

Demonstrative predicates and clefting in Kwak'wala¹

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My research broaches the topic of Kwak'wala demonstrative predicates and clefts, eliciting material from a native speaker of the Gwa'yí (Kingcome Inlet) dialect. The demonstrative stems of Kwak'wala follow a three-way distinction based on the visibility relationship between the speaker and the subject of the demonstrative², as discussed by Nicholson and Werle (2009). The basic stem forms are *yu-*, *he-* and *g^ye-*, meaning that the subject of the demonstrative is visible, invisible and in contact with the speaker respectively. However, complexities such as possession, negation and sensory perception can interfere with stem choice. This paper will also discuss the similarities found between the use of clefts in focus constructions of Nteʔkepmxcin and Kwak'wala, based on the analyses of Koch (2008). Kwak'wala sentences use clefts or nominal predicate constructions when employing narrow focus, and remain in standard VSO word order for wide focus.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses the results of an investigation into the demonstrative predicates and clefting structures of Kwak'wala, with a focus on the visibility distinction between demonstrative stem forms and their use in forming clefts. I will also discuss the use of clefts in creating focus constructions. My data comes from a native speaker of the Gwa'yí (Kingcome Inlet) dialect of Kwak'wala.

My exploration of the language has focused on the use of a number of demonstrative stem forms in clefting sentences, where a predicative form of *this/that* or *it* is used to designate a specific item being picked out in a given context. As part of this investigation I have examined the relevant sections of Boas' (1947) grammar on Kwak'wala and found notable differences between his

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² These findings were in contrast to Boas' 1947 approach that classified them as having a person-based distinction: *ga-* (near 1st Person), *yu-* (near 2nd Person), and *he-* (near 3rd Person).

analyses and my own findings (Section 2.2 and 3). The findings of this investigation coincide with those of Nicholson and Werle (2009) on the same dialect (Section 2.3 and 3).

In researching the use of clefting in focus structures of Kwak'wala, I examined chapter three of Karsten Koch's 2008 dissertation on Intonation and Focus in Nl̓eʔkepmxcin (Thompson River Salish), regarding the syntactic representation of focus in different focus types. I conducted tests on Kwak'wala based on Koch's research and found similarities between Koch's analyses and my own findings. My results are discussed in section 4.

Section 2 of this paper provides an introduction to the basic syntax of demonstratives and clefts as well as previous literature and theories on these topics. In section 3 I present my analyses of demonstrative stems and personal pronouns in Kwak'wala, and section 4 will delve into my investigation on the use of clefts in focus contexts.

1.1 Basic Kwak'wala

Kwak'wala is a Wakashan language, spoken by a number of different groups located on northern Vancouver Island as well as on the adjacent mainland. It belongs to the northern subgroup of Wakashan languages, which also includes Oowekyala, Heiltsuk and Haisla. The Southern Wakashan subgroup includes Nitinat, Nootka and Makah, and extends down through the west coast of Vancouver Island and as far south as the Olympic Peninsula of Washington (Lincoln & Rath, 1980).

Kwak'wala is an exclusively suffixing language in which clitics, such as determiners, attach to root words. Also attaching to word roots are lexical suffixes, which are suffixes with their own lexical meaning, e.g. the suffix -*(g)ə̃m* 'face' as in *ʔmə̃ 'lgə̃m* 'white-faced' (Boas, 1947, p. 239).

2 Background

2.1 Background on demonstratives and deictic systems

Demonstratives are deictics, which means they point to extra-linguistic aspects within the context of the utterance. They are used within an utterance to specify what the speaker is referring to. In English, this is usually designated by the demonstrative pronouns *this* or *that*. A demonstrative anchors a referent within a context, based on its spatial or temporal relationship to the utterance in which it is used. The sentence: 'This man is tall' uses the demonstrative *this* to specify which man is the one that the speaker believes is tall. These specificational demonstratives are often used in the context of a set of similar items in which the speaker is attempting to clarify the reference of the noun.

Kwak'wala uses demonstrative predicates in these situations, using a demonstrative stem form to which possessive pronouns and other determiners are encliticized. The demonstrative stem occurs in the initial position of the sentence and determiners are suffixed to it. The determiner system of Kwak'wala is

exclusively suffixing and is used to encode visibility, possession, case, location and temporal relationships. Kwak'wala shows the following encliticization pattern, using both pre- and post- nominal clitics. The pre-nominals attach to the predicate that precedes the noun:

CASE-LOC-DET NOUN-(TEMP.)-VIS

The deictic system of a language uses an anchor or point of reference to specify where the referent is in relation to the point of reference. English uses a single-anchor system, wherein the referent is referred to in relation to a single point (typically the speaker). Boas' analysis of Kwak'wala uses a three-anchor system, which is based on what 'person' the referent was closest to (1st Person, 2nd Person or 3rd Person), and then encodes various spatial and temporal differences (Davis 2010). In contrast, I have found in modern Kwak'wala a single-anchor system similar to the English system, in which the referent is discussed as having three degrees of distance in relation to the speaker. This is also the analysis of Nicholson & Werle (2009), which we will see in section 2.3.

2.2 Franz Boas: A person-based distinction

Boas' 1947 Kwakiutl Grammar gives the usage of Kwak'wala stems as having a person-based distinction where the three demonstrative stems are *ga-* (near 1st person), *yu-* (near 2nd person) and *he-* (near 3rd person). Example (1) uses a 2nd Person demonstrative, therefore the speaker is referring to a house that is owned by the listener of this conversation.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | yuʔems | gʷukʷoʃ |
| | yu=ʔem=s | gʷukʷ=ʃ |
| | DEM=DISC=POSS | house=2P.VIS |
| | 'That is your house' | |
| | (Boas 1947, p. 259) | |

The usage pattern of modern Kwak'wala demonstratives can be better described by Nicholson & Werle's work as discussed in section 2.3.

2.3 Nicholson & Werle: A visibility/distance-based distinction

Nicholson & Werle, in their 2009 work on Kwak'wala determiners, classify these same demonstrative stems as having a visibility or distance-based distinction, rather than the person-based system discussed by Boas above.

Nicholson & Werle discuss a three-degree scale of distance, referring to the distance determiner affixes of *-ga*, *-uxʷ* & *-i*, as D1, D2, & D3 respectively, indicating an increasing distance away from the referent (the speaker). D3 referents do not necessarily need to refer to something near a third person, in fact, these determiner markers may be used to refer to something not known to exist, or simply invisible to the speaker, as in (2).

- (2) əx'əxsdamasi-x di -'e'
 Do you want -D3 tea-D3 + Invisible
 'Do you want some tea?'
 (Nicholson & Werle 2009, p. 12)

3 Demonstrative predicate usage in Kwak'wala

Boas' demonstrative stems (*ga-*, *yu-*, *he-*) are still in use, but instead of the person-based system he discusses, I find them to be better represented by the visibility/distance distinction presented by Nicholson & Werle, which is the analysis on which I have based my findings.

3.1 Basic stem forms

The basic demonstrative stem forms as used in demonstrative predicates can be realized as *yu-*, *he-* and *g'e-*, meaning that the subject of the demonstrative is visible, invisible and in contact with the speaker respectively³.

- (3) yuʔəm t'isəm nəpʔidsu laχa bəgʷanəm
 yu=ʔəm t'isəm nəp=ʔid=su la=χ=a bəgʷanəm
 DEM=DISC rock throw=PAST=PASS at=ACC=DET man
 'This is the rock that was thrown at the man'
- (4) heʔmida c'edaq nəpʔidsəwa
 he=ʔm=i=da c'edaq nəp=ʔid=səw=a
 DEM=DISC=3P.VIS=DET woman throw=PAST=PASS=3P.VIS
 'That woman was hit' (not in the room)
- (5) nəpʔiden χas g'yeda laχa bəgʷanəm
 nəp=ʔid=en χ=as g'y=e=da la=χ=a bəgʷanəm
 Throw=PAST=1P OBJ= OBL DEM=DET at=ACC=DET man
 'I threw this at the man' (this rock in my hands)
- (6) *Context: We are looking out the window and you see a car outside:*
- a. yuʔəm kas (Henry)
 yu=ʔəm ka=s (Henry)
 DEM=DISC car=POSS (Henry)
 'that is Henry's car'

³ Please ignore the variability in the so-called "discourse" markers; they will be discussed further in section 4

- b. heʔəm kas (Henry)
 he=ʔəm ka=s (Henry)
 DEM=DISC car=POSS (Henry)

'that is Henry's car'

(Speaker note: utterance a is used in cases where the car is visible,
 utterance b is used when the car is invisible)

Example (6) refutes Boas' 1947 analysis. Boas' analysis used a person-based distinction where the demonstrative *yu-* would indicate that the referent is near the 2nd person and *he-* would indicate the referent was near 3rd person. Even though the car is far away from us in the parking lot, and outside the building in which we are standing, the speaker distinctly clarified that if the car is visible to us the form *yu-* is used and if the car is not visible she would use the form *he-*.

Unfortunately, the use of these stems is not as simple as that. These stem forms are used as described above only in the most basic cases. To complicate matters, their usage may change based on possession, negation or sensory perception.

3.2 Negation

When a sentence that normally follows this demonstrative stem pattern is negated, the demonstrative stem is displaced by the negative stem *k'is-*. This negation acts as a base for the other clitics (such as possession marker or determiners) to attach to. The demonstrative stem (ie. *yu-*, *he-*) is then added after the negation statement, and the rest of the sentence follows as usual. In (9), the negation is acting as a pre-predicative auxiliary, allowing the demonstrative stem to remain the same.

- (7) k'i k'isen yu kar
 k'i k'is=en yu kar
 no NEG=1P.POSS DEM car
 'No, that's not my car'

- (8) k'i k'isen yu g^yuk^w=ox
 k'i k'is=en yu g^yuk^w=o^{x̄}
 no NEG=1P.POSS DEM house=2P.VIS
 'no, that's not my house'

- (9) k'i, hedida musmus, k'is hedida
 k'i, he=d=i=da musmus, k'is he=d=i=da
 NEG DEM=DISC=3P.VIS=DET cow NEG DEM=DISC=3P.VIS=DET
 g'usu
 g'usu
 pig
 'no it is cow, not pig'

3.3 Possession

When the referent is possessed by the speaker (1st person possession), yet it is not in view, the form *yu-* is still used, because it indicates a closeness relationship based on ownership. The possessive suffix based on the person and number of the referent is then attached to the stem, as in (10 & 11). This is in contrast to (12), which follows the anticipated visibility pattern. If the speaker owns something, but is also in contact with it, she uses the typical contact-based stem *g^ye-*, as in (13) vs. (14):

(10) *um,* *yuʔmən* *busioʔ*
 um, *yu=ʔm=ən* *busi=oʔ*
 yes *DEM=DISC=1P.POSS* *cat=LOC.2P*
 'Yes, that is my cat' (outside the room)

(11) *yuʔmen* *watsiʔox*
 yu=ʔm=en *watsiʔ=ox*
 DEM=DISC=1P.POSS *dog=2P.VIS*
 'That's my dog' (that you saw outside)

(12) *heʔəms* *g^yuk^wi*
 he=ʔəm=s *g^yuk^w=i*
 DEM=DISC=POSS *house=3P.VIS*
 'that's your house' (invisible)

(13) *g^yeden* *ci^ya* *g^yeda*
 g^ye=d=en *ci^ya* *g^ye=da*
 DEM=DISC=1P.POSS. *chair* *DEM=DET*
 'this is my chair' (*while sitting in it*)

(14) *yuʔmen* *ci^ya*
 yu=ʔm=en *ci^ya*
 DEM=DISC=1P.POSS *chair*
 'this is my chair' (*chair across room: not sitting in chair, but owns it*)

3.4 Sensory Perception

Another complication is that when the referent of the sentence (the referent of the demonstrative) is perceivable by a speaker's senses (e.g. smell, sound, even extrasensory perception), the speaker will use the demonstrative stem that typically designates visibility, *yu-*. This occurs even if the demonstrative subject is invisible to those involved in the utterance, as in examples (15) through (17).

speaker wants to pick a certain item out of a set of items, as in (21):

- (21) *Answers: 'Is that your dog?'*
 yuʔmen watsijox
 yu=ʔm=en watsij=oʃ
 DEM=DISC=1P.POSS dog=2P.VIS
 'That's my dog'

But in contrast, these personal pronouns are used when you want to emphasize whom it is that owns the referent, as in (22):

- (22) *Answers: 'whose dog is that?'*
 nusox da watsi
 nu=s=oʃ da watsi
 1P=POSS=2P.VIS DET dog
 'that's my dog'

These personal pronouns are used in simple identification sentences as well:

- (23) *Answers: 'Who is it?'*
 nug^wa um rubi
 nu=g^wa um rubi
 1P=DET yes Ruby
 'it's me, Ruby'

These possessional stems change depending on the number and gender of the possessor. Added to the stem are the usual suffixes denoting possession, gender, and location, as well as the pronominal determiner. The full paradigm of these constructions can be found in table 1:

Table 1:

Person	Stem Form	Example
1st Person Singular	nu-	(24) nusoxda lak'u nu=s=oʃ=da lak'u 1P=POSS=2P.LOC=DET strawberries 'That's my strawberries'
2nd Person Singular	k'u-	(25) k'usox busija k'u=s=oʃ busi=ja 2P=POSS=2P.LOC cat 'That is your cat'
3rd Person Singular (m/f)	k'a-	(26) k'asoʃa gela k'a=s=oʃ=a gela 3P=POSS=2P.LOC=DET bear 'That is his bear'

1st Person Plural	nu-...- ənoχ	(27) nusənoχa nu=s=ənoχ=a 1PL=POSS=1PL.POSS=DET 'That is our cat'	busi busi cat
2nd Person Plural	k'u-	(28) k'usoχ k'u=s=ox 2PL=POSS=2P.LOC 'This is your (pl.) car'	k'a: k'a: car

4 Clefting in Focus Contexts

4.1 An introduction to clefts in Kwak'wala

In my examinations of the uses of demonstrative predicates, I have also been looking at the structure of focus sentences, most specifically sentences that employ clefting. Clefting is a particular way of constructing a sentence in order to put focus on a particular constituent. This is shown in English with sentences such as 'it was Mark that stole my purse', where the focus is placed on the subject, Mark. In English, such sentences usually utilize a particular intonation, where the focused constituent is accented.

In creating cleft constructions, Kwak'wala uses demonstrative predicates to identify the referent of the utterance. A standard cleft construction, such as (30) is formed by using these following pieces of morphology:

1. Demonstrative stem: *yu-*, *he-* or *g'e-*
2. A so-called discourse enclitic: =*ʔəm* (sometimes seen simply as =*m* or =*d*)
3. Followed by a DP, which is the focused constituent
4. A clause containing the remnant of the sentence

- (29) yuʔəm t'isəm nəpʔidsu ləχa bəgʷanəm
yu=ʔəm t'isəm nəp=ʔid=su lə=χ=a bəgʷanəm
DEM= DISC rock throw=PAST=PASS at=ACC=DET man
DEM DISC DP [REMNANT]
'This is the rock that was thrown at the man'

The distinction between the two second position 'discourse' enclitics =*ʔəm* or =*d* is as of yet unknown, but has been discussed in Boas (1947) as "referring to a previous subject of conversation or narrative", and in Levine as referring to "old information". Patrick Littell suggests that the distinction could refer to picking a subject from either discourse-new or discourse-old sets, where =*d* could mark new subjects and *ʔəm* old information (p.c. 2010).

- (30) a. *yuʔəmox* *pate* *məxhiχ^wa* *watsi*
yu=ʔəm=ox *pat=e* *məχ=hi=χ^w=a* *watsi*
 DEM=DISC=2P.LOC Pat hit=PAST=ACC=DET dog
 ‘it was Pat that hit the dog’
- b. *yudox* *pate* *məxhiχ^wa* *watsi*
yu=d=ox *pat=e* *məχ=hi=χ^w=a* *watsi*
 DEM=DISC=2P.LOC Pat hit=PAST=ACC=DET dog
 ‘it was Pat that hit the dog’

In (30), the speaker gave the same sentence with both examples of discourse enclitics and could not describe the distinction between the two. More complex contexts must be constructed in order to pinpoint this distinction.

4.2 The use of clefts in focus constructions

In studying the use of clefts in Kwak'wala, I wished to identify the contexts in which Kwak'wala uses clefting to exemplify focus. I based my theories and research questions on chapter three of Karsten Koch's 2008 dissertation on Intonation and Focus in Nl̥əʔkepmxcin (Thompson River Salish), regarding the syntactic representation of focus in different focus types. Kwak'wala is canonically a VSO word order and uses demonstrative predicates in its cleft formation, with demonstrative stems chosen by the visibility distinction of the referent.

4.3 Karsten Koch on Nl̥əʔkepmxcin

Karsten Koch argues in his dissertation on Nl̥əʔkepmxcin that while focus is marked structurally, this structure has a prosodic motivation in that the clause is restructured so that the focus is leftmost in the intonational phrase (ii). In chapter three Koch examines a "cleft-focus" observation made by Kroeber (1997, 1999) in which "narrow focus is marked by restructuring the focus to the left edge of the clause by employing clefts or nominal predicate constructions (NPCs)" (Koch 2008, p. 60). Using a corpus of 338 sentences, Koch examined wide CP and VP focus as well as the surface structures of narrow verb focus, subject focus, object focus, and number quantifier focus. Kroeber's claim was supported by Koch's study, in that narrow object, subject and number quantifier focus is represented by structuring the focused constituent at the left-edge of the clause, or in Nominal Predicate Constructions. Wide-CP, wide-VP, and narrow verb focus remains in the default auxiliary- or verb-initial word order (Koch 2008, p. 79). In his 2009 paper on clefting in Nl̥əʔkepmxcin, Koch argues that clefts have rigid post-predicative word order, where the standard VSO order as in regular transitive sentences is no longer grammatical. Cleft sentences must be VOS (p. 6).

The findings in his 2008 dissertation support Kroeber's observation that left edge clefts and NPCs are used to mark narrow focus (p. 79). However,

under a "stress-focus" account, the focus would pattern with the nuclear stress, which is rightmost. Koch generalizes that therefore it cannot be a prosodic condition aligning the focus with the nuclear stress rule that is driving the "cleft-focus" generalization. Since narrow verb focus also does not show any movement of the verb to the nuclear stress position, but remains in the default leftmost position (though not clefted), Koch generalizes that focus is closely associated with the predicate, and the left edge of the clause is relevant for focus marking. Koch (2008, p. 80) therefore postulates constraints (31) & (32):

- (31) PREDICATE-LEFT: Align the matrix predicate with the left edge of an intonational phrase
- (32) FOCUS-LEFT: The focus is leftmost in an intonational phrase

Koch generalizes that for both focus marking and focus projection, the left edge of the clause is important (2008, p. 60). Koch's (2008, p. 63) predictions for focus projection were:

- (33) Wide focus (VP or CP) would be marked using the default verb-initial word order
- (34) Wide focus (VP or CP) employs the same word order as narrow object focus

Prediction 1 was confirmed in the results of Koch's study, but prediction 2 was unfounded, due to narrow object focus employing left edge clefts or NPCs (2008, p. 81). Narrow subject focus is expressed syntactically and cannot be projected from right-most nuclear pitch accent in clefts (2008, p. 82). Therefore Koch summarizes that horizontal focus projection is not operative in Nl̩ɛʔkepmxcin, disassociating focus from the nuclear stress position (2008, p. 83). The focus always and only projects from the matrix predicate, which aligns the focus projections with the left edge. Koch restricts the possible focus set to {Predicate, PredP, TP, CP} (2008, p. 84).

4.4 Kwak'wala

I predict that I will find a similar distinction between focus types in Kwak'wala, based on previous elicitations where clefting was commonly found when focusing subjects and objects. I elicited single sentences using constructed contexts based on pictures.

4.4.1 Results: Wide CP focus

Wide CP focus answers a question where the entire CP phrase is new, such as "What's happening?". In Kwak'wala, Wide CP focus is constructed using

the default verb-initial word order, as in (35 & 36).

- (35) *Answers: What's happening in this picture?*
 nəp'oɣ ɣa sa t'isəm laɣa g'uk^w
 nəp'=oɣ ɣ=a s=a t'isəm la=ɣ=a g'uk^w
 throw=2P.LOC OBJ=DET OBL=DET rock PREP=OBJ=DET house
 'He's throwing a rock at the house'

- (36) *Answers: What is happening?*
 kepaɪ=a Matt aɣoɣ Sarah
 hug=DET Matt on Sarah
 'Matt is hugging Sarah'

4.4.2 Results: Wide VP focus

Wide VP focus answers a question where the agent is known to the discourse, but the action denoted by the verb and object is unknown and therefore focused. In Kwak'wala, as in Nləʔkepmxcin, this results in verb-initial sentence construction, as in (37-39).

- (37) *Answers: What is Mary doing?*
 həʔmiksɪla meri
 həʔmiksɪl=a meri
 cooking=DET Mary
 'Mary is cooking'
- (38) *Answers: What did you just do?*
 aɫenɣa sa tɫatəmɫ laɣ^wa busi
 aɫ=en=ɣ=a s=a tɫatəmɫ la=ɣ^w=a busi
 on=1P=OBJ=DET OBL=DET hat PREP=OBJ=DET cat
 'I put the hat on the cat'
- (39) *Answers: What is the boy doing?*
 nəpoɣ ɣa sa t'isem laɣa
 nəp=oɣ ɣ=a s=a t'isem la=ɣ=a
 throw=2P.LOC ACC=DET OBL=DET rock PREP=ACC=DET
 window asa t'sat'sadakəm
 window a=s=a t'sat'sadakəm
 window PREP=POSS=DET young girl
 'He's throwing a rock at the window of the young girl'

4.4.3 Results: Narrow Verb Focus

Narrow verb focus also follows the pattern found in Nləʔkepmxcin, using a verb-initial word order. Narrow verb focus occurs when the subject and object are known to the discourse, and the verb is the new information as in (40-

42). As Koch found in Nleʔkepmɔcin, ellipsis of subject and object are also possible in narrow verb focus constructions in Kwak'wala, as in (42):

- (40) *Answers: What is John doing to the rock?*
 nəp'oxa sa t'isem lax^wa bedi
 nəp'o=x=a s=a t'isem la=x^w=a bedi
 throw=OBJ=DET OBL=DET rock PREP=OBJ=DET cougar
 'He's throwing the rock at the cougar'

- (41) *Answers: What is Mary doing to the fish?*
 həʔmisilox meri axa k'utəla
 həʔmisilox meri ax=a k'utəla
 cooking mary OBJ=DET fish
 'Mary is cooking the fish'

- (42) *Answers: What is Mary doing to the fish?*
 həʔmisila
 həʔmisil=a
 cook=DET
 'Cooking it'

4.4.4 Results: Narrow subject focus

Narrow subject focus uses a typical cleft construction, as described in section 4.1. This is as I predicted, in that narrow subject focus follows the same pattern as Nleʔkepmɔcin, as demonstrated by examples (43-45). Narrow subject focus picks out the subject of a sentence where the verb and object are already known to the discourse.

- (43) *Answers: Who is wearing the hat?*
 hedi John axʔatla sa tlatəml
 hed=i John axʔatla s=a tlatəml
 DEM=3P.VIS John put OBL=DET hat
 'It's John that is wearing the hat'

- (44) *Answers: Is it the pig or the cow that is in the house?*
 hedida gusu laxa awitala
 hed=i=da gusu la=x=a awitala
 DEM=3P.VIS=DEM pig PREP=OBJ=DET inside
 'It is the pig that is inside'

- (45) *Answers: Is the cat wearing the hat?*
 yudox da watsi axalas a tēlɛmps
 yud=ox da watsi axalas a tēlɛmps
 DEM=OBJ DET dog wear DET hat
 'It is the dog that is wearing the hat'

4.4.5 Results: Narrow object focus

In my initial findings, I have received conflicting evidence for narrow object Focus therefore I feel more research is needed. As shown in (46) and (47), narrow object focus for these sentences results in an in-situ word order.

- (46) *Answers: What is John throwing?*
 nəpoxa sa t'isem
 nəpo=x=a s=a t'isem
 throw=OBJ=DET OBL=DET rock
 'He is throwing the rock'

- (47) *Answers: Is the cat wearing a coat?*
 k'i, axʔatloxa sa tlatəmł
 k'i, axʔatlo=x=a s=a tlatəmł
 NEG put=OBJ=DET OBL=DET hat
 'No, it is wearing a hat'

In all the sentences I elicited which had narrow object focus, the initial response of my speaker was to use an in-situ word order, as in (46) & (47). However, my consultant also acknowledged that (49) was possible:

- (48) k'i, yudox da tlatəmł axʔalaxtus
 k'i, yud=ox da tlatəmł axʔalaxtu=s
 NEG DEM= OBJ DET hat put=3P.
 'No, its is a hat he is wearing'

Sentence (48) appears in the same VOS structure that Koch talked about in his 2009 article, where the standard VSO order cannot be applicable in cleft residue (p. 6). In Koch's study of sentences with narrow object focus, 20.4% of the tested sentences had the object in-situ, in a verb-initial word order. It appears for both languages that both clefting and verb-initial word orders are possible for representing narrow object focus, but more research is needed on this topic.

4.4.6 Results: Number quantifier focus

Example (49) is demonstrative of number quantifier focus in Kwak'wala, where the quantifier relating to the DP is focused. This sentence follows a similar pattern to one construction of number quantifier focus in Nłeʔkepmxcin, where the quantified DP is focused at the left edge of the clause as part of a nominal predicate construction. This follows Kroeber's analysis of left-edge restructuring, but does not use a cleft construction.

- (49) *Answers: Does John have two chickens?*
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------|--------------|------|
| k'i, yudoxoχ | gaʔgəʔo | χas | John |
| k'i, yudox=ox | gaʔgəʔo | χ=a=s | John |
| NEG three=OBJ | chickens | OBJ=DET=POSS | John |
- 'No, John has three chickens'

Koch also discusses another formation of focus in number quantifier focus, where a nominal predicate is still created, but the clause is separated in the sentence. The number quantifier remains at the left-edge of the clause, but the DP is extraposed to the right edge. This is also possible in Kwak'wala, where in example (50), the numeral (two) remains at the left-edge of the clause, but the DP (pen) has been moved to the right edge.

- (50) *Answers: Did I buy one pen at the stationary store last week?*
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| ki, mətlus | kil ^w animus | k'eda ^y u |
| ki, mətl=us | kil ^w a=nimus | k'eda ^y u |
| NEG two=2P. | buy | pen |
- 'No, you bought two pens'

5 Conclusions

5.1 Demonstrative predicates

The conclusions that can be drawn from the analyses I have presented are that Kwak'wala uses a single anchor system in its demonstrative predicates, using various stem forms to describe the visibility distinction between the referent and the speaker. While these stems are primarily based on this visibility relationship, their usage may be affected by possession, sensory perception, negation or a change in the type of referent (as in the prepositional phrases).

Personal pronouns are used in contrasting situations to the demonstrative predicates. Demonstrative predicates are used to pick out a referent from a set of other possibilities, whereas the personal pronoun forms are used when differentiating between possessors.

5.2 Focus constructions using clefts

The basic structure of clefting sentences has been identified, using specifically the demonstrative predicates as discussed earlier, but more work is needed to decipher the confusion that is the 'discourse marker'.

As stated in section 3, Kroeber claimed that "narrow focus is marked by restructuring the focus to the left edge of the clause by employing clefts or nominal predicate constructions (NPCs)". Koch found that this was true for Nleʔkepmχcin, as narrow subject, object and number quantifier focus was marked using left-edge constructions. Wide CP & VP and narrow verb focus remained in-situ, verb initial word order. As per my original prediction, I pred-

icted that Kwak'wala would use the same formations as Nle?kepmxcin in creating focus structures for Wide CP & VP, narrow verb, subject and object focus and number quantifier focus. I predicted that wide CP, VP and narrow verb focus would use a verb- or auxiliary- initial word order, and that narrow subject, object and number quantifier focus would use left-edge constructions such as clefts or NPCs.

The results of my research into the focus structures of Kwak'wala showed:

1. Narrow subject focus and nominal quantifier focus always appear at the left -edge of the clause, with narrow subject focus employing a cleft and nominal quantifier focus creating a nominal predicate construction.
2. Wide CP and VP focus use a verb-initial word order and narrow verb focus remains in-situ in a verb-initial word order. Auxiliary initial sentences have not been found yet and therefore further examination of these structures must be done in order to determine if an auxiliary-initial order is possible.
3. Narrow object focus in Kwak'wala was found to be either in-situ or marked with a cleft, which appeared to also be a result of Koch's testing of narrow object focus in Nle?kepmxcin, as in 20.4% of the sentences analyzed the object remained in-situ.

I would like to conduct further tests on narrow subject and object focus, because it is confusing as to why objects can appear in-situ or as part of clefts, but subjects only have the clefting option.

A. Abbreviations used in this paper:

PAST – Past Tense
PASS – Passive
ACC – Accusative
OBJ – Object
OBL – Oblative
POSS – Possessive
DEM – Demonstrative
DET – Determiner
DISC – Discourse
PREP – Preposition
VIS – Visibility
NEG – Negation
LOC – Locative
P – Person

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