

Introduction to Slave

Based on Rice 1986, 1989, 2000

1. A DASH OF SLAVE [slevi] GRAMMAR

1.0 *Linguistic type*

Head-final (SOV), head-marking, rich inflection, a few derivational affixes, lots of fusion

1.1 *Inflected words*

(W) Verbs (V), nouns (N), postpositions (P):

V-template:	preverb-*(OAGR ⁺ -)AM-SAGR-v.base	~ KR 2000	e.g. (1)
	1-5 6-8 9-11 12 13	KR 1989	
N-template:	(P.AGR-)n.base(-RN)		e.g. (2)
P-template:	O.AGT-p.base		e.g. (3)

(1) intransitive verb (iv)

'a-wo-h-t'é
pvb-OPT-1s-be
'I will stay'

transitive verb (tv)

rá-se-re-yi-ne-h-t'u
pvb-1s-CL-PFV[?]-2s-tv-hit
'you hit me'

(2) common noun (cn)

mbeh
knife
'knife'

relational noun (rn)

se-mbeh-é
1s-knife-RN
'my knife'

(3)

postposition (pp)

se-gha
1s-for
'for me'

1.2 *Verbal agreement*

(v) Verbal predicate: preverb*-...-v.base, e.g.

-sháh 'tie'
ké-...-sháh 'tie up'
te-...-sháh 'tie together'

(O) Object agreement (+ classifiers): OAGR⁺ = OAGR-CL-*, e.g.

<i>se-</i>	'1s'		<i>naxe-/raxe-</i>	'1p'
<i>ne-</i>	'2s'		<i>naxe-/raxe-</i>	'2p'
∅/be-	'3s' w. 1/2 S	e.g. 'I hit <i>him</i> (be-)'	<i>go-</i>	'3p'
ye-	'3s ⁺ ' w. 3rd S	e.g. 'he hit <i>him</i> (ye-)'		
'e-	'STH' (unspec.)	e.g. 'he hit <i>something</i> ('e-)'		
'ede-	'SLF' (refl.)	e.g. 'I hung <i>myself</i> ('ede-)'	'ete- ~ te-	'RCP' (reciprocal)

(S) Subject agreement: SAGR, e.g.

<i>h-</i>	'1s'	e.g. <i>e-h-jí</i> 'I sing'	<i>íd-</i>	'1p'
<i>ne-</i>	'2s'	e.g. <i>ne-jí</i> 'you sing'	<i>ah-</i>	'2p'
∅-	'3s'	e.g. <i>e-jí</i> 'she sings'	∅-	'3p'

2. FINITE INDIRECT REPORTS (pattern A)

(A) [...1/2/3... (C)]_{CP} (XP) V

<u>Downstairs (↓) person</u>	<u>Downstairs (↓) role = Upstairs (↑) role</u>
1	speaker (<i>se</i> 'self')
2	speaker's addressee (<i>se</i> 's 'you')
3	other (<i>se</i> 's '3rd party')

• speech reports

(4) a. *te góhlini go-ts'é de-wo-n-yá*
 Norman Wells 3_π-to pvb-OPT-2s-go
 'You will go to Norman Wells.' (MB)

b. *judeni de-wo-n-yá ni ne-no 'ekáhe-de-wo-n-dí*
 [where pvb-OPT-2s-go C₂] 2s-mother thus-to-OPT-2s-say (MB)
 'You [should] tell your mother where you're going.'

(5) a. *John hayi k'áhba mi 'a-he-n-t'e*
 John NM Colville Lake pvb-CL-'PFV'.3s-be
 'John lives in Colville Lake.' (MB)

b. *John hayi k'áhba mi 'a-he-n-t'e gú be-gho 'úw-e-h-'o*
 [John NM Colville Lake pvb-CL-'PFV'.3s-be C₁] 3s-about pvb-PFV?-1s-hear (MB)
 'I heard that John is living in Colville Lake.' (KR86:50)

• attitude reports

(6) a. *te góhlini rá-h-gwee*
 Norman Wells pvb-IPF?.1s-live
 'I live in Norman Wells.' (MB)

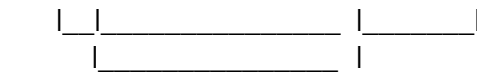
b. *judeni rá-h-gwee ni ko-d-i-h-sho yíle*
 [where pvb-IPF?.1s-live C₂] 3_Ω-CL-'PFV'.3s-tv-know not
 'He doesn't know where I live.' (KR86:50)

(7) a. *'erákie'ie wi-hsi*
 parka PFV.1s-make (KR99:435)
 'I made a parka.' (MB)

b. *John 'erákie'ie wi-hsi ni ko-d-i-h-sho*
 John [parka PFV.1s-make C₂] 3_Ω-CL-'PFV'.3s-tv-know
 'John knows I made a parka.' (KR86:48)

(8) a. *se-ya rá-wo-zíe*
 1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt
 'My son will go hunting.' (MB)

b. *John se-ya rá-wo-zíe y-u-de-Ø-li* see also **Sec. 8**
 John [1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt]_{CP} 3s⁺-CL-CL'-IPF.3s-want
 'John wants my son to go hunting.' (KR86:62)

3. TRANSITIVE *-di* ‘say to’: DIRECTED *De Se* SPEECH (pattern B)(B) [...1, 2, 3...OPT (*C)] OAGR-AM-SAGR-tv-*di*

↓ <u>person</u>	↓ <u>role</u>	↑ <u>role</u>
1	<i>se</i>	agent of tv <i>-di</i> ‘say to’
<u>2</u>	<i>se</i> ’s ‘you’	experiencer of tv <i>-di</i> ‘say to’
3	<i>se</i> ’s ‘3rd’	other

- ↓subject ≠ 2: *De se* speech (to *se*’s ‘you’)

(9) a. *te góhlinnin go-ts’é rá-w-í-t’a*
 Norman Wells 3_π-to pvb-OPT-1p-go
 ‘We will go to Norman Wells.’ (MB)

b. *te góhlinnin go-ts’é rá-w-í-t’a nax-ó-ke-di*
 [Norman Wells 3_π-to pvb-OPT-**1p**-go] 1p-CL-PFV.3p-*say*
 |_____||
 ‘They told us they (= *se*) were going to Norman Wells.’
 (cf. They claimed, in conversation with us, to be going to Norman Wells.)’

(10)a. *d-u-ta*
 pvb-OPT.3s-go
 ‘S/he is coming.’

b. *John d-u-ta se-’-h-di*
 John [pvb-OPT.3s-go] 1s-PFV.3s-*tv-say*
 ‘John told me that {s/he was coming, you were coming}.’

- ↓subject = 2: *Se*’s command to *se*’s ‘you’

(11)a. *se-gha rá-wo-n-dí.*
1s-for pvb-3s.OPT-2s-buy
 ‘You_{sg} [should] buy it for me.’ (MB)

b. *se-gha rá-wo-n-dí sé-d-i-n-di yilé*
 [1s-for pvb-3s.OPT-2s-buy] 1s-TV-PFV-2s-*say* past
 |_____||_____|
 |_____|
 ‘You told me to buy it for you.’
 (cf. You_{sg} told me: ‘You_{sg} should buy it for me.’)

(12)a. *’ara-ni-n-la.*
 home?-OPT?-2s-go
 ‘You_{sg} [should] go home.’ (MB)

b. *John ’ara-ni-n-la ye-’-h-di*
 John [home?-OPT?-2s-go] 3s⁺-PFV.3s-*tv-say*
 |_____|
 ‘John told him to go home.’ (cf. John told him: ‘You_{sg} should go home.’)

Three *hypotheses* about ‘focus of empathy’ (*se*):

- (I) Only the subject of a report predicate can be the *se* ‘self’ in the complement.
- (U) Only the direct object of a speech report predicate can be *se*’s ‘you’ in the complement.
- (F) If a report predicate has a finite complement, the downstairs *se* is the upstairs *se*.

4. INTRANSITIVE *ha-...-di* ‘say’: *De Se* SPEECH (pattern C)

(C) [...**1**, 2, 3... (*C)] *ha-AM-SAGR-di*
 |_____ |

↓ <u>person</u>	↓ <u>role</u>	↑ <u>role</u>
1	<i>se</i>	agent of <i>ha-...-di</i> ‘say’
2	–	speaker’s addressee
3	<i>se</i> ’s ‘3rd’	other

• ↓**1**: *De se* speech

(13)a. *hindowedzíné k’e deshinta d-u-h-łá*
 tomorrow on bush pvb-OPT-**1s-go**
 ‘I will go to the bush tomorrow.’ (MB)

b. *John hindowedzíné k’e deshinta d-u-h-łá ha-Ø-di*
 John [tomorrow on bush pvb-OPT-**1s-go**] *ha-IPF.3s-say*
 |_____ |
 ‘John says he (= *se*) is going to the bush tomorrow.’
 (cf. John claims to be going to the bush tomorrow.)

(14)a. *rá-se-re-yin-h-t’u*
 pvb-**1s-CL-PFV.3s-tv-hit**
 ‘S/he hit me’

b. *Simon rá-se-re-yi-ne-h-t’u ha-Ø-di*
 Simon [pvb-**1s-CL-PFV-2s-tv-hit**] *ha-IPF.3s-say*
 |_____ |
 ‘Simon said you hit him (= *se*).’
 (cf. Simon claimed to have been hit by you.)

• No ↓**1**: Temporal *de se* ?

(15)a. *ne-Ø-ji*
 pvb-IPF.3s-be.scared
 ‘She is scared.’ (MB)

b. *ne-Ø-ji ha-Ø-di*
 [pvb-IPF.3s-be.scared] *ha-PFV.3s-say*
 ‘He said that {she is scared, I am scared}’
 (cf. He reported {her, me} to be scared.)

5. INTRANSITIVE *ye-ne-...-when* ‘want/think’: *De Se* ATTITUDE (pattern C')(C') [...1, 2, 3...(*C)] *ye-ne-AM-SAGR-when*

↓ <u>person</u>	↓ <u>role</u>	↑ <u>role</u>
1	<i>se</i>	experiencer of <i>yene-...-wen</i> ‘want, believe’
2	–	(real) addressee
3	<i>se</i> ’s ‘3rd’	other

• *De se* desire: Downstairs OPT

(16)a. *hindowedzíné k'e rí-ra-wo-h-já*
 tomorrow on pvb-pvb'-OPT-**1s**-return
 ‘I will come back tomorrow.’ (MB)

b. *John hindowedzíné k'e rí-ra-wo-h-já ye-n-in-we*
 John [tomorrow on pvb-pvb'-OPT-**1s**-return] *ye-ne*-‘PFV’.3s-want/think
 ‘John wants to return tomorrow.’ |_____|

(17)a. *leshuyie k'eg-u-h-w'e*
 spoon pvb-3s.OPT-**1s**-lick
 ‘I will lick the spoon.’ (MB)

b. *sú leshuyie k'eg-u-h-w'e ye-r-i-ne-we*
 Q [[spoon pvb-3s.OPT-**1s**-lick] *ye-r*-‘PFV’-2s-want/think]
 ‘Do you want to lick the spoon?’

(18)a. *ku-hé 'a-wo-n-die*
 3p-with pvb-OPT-2s-go
 ‘You_{sg} will go with them’

b. *ne-non ku-hé 'a-wo-n-die ye-n-in-we*
 2s-mother [3p-with pvb-OPT-2s-go] *ye-ne*-‘PFV’.3s-want/think
 ‘Your mom want you to go with {them, us}.’ (temporal *de se*)

• *De se* belief: Any AM downstairs (e.g. ‘PFV’ in (19b)); OPT may be unrealized past (as in (20b))

(19)a. *hó-re-h-non*
 pvb-PFV-**1s**-win
 ‘I won.’ (MB)

b. *hó-re-h-non ye-n-in-we*
 [pvb-PFV-**1s**-win] *ye-ne*-‘PFV’.3s-want/think
 ‘She thinks she (= *se*) won.’ (cf. She believes herself to have won.)

(20)a. *te gónhlinnin 'e-gha-la-y-u-h-dá sin*
 Norman Wells STH-CL-CL'-ASP-OPT-**1s**-work might (KR00:248)
 ‘I might work in Norman Wells.’ (MB)

b. *t'eere te gónhlinnin 'e-gha-la-y-u-h-dá sin ye-n-in-wen yinlé*
 girl [N. W. STH-CL-CL'-ASP-OPT-**1s**-work might] *ye-ne*-‘PFV’.3s-want/think past
 ‘The girl thought she might would be working in Norman Wells.’ (KT89:1295)

6. TRANSITIVE *-u-de-...-li* ‘want O to’: THEMATIC *De Se* ATTITUDE (pattern D)

(D0)	↓ <u>person</u>	↓ <u>role</u>	↑ <u>role</u>	
	1	<i>se</i>	experiencer of tv <i>-u-de-...-li</i> ‘want/believe O to’	
	2	–	(real) addressee	
	3	<i>se</i> ’s ‘3rd’	other	
	<u>1/2/3</u>	<i>se</i> ’s ‘theme’	object of tv <i>-u-de-...-li</i> ‘want/believe O to’	

(D1) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) 1s/p-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|
 presup. SAGR ≠ 1s/p

(D2) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) 2s/p-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|
 presup. SAGR ≠ 2s/p

(D3) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) 3s/p-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|

(D4) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) SLF/RCP-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|

• D1: *De se* desire/belief about 1s/p object (real speaker)

(D1) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) 1s/p-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|
 presup. SAGR ≠ 1s/p

(21)a. *be-k'é d-u-h-ta*
 3s-with pvb-OPT-1s-go
 ‘I will go with him.’ (MB)

b. *sú be-k'é d-u-h-ta s-u-d-i-n-li*
 Q [[3s-with pvb-OPT-**1**s-go] 1s-*u-de*-IPF-2s-want/think]
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|
 ‘Do you want to go with me?’

(22)a. *se-ts'én rá-won-di*
 1s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-help
 ‘He should help me.’ (MB)

b. *se-ts'én rá-won-di s-u-de-Ø-li*
 [1s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-help] 1s-*u-de*-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____|_____|_____|
 |_____|
 ‘He wants me to help him (= *se*).

- (23)a. *ye-ghá-y-u-dá*
 3s⁺-CL-ASP-OPT.3s-see
 ‘He should see it.’ (MB)
- b. *‘abá ye-ghá-y-u-dá s-u-de-Ø-li*
 father [3s⁺-CL-ASP-OPT.3s-see] 1s-***u-de***-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____||
 ‘Dad wants me to see it.’
- (24)a. *be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí*
 3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.2s-help
 ‘You should help her.’ (MB)
- b. *be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí s-u-de-Ø-li*
 [3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.2s-help] 1s-***u-de***-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____||
 ‘He wants you to help me.
 (cf. ‘He wants me to be helped by you.)
- c. cf. non-thematic *de se* desire (iv pattern C’)
be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí ye-n-in-we
 [3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.2s-help] ***ye-ne***-‘PFV’.3s-want/think
 |_____||
 ‘He wants you to help {me, her}.’
- (25)a. *Mary rá-Ø-re-yin-h-t’u*
 Mary pvb-3s-CL-PFV.3s-tv-hit
 ‘He hit Mary.’ (MB)
- b. *John Mary rá-Ø-re-yin-h-t’u s-u-de-li*
 John [Mary pvb-3s-CL-PFV.3s-tv-hit] 1s-***u-de***-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____||
 ‘John thinks that I hit Mary.’
 (cf. John believes me to have hit Mary)
- (26)a. *Joe ye-ghon ‘a-ni-n-wen*
 Joe 3s⁺-for pvb-*ni*-PFV?.3s-want
 ‘Joe loves her.’ (MB)
- b. *Mary hayi Joe ye-ghon ‘a-ni-n-wen s-u-de-li*
 Mary [Joe 3s⁺-for pvb-*ni*-PFV?.3s-want] 1s-***u-de***-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____||
 ‘Mary thinks that Joe loves me.’
 (cf. ‘Mary believes me to be what Joe wants.’)

- D2: *De se* desire/belief about 2s/p (real addressee)

(D2) [...1, 2, 3...] (*C) 2s/p-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*
 |_____| |_____|
 |_____|
 presup. SAGR ≠ 2s/p

(27)a. *be-ghá-y-u-h-dá*
 3s-CL-ASP-OPT-1s-see
 ‘I will see him.’ (MB)

b. *ne-ghá-y-u-h-dá* *n-u-de-Ø-li*
 [2s-CL-ASP-OPT-1s-see] 2s-*u-de*-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____| |_____| |_____|
 |_____|
 ‘He wants to see you.’

(28)a. *be-ghá-ye-wo-n-dá*
 3s-CL-ASP-OPT-2s-see
 ‘You should see it.’ (MB)

b. *be-ghá-ye-wo-n-dá* *n-u-de-h-li*
 [3s-CL-ASP-OPT-2s-see] 2s-*u-de*-IPF.1s-want/think
 |_____|
 ‘I want you to see it.’

(29) a. *be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí*
 3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT-2s-help
 ‘You should help her.’ (MB)

b. *be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí* *n-u-de-Ø-li*
 [3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.2s-help] 2s-*u-de*-IPF.3s-want/think
 |_____|
 ‘He wants YOU to help her.’

cf. c. cf. non-thematic *de se* desire (iv pattern C’)
be-ts’én rá-wo-n-dí *ye-n-in-we*
 [3s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.2s-help] *ye-ne*-‘PFV’.3s-want/think
 |_____|
 ‘He wants you to help {me, her}.’

- D3: *De se* desire/belief about 3s/p (other)

(D3) [...**1**, 2, **3**...] (*C) 3s/p-**u-de**-AM-SAGR-**li**

|_____|_____|_____|
|_____|

(30)a. *se-ts'én rá-wo-dí*

1s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-help
'She should help me.' (MB)

b. *'abá se-ts'én rá-wo-dí* `` *y-u-de-Ø-li*
dad [1s-to pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-help] 3s⁺-**u-de**-IPF.3s-want/think
|_____|_____|_____|
|_____|

'Dad wants her to help him (= *se*).

(31)a. *se-hlégé se-gha goníhkie rá-ru-lu*

1s-friend 1s-for slippers pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-sew
'My friend should sew slippers for me.' (MB)

b. *se-hlégé se-gha goníhkie rá-ru-lu* *y-u-de-Ø-li*
1s-friend 1s-for slippers pvb-ASP.OPT.3s-sew] 3s⁺-**u-de**-IPF.3s-want/think
|_____|_____|_____|_____|
|_____|

'She wants her (= *se*'s) friend to sew slippers for her (= *se*).

(32)a. *ku-k'é d-u-h-ta*

3p-with pvb-OPT-1s-go
'I will go with them.' (MB)

b. *sú ku-k'é d-u-h-ta k-u-d-i-n-li*
Q [[3p-with pvb-OPT-1s-go] 3p-**u-de**-IPF-2s-want/think]
|_____|_____|_____|
|_____|

'Do you want to go with them?'

(33)a. *rá-'e-ku-dlo*

pvb-STH-OPT.3p-laugh
'They will laugh.' (KR89:551)

b. *rá-'e-ku-dlo le-k-u-de-d-li*
[pvb-STH-OPT.3p-laugh] RCP-pl-**u-de**-IPF.3p-want/think
|_____|

'They want each other to laugh.'

b. *rá-'e-ku-dlo go-n-in-wen*
[pvb-STH-OPT.3p-laugh] pvb-**ni**-PFV'.3p-want/think
|_____|_____|_____|_____|... (pattern C')

'They want them (≠ *se*) to laugh.'

• D3: *De se* desire/belief about *se*(D4) [...**1**, 2, 3...] (*C) SLF/RCP-**u-de**-AM-SAGR-**li**

(34)a. *g-u-h-shá*

pvb-OPT-1s-be.wise

'I will be wise.' (MB)

b. *g-u-h-shá*'*ede-ne-g-wen*[pvb-OPT-**1s**-be.wise] SLF-**ne**-IPF.3s-want

'He wants himself to be wise.'

c. cf. a-thematic *de se* desire*g-u-h-shá***ye-n-in-we**[pvb-OPT-**1s**-be.wise] **ye-ne**-‘PFV’.3s-want

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'He wants to be wise.'

(36)a. '*ele-ghon ná-w-í-t'a*

RCP-to pvb-OPT-1d-go

'We will visit each other.' (MB)

b. '*ele-ghon ná-w-í-t'a*'*ele-k-e-ne-g-wen*[RCP-to pvb-OPT-**1d**-go] RCP-pl-**e-ne**-IPF.3p-want

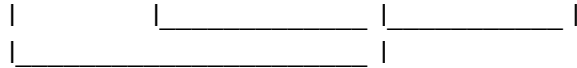
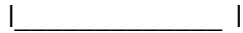
'They want to visit each other'

Additional *hypothesis* (Th) about 'focus of empathy' (*se*):

- (I) Only the subject of a report predicate can be the *se* 'self' in the complement.
- (U) Only the direct object of a speech report predicate can be *se*'s 'you' in the complement.
- (Th) Only the direct object of a report predicate can be *se*'s 'theme' in the complement.
- (F) If a report predicate has a finite complement, the downstairs *se* is the upstairs *se*.

7. TRANSITIVE *-u-de-...-li* ‘want/believe O to’: THEMATIC *De Re* ATTITUDE (pattern E)(E) [...1, 2, 3... (*C)] OAGR-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*

↓ <u>person</u>	↓ <u>role</u>	↑ <u>role</u>
1	speaker	speaker
2	speaker’s ‘you’	speaker’s ‘you’
3	speaker’s ‘third’	speaker’s ‘3rd’
<u>1/2/3</u>	↑subject’s ‘theme’	speaker’s ‘theme’

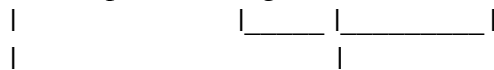
(E1) [1 > 2 > 3...-SAGR-] (*C) OAGR-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li*(E2) [... -SAGR] (*C) OAGR-*u-de*-AM-SAGR-*li* SAGR’ ≠ SAGR

- (E1) Centering (↓non-subject 1 > 2 > 3) without empathy

(37)a. *se-k’é rá-wo-łá*1s-with pvb-OPT.2s-go
‘You will go with me.’ (MB)b. *sú se-k’é rá-wo-łá s-u-dí-li*Q [[1s-with pvb-OPT.2s-go] 1s-*u-de*.2s-want/think]

‘Do you want to go with me?’

Cf. (D1) Centering with empathy

(21)a. *be-k’é d-u-h-łá*3s-with pvb-OPT-1s-go
‘I will go with him.’ (MB)b. *sú be-k’é d-u-h-łá s-u-d-i-n-li*Q [[3s-with pvb-OPT-1s-go] 1s-*u-de*-IPF-2s-want/think]

‘Do you want to go with me?’

- (E2) Centering (↓subject) without empathy

(38)a. *ne-hé ‘a-wo-h-t’e*2s-with pvb-OPT-1s-be
‘I will stay with you_{sg.}’ (MB)b. *ne-hé ‘a-wo-h-t’e se-k-u-de-Ø-li*[2s-with pvb-OPT-1s-be] 1s-pl-*u-de*-IPF.3p-want/think‘They want me to stay with you_{sg.}’

8. AMBIGUOUS POINT OF VIEW

- (39) *raxe-gha* 'a-o-n-t'e *ne-k-u-de-Ø-li*
 [1p-with pvb-OPT-2s-be] 2s-pl-**u-de**-IPF.3p-want/think

Reading E: Centering without empathy

- a. *raxe-gha* 'a-o-n-t'e
 1p-with pvb-OPT-2s-be
 'You_{sg} will stay with us' (MB)
- b. *raxe-gha* 'a-o-n-t'e *ne-k-u-de-Ø-li*
 [1p-with pvb-OPT-2s-be] 2s-pl-**u-de**-IPF.3p-want/think
 |_____|
 'They want you_{sg} to stay with us.' (KR89:1287)

Reading D: Centering with empathy

- a. *raxe-gha* 'a-wo-t'e
 1p-with pvb-OPT.3s-be
 'He will stay with us' (MB)
- b. *raxe-gha* 'a-o-n-t'e *ne-k-u-de-Ø-li*
 [1p-with pvb-OPT-2s-be] 2s-pl-**u-de**-IPF.3p-want/think
 |_____| |_____| |_____|
 |_____|
 'They want you_{sg} to stay with their (= *se*'s) group.'

- (40) *John se-ya rá-wo-zíe y-u-de-Ø-li*
 John [1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt]_{CP} 3s⁺-**u-de**-IPF.3s-want

Reading E: Centering without empathy

- a. *se-ya rá-wo-zíe*
 1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt
 'My son will go hunting.' (MB)
- b. *John se-ya rá-wo-zíe y-u-de-Ø-li*
 John [1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt] 3s⁺-**u-de**-IPF.3s-want
 |_____|
 'John wants my son to go hunting.'

Reading D: Centering with empathy

- a. *se-ya rá-wo-zíe*
 1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt
 'My son will go hunting.' (MB)
- b. *John se-ya rá-wo-zíe y-u-de-Ø-li*
 John [1s-son pvb-OPT.3s-hunt] 3s⁺-**u-de**-IPF.3s-want
 |_____| |_____| |_____|
 |_____|
 'John wants his (= *se*'s) son to go hunting.'

9. MULTIPLE POINTS OF VIEW & LOCALITY

- (41) *John Susan e gónhlinnin 'a-o-h-de ye-n-i-we ha-Ø-di*
 John [Susan [Norman Wells pvb-OPT-**1s**-go] **ye-ne**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||

‘John said that Susan wants to go to Norman Wells. (KR89:1289)
 (cf. ‘John reported Susan to be willing to go to Norman Wells.’)

- (42) Innermost report (empathy & centering)

John Bill se-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di
 John [Bill [**1s**-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||_____||_____|| ↓₂ *se* = Bill
 |_____|| _____|| ↓₂ *se*’s ‘theme’ = ↓₁ *se*

Next report (empathy only)

John Bill se-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di
 John [Bill [**1s**-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s'-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||_____||_____|| _____||
 |_____|| _____||_____||_____||

‘John said that Bill wanted to go with him (= *se*). ↓₁ *se* = John
 (cf. ‘John reported Bill to be willing to go with him_{*se*}.’)

- (43) *Susan Tom ye-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di*
 Susan [Tom [3s⁺-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say

- a. *Susan Tom ye-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di*
 Susan [Tom [**3s**⁺-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||_____||_____|| ↓₂ *se* = Tom
 |_____|| _____|| ↓₂ *se*’s ‘theme’ = speaker

‘Susan said *Tom* wants me to go with him (= *se*).

- b. *Susan Tom ye-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di*
 Susan [Tom [3s⁺-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____|| _____|| ↓₂ sub’s ‘theme’ = speaker

‘Susan said Tom wants me to go with him (= 3rd party).

- c. *Susan Tom ye-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di*
 Susan [Tom [3s⁺-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||_____||_____|| _____||
 |_____|| _____||_____||_____||

‘**Susan** said *Tom* wants her (= *se*) to go with him (= *se*).

- d. *Susan Tom ye-hé 'a-wo-die s-u-de-Ø-li ha-Ø-di*
 Susan [Tom [3s⁺-with pvb-OPT.**3s**-go] **1s-u-de**-‘PFV’.3s-want/think] **ha**-PFV.3s-say
 |_____||_____||_____|| _____||

‘**Susan** said Tom wants her (= *se*) to go with him (= 3rd party, e.g. real speaker).

- Interaction with a relative clause

- (44) *John se-non t'eere ghon 'a-ni-n-wen i] ghá-yu-dá ye-n-in-wen*
 John [1s-mom [girl 3s.for pvb-ni-PFV-want REL] pvb-3s-OPT.3s-see] ye-ne- 'PFV'.3s-want
 |_____|
 'John wants his (= se's) mother to meet the girl he (from mother's point of view, i.e., John or other 3rd party) loves.'

10. CONCLUSIONS

Judging by the Slave examples, and their English translations, the following generalizations seem to hold across unrelated languages:

- (I) Only the subject of a report predicate can be the *se* 'self' in the complement.
- (U) Only the direct object of a speech report predicate can be *se*'s 'you' in the complement.
- (Th) Only the direct object of a report predicate can be *se*'s 'theme' in the complement.
- (F) If a report predicate has a finite complement, the downstairs *se* is the upstairs *se*.

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