛ̓uʔ ʔąz kʷas **zəwát** [**kʷa**
already=EXCL NEG D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS **be.known** [**D/C**+IPFV
mays-ən-táli ʔi=sqʷl̓íp=a].
fix-DIR-NTS PL.DET=black.tree.moss=EXIS]
'It's no longer known how to prepare black tree moss.'

(ii) *Evaluative predicates:*

(16) **x̌aƛ̓** [**kʷa** qʷəz-ən-táli kʷu=k̓əƛ̓h-áłc̓aʔ
hard [**D/C**+IPFV use-DIR-NTS DET=rock-flesh
l=ki=ʔats-ank-áłxʷ=a].
on=PL.DET=attached-lower.surface-place=EXIS
'It's hard to use gyprock on the ceiling.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(17) **x̌aƛ̓** [**kʷu=**máys ʔi=k̓ec̓-ałwíɬ-tən=a].
hard [**D/C=**get.fixed PL.DET=cross-vessel-thing=EXIS]
'The cross-pieces are hard to fix' (literally: 'get fixed'). (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(18) **x̌áƛ̓-s**=kan [**kʷu=**záʔzəẇ], kan qʷál̓-ax̌an.
hard-CAUS=1SG.SUBJ [**D/C=**dip.net] 1SG.SUBJ ache-arm
'I have a hard time dip-netting, my arm hurts.' (Alexander et al. *in prep*.)

(19) **xʷʔit sʔalkst** [**kʷa** q̓ʷəlaẇ-ən-táli ʔi=q̓áp̓x̌ʷ=a].
much work [**D/C+**IPFV pick-DIR-NTS PL.DET=hazelnut=EXIS]
'Picking hazelnuts is a lot of work.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(iii) *Approximative predicates:*

(20) **c̓íla**=łkán=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** ƛ̓ak ka-n-záxʷ-xn-a
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C+IPFV** continue CIRC-LOC-stumble-foot-CIRC
l=kʷəł=s-x̌ə́t•x̌ətəq] ʔi=xʷəl̓ałp-an-cáləm=as.
in=PL.INV.DET=NMLZ-hole•TRED] when.PAST =ghost-DIR-1SG.PASS=3SJV
'It felt like I kept stepping into holes when I got ghosted.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(21) ƛ̓ák=kan matq, nił s=**c̓íla**=s [**kʷu=**s-x̌ʷəl•x̌ʷúl
continue=1SG.SUBJ walk COP NMLZ=**like**=3POSS [**D/C=**STA-rut•TRED
ta=tmíxʷ=a].
DET=ground=EXIS]
'I kept walking, and then it was like the ground was rutted.'
(Alexander et al. *in prep*.)

(22) **c̓íla** [**kʷu=**ka-q̓áy-ləx-a ta=n-sqʷə́qʷəl̓=a], ƛ̓uʔ
like [**D/C=**CIRC-jump-AUT-CIRC DET=1SG.POSS-story=EXIS but
xʷúy̓=łkan=ƛ̓uʔ ṗaṅt.
PROS=1SG.SUBJ=EXCL return
'My story has kind of run away, but I'll get back to it.' (Jackson *in prep.*)

(23) waʔ qʷc•ác-l̓əc **c̓íla** [**kʷu=**cwás-əm] ʔi=w•əwp-l̓íc̓ʔ=a.
IPFV move•CRED-AUT **like** [**D/C=**measure-MID] PL.DET=hairy•CRED-skin=EXIS
'Caterpillars wriggle around like they're measuring something.'
(Alexander et al. *in prep*)

While the infinitival complements to these three classes of predicate all share the same basic design (they are all introduced by *kʷu=* and all obligatorily lack a nominalizer and subject clitic morphology), they otherwise differ both syntactically and semantically. At this point, I set aside the first two classes to focus on the third, which contains the single 'approximative' predicate *c̓íla* 'like, kind of, sort of'. Before returning specifically to infinitives, however, I take a slight detour to provide some general background on *c̓ila*.

3 The approximative predicate *ċíla*

In both its semantic flexibility and syntactic versatility, *ċíla* resembles English 'like'. Its core meaning is 'be alike, be the same as', as shown in (24–25). In this function, it is syntactically intransitive, but requires two semantic arguments: its semantic requirement may be satisfied either by a plural subject, which typically induces (CVC plural) reduplication on the predicate, as in (24), or by a subject and an overt (but non-agreeing) object, as in (25).

(24) **ċ̓əl•ċ̓ila**=łkáɬ=ƛ̓uʔ.
TRED•like=1PL.SUBJ=EXCL
'We are alike.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(25) **ċ̓ila**=łkán=ƛ̓uʔ ta=n-sqácəzʔ=a.
like=1SG.SUBJ=EXCL DET=1SG.POSS-father=EXIS
'I am just like my father.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

In addition, *ċíla* is often employed as a quasi-prepositional element, as in (26). In this role, it acts as an adjunct predicate, and signals a relation of approximate semantic equivalence between its argument and the subject of the main predicate.

(26) waʔ láti ʔ s-łn̓ək l=ta=n-ʕʷúẏt-tən-s=a **ċ́íla**
IPFV there STAT-flop.down on=DET=LOC-sleep-INS-3POSS=EXIS **like**
kʷu=łn̓ənkaya.
DET=cast.iron.pot
'He's lying in his bed motionless, like a cast-iron pot!' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

Again, like English 'like', *ċíla* is also very frequently employed as an adverbial qualifier with the meaning 'sort of, kind of'.

(27) kəɬ-q **ċ́íla** ʔi=síkil-s=a níɬ=ƛ̓uʔ səs
come.off-bottom **like** PL.DET=bark-3POSS=EXIS COP=EXCL NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
ki̓ʔ-ən-ás.
peel-DIR-3ERG
'The bark sort of came off at the bottom and then she peeled them (the hemp stalks).'
(Mitchell *in prep*.)

(28) kałás s=q̓əm̓p=s wi=cúłakaʔ máqaʔ kʷənswá kʷúkʷpiʔ,
Three NMLZ=ten=3POSS plus=seven snow D/C+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV chief
plán=łkan qa<ʔ>əż -mín **ċ́íla**.
already=1SG.SUBJ tired<INCH>-RLT **like**
'I was chief for thirty-seven years, and then I got tired of it, sort of.'
(Edwards et al. *in prep.*)

Of most direct interest to us, however, *ċíla* often appears with clausal complements. To start with, it is standardly used in equative constructions, where its direct argument is a nominalized clause denoting the target of comparison, and its oblique argument (introduced by the preposition *ʔə*=)

denotes the standard of comparison (see Davis & Mellesmoen 2019 on comparative syntax and semantics in St’át’imcets).

(29) **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**s=**záx-al̓qʷəm̓=s s-Bill] ʔə=s-Mary.
like=EXCL [**NMLZ=**tall-appearance=3POSS NMLZ-Bill] to=NMLZ-Mary
‘Bill is as tall as Mary.’ (‘the degree to which Bill is tall is the same as Mary’)
(Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

Just as with individual arguments (29), both semantic degree arguments can be represented by the same (plural) syntactic argument, as in (30).

(30) **c̓əl•c̓íla**=k̓á=wiʔ=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷ=s=**pá̧l̓•pə̧l̓-t**=kał**].
TRED•like=EPIS=EMPH=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**stubborn•TRED-CHA**=1PL.SUBJ**]
‘We must have been just as stubborn as each other.’ (‘the degree to which we were stubborn was the same’)
(Edwards et al. 2017:48)

Aside from equatives, *c̓íla* also takes a nominalized clausal complement when acting as an impersonal main predicate with an approximative meaning close to that of its adverbial usage:

(31) **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu=s=**ptinus-mín-an=ʔiẓ̓ ta=s=wáʔ=s=a=ƛ̓uʔ
like=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**think-RLT-**1SG.ERG**=those DET=NMLZ=IPFV=3POSS=EXIS=EXCL
s-ʔúll̓us ʔi=ʔuxʷalmíxʷ=a sk̓ʷəm•k̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt].
STAT-gather PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS TRED•child]
‘I kind of think of them as places where Indian children were gathered together.’
(Matthewson 2005a:366)

(32) **c̓íla**=kʷúʔ=ƛ̓uʔ [**ta=s=**plán=s=a=tuʔ łəl=cʔá waʔ ʔayłám̓]
like=QUOT=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**already=3POSS=EXIS=REM from=here IPFV recently]
pix̌əm̓=kʷúʔ=tiʔ ta=twít=a.
hunt=QUOT=that DET=professional.hunter=EXIS
‘Kind of not too long after this, this professional hunter went out hunting.’
(Mitchell *in prep.*)

The use of *c̓íla* with nominalized complement clauses is very close if not identical in meaning to its use with infinitival complements. Syntactically, however the two differ in a now familiar fashion: as shown in (20–23) above, and (33–34) below, infinitives lack the nominalizer and associated possessive subject clitics.

(33) **c̓íla** [**kʷu=**ʔús-[c]-tum̓] na=n-kʷúkʷ=a
like [**D/C=**get.thrown.out-[CAUS]-PASS ABSN.DET=1SG.POSS-grandmother=EXIS
ki=nk̓sáytkən-s=a na=n-spápəzʔ=a
PL.DET=relative-3POSS=EXIS ABSN.DET=1SG.POSS-grandfather=EXIS
ʔi=zúqʷ=as=tuʔ].
when.PAST=die=3SJV=REM]
‘My grandmother was sort of thrown out by my grandfather’s relatives when he died.’
(Matthewson 2005a:393)

(34) **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu**=q̓íx̌-al̓us ʔi=s-ník̓-xal-sw=a sp̓ams].
like=EXCL [**D/C**=hard-material PL.DET=NMLZ-cut-ACT-2SG.POSS=EXIS firewood]
'That firewood you cut looks like it's hard to split.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

Infinitives with *c̓íla* test systematically as raising rather than control structures, as I will show in Section 5 below. However, they also show a number of correlated differences in the specification of tense and agreement features, which indicate that they may be syntactically 'larger' than the other two types of infinitive. I address these in the next section.

4 The structure of infinitives with *c̓íla*

In this section, I examine the structure of *c̓íla* infinitives in more detail. I show that the *only* way in which they are defective is in missing nominalization and associated subject marking: otherwise they may be fully specified for agreement (Section 4.1) and tense (Section 4.2). I give a tentative structure for *c̓íla* infinitives in Section 4.3.

4.1 Subjects in *c̓íla*-type infinitives

We have already seen that subject clitics are systematically absent in infinitives. However, it has been known since Davis (1999, 2000) and Kroeber (1999) that there are *two* subject agreement positions in St'át'imcets (as in most other Salish languages from the Central and Northern Interior branches of the family). The higher 'outer' subject is the one represented by the three series of subject clitics; the lower 'inner' position is confined to transitive clauses, and represented by ergative subject suffixes.

In transitive clauses with an auxiliary, a subject clitic (null in the indicative) may co-occur with a subject suffix, as shown in the subjunctive clause in (35) and the nominalized clause in (36).[7]

(35) waʔ qiʔ-sút-min̓-c-as ta=n-máw=a ɬ=wáʔ**=as**
IPFV suck.up-OOC-RLT-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=1SG.POSS-cat=EXIS COMP=IPFV**=3SJV**
ƛ̓áƛ̓-min̓**-as** kʷ=n=s=ʔám̓-c-an̓.
want- RLT**-3ERG** D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=feed-mouth-DIR
'My cat sucks up to me when he wants me to feed him.' (Alexander et al. *in prep.*)

(36) cáma=ƛ̓uʔ niɬ=ƛ̓uʔ [**s**=xʷuy̓**=s** ƛ̓xʷun-xi[t]-túmuɬ**-as**
after.a.while=EXCL COP=EXCL [**NMLZ**=PROS**=3POSS** win-RDR-1PL.OBJ**-3ERG**
ʔi=sámʔ=a ʔi=n-qʷal̓ut-tən=łkáɬ=a].
PL.DET=white.person=EXIS PL.DET=LOC-speak-INS-1PL.POSS=EXIS]
'After a while the white people began to suppress (literally, 'conquer') our languages.'
(Edwards et al. *in prep.*)

[7] If no auxiliary is present, either the subject clitic or the subject suffix is realized on the main predicate, but not both. As a rule, the subject suffix takes precedence over the subject clitic, except in the first person singular of nominalized clauses, where the possessive proclitic *n=* may be used as an alternative to suffixal *-an*.

These cases both involve third person subjects; with first or second persons, subject clitics usually supplant rather than supplement subject suffixes in subjunctive and nominalized subordinate clauses with auxiliaries.[8]

Returning now to infinitives, it turns out that while subject clitics are systematically missing in *ċíla* infinitives, subject suffixes are not. In transitive infinitives, third person *-as* (37), third person plural *-itas/-twitas* (38), passive *-əm* (39), and first/second person subject suffixes (40) are all permitted:

(37) nił n-ṗaṅt-ús-miṅ-c-as, **ċ̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ
COP LOC=return-face-RLT-1SG.OBJ-3ERG **like**=EXCL
[**kʷa** n-q̓s-aṅk-mín-**c-as**].
[**D/C**+IPFV LOC-laugh-belly-RLT-**1SG.OBJ-3ERG**]
'Then he turned around to face me, as if he was laughing at me.' (Matthewson 2005a:158)

(38) waʔ nuk̓ʷʔ-an-tánemwit ʔə=ki=ʔuxʷalmíxʷ=a kʷ=s=**ċ̓íla**=s
IPFV help-DIR-3PL.PASS by=PL.DET=indigenous.person=EXIS D/C=NMLZ=**like**=3POSS
[**kʷu**=x̌lipt-s-**twítas** ta=ƛ̓láz-i=ha ptak
[**D/C**=go.over.hill-CAUS-**3PL.ERG** DET=canoe-3PL.POSS=EXIS past
ɬ=láti ʔ ɬəl=ta=waʔ pəɬ•púɬ•əɬ].
from=there from=DET=IPFV TRED•boil•CRED]
'They were helped by the people to kind of carry their canoe over to past where the rapids were.' (Mitchell *in prep.*)

(39) níɬ=ƛ̓uʔ (s=)sniɬh-c ta=lum-ən-ə́m=a, ƛ̓uʔ
COP=EXCL (NMLZ=)3SG.INDP=3POSS DET=accuse-DIR-PASS=EXIS but
ta=ʔáẇt=a ta=waʔ n-s-qaṅím kʷas
DET=last=EXIS DET=IPFV 1SG.POSS-NMLZ-hear D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS
ċ̓íla=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** lum-sút-ən-**əm**
like=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV accuse-OOC-DIR-**PASS**
tswása ʔúxʷalmixʷ].
D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+3POSS+EXIS indigenous.person]
'So he was the one that was accused, but last I heard, it was like he was falsely accused just because he was an Indian.' (Edwards et al. 2017:168)

(40) **ċ̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** ʔixʷɬ-əm-nún-**al̓ap**
like=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV different-MID-DIR-**2PL.ERG**
ta=səsq̓ʷəż-láp=a].
DET=younger.sibling-2PL.POSS=EXIS]
'It's like you're treating your younger sibling as a stranger.'

The most important point about the presence of subject suffixes in *ċíla* infinitives is that there is nothing incompatible between infinitives and subject agreement *per se*: it is only subject clitics

[8] In a relic pattern more characteristic of neighbouring nłeʔkepmxcín, a first or second person subject suffix in a nominalized clause also sometimes co-occurs with a third person ('expletive') possessive clitic on a pre-predicative auxiliary (Davis 1999, 2000).

which are systematically absent. This indicates that *ċíla* infinitives are missing particular subject agreement features or their projections, rather than being radically subject-less.

This in turn raises the question of whether overt DP subjects are also permitted in *ċíla* infinitives, on the general assumption that agreement is responsible for licensing argument DPs. The answer is yes, as shown in (41–42):

(41) **ċ́íla** [**kʷa** łap-en-ítas **n-snək̓ʷ•núk̓ʷʔ=a**
like [**D/C**+IPFV get.forgotten-DIR-3PL.ERG **1SG.POSS-TRED•friend=EXIS**
ta=cuwʔ-í=ha n-qʷal̓út-tən].
DET=own-3PL.POSS=EXIS LOC-speak-INS]
'It's like my friends have forgotten their own language.'

(42) **ċ́íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu**=pápt waʔ xík̓-ən-as **kʷ=s-Bill**
like=EXCL [**D/C**=always IPFV miss-DIR-3ERG **DET=NMLZ-Bill**
ʔi=ċ́íʔ=a waʔ qʷús-xi-tas].
PL.DET=deer=EXIS IPFV shoot-RDR-3ERG]
'It's like Bill always misses the deer he shoots at.'

In these examples, the subject of the infinitival is trapped inside the embedded clause by the object, precluding an alternative analysis where it can be construed as a main clause subject. This reinforces the conclusion we have reached on the basis of agreement: nothing is missing in *ċíla* infinitives except nominalization and outer (clitic) subject agreement.

4.3 Tense marking in *ċ́íla* infinitives

Cross-linguistically, infinitives are often associated with missing or defective tense; and indeed, Matthewson (2005b:34) specifically claims that St'át'imcets infinitives cannot bear independent tense marking. However, she did not consider *ċíla* infinitives, which, it turns out, are fully specified for tense features.

The most reliable place to find tense marking in St'át'imcets is in the future, since the language has unmarked present/past tense, but is obligatorily marked for future tense (Matthewson 2006). Future may be marked by the modal enclitic *=kəɬ*, the prospective auxiliary *xʷuz̓*, or both. The following examples show *ċíla* infinitives with the full range of future tense marking. (Note also the first person subject suffixes in 44.)

(43) a. k̓ʷą́•k̓ʷl̓-ąm̓, **ċ́íla** [**kʷu=xʷúz̓** kʷis].
stagger•CRED-MID **like** [**D/C=PROS** fall]
'He staggered, like he was going to fall.'

b. k̓ʷą́•k̓ʷl̓-ąm̓, **ċ́íla** [**kʷu**=kʷís=**kəɬ**].
stagger•CRED-MID **like** [**D/C**=fall=**FUT**]
(same)

c. k̓ʷą́•k̓ʷl̓-ąm̓, **ċ́íla** [**kʷu=xʷúz̓=kəɬ** kʷis].
stagger•CRED-MID **like** [**D/C=PROS=FUT** fall]
(same)

(44) a. ka-qʷə̓y̓-a ta=sqáx̌ʔ=a, **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu=xʷúz̓** cəw̓-q-áṅ-an].
CIRC-yelp-CIRC DET=dog=EXIS **like**=EXCL [**D/C=PROS** kick-bottom-DIR-1SG.ERG]
'The dog yelped, like I was going to kick it in the butt.'

b. ka-qʷə̓y̓-a ta=sqáx̌ʔ=a, **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu**=cəw̓-q-áṅ-an**=kəɬ**].
CIRC-yelp-CIRC DET=dog=EXIS **like**=EXCL [**D/C**=kick-bottom-DIR-1SG.ERG**=FUT**]
(same)

c. ka-qʷə̓y̓-a ta=sqáx̌ʔ=a, **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷu=xʷúz̓=kəɬ**
CIRC-yelp-CIRC DET=dog=EXIS **like**=EXCL [**D/C=PROS=FUT**
cəw̓-q-áṅ-an].
kick-bottom-DIR-1SG.ERG]
(same)

The existence of both tense and inner subject agreement marking in *c̓íla* infinitives provide important clues as to their structure, to which we turn next.

4.4 A structure for *c̓íla* infinitives

The easiest way to approach the structure of *c̓íla* infinitives is to compare them directly to their closest finite analogues, nominalized subordinate clauses. Accordingly, I will begin by sketching a picture of the latter.

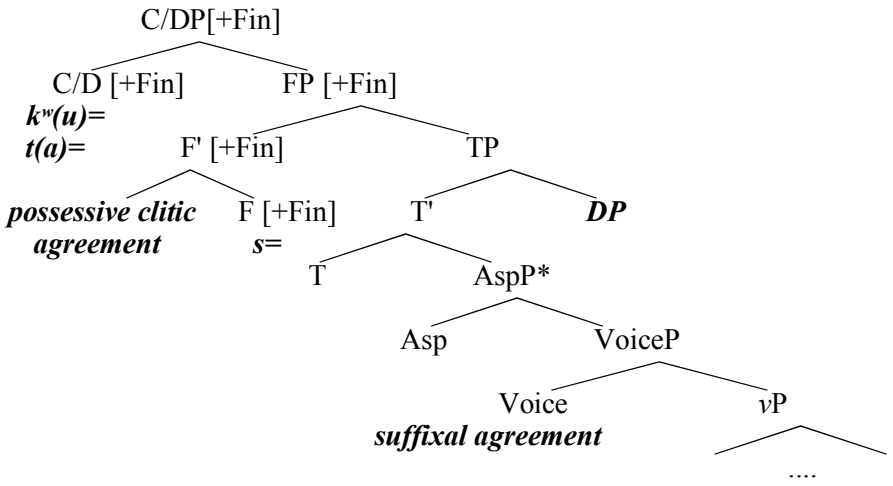
First of all, I assume that the D/C elements which introduce nominalized clauses are the head of a projection in the outermost layer of the C-domain. Next, I situate the clausal nominalizer *s*= in a *Finiteness Phrase (FP)* lower down in the C-domain (Rizzi 1997). I further assume that FP is selected by D/C, which for nominalized clauses is specified by the matrix predicate as [+Fin]. As we have seen, the presence of *s*= is correlated with the presence of outer subject agreement, in the form of possessive subject clitics. I assume the latter are generated as sets of phi-features on the [+Fin] head of FP, with post-syntactic morphological adjustments to derive their surface positions.

I further assume F selects for T, and that T in turn licenses an overt DP or *pro* subject in its specifier.

Below T, we find at least one and up to three aspectual projections, headed by aspectual auxiliaries, occupying the zone between T and Voice (the Asp* notation below is meant to express the variable number of aspect phrases). Following previous work (see, e.g., Davis 2019), I locate inner (suffixal) subject agreement in Voice. I assume that passive object agreement (in complementary distribution with suffixal subject agreement) is also generated in the Voice head; this means that in St'át'imcets, passive involves 'partial' promotion to Voice, but not to T.

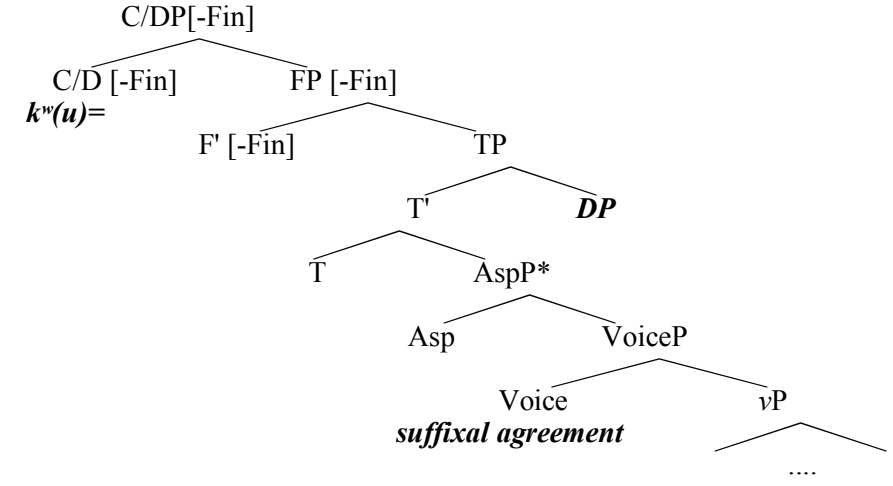
This results in the following structure for a finite (nominalized) clause:

(45) *Finite (nominalized) subordinate clause:*



Now, let us turn to *ċíla* infinitives. As we have already seen, these differ very minimally from finite nominalized clauses: to be precise, they lack the nominalizer and possessive subject agreement, but are otherwise fully specified for tense and agreement. This strongly suggests that the difference between the clause types should be located in FP. There are two options for infinitives: we could generate FP with the value [-Fin], or we could leave it out altogether. I choose the first option here for *ċíla* infinitives, mainly to distinguish them from the other two types of infinitival clause (see Section 2.3), which are more restricted in their tense and agreement possibilities, and importantly, do not allow overt DP subjects. If we assume F selects for TP, and DP subjects are licensed by T, then it follows that FP is present in *ċíla* infinitives, leading to the structure in (46).

(46) *ċíla-type infinitival clause:*



The main claim embodied in (46) is that *ċíla* infinitivals are almost identical in structure to finite nominalized clauses: the only differences spring from the feature value of [±Fin].

5 Raising

Classic subject raising predicates like 'seem' and 'likely' are mostly absent in St'át'imcets; their meaning is covered by modal adverbs (e.g., *sx̌ək* 'maybe') and second-position clitics (e.g., *=ka̓* 'possibly, apparently'): see Rullmann et al. (2008). However, *c̓íla* is an exception: it allows both classic ('movement') raising out of an infinitival complement (Section 5.1) and 'copy raising' in finite complements (Section 5.2).

5.1 Movement raising with *c̓íla*

In the infinitives below, either a full DP subject (47–48) or a pronoun subject (49–50) appears in a position adjacent to *c̓íla*, outside the infinitive clause where it is thematically selected and whose boundary is delimited by the D/C element.

(47) níɬ=ʔu̓ʔ s=**c̓íla**=s **ta=kʷúkʷpiʔ=a** [**kʷu=**c̓á<ʔ>x].
COP=EXCL NMLZ=**like**=3POSS **DET=chief=EXIS** [**D/C=**ashamed<INCH>]
'Then the chief got kind of ashamed.' (Jackson *in prep.*)

(48) **c̓íla=**ʔu̓ʔ **kʷu=n-məzác=a** [**kʷu=**qʷə́ts-p].
like=EXCL **DET=1SG.POSS-body=EXIS** [**D/C=**shake-INCH]
'My body felt like it was shaking.' (Mitchell *in prep*.)

(49) **c̓ila=łkán=**ʔu̓ʔ [**kʷa** matq l=kʷu=sx̌ə́t•x̌ətq x.wał].
like=1SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV walk on=DET=hole•TRED road]
'It was like I was walking along a road full of potholes'. (Alexander at al. *in prep.*)

(50) níɬ=ʔu̓ʔ ʔayɬ n=s=qʷacác, x̌ʷəm-ən-cút, **c̓íla=łkan**
COP=EXCL then 1SG.POSS=NMLZ=leave fast-DIR-RFLX **like=1SG.SUBJ**
[**kʷu=**xʷúləl-min].
[**D/C=**run.away-RDR]
'Then I left, in a hurry, I was kind of running away from it.' (Mitchell *in prep*.)

These examples appear to be clear cases of (subject-to-subject) raising, directly parallel to raising in English with predicates such as 'seem' or 'be likely'. However, there are a number of respects in which the constructions differ. Most obviously, raising in St'át'imcets takes place over a subordinating element (the C/D *kʷu=*); of course, subject-to-subject raising cases in English (and putatively, universally: see Landau 2013) never take place over a complementizer.

Second, and equally strikingly, raising in St'át'imcets infinitivals is optional, since as we have seen it is quite possible for subjects to remain inside the infinitival complements to *c̓íla* (see, e.g., 41–42 above). In this respect, St'át'imcets raising bears some resemblance to (A-type) scrambling, though unlike the latter, but like classic raising, it is sensitive to lexical properties of the raising predicate. A minimal pair with and without raising (equally grammatical, and with identical meaning) is given in (51a–b). In contrast, raised and non-raised subjects cannot both be present at once, as shown in (51c): i.e., copy raising is blocked.

(51) a. **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** kaṁ-án-**axʷ** ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
like=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV despise-DIR-**2SG.ERG** DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS
'It's like you despise my cooking.'

b. **c̓ila=łkáxʷ**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** kaṁ-án ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV despise-DIR DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
(same)

c. * **c̓ila=łkáxʷ**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷa** kaṁ-án-**axʷ**
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C**+IPFV despise-DIR-**2SG.ERG**
DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].

However, it turns out that copy raising *is* possible with *c̓íla* — just not in infinitives. We turn to this pattern next.

5.2 Copy raising with *c̓íla*

Recall that every predicate in St'át'imcets which takes an infinitival complement also takes a finite (nominalized) complement clause; *c̓íla* is no exception (see 31–32 above). Its finite complement shows an almost inverse pattern of raising to that which characterizes its infinitival complement: movement raising is forbidden, while copy raising is permitted. Relevant examples are given in (52); note that I give two versions of each finite clause, one with a possessive subject clitic attached to an imperfective auxiliary, the other with a subject suffix attached to the main verb.

(52) a. **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷásu** kaṁ-án
like=EXCL [**D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS** despise-DIR
ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
'It's like you despise my cooking.'

b. **c̓íla**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷ=s=**kaṁ-án-**axʷ** ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
like=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**despise-DIR-**2SG.ERG** DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
(same)

c. **c̓ila=łkáxʷ**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷásu** kaṁ-án
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS** despise-DIR
ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
(same)

d. **c̓ila=łkáxʷ**=ƛ̓uʔ [**kʷ=s=**kaṁ-án-**axʷ**
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**despise-DIR-**2SG.ERG**
ta=n-s-kʷúkʷ=a].
DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS]
(same)

e. * **ċ̓ila=łkáx^{w}=ƛ̓u?** [**k^{w}=s=**kaṁ-án
like=2SG.SUBJ=EXCL [**D/C=NMLZ=**look.down.on-DIR
ta=n-s-k^{w}úk^{w}=a].
DET=1SG.POSS-NMLZ-cook=EXIS

The table below compares the movement raising and copy raising patterns with *ċ̓íla*: note that a non-raising ('expletive') pattern is grammatical with both finite and non-finite complements.[9]

Table 1: Patterns of raising with ċ̓íla

	non-raising	*copy raising*	*movement raising*
finite	yes	yes	no
infinitival	yes	no	yes

5.3 More on copy raising

While, as we have seen, movement raising in St'át'imcets is confined to *ċ̓íla*, it turns out that copy raising is not. Interestingly, it occurs with predicates that do *not* normally take infinitival complements. One such predicate is *cuk^{w}* 'stop, finish, quit', as exemplified in (53):

(53) a. cuk^{w} [**k^{w}=n=s=**mác-ən ti? k^{w}u=púk^{w}].
finished [**D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=**write-DIR that DET=book]
'I've finished writing that book.'

b. cuk^{w} [**k^{w}=s=**məc-ən**-án** ti? k^{w}u=púk^{w}].
finished [**D/C=NMLZ=**write-DIR**-1SG.ERG** that DET=book]
(same)

c. cúk^{w}**=kan** [**k^{w}=n=s=**mác-ən ti? k^{w}u=púk^{w}].
finished**=1SG.SUBJ** [D/C=**1SG.POSS=NMLZ=**write-DIR that DET=book]
(same)

d. cúk^{w}**=kan** [**k^{w}=s=**məc-ən**-án** ti? k^{w}u=púk^{w}].
finished=**1SG.SUBJ** [**D/C=NMLZ=**write-DIR**-1SG.ERG** that DET=book]
(same)

e. * cúk^{w}**=kan** [**k^{w}=s=**məc-ən ti? k^{w}u=púk^{w}].
finished=**1SG.SUBJ** [**D/C=NMLZ=**write-DIR that DET=book]

[9] The expletive subject is overtly realized when *ċ̓íla* is embedded in a nominalized or subjunctive clause, since in these environments third person intransitive subjects are realized as *=s* or *=as*, respectively, rather than Ø, as in indicative environments. A nominalized case is shown in (i); another is in (38) above.

(i) níł=ƛ̓u? **s=ċ̓íla=s** [**k^{w}u=**ti<?>əɣ̓^{w}=wít].
COP=EXCL **NMLZ=like=3POSS** [**D/C=**free<INCH>=3PL]
'Then they kind of got free.' (Mitchell *in prep.*)

Copy raising with *cukʷ* is identical to copy-raising with *c̓íla*: it is optional, occurs with either a possessive subject clitic or a subject in its clausal complement, and is ungrammatical with no subject in the subordinate clause.

However, not all potential raising predicates allow copy raising: the adjective *ʔíʔəz̓* 'enough', for example, meets the semantic criteria for a raising predicate (it selects a clausal complement and lacks an external argument) but is rejected in copy raising contexts (and less surprisingly, in movement raising contexts as well):

(54) a. ʔíʔəż [**kʷásu** ʔəs-páqʷ-s ta=*TV*=ha].
enough [**D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS** STAT-watch-CAUS DET=TV=EXIS]
'You've watched enough TV.'

b. ʔíʔəż [**kʷ=s=**ʔəs-páqʷ-s**-axʷ** ta=*TV*=ha].
enough [**D/C=NMLZ=**STAT-watch-CAUS**-2SG.ERG** DET=TV=EXIS]
(same)

c. * ʔíʔəż**=łkaxʷ** [**kʷásu** ʔəs-páqʷ-s ta=*TV*=ha].
enough**=2SG.SUBJ** [**D/C+NMLZ+IPFV+2SG.POSS** STAT-watch-CAUS DET=TV=EXIS]

d. * ʔíʔəż**=łkaxʷ** [**kʷ=s=**ʔəs-páqʷ-s**-axʷ** ta=*TV*=ha].
enough**=2SG.SUBJ** [**D/C=NMLZ=**STAT-watch-CAUS**-2SG.ERG** DET=TV=EXIS]

e. * ʔíʔəż**=łkaxʷ** [**kʷ=s=**ʔəs-páqʷ-s ta=*TV*=ha].
enough**=2SG.SUBJ** [**D/C=NMLZ=**STAT-watch-CAUS DET=TV=EXIS]

In other words, there is an irreducible lexical component to copy-raising in St'át'imcets, as has often been pointed out with respect to raising more generally.[10]

Summarizing, we can deduce the following one-way implications:

(i) If a predicate allows copy-raising, it selects for a clausal complement and occurs with an expletive subject (e.g., *cukʷ*). However, not all predicates with these selectional properties allow copy-raising (e.g., *ʔíʔəz̓*).

(ii) If a predicate allows movement raising in infinitives, it also allows copy raising in finite clauses (*c̓íla*). However, not all predicates allow copy-raising occur in infinitivals (e.g., *cukʷ*).

[10] It is worth mentioning that though it is lexically restricted, copy raising in St'át'imcets is nevertheless more freely available than its English counterpart, which only occurs with predicates which take finite clausal complements introduced by *like* or *as if/as though*, as in (i). The direct English equivalent of St'át'imcets copy-raising is ungrammatical, as shown in (ii):

(i) **You** seem **like/as if you** have seen a ghost.

(ii) ***You** seem (that) **you** have seen a ghost.

5.4 Implications

I have now outlined the basic properties of subject-to-subject raising in both infinitival and finite complements in St'át'imcets. Obviously, there is a great deal more to do: for example, well-known syntactic characteristics of raising in better-studied languages, including reconstruction for scope and binding, as well as locality effects such as the (im)possibility of 'super-raising' constructions, have yet to be investigated.[11]

Nevertheless, there are lessons we can draw from the raising patterns identified here. The first is that raising is not a property of infinitives *per se*: rather, it is a general property of predicates which select a clausal complement but not an external argument, including both finite and infinitival clauses.

The second is that not all predicates which meet the preconditions for raising actually undergo it. As has often been observed for better-studied languages, raising is partly a lexically-specified property of individual predicates. Within the Salish family, where copy raising has been reported sporadically in a number of languages, this is almost certainly also true, and should act as a stimulus for a more systematic investigation of potential raising predicates in individual languages.

Third, the crucial factor in St'át'imcets which distinguishes finite from infinitival clauses, and therefore triggers the difference between movement raising and copy raising, is neither the initial D/C element (which is identical in both) nor features of T (which are as fully specified in *ċíla* infinitives as they are in finite clauses), but specifically a functional head which encodes finiteness features, and is responsible for licensing outer (clitic) subjects.[12] It is the [+Fin] specification of this head which blocks movement raising, and forces copy raising to take place instead.

Fourth, there is nothing intrinsic to the structure of infinitives which *forces* movement raising in St'át'imcets: the process is optional. This is a challenge to older GB-style theories of NP-movement, which essentially appeal to a conspiracy between (abstract) Case (which forces an argument to move out of a Caseless subject position) and the Theta Criterion (which allows it to move into a non-thematic subject position). However, at least in principle, contemporary Agree-based theories allow for the possibility of optional raising; since they are based on feature matching mediated by the Probe-Goal mechanism, it is always possible simply not to generate a feature on the Probe, thereby obviating the need to move.[13]

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[11] The difficulty of applying these tests in St'át'imcets should not be under-estimated. The absence of generalized quantifiers makes scope-based tests particularly challenging (see Davis 2010), and binding reconstruction is hampered by the fact that Condition C does not hold across clauses (Davis 2009). In addition, St'át'imcets lacks idioms of the type standardly used to motivate reconstruction in languages like English.

[12] It is unclear to me what the semantic contribution of finiteness (in the form of the clausal nominalizer *s*=) actually is, or indeed if it has any. See Arregui and Matthewson (2001) for the proposal that *s*= is a 'situation minimizer', though their account is limited to factive nominalized clauses introduced by the D/C element *ta*=, and does not obviously extend to nominalized clauses introduced by *kʷu*=. Another possibility — motivated by the role of the nominalizer in cases of predicate nominalization, where it is a prefix, not a proclitic — is that *s*= does not head a functional projection but is a marker of abstraction over a semantic argument. The problem here is it is unclear *which* argument is being abstracted over in a nominalized complement clause. I leave this issue open here.

[13] Of course, this entails that an expletive subject is allowed to satisfy the EPP even when movement is a possibility; I leave the technical details aside here.

6 Conclusion

As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I had originally hoped it would cover the entire spectrum of infinitive constructions in St'át'imcets. I have ended up, I discover, hardly covering one of them.

This is both intriguing and alarming. Intriguing, because what appeared at first to be an obscure corner of the grammar of St'át'imcets turns to out to be a larger and more important space than I had imagined, and – like infinitives in better known languages – has the potential to shed some crucial light on clause structure. Alarming, because, frankly, we're running out of time to do the necessary fieldwork, and this is only one of many apparently obscure areas to investigate in Salish grammar, any or all of which could prove just as fruitful.

In terms of the next steps to take in the investigation of infinitives specifically, a thorough examination of the other two major classes of infinitival complement is a priority. Of particular pertinence to the current paper, evaluative predicates (the equivalents of 'good', 'difficult', 'funny', etc.: see 2.3 above) exhibit another type of raising, which is the functional equivalent of English tough-movement, but targets unaccusative and passive patients rather than objects. In addition, control in St'át'imcets infinitives needs to be looked at more closely: preliminary findings indicate that obligatory control is missing entirely, and all control relations are therefore non-obligatory. I look forward to reporting on these questions in the near future.

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