

# And-fronting and the copula in Upper Chehalis\*

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This paper reviews the status of the copula *wi* in Upper Chehalis. Focussing on the basic use of the copula in inversion contexts, I demonstrate that the unmarked copula *wi* can fruitfully be reanalyzed as the discourse connective *wi*. This follows from reanalyzing copular inversion as and-fronting, a construction documented in Kroeber (1999) and found in several branches of Salish. After reviewing the Upper Chehalis and cross-Salish evidence, I conclude the paper with a formal treatment of the construction. Based on the available data, I propose that this structure is a type of left-dislocation.

## 1 Introduction

Boas' (1934) presentation of the Upper Chehalis text "Bear and Bee" has several instances of a morpheme, *wi*, which he glossed "to be", and which has since been known as the *copula*. In Kinkade's (1983b) expansion and narrative verse analysis of this same text, it was demonstrated that a great bulk of the occurrences of *wi* could fruitfully be analyzed as examples of a particle used to mark the beginning of lines, what one might want to dub a *discourse connective*, generally translatable as "and (then)". A representative slice of the text is given below, with both Boas' and Kinkade's glosses.<sup>1,2</sup>

1     a   *wi* ǰáǰ<sup>w</sup> tanin?  
      *B* It.is well -----  
      *K* and well now

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<sup>1</sup> Boas didn't offer a fluent English translation, and Kinkade didn't supply glosses. Thus, the "Kinkade gloss" here is my own, based on Kinkade's other work on Upper Chehalis. Furthermore, the transcription is based on Kinkade (1983b), and furthermore Kinkade also contains one word missing from Boas, *tanin?*

<sup>2</sup> ACT = actual, ASP = aspect, AUX = auxiliary, CAUS = causative, COP = copula, CTN = continuative, CTR = control transitive, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, ERG = ergative, EVID = evidential, EXIS = assertion of existence, FC = full control, FOC = focus, HAB = habitual, IMPF = imperfective, INCH = inchoative, IND = independent pronominal, INTR = intransitive, IRR = irrealis, LNK = link, MDL = middle, MUT = mutative, NCTR = non-control transitive, NEG = negative, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, OBL = oblique, PAS = passive, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POS = possessive, PREP = preposition, PRG = progressive, PRT = particle, PST = past, RDP = reduplication, RFL = reflexive, SBJ = subject, SER = serial, ST = stative, SUCL = subject clitic, TR = transitive, YNQ = yes/no question. Language abbreviations: Cr = Coeur d'Alene, HIC = Cowichan (Island)/Halkomelem, Ka = Kalispel, Li = Lillooet, Lm = Lummi/Northern Straits, Ls = Lushootseed, Ok = Okanagan, Sa = Saanich/Northern Straits, Sg = Songish/Northern Straits, UC = Upper Chehalis. Note that I put infixes in curly brackets.

And well, now

b načšpánx<sup>w</sup> ʔa sǵitači-s  
B one.year will(be) its.day  
K one.year FUT day-3.POS  
one year will be daylight

c ʔo·čs méič  
B one summer  
K one summer  
One summer

d wi ʔó·čs sǵitači  
B is one day  
K COP one day  
is one day.

UC Kinkade 1983: 255 #15-18

However, several instances of *wi* were not amenable to the discourse connective analysis, and Kinkade (1976, 1991, 2000) continued to use the term copula for this residue, although noting that it is in fact a “simplified label” (2000: 122). Kinkade (1976) played down a possible connection between the two *wi*’s, and Kinkade (2000) actually denied any connection. In his words, the discourse marker *wi* “is unrelated to the copula *wi*” (2000: 123).

My goals in this paper are to present some likely cross-Salish correlates of the copular *wi* construction, particularly its unmarked form used in inversion contexts, and show that they may in fact be better analyzed as instances of a discourse connective “and (then)”. In Section 2, I will lay out some of the basic facts of Upper Chehalis sentence structure and present the copula. I will then give some reasons why the copular analysis of *wi* may be problematic and ripe for reanalysis. In Section 3, I propose a novel *and-fronting* analysis, based on Kroeber’s (1999) discussion of the phenomenon within Salish, and explore its manifestations across the language family. This is a construction where some constituent, usually the subject, is set off to the left edge of the sentence to which it is connected by “and”. In Section 4 I take some steps towards a formal treatment of this structure and argue that *and-fronting* is a type of left-dislocation.

## 2 Background

### 2.1 Some Upper Chehalis basics

The normal word order in Upper Chehalis is VSO.

2 ʔit qwíl-əm tat n-čálš  
DET bleed-MDL DET 1S.POS-arm  
my arm bled

UC Kinkade 1976: 17 #2

- 3 (s-)wáš-cš-t-ən t xiwóʔs tat tʰáčʰ-iq  
 (s-)carry-RFL-TR-3SBJ DET Wildcat DET one-leg  
 Wildcat was carrying a hind leg  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 17 #3

- 4 ʰáq̣-w-n c s-lánay  
 go.out-IMPF-3SBJ DET S-woman  
 A woman goes out.  
 UC Kinkade 1990: 345 #7

Words of any grammatical category may function as a predicate. This is a very characteristic feature of Salish languages (Kinkade 1983a). The examples in (5-7) are from Upper Chehalis, where an adjective or complex nominal is used as the main predicate, here enclosed in brackets.

- 5 [xém-ti] yawmš  
 heavy-PL 3PL  
 They are heavy.  
 UC Kinkade 2000: 122 #3

- 6 [náv ʔaccsnóq qáxaʔ]  
 big black dog  
 it's a big black dog.  
 UC Kinkade 1964: 55

- 7 [ʰáq-awq stánaʔ]  
 long-leg woman  
 she is a tall woman  
 UC Kinkade 2000: 123 #9

Examples of predicate nominals (without copulas) from Lillooet and Northern Straits are given below.

- 8 [nkʰyap] ti-ʰák-a  
 coyote DET-go.along-EXIS  
 The one going along is a coyote  
 Li Davis & Matthewson 1999: 38 #18b

- 9 [čəq swəyqəʔ] tsə siʔém̃  
 big male DET boss  
 The boss is a big man  
 Sa Montler 1993: 245 #10

In fact, when discussing the VSO word order in Upper Chehalis, Kinkade (1976) points out that V does not straightforwardly stand for “verb” nor S and O for “nouns”, because in fact all elements are predicates. Kinkade further goes on to state that “if a

noun-verb dichotomy is relevant at all in Inland Olympic, it is a purely surface phenomenon developed through inversion of normal word order". Inversion is performed by reversing the order of V and S, and placing the copula *wi* between. That is,  $VS(O) \rightarrow S \underline{wi} V(O)$ , which is the quintessential environment for unmarked *wi*. From here on, I will enclose the inverted constituent in square brackets and indicate the copula with a solid underline.

10 [tit s-ǵít-ači] wi siw tó·m-t  
 DET NOM-day-? COP too short-INTR  
 The day is too short  
 UC Kinkade 1983b: 255 #6

11 [titxtí néʔš] wi xáʔ  
 DEM here COP difficult  
 This here is difficult  
 UC Kinkade 1983b: 255 #67

12 [cáne] wi ʔac-táč-tč'  
 3S.IND COP ST-sick-?  
 he is sick  
 UC Kinkade 1964: 34

13 [ʔónca] wi ʔit sáwla-mi čn  
 1S.IND COP DET ask-2S.OBJ 1S.SUCL  
 I asked you  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 18 #15

14 [ʔelápa] wi sʔélan-alp  
 2P.IND COP sing-2P.SBJ  
 you are singing  
 UC Kinkade 1964: 33

15 [tet ʔelápa] wi s-čés-mes-alp tet cáne  
 DET 2P.IND COP S-come-3OBJ-2P.SSBJ DET 3S.IND  
 you are coming after him  
 UC Kinkade 1964: 33

Although not reported in Kinkade (1976), the copula *wi* is also sometimes used when an object is preverbal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These are the only examples of an object inverted with *wi* which I have found in Upper Chehalis. The fact that they occur with the strong quantifier *xʷaqʷ* may or may not be significant. One might want to analyze these cases as a type of Quantifier Raising instead.

- 16 [x<sup>w</sup>áq<sup>w</sup> u wa·] wi nk<sup>w</sup>s yucá-y-nš  
 all yet what COP HAB kill-?-1S.SBJ  
 I always kill *everyone*.

UC M.D. Kinkade pc. 16.7.4-7.58

- 17 [x<sup>w</sup>áq<sup>w</sup> u ti tala xáš] wi † t ʔasú-x<sup>w</sup> čn  
 all yet DET ? house COP OBL DET take-CAUS 1S.SUCL  
 It is all your house that I will take.

UC M.D. Kinkade pc. 104.9.42-9.6

And furthermore, an adverbial appears before *wi* in the following example.

- 18 [qíčx] wi ʔóy qat sáʔs tit támš ča t sšamálaxw  
 thus cop good must make det world and det people  
 Thus it is good for the world and the people to be made.

UC Kinkade 1983b: 255 #27-28.

## 2.2 Examples of marked *wi*

Aside from the cases just mentioned, the other major use reported for the copula *wi* is in negative contexts. Kinkade (1976) was unable to determine what factors dictate the occurrence of *wi* in this construction. Some examples of this use are given below. Note that (19) and (20) are identical except for the occurrence of *wi*.

- 19 miŋta t s-nám-naḡ-ənut-č†  
 not DET NOM-done-promise-mind-1P.POS  
 he disagreed with me

UC Kinkade 1976: 19 #19

- 20 miŋta t s-wi-ns ʔit nám-naḡ-ənut č†  
 not DET NOM-COP-3S.POS done-promise-mind-1P.POS  
 he disagreed with me

UC Kinkade 1976: 19 #20

- 21 miŋta t s-wi-ns ʔit k<sup>w</sup>áčč-mən...  
 not DET NOM-COP-3S.POS COMPL listen-IT  
 he didn't listen to them...

UC Kinkade 1976: 20 #34

- 22 ʔamaʔ miŋta t s-wi-ns ʔac-k<sup>w</sup>óna-x<sup>w</sup>...  
 if not DET NOM-COP-3S.POS ST-take-IT  
 if he doesn't take it...

UC Kinkade 1976: 20 #35

Sometimes copular *wi* appears in non-inversion contexts, in which case it is usually marked with subject inflection, and very often with continuative/nominalizer inflection as well.

23 wi-n-n tan miŋta tám t qa? ɣaŋ cáx<sup>w</sup>-t-wali-s  
 COP-EPEN-3SU now not DET water MOD go.through-TR-TO-3S.POS  
 Then no water can go through  
 UC Kinkade 1990: 354 #18

24 s-wi-n-n ʔac-x<sup>wé</sup>-n-t  
 NOM-COP-?(EPEN)-3SU ST-weak-INTR  
 he's becoming weak  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 20 #16

Yet other instances of the copula appear with various affixes and with a lengthened vowel in apparent lexical derivations of *wi*. These include:

- wé-naχ “have, live, be, stay” (completive wé-x)

25 ʔac-wé-x t čit<sup>2</sup>-ns  
 ST-COP-DEF DET older.brother-3.POS  
 He has an older brother  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 22 #58

26 (cóni wi) ʔit wé-x t ʃáqłənt  
 (DEM COP) DET COP-DEF DET long.time  
 He stayed a long time  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 23 #61

- wín-tn “home, place to live”

27 titx<sup>tí</sup> wi caniaŋ wín-tn  
 DEM COP 3.POS cop-nom  
 This is his home.  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 23 #64

28 (cóni wi) ʃán<sup>2</sup>-x wín-tn-s  
 (DEM COP) there-DEF DET COP-NOM-3.POS  
 He's living there.  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 23 #65

- wi-t-x<sup>w</sup> “do, put”

29 ʔit wi-t-x<sup>w</sup> čn yánq  
 DET COP-?-CAUS 1S.SUCL around.neck  
 I put it around my neck.  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 23 #67

30 (cáni wi) ʔac-wé·t-xʷ t qáʔa?  
 (DEM COP) ST-COP-?-CAUS DET dog  
 He owns a dog.

UC Kinkade 1976: 23 #69

### 2.3 Reasons for scepticism

There are in fact a number of reasons to doubt the analysis of *wi* as a copula in Upper Chehalis. The following are some things worth considering.

- I. No other Salish language uses a copula to license adjectival and nominal predicates (Henry Davis, pc). This makes Upper Chehalis remarkably unique in the family.
- II. The distribution of *wi* is not always consistent with a copular analysis. To take a simple-minded intuitive definition, a copula, as in English, is used to license a syntactically non-predicative element in a predicate position. For this reason, the ill-formed *\*I a man* can be saved by inserting the copula *I am a man*. It is not clear how the Upper Chehalis *wi* is acting as a copula in this regard. First of all, it is clearly not needed to license predicate nominals, as seen in the examples in (6-7). Secondly, it is used in places that do not seem to require a copula, even in English. That is, it is used with very verb-like items, as in examples (13-17).
- III. The unmarked copula makes an appearance only in sentences with a special word order. That is, it is only used when inversion of V and S occurs. This association of the unmarked copula with a specific curious syntactic environment makes it more reminiscent of a particle used in a syntactic operation like movement.<sup>4</sup>

In the remainder of the paper I offer a different take on unmarked copular *wi*.

### 3 Proposal: *And-fronting*

As mentioned briefly in the introduction, there is another *wi* in Upper Chehalis – a discourse connective, very commonly found in texts, and if translated at all into English, corresponding to “and (then)”. In texts, this element is a good diagnostic for the beginning of a new line. Some examples of the discourse connective *wi* in isolation are given below.

31 *wi* tit qʷáʔi-tm  
 and DET wound-PAS  
 And they were wounded

UC Kinkade 1990: 345 #6

<sup>4</sup> This suspicion is further supported by Kinkade’s (2000) sentence schemata in which the pre-*wi* is called FOCUS. Focus is very often associated with movement. Note also that copulas are very common in cleft constructions. I will elaborate on these points in Section 4.1.

32 wi q<sup>w</sup>ó·ʔc-anin † ʔatmn  
and almost-now UNR die  
He almost died

UC Kinkade 1990: 347 #10

33 wi s-ʔóx-t-s awmš ʔu t qóx-† s-šamáx<sup>w</sup>  
and IMPF-see-TR-3.POS PL just DET many-PFV S-people  
And they see many people

UC Kinkade 1990: 355 #19

This discourse connective *wi* and the unmarked copular *wi* may co-occur.

34 wi [tit táwł stánay] wi ʔóy t s-xáwq̣-m-s šał tit nultámš  
and DET big woman COP good DET S-talk-MDL-3.POS to DET person  
And the big woman talks nicely to the person

UC Kinkade 2000: 124 #19

35 wi [tit stánay] wi tawł stánay  
and DET woman COP big woman  
And the woman is a big woman.

UC Kinkade 2000: 123 #10

36 wi [ta(t) támš] wi časák<sup>w</sup> támš  
and DET earth COP wild earth  
And this land is wild country

UC Kinkade 2000: 123 #11

It is always tempting to try to reduce different morphemes with the same phonological shape to a single morpheme. Perhaps the temptation is at first not too great in the case of discourse connective *wi* and copular *wi*, given the apparent gulf in meaning between the two. Kinkade (1976, 2000) acknowledges the obvious homophony, but dismisses any direct link between them.

I believe there is actually quite good evidence to reduce the two morphemes to one. My suggestion is not to revert to Boas' (1934) analysis, where all *wi*'s were considered copulas. Rather, I am proposing all instances of unmarked *wi* are examples of the discourse connective. I elaborate on this proposal in the following sections.

### 3.1 *And-fronting* in other Salish languages

There is a construction which is fairly widespread across Salish which Kroeber (1999) refers to as *and-fronting*. In this construction, some constituent at the left periphery is linked to the rest of the sentence by a conjunction “and” and there is no distinctively subordinating inflection to be found.

### 3.1.1 Lushootseed

Hess (1995) gives some discussion of this in Lushootseed. In this language, *g<sup>w</sup>əl/* ~ *g<sup>w</sup>la* is used to connect sentences in discourse, and is usually translated as “and” or “then”. The following examples contain instances of this discourse connective function<sup>5</sup>.

- 37 g<sup>w</sup>əl g<sup>w</sup>əl lə-łcil  
 then then PRG-arrive  
 And next he arrived.  
 Ls Barthmaier 2000: 16 # 26b

- 38 g<sup>w</sup>əl lə-ʔəydx<sup>w</sup> tiʔəʔ cədit sʔubʔubədiʔ  
 then PRG-find DET DEM hunters  
 And next he found those hunters.  
 Ls Barthmaier 2000: 16 # 26c

According to Hess, *g<sup>w</sup>əl/* is also used in a topicalization construction. In this function the topic, which is located at the left periphery of the sentence (and appears to normally correspond to the subject) is connected to the rest of the sentence by *g<sup>w</sup>əl/*. I have disambiguated these examples by underlining the topicalizing *g<sup>w</sup>əl/* and enclosing the topic in square brackets.

- 39 [tiʔit tu=d-s-q<sup>w</sup>iq<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>aliʔ] g<sup>w</sup>əl ʔu-lək<sup>w</sup>-t-əb ʔə=ciʔit=saʔ ad-q<sup>w</sup>ist  
 DET PST-1S.POS-grass and PFV-eat-TR-AD OBL DET bad 2S.POS-cow  
 My grass was eaten by your bad cow.  
 Ls Kroeber 1999: 376, from DPS 439

- 40 [tiit=d-bad] g<sup>w</sup>la ʔ-tu-x<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>i al=tiit=skig<sup>w</sup>c  
 DET 1S.POS-father and HAB-PST-hunt PREP-DET deer  
 My father used to hunt for deer.  
 Ls Kroeber 1999: 376, from T18.12

Hess makes it clear that both the discourse connective and topicalization *g<sup>w</sup>əl/* functions can be found in the same sentence. He demonstrates this with the following short passage, and comments “the first and fourth sentences are topicalized, but in the second and third *g<sup>w</sup>əl* is simply linking one sentence to another”.

- 41 a [haʔəc] g<sup>w</sup>əl həlaʔb hik<sup>w</sup> sʔaʔx<sup>w</sup>uʔ  
 horse.clam and really big clam?  
 As for the horse clam, it is a really big clam
- b g<sup>w</sup>əl ʔəspil tiʔəʔ čawəyʔs.  
 and ST-flat? DET shell-3POS  
 And its shell is flat.

<sup>5</sup> Hess' terminology is *sentential adverbial*.

- c gʷəl tuχʷ (h)uy ʔəsbuluχʷ tiʔəʔ čʰaweyʔ ʔə tsiʔəʔ sχəpab  
and just then ST-round? DET shell OBL DET cockle?  
But in contrast the shell of the cockle is round.
- d gʷəl [tiʔəʔ sʔaχʷuʔ] gʷəl ʔudəgʷabacbid ʔə tiʔəʔ saliʔ  
and DET horse.clam and in.between OBL DET two  
And as for the butter clam, it is between the [other] two.  
Ls Hess 1995: 122 #1-4

### 3.1.2 Halkomelem & Northern Straits

I believe an analogous construction is to be found in the other Central Salish languages Halkomelem and Northern Straits. Leslie (1979) discusses the *preposed adjunct* construction. In this construction, a preposed constituent is conjoined to a following sentence by the “additive” morpheme *ʔiʔ*, which is normally translated as “and”. There is always a coreference relationship between the preposed constituent and the following clause, such that it is interpreted as the subject of an intransitive verb or as an agent or experiencer of a transitive verb. Example (42) show *ʔiʔ* functioning as a conjunction, and examples (43-45) show *ʔiʔ* in the preposed adjunct construction.

- 42 m̓i č xʷəʔáləm ʔiʔ ʔeʔ cən ceʔ wəl ləmstámə  
come 2S.SUCL come.back and again 1S.SUCL FUT already show  
You come back and I will then show you again.  
HIC Leslie 1979: 249 #275

- 43 (niʔ) [lə pus-ct] ʔiʔ (niʔ) tɛ́yχ-t-əs tʰə smáyəθ  
AUX DET cat-1P.POS and AUX eat-TR-3.TR.SBJ DET deer  
Our cat – she eats deer meat.  
HIC Leslie 1979: 259 #293

- 44 [tʰə sʔéləxʷ] ʔiʔ ʔ əw̓ n̓l ʔal̓ lə stíləm niʔ némə-stxʷ-əs  
DET old and again LNK FOC just DET song AUX go-CAUS-3.TR.SBJ  
The old man sang the same song again.  
HIC Leslie 1979: 260 #294

- 45 [tʰə smáyəθ] ʔiʔ ʔəwə nə-s-ʔiʔ-əs  
DET deer and NEG 1S.POS-NOM-like-3.DEP  
I don't like deer meat.  
HIC Leslie 1979: 261 #295a

In the case of Northern Straits, a morpheme *ʔiʔ* corresponds to the conjunction “and” or “then”.

46 ʔənʔé sən ʔiʔ yéʔ sən  
come 1SG and go 1SG  
I come and I go.

Sa Montler 1986: 194 #27

47 ʔi əw s-kʷé-kʷəlʔ tsəwnít ʔə tɪ ʔáɫəʔ ʔə tsə s-náxʷəlʔ tsə s-wíwɫəs  
and LNK ST-act-hide he OBL DET go.aboard OBL DET S-canoe DET S-young.man  
And the young man was still hding in the canoe

Sa Montler 1986: 244 #23

48 ʔiʔ niʔ-lə cə sčiciʔæʔ yæʔ  
and exist-PERF DET BÓY go  
Then some boys went

Lm Demers 1997: 192 #9a

*ʔiʔ* is also used to prepose a subject. In fact, Raffo's (1972) grammar of the Songish dialect of Northern Straits states that *ʔiʔ* occurs "immediately following the subject and preceding the predication" She (erroneously, in my opinion) analyzed Songish as SVO, presumably on the basis of this pattern.

49 [tiʔə ʔəsə] ʔiʔ sč'á-t sən  
DEM 1S.IND and hit-CTR 1S.SUCL  
I hit her

Sg Raffo 1972: 114

50 [tə swéyqəʔ] iʔ táʔqʷ-əŋ  
DEM man and cough-MDL  
the man is coughing

Sg Raffo 1972: 167

51 [tə snáxʷəlʔ] ʔiʔ kʷt-uʔ téčəl ʔə tə slélt  
DET canoe and already-LNK arrive OBL DET shore  
the canoe has already arrived at the shore

Sg Raffo 1972: 167

Furthermore, one also finds instances of a preposed demoted agent, as in these examples.

52 [tuʔníʔ] ʔiʔ xʷč'á-t-əŋ sən  
DEM and wake-CTR-PAS 1S.SUCL  
I am being awakened by him

Sg Raffo 1972: 124

- 53 [suʔnít] ʔiʔ qəkʷé-t-əŋ sən  
 DEM and bite-CTR-PAS 1S.SUCL  
 I am being bitten by her  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 124

Temporal adverbials can also appear in the same configuration with ʔiʔ.

- 54 [məkʷ kʷəčif] ʔi əw kʷəwəyʔkʷ tsə s-páaʔ  
 every day and LNK fish[ACT] DET S-Raven  
 Every morning he'd go out fishing, Raven  
 Sa Montler 1986: 242 #1

- 55 [nətʰəʔ s-kʷéčəl] ʔiʔ ʔəxʷi-t-əs ʔə tsə s-nəxʷət tsə mén-s  
 one S-day and sweep-CTR-3ERG OBL DEM S-canoe DET father-3POS  
 One day his son was sweeping his father-s canoe  
 Sa Montler 1986: 242 #5

Aside from the previous cases, ʔiʔ is also used in a construction Leslie calls the *additive emphatic* in Island Halkomelem. In this case, a small class of functional elements which occur towards the left edge of the sentence are followed by ʔiʔ. The elements partaking in this construction are mostly adverbials, including: *cəlél* “almost”, *xʷáləq* “almost (non-control)”, *xʷəm* “can, able to”, *scékʷəl* “how, somehow”, *cəxʷlé* “sometimes”, *təmtém* “sometime, when”, *nəčéx* “once”. A few examples are given here. As seen in example (56), regular adverbials can occur to the left of an additive emphatic.<sup>6</sup>

- 56 ʔim cən ʔəw cəlél ʔiʔ ʔəxʷnəxʷ tʰə nə-syéye  
 very 1S.SUCL LNK almost and spit-NCTR DET 1S.POS-friend  
 I nearly spat on my friend  
 HIC Leslie 1979: 252 #278

- 57 xʷəm cən ʔiʔ ʔəw cəw-ət-álə  
 can 1S.SUCL and LNK help-TR-2PL.OB  
 I can help you.  
 HIC Leslie: 253 #281

- 58 cəxʷlé ʔiʔ yə-ʔitət cən  
 sometimes and SER-sleep 1S.SUCL  
 Sometimes I take a nap.  
 HIC Leslie 1979: 255 #286

<sup>6</sup> Leslie divides additive emphatics into two classes based on the placement of clitics. As can be seen, Class 1 additive emphatics, as in (56-57) allow clitics to intervene between the adverbial and the ʔiʔ, whereas Class 2 in (58-59) do not allow clitics to intervene. Whether these additive emphatics are truly parallel to the Upper Chehalis copula is doubtful, but I include them for the sake of thoroughness. Their status will be discussed more fully in Section 3.2.1.

- 59 nəcéx ʔiʔ niʔ cən qáʔqaʔ ʔə t<sup>ə</sup>ə pəyə  
 once and AUX 1S.SUCL drink OBL DET beer  
 Once in a while I drink beer.  
 HIC Leslie 1979: 255 #287

### 3.1.3 Southern Interior

The languages of the Southern Interior also have a construction that has been identified as and-fronting. In these languages, the construction appears to be more robust in that many more types of constituents can be and-fronted. Specifically, this construction is attested with not only direct arguments, but also with a variety of oblique phrases and interestingly with wh-questions as well. Most of this data is taken from Kroeber's (1999) discussion of the phenomenon.

#### 3.1.3.1 Kalispel

In Kalispel, the morpheme *u* is normally translated as “and”.

- 60 u čin-eł-él-i čiqe-Ø-ʔet-n-qǎ-əp-əmí  
 and 1S.SUCL-again-try-INTR.CTN 1S.SUCL-IRR-NOM-back-in-get.aboard-INCH-  
 INTR.CTN  
 and I tried to get back into the canoe  
 Ka Kroeber 1999: 233, from KL T7.4
- 61 u t-uič-i-s tuʔ=ttq<sup>w</sup>éneʔ c-ən-tiyéš  
 and thither-see-TR-3.TR.SBJ DET=duck hither-in-crawl/swim  
 and he saw Wood-Duck swimming towards him  
 Ka Kroeber 1999: 234, from KL T5.1927

This *u* is also used to set various constituents off to the left periphery, in what can be identified as cases of and-fronting.

- *and-fronted* subject

- 62 ... u [cí t=poǎ<sup>w</sup>-poǎ<sup>w</sup>út u cí t=ł-še-šúʔtəm] u k<sup>w</sup>é{ʔe}-i-s u ʔi{ʔ}ł-i-s  
 and DEM OBL=RDP-old and DEM OBL=DIM-DIM-girl and take{3P}-TR-3.TR.SBJ  
 and eat{3P}-TR-3.TR.SBJ  
 ...that old man and that girl took it and ate it  
 Ka Kroeber 1999: 404, from KL T14.7127

- *and-fronted* object

- 63 u k<sup>w</sup>émt pút u [tuʔ=tčéʔi-s] u číp-i-s  
 and then just and DET=penis-3POS and pinch-TR-3.TR-SBJ  
 Then he pinched off his (own) penis  
 Ka Kroeber 1999: 405, from KL T6.2

- *and-fronted* PP

- 64 [čə-ʔé] u téš-ilš stəlʔələ  
 to-DEM and stand-INCH thunder  
 There Thunder stopped

Ka Kroeber 1999: 405, from KL T4.14

- *and-fronted* wh-direct

- 65 [t suwét] u kʷúl-i-s  
 OBL who and make-TR-3.TR.SBJ  
 Who did it?

Ka Kroeber 1999: 404, from KL 27

- 66 [suwét] u púls-t-xʷ  
 who and kill-TR-2.TR.SBJ  
 Who did you kill?

Ka Kroeber 1999: 405, from KL 27

- *and-fronted* wh-oblique

- 67 [čə-čén] u kʷ-es-əl-ciʔ-i  
 to-where and 2S.SUCL-ASP-at-there-INTR(CTN/IRR)  
 Where have you been?

Ka Kroeber 1999: 405, from KL T3.8

### 3.1.3.2 Okanagan

In Okanagan, *uʔ* is used for “and”.

- 68 uʔ kən=n-st-ils wayʔ fíx-əlx  
 and 1S.SUCL-in-think-mind PTC out.of.water-INCH  
 and I thought she was out of the water

Ok Kroeber 1999: 234, from GW 355

- 69 uʔ s-puʔus-əmp p-k-s-təkʷ-təkʷʔ-út-aʔx  
 and NOM-wish-2P.POS 2P.SUCL-IRR-NOM-RDP-travel-?-CTN  
 and it's your wish to travel abroad

Ok Kroeber 1999: 232, from GW 11

Apparently, it is also used for and-fronting. Kroeber only supplies one example of this, with a fronted wh-object.

70 [stim] uł an-řm-ink  
 what and 2S.POS-desire-side  
 What do you want?

Ok Kroeber 1999: 406, from COD 203

### 3.1.3.3 Coeur d'Alene

It is difficult to assess the case of Coeur d'Alene. In this language the residue of fronted constituents is sometimes introduced by a particle *hił* or *ł* "and". This item is used not only as a coordinating conjunction, but also more generally as a subordinator (Kroeber 1999). This may in fact be a different construction, but I tentatively include it anyways.

- *and-fronted* subject

71 eynit u·mei [e=cénel] hił-púlu-stu-s  
 because evidently OBL-3S.IND and-kill-TR-3.TR.SBJ  
 because it is plain that he is the one who killed her

Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 703

72 ne? [k<sup>w</sup>uwe] ł-púlu-st-x<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>e=sme?múlumx<sup>w</sup>-et  
 maybe 2S.IND and-kill-TR-2S.TR.SBJ DET-sister-1S.POS  
 You must be the one who killed our sister

Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 704

- *and-fronted* demoted agent

73 [łe=?e=sčint] hił=ci? ł-púlu-st-əm-ilš  
 DET OBL Indian and DEM and kill-TR-AD-3P  
 The Indians were the ones by whom they were killed.

Cr Kroeber 1999: 408, from CA 673

- *and-fronted* PP

74 [łe=?e-sik<sup>w</sup>e?] ł-him-ləŋ<sup>w</sup>-ičt-etk<sup>w</sup>e?  
 DET-OBL-water and-in-thrust-hand-water  
 It was into the water that he thrust his hand

Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 681

- *and-fronted* oblique wh-expression

75 [tg<sup>w</sup>eł=stim] ł-ém-t-x<sup>w</sup>  
 because.of-what and-feed-2S.TR.SBJ  
 Why is it that you feed him?

Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 681

76 [tg<sup>w</sup>el<sup>ʔ</sup>=stim<sup>ʔ</sup>] hɪl-a-t-qix<sup>w</sup>-st-me-s  
 because.of-what and-ASP-?-forbid-TR-1S.OBJ-3.TR.SBJ  
 Why is it that she forbids me?  
 Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 695

77 [e-me-f-iče<sup>ʔ</sup>] ɬ-k<sup>w</sup>u-ʔc-wiš  
 OBL-beside-where and-2S.SUCL-ASP-dwell  
 Where is it that you dwell?  
 Cr Kroeber 1999: 406, from CA 676

### 3.2 Back to Upper Chehalis

The parallels between the examples of and-fronting in other branches of Salish, and the use of the unmarked copula in Upper Chehalis seem to me to be rather striking. In all cases, an atypical word order is used to set aside one constituent off to the left, which is connected to the rest of the sentence by a morpheme that has the same form as “and”. This suggests to me that Upper Chehalis *wi* is the discourse connective “and” - that in fact there is no copula in Upper Chehalis.<sup>7</sup>

Specifically, I think the parallel is particularly strong in the case in the Central Salish languages, where an argument, normally the subject, is placed at the left periphery. In Lushootseed, Hess identified this as a topicalization construction, used to achieve a special interpretive effect. In fact, similar examples can be found in Halkomelem and Upper Chehalis where the effect of using the and-fronting construction amounts to a topicalization sort of translation into English.<sup>8</sup>

78 (ni<sup>ʔ</sup>) [ɬə pus-ct] ʔi<sup>ʔ</sup> (ni<sup>ʔ</sup>) ɬéy<sup>ʔ</sup>x-t-əs t<sup>ə</sup>ə smáyoθ  
 AUX DET cat-1P.POS and AUX eat-tr-3.TR.SBJ DET deer  
 Our cat – she eats deer meat  
 HIC Leslie 1979: 259 #293

79 [ʔónca] wi tit ʔóxt-k<sup>w</sup>lš čn  
 1S.IND and DET spirit.power 1S.SUCL  
 As for me, I have received spirit power.  
 UC Kinkade 1983b: 256 #69

Obviously, translations can be very misleading, and many examples of and-fronting are given less marked translations into English. A better strategy is to look at texts, and to see if the and-fronting construction is associated with maintaining topics. In fact, this is readily observable. The following short passage from Upper Chehalis demonstrates the introduction of a new discourse participant, where subsequent lines referring to his character use the copular/and-fronting construction.

<sup>7</sup> I will discuss inflected instances of *wi* below.

<sup>8</sup> Kinkade 2000 recognized the special interpretive effect of the copular *wi* construction. As mentioned in footnote 4, he named the constituent before the copula FOCUS. Focus and topic are often taken to mark different sorts of information, corresponding to “new information” and “old information” (see Section 3.2.1). Kinkade (*pc*) was not using the term focus in the narrow theory-bound sense of “new information”. Rather, his use of this label was intended to mark the constituent as *emphatic*.

80 *wi* ta ʔac-wé-x ta s-yáp-w-n ʔáy nult-ámš  
 and DET ST-have DET S-travel-INTR-3S.SBJ good person-person  
 There was a good person travelling

[cóni] *wi* ta s-yáy-ay-luʔ ʔaʔ t xʷáqʷ u sšam-áloxʷ ʔaʔ ta panxʷ-šán-x  
 3S.IND and S-RDP-talk-?-story? PREP DET all yet people-people prep DET time-  
 there-DEF  
 He was [a] great talker of all people at this time.

[cóni ta s-kʷáca-s] *wi* syawýúwn  
 3S.IND DET S-name-3S.POS and syawýúwn  
 His name was Syawýúwn.

UC M.D. Kinkade, pc.

### 3.2.1 A single phenomenon?

It is not entirely clear that all the cross-Salish examples above should necessarily be treated as the same phenomenon. First of all, the additive emphatics in Halkomelem and Northern Straits seem to be a packaged together with the adverbial as a single construction. The types of adverbials it is used with are very functional elements, and from this perspective are unlike the and-fronting of lexical arguments, or even lexical adverbial phrases for that matter. Furthermore, the use of *ʔiʔ* with these adverbials appears to be automatic and I am not aware of any special interpretive effect approximating topicalization associated with their use.

The other class of examples which one may want to set aside as not completely parallel to Upper Chehalis are the wh-questions found in the Southern Interior. Once again, one must consider the interpretive effects involved. As discussed above, the topicalization of Lushootseed seems to be most parallel to the Upper Chehalis copular construction. Assuming this to be essentially correct, then there is an obvious problem if one blindly calls all the cases of argument and-fronting and wh-question and-fronting topicalization. The problem comes down to the division between *topic* constructions and *focus* constructions. Whereas topics are associated with old information, information that is already established in the discourse, focus is generally taken to be associated with new information being introduced to the discourse (Rochemont 1986). Wh-questions are normally analyzed as focus-constructions. Thus, there is a conflict between topicalization of arguments and wh-questions.

### 3.2.2 Marked *wi*

I have been restricting my discussion so far to the unmarked occurrences of *wi*, and its possible correlates across Salish. Although I do not really think the unmarked *wi* and the marked *wi* are the same, I will now discuss the possibility in a little more depth.

First, as Kinkade discussed in his 1976 article, an inflected form of *wi* is very common after the negative *mita*.

81 mitta t s-wi-ns ?it kʷáčč-mən...  
 not INDEF CONT-COP-3S.POS COMPL listen-IT  
 he didn't listen to them...  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 20 #34

82 ?ama? mitta t s-wi-ns ?ac-kʷána-xʷ...  
 if not INDEF CONT-COP-3S.POS STA-take-IT  
 if he doesn't take it...  
 UC Kinkade 1976: 20 #35

So far, not much has surfaced in the survey of Salishan that really parallels this. One possible exception to this is the frequent use of the particle *?i?* after the negative *?əwə* in Northern Straits (see also Demers 1997). The use of *?i?* is not obligatory with the negative, but it very frequently occurs. I have not been able to figure out what dictates the occurrence of *?i?* in these forms.<sup>9</sup>

83 ?əw ə s-i-læŋ-nə-s cə swəyqə?  
 not YNQ NOM-and-see-NCTR-3.POS DET man  
 Didn't he see the man?  
 Lm Demers 1997: 191 #7a

84 ?əw lə ?i? yəhəməst  
 not PERF and watch.out  
 He didn't watch out.  
 Lm Demers 1997: 191 #6b

The other group of examples of inflected *wi* are cases where *wi* carries some degree of lexical content. It is not clear to me that one would want to class these examples with the unmarked *wi*. As Kinkade (pc) drew to my attention, the case of *witxʷ* is particularly troubling if analyzed as a copula. Here, *wi* appears to be marked with a transitive suffix. Although maybe not inconceivable, this seems rather un-copular. Still, there does seem to be a vague meaning in common with these derived *wi*'s having to do with location/state which is not entirely removed from a copula. In fact, copulas often develop from very stative verbs such as *stand, sit, live, become* (Payne 1997: 117). Furthermore, Henry Davis (pc) also pointed out some likely cognates of Upper Chehalis *wintn* "home" and *we:nax* "have, stay" in the Lillooet forms *nwa?tən* "dwelling" and *wə?an* "have, keep" respectively. These Lillooet items are apparent lexical derivations of the progressive auxiliary *wa?* that also has many "copular" attributes (Davis 1996). Although Lillooet *wa?* does not really parallel the use of Upper Chehalis *wi* in inversion contexts, there may be some interesting diachronic connections to be investigated that will shed light on both languages.

<sup>9</sup> Demers calls both this morpheme and the particle *?u?* LINK. Montler 1986 calls these two morphemes in Saanich ACCOMPANYING and CONTEMPORANEOUS, respectively.

## 4 A few steps towards an analysis

In this section I review some of the syntactic facts surrounding the use of and-fronting in order to explore their theoretical implications. This sort of material can be very difficult to glean from texts, and this section is necessarily sketchy. I will be drawing data from Upper Chehalis and the Central Salish languages, since I believe the evidence that this is a single phenomenon in these languages is stronger.

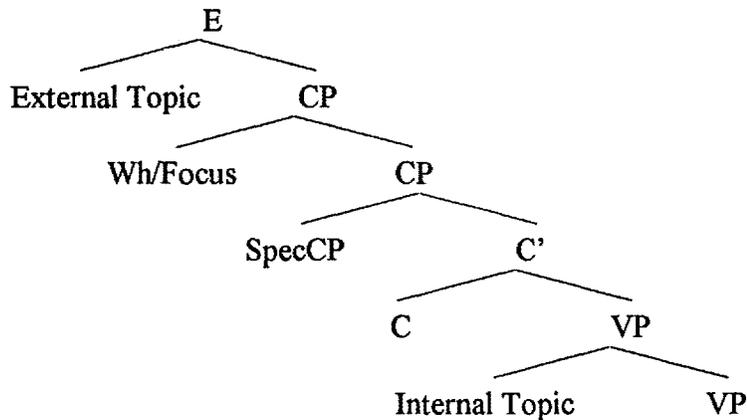
### 4.1 Syntactic evidence

As discussed above, the interpretive effect of and-fronting points towards a topicalization account. However, it would be nice if some syntactic evidence could be found to back this up. This is especially the case considering copulas are very frequently used in clefting constructions, which is one very common way to package focus. Thus, if in the end the and-fronting construction is found to be a cleft construction, the copula analysis of *wi* might be preferable after all.

Gardiner (1997) has proposed separate positions at the left periphery of Shuswap sentences corresponding to what he calls *external topic* and *wh/focus* positions. I will use this structure as a guide, although I cannot definitely argue for such a specific configuration for Upper Chehalis.

85

Gardiner 1997: 276



Let us now review some of the evidence.

#### 4.1.1 It's high up.

Whatever structure this is, the and-fronted constituent is very high up in the tree. As seen in example (86), adverbials in Northern Straits normally occur leftmost within a clause. In the examples in (87-88), an and-fronted constituent precedes an adverbial.

- 86 yás ʔuʔ čʔt-əŋ tsə qéq  
 always and crawl-MDL DET baby  
 the baby always crawls  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 178
- 87 [suʔnit] ʔiʔ yás ʔuʔ nə-[ʔ]-nóy-əŋ  
 DEM and always LNK RDP-[ACT]-laugh-MDL  
 She is always laughing  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 177
- 88 [suʔnit] ʔiʔ ǰéʔ ə kʷt yéʔ  
 DEM and again YNQ already go  
 Is she going again?  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 173

This suggests the and-fronted constituent is at the extreme left edge of the sentence.

#### 4.1.2 May co-occur with clefts.

The normal focus construction in Salish languages is a cleft, in which the focused item is very often introduced by a focussing predicate and the non-focussed material has the form of a relative clause (Kroeber 1999). And-fronted material may occur in the same sentence as a cleft, and occurs to the left of it.

- 89 [suʔnit] ʔiʔ nit s-ʔéləxʷ txʷ ʔáxʷ kʷsə sčéʔčeʔs  
 DEM and FOC nom-old MUT-go.there DET relative-3.POS  
 She is older than her cousin  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 172

In the following example, the and-fronted constituent occurs to the left of an adverbial, which itself is to the left of the cleft.

- 90 [tʰə sʔéləxʷ] ʔiʔ ǰ əw nit ʔal lə stíləm niʔ némə-stxʷ-əs  
 DET old and again LNK FOC just DET song AUX go-caus-3.TR.SBJ  
 The old man sang the same song again.  
 HIC Leslie 1979: 260 #294

Once again, this suggests the and-fronted constituent is left of the focus cleft position.

#### 4.1.3 Lack of special extraction morphology

In many languages there is special morphological effects associated with extraction. In Central Salish, in subject-centred relative clauses, subject inflection is omitted from the embedded predicate (Kroeber 1999: 272). In a cleft construction, the focussed subject of a relative clause shows the same effects (the dotted line indicates where subject inflection is expected to occur).

- 91 ʔuʔ niʔ tuʔniʔ x<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>áq-t.... tə sa:t  
 LNK FOC DEM LOC-open-CTR DET door  
 it is he who opens the door  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 66

In the and-fronting construction, there is no such effect.

- 92 [tsə ʔəltélnəx<sup>w</sup>] ʔiʔ čéw-t-əʂ tə siʔəm-s  
 DET people and admire-CTR-3SBJ DET chief-3POS  
 the people admire their chief  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 69

- 93 [tiʔə ʔəsa] ʔiʔ sč'á-t ʂəŋ  
 DEM 1S.IND and hit-CTR 1S.SUCL  
 I hit her  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 114

This further supports the claim that this construction is not any sort of cleft. Moreover, if the morphological effects associated with clefting can be attributed to extraction, these data suggests that there is in fact no movement in these constructions.

#### 4.1.4 Second position clitic placement

Gardiner (1997) uses the difference in 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitic placement as a diagnostic to distinguish two different preverbal position in Shuswap. 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitics occur immediately after a focus position.

- 94 [l-spéčn] nkə ʔiʔ l-nik<sup>l</sup>-n-Ø-s ɣ-John  
 DET-rope EVID PRT DET-cut-FC-3OBJ-3SBJ DET-John  
 It must be the rope that John cut  
 Sh Gardiner 1997: 285 #59

- 95 [l-spéčn] n ʔiʔ l-nik<sup>l</sup>-n-Ø-s ɣ-John  
 DET-rope YNQ PRT DET-cut-FC-3OBJ-3SBJ DET-John  
 Is it the rope that John cut?  
 Sh Gardiner 1997: 285 #61

In the case of an external topic, 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitics do not occur to immediately after the topic, but immediately after the first constituent following the topic.

- 96 [ɣ-John] m-x<sup>w</sup>éym nkə-Ø ɣ-sqéxə-s  
 DET-John PERF-bark EVID-3SBJ DET-dog-3POS  
 That John, I guess his dog barked.  
 Sh Gardiner 1997: 292 #100

- 97 [γ-John] m-x<sup>w</sup>éym n-Ø γ-sqéxə-s  
 DET-John PERF-bark YNQ-3SBJ DET-dog-3POS  
 That John, did his dog bark?  
 Sh Gardiner 1997: 292 #98

The data from and-fronting generally follow the pattern of Gardiner's external topic in that 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitics follow the first constituent after the "and" morpheme. Take the case of North Straits, where the subject clitics are strongly second-position. (Montler 1986, 1993). In the following example of a predicate nominal, the subject clitic actually appears in the middle of the complex nominal predicate.

- 98 čəq=sən swəy'qə?  
 big 1S.SUCL man  
 I'm a big man.  
 Sa Montler 1993: 245 #8

- 99 čəq=sx<sup>w</sup> swəy'qə?  
 big 2S.SUCL man  
 You're a big man.  
 Sa Montler 1993: 245 #9

In the case of and-fronting, the subject clitic does not occur after the and-fronted element, but after the first constituent after "and".

- 100 [tiʔə ʔəsə] ʔiʔ sč'ə-t sən  
 DEM 1S.IND and hit-CTR 1S.SUCL  
 I hit her  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 114

- 101 [tə nək<sup>w</sup>ə] ʔiʔ čsə-t-əlx<sup>w</sup> ʔə sx<sup>w</sup>  
 DET 2S.IND and hit.with.fist-CTR-1P.OBJ YNQ 2S.SUCL  
 Are you going to hit us?  
 Sg Raffo 1972: 114

And-fronted constituents behave as Shuswap external topics with respect to 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitic placement.

#### 4.2 Topicalization vs. Left-dislocation

So far, I have been using the terms "topic" and "topicalization" in a mostly theory neutral descriptive fashion. Yet, in formal analyses *topicalization* is used to refer to a very specific "topic construction". The following example from Prince (1985: 67) illustrates this structure.

- 102 Mary John saw yesterday.

This is distinguished from the distinct *left-dislocation* construction, which is illustrated below.

103 Mary, John saw her yesterday.

Prince (1985) gives the following schemata of topicalization and left-dislocation.

104 [s[<sub>NP</sub> X1] [s[<sub>NP</sub> X2]...]]  
where: X1 and X2 are coreferential  
X1 is nonvocative, and for topicalization  
X2 is a gap, while for left-dislocation  
X2 is a personal pronoun or a possessive adjective

Topicalization is further distinguished by a distinctive intonation contour in English, where secondary stress falls on the leftmost NP and primary stress within the following clause (Prince 1985: 68).<sup>10</sup> Confining our attention to just these two possibilities in the case of Salish and-fronting, the evidence clearly points to a left-dislocation analysis. As discussed in Section 4.1.3, and-fronting structures are not associated with gaps. This is especially striking in examples (12-15) in Section 2.1, where the fronted constituent is an independent pronominal, which is coreferent with subject inflection lower in the clause. By the same non-gapping criterion, Gardiner's external topic qualifies as left-dislocation as well.

### 4.3 Why and-fronting?

Finally, the question of why "and" might be used in this construction must be considered. Kroeber (1999) puzzles over the status of and-fronting, and left it open whether this should be treated as a true coordination structure or not, and whether it should be treated as monoclausal or biclausal.

I think this construction makes a bit more sense if we abandon any idea of it being a true coordination structure. Rather, I would think it is the use of these "ands" as discourse connectives that licenses them in these constructions. In all the languages surveyed, the connective "and" can be used to connect sentences in discourse. In some, like Kalispel, North Straits and Halkomelem, this is a secondary function, and the "ands" in these languages seem to be used more often for constituent coordination (Kroeber 1999, Montler 1986, Leslie 1979). For others, like Lushootseed and Upper Chehalis, the "and" in question is never or very rarely used to conjoin anything other than utterances in discourse. So, assuming it is the discourse connective use that licenses these "ands", here is some informal reasoning of why they would be used in this left-dislocation structure.

- Normally a discourse connective connects the utterance to discourse.

---

<sup>10</sup> Prince argues that both topicalization and left-dislocation are used to mark an entity represented by the NP as being either already in discourse, or inferrable from discourse. She further distinguishes topicalization in that it "attributes a focus/presupposition...information structure to the proposition". This subtle interpretive difference is unfortunately impossible to gather from texts.

- In the case of and-fronting, the topic is already in the discourse although it makes an appearance in the sentence. It is in effect straddling previous discourse and the utterance.
- It is set off to the left edge by the discourse connective.

Although this line of analysis might seem rather esoteric, even for Salish, I think parallels probably exist in other languages. Specifically, I think this sort of thing happens in English. As seen in the following examples, the English discourse connective *now* can be used to connect sentences in discourse.

105 Now, in those days we brought our lunch every day.

106 Now, what did you say your name was again?

*Now* can also be used to demarcate a topic. In this function, the topic is set off to the left edge of the sentence, and is followed by *now*.

107 [Mary], now, she's been very active in the community.

108 [John], now, he's a great guy.

109 [The butter clam], now, it's between the other two.

Although one may not want to analyze this as exactly the same as Salish and-fronting, it certainly seems to be a species of left-dislocation and generally supports the line of analysis offered here.

## 5 Conclusion

To conclude, I have argued that the unmarked copula of Upper Chehalis be re-analyzed as a construction found in other parts of Salish, which Kroeber (1999) calls *and-fronting*. The copula analysis was always slightly questionable, given the lack of a copulas elsewhere in Salish, and its otherwise peculiar distribution within Upper Chehalis. The alternative analysis sketched out here is unfortunately somewhat tentative, due to the general nature of the data sources available to me. More conclusive arguments for the left-dislocation analysis presented here will have to wait until more sophisticated and directed syntactic work can be carried out on these languages.

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