Are Pronouns Ever Predicative in Salish?*

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Abstract: Salish languages are well-known for what might be termed "the primacy of the predicate": the claim that the core function of lexical items of any grammatical class is predicative. One of the most striking examples of this phenomenon is the appearance of pronouns (along with proper names, the most referential and therefore argument-related of categories) in canonical predicate position: that is, clause initially, without an introductory determiner. In the first part of this paper, I show that in St'át'imcets (Lillooet), this appearance is deceptive: in fact, "predicative" pronouns are DPs, and occupy the focus position of a covert cleft. In the second part of the paper, I investigate the structure of clefts more closely, considering particularly the status of the determiner which introduces the remnant (non-focused) constituent. I argue that St'át'imcets has two types of cleft, equational and "bare CP": the former involves an identity relation between two referential arguments, while the latter involves a relation between a referential DP in focus position and a predicative remnant. In the last part of the paper, I consider the St'át'imcets facts in a cross-Salish context. I identify two major types of independent pronoun system: *invariant* systems, where pronouns do not vary according to syntactic position, and *alternating* systems, where they appear with determiners in argument positions, but without them in predicative positions. I examine one language representing each type in more detail: Secwepemctsín (Shuswap) for the invariant type and Northern Straits Salish for the alternating type. Secwepemctsín provides extra evidence for the concealed cleft analysis, since its independent pronouns are invariably introduced by D, whichever position they occupy. Northern Straits, though at first sight amenable to an analysis where clause-initial pronouns are predicative, turns out to support a rather different analysis, in which independent pronouns are special types of clefting predicates, as originally proposed by Shank (2003).

Keywords: Salish, St'át'imcets, Secwepemctsín, Northern Straits Salish, independent pronouns, predication, clefts, determiners, equational sentences

1   Introduction

It is common in the descriptive literature on Salish languages to come across the claim that all words (with the exception of a closed class of "grammatical particles") are primarily predicative.

> All words, except for a limited number of grammatical particles, have primarily predicative functions, and are only secondarily adapted for uses as subjects, objects, or instruments. (Thompson and Kinkade 1990:33)

> All words except the numerous particles have a primarily predicative function… (Kinkade et al. 1998:53)

One particularly striking potential piece of evidence for what might be termed "the primacy of the predicate" in Salish comes from full word pronouns. (These are usually referred to as *emphatic* or *independent* in the Salish literature: I will use the latter term here.) Pronouns are generally taken to have an irreducibly referential core, and via standard assumptions about the syntax-semantics mapping, should therefore be confined to — or at least found primarily in — argument positions. But in Salish, independent pronouns are claimed to be primarily predicative in function, like nouns and other lexical categories; for example, Kinkade (1983:29) asserts that "…utterances that correspond to nouns or pronouns in English are also predicative, and often overtly so, with subject and/or object markers attached."

As far as nouns are concerned, Kinkade is undoubtedly correct: nominal predication is widely and robustly attested across Salish. (In fact, nominal predicates are generally more common than in English, since they are often used as a focusing device in the absence of intonational marking for information structure: see Koch 2008a.) Since independent pronouns apparently show the same alternation between predicate and argument positions as common noun phrases (and are also used as a focusing device in initial position), it is then natural to assume with Kinkade that they share the same syntax.

Van Eijk (1997) makes precisely this assumption for "personal" (i.e., independent) pronouns in St'át'imcets (a.k.a. Lillooet, Northern Interior Salish; ISO 639-3: lil), the language which will be the main topic of investigation here.

> In the first place, personal pronouns may occur as predicates, i.e. with a 3S intransitive subject marker of the indicative, subjunctive, or factual paradigm. Such predicates express 'it is me, you, him, us, etc.' (or 'I am, you are, etc. the one [who]...') (Van Eijk 1997:163)

In the first part of this paper, I take issue with this claim for St'át'imcets, following up on earlier work by Thoma (2007). After giving an overview of the distribution of independent pronouns, I go on to show that in clause-initial position, they behave just like clefted DPs, and crucially unlike predicative NPs. I provide evidence for this claim from the distribution of determiners: in the remnant clauses of clefts and independent pronouns, determiners show a striking pattern of number neutralization which is absent in the arguments to nominal predicates.

In the second part of the paper, I further explore the implications of this pattern for the grammar of nominal predicates and clefts in St'át'imcets. I argue that the distribution of number neutralization on determiners can be explained if their source is examined more closely: in particular, whereas the determiner introducing the argument to a nominal predicate is base-generated externally to NP, the determiner on the second (non-focused) argument of a cleft may be moved (like a relative pronoun) from inside a clausal remnant. This indicates that, whereas the argument to a nominal predicate is always a DP, the cleft remnant can be a bare CP, as previously claimed for Nłeʔkepmxcín by Koch (2008b) and Koch and Zimmermann (2009). I further argue that clefts come in two varieties in St'át'imcets: DP DP clefts, and DP CP clefts. DP DP clefts have the structure of equational sentences: they are reversible and permit a full (headed) relative clause in the second (remnant) constituent. DP CP clefts are non-reversible and do not permit a headed relative clause on the remnant. Number neutralization in clefts (and by extension, with independent pronouns) falls out from the availability of both types of cleft: whereas the DPs in DP DP clefts

agree in number, CPs are never number-marked, and therefore there is no number agreement in DP CP clefts.

In the last part of the paper, I turn to the issue of variation in the grammar of independent pronouns across Salish. It turns out there are two principal types of system: *invariant systems*, like in St'át'imcets, where the form of independent pronouns is the same in predicate and argument position; and *alternating systems,* such as those found in many Central Salish languages, where independent pronouns occur with an initial determiner in argument position which is absent in predicate position. The alternating type occurs in a geographically contiguous set of Central Salish languages, whereas invariant pronoun systems seem to be more widespread across the family. Rather than attempting a comprehensive overview of the whole family, I concentrate on two languages whose independent pronoun systems have been previously analyzed in some detail: Secwepemctsín (a.k.a. Shuswap, Northern Interior; ISO 639-3: shs) representing the invariant type, and Northern Straits Salish (Central Salish; ISO 639-3: str), representing the alternating type.

2 An Overview of Independent Pronouns in St'át'imcets

The St'át'imcets independent pronoun paradigm is given in Table 1:

Table 1: Independent pronouns in St'át'imcets

	Singular	*Plural*
First person	s?ənc(a), s?í?ənc	(wi=)snímuł
Second person	snúwa, snu	(wi=)snuláp
Third person	snił	wi=sníł

The paradigm contains five stems, all reconstructible to Proto-Salish (Newman 1977:305). The initial *s*, however, is not: it is an analogical extension from third person *snił*, which is itself derived via spirantization from Proto-Salish **cənił*.[1] There is no third person plural stem, as is typical in Salish: the proclitic *wi=* found on the plural pronouns is an associative plural marker, also found with proper names and as an additive (+) operator with numbers: see Davis (2019).

In terms of the distinction between invariant and alternating pronoun systems introduced above, St'át'imcets has an invariant system: in other words, independent pronouns never occur with determiners, irrespective of syntactic position.

Independent pronouns occur in six environments in St'át'imcets, as described below in (i–vi). Though I will mainly be concerned here with (i) and (ii), I give an overview of the other cases for completeness.

(i)   *In initial ("predicate") position.* Independent pronouns are common in initial position with a focus interpretation ('It's me/you/she who…' or perhaps more accurately "I/you/s/he am/are/is the one who…').

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[1] The presence of initial *s-* suggests that all independent pronouns in St'át'imcets are nominalized. However, the nominalizer is invariably present, irrespective of the syntactic position of the pronoun: in this respect, independent pronouns behave like nominalized common nouns rather than proper nouns, where the nominalizer is syntactically active (Davis 2019).

(1) **sʔə́nc**=kəɬ   kʷu=nəm̓-xál,   **snúwa**   kʷu=ʔúc̲əż-q-am̓.
    1SG.IND=FUT   DET=paddle-ACT   **2SG.IND**   DET=get.straightened-bottom-MID[2]
    'I'll paddle, you steer.' (Alexander et al. in prep)

(2) **sniɬ**   ʔayɬ   ƛ̓it   ta=waʔ   núkʷʔ-an-c-as.
    3IND   then   also   DET=IPFV   help-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG
    'So then he was helping me, too.'

(3) **wi=snímuɬ**   kʷu=xʷúż   mays-ən-táli.
    ASSOC=1PL.IND   DET=PROS   fix-DIR-NTS
    'We are the ones who are going to fix it.'

(4) **snuláp**=as   kʷu= núk̓ʷʔ-áy̓ɬ.
    2PL.IND=3SJV   DET=help-people
    'You folks better help out.' (More literally: 'May it be you folks who help out.')

Clause-initial independent pronouns in St'át'imcets are never doubled by agreement morphology on their clausal remnant.[3]

(5) **snuláp**   [ta=ʔac̓x̌-ən(***-tumuɬ**)-án=a].
    2PL.IND   [DET=see-DIR(*-**2PL.OBJ**)-1SG.ERG=EXIS]
    'You folks were the ones I saw.'

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[2] Examples are given in the North American Phonetic Alphabet as commonly employed by Salishanists. Glossing abbreviations are as follows: ABSN = absent, ACT = active intransitive, ASSOC = associative plural, AUT = autonomous intransitive (lexical reflexive), AX = agent extraction marker, CAUS = causative transitivizer, CIRC = circumstantial modal, CLF = cleft marker, COMP = complementizer, CTR = control transitivizer, COP = copula/clefting predicate, CT = control, D/C = determiner/complementizer, DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DIM = diminutive, DIR = directive (control) transitivizer, ERG = ergative (transitive subject) suffix, EVID = evidential enclitic, EXCL = exclusive enclitic, EXIS = existential enclitic, FUT = future modal, HAB = habitual, IND = independent (emphatic) pronoun, INFORM = informative enclitic, INST = instrument, IPFV = imperfective, IRR = irrealis modal, LINK = 'linking" particle, MID = middle, NMLZ = nominalizer, NTS = non-topical subject marker, OBJ = object suffix, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PROS = prospective aspect, Q = yes-no question marker, RDP = reduplicative morpheme, RDR = redirective (applicative) transitivizer, REIN = "reinforcer", RLT = relational (applicative) transitivizer, SBD = subordinate subject, SJV = subjunctive ("conjunctive") subject clitic, STAT = stative, SUBJ = indicative subject clitic, SUP = superlative, TR = transitivizer. An affix is marked with a hyphen (-), a clitic with an equal sign (=), an infix with <…>, material deleted by a regular phonological rule by {…}, and unsegmentable morpheme combinations with a plus sign (+). All unattributed examples are elicited by the author.

[3] This is one area where the grammar of independent pronouns is known to vary across (and apparently also within) Salish languages: co-occurrence of object agreement with a clause-initial independent pronouns has been reported in the Hul'q'umin'um (Island) dialect of Halkomelem (Gerdts 1988:83), ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox-Sliammon: Watanabe 2003:157), the Samish dialect of Northern Straits Salish (Shank 2003), Upper Chehalis (Kroeber 1999:284), Nɬeʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish: Kroeber 1999:295), and Secwepemctsín (Gardiner 1993; Lyon and Ignace 2021). In Southern Interior Salish, doubling of fronted independent pronouns by agreement is routine for all grammatical functions (Kroeber 1999:303–306; see also Lyon and Ignace 2021).

(6) **wi=snił**   [ʔi=ƛ̓íq(***=wit**)=a].
     ASSOC=3IND   [PL.DET=get.here(***=3PL**)=EXIS]
     'They are the ones who arrived.'

(ii) *In the focus position of a cleft*. There are two subcases to consider here.

(a) Following the clefting predicate/copula *nił*. As far as I can see, the interpretation of these cases is identical to that of (i) — and in fact, speakers tend to regard *nił* as redundant with independent pronouns. Nevertheless, they accept such cases as grammatical, and occasionally produce them spontaneously.

(7) **nił   sʔənc**   ta=cixʷ-s-twítas=a   ʔə=ta=n-skíxəzʔ=a.
     COP   1SG.IND DET=get.there-CAUS-3PL.ERG=EXIS to=DET=1SG.POSS-mother=EXIS
     'It was me that they brought to my mother.' (volunteered form: Carl Alexander)

(8) **(nił) snúwa**   ti=waʔ   ʔíƛ̓-əm.
     (COP) 2SG.IND DET=IPFV   sing-MID
     'YOU are singing.' / It's you who is singing.' (Thoma 2007:116)[4]

(b) Following the focusing predicates *cukʷ(=ƛ̓uʔ)* 'only' and *ʔíʔwaʔ* 'even' (the latter in the Lower dialect only). Here the focusing predicate is obligatory (as might be expected, since it has non-recoverable semantic content).

(9) **cúkʷ=ƛ̓uʔ**   **snił** mútaʔ   na=skʷúzaʔ-s=a   wi=s-Pipayán
     only=EXCL **3IND** and   ABSN.DET=offspring-3POSS=EXIS ASSOC=NMLZ-Pipayán
          nəł=waʔ   waʔ   látiʔ   kʷu=cítxʷ.
          PL.ABSN.DET=IPFV   be   there   DET=house
     'Only she and her daughter Pipayán lived in that house.' (Matthewson 2005:358)

(10) **ʔíʔwaʔ sʔənc**   ti=cúkʷ=a.
      even   1SG.IND DET=finish=EXIS
      'Even I quit.' (Van Eijk 1997:242)

(iii) *In argument position*. Here the independent pronoun appears in an argument position, cross-registered with agreement morphology on the predicate, and either with or (more often) without an immediately following nominal restriction. With a restriction, a determiner is possible (11) but is usually absent (12).

(11) nił   ʔi=ṣə́ṣth=a   waʔ   cunaṁ-ən-**túmuł**-as   **snímuł**
      COP   PL.DET=nun=EXIS   IPFV   teach-DIR-**1PL.OBJ**-3ERG **1PL.IND**
           ʔi=sməł-mə́<ṁ>łac=a.
           PL.DET=PL.RDP-woman<DIM.RDP>=EXIS
      'It was the nuns who taught us girls.' (Matthewson 2005:449)

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[4] Thoma (2007:116) remarks that: "The consultant offers both forms [with and without *nił*] and both translations on different occasions. This task was repeated over the course of several weeks, and both forms were consistently treated as identical."

(12) wənáxʷ=**kał**=ƛ̓uʔ   sxə́<x>ə̓m'   **wi=snímuł   ʔaw̓t   ʔúxʷalmixʷ**.
    true=**1PL.POSS**=EXCL   foolish<DIM.RDP>   **ASSOC=1PL.IND   after   person**
    'We're truly foolish, we people who came afterwards.' (Edwards et al. in prep)

(13) qʷuqʷtaʔ-s=**kán**=ƛ̓uʔ   **sʔənc**.
    nothing-CAUS=**1SG.SUBJ**=EXCL   **1SG.IND**
    'I don't give a damn about it.'

(14) swát=**kaxʷ**   **snúwa**?
    who=**2SG.SUBJ**   **2SG.IND**
    'Who are you?"

(15) xʷáʔxʷʔak(=**Ø**)   **snił**,   qʷacác=kał   mútaʔ.[5]
    awake(=**3SUBJ**)   **3IND**   leave=1PL.SUBJ   again
    'He was awake, so we set off again.' (Edwards et al. 2017:49)

I also include here cases of "pronoun-headed relative clauses" (Davis 2003a), where the restriction consists of a headless relative clause rather than a nominal, again either with an introductory determiner, as in (16), or (more frequently) without, as in (17)–(18).

(16) łáx̌ʷ=**kan**   ʔay̓ł   **[sʔə́nca   [ti=waʔ   qʷənúx̌ʷ]]**.
    heal=**1SG.SUBJ**   now   **[1SG.IND   [DET=IPFV   sick]]**
    'I who was sick am better now.' (Davis 2003a)

(17) páq=**kaxʷ**   ʔaył   **[snúwa   [waʔ   naq̓ʷ-c-xí{t}-c-as**
    get.caught=**2SG.SUBJ**   now   **[2SG.IND [IPFV   steal-mouth-RDR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG**
       nəł=n-stƛákəl=a]]!
       PL.ABSN.DET=1SG.POSS-lunch=EXIS]]
    'You're sorry now, you who were stealing my lunch off me!' (Davis 2003a)

(18) tákəm   ʔi=n-snək̓ʷ-núk̓ʷʔ=a   qlil-min̓-**c**-álitas
    all   PL DET=1SG.POSS-PL.RDP-friend=EXIS   angry-RLT-**1SG.OBJ**-3PL.ERG
       [sʔə́nca   [waʔ   kakzaʔ-min-tanemwítas]].
       [1SG.IND   [IPFV   lie-RLT-PL.NTS]]
    'All my friends were angry at me for lying about them.' (More literally 'All my friends were angry at me who was lying about them.') (Davis 2003a)

Given that the restriction can be introduced by a determiner, as in (11) and (16), I assume it must be a DP. And given that an independent pronoun cross-referenced by agreement can certainly appear without a restriction, but a restriction cannot appear without the independent pronoun, I

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[5] I have marked the null third person subject clitic =Ø here to emphasize that this case also involves doubling of agreement by an independent pronoun, just as in first and second person cases.

further assume that the argument position is occupied by the pronoun, with the restriction adjoined, as in (19).[6]

(19)

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                    DP
           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        DP_head            DP_adjunct
        ╱────╲            ┌────┴────╲
      IND     (D)                    NP
                                   ╱───╲
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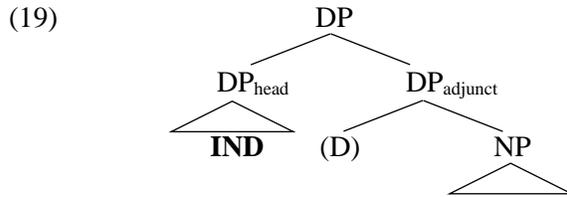
This is close to the analysis of Lai (1998) for equivalent cases in Secwepemctsín. However, Lai assumes that the independent pronoun is an adjunct to a (sometimes covert) nominal in these cases, rather than the reverse: this means that for her, independent pronouns never occupy argument positions directly.

Lai's evidence for this assumption comes from binding. She claims that in Secwepemctsín, independent pronouns take on the binding properties of whatever element they adjoin to: they show Condition C effects when attached to referential DPs, and Condition B effects when attached to pronouns (i.e., *pro*): see Lai (1998:31).[7] However, this evidence is unavailable in St'át'imcets, where Condition C is routinely violated (Davis 2009): see (20). Independent pronouns can be coreferential with referential antecedents with or without nominal restrictions, as shown in (21)–(22).[8]

(20) cut ʔinátxʷas [kʷ=s=xʷuż =s   qʷacác **ta=n-səmʔám=a**
      say yesterday [D/C=NMLZ=PROS=3POSS leave   **DET=1SG.POSS-wife=EXIS**
           natxʷ].
           tomorrow]
      '[My wife]ᵢ said yesterday sheᵢ was going to leave tomorrow.' (More literally: 'Sheᵢ said yesterday that [my wife]ᵢ was going to leave tomorrow.')

(21) cut ʔinátxʷas [kʷ=s=xʷuż =s   qʷacác **snił   n-snúkʷʔ=a**
      say yesterday [D/C=NMLZ=PROS=3POSS leave   **3IND 1SG.POSS-friend=EXIS**
           natxʷ].
           tomorrow]
      '[My friend]ᵢ said yesterday sheᵢ was going to leave tomorrow.' (More literally: 'Sheᵢ said yesterday that [she my friend]ᵢ was going to leave tomorrow.')

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[6] There is a technical issue here with respect to how to distinguish the adjunct from the adjunction site, since they are of the same category. For present purposes, I have circumvented it with arbitrary subscripts: the reader should feel free to choose their favourite labeling algorithm instead.

[7] Lai's arguments rest on the assumption that referential DPs show standard Condition C effects in Secwepemctsín, as originally claimed by Matthewson et al. (1993) and Gardiner (1993). Given that all neighbouring languages show Condition C violations (see Davis 2009 on St'át'imcets; Koch 2006 on Nłeʔkepmxcín; Lyon 2013 on Nsyílxcen), this assumption merits further investigation.

[8] In these examples, temporal adverbs are used to "trap" the Condition C-violating R-expression inside the subordinate clause. Without this safeguard, the R-expression could be construed as the matrix clause subject, a problem that affects many Condition C-related examples in the literature, including those in Gardiner (1993), Lai (1998), and Wiltschko (2002).

(22) cut ʔinátxʷas [kʷ=s=xʷuż =s   qʷacác **sniɬ** natxʷ].
      say yesterday [D/C=NMLZ=PROS=3POSS leave **3IND** tomorrow]
      'S/he said yesterday she was going to leave tomorrow.'
      Consultant's comment: "Yeah, that's the same person that's talking and leaving."

Given these facts, Condition C cannot be used straightforwardly to distinguish independent pronouns from referential DPs, and therefore Lai's arguments cannot be extended to St'át'imcets. I will therefore continue to assume that independent pronouns may directly occupy argument position, rather than always being adjoined to a (possibly null) argument DP.

(iv) *As a dislocated adjunct.* Both left-dislocation and right-dislocation of independent pronouns are attested, with or without an accompanying nominal. In both cases, the independent pronoun is doubled by a pronominal clitic or affix on the predicate.

(23) xʷúż **=ɬkan**=λ̓uʔ   k̓ʷáɬ-xal   kʷu=*lawyer*, **sʔənc**.
      PROS=**1SG.SUBJ**=EXCL hire-ACT   DET=lawyer   **1SG.IND**
      'I'm going to hire a lawyer, me.' (Mitchell in press)

(24) **sʔənc** mútaʔ cʔá-wna   s-*Forrest*,   xʷúż=**ɬkaɬ**   cʔa   nʔíʔəżk=a
      1SG.IND and   this-precise NMLZ-Forrest PROS=**1PL.SUBJ** this middle=EXIS
      'Me and this fellow Forrest, we were going to go in the middle.' (Mitchell in press)

(25) k̓ámaɬa **snuláp** **smɬh-múɬač**,   ʔíxʷaʔ   ʔəs={s}wəlmínk látiʔ
      however **2PL.IND** **PL.RDP-woman**   without   have=rifle   there
            məs=**kálap**=λ̓uʔ   zúqʷ-nuxʷ   ta=sλ̓aɬáləm=a!
            but=**2PL.SUBJ**=EXCL kill-game   DET=grizzly=EXIS
      'But you women, without even a rifle, you killed a grizzly!' (Alexander 2016:78)

(v) *As the object of a preposition.* Since clitics and affixes cannot attach to prepositions (which are themselves proclitics), the only way for a pronoun to serve as the object of a preposition is in the form of an independent pronoun.

(26) swat kʷu=ċilh-ál̓qʷəm̓   **ʔə=snúwa**?
      who   DET=like-appearance **to=2SG.IND**
      'Who looks like you?'

(27) waʔ kátiʔ   ʔi=núkʷ=a   **ɬəl=wi=snímulh**   waʔ
      IPFV around.there   PL.DET=other=EXIS **from=ASSOC=1PL.IND**   IPFV
            ka-qan̓im-əns-twítas-a   ʔi=sámʔ=a
            CIRC-hear-DIR-3PL.ERG-CIRC   PL.DET=white.people=EXIS
            ɬas   qʷəl̓-qʷal̓ə<l̓>t.
            COMP+IPFV+3SJV   PL.RDP-speak<DIM.RDP>
      'Some of us around there could understand the white people when they talked.' (Mitchell in press)

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(28) kə́la?   kʷ=s=xʷák=i   **łəl=wi=snuláp**.
      first   D/C=NMLZ=wake=3PL.POSS   **from=ASSOC=1PL.IND**
      'They woke up before you folks.' (Alexander et al. in prep.)

(vi) *In coordinate structures.* When a pronoun needs to be coordinated either with another pronoun or with a full DP in an argument position, independent forms are employed. The independent pronoun in these cases doubles a clitic or affix on the predicate.[9]

(29) cíxʷ=**kał**   ?ákʷu?   pankʷúph=a   **s?ənc**   **múta?**
      get.there=**1PL.SUBJ** to.there   Vancouver=EXIS   **1SG.IND**   **and**
           ta=n-snúkʷ?=a.
           DET=1SG.POSS-friend=EXIS
      'I went to Vancouver with my friend.'

(30) stə́x̌ʷ=ƛu?   wa?   łəm̓-c-ám̓   s-pə́pla?   łwan
      really=EXCL   IPFV   stingy-mouth-MID   NMLZ-Pépla7   COMP+IPFV+1SG.SJV
           ?am̓-c-án̓-**wit**   **snił**   **múta?** ta=máw=a.
           get.fed-mouth-DIR-**3PL.OBJ**   **3IND**   **and**   DET=cat=EXIS
      'Pépla7 (name of a dog) is really stingy with food when I feed him and the cat together.'
      (Alexander et al. in prep.)

Before going to look in more detail at the predicative cases in (i) and (ii), a couple of more general conclusions can be drawn from the distribution and interpretation of independent pronouns in St'át'imcets.

First, though they are often used for focus, this is by no means always the case. Overall, it is best to regard their distribution negatively: they occur wherever pronominal clitics or affixes either cannot occur (e.g., when coordinated with a DP) or cannot yield a particular interpretation (e.g., when focused).

Second, in argument positions they behave very much like other DPs, in spite of lacking determiners. They co-occur obligatorily with agreement morphology, may be coordinated with other DPs, and act as the objects of prepositions — all characteristic properties of DP.

With this in mind, I now take a closer look at the "predicative" cases introduced in (i) and (ii) above.

3   Predicative Pronouns as Disguised Clefts

The question I'm going to consider in this section is quite simple: given that "predicative" independent pronouns appear to alternate freely with clefted independent pronouns, as shown in (i) and (ii) in Section 2, should we treat the two structures as separate, or derive (i) from (ii) by optional deletion/non-pronunciation of the clefting predicate/copula *nił*?

I argue here for the second option, based on the following line of reasoning (see Thoma 2007 for an earlier version of this hypothesis, based on partially different evidence). If the structures in

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[9] As a rule, the agreement morphology in these structures is plural even when the independent pronoun in the coordinate structure is singular, thus matching the number of the whole coordinated DP rather than that of the individual conjuncts; however, some speakers also allow singular agreement when the coordinate structure contains a singular pronoun.

(i) involve predicative pronouns, then they must be of category NP, not DP, since whereas NP predicates are well attested in Salish, DPs, being saturated, can never act as predicates: this means that independent pronouns in predicate positions should test as NPs. If on the other hand the structures in (i) are disguised clefts, then independent pronouns in clause-initial position should act like DPs, since the focus of a cleft is a DP rather than an NP (and more generally, the relevant structures should show the diagnostic properties of clefts).

It turns out that independent pronouns in clause-initial position in St'át'imcets test systematically as DPs. The principal evidence presented here for this conclusion involves a pattern of *number neutralization* on the determiner which introduces the remnant clause following the clause-initial independent pronoun. I show that number neutralization is tolerated with clefts and (plural) independent pronouns, but not with nominal predicates.

3.1 Number Neutralization on Determiners

St'át'imcets is one of only two Salish languages to systematically mark number in its determiner system.[10] The system is given below in Table 2.

Table 2: St'át'imcets determiners

		assertion-of-existence (a-o-e)			¬ a-o-e
		present	absent	invisible	
- plural	common	*ta/ti=…=a*	*na/ni=…=a*	*kʷu=…=a*	*kʷu=*
	proper	*kʷ=*			
+ plural	- collective	*ʔi=…=a*	*nəɬ=…=a*	*kʷəɬ=…=a*	*(kʷəɬ=)*
	+ collective	*ki=…=a*			

Plural marking on determiners is obligatory: count nouns in argument positions can only be interpreted as singular with singular determiners (31a), and only as plural with plural determiners (31b).[11]

(31) a. waʔ   wáż-am   **ta**=sqáx̌ʔ=**a**.
          IPFV   bark-MID   **SG.DET**=dog=**EXIS**
          'A dog is barking.'
      ≠ 'Some dogs are barking.'

      b. waʔ   wáż-am   **ʔi**=sqáx̌ʔ=**a**.
          IPFV   bark-MID   **PL.DET**=dog=**EXIS**
          'Some dogs are barking.'
      ≠ 'A dog is barking.'

Furthermore, count nouns in argument positions pluralized by reduplication or modified by numerals or plural quantifiers obligatory take plural determiners.

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[10] The other is Nuxalk/Bella Coola. Halkomelem and Squamish have an optional plural determiner confined to animate (usually human) referents.

[11] Number is neutralized on mass nouns: see Davis (2014).

(32) a. ƛ̓iq   **ʔi=sməɬ-múɬac=a**.
          arrive.here **PL.DET=PL.RDP-woman=EXIS**
          'Some women arrived.'

      b. *ƛ̓iq   **ta=sməɬ-múɬac=a**.
          arrive.here **SG.DET=PL.RDP-woman=EXIS**

(33) a. xʷʔit **ʔi=sməɬ-múɬac=a**.
          many   **PL.DET=PL.RDP-woman=EXIS**
          'There are many women.'

      b. *xʷʔit **ta=sməɬ-múɬac=a**.
          many   **SG.DET=PL.RDP-woman=EXIS**

Conversely, only plural determiners can be used to introduce the arguments of pluralized predicates:

(34) a. **sməɬ-múɬac**   **ʔi=ƛ̓íq=a**.
          PL.RDP-woman **PL.DET=arrive.here=EXIS**
          'The ones who arrived are woman.'

      b. * **sməɬ-múɬac**   **ta=ƛ̓íq=a**.
             PL.RDP-woman **SG.DET=arrive.here=EXIS**

This also includes plural complex nominal predicates (CNPs) in which a predicative NP is modified by an individual-level AP or NP:[12]

(35) a. **nx̌ʷəx̌ʷʔúcin** **sk̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt** **ʔi=waʔ**   ʕíc-ləx.
          four.HUM   **child**   **PL.DET=IPFV** make.noise-AUT
          'The ones making noise were four children.'

      b. * **nx̌ʷəx̌ʷʔúcin** **sk̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt** **ta=waʔ**   ʕíc-ləx.
             four.HUM   **child**   **SG.DET=IPFV** make.noise-AUT
             Consultant's comment: "Nah, that *ta* makes it out."

      c. **nx̌ʷəx̌ʷʔúcin** **sk̓ʷəm-k̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt** **ʔi=waʔ**   ʕíc-ləx.
          four.HUM   **PL.RDP-child**   **PL.DET=IPFV** make.noise-AUT
          'The ones making noise were four children.'

      d. * **nx̌ʷəx̌ʷʔúcin** **sk̓ʷəm-k̓ʷúk̓ʷmiʔt** **ta=waʔ**   ʕíc-ləx.
             four.HUM   **PL.RDP-child**   **DET=IPFV** make.noise-AUT
             Consultant's comment: "That *ta* makes it out."

---

[12] Example (58) in Davis (2003b), with number neutralization on the determiner introducing the argument of a CNP, contradicts this generalization. Having subsequently elicited multiple parallel examples, none of which permit number neutralization, I now believe that that example is an anomalous case. I stand self-corrected.

3.2 Number Marking with "Predicative" Pronouns

It turns out that in contrast to nominal predicates, number is systematically neutralized on the constituent following a clause-initial plural independent pronoun: either plural or singular determiners are permitted. This was first mentioned by van Eijk (1997:241), and first exemplified in Davis (2003b).

(36)   **wi=sniɬ**   **ta**=ɬum-uṅ-tálih=a   ta=nq̓íx̌ctən=a   waʔ   ʔəs-lák̓.
        ASSOC=3PL.IND   **SG.DET**=install-DIR-NTS=EXIS   DET=gate=EXIS   IPFV   STAT-lock
        'It was they who installed the locked gate.' (Alexander in prep.)

(37)   **snuláp**=ha   **na=/nəɬ**=ʔac̓x̌-ən-c-ás=a?
        2PL.IND=Q   **SG.ABSN.DET=/PL.ABSN.DET**=see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG=EXIS
        'Was it you folks who saw me?' (Davis 2003b)

(38)   **wi=smímuɬ**   **na=/nəɬ**=qlíl=a.
        ASSOC=1PL.IND   **SG.ABSN.DET=/PL.ABSN.DET**=angry=EXIS
        'We are the ones that got angry.' (Davis 2003b)

(39)   **wi=sniɬ**   **ta=/ʔi**=waʔ   c̓úqʷaż-am.
        ASSOC=3IND   **SG.DET=/PL.DET**=IPFV   fish-MID
        'It was them that went fishing.'

3.3 Number Marking in Clefts

It is difficult to test number neutralization with clefted DPs based on common nouns, because as a rule clefts tolerate only a single determiner across both focus and remnant constituents. This means that when a DP is clefted, there is normally no determiner on the remnant constituent, and therefore no opportunity to check for number neutralization.[13]

(40)   **niɬ**   **ʔi**=naplít**=a**   mútaʔ   ʔi=sə̓sth=a   [waʔ   kʷúkʷ-xit-an].
        COP   **PL.DET**=priest**=EXIS**   and   PL.DET=nun=EXIS   [IPFV   cook-RDR-1SG.ERG]
        'I cooked for the priests and nuns.' (Matthewson 2005:479)

(41)   **niɬ**   **ʔi**=x̌zúm**=a**   ƛáq̓ʷ-mən   [waʔ   qʷəz-ən-án].
        COP   PL.DET=big**=EXIS**   nail-INST   [IPFV   use-DIR-1SG.ERG]
        'I used big nails.' (Alexander et al. in prep)

(42)   **niɬ**   **ʔi**=sx̌ʷáʔs**=a**   [waʔ   ʔáma   kʷu=sc̓wán].
        COP   **PL.DET**=sockeye**=EXIS**   [IPFV   good   DET=dried.salmon]
        'Sockeyes make good dried salmon.' (Alexander et al. in prep)

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[13] Exactly why this should be the case remains a puzzle. I am inclined to believe that it is due to a surface filter, related to the "Double Determiner Filter" of Davis (2010), which prevents two adjacent determiners from surfacing in relative clauses. The reasons are: (a) its effects are variable (speakers will accept cases with determiners on both focus and remnant, though they seldom if ever produce them); (b) it seems to be at least partially a linear effect (except in the case of proper nouns, it is always the first D which is retained, and the second deleted); (c) it is difficult to see how the difference between clefted common nouns and proper nouns would follow from deeper principles.

However, this pattern is reversed when proper nouns are clefted: they lose their proprial determiner k^w=, and the cleft remnant *is* then introduced by a determiner.[14]

(43) **niɬ** ʔayɬ lcʔa **s-máma** [**ti**=húż=**a**
     COP now here **NMLZ-Máma** [**DET**=PROS=**EXIS**
         qʷəl̓-qʷal̓ə<l̓>t-mín-an]
         speak-PL.RDP<DIM.RDP>-RLT-1SG.ERG]
     'Now I'm going to talk about Mama.' (Van Eijk 1997:245)

(44) **niɬ** **s-c̓ayúʔma** [**na**=waʔ cʕʷaẏ-am̓-úɬ].
     COP **NMLZ-Ts'ayú7ma** [**ABSN.DET**=IPFV joke-MID-HAB]
     'Ts'ayú7ma was always teasing and making jokes.' (Alexander et al. in prep)

(45) **niɬ** **s-xḷaʔ** [**ta**=kəlʔáqstən-s=**a** ta=n-cítxʷ-tən=a].
     COP **NMLZ-Raven** [**DET**=leader-3POSS=**EXIS** DET=LOC-house-INS=EXIS]
     'Raven was the leader of the village.' (Alexander et al. in prep)

If we then coordinate two or more proper nouns in a cleft, number is neutralized on the determiner introducing the remnant:

(46) **niɬ**=ha **s-Mary** **mútaʔ** **s-John** [**ti=/ʔi**=x̌lit-ən-áxʷ=**a**]?
     COP=Q **NMLZ-Mary and NMLZ-John** [**SG.DET=/PL.DET**=invite-DIR-2SG.ERG=**EXIS**]
     'Was it Mary and John you invited?' (Davis 2003b)

(47) **niɬ** **s-John** **mútaʔ** **s-Madeleine**
     COP **NMLZ-John and NMLZ-Madeleine**
         [**na=/nəɬ**=ɣip-in̓-c-ás=**a**].
         [**SG.ABSN.DET=/PL.ABSN.DET**=raise-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG=**EXIS**]
     'It's John and Madeleine who raised me.'

In other words, number neutralization groups clause-initial independent pronouns with clefts, not with nominal predicates.

3.4 Coordination

Further evidence for the same conclusion can be adduced from coordination (see Thoma 2007:115 for parallel examples). Since under the disguised cleft analysis, predicative pronouns are DPs, not NPs, we expect them to coordinate with other DPs in clefts, and the resulting coordinate structures to allow number neutralization. This is indeed the case, as shown with proper nouns in (48) and DPs based on common nouns in (49).[15]

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[14] I do not know why the proprial determiner obligatorily drops in this environment; it also does so when proper nouns act as NP possessors and when they are the objects of prepositions, for equally obscure reasons.
[15] This suggests that "predicative" proper nouns might also be reduced clefts: see Davis (2019) for a different view.

(48) **niɬ   s-ləmyaʔ   mútaʔ sʔənc   [ta=/ʔi=waʔ   cunám̓-c-xal].**
      COP NMLZ-Lémya7 and   1SG.IND [SG.DET=/PL.DET=IPFV   teach-mouth-ACT]
      'Lémya7 and I are teaching language.'

(49) **niɬ   ta=sqáczaʔ-s=a   múta7 sniɬ   [ta=/ʔi=cíxʷ=a   píx̌əm̓].**
      COP DET=father-3POSS=EXIS and   3IND [SG.DET=/PL.DET=get.there=EXIS hunt]
      'It was his father and him who went hunting.'

Furthermore, in these cases the copula/clefting predicate *niɬ* can be omitted, with no loss of grammaticality or change in meaning:

(50) **s-ləmyaʔ   mútaʔ sʔənc   [ta=/ʔi=waʔ   cunám̓-c-xal].**
      NMLZ-Lémya7 and   1SG.IND [SG.DET=/PL.DET=IPFV   teach-mouth-ACT]
      'Lémya7 and I are teaching language.'

(51) **sniɬ   mútaʔ   ta=sqáczaʔ-s=a   [ta=/ʔi=cíxʷ=a   píx̌əm̓].**
      3IND and   DET=father-3POSS=EXIS [SG.DET=/PL.DET=get.there=EXIS hunt]
      'It was his father and him who went hunting.'[16]

I conclude that there is strong evidence in favour of the following claim:

(52) *Independent pronouns in clause-initial ("predicative") position in St'át'imcets are not bare predicates: they are disguised clefts.[17]*

More specifically, I propose that the clefting predicate/copula *niɬ* plus its first argument (a focused DP) form a predicative category CopP, and independent pronouns license a null version of the copula:

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[16] The order of the conjuncts has been switched here to avoid the awkward sequence *niɬ sniɬ...*; other than this, the order of conjuncts makes no difference to grammaticality or meaning.

[17] Thoma (2007:118) presents an additional semantic argument for the disguised cleft hypothesis based on the claim that clefts and independent pronouns but not nominal predicates can be used in contrastive focus contexts. However, examples such as (i) show that nominal predicates can readily be used for contrastive focus:

(i)   *Context: You think you saw a coyote outside. Someone says:*
      sqáx̌aʔ   na=ʔac̓x̌-ən-áxʷ=a,   xʷʔaz   kʷ=[s=]snk̓yap!
      dog   ABSN.DET=see-DIR-2SG.ERG=EXIS   NEG   D/C=[NMLZ=]coyote
      'What you saw was a DOG, it wasn't a coyote!'

What Thoma actually identifies is a difference between the use of nominal predicates and clefts in contexts where focus is used to pick out a *particular* individual. Nominal predicates usually can't do that, because they denote sets, but clefted DPs can. However, independent pronouns can pick out individuals irrespective of whether they are syntactically represented as cleaved DPs or NP predicates, because in both cases they refer to a unique individual, either directly, as entities (DP), or indirectly, as single-membered sets (NP).

(53) a.

```
            CopP
           /    \
         Cop     DP
         niɬ
```

b.

```
            CopP
           /    \
         Cop     DP_ind pro
          Ø
```
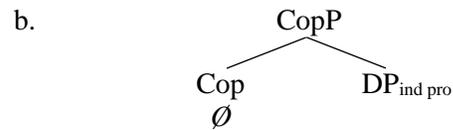
There is independent evidence for the constituency of CopP: fragment answers to questions with clefts typically consist of the copula plus the focused DP, excluding the remnant, as in answer A1 in (54); answer A2, with the cleft predicate plus the remnant, is infelicitous in this context.

(54) Q: níɬ=ha   s-Bill   ta=ƛ̓íq=a?
         COP=Q   NMLZ-Bill   DET=arrive=EXIS
         'Is Bill the one who arrived?'

   A1: ʔiy,   niɬ   s-Bill.
        yes   COP   NMLZ-Bill
        'Yes, it's Bill.'

   A2: # ʔiy,   niɬ   ta=ƛ̓íq=a.
         yes   COP   DET=arrive=EXIS
         'Yes, it's the one who arrived.'

(Unsurprisingly, with an independent pronoun, CopP fragments will consist of just the pronoun itself.)

3.5 A Possible Counter-Argument

In his morphosyntactic examination of fronting constructions across Salish, Kroeber (1999:264–268) points out that in Central and Northern Interior Salish, when nominal predicates (his "clefts") are subordinated, subordinate subject clitics are attached to the predicate. This is true of St'át'imcets, as exemplified here with subjunctive clitics:

(55) xʷʔaz   kʷənswá   zəwát-ən   [ɬ=xʷəláɬp=as
     NEG   D/C+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV   know-DIR   [COMP=ghost=3SJV
         [na=ʔac̓x̌-ən-án=a]].
         [ABSN.DET=see-DIR-1SG.ERG=EXIS]]
     'I don't know if it was a ghost I saw.'

When a clause-initial independent pronoun is subordinated in the same environments, it similarly hosts subjunctive subject clitics:

(56) xʷʔaz   kʷənswa   zəwát-ən   [ɬ=snuh=ás
     NEG   D/C+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV   know-DIR   [COMP=2SG.IND=3SJV
         na=ʔac̓x̌-ən-án=a].
         ABSN.DET=see-DIR-1SG.ERG=EXIS]
     'I don't know if it was you I saw.'

Furthermore, it is also possible, given an appropriate context, to find first and second person subjunctive subjects on subordinated independent pronouns:[18]

(57)   **ɬ=snuwh=án**(=ka),   Ɂáz=ka   kʷ=n=s=nas   ɁátaɁ.
           COMP=**2SG.IND=1SG.SJV**(=IRR) NEG=IRR   D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=go   to.there
           'If I were you, I wouldn't go there.'

(58)   **ɬ=Ɂənch=áxʷ**(=ka),   kán=ka   kʷ=s=nás=cu   ɁátaɁ?
           COMP=**1SG.IND=2SG.SJV**(=IRR) is.it.the.case=IRR   D/C=NMLZ=go=2SG.POSS   to.there
           'If you were me, would you go there?'

The clefting predicate/copula *niɬ* may also host subordinate subject clitics, including first and second person subjects:

(59)   xʷɁáz kʷənswa   zəwát-ən [**ɬ=niɬ=as**   **snúwa**
           NEG   D/C+1SG.POSS+NMLZ+IPFV know-DIR [**COMP=COP=3SJV 2SG.IND**
               na=Ɂaċx̌-ən-án=a].
               ABSN.DET=see-DIR-1SG.ERG=EXIS]
           'I don't know if it was you I saw.'

(60)   [**ɬ=niɬ=an**=ka   **snúwa**] Ɂáz=ka   kʷ=n=s=nas   ɁátaɁ.
           [COMP=**COP=1SG.SJV=IRR 2SG.IND**] NEG=IRR   D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=go to.there
           'If I were you, I wouldn't go there.'

(61)   [**ɬ=niɬ=axʷ**=ka   **sɁənc**] kán=ka   kʷ=s=nás=cu   ɁátaɁ?
           [COMP=**COP=2SG.SJV=IRR 1SG.IND**] is.it.the.case=IRR D/C=NMLZ=go=2SG.POSS to.there
           'If you were me, would you go there?'

The generalization here appears to be that whichever predicative element is leftmost in the clausal domain acts as the host for subjunctive subject clitics. This generalization groups

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[18] Examples like this have not been recorded previously. They are accepted as alternatives to the more common construction exemplified in (i) and (ii), with two independent pronouns:

(i)   **ɬ=snuwh=ás**(=ka)   **sɁɘ́nca**, Ɂáz=ka   kʷ=n=s=nas   ɁátaɁ?
        COMP=**2SG.IND=3SJV**(=IRR) **1SG.IND** NEG=IRR   D/C=1SG.POSS=NMLZ=go   to.there
        'If I were you, I wouldn't go there.'

(ii)   **ɬ=Ɂənch=ás**(=ka)   **snúwa**, kán=ka   kʷ=s=nás=cu   ɁátaɁ?
        COMP=**1SG.IND=3SJV**(=IRR) **2SG.IND** is.it.the.case=IRR D/C=NMLZ=go=2SG.POSS to.there
        'If you were me, would you go there?'

This construction is itself of some interest, because the antecedent clauses in (i) and (ii) are clearly truth-conditionally distinct. This means that what appears to be an equational structure cannot simply involve an identity relation, because otherwise the two independent pronouns would be interchangeable. The difference between them appears to be that the first argument is intensional (involving covert quantification over possible worlds) while the second is extensional (involving reference to the world of evaluation. This supports the view of Lyon (2013), who argues following Romero (2005) that the first argument of an equational structure in Nsyílxcen is intensional and the second extensional: see footnotes 20 and 22.

independent pronouns together with NP predicates (and the copula *niɬ*), contrary to the analysis I have been pursuing, where independent pronouns are DPs in the focus position of a null copula/clefting predicate.

The solution I provisionally adopt here is to assume that subject clitics attach to the leftmost *word* in the clause, and are therefore insensitive to syntactic distinctions. There is independent evidence for this move from complex nominal predicates (CNPs). Subject and other clitics attach to the first element of a CNP, irrespective of syntactic constituency.

(62)   a.   sxʷənaʔəm**=ɬkáxʷ=ha**?
             Indian.doctor=**2SG.SUBJ=Q**
             'Are you an Indian doctor?'

        b.   ʔaʔx̌aʔ**=ɬkáxʷ=ha**   (kʷu=)sxʷənáʔəm?
             powerful=**2SG.SUBJ=Q**   (DET=)indian.doctor
             'Are you a powerful Indian doctor?'

        c.   ləx̌ləx̌**=káxʷ=ha**   (kʷu=)ʔáʔx̌aʔ   sxʷənáʔəm?
             smart=**2SG.SUBJ=Q**   (DET=)powerful   indian.doctor
             'Are you a smart, powerful Indian doctor?'

Clitic placement, in other words, does not necessarily provide a counter-argument to the claim that clause-initial independent pronouns are DPs generated in the focus position of a cleft.[19]

4   Number Agreement and the Structure of Clefts

While I hope I have now established that "predicative" independent pronouns in St'át'imcets are actually DPs which occupy the focus position of disguised clefts, I have also left some important questions unanswered. In particular, what is it about clefts — as opposed to nominal predicates — which allows number neutralization on the determiner introducing their remnant? And what does this tell us about the structure of clefts more generally?

Let us turn the first question on its head and begin by considering number agreement on nominal predicates, as illustrated in (31)–(35) in Section 3.1 above. The pattern can be summarized as follows: if a nominal predicate is marked plural by, e.g., reduplication, its argument must be introduced by a plural D; if on the other hand it is unmarked for number, it will be interpreted as plural with a plural D on its argument, and singular with a singular D on its argument.

This pattern can be readily explained on the assumption that a nominal predicate denotes both plural and singular individuals, as in Link-style analyses of plurality (Link 1983), and the operation of pluralization involves removing the atomic individuals from its denotation, leaving only plural individuals (see, e.g., Beck and Sauerland 2000). An unmarked predicate will be able to compose with both singular and plural arguments, since it will contain both singular and plural individuals, but a pluralized predicate will only be able to compose with a plural argument, since it only contains

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[19] There is (much) more to say here, since clitic placement is clearly not purely prosodic, in the sense that it must access certain kinds of syntactic information. For example, in the model of Davis and Huijsmans (to appear), clitics linearize relative to a *span*, which is a sequence of heads in a complement relation. Specifiers and adjuncts are excluded from spans: in the present case, this would mean that a DP independent pronoun would not constitute a valid host for clitic placement. I leave this issue for further investigation.

plural individuals. Plural "agreement" for nominal predicates thus falls out simply as a consequence of basic rules of semantic composition.

Now, let us turn to clefts. Two main proposals have been put forward for the constituency of the remnant clause in a Salish cleft. According to the first, the remnant is a DP — that is, a *pro*-headed relative clause; according to the second, the remnant is a bare CP — that is, a relative clause with no DP superstructure. These possibilities are given in (63a) and (63b), respectively, where Cop represents the clefting predicate *niɬ*. Note that in both cases, by hypothesis, an independent pronoun will occupy DP_{foc}, with the copula optionally unpronounced.

(63)   a.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CopP} \\
t \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{CopP} \qquad \textbf{DP}_{\textbf{rem}} \\
\langle et \rangle \qquad\quad \boldsymbol{e} \\
\diagup\diagdown \qquad \diagup\diagdown \\
\textbf{Cop} \quad \textbf{DP}_{\textbf{foc}} \quad \text{D} \qquad \text{NP} \\
\textit{niɬ} \qquad \boldsymbol{e} \quad \langle\langle et\rangle, e\rangle \quad \langle et\rangle \\
\boldsymbol{\langle e, \langle et\rangle\rangle} \qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup\diagdown \\
\textit{pro} \qquad \text{CP} \\
\langle et \rangle \qquad \langle et \rangle
\end{array}
$$

b.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CopP} \\
t \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{CopP} \qquad \textbf{CP}_{\textbf{rem}} \\
\langle\langle et\rangle, t\rangle \qquad \boldsymbol{\langle et\rangle} \\
\diagup\diagdown \\
\textbf{Cop} \quad \textbf{DP}_{\textbf{foc}} \\
\textit{niɬ} \qquad \boldsymbol{e} \\
\boldsymbol{\langle e, \langle\langle et\rangle, t\rangle\rangle}
\end{array}
$$
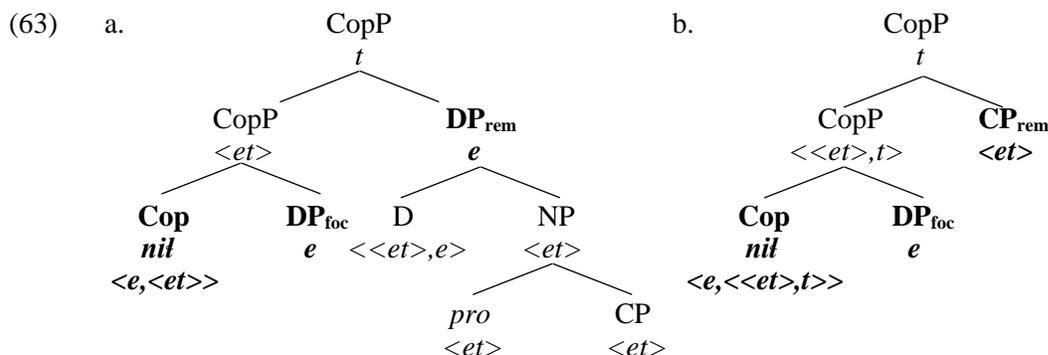
The structure in (63a) is equational: the clefting predicate is a copula which relates two referential arguments of type *e*. See Lyon (2013) for an analysis along these lines for clefts in Nsyílxcən (Okanagan).[20] In the structure in (63b), on the other hand, the clefting predicate together with its first (referential) argument creates a second-order predicate which then takes a bare CP of type $\langle et \rangle$, derived by lambda abstraction over one of its arguments: see Koch (2008), Koch and Zimmermann (2009) for an analysis along these lines for Nłeʔkepmxcín (Thompson River Salish).

Two questions now arise. First of all, which of these structures — if either — best represents the structure of clefts in St'át'imcets? And second, does either of them account naturally for number neutralization?

I will approach these questions simultaneously, examining each structure in turn, beginning with (63a), which I will refer to as an *equational cleft*. I will then turn to (63b), which I will refer to as a *bare CP cleft.*

4.1   Equational Clefts and Number Neutralization

The structure in (63a) makes a series of readily testable structural predictions. First of all, since it involves an equational structure with its second DP argument expanded into a *pro*-headed relative clause, we predict that if this structure is possible in St'át'imcets, we should also find simple equational structures with an ordinary DP as second argument. We do:

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[20] Lyon's analysis is actually more sophisticated, since he builds an asymmetry between an intensional argument (of type $\langle se\rangle$) and an extensional one (of type *e*) into the lexical entry of the equational copula: see footnotes 18 and 22.

(64) nił   [DPFOC s-Bill]   [DPREM ta=kúkwpiʔ=a].
     COP   [DPFOC NMLZ-Bill] [DPREM DET=chief=EXIS]
     'The chief is Bill.'

(65) nił   [DPFOC ta=s-ʕálʕəl-tən-s=a   nəł=sxʷənáʔm=a]
     COP   [DPFOC DET=NMLZ-strong-SUP-3POSS=EXIS   PL.ABSN.DET=Indian.doctor=EXIS]
          [DPREM s-ċwáłtəqʷ].
          [DPREM NMLZ-Ts'wálhteqw
     'Ts'wálhteqw was the strongest of the Indian doctors.'

Furthermore, as we might expect with equational structures, the two arguments in (64) and (65) are reversible, as shown in (66) and (67), respectively:

(66) nił   [DPFOC ta=kúkwpiʔ=a]   [DPREM s-Bill].
     COP   [DPFOC DET=chief=EXIS] [DPREM NMLZ-Bill]
     'Bill is the chief.'

(67) nił   [DPFOC s-ċwáłtəqʷ]   [DPFOC ta=s-ʕálʕəl-tən-s=a
     COP   [DPREM NMLZ-Ts'wálhteqw]   [DPFOC DET=NMLZ-strong-SUP-3POSS=EXIS
          nəł=sxʷənáʔm=a].
          PL.ABSN.DET=Indian.doctor=EXIS]
     'The strongest of the Indian doctors was Ts'wálhteqw.'

Crucially, however, such structures do *not* permit number mismatch with a plural DP$_{foc}$. This follows if number agreement is obligatory in DP DP clefts, but also suggests that not all clefts can be assimilated to equational structures.

(68) nił   [s-Bill   mútaʔ s-Fred]   [*ta=/ʔi=kʷúkʷpiʔ=a].
     COP   [NMLZ-Bill   and   NMLZ-Fred] [*SG.DET=/PL.DET=chief=EXIS]
     'Bill and Fred are the chiefs.'
     Consultant: "Change the *ta* to *ʔi*."

(69) nił   [s-ċwáłtəqʷ   mútaʔ   s-qʷínuc]
     COP   [NMLZ-Ts'wálhteqw and   NMLZ-Qwínuts]
          [*na=/nəł=ʔáʔX̌ʔ=a   sxʷənáʔəm].
          [*SG.ABSN.DET=/ PL.ABSN.DET=powerful=EXIS   Indian.doctor]
     'Ts'wálhteqw and Qwínuts were powerful Indian doctors.'

Furthermore, DP remnants consisting of *headed* relative clauses are also permitted in equational clefts — and they don't allow number neutralization on the determiner introducing the head, either. In (70)–(72), I illustrate this with prenominal, postposed, and postnominal headed relatives (for this taxonomy of relative clauses, see Davis 2010).[21]

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[21] This finding is partially at odds with an earlier claim in Davis et al. (2004:104) that while prenominal headed relatives are possible in the remnant of St'át'imcets clefts, postposed relatives are out (they did not

(70) niɬ   [**s-Bill**   **múta?**   **s-Fred**]
      COP   [**NMLZ-Bill**   **and**   **NMLZ-Fred**]
      [[***ta=/?i**=suxʷt-ən-án=**a**]   kʷúkʷpi?].
      [[***SG.DET=/PL.DET**=recognize-DIR-1SG.ERG=**EXIS**]   chief]
      'Bill and Fred are the chiefs I recognized.'
      Consultant's comment: "*?i suxʷtənána*, 'cause there's two of them."

(71) niɬ   [**s-Bill**   **múta?**   **s-Fred**]   [***ta=/?i**=kʷúkʷpi?=**a**
      COP   [**NMLZ-Bill**   **and**   **NMLZ-Fred**]   [***SG.DET=/PL.DET**=chief=**EXIS**
      [súxʷt-ən-an]].
      [recognize-DIR-1SG.ERG]]
      'Bill and Fred are the chiefs I recognized.'

(72) niɬ   [**s-Bill**   **múta?**   **s-Fred**]   [***ta=/?i**=kʷúkʷpi?=**a**
      COP   [**NMLZ-Bill**   **and**   **NMLZ-Fred**]   [***SG.DET=/PL.DET**=chief=**EXIS**
      [***ta=/?i**=suxʷt-ən-án=**a**]].
      [***SG.DET=/PL.DET**=recognize-DIR-1SG.ERG=**EXIS**]]
      'Bill and Fred are the chiefs I recognized.'

To summarize: (i) equational clefts as in (63a) are well-instantiated in St'át'imcets, and (ii) they do not permit number neutralization. The latter finding follows from the reasonable assumption that the relation '=' which equates two entities in equational structures requires identity in number.[22] However, it also entails that cases *with* number neutralization cannot have the structure

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check postnominal cases). I re-checked (slightly simplified versions of) their examples, and found both the postposed case in (i) and the prenominal case in (ii) to be grammatical.

(i)   niɬ   [?i=qəɬmə́<m>ə́n̓=a]   [nəɬ=sxʷápməx=a
     COP   [PL.DET=old<DIM.RDUP>=EXIS]   [PL.ABSN.DET=secwépemc=EXIS
          qʷəl̓-qʷalə̓<l̓>t-s-án].
          PL.RDP-speak<DIM.RDUP>-CAUS-1SG.ERG]
     'The Secwépemc (Shuswap) I spoke to were old people.'

(ii)   niɬ   [?i=qəɬmə́<m>ə́n̓=a]   [nəɬ=qʷəl̓-qʷalə̓<l̓>t-s-án=a
     COP   [PL.DET=old<DIM.RDUP>=EXIS]   [PL.ABSN.DET=PL.RDP-speak<DIM.RDUP>-CAUS-1SG.ERG=EXIS
          sxʷápmax].
          secwépemc]
     'The Secwépemc (Shuswap) I spoke to were old people.'

My interpretation of these findings, contra Davis et al. (2004), is that there is nothing inherently ungrammatical about headed relative clauses in equational clefts, with variation in acceptability due to other factors (e.g., a general dispreference for multiple determiners in clefts: see footnote 13).

[22] Obviously, there is more to be said about the nature of the identity relation in equational structures. Lyon (2013) on Nsyílxcen (Okanagan) includes the most detailed exploration of this issue in the Salish literature. He argues, following Romero (2005), that equational structures are semantically asymmetrical, since the inner argument of the (null) identificational copula in Nsyílxcen must be intensional, and its outer argument extensional, and furthermore that this asymmetry is reflected in information structure, with the outer (extensional) argument of the copula lexically associated with a focus feature. A focus alignment constraint in the style of Koch (2008b) then places the outer (focused) argument on the left periphery, leading to a linear asymmetry. Lyon extends this analysis to clefts in Nsyílxcən, which he analyzes as equational structures.

in (63a). This leads us to explore the second structural option given in (63): bare CP clefts, as in (63b).

4.2   Bare CP Clefts and Number Neutralization

In contrast to equational clefts, the clausal remnant in a bare CP cleft is not a DP, but a CP of type *<et>*. This seems promising for number neutralization on the introductory determiner, in that CPs do not have inherent number, but it immediately raises another question: why should bare CPs ever be introduced by a determiner in the first place?

The analysis of relative clauses in Davis (2010) provides an answer. There are two crucial components to that analysis: first, the second ("internal") determiner in postnominal "double determiner" relative clauses (e.g., (72)) is equivalent to a relative pronoun moved from *inside* the clause; and second, in prenominal (70), postposed (71), and headless relative clauses, all of which have a single determiner, the source of that determiner can either be external — introducing the whole DP constituent — or internal — moved from inside the clause — with a *Double Determiner Filter* (DDF) responsible for deleting one of two adjacent determiners at PF. The trees in (73a) and (73b) illustrate this analysis for a postnominal and a prenominal relative, respectively, with D_{EX} representing the external determiner and D_{IN} the internal one: the latter has undergone movement from a clause-internal position to [Spec, CP], leaving a deleted copy. Note that in the prenominal case in (73b) the two determiners are adjacent, so one will need to delete at PF in order to satisfy the DDF.

(73)   a.   DP   b.   DP

```
        DP                           DP
       /  \                         /  \
    D_EX   NP                    D_EX   NP
          /  \                         /  \
        NP    CP                      CP    NP
             /  \                    /  \
          D_IN   C'               D_IN   C'
                 /\                      /\
               D̶_̶I̶N̶                    D̶_̶I̶N̶
```
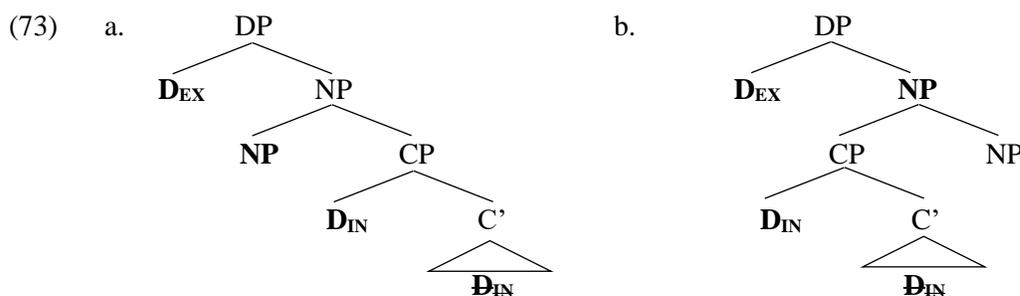
For our purposes, the crucial aspect of the structures in (73) is that the clausal (CP) part in both cases *contains a determiner*: to be precise, the moved internal one. This immediately accounts for the apparently paradoxical presence of a D in a bare CP cleft even in the absence of a containing DP, as shown in (74).[23]

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[23] It is important to note that Koch (2008a,b), who develops the most explicit previous bare CP account of clefts in Salish, explicitly rejects an internal D account for the initial element in the remnant of Nłeʔkepmxcín clefts. He gives two main reasons. First, the clausal portion of relative clauses in Nłeʔkepmxcín is introduced by the oblique marker *t=*, whereas there is never an oblique marker in the remnant of a cleft; and second, the remote determiner *ɬ(e)=*, which is available in the clausal part of a relative clause, is unavailable in cleft residues. As far as the first reason is concerned, there is an obvious structural difference between the clausal portion of a relative clause, which (on a standard analysis) is an adjunct to the NP head, and the clausal residue of a cleft, which is an argument of the copula/clefting predicate: it is reasonable to expect oblique marking in the former, but not the latter. The difference in the distribution of determiners is more puzzling, but it should be noted that the cleft pattern doesn't match that of complement clauses, either: the direct *h(e)=*

(74)

```
                          CopP
                 ┌──────────┴──────────┐
               Cop'                   CP_rem
          ┌─────┴─────┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
        Cop         DP_foc      D_IN          C'
        nił                              ┌─────┴─────┐
                                              ▵
                                             D̶_I̶N̶
```
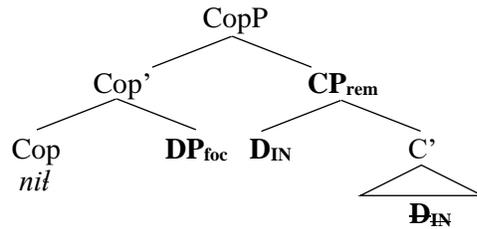
It also provides a potential account for the fact that in CP clefts, determiners are usually absent on the CP remnant when DP_{foc} is introduced by a determiner (see (40)–(42) above). Since moved internal determiners are equivalent to relative pronouns in English, their main role is as a vehicle for lambda abstraction over the CP remnant, which allows the latter to compose with the constituent consisting of the clefting predicate plus its internal argument. We can therefore hypothesize that like relative pronouns, internal determiners are dispensable once they have moved. There are complications, however: as mentioned in footnote 13, deletion of the D_{IN} is usually blocked when there is no overt determiner on DP_{foc} (as with focused proper names and independent pronouns), and it is not obvious how to capture this generalization given the structure in (74).

Returning now to number neutralization, note that there is no motivation for the moved D_{IN} in (74) to agree with the number of DP_{foc}, since they are neither in an inclusion relation, as in cases of nominal predication, nor in an identity relation, as in equational structures. We thus account for the failure of number agreement in clefts.

However, we still have to account for the fact that number agreement is also *permitted* in clefts. The solution here is to invoke the equational structure in (63a). We have already seen evidence for equational clefts with headed relative clause remnants, and therefore ceteris paribus, we also predict parallel structures with headless (*pro*-headed) remnants, as in (75).

(75)

```
                          CopP
                 ┌──────────┴──────────┐
               Cop'                   DP_rem
          ┌─────┴─────┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
        Cop         DP_foc      D_EX          NP
        nił                              ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        NP             CP
                                        pro            ▵
```
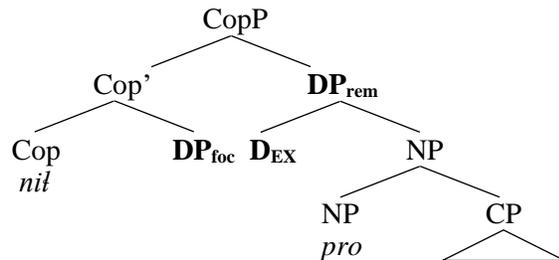
Since number agreement between DPs in equational structures is obligatory, whereas it is absent in bare CP clefts, we can account for number neutralization by invoking *both* equational and bare CP structures. This entails that the equational copula/clefting predicate *nił* is ambiguous: in its equational guise, it will take two individual arguments of type *e,* while when it takes a bare CP argument, it will be a function of type $<e, <<et>, t>>$.

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determiner — the most frequent in clefts — is not usually used as a complementizer (the cases cited by Koch 2008a:101–102 clearly involve the partially homophonous 'hypothetical' complementizer *(ʔ)e*: see Kroeber 1999:265). Thus, though there are unexplained restrictions on determiners in cleft residues, they do not argue for an alternative complement clause analysis.

To summarize: *niɬ* clefts in St'át'imcets instantiate both of the two major structures proposed for clefts in the Salish literature. The first involves two DPs in an equational structure (63a; 75). Equational clefts have the following properties:

(i)   They show number agreement between the DP in focus position and the DP remnant.

(ii)   They allow simple (non-relative) DP remnants.

(iii)   They allow remnants to consist of headed relative clauses.

(iv)   They do not permit deletion of the determiner introducing the DP remnant.

The second involves a focused DP and a predicative (bare) CP (63b; 74). Bare CP clefts show the opposite pattern to equational clefts:

(i)   They show no number agreement between the DP in focus position and the CP remnant.

(ii)   They do not permit non-clausal (DP) remnants.

(iii)   They do not permit remnants consisting of headed relative clauses.

(iv)   They allow deletion of the determiner at the left periphery of the CP remnant.

By invoking both structures, we account for the full range of properties shown by cleft constructions in St'át'imcets.

5   Are *All* Predicative Pronouns in Salish Disguised Clefts?

I now return to the analysis of independent pronouns, and more specifically, to the question of whether the disguised cleft analysis I have given for St'át'imcets predicative pronouns can be extended to independent pronouns elsewhere in the family. As soon as we survey the syntax of independent pronouns across Salish, a major division becomes apparent. On the one hand, there are systems like that of St'át'imcets, in which the form of pronouns is *invariant* across argument and predicate positions. These include all of the Interior Salish systems, as well as that of ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox-Sliammon) from Central Salish (Watanabe 2003:63–64). On the other hand, there are *alternating* systems in which independent pronouns in argument and oblique positions show up with a determiner which is missing in predicate position: in this respect, these pronouns resemble ordinary NPs, rather than invariant DPs. Systems of this type include a swath of Central Salish languages, including at least shashishalhem (Sechelt; see Beaumont 2011, e.g., 542), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish; see Kuipers 1967:142–143), the Halkomelem dialect complex (see, e.g., Suttles 2004:331–336 on hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ / Musqueam, Wiltschko 2002 on Halq'eméylem / Upriver), the Northern Straits Salish dialect complex (see, e.g., Shank 2003), and Lhechalosem (Nooksack; see Galloway in prep).[24]

Rather than attempt to survey all these pronoun systems in detail, a task well beyond the scope of this paper, in the following two sections I examine one representative from each of the two types: Secwepemctsín (Shuswap) representing an invariant system, and Northern Straits Salish (NSS)

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[24] At least according to Montler (2015:81), Klallam is unusual in that it fails to allow independent pronouns in argument positions at all.

representing an alternating system. The reasoning behind these choices is largely practical: their pronoun systems have already been the subject of targeted investigation (Lai 1998 for Secwepemctsín, Shank 2003 for NSS), so both data and previous analyses are available for further examination.

5.1 Secwepemctsín: Another Invariant Pronoun System

The Secwepemctsín independent pronouns are given below, based on Kuipers (1974:59).

Table 3: Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsín

	Singular	*Plural*[25]
First person	**ncéwe(ʔ), ncécwe(ʔ)**	**wəł nwíʔkt** *(inclusive)*
		wəł nwíʔs kʷuxʷ *(exclusive)*[26]
Second person	**ʔənwíʔ**	**wəł nwíʔəmp**
Third person	**n(ə)wíʔs**	**wəł n(ə)wíʔs**

As Lai (1998) points out, the form of this system is unusual in a cross-Salishan context. It is based on just two roots, rather than the five-root system reconstructed by Newman (1977) for Proto-Salish: √*ncewe(ʔ)* for first person singular, reconstructed by Newman to the Proto-Salish first person singular root *√ʔənca, with an unexplained accretion -*we(ʔ)*;[27] and √*nwiʔ*, reconstructed by Newman to the Proto-Salish second person singular root *√nəwí. These roots are supplemented with possessive affixes to yield the paradigm in Table 3.

There is evidently some variation as to whether independent pronouns in Secwepemctsín take determiners. Lai (1998) reports that her principal consultant (a western dialect speaker originally from the community of Skeetchestn) produced no determiners on pronouns in either predicate or argument position (76a and b, respectively) except in first person singular cases, where determiners appeared on both (77a and b, respectively).[28] Lai also reports that her consultant had strong intuitions that where determiners were missing, they were absent rather than just phonologically elided.[29]

(76) a. **(*ɣə=)nəwíʔs ɣə**=wík-t-əməs.
           (***DET=)3IND DET**=see-TR-AX
           'It was HIM that saw him/her.' (Lai 1998:28-29)

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[25] The particle *wəł* (frequently pronounced * uł*) which precedes plural independent pronouns is used more broadly to pluralize DPs, in which case it precedes determiners and demonstratives at the left edge of the DP.

[26] Secwepemctsín is unique amongst Salish languages in systematically distinguishing inclusive from exclusive first person plural: throughout the system, exclusive pronouns are constructed from third person forms plus the particle *kʷuxʷ*.

[27] In St'át'imcets, the root √*cúwaʔ* is used with possessive suffixes to mean '(one's) own', which is likely related to forms with the same meaning in several Central Salish languages (Davis et al. 2020): this suggests a different potential historical source for *ncécwe(ʔ)* (which is also found as the first person independent pronoun in Nłeʔkepmxcín).

[28] The presence of a determiner on the remnant, plus distinctive extraction morphology, distinguishes "predicative" cases such as (76a) and (77a) from cases of argument fronting, as in (76b) and (77b).

[29] This is disputed by Lyon and Ignace (2021:179, fn. 25), who remark that "we have found that Elders such as Mona Jules from Skeetchestn restore determiners [on independent pronouns] in careful speech".

b. **(*ɣə=)nəwíʔs** wík-t-s John.
(***DET=)3IND** see-TR-3ERG JOHN
'HE saw John.' (Lai 1998:44)

(77) a. **ɣə=ncécweʔ** **ɣə=**wík-t-əməs.
DET=1SG.IND **DET=**see-TR-AX
'I am the one who saw him.' (Lai 1998:44)

b. **ɣə=ncécweʔ** wí<w>k-t-ən.
DET=1SG.IND see<DIM.RDUP>-TR-1SG.ERG
'I saw him.' (Lai 1998:44)

This pattern is replicated in examples of independent pronouns from the Secwépemc portal of the *First Voices* website:

(78) **ʔənwíʔ** meʔ qéy-əm.[30]
2SG.IND FUT drive-MID
'You do the driving.' (First Voices: Secwépemc Portal)

(79) **ɣə=ncécweʔ** meʔ k̓ʷəl-c{-t}-ən-cút.[31]
DET=1SG.IND FUT cook-food-CT{-TR}-REFL
'I will do the cooking.' (First Voices: Secwépemc Portal)

In contrast, in Kuipers (1974), determiners consistently introduce independent pronouns on all persons in both predicate and argument positions:

(80) **ɣə=ncécwe** l=wəx-s-t-éx.
DET=1SG.IND ABSN.DET=inform-CAUS-TR-2SG.ERG
'I am the one you mentioned.' (Kuipers 1974:117, line 39)

(81) **ɣə=nwíʔs** meʔ ʔey-n{-t}-s.
DET=3IND FUT pay-CT{-TR}-3ERG
'He'll (be the one to) pay.' (Kuipers 1974:194)

(82) ɬép-n{-t}-əx **ɣə=ʔənwíʔ**.
forget-CT{-TR}-2SG.ERG **DET=2SG.IND**
'You forgot it yourself.' (Kuipers 1974:194)

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[30] The future particle *meʔ* replaces all determiners in pre-predicative position, which is why they are missing in (78)–(79): see Lyon and Ignace (2021).
[31] In Secwepemctsín (and Nɬeʔkepmxcín), unlike in the rest of the family, the general-purpose transitivizer *-t* (-TR) is separated from the (full) control marker *-n-* (-CT-) and the causative marker *-s-* (-CAUS-); the latter thus count as pre-transitivizers rather than transitivizers, parallel to e.g., the redirective and relational applicative markers.

(83) λ̓inúxʷ-n{-t}-s **ɣə=nwiʔs** ʔəs-cq̓elən-əm-s.
     desire-CT{-TR}-3ERG **DET=3IND** GOAL-shoot-MID-3POSS
     'He wants to shoot.' (Kuipers 1974:166)

Gardiner (1993) also gives cases with determiners on non-first person forms of independent pronouns, again in both predicate (84) and argument positions (85), though Lai (1998:45) reports that her consultant rejected these forms.

(84) **ɣə=ʔənwíʔ** ɣə=m-k̓ʷúl-ən{-t}-x ɣ=mim̓x.
     DET=2SG.IND DET=PRF-make-CTR{-TR}-2SG.ERG DET=basket
     'You're the one who made the basket.'[32] (Gardiner 1993:36)

(85) meʔ-k̓úl-ən{-t}-s ɣə=məx̌éx̌ye? **ɣə=nwiʔs**.
     FUT-make-CTR{-TR}-3ERG DET=basket **DET=3IND**
     'He'll make the basket himself.'(Gardiner 1993:46)

Gardiner also gives cases of independent pronouns in predicate position introduced by the oblique determiner (86) and a preposition (87) (again, rejected by Lai's consultant):

(86) **tə=ncécweʔ** ɣə=wík-t-məs.
     OBL.DET=1SG.IND DET=see-TR-AX
     'I'm the one who saw him'. (More literally: 'It was me by whom he was seen.')
     (Gardiner 1993:46)

(87) **təl=ncécweʔ** ɣə=k̓ʷét-m=əs.
     to=1SG.IND DET=step-MID=3SJV
     'She walked towards me. (More literally: 'It was towards me that he walked.') (Gardiner 1993:47)

The same pattern, with determiners before independent pronouns of all persons in both predicate and argument positions, is also shown by speakers from Williams Lake and Esk̓et in the northern part of Secwépemc territory, as reported by M. Ignace to Lai (see also Lyon and Ignace 2021:179, fn. 25). Given that determiners are consistently present in older sources (e.g., Kuipers 1974) and apparently more conservative dialects (e.g., the northern varieties), the innovative pattern of determiner loss in the western dialect is likely either due to phonological reduction or a change in progress (or both).

Nevertheless, the observed variation is actually quite telling because of what does *not* vary. Either speakers employ determiners on independent pronouns in *both* predicate and argument positions, or in *neither*: there are no reports of speakers using determiners on pronouns in argument but not in predicate position. In other words, in spite of the variation, Secwepemctsín consistently shows the profile of an *invariant* pronoun system.

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[32] The clause-initial second person singular independent pronoun is doubled here by a second person singular ergative suffix on the verb, in contrast to St'át'imcets, where independent pronouns always behave like third persons for the purposes of agreement. See footnote 3; also Lyon and Ignace (2021) for extensive discussion of agreement doubling in cleft residues in Secwepemctsín.

Furthermore, the presence of determiners on pronouns in "predicate" positions gives us straightforward evidence that we are dealing here with disguised clefts: DPs cannot be predicates in Secwepemctsín, any more than in any other Salish language, but they can, of course, occupy the focus position of a cleft. As for the innovative Secwepemctsín speakers who do not produce determiners on pronouns, if they have genuinely lost them, we can assume their grammars resemble that of St'át'imcets, which as we have seen never shows determiners on independent pronouns, but nevertheless treats them unambiguously as DPs.

Next, notice that if the disguised cleft analysis is on the right track for Secwepemctsín, we might expect to find independent pronouns in *overt* clefts as well. It turns out that we do.

While it is not as easy to identify copulas/clefting predicates in Secwepemctsín as in its Northern Interior relatives St'át'imcets and Nɬeʔkepmxcín, there is a group of elements, all beginning with *ye~yə*, which seem to fulfill this function. They include *yəɣíʔ*, derivations of the root √*ye*, and *yex*.

Kuipers (1974:57–58) treats *yəɣíʔ* as part of the demonstrative system, conveying "general deixis" with the meaning of 'this (near speaker)', but it also behaves like St'át'imcets *niɬ*: in particular, unlike other demonstratives, it frequently functions as a predicate in discourse conjunction / clause-chaining contexts (see Kroeber 1999:218). It is probably best treated as a "predicative demonstrative", with the *yə-* component acting as a copula and the *ɣiʔ* component as a demonstrative. The independent existence of both elements argues in favour of a compositional treatment: see Kuipers (1974:82) on √*ye* and Kuipers (1974:232) on *ɣiʔ*.

As reported by Gardiner (1993), *yəɣíʔ* is optionally present as an introductory element in clefts.[33]

(88)   (**yəɣíʔ**) ɣ=sqélməxʷ   ɣ=wík-t-məs.
         (**COP**) DET=man   DET=see-TR-AX
          'It's the man that saw him/her.' (Gardiner 1993:78)

Lyon and Ignace (2021) provide further examples:

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[33] Gardiner (1996:181) claims that "demonstratives cannot occur as predicates". Examples like (88) appear to be prima facie counterexamples to this claim, since if the demonstrative *yəɣíʔ* were not functioning as a copula, the clause would consist only of two DPs, and DP DP predications are ungrammatical in Secwepemctsín. It is possible that Gardiner is assuming an alternative analysis of (88) where *yəɣíʔ* and *sqélməxʷ* 'man' form a constituent ('this man') which is then linked to the cleft remnant by a null copula (see Lyon 2013 for an analysis of DP DP clauses in Nsyílxcen along these lines); such an analysis doesn't argue against a cleft analysis per se, but it does challenge the idea that *yəɣíʔ* is a copula/clefting predicate. There are, however, cases where *yəɣíʔ must* be a copula:

(i)   **yəɣiʔ**   ɣə=sʔéctəm-s.
       COP   **DET**=daughter.in.law-3POSS
       'This is his daughter-in-law.' (First Voices: Secwépemc Portal)

This is not a cleft, but an identificational sentence. Clearly, here there is no question of *yəɣíʔ* forming a constituent with the following DP: if it did, we would end up with the meaning 'this daughter-in-law of his', parallel to a simple DP such *yə sʔéctəms* 'his daughter in law', which cannot be interpreted as a clause. If *yəɣíʔ* must be a copula in these cases (or license a null copula, which amounts to the same thing), then I conclude that it can (and should) also be analyzed as a copula in (88).

(89) (**yəɣíʔ**) ɣə=nəx̌ʷúləxʷ luʔ ɣə=cəx-ən-t-és ɣə=Hannah
     (**COP**) DET=car ABSN.DEM DET=fix-CT-TR-3ERG DET=Hannah
       taʔ k=s-**yex**-s ɣə=səlxéɳ.
       NEG DET=NMLZ-**COP**-3POSS DET=bicycle
    'It's the car Hannah fixed, not the bicycle.' (Lyon and Ignace 2021:205)

The root √*ye* occurs in combination with a number of enclitics, including (very commonly) the third person subjunctive =*w(ə)s* as well as the question enclitic =*n*, reportative =*əkʷe*, and evidential =*nke*. Kuipers (1974:82) points out that these forms, like *yəɣíʔ*, can be used either in clause-chaining contexts (particularly *yé=ws*) or as clefting predicates; with respect to the latter function, he notes that "In these cases *ye-* corresponds to English it is (this, that one)".

(90) **yé**=əkʷe yəɣéy ʔex k=nq̓ʷum=əs.
    COP=RPRT DEM PROG DET=steal=3SJV
    'He's the one that steals.' (Kuipers 1974:82)

The copula *yex* is likely related at least diachronically to √*ye*. Kuipers (1974:92) defines it as "the one (meant, destined, etc.)"; it is unclear to me exactly how it differs from the other copula-like elements described here, though I have found no instances of it being used in clause-chaining contexts.

(91) k̓éməł xʷum weʔ **yex** ɣ=scik̓t-s ɣ=méʕxən
    but REIN just **COP** DET=reflection-3POSS DET=moon
      λ̓əkłúʔ ɣə=wəywéy.
      from.there DET=visible
    'But it was really the reflection of the moon that was visible there.' (Kuipers 1974:92, line 5)

Significantly, all three of these copula-like elements occur with clefted independent pronouns (introduced by determiners) as shown in (92)–(94) below:

(92) **yəɣiʔ** **ɣə=ncécweʔ**, yəɣíʔ xʷum méʔe, yəɣíʔ xʷum méʔe
    COP **DET=1SG.IND** COP REIN FUT COP REIN FUT
      qém-ən-t-məs, yəɣíʔ ɣə=kʷúkʷpəy ɣə=sλ̓əmkélt-s meʔ n-səmʔéʔm.
      hit-CT-TR-AX COP DET=chief DET=daughter-3POSS FUT 1SG.POSS-wife
    'It's going to be me, I'll hit it, the chief's daughter will be my wife.' (Kuipers 1974:122, line 177)

(93) **yews** **ɣə=nwíʔs** k=ʔéy-n-t-məs.
    COP **DET=3SG.IND** DET=pay-CT-TR-AX
    'He's the one that's paying.' (Kuipers 1974:194)

(94) taʔ λ̓əɣíʔ k=s-**yex**-s **ɣə=ncécweʔ** k=ʔə-sx̌élwe.
    NEG DEM D/C=NMLZ-**COP**-3POSS **DET=1SG.IND** DET=2SG.POSS-husband
    'I am not your husband.' (Kuipers 1974:194)

The existence of independent pronouns in the focus position of overt clefts constitutes important corroborating evidence for the disguised cleft analysis of "predicative" independent

pronouns in Secwepemctsín.[34]Before concluding this discussion of Secwepemctsín, it's worth making one more point. While I have highlighted the variable presence of a determiner on the independent pronoun itself, I have said nothing about the cleft remnant. I haven't needed to, because there is no variation: in contrast to St'át'imcets and Nłeʔkepmxcín, a determiner is virtually *always* present on the remnant in Secwepemctsín. This suggests that clefts in Secwepemctsín are always of the equational type (63a) rather than being ambiguous between equational and bare CP types (63b).[35] Interestingly, the same claim is made for Nsyílxcen by Lyon (2013). Furthermore, there is another way in which Secwepemctsín and Nsyílxcen clefts resemble each other, but differ from those in St'át'imcets and Nłeʔkepmxcín: both use demonstrative pronouns as clefting predicates. This suggests that in this area of the grammar, Secwepemctsín shows closer affinities with its Southern Interior neighbor than with its closer Northern Interior relatives.

5.2   Northern Straits Salish: An Alternating Pronoun System

Alternating pronoun systems have received slightly more attention in the Salish literature than invariant ones. They have been examined in some depth in two Central Salish languages: the Halq'eméylem (Upriver) dialect of Halkomelem (ISO 639-3: hur) (Wiltschko 2002), and in Northern Straits Salish (ISO 369-3: str) (Shank 2003). I will focus here on the latter, since Shank provides a semantics for independent pronouns in Northern Straits Salish (NSS) which is explicitly designed to capture their alternating behaviour. NSS comprises a set of distinct but mutually intelligible dialects. Data here are from the Lummi, Samish, and SENĆOŦEN (Saanich) dialects. As far as I can tell, though the form of independent pronouns varies slightly between dialects, their grammar does not. The NSS independent pronouns are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Independent pronouns in Northern Straits Salish[36]

	Singular	*Plural*
First person	ʔə́s(ə), ʔə́θə	łníŋəł
Second person	nə́kʷ(ə)	nəkʷíli̧yəʔ, nəkʷíliʔyəʔ
Third person	níł	nəní̧ʔłiyəʔ, nəníʔłiyəʔ

The paradigm includes forms derived from four out of the five Proto-Salish independent pronoun stems (the second person plural form has been lost and replaced by a pluralized version of the second person singular form).

In syntactic behavior, NSS independent pronouns show the characteristic profile of an alternating system: in argument (95)–(96) and oblique positions (97)–(98), the pronouns are introduced by determiners, but in predicative (clause-initial) position (99)–(101), they lack them.

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[34] This is not what Lai (1998) concludes. She considers the DP possibility (Lai 1998:44, footnote 29), but rejects it on the assumption that "bare" independent pronouns are necessarily predicative: precisely the assumption, in fact, that I have argued against here. Once this assumption is abandoned, there is no reason not to adopt an analysis for Secwepemctsín focused pronouns along the lines which I have proposed for St'át'imcets, with a null clefting predicate and a DP independent pronoun.

[35] This predicts that headed relative clauses should be fine in cleft remnants in Secwepemctsín, and that the two arguments of a cleft should be reversible. I have not yet been able to check either of these predictions.

[36] The table is based on Galloway (1990) (Samish) and Montler (2018) (SENĆOŦEN).

(95) k̓ʷə́n-ət=kʷəʔ   **tᶿə=nəkʷíləyəʔ**.
     see-CTR=INFORM   **DET=2PL.IND**
     'Look at you!' (i.e., 'You folks are like that too.)' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:357)

(96) lə́ŋ-t=ləʔ=sən   **cə=nə́kʷ**.
     see-CTR=PAST=1SG.SUBJ   **DET=2SG.IND**
     'I saw the one that was you.' (Lummi: Jelinek and Demers 1994:715)

(97) x̌čí-t-əŋ   cə=swə́yʔqəʔ   **ʔə=tiʔə=ʔəs**.
     know-CTR-PASS   DET=man   **OBL=DET=1SG.IND**
     'The man is known by me.' (Lummi: Jelinek and Demers 1983:173)

(98) ƛ̓íẇ=č̓əʔ   **ʔə=tɬ=nə́kʷə**.
     run.away=EVID   **OBL=DET=2SG.IND**
     'He ran away from you.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:384)

(99) **nə́kʷ=ləʔ**   cə=lə́ŋ-t-ən.
     2SG.IND=PAST   **DET=**see-CTR-1SG.SBD
     'It was you that I saw.' (Lummi: Jelinek and Demers 1994:715)

(100) **nə́kʷə=ləʔ**   k̓ʷə́n-n-əŋ.
     2SG.IND=PAST   see-NCT-PASS
     'It was you that was seen.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:384)

(101) **ʔə́sə=səʔ**   ʔix̌ʷ-ət.
     1SG.IND=FUT   sweep-CTR
     'I'll sweep it up.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:170)

In this respect, NSS independent pronouns resemble common noun phrases rather than DPs, raising the possibility that they are genuinely predicative in initial position, as opposed to occupying the focus position of a disguised cleft. This possibility predicts that they will pattern like predicative NPs, and unlike clefted DPs: more specifically, we should find that they will take a DP argument obligatorily introduced by a determiner, like other NP predicates. This prediction is not borne out: though determiners are sometimes found on the arguments of independent pronouns, as in (99), more often than not they are missing, as in (100)–(101). In this respect, these cases resemble overt clefts, which are introduced in NSS by the clefting predicate *niɬ* (identical in form to its St'át'imcets counterpart), and also usually lack a determiner on the remnant. Shank (2003:219) observes that "In Straits, although using a determiner on the cleft clause is fully grammatical, the overwhelming tendency is to leave the determiner off." Shank further points out that this contrasts with the status of determiners on ordinary DPs, which are never omitted: "This is really remarkable, because arguments in Straits must have determiners. Even proper names must take a determiner in order to function as an argument" (Shank 2003:220).

Examples of overt clefts are given in (102)–(104): while (102) has a determiner on the remnant, (103) and (104) do not.

(102) **niɬ** kʷsə=Richard **kʷsə=ċə-t** kʷsə=laʔsn.
     COP DET=Richard **D/C**=break-CTR DET=plate
     'It was Richard that broke the plate.' (Samish: Shank 2003:219)

(103) **niɬ** tə=słən-łeńiʔ k̓ʷəẏk̓ʷiʔ.
     COP DET=PL.RDP-woman hungy
     'It's the women that are hungry.' (Samish: Shank 2003:224)

(104) ʔə́wə s **niɬ** tᶿə=swə́yqəʔ nə-siʔém; **niɬ** θə=słéniʔ.[37]
     NEG IRR **COP** DET=man 1SG.POSS-boss **COP** FEM.DET=woman
     'It's not the man that's my boss; it's the woman.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:402)

This suggests that both clefts and independent pronouns in NSS have the bare CP structure given in (63b) above rather than the equational structure in (63a): indeed, this is the conclusion that Shank himself comes to. In fact, unlike St'át'imcets, which has both types, and Secwepemctsín, which only has equational clefts, NSS seems to lack equational clefts entirely. Determiners are optional even in simple equational sentences (i.e., those which equate two individuals), as can be seen in (105)–(109), the first two with a determiner on the remnant, the next two without, and the last (elicited) example with the determiner optionally present.

(105) **niɬ** [tsə=swə́ẏqəʔ] [**tsə**=siʔəm].
     COP [DET=man] [**DET**=chief]
     'The man is the chief.' (Lummi: Jelinek and Demers 1994:711)

(106) **niɬ**=čə [s-kʷéʔ-s tθə=stᶿéʔəẇtxʷ sqéwθ-s] [**tθə**=qʷłáʔəl].
     COP=EVID [NMLZ-own-3POSS DET=Tsawout potato-3POSS] [**DET**=camas]
     'The camas is the Tsawout's own potato.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:160)

(107) **niɬ** kʷəče [tén-s kʷsə=ʔəm-ʔímən=ləʔ kʷə́nt{-t}-əs=ləʔ].[38]
     COP therefore [mother-3POSS DET=PL.RDP-small=PAST look.after{-CTR}-3SBD=PAST]
     'She was the mother of the little ones he looked after.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:462)

(108) **niɬ**=ləʔ [stᶿéʔəẇtxʷ] [ʔéʔləŋ-s tθə=tᶿətθə́mq̓ən].
     COP=PAST [Tsawout] [home-3POSS DET=name]
     'Tsawout was the home of Philip Pelkey.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:620)

(109) **niɬ** [kʷsə=James] [(kʷsə=)Jimmy].
     COP [DET=James] [(DET=)Jimmy]
     'James is Jimmy.' (Samish: Shank 2003:218)

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[37] This example features ellipsis of the CP remnant in its second clause, just as in corresponding cases in St'át'imcets: see (54) above. This is potentially problematic for an analysis in which the remnant is the first argument of the clefting predicate, as in Shank (2003): under that analysis, we expect the second, referential argument to elide instead. There are ways around this problem, however: one is to assume that the CP argument is extraposed from its base position (following the analysis of English clefts by Percus 1997 and Hedberg 2000), and that it is elided once extraposed.

[38] The focus of the cleft sentence in this case is null (i.e., *pro*).

Furthermore, unlike in St'at'imcets, the remnant to a cleft cannot consist of a headed relative clause (110); if the remnant were a DP, as in an equational cleft, there would be no way to rule this out.

(110) * **niɬ**   kʷsə=xʷənítəm   [kʷsə=sɬéniʔ   ləŋ-n-ən].
      COP   DET=white.person   [DET=woman   see-NCT-1SG.SBD]
      Attempted interpretation: 'The woman that I saw was a white person.' (Samish: Davis et al. 2004:103)

NSS thus appears to lack equational clefts altogether. Significantly, independent pronouns show the same behavior in "equational" sentences: determiners are routinely missing on the remnant, as shown in (111)–(113):[39]

(111) **ʔə́sə**   ʔə́ṅ-mén.
      1SG.IND   2SG.POSS-father
      'I am your father.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:170)

(112) **ʔə́sə**=kʷəʔ   Elsie.
      1SG.IND=INFORM   Elsie
      'I am Elsie.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:170)

(113) **ɬníŋəɬ**   ŋə́nəʔ   ʔə=tɬ=smákʷəč.
      1PL.IND   child   OBL=DET=SMOQEĆ
      'We are the daughters of SMOQEĆ.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:170)

In fact, I have failed to find *any* cases where determiners are present on the remnant to a clause-initial first or second person independent pronoun in NSS. This fairly conclusively rules out a predicative (NP) analysis, which leads to the larger conclusion — assuming that NSS is typical of alternating pronoun systems — that independent pronouns are *never* directly predicative in Salish. This is a significant finding, given that it directly contradicts the popular wisdom about Salish as articulated by, e.g., Kinkade (1983) that all words except particles have a primarily predicative function.

It also, however, raises the question as to how independent pronouns *are* to be analyzed in alternating systems like NSS. The obvious move — to try to extend the concealed cleft analysis I have proposed for St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín — runs into immediate trouble, because it is based on the premise — accurate for Interior Salish — that independent pronouns are always DPs, with "predicative" cases accounted for by a null clefting predicate. If we try to treat NSS independent pronouns in clause-initial positions similarly by, e.g., assuming a null D in clause-initial cases, we have no way of accounting for why they obligatorily get an *overt* D just in case they are in argument position. Furthermore, in the cases I've been able to find with a clefted independent pronoun and an *overt* copula/clefting predicate, the independent pronoun *does* have a determiner (and in (115) below, is also coordinated with another DP).

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[39] According to Shank (2003), these are not equational sentences at all, but clefts with a predicative remnant: see below for details.

(114) **nił** [tθə=Ɂə́sə] sə́lč̓ Ɂə=tθə=sqəlélŋəxʷ.
COP [**DET=1SG.IND**] go.around OBL=DET=tree
'It is me that's going around the tree.' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:401)

(115) Ɂén Ɂəw̓ x̌əč-t-ís kʷ=s=Ɂə́wə=s čł-**nił**
really LINK know-CTR-3ERG D/C=NMLZ=NEG=3POSS INFORM-**COP**
    [tθə=nə-mén ɁiɁ tíɁə=Ɂə́sə].
    [**DET=1SG.POSS-father** **and** **DET=1SG.IND**]
'It really knew that it was not my father and me [that did it to him].' (SENĆOŦEN: Montler 2018:206)

Clearly, then, we need another solution. Here I will follow Shank (2003), whose fundamental insight (though he doesn't quite frame it this way) is that determiner-less independent pronouns in initial position are not in the focus position of a clefting predicate: they *are* clefting predicates. Shank only develops this idea in detail for third person *nił* (with the goal of uniting its function as an independent pronoun with its function as a clefting predicate, since the two are near-homophonous in NSS).[40] His formula is given below in (116):

(116) $[\![nił]\!] = \lambda P \, \lambda x \, . \, x \leq y \, \& \, y = \iota z \, P(z)$ (Shank 2003:225)

Here, *nił* takes a predicative argument *P* (which Shank identifies as the remnant clause in a cleft) and an individual *x*, where *x* is a subpart of a plural individual *y*, and *y* is the unique (and therefore maximal) argument of *P*. This makes it of type *<<et>,<et>>*. The Logical Form for a sentence such as (102) above will then be as in (117):

(117) **nił** kʷsə=Richard (kʷsə=)c̓ə-t kʷsə=laɁsn.
COP DET=Richard (D/C=)break-CTR DET=plate
'It was Richard that broke the plate.' (Samish: adapted from Shank 2003:226)

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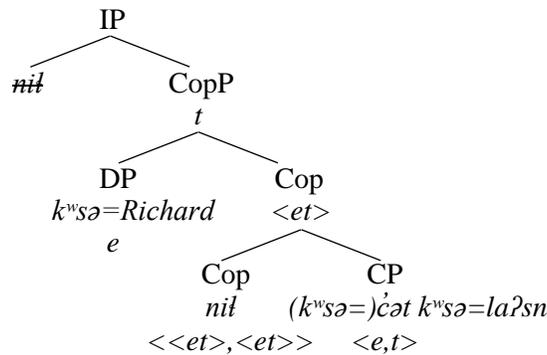
[40] But not quite: third person independent pronouns in NSS typically consist of three components: a determiner, the "linking" particle *əw̓-*, and *nił*. The latter two together yield the "clefting pronoun" *Ɂəw̓-nił* (often found together with the limiting particle *Ɂal̓*); determiners are then added to yield argumental third person pronouns such as *ts-əw̓-nił ~ tθ-əw̓-nił, θ-əw̓-nił, kʷs-əw̓-nił*, etc. Shank (2003) ignores this extra complication, and I will do likewise, but it clearly demands an explanation, particularly since the same structure characterizes third person independent pronouns in neighbouring Halkomelem (Wiltschko 2002).

Note that Shank assumes lowering of *niɫ* at LF in order to allow it to compose with its internal (predicative) argument before its external (individual) argument.

We can now extend Shank's analysis to first and second person independent pronouns, which according to his analysis are also clefting predicates, taking a null DP restriction (*pro*) and a bare CP remnant. We do so by adding a presupposition to the effect that first and second person independent pronouns will only be defined if their denotation is restricted to speaker (118) or hearer (119).[41]

(118) $[\![ʔəsə]\!]^{g,c} = \lambda P \, \lambda x \, . \, x \leq y \ \& \ y = \iota z \, P(z)$
         only defined if x = [+speech act participant, +speaker] *under g in* c

(119) $[\![nəkʷə]\!]^{g,c} = \lambda P \, \lambda x. \, x \leq y \ \& \ y = \iota z \, P(z)$
         only defined if x = [+speech act participant, -speaker] *under g in* c

One of the advantages of this approach is that it also allows Shank to compose independent pronouns with determiners to yield DPs in argument and adjunct positions. Adopting the choice function approach to determiners from Matthewson (1999), whereby they are of type $<<et>,e>$, Shank allows the determiner to attach to an independent pronoun after it has composed with its internal (predicative) argument but before it composes with its external (individual) argument:

(120)   **ts=əẉ-niɫ**   sṗaalʼ
         DET=LINK-COP   raven
         'he who was raven' (Samish; adapted from Shank 2003:230)
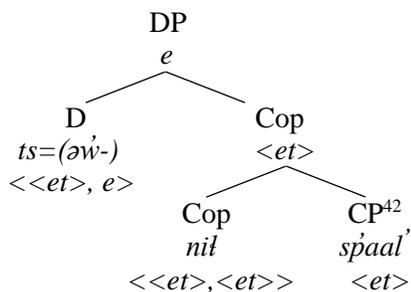
Notice that this is the reverse order of composition from that which I have proposed for St'át'imcets, where the individual (focused) argument is composed with the copula before the predicative (remnant) argument. Keeping the rest of Shank's formula intact, the lexical entry for the St'át'imcets clefting predicate *niɫ* looks like that in (121).

(121) $[\![niɫ]\!] = \lambda x \, \lambda P. \, x \leq y \ \& \ y = \iota z \, P(z)$ (St'át'imcets)

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[41] Plural pronouns add extra complications, which I set aside here.

[42] I treat the predicative remnant as a full clause here in order to accommodate an optional (though dispreferred) determiner, which could not be generated were the remnant to consist simply of a predicative NP. I remain neutral on the source of the determiner: according to Shank, it is a determiner-complementizer, as in Koch's (2008a) analysis of Nɬeʔkepmxcín, but the possibility also arises that it is a moved internal determiner, as I have proposed for St'át'imcets.

Under this analysis, St'át'imcets *niɬ* is of type $<e,<<et>,t>>$, as proposed for bare CP clefts in (63b) above. This predicts that a determiner will *not* be able to add to the clefting predicate to derive a DP — which, of course, is true.

In other words, in spite of the fact that the form of their clefting predicates is identical and they both employ variants of the bare CP analysis, the structure of cleft sentences and their relation to independent pronouns is very different in St'át'imcets and NSS. In St'át'imcets, independent pronouns are standard pronouns of type *e*, and are not derivationally related to the clefting predicate, which is of type $<e,<<et>,t>>$. In contrast, in NSS, independent pronouns are clefting predicates of type $<<et>,<et>>$, and argument pronouns are derived from them by applying a choice function determiner to the cleft predicate plus its internal (predicative) argument.

6   Conclusion and Further Extensions

I began this paper by arguing in detail that independent pronouns in St'át'imcets are invariably DPs, of type *e*, and that apparent "predicative" uses are actually clefts with a null clefting predicate/copula. Taking a closer look at the structure of clefts, I then proposed that St'át'imcets instantiates both an equational structure with two individual arguments of type *e,* and a bare CP structure with a predicative argument of type $<et>$ and an individual argument of type *e*. This in turn entails that the clefting predicate/copula *niɬ* is ambiguous between types $<e,<et>>$ and $<e,<<et>,t>>$.

I then turned to an investigation of the distribution and interpretation of independent pronouns across Salish. After identifying a major split between *invariant* systems, where the form of pronouns does not vary between syntactic positions, and *alternating* systems, where determiners introduce pronouns in argument but not in predicate positions, I focused on a detailed examination of two languages, Secwepemctsín representing the invariant type, and Northern Straits Salish representing the alternating type. I concluded that Secwepemctsín resembles St'át'imcets in its treatment of independent pronouns as DPs of type *e* (in fact, providing extra evidence for that hypothesis in the form of overt determiners on pronouns in both "predicate" and argument positions) but differs in that it only has equational clefts, as opposed to both equational and bare CP clefts, as found in the other Northern Interior languages. Taking Northern Straits as representative of an alternating system, I then pursued the hypothesis that in such systems, independent pronouns in clause-initial position are genuinely predicative (of type $<et>$), with determiners added in argument position to yield pronouns of type *e*. However, it turns out that this hypothesis is not supported in Northern Straits. Clause-initial pronouns without a determiner test neither as predicates nor as arguments, but instead as a special type of clefting predicate/copula. Following Shank (2003), I proposed that they take a predicative argument (a bare CP remnant) and an individual argument (a DP) to yield cleft sentences, and can be converted into argumental DPs by replacing the individual (external) argument with a determiner. Equational clefts appear to be missing altogether in Northern Straits.

Piecing these parts together, we end up with the following (very provisional) picture of cross-linguistic variation in the independent pronoun and cleft systems of Salish languages.

Table 5: Independent pronouns and clefts across Salish

	Secwepemctsín (+Nsyílxcen)	St'át'imcets (+Nɬeʔkepmxcín)	Northern Straits (+Halkomelem)
Pronouns	invariant	invariant	alternating
Clefts	equational	equational and bare CP	bare CP

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In terms of linguistic geography, the Northern Interior systems St'át'imcets and (probably) Nłeʔkepmxcín occupy a middle ground between Secwepemctsín and the Southern Interior languages to the east, and Central Salish systems such as those of Northern Straits (and likely Halkomelem) to the west. The (eastern) Interior pattern is characterized by invariant pronouns and equational (DP DP) clefts; the (western) Central Salish pattern by alternating pronouns and DP CP clefts.

As briefly mentioned earlier, however, the picture is complicated by the fact that there are also invariant independent pronoun systems in Central Salish, in particular, that of ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox-Sliammon) in the northwest corner of Coast Salish territory.

Watanabe (2003:154–158) gives ʔayʔaǰuθəm data which groups clause-initial independent pronouns together with overt clefts introduced by the clefting predicate/copula *hił*; in particular, the clausal remnant in both cases is introduced by a proclitic *ʔə=* homophonous with the oblique marker, and not by a determiner:

(122) **nəgi=səm**   **ʔə=**hi-hiwčis-ma.
       2SG.IND=FUT   **CLF**=PROG.RDP-paddle-MEANS
       'You are the one who is going to be paddling.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm: Watanabe 2003:154)

(123) **čənił**   **ʔə=**x̌əna-θ-as-uł.[43]
       1SG.IND   **CLF**=give-CTR+1SG.OBJ-3ERG-PAST
       'I am the one to whom he gave (it).' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm: Watanabe 2003:157)

This indicates that the ʔayʔaǰuθəm system is close to that of St'át'imcets, with independent pronouns occupying the focus position of concealed clefts when fronted, and clefts being of the bare CP type.

A change seems to be in progress, however. More recent work by Xu (2019) on ʔayʔaǰuθəm clefts indicates that the cleft proclitic is being lost, and replaced by an obligatory determiner introducing the remnant. Xu shows not only that any determiner can introduce the remnant (124), but also that it can consist of a headed relative clause — a diagnostic for an equational cleft (125).[44]

(124) **hił**   [saɬtxʷ]   [**tə=/kʷ=/šə=**kʷən-əxʷ-an-uł   ti-tiwš-am-stu
       COP   [woman]   [**DET=/DET=/DET**=see-NCT-1SG.ERG-PAST] PROG.RDP-teach-MID-CAUS
              čičuy   snanatuł].
              children   last.night]
       'It was a girl I saw last night teaching kids.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm; Xu 2019)

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[43] The form of the ʔayʔaǰuθəm first person singular independent pronoun *čənił* is unusual, in that it seems to be derived from the Proto-Salish third person form *cənił*, rather than the Proto-Salish first person singular form *ʔəncá*. Like several other Central Salish languages (e.g., Halkomelem), ʔayʔaǰuθəm has replaced its independent third person form with demonstrative pronouns, so a restructuring of the system seems to have taken place. Note also that the clause-initial independent pronoun in this example is doubled by agreement on the predicate; ʔayʔaǰuθəm is one of the many Salish languages which permits this option (see footnote 3).
[44] Notably, however, only one of Xu's two consultants accepted clefts with a headed relative clause. This is likely indicative of a system in transition.

(125) **hiɬ** [ƛ̓ax̌ay̓] [**tə=saɬtxʷ** [k̓ʷən-əxʷ-an-uɬ snanatuɬ]].
       COP [elderly.lady] [**DET=woman** [see-NCT-1SG.ERG-PAST last.night]]
       'The woman I saw last night was an old lady.' (ʔayʔaǰuθəm; Xu 2019)

This system more closely resembles that of Secwepemctsín, which has invariant independent pronouns but only allows equational clefts. Note that since both bare CP clefts and equational clefts are independently attested in invariant pronoun systems, the change in progress in ʔayʔaǰuθəm is still within the range of expected variation for an invariant system. However, the existence of an invariant outlier on the periphery of a block of alternating pronoun systems is significant in historical terms: it strongly suggests that the alternating systems are an innovation which has arisen fairly recently in Central Salish.

Finally, let us return to our original question: are pronouns ever predicative in Salish? At least on the basis of the language sample I have examined in this paper, the answer is unequivocally — and perhaps surprisingly — no. It is worth emphasizing that this conclusion does not follow from any deep semantic principles. There is nothing to stop a pronoun from being predicative (of type $<et>$), and even if we were to assume that pronouns always start off as type e for conceptual reasons, there is nothing to stop a pronoun from subsequently being type-shifted from e to $<et>$ using *Ident*, one of the core type-shifting operations in Partee (1986):

(126) Ident: $j \rightarrow \lambda x \, [x = j]$

This operation allows a directly referential element j to be converted into a predicate whose argument is equal to j. However, in spite of superficial appearances, this is precisely what the Salish languages we have examined do *not* do. This in turn suggests that not only type-shifting does not come for free, but that the mapping of syntactic categories to syntactic types in Salish is more rigid than we might have imagined, even in a language family which at least superficially appears to show a great deal of flexibility between predicates and arguments.

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