

Independent pronouns in Ktunaxa

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Ktunaxa is a head-marking language which indicates pronominal arguments with agreement morphology on the verb. However, the language retains a set of independent pronouns which are separate from the verb and express pronominal reference in environments where agreement morphology is unable to do so alone. In this paper, we examine these independent pronouns in the framework developed in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002). Based on their internal and external syntax as well as their referential and pragmatic properties, we argue that these independent pronouns align most closely with the characterization of a *pro-φP*, as opposed to a *pro-DP* or *pro-NP*.

1 Introduction

Ktunaxa is a head-marking language, which means that the arguments of a verb are encoded directly on the verb by means of agreement marking. Overt third person nominal arguments in the form of DPs are fully optional for the production of a well-formed sentence. However, Ktunaxa has a set of pronouns for all person features which are independent from the verbal agreement marking. These pronouns serve a number of purposes which cannot be fulfilled by verbal agreement marking alone. For example, independent pronouns are used to coordinate pronominal arguments with third person full nominal arguments, as in (1a). Since full DP arguments cannot be directly coordinated with verbal agreement morphology, as shown in (1b), it is indeed necessary to use independent pronouns in this environment.

- (1) a. kamint^h t^hsan hu qałwinałani kiyaku
ka-min=^ht^h t^hsan hu qałwin-ałani kiyaku
1POSS-1IP=CONJ John SUBJ.1 want-SUBJ.1.PL-IND fish
 nakpuk
 nakpuk
 soup
 ‘John and I want fish soup.’

- b. * $\widehat{\text{tsants}}$ hu qatwinatani kiyaku nakpuk
 $\widehat{\text{tsan=ts}}$ hu qatwin-a \textasciitilde a-ni kiyaku nakpuk
 John=CONJ SUBJ.1 want-SUBJ.1.PL-IND fish soup
 ‘John and I want fish soup.’

Other functions of these independent pronouns include the following, which we will explore in the course of this paper:

- i Certain verbs require oblique arguments, which are not referenced with verbal agreement marking. Pronominal reference must therefore be achieved using an independent pronoun.
- ii Independent pronouns can be used to refer to nominals which are possessed
- iii Certain nominalized forms which cannot take the typical possessive morphology use independent pronouns to indicate that they are possessed.
- iv Pronominal reference in dislocated phrases is achieved using independent pronouns, which in turn has an information-structural effect.
- v Finally, independent pronouns serve certain pragmatic functions, such as contrasting or emphasizing arguments in a sentence.

These functions confirm the role of independent pronouns in the grammar of Ktunaxa. Although this is a pronominal argument language, independent pronouns are nevertheless indispensable. In this paper, we explore the behaviour and classification of these independent pronouns in the framework developed in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002). In this framework, pro-forms can be divided into three separate categories, based on their syntactic and semantic properties: pro-DP, pro- ϕ P, and pro-NP. The properties of each of these categorizations is summarized in Table 1.

	Pro-DP	Pro- ϕ P	Pro-NP
Internal Syntax	D syntax; morphologically complex	neither D nor N syntax	N syntax
Distribution	argument	argument or predicate	predicate
Semantics	definite	–	constant
Binding-theoretic status	R-expression	variable	–

Table 1: Nominal pro-form typology (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002)

We argue that the independent pronouns in Ktunaxa align most closely with the characterization of a pro- ϕ P, as opposed to a pro-DP or pro-NP. To support this proposal, we will look at the internal syntax, the external syntax, and the referential properties of independent pronouns in Ktunaxa. We will also look at the pragmatic properties of these pronouns, as they are somewhat restricted in their usage.

2 Internal syntax

The paradigm of independent pronouns in Ktunaxa is provided in Table 2.

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	ka-min 1POSS-1IP	ka-mn-aʔa 1POSS-1IP-1PL
2nd Person	ninku-(nis) 2,3IP-(2POSS)	ninku-nis-kiʔ 2,3IP-2POSS-2PL
3rd Person	ninku-ʔis 2,3IP-3POSS	

Table 2: Ktunaxa independent pronouns

Each pronoun is composed of a stem, which is *-m(i)n* for first person pronouns and *ninku-* for second and third person pronouns, and in most cases additional morphology which is common to nominal stems in the language. Note that the first-person pronominal stem is unable to be bare, while the bare stem *ninku* may be used as a second person pronoun. This bare independent pronoun is used when it refers to a second person referent directly, while reference to a nominal which is possessed by a second person referent requires possessive morphology. With the exception of this alternation, the independent pronouns contain possessive morphology which is required to maintain its person feature distinction. The possessive affixes which appear in these independent pronouns are the same affixes that are used to express possession of nominal stems in general. The first and second person plural pronouns also contain plural affixation, which are the same affixes used in the pluralization of other possessed nominals. Both the possessive and pluralizing affixes of first and second-person possessed nominals are illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. ka xatʃsin
 ka xatʃsin
 1POSS dog
 ‘My dog’
- b. ka xatʃsinnaʔa
 ka xatʃsin-naʔa
 1POSS dog-1PL
 ‘Our dog(s)’
- c. xatʃsinnis
 xatʃsin-nis
 dog-2POSS
 ‘Your dog’

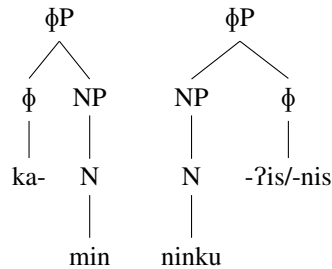
- d. xaʔtsinniskiʔ
 xaʔtsin-nis-kiʔ
 dog-2POSS-2PL
 ‘Your (pl) dogs’

In summary, the independent pronouns in Ktunaxa contain a stem, which can only appear bare when used to indicate a second person singular referent. The other pieces of morphology found in the paradigm are not dedicated to independent pronouns, but are also found in possessed full noun phrases. This suggests that independent pronouns behave like other nouns in the language. The fact that these stems cannot be bare aligns them with other relational nouns in Ktunaxa, such as kinship terms, which cannot be expressed without possessive morphology, even when the possessor is unknown or generic. This is illustrated by the necessary inclusion of the general possessive morpheme *-nam* to discuss mothers in general, as in (3).¹

- (3) a. manam ʔat wiʔiʔ tʂʂakiʔni ʔa:qaʔʔis
 ma-nam ʔat wiʔ-iʔ tʂʂakiʔ-ni ʔa:qaʔʔ-is
 mother-POSS HAB big-ADV love-IND child-3POSS
 ‘Mothers love their children.’
- b. *ma ʔat wiʔiʔ tʂʂakiʔni ʔa:qaʔʔis
 ma ʔat wiʔ-iʔ tʂʂakiʔ-ni ʔa:qaʔʔ-is
 mother HAB big-ADV love-IND child-3POSS
 ‘Mothers love their children.’

In light of this morphological similarity, we propose that the independent pronoun stems are of a nominal type which are dominated by a ϕ P containing possessive morphology. This ϕ P interacts with the syntax, which results in the syntactic behaviour we discuss below. Our proposed structures are provided in (4).

- (4) Proposed structure of independent pronouns in Ktunaxa



¹Morgan (1991) includes a generic third-person independent pronoun *ninkuʔnam* in the paradigm of independent pronouns, but this form was not explored in this present study. It would be illuminating to investigate whether the generic third-person independent pronoun behaves similarly to nominals possessed by an unknown or generic possessor.

Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) predict that a pro- ϕ P would not behave syntactically as a determiner or a nominal. Indeed, the independent pronouns do not display determiner-like syntax. For example, in (5a), the entire possessed noun phrase can take the deictic marker *na*, while this same marker cannot appear with another determiner, as in (5b). *Ni?* and *na* are in complementary distribution with each other, but not with the independent pronouns. If the independent pronoun is behaving as a pro-DP, the pronoun should fill the “slot” of the determiner, and using both would be infelicitous. The fact that (5a) is acceptable suggests that the independent pronouns belong to a separate category. Furthermore, determiners can be used with other possessed nominals, as in (6), which contributes to the evidence suggesting that the possessive morphology is interacting with the syntax.

(5) a. sukaxnini (na) ninkunis kquqtsiʔikiʔ
 sukaxni-ni (na) ninku-nis kquqtsi-ʔ-ʔik-iʔ
 taste.good-IND DEI 2,3IP-2POSS sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV
 ‘This cake of yours tastes good.’

b. *sukaxnini ni? na kquqtsiʔikiʔ
 sukaxni-ni ni? na kquqtsi-ʔ-ʔik-iʔ
 taste.good-IND DET DEI sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV
 ‘This cake tastes good.’

(6) (ni?) ka ma ʔikni tsans kquqtsiʔikiʔs
 (ni?) ka ma ʔik-ni tsan-s kquqtsi-ʔ-ʔik-iʔ-s
 DET 1POSS mother eat-IND John-OBV sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV-OBV
 ‘That mother of mine ate John’s cake.’

This is a marked construction, and the determiners are not mandatory in this environment. This is not unexpected, because determiner provision in general appears to be optional in Ktunaxa, despite any definite or indefinite reading. For example, the determiner is entirely optional in (7).

(7) q’api (ni?) titqat’ xaʔxuxamik
 q’api (ni?) titqat’ xaʔxuxam-ik
 all DET man carry.lunch-RFLX
 ‘Every man carried their lunch.’

However, the syntactic and semantic properties of these determiners are not well understood, so how the presence of the determiner affects the meaning of a particular sentence has yet to be investigated.

The fact that nominal phrases containing independent pronouns are able to take a determiner suggests that independent pronouns in Ktunaxa are not behaving as pro-DPs themselves. Although they appear to align closely with other nominal phrases, their external syntax as well as their binding status are more indicative of

a pro- ϕ P than a pro-NP.

3 External syntax

Nominal phrases in Ktunaxa can behave as licensed arguments, predicates, obliques, possessors, and as dislocated phrases. Independent pronouns can also fill all of these positions, with the exception of licensed arguments.

3.1 Independent pronouns as licensed arguments

Independent pronouns are not able to appear as licensed arguments, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (8). Pronouns which are used in the possessive sense appear in the same position as nominal arguments, but in these cases they are not acting as arguments themselves. Rather, they are standing in for a covert possessed nominal which is behaving as the argument. In (9a), the licensed argument is *ka a:ksak* ‘my leg’, not the first person referent itself, which is apparent when the possessed nominal is overt, as in (9b).

- (8) *man isniŋ kqanakŋikxuni ninkuʔis
 ma-hin isn-iŋ kqanakŋik-xu-ni ninku-ʔis
 PST-SUBJ.2 one.who-ADV kick-by.body-IND 2,3IP-3POSS
 ‘You kicked him.’

- (9) a. a:ksaknis qa tsmakaniŋ kamin tsmakani
 a:ksak-nis qa tsmaka-ni=ŋs ka-min tsmaka-ni
 leg-2PL NEG strong-IND=CONJ 1POSS-1IP strong-IND
 ‘Your legs aren’t strong and mine are.’

- b. a:ksaknis qa tsmakaniŋ ka ʔa:ksak tsmakani
 a:ksak-nis qa tsmaka-ni=ŋs ka ʔa:ksak tsmaka-ni
 leg-2PL NEG strong-IND=CONJ 1POSS leg strong-IND
 ‘Your legs aren’t strong and my legs are strong.’

Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) predict that both a pro-DP and a pro- ϕ P would be able to serve as licensed arguments. However, there are potential semantic or pragmatic reasons for this inability to use independent pronouns as arguments in Ktunaxa. When referring to a pronominal argument, they do not provide new information about the arguments of the verb, since they are already encoded on the verb with agreement marking.

3.2 Independent pronouns as predicates

Independent pronouns are able to appear in predicate position when they are used to identify the possessor of some object, as in (10). An independent pronoun

cannot appear in this position, however, when used to denote a person, as in (11). This suggests that there may be a morpho-syntactic disparity between independent pronouns which are used to express the possession of a nominal, and independent pronouns which are used to refer directly to their referent, the latter being much more restricted. When referring to a pronominal possessor, the independent pronoun is perhaps behaving more as a modifier than a pronominal referent, which is linking an argument to a predicative trait as opposed to equating two separate DPs, which is the case in sentences such as (11b) and (12).

(10) Context: "Whose feather is this?"

- a. ?ini [kamin]PRED
 ?i-ni ka-min
 be-IND 1POSS-1P
 'It's mine.'
- b. ?isni [tuqʔtsamna]PRED
 ?i-s-ni tuqʔtsamna
 be-SUBJ.OBV-IND bird
 'It's the bird's.'

(11) Context: "Is that Mary?"

- a. *hiy ?ini [ninkuʔis]PRED
 hiy ?i-ni ninku-ʔis
 yes be-IND 2,3IP-3POSS
 'Yes, that's her.'
- b. hiy ?ini [maʔi]PRED
 hiy ?i-ni maʔi
 yes be-IND Mary
 'Yes, that's Mary.'

(12) nasukin ?ini [paʔkiys]PRED
 nasukin ?i-ni paʔkiy-s
 chief be-IND woman-OBV
 'The chief is a woman.'

While non-possessive pronominal predicates are ungrammatical, the same meaning can be expressed by using the subject clitics with the copular verb *?i*. The fact that it is obligatory for the second person pronoun in (13) to be the subject of the copular construction reflects an apparent preference for expressing pronominal referents as subjects as opposed to predicates in copular constructions.

(13) Context: “That man is a hunter”

- a. *waha ?ini ninku
 waha ?i-ni ninku
 no be-IND 2,3IP
 ‘No, he’s you!’
- b. waha hin ?ini
 waha hin ?i-ni
 no SUBJ.2 be-IND
 ‘No, he’s you!’

3.3 Independent pronouns as obliques

Independent pronouns can be used to express pronominal oblique arguments for certain verbs, which is a syntactic role that is unable to be marked on the verb itself with agreement morphology. In this context, the independent pronouns behave as other third person nominal arguments. For example, the independent pronoun in (14) is in the same position as the oblique nominal *nasukin* in (15).

- (14) nasukin tsxał qa sukmunapsi
 nasukin tsxa-ł qa suk-mu-n-aps-i
 chief FUT-ADV NEG good-INST-BP-INV-IND
 kɭu?si ninku?is
 k=ɭu?-s-i ninku-?is
 SUB=be.absent-OBV-IND 2,3IP-3POSS
 ‘The chief won’t be very happy that there is none for him.’

- (15) tsukatitni taxas ɭu?si nasukin
 tsukat-it-ni taxa-s ɭu?-s-i nasukin
 take-PASV-IND then-OBV be.absent-OBV-IND chief
 ‘Someone took them, so now there is none for the chief.’

3.4 Independent pronouns as possessors

As outlined in §3.1, independent pronouns can be used to indicate possession of a covert possessed nominal argument. Generally speaking, this independent pronoun is ungrammatical when the possessed nominal is overt, as in (16c), as the person features of the possessor are encoded in the possessive affix.

- (16) a. $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}ni$ pusnis
 $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}-ni$ pus-nis
 love-IND cat-2POSS
 ‘He loves your cat.’
- b. $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}ni$ ninkunis
 $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}-ni$ ninku-nis
 love-IND 2,3IP-2POSS
 ‘He loves yours.’
- c. * $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}ni$ ninkunis pus
 $\widehat{ts}\widehat{t}\widehat{a}k\widehat{i}\widehat{t}-ni$ ninku-nis pus
 love-IND 2,3IP-2POSS cat
 ‘He loves your cat.’

In some cases, however, independent pronouns are used to indicate possession of overt nominal forms. Specifically, independent pronouns are used to express possession on some forms which have been nominalized with the subordinating marker *k-*, as in (17a).²

The usual possessive affixes on one of these nominalized forms, as in (17b) was judged questionable at best, and ungrammatical at worst.

- (17) a. $\widehat{t}san$?ikni ninku ?is kyukiyats
 $\widehat{t}san$?ik-ni ninku- ?is k-yukiyat-s
 John eat-IND 2,3IP-3POSS SUB-noon-OBV
 ‘John ate his lunch.’
- b. $\text{?}\widehat{t}san$?ikni kyukiyat ?is
 $\widehat{t}san$?ik-ni k-yukiyat- ?is
 John eat-IND SUB-noon-3POSS
 ‘John ate his lunch.’

Full DPs can also act as possessors, as in (18). When it comes to possession, the independent pronouns are behaving as full nominals, although they are restricted to expressing the possession of certain nominalized forms which cannot take the usual possessive affixation.

²Morgan (1991) briefly distinguishes between lexicalized nominalizations and ad-hoc nominalizations which are formed using the subordinating marker *k-*. While this distinction has not been explored in great detail, it appears that lexicalized *k-* forms take independent pronouns as possession markers, while ad-hoc *k-* forms express possession by subordinating the entire verb phrase:

- (i) hun $\widehat{t}sxaw\widehat{i}\widehat{t}skini$ kin xa $\text{t}xuxamik$
 hun $\widehat{t}sxaw\widehat{i}\widehat{t}ski-ni$ k= $\widehat{t}hin$ xa $\text{t}xuxam-ik$
 SUBJ.1 hold.on-IND SUB=SUBJ.2 carry.lunch-REFL
 ‘I have your lunch.’

- (18) From Dryer (1996)
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------|
| wukatapsi | maʔis | misat |
| wukat-aps-i | ma-ʔis | misat |
| see-INV-IND | mother-3POSS | Mike |
- ‘Mike’s mother saw him.’

3.5 Independent pronouns as dislocated phrases

Independent pronouns can appear in dislocated phrases where there is no verb for agreement morphology to attach to. For example, they are used as one-word pronominal answers to questions. Verbal agreement morphology cannot be used in the absence of a verb, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (19b). The use of independent pronouns as one-word answers parallels other third person nominals, which can also be supplied as one-word answers to questions (19c).

- (19) Who has a cat?

- a. kamnaʔa
ka-min-aʔa
1POSS-1IP-1PL
‘Us!’
- b. *hu
hu
SUBJ.1
‘Me!’
- c. ʔin titqat’
ʔin titqat’
DET man
‘The man does.’

Independent pronouns can also appear disjointed from the verb phrase. For example, they can be used at the beginning of a sentence to emphasize or topicalize one of the upcoming arguments. In these cases, the independent pronouns co-refer with one of the arguments in the sentence it precedes. In (20a), *ninku* co-refers with the second person object marking on the verb. It is not itself a full nominal argument, as shifting the word order in (20b) results in an ungrammatical sentence. True nominal arguments can also appear in this position, but can have flexible ordering with respect to the verb, as in (21).

- (20) a. ninku pik’aks mu ʔupxnisni
ninku pik’ak-s ma=hu ʔupx-nis-ni
2,3IP already-OBV PST=SUBJ.1 see-OBJ.2.SG-IND
‘You, I already saw you.’

- b. *pik'aks mu ʔupxnisni ninku
 pik'ak-s ma=hu ʔupx-nis-ni ninku
 already-OBV PST=SUBJ.1 see-OBJ.2.SG-IND 2,3IP
 'You, I already saw you.'

- (21) a. ʔin titqatʔ pik'aks mu ʔupxni
 ʔin titqatʔ pik'ak-s ma=hu ʔupx-ni
 DET man already-OBV PST=SUBJ.1 see-IND
 'That man, I already saw him.'

- b. pik'aks mu ʔupxni ʔin titqatʔ
 pik'ak-s ma=hu ʔupx-ni ʔin titqatʔ
 already-OBV PST=SUBJ.1 see-IND DET man
 'I already saw that man.'

Independent pronouns can also be modified with particles such as the prohibitive *maʔts* in order to contrast the pronominal referent with an arguments in the main verb phrase. Likewise, it is possible to contrast other third person nominal arguments, such as *ʔin titqat*' in (22).

- (22) a. mun ʔisniʔ nuqaqani maʔts ninku
 ma=hun ʔisni-ʔ n=huqa-qa-ni maʔts ninku
 PST=SUBJ.1 be.the.one-ADV PM-defeat-STV-IND PROHIB 2,3IP
 'I won, not you.'

- b. mun ʔisniʔ nuqaqani maʔts ʔin
 ma=hun ʔisni-ʔ n-huqa-qa-ni maʔts ʔin
 PST=SUBJ.1 be.the.one-ADV PM-defeat-STV-IND PROHIB DET
 titqat'
 titqat'
 man
 'I won, not the man.'

In summary, independent pronouns are used in cases where pronominal reference cannot be indicated with agreement morphology on the verb. This results in a very marked distribution for independent pronouns which refer directly to a person. In these cases, the pronouns are restricted to oblique argument position and dislocated phrases. When used to indicate possession, the independent pronouns are able to be predicated, stand in for covert possessed nominals in argument position, and mark possession on some nominalized forms which cannot take the typical possessive morphology. This description aligns with the reported distribution of independent pronouns in other head-marking languages. For example, Fox (Algonquian) contains two series of independent pronouns: one reserved for discourse functions, such as contrast and focus, and the other for expressing syntactic relationships that can-

not be expressed through pronominal marking on the verb (Dahlstrom 1988).

Regarding the structure of independent pronouns in Ktunaxa, we have already shown above that they do not behave as pro-DPs. Based on their external syntax, they seem to pattern like other full nominal arguments in the language, although it is difficult to determine due to their marked usage. It is the referential properties of the third person pronouns, and the third person possessive suffix in general, that is most suggestive of an analysis of independent pronouns as pro- ϕ Ps.

4 Referential properties

Since DPs, and consequently pro-DPs, are referential expressions, it follows that they cannot be bound outside of their binding domain (Wiltschko 2002). Independent pronouns in Ktunaxa, however, can be bound to antecedents in the local clause (23a) or in the matrix clause (23b). The ability for independent pronouns to be bound outside of their binding domain suggests that they are not behaving as pro-DPs.

The referents of the independent pronouns can also be determined from the context (23c) or by deixis; referents can be disambiguated by pointing if the context is not clear from the linguistic environment, as in (24).

- (23) a. \widehat{tsan} q'apxni ninku?is kquqtsi?iki \ddot{t}
 \widehat{tsan} q'apx-ni ninku-?is kquqtsi- \ddot{t} -?ik-i \ddot{t}
 JOHN eat.all-IND 2,3IP-3POSS sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV
 'John_i ate his_j cake.'
- b. qaki?ni \widehat{tsan} kupxanaps ninku?is
 qaki-?-ni \widehat{tsan} k=upxa-n-aps ninku-?is
 say-TV-IND John SUB-eat-BP-INV 2,3IP-3POSS
 kquqtsi?iki \ddot{t}
 kquqtsi- \ddot{t} -?ik-i \ddot{t}
 sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV
 'John_i said that he_j ate his_j cake.'
- c. Context: "Why does John look so upset?"
 ma \ddot{t} i qaki?ni pa \ddot{t} kiys kupxanaps ninku?is
 ma \ddot{t} i qaki-?-ni pa \ddot{t} kiy-s k=upxa-n-aps ninku-?is
 Mary say-TV-IND woman-OBV SUB-eat-BP-INV 2,3IP-3POSS
 kquqtsi?iki \ddot{t}
 kquqtsi- \ddot{t} -?ik-i \ddot{t}
 sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV
 'Mary said that a woman ate his cake.'

- (24) Context: Pointing out one boy in a group
- | | | | |
|-------------|--------|-------|---------------|
| ninkuʔis | ʔini | ka | tat |
| ninku-ʔis | ʔi-ni | ka | tat |
| 2,3IP-3POSS | be-IND | 1POSS | older.brother |
- ‘Him, that’s my brother.’

When they are used to indicate possession, the independent pronouns can also be bound by a quantifier. For example, (25) is ambiguous as to whether every man is eating their own cake or one particular man’s cake. The third person possessive suffix on other nominals can similarly be variable, as in (26). With regard to their referential properties, independent pronouns behave as other possessed nominals in Ktunaxa. This suggests that the possessive morphology is interacting with the syntax. The fact that the possessive morphology can be bound by a quantifier indicates that they are not behaving as referential expressions, which suggests that they are not classifiable as pro-DPs. Rather, their variable status provides evidence for the categorization of independent pronouns as pro- ϕ Ps (Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002).

- (25) \widehat{tsan} qakiʔni [qʔapis titqatʔs]_i kʔiks
 \widehat{tsan} qaki-ʔ-ni qʔapi-s titqatʔ-s k=ʔik-s
 John say-TV-IND all-OBV man-OBV SUB=eat-OBV
- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| ninkuʔis _i | kquqʔsiʔʔikiʔ |
| ninku-ʔis | kquqʔsi-ʔ-ʔik-iʔ |
| 2,3IP-3POSS | sugar-ADV?-eat-PSV |
- ‘John_i said that [every man]_j ate his_{i/j} cake.’

- (26) [qʔapi titqatʔ]_i wukqni tiʔnamuʔis_i ʔikaʔpuʔis
 qʔapi titqatʔ wukq-ni tiʔnamu-ʔis ʔikaʔpu-ʔis
 all man find-IND wife-3POSS coat-3POSS
- ‘[Every man]_i found his_{i/j} wife’s coat.’

5 Pragmatics

Independent pronouns are provided when there is a need to express some kind of contrast or focus. When referring to a person directly, these pronouns are primarily used for discourse functions, as they do not generally provide any extra syntactic information about the participants of a verb. In (27) and (28), the independent pronouns co-refer with one of the arguments in the verb phrase to focus on or topicalize it somehow. As is evident in (27), these pronouns can be modified with focus particles, such as *ʔsin* “only”.

- (27) Context: “Did you kick anyone else?”
 ʔsin ninkuʔis hu kqanakʔikxuni
 ʔsin ninku-ʔis hu kqanakʔik-xu-ni
 only 2,3IP-3POSS SUBJ.1 kick-by.body-IND
 ‘I only kicked him.’

- (28) ninku kin waʔkin kiyaku
 ninku k=hin waʔkin kiyaku
 2,3IP SUB=SUBJ.2 bring fish
 ‘You, you brought fish.’

The independent pronouns also appear to be pragmatically restricted when they are used to express possession. For example, in (29) the independent pronoun is superfluous because it is assumed that the cake under discussion belongs to the addressee. In (30), the fact that “he” has his own (as opposed to someone else’s) apple was emphasized by the speaker. Independent pronouns play a role of contrast or emphasis that is distinct from merely coding for possession. The pronoun is only used when possession is not inferred, or when contrast is necessary. It adds emphasis to the argument, which arguably aligns them with other overt nominal arguments. Further work into the usage of independent pronouns, as well as the general discourse-pragmatic features of the language, is needed to elucidate the more specific restrictions on independent pronoun usage in Ktunaxa.

- (29) Context: Speaking to the baker of the cake under discussion
 ʔhun upxni qaʔa ksakiʔ ʔik ninkunis
 hun upx-ni qaʔa k=sak-iʔ ʔik ninku-nis
 SUBJ.1 see-IND who SUB-still-ADV eat 2,3IP-2POSS
 kquqʔsiʔʔikiʔ
 kquqʔsiʔʔikiʔ
 cake
 ‘I saw someone eating your cake.’

- (30) haqapsi ninkuʔis kanuhusnana
 ha-qa-aps-i ninku-ʔis kanuhus-nana
 have-STV-OBV-IND 2,3IP-3POSS red-DIM
 ‘He has an apple, he has his own apple.’

6 Conclusion

In this paper, we present data which suggests that independent pronouns in Ktunaxa align most closely with the categorization of pro- ϕ P when considering the

pro-form typology developed in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002). Specifically, we argue that the independent pronouns contain a nominal stem dominated by a ϕ P, which interacts with the syntax. The internal syntax of the pronouns seems to align with other nominal forms which have been marked with possessive morphology. This is especially apparent when comparing the pronouns to kinship terms, which consist of nominal stems obligatorily marked with possessive morphology. In this vein, Morgan (1991) suggests that the first person pronoun originated as a nominal phrase meaning “my self”, citing comparative data between Ktunaxa and Salishan languages, as well as the possessive meaning that tends to emerge in free translations of sentences involving these pronouns.

The distribution of the independent pronouns is marked, but in the environments where it is permitted it largely aligns with other nominal arguments in Ktunaxa. Their ability to be bound by a quantifier is indicative of a pro- ϕ P classification, suggesting that it is a variable as opposed to a referential expression which refers to a specific entity.

This paper represents a first look at the structure and usage of the independent pronouns in Ktunaxa. Further research into this set of pronouns, as well as the language’s general syntax, will be necessary to refine this analysis. In particular, more work on the structure of copular constructions in Ktunaxa will help refine this analysis with regards to their ability to appear in argument and predicate positions. Further research is also necessary to determine the specific semantic and pragmatic characteristics of these pro-forms.

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