

Copyright

by

Lucy Grey Thomason

2003

**The Dissertation Committee for Lucy Grey Thomason
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:**

The Proximate and Obviative Contrast in Meskwaki

Committee:

Anthony C. Woodbury, Supervisor

Ives Goddard

Joel Sherzer

Nick Asher

Nora England

The Proximate and Obviative Contrast in Meskwaki

by

Lucy Grey Thomason, A.B.

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2003

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to the National Anthropological Archives for allowing me access to their manuscript collections.

I am greatly indebted to Tony Woodbury for his comments on earlier drafts of this dissertation.

I am greatly indebted to Ives Goddard for his extensive help with the redaction and translation of Meskwaki manuscripts. All but a handful of the Meskwaki texts cited in this dissertation are his work, or have benefited from his corrections.

Dr. Goddard and I have both benefited from his consultations with native speakers of the Meskwaki language, especially the late Adeline Wanatee, a speaker of exceptional gifts. I have also drawn heavily from the work of William Jones, Truman Michelson, Leonard Bloomfield, James Geary, and Paul Voorhis, as well as on ongoing work by Amy Dahlstrom.

The Proximate and Obviative Contrast in Meskwaki

Publication No. _____

Lucy Grey Thomason, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2003

Supervisor: Anthony C. Woodbury

Meskwaki, an Algonquian language now spoken mainly in Tama, Iowa, makes a distinction between proximate (nearest, most central) and obviative (farther, peripheral) third persons. There are only two unbreakable rules governing which third persons are marked proximate and which third persons are marked obviative in Meskwaki. If the subject and object of a transitive verb are both third persons, only one of the two can be proximate; and if a noun is possessed by a third person, only the possessor can be proximate. Apart from these two unbreakable conditions, all factors governing the distribution of proximate and obviative in Meskwaki are matters not of morphology and syntax, but of pragmatics and discourse.

I examine more than 50,000 lines of Meskwaki discourse and describe the patterns of proximate and obviative use that emerge from this corpus. I conclude that proximate marking always implies the presence of a non-third person observer, whereas obviative marking always implies the presence of a proximate; and that when more than one third person is in play, speakers use proximate marking to indicate who is most important, who is most affected, or whose perspective is being employed. I describe the sets of

conventions that restrict proximate and obviative assignment, and describe how often, and for what purposes, these conventions are broken. I show how, in the vast area that lies outside of the reach of these conventions, speaker choice creates very different kinds of stories out of the same basic raw materials.

The relative prominence of third persons is something that all languages mark in some manner and to some extent. However, few languages outside the Algonquian family make this marking explicit and ubiquitous. The explicit and ubiquitous presence of the prominence contrast in Algonquian means that certain options are open to speakers of Algonquian languages which are closed to speakers of all other languages. Equally, however, the ways in which prominence relations are handled in Algonquian potentially sheds light on what is going on in languages in which similar relations are more ambiguously marked.

In examining the proximate and obviative system of an Algonquian language on a scale that has never been attempted before, I show two things. First, this largely untranslatable feature of the grammar has a far-reaching effect on the poetics and rhetoric of the language; and second, it is impossible to understand or accurately characterize the morphology of the proximate/obviative contrast without first understanding its use in discourse.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	x
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Meskwaki inflection	9
2.1. The Meskwaki person hierarchy	9
2.2. Nominal inflection	10
2.3. Verbal inflection	27
2.3.1. Clause structure	27
2.3.1.1. The stem classes	27
2.3.1.2. Word order	20
2.3.1.2.1. Relative roots	20
2.3.1.2.2. Subject, object, and verb	23
2.3.1.2.3. Discontinuous constituents	27
2.3.1.3. Second objects	30
2.3.2. Mood	39
2.3.2.1. Imperative	42
2.3.2.2. Independent indicative	44
2.3.2.3. Future indicative	46
2.3.2.4. Independent dubitative	47
2.3.2.5. Aorist conjunct	48
2.3.2.6. Future conjunct	55
2.3.2.7. Changed conjunct	59
2.3.2.8. Iterative	61
2.3.2.9. Past	63
2.3.2.10. Subjunctive	66
2.3.2.11. Negative	69
2.3.2.12. Interrogative	72
2.3.2.13. Prohibitive	75
2.3.2.14. Potential	77
2.3.2.15. Plain conjunct	79
2.3.2.16. Prioritive	81
2.3.2.17. Assertive	83
2.3.2.18. Conclusive	84
2.3.2.19. Participles	86
2.3.3. Verbal inflection summarized	100
2.4. The Meskwaki person hierarchy revisited	100
2.4.1. Inverse marking	101
2.4.1.1. Inverse marking in interactions of non-third persons and third persons	101
2.4.1.2. Inverse marking in interactions of third persons	102
2.4.1.3. The status of the indefinite	104

2.4.1.4. Inverse marking summarized	113
2.5. Agency	114
2.5.1. The role of agency in determining the pronoun hierarchy	114
2.5.2. Agency and the proximate/obviative distinction	115
Chapter 3. Basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use	116
3.1. Basic interpretation	116
3.1.1. The morphological restrictions on proximate and obviative assignment	116
3.1.2. Implications of the morphological restrictions on proximate and obviative assignment	116
3.1.3. Relative prominence of third persons	117
3.1.4. Two paradigms for proximate and obviative assignment	118
3.1.4.1. Narrow-domain proximate and obviative assignment	118
3.1.4.2. Broad-domain proximate and obviative assignment	119
3.2. Factors influencing choice of proximate	120
3.2.1. Subjects are more prominent than objects	121
3.2.2. Humans are more prominent than nonhumans	121
3.2.3. Animates are more prominent than inanimates	122
3.2.4. Protagonists are more prominent than supporting cast	126
3.2.5. Onstage characters are more prominent than offstage characters	128
3.2.6. Conscious characters are more prominent than unconscious characters	134
3.2.7. Strongly affected characters are more prominent than less strongly affected characters	139
3.3. Conventional restrictions on proximate and obviative distribution	141
3.3.1. Necessary preconditions of proximate and obviative use	142
3.3.1.1. Preconditions of proximate use	142
3.3.1.1.1. First-person narratives and quoted conversation	143
3.3.1.1.2. Third-person narratives	148
3.3.1.2. Preconditions of obviative use	152
3.3.1.3. Preconditions of secondary obviative use	159
3.3.1.4. The preconditions of third person usage summarized	163
3.3.2. Preferred conditions of proximate and obviative use	163
3.3.2.1. Co-clausal, coreferential third persons agree in proximity	164
3.3.2.1.1. Exceptions involving misaligned participles	165
3.3.2.1.2. Exceptions involving other types of narrator miscalculation	169
3.3.2.1.3. Exceptions involving highly topical third-person-possessed nouns	172
3.3.2.1.4. Violations of preferred condition (i) summarized	177
3.3.2.2. Same-sentence, coreferential third persons agree in proximity	177
3.3.2.3. There is at most one proximate per clause	190
3.3.2.3.1. Exceptions involving participles	190
3.3.2.3.2. Exceptions involving possessive phrases	193
3.3.2.3.3. Violations of preferred condition (iii) summarized	194
3.3.2.3.4. Preferred condition (iii) and proximate plurals	195
3.3.2.4. There is at most one proximate per sentence	201

3.4. Summary of the basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use	203
Chapter 4. Variation in proximate and obviative use	205
4.1. The Apaya:ši:hs	205
4.2. Anonymous 8's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	210
4.3. Ša:poci:wa's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	225
4.4. Kiyana's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	243
4.5. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	280
4.6. Jim Peters' Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	315
4.7. Summary of proximate and obviative use in The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth	352
Chapter 5. The meaning of proximate and obviative	353
5.1. Halle & Marantz's proposal: [obv], [-obv], and [+obv]	353
5.2. A counterproposal: agent hierarchy versus proximity hierarchy	358
5.2.2. The status of proximate pronouns	365
5.2.2.1. Problems with perspective	365
5.2.2.2. Problems with the agent hierarchy	366
5.2.2.3. Problems with proximity	367
5.3. Evidence for the proximate/obviative contrast	368
5.3.1. Coördinate animate and inanimate nouns	368
5.3.2. Co-construed animates and inanimates	375
5.3.2.1. Inanimate intransitive verbs with animate adjuncts	375
5.3.2.2. Entities described by both inanimate and animate nouns	379
5.3.3. The separation of proximates	389
5.4. The meaning of proximate and obviative	393
Chapter 6. Conclusion	394
6.1. The existence of proximate and obviative	394
6.2. The interpretation of proximate and obviative	395
6.3. The distribution of proximate and obviative	396
6.3.1. Narrow-domain proximate and obviative assignment	397
6.3.2. Quotes and narrator's asides	398
6.3.3. Broad-domain proximate and obviative assignment	398
6.3.4. Generalizations about proximate and obviative distribution	399
6.4. Choice of proximate or obviative	401
6.4.1. Basic parameters of choice	401
6.4.2. Sophisticated parameters of choice	402
6.5. Implications of the proximate and obviative contrast	403
Bibliography	405
Vita	415

List of Tables

Table 1. Symbols and abbreviations	7
Table 2. Meskwaki persons	10
Table 3. Meskwaki moods	42
Table 4. Meskwaki person hierarchy	101
Table 5. Meskwaki person hierarchy	113
Table 6. Anonymous 8's choice of proximates	213
Table 7. Ša:poci:wa's choice of proximates	234
Table 8. Ša:poči:wa's proximate shifts (Part 1)	235
Table 9. Kiyana's choice of proximates (extra-quote)	262
Table 10. Kiyana's choice of proximates (in-quote)	263
Table 11. Kiyana's proximate shifts	265
Table 12. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's choice of proximates	302
Table 13. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's proximate shifts	308
Table 14. Jim Peters' proximate shifts	339
Table 16. Basic contrasts in Meskwaki inflection for intransitive verbs with 3rd subject	355
Table 17. A comparison of Potawatomi and Meskwaki nominal and verbal inflection	357
Table 18. The Meskwaki agent hierarchy	362
Table 19. The Meskwaki agent hierarchy simplified	362
Table 20. Proximacy hierarchy versus agent hierarchy	364
Table 21. The agent hierarchy (narrow domain)	366

Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation explores the use of the proximate/obviative distinction in Meskwaki (Fox) discourse. Meskwaki is an Algonquian language spoken by approximately two hundred people, mostly over the age of forty, and mostly living in the Meskwaki Settlement in Tama, Iowa. “Proximate” and “obviative” refer to a division among third persons that differentiates “nearest” or most central from “farther” or more peripheral third persons. The morphology of the language dictates that two third persons in direct contact with each other (i.e., within a possessive noun phrase, or across a transitive verb) cannot have equal status.

My data for this study are drawn from a corpus of Meskwaki texts collected by Truman Michelson in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. The texts were recorded in the Meskwaki syllabary by native speakers of the language. They include winter stories (myths and hero tales that can be told only when the spirits are asleep), historical narratives, personal reminiscences, descriptions of ceremonies, and a smattering of texts of other types, such as jokes, lists of names, and linguistic taxonomies.

For the most part, I will be referring to texts from Michelson’s corpus which I have edited and translated myself, with extensive help from Dr. Ives Goddard. These amount to some 119 texts by 23 authors, ranging in length from one to 1,200 pages of manuscript: in all, some 50,000 lines of Meskwaki text. Several of my examples are drawn from texts edited by Goddard alone. These constitute an additional 296 texts by 19 authors: approximately 100,000 lines of Meskwaki text.

My work is indirectly supplemented by fieldwork. Many if not all of the examples I cite in this dissertation benefited from Dr. Michelson’s and Dr. Goddard’s consultations with native speakers of Meskwaki. I owe a particular debt to Mr. Horace Poweshiek (1890-197?), a highly skilled translator who was occasionally employed by Dr. Michelson, and to Mrs. Adeline Wanatee (1910-1996), a speaker of exceptional gifts who advised Dr. Goddard and Dr. Amy Dahlstrom for many years. I worked with Mrs. Wanatee only briefly, in the summer of 1996. Nearly every linguistic insight I owe

her I owe also to Dr. Goddard, who took my questions along with his own to Tama in the years 1992-1996.

All languages convey information about the discourse prominence of different participants in a discourse at different states of that discourse.¹ What makes Meskwaki and its relatives unusual among the world's languages is that a distinction in discourse prominence is built into the morphology of their third person reference. In nearly every utterance that implicates two or more third persons, Meskwaki speakers must make an explicit judgement about the relative prominence of those third persons.

Judgements about the relative prominence of third persons may be influenced by discourse-external factors or discourse-internal factors. Discourse-external factors come into play when a character under discussion has a strikingly high or strikingly low real-world rank (the president, the queen, the head of the house, the dog, the village idiot, the sin-eater). Discourse-internal factors have to do with (1) who is more active and who is more passive in the events described in the discourse; (2) who is more affected and who is less affected by the events described in the discourse; (3) who (if anyone) is defined in terms of whom; (4) who (if anyone) is the subject of consciousness in the discourse.

A speaker's role in making these determinations is far from passive. All four discourse-internal factors—(3) and (4) obviously, (1) and (2) a little less obviously—can be manipulated by the ways in which speakers choose to structure a discourse. We should add a fifth determining factor to the list: (5) who the speaker wants to direct our attention or sympathy to, and who the speaker wants to direct our attention or sympathy away from. David Lewis' "rule of accommodation for comparative salience" comes into play here:² if a character gets a high-prominence marking, we immediately start to create

¹ See for instance David Lewis' classic paper on discourse processing, "Scorekeeping in a Language Game": "the ranking of comparative salience ... is another component of the conversational score." (Lewis 1979:351).

² "If at time *t* something is said that requires, if it is to be acceptable, that *x* be more salient than *y*; then—*ceteris paribus* and within certain limits—at *t*, *x* becomes more salient than *y*." (Lewis 1979:349.)

a context which would make that character important, affecting, or sympathetic.³

Similarly, if a character gets a low-prominence marking, we immediately start to create a context that would make that character less important, affecting, or sympathetic.

Lee Baker, in his paper “Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English,” points out that English and its relatives use morphological markers of discourse prominence in sentences involving special emphasis, especially contrastive emphasis. Speakers of American English use these markers only in the nominative; speakers of British English use them in the non-nominative as well. Determinations of relative prominence in English are subject to the same kinds of considerations and accommodations as in Meskwaki. The chief difference between prominence-marking in English and prominence-marking in Meskwaki is that in Meskwaki the morphological markers of prominence are ubiquitous and unavoidable, whereas in English they are restricted to a small set of contexts, and even then—even in contexts of great contrastive emphasis—speakers can always exercise the option not to use them. Consider the following British English sentence (with prominence marker in boldface):

- (i) A tiny weed may be first cousin to a great tree; and a little dog like Vick knows that Lioness is a dog too, though she is twenty times larger than **herself**.⁴

The same sentence, minus the prominence marker, is almost incoherent:

- (ii) A tiny weed may be first cousin to a great tree; and a little dog like Vick knows that Lioness is a dog too, though she is twenty times larger than her.

³ Or all of the above. Consider the acute discomfort some people feel in reading or viewing a work of fiction in which the protagonist—the narrator of George MacDonald Fraser’s Flashman series, say, or the hero of “Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes”—is an antihero, deliberately depicted as a loathsome human being. It’s often difficult to separate close attention from close identification.

⁴ Kingsley, The Rev. Charles. 1863. *The Water-babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land-Baby*. Macmillan and Co., London & Cambridge: 177. [boldface added]

Because Vick is identified as “little”, the sentence in (ii) is not ambiguous in the strict sense. It’s possible to deduce from (ii) that “she” in must refer to Lioness while “her” refers to Vick. However, the deduction requires an unacceptable amount of processing.

The prominence marker in (i) fulfils two functions: it substantially reduces the hearer’s (or reader’s) processing load, and it focuses audience attention and audience sympathy on Vick.

If the speaker is willing to dispense with the extra spotlight on Vick, it’s easy enough to reshape the sentence in (i)-(ii) so as to avoid an unacceptable processing load and also avoid using the prominence marker. The simplest method involves repeating a noun phrase:

- (iii) A tiny weed may be first cousin to a great tree; and a little dog like Vick knows that Lioness is a dog too, though Lioness is twenty times larger than her.

Interestingly enough, the sentence in (iii) reflects the discourse-internal prominence relations of Vick and Lioness even though it contains no prominence marker. Consider the relative oddity of (iv):

- (iv) A tiny weed may be first cousin to a great tree; and a little dog like Vick knows that Lioness is a dog too, though she is twenty times larger than Vick.

Vick is not only the first-named character but also the subject of consciousness in the second half of the sentences in (i)-(iv). Centering theory—“a model of the conversants’ center of attention in discourse that is concerned with the relationship of attentional state, inferential complexity, and the form of referring expressions” (Walker, Joshi, and Prince 1998:1)—predicts that (iv) should be less coherent than (iii), since (iv) gives high-prominence marking (pronominal marking) to what has just been established as a low-prominence character, and low-prominence marking (full name) to what has just been established as a high-prominence character. The sentence in (iv) exhibits a transition of the RETAIN type, common enough but less coherent than transitions of the CONTINUE type as exhibited in (iii) (Walker, Joshi, and Prince 1998:4).

As can be seen from the above examples, tracking the prominence relations of discourse participants in languages like English—except in the rare instances when prominence markers, as in (i), function to focus, emphasize, and reinforce the prominence of a particular character at a particular point in a discourse—is a difficult task, full of nuances and ambiguities. This is a natural and necessary result of the fact that in the absence of explicit morphological marking of prominence relations, prominence relations must be deduced from features of the discourse that are simultaneously dedicated to other functions.

The fact that Algonquian languages such as Meskwaki compel speakers to make explicit decisions about the relative prominence of third persons in nearly every utterance involving more two or more third persons means, of course, that speakers of these languages have many options open to them that would not be open to a speaker of English. ROUGH-SHIFT transitions, for instance, which “are nonexistent or extremely rare in naturally occurring discourse” (Walker, Joshi, and Prince 1998:6)—i.e., nonexistent or extremely rare in naturally occurring discourse of the non-Algonquian type—are common enough in Meskwaki to have been given their own name.⁵ By the same token, certain options which are constantly exploited by speakers of languages like English—certain kinds of motivated ambiguity—are not available to speakers of Algonquian languages.

Despite these differences, an understanding of how speakers of Algonquian languages judge and manipulate prominence relations may prove crucial to understanding how discourse prominence and reference tracking work in languages where both these things are less explicit.

This dissertation represents a more ambitious attempt at description of prominence marking in an Algonquian language than has been undertaken up to now. I build on the work of Bloomfield on Menominee (Bloomfield 1962:38–40), Hockett on Potawatomi (Hockett 1939:238–240 and Hockett 1966:59–60), Frantz on Blackfoot (Frantz 1966:50–

58), and Wolfart on Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:17–20). I am greatly indebted to previous studies of obviation in Meskwaki: Goddard 1984, Dahlstrom 1986a, and Goddard 1990a.

In order to discuss the behavior of proximates and obviatives in Meskwaki, I will first need to describe all the features of Meskwaki grammar that contribute to their interpretation. Chapter 2 provides an overview of Meskwaki nominal inflection and verbal inflection, with unavoidably lengthy excursions into Meskwaki clause structure and the Meskwaki mood system. Chapter 2 is necessary background for understanding the Meskwaki portions of the examples discussed in the rest of this dissertation. However, readers with only a casual interest in following the intricacies of the Meskwaki examples can probably afford to skip sections 2.2 and 2.3.

Chapter 3 lays out the basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use in Meskwaki. Chapter 4 investigates some of the parameters of author variation in proximate and obviative use. Chapter 5 examines the striking difference between the principles shaping the morphology of the Meskwaki pronoun system and the principles shaping the pronouns' use.

All but a handful of the examples in this dissertation are taken from Meskwaki texts. Each example is either specified as unattested or is followed by a citation giving the author's name, the National Anthropological Archives' identifying number for the manuscript, the number of the page in which the example appears, and a capital letter indicating on which line, in the current edition of the manuscript, the example appears.

The citations for sentences taken from texts edited solely by Goddard are marked with an asterisk (*). Where the translation is Goddard's as well, the citation is marked with two asterisks (**).

In Table 1 I give a list of the notations and abbreviations that I use in the examples discussed in this dissertation:

⁵ They are called proximate switches. "In a proximate switch, in addition to the old obviative becoming the new proximate, the old proximate becomes the new obviative." (Goddard 1990:334.)

Table 1. Symbols and abbreviations

symbol:	stands for:
boldface	proximate
<i>italics</i>	obviative
<i>SMALLCAPS</i>	secondary obviative
<u>underline</u>	inanimate
<u>double underline</u>	inanimate within inanimate
{ }	gloss of a relative root
◊	gloss of a second object
◁ ▷	manuscript spelling
0	inanimate proximate person
0'	inanimate obviative person
12	inclusive person
1	first person
2	second person
3	animate proximate person
3'	animate obviative person
3''	animate secondary obviative person
X	indefinite person
(pl)	plural
(sg)	singular
(incl)	inclusive
(excl)	exclusive
DIM	diminutive suffix
LOC	locative suffix
RED	reduplicative prefix
EMPH	emphatic enclitic
EVID	evidential enclitic
HRSY	quotative or “hearsay” enclitic
POV	direct sensory experience or “point-of-view” enclitic
ASSTV	assertive mood
CC	changed conjunct mood
C.INT	changed interrogative mood
CONCL	conclusive mood
CONJ	conjunct mood
CONJ.PPL	conjunct participle

C.PST	changed past mood
DUB	dubitative mood
IMP	imperative mood
IND	independent mood
INT	interrogative mood
INT.PPL	interrogative participle
ITER	iterative mood
SUBJ	subjunctive mood
FUT.CONJ	future conjunct mood
FUT.CONJ.PPL	future conjunct participle
FUT.IND	future indicative mood
FUT.INT	future interrogative mood
FUT.INT.PPL	future interrogative participle
FUT.LOC.PPL	future locative participle
FUT.NEG	future negative mood
FUT.PST	future past mood
FUT.PST.PPL	future past participle
LOC.INT.PPL	locative interrogative participle
LOC.PPL	locative participle
LOC.PST.PPL	locative past participle
NEG	negative mood
PC	plain conjunct mood
POT	potential mood
PRIOR	prioritive mood
PROH	prohibitive mood
PST	past mood
PST.NEG	negative past mood
PST.PPL	past participle
PST.SUBJ	past subjunctive mood

Chapter 2. Meskwaki inflection

2.1. The Meskwaki person hierarchy

Meskwaki distinguishes a large number of persons. These are roughly hierarchically conceived, with inclusive, second, and first persons outranking an indefinite (unspecified) person, which in turn outranks animate third persons, which in turn outrank inanimate third persons.

Within the third persons, there is a further differentiation into ranks. Third persons inflect as “proximate” (most prominent, nearest, most central third person) or “obviative” (less prominent, farther, more peripheral third persons). Verbal inflection for animate third persons also makes a distinction between primary and secondary, or nearer and farther, obviative. Verbal inflection for inanimates is restricted to the basic proximate versus obviative distinction.

Nominal inflection marks gender (animate), number (singular or plural), and proximity (proximate or obviative) for animate nouns, but only gender (inanimate) and number (singular or plural) for inanimate nouns. Animate nominal inflection does not distinguish primary and secondary obviative, and inanimate nominal inflection does not distinguish proximate and obviative at all.

Thus, five third persons, with different degrees of prominence, are coded by Meskwaki verbal inflection: animate proximate, animate primary obviative, animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate, and inanimate obviative. Three of these third persons are coded by Meskwaki nominal inflection: animate proximate, animate obviative, and inanimate.

These distinctions are summarized in Table 2. The indefinite person divides non-third persons from third persons.

Table 2. Meskwaki persons

Verbs		Nouns	
inclusive	12		
second	2		
first	1		
indefinite	X		
animate proximate	3	3	animate proximate
animate obviative	3'	3', 3''	animate obviative
anim. 2ndary obv.	3''		
inanimate proximate	0	0, 0'	inanimate
inanimate obviative	0'		

2.2. Nominal inflection

Taking number into account, there are six basic nominal inflections in Meskwaki. An example of each is given below. In the free translations, boldface marks animate proximate, italics mark animate obviative (primary or secondary), and underline marks inanimate.

mana e:sepan+a **this raccoon** (animate proximate singular)

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.9 1B*, Charley H. Chuck NAA 2794.5 11A*]

ma:haki e:sepan+aki **these raccoons** (animate proximate plural)

[*ma:haki e:sepanaki* is not attested.]

ma:hani e:sepan+ani *this raccoon* (animate obviative singular)

[*ma:hani e:sepanani* is not attested.]

ma:hahi e:sepan+ahi *these raccoons* (animate obviative plural)

[*ma:hahi e:sepanahi* is not attested.]

mani ahpapi:n+i this chair (inanimate singular)

[*mani ahpapi:ni* is not attested.]

ma:hani ahpapi:n+ani these chairs (inanimate plural)

[*ma:hani ahpapi:nani* is not attested.]

In addition, nouns may be marked as vocative, or as locative:

e:sepan+e O raccoon (vocative singular)

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.9 7C*, Charley H. Chuck NAA 2794.5 2F*]

e:sepan+etike O raccoons (vocative plural)

[*e:sepanetike* is not attested.]

ahpapi:n+eki on, at, under, in, (locative)
to, toward the
chair or chairs

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.6 77E, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2659 29G*]

The vocative does not mark a gender distinction. In the rare instances where inanimates are addressed in the vocative, they inflect exactly like their animate counterparts:

mehtekwa:py+e O bow-string (vocative singular)

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.26 25J]

ne+hka:t+etike O my feet (vocative plural)

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.26 28E]

ke+mahkese:h+ani your (singular) moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.68A 29G, Alfred Kiyana NAA 1834 14B*]

ne+mahkese:h+ani my moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 60E, Anonymous 1 NAA 2999 29D*]

o+mahkese:h+ani his or her moccasins (obviative)

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2790 13H, Sam Peters NAA 2008.3 21E]

ke+mahkese:h+ena:n+ani our (incl) moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[Jack Bullard NAA 2677.2 12F*]

ke+mahkese:h+wa:w+ani your (pl) moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[Jack Bullard NAA 2677.2 75E*, Jack Bullard NAA 2830.1 12J*]

ne+mahkese:h+ena:n+ani our (excl) moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[*nemahkese:hena:nani* is not attested.]

o+mahkese:h+inaw+ani one's moccasins (proximate or obviative)

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 247A]

o+mahkese:h+wa:w+ani their moccasins (obviative)

[Anonymous 7 2794.63 8B, Anonymous 1 NAA 2999 4E*]

A possessor may be obviative, if the possessed noun is a remoter obviative. In practice, this means that an animate primary obviative can possess an animate secondary

obviative or an inanimate obviative. Secondary obviative possessors do not exist.

Inanimate possessors, whether proximate or obviative, also do not exist.⁷

Two examples of complex possessive phrases are given below. The first is a second person possessor of a proximate possessor of an obviative possessor of an obviative. The second is a proximate possessor of an obviative possessor of an inanimate.

In the translations, italicized small capitals mark secondary obviatives. Note that the second animate obviative noun in ‘your friend’s wife’s skin’ is necessarily secondary obviative, since it is possessed by an obviative noun. Similarly, the inanimate noun in ‘a half-Indian, part-Frenchman’s father’s store’ is necessarily obviative, since it is possessed by an obviative noun.

k+i:hka:n+a	ow+i:w+ani	ot+asa:+m+ani
your friend	<i>his.wife</i>	<i>HER.SKIN</i>
<i>YOUR FRIEND’S WIFE’S SKIN</i>		

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.59C 92B]

a:pehtawesi:hi-	nenote:w+a,	me:mehteko:ši:h+a	a:neta	o:s+ani	ot+ata:we:wika:n+i
halfbreed	Indian	Frenchman	part	<i>his.father</i>	<u><i>his.store</i></u>
<u><i>a half-Indian, part Frenchman’s father’s store</i></u>					

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2655.2 1D]

As this last pair of examples shows, some possessed nouns exhibit a possessive marker +em that precedes all other suffixed inflection. The rules of occurrence for this suffix are obscure. It is incompatible with some nouns, optional with others, and obligatory with still others. There is a general tendency for default-possessed nouns to occur without +em, and default-nonpossessed nouns to occur with +em. So, for instance, possessed moccasins never take +em; possessed animals always do.

⁷ Inanimate possessors, when required by the context, are expressed by means of participles (more on this below) or by simple adjunction. Consider the sentence *kwi.yena=ye:toke e:h=mehkošk+akehe anene:w+i wi:kiya:p+i* ‘He had exactly struck upon the smokehole of a wickiup.’ To all intents and purposes, the phrase *anene:w+i wi:kiya:p+i* ‘smokehole (of a) wickiup’ involves inanimate possession of an inanimate, but the “possessed” noun crucially lacks a possessive prefix. This kind of adjunction is facilitated by the fact that inanimate nominal inflection does not mark proximacy.

o+mahkese:h+ani his or her moccasins

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2790 13H, Sam Peters NAA 2008.3 21E]

ot+e:sepan+em+ahi his or her raccoons

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.91 6D*]

Consider, however, the English loanword *po:č* ‘boot’. In a single narrative, by a single author, and in almost identical contexts, it occurs first with and then without *+em*:

o+po:č+em+ani his boots

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.6 61C]

o+po:č+ani his boots

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.6 63H]

In contrast to possessed forms of *mahkese:h* ‘moccasin’, which obligatorily lack *+em*, possessed forms of *po:č* ‘boot’ optionally take *+em*. The difference in behavior of these two semantically fairly similar noun stems cannot be attributed solely to the recent adoption of *po:č* into the language. Consider also an ancient Meskwaki word, *pepikwe:škw* ‘whistle’. In a single narrative, by a single author, and in almost identical contexts, it occurs first without and then with *+em*:

o+pepikwe:škw+i his whistle

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 43I]

o+pepikwe:škw+om+i his whistle

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 46J]

At its most expanded, then, a Meskwaki noun consists of possessive prefix, noun stem, possessive marker +em, possessive plural marker or indefinite marker, and number/gender/proximity inflection (for animates) or number/gender inflection (for inanimates) or number/vocative inflection⁸ or locative inflection. Some examples are given below:⁹

ke+kwi:yesē:h+em+ena:n+a **our (incl) boy**

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 1850 47D*, Alfred Kiyana NAA 2179 18B*]

ket+apeno:h+em+ena:n+ani *our (incl) child*

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 3111A.F 37A]

ke+nepis+em+wa:w+i your (plural) lake

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 52F, Sam Peters NAA 2794.75B 78H]

net+o:kima:+m+ena:n+aki **our (excl) chiefs**

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 1834 286D*, Jack Bullard NAA 2838 55J*]

ot+o:kima:+m+inaw+aki **one's chiefs**

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 56H]

⁸ Note that the first person plural marker +ena:n, combined with the vocative, yields the anomalous ending +ena:te.

⁹ Things get more complicated in the case of complex noun stems. When noun stems contain a prenoun, the possessive prefix can appear before the prenoun, before the simplex noun stem, or in both places. There are some rules restricting this system. For instance, the possessive prefix always precedes and never follows the prenoun i:či- 'fellow'. The possessive prefix always follows and never precedes prenoun referring to animals or humans. The possessive prefix always precedes AND follows the prenoun mači- 'bad'. Some illustrative examples: n+i:či-meškwahki:h+aki 'my fellow Meskwakis' (Jack Bullard NAA 2673 9G), meškwahki:hi-o+na:pem+ani 'her Meskwaki husband' (Anonymous 5 NAA 2794.21 8N), ke+mači-ke+na:pe:m+wa:w+aki 'your no-good husbands' (Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 30F). There are also cases where doublets occur: compare o+ka:kike:wi-wa:se:ya:w+i 'his everlasting light' (Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 271C) with o+ka:kike:wi-o+wa:se:ya:w+i 'his everlasting light' (Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 279J).

o+nenoswa:+m+wa:w+i their buffalo robe

[Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 52C, Jim Peters NAA 2729.1 12D]

o+mi:čipe:h+em+wa:w+ahi *their game animals*

[Charley H. Chuck NAA 2794.93 15P*, Ki:wate:ha NAA 2433.1 9C*]

ne+ni:ka:ni:+m+ena:te O our leader

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2062 181G*]

ne+mami:ši:h+em+ena:te O our ceremonial attendant

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 1850 157F*, Alfred Kiyana NAA 2957 303N*]

ke+nepis+em+ena:+ki on, at, under, in, to, toward our (incl) lake

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 79I, Anonymous 5 NAA 2985 36J]

o+mes+em+wa:+ki on, at, under, in, to, toward their woodpile

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 28D]

2.3. Verbal inflection

Verbal inflection is far more complex. Every Meskwaki verb is specified for mood, for person and often number of its subject, and for person and often number of its object.

I will discuss Meskwaki clause structure and the Meskwaki moods before returning to the question of the pronouns.

2.3.1. Clause structure

2.3.1.1. The stem classes

Verb stems in Meskwaki come in sets of four: inanimate intransitive, or intransitive taking an inanimate subject; animate intransitive, or intransitive taking an animate

subject; transitive inanimate, or transitive taking an inanimate object; and transitive animate, or transitive taking an animate object.

The stem classes are exemplified in (1) and (2). In each of these sets of four stems, inanimate intransitive is given first, followed by animate intransitive, transitive inanimate, and transitive animate.

The first line of each example gives the Meskwaki. The second line of each example gives a word-by-word gloss. The third line of each example gives a free translation.

Meskwaki *ahkan* ‘bone’ and *owi:ya:s* ‘meat’ are inanimate noun stems; *ši:ši:p* ‘duck’ and *pešekesiw* ‘deer’ are animate noun stems.

In glosses of the verbal inflection, IND stands for independent indicative mood. In the glosses of verbal inflection, the glosses of nominal inflection, and in free translation, boldface marks proximates, italics marks obviatives, and underline marks inanimates.

Inanimate nouns are not marked for proximity in Meskwaki. In the free translations, inanimate nouns are rendered in boldface underline if they can be presumed proximate, and in italic underline if they can be presumed obviative. So, in (1a), the noun functions as the subject of a verb which is specified for an inanimate proximate plural subject. Hence it ought to be proximate, and is rendered in boldface in the free translation. In (1c), the noun functions as the object of a verb which is specified for an animate proximate plural subject. Hence it ought to be obviative, and is rendered in italics in the free translation.

Only intransitive verbs in Meskwaki explicitly distinguish inanimate proximate from inanimate obviative. In what follows, in both glosses and free translation, the objects of transitive inanimate verbs will be marked as proximate if the subject is non-third person, and as obviative if the subject is third person. Inanimate subjects of transitive animate verbs will be marked as proximate if the object is non-third person, and as obviative if the object is third person. Inanimate-on-inanimate inflection does not occur.

The examples in (1a)-(2d) are constructed examples; they were not taken from any text. The word order was chosen arbitrarily.

- (1a) pehkwa:kwate:+wani ahkan+ani.
they.lie.in.a.heap/IND bones
The bones are lying in a heap.
- (1b) pehkwa:kwaso+waki ši:ši:p+aki.
they.lie.in.a.heap/IND **ducks**
The ducks are lying in a heap.
- (1c) pehkwa:kwato:+waki ahkan+ani mehtose:neniw+aki.
they.pile.them.in.a.heap/IND bones **people**
The people have piled the bones in a heap.
- (1d) pehkwa:kwan+e:waki ši:ši:p+ahi mehtose:neniw+aki.
they.pile.them.in.a.heap/IND ducks **people**
The people have piled the ducks in a heap.

The verb stems in (1a)-(1d) consist of an initial *pehkw-* ‘lump, clump’ and a final whose shape indicates the stem class. The final *-a:kwate:* is inanimate intransitive ‘lie’; the final *-a:kwaso* is animate intransitive ‘lie’; the final *-a:kwato:* is transitive inanimate ‘lay’; the final *-a:kwan* is transitive animate ‘lay’.

- (2a) ki:šete:+wi owi:ya:s+i.
it.is.cooked.done/IND meat
The meat is cooked.
- (2b) ki:šeso+wa pešekesiw+a.
it.is.cooked.done/IND **deer**
The deer is cooked.
- (2c) ki:šes+amo:ki owi:ya:s+i mehtose:neniw+aki.
they.cooked.it.done/IND meat **people**
The people have cooked the meat.
- (2d) ki:šesw+e:waki pešekesiw+ani mehtose:neniw+aki.
they.cooked.it.done/IND deer **people**
The people have cooked the deer.

The verb stems in (2a)-(2d) consist of an initial *ki:š-* ‘finished’ and a final whose shape indicates the stem class. The final *-ete:* is inanimate intransitive ‘by heat’; the

final *-eso* is animate intransitive ‘by heat’; the final *-es* is transitive inanimate ‘act on by heat’; the final *-esw* is transitive animate ‘act on by heat’.

Inanimate intransitive verbs (as in 1a, 2a) and animate intransitive verbs (1b, 2b) inflect for number and/or person of a subject. Transitive inanimate verbs (1c, 2c) and transitive animate verbs (1d, 2d) inflect for number and/or person of both subject and object.

2.3.1.2. Word order

Meskwaki has remarkably free word order. Not only can subject, object, and verb appear in any order in the clause, but the elements of a Meskwaki noun phrase or verb phrase need not even be contiguous. Meskwaki does have a few strict first position particles, strict second position particles, and several particles that obligatorily precede whatever lies within their scope, but apart from restrictions of this type, the only fixed rule of Meskwaki word order is that relative roots must follow their complements.

2.3.1.2.1. Relative roots

A relative root is a piece of a verb that carries a valence for a particular quality, such as *in-/iš-* for manner or goal, *tan-/taš-* for location, or *ahkw-* for extent or duration.

Typically, the valence must be satisfied by an appropriate complement. However, many of the relative roots have developed secondary uses in which they function idiomatically, and without a complement. For instance, *tan-/taš-* ordinarily carries a locative valence.

It is also used without a complement, in which case it means ‘be engaged in an activity’.

Compare *ahpapi:n+eki e:h=taš-api+či* ‘S/He sat in a chair’ with *e:h=taš-aphapi+či* ‘S/He just sat there’.

Examples involving the relative root *in-/iš-* are given in (3a)-(3g). Again, the first line of each example gives the Meskwaki. The second line of each example gives a word-by-word gloss. The third line of each example gives a free translation.

Animate third person singular inflection is translated as ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘him’, or ‘her’ (or, in a few cases, ‘it’), as appropriate from the context in the text. Third person inflection that is not specified as singular or plural is translated as ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’, ‘him’, ‘her’, ‘they’, or ‘them’, as appropriate from the context in the text.

Proclitics¹⁰ are translated as part of the verb. Most preverbs and most enclitics get their own separate translations. Enclitics that cannot stand as independent words are marked by an equals sign in the word-by-word gloss (e.g. =EMPH for =meko, =and for =ke:hi). CONJ stands for the aorist conjunct mood.

In examples (3a)-(3g), the relative roots are marked by boxes. Here and elsewhere, relative root glosses are enclosed in brackets ({}).

- (3a) kapo:twe anene:+ki e:h=ina:pi+či.
 at.some.point smokehole/LOC **he**.looked.{that.way}/CONJ
 At some point **he** looked at the smokehole.

[Jim Peters NAA 2729.1 16G]

In (3a), *in-* forms the initial part of the verb stem. It carries a valence for the direction of gaze, which is satisfied by the locative noun *anene:ki* ‘at the smokehole’.

- (3b) i:ni si:po:he:h+i e:h=na:kat+aki,
that brook **he**.followed.it/CONJ

 a:sami e:h=iši- na:kat+aki.
 upstream {that.way} **he**.followed.it/CONJ

He followed *that brook*,
 following *it* upstream.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 49G]

¹⁰ Amy Dahlstrom has argued convincingly that the aorist marker *e:h* and the future marker (*w*)*i:h* should be viewed as prefixes, rather than as proclitics (Dahlstrom 1996, and in a talk given at the 33rd Algonquian Conference). Nonetheless, for greater ease of exposition rather than any theoretical stake in their status, I will refer to them as proclitics in this dissertation.

In (3e), *in-* again appears as a preverb modifying the verb stem. It carries a valence for the manner of action, which is satisfied by the inanimate noun *kotaki* ‘another thing’.

- (3f) e:škami =meko e:h=išawi+či.
 gradually =EMPH **he**.fared. {that.way}/CONJ
He gradually got worse.

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 77C]

In (3f), *in-* again forms the initial part of the verb stem. It carries a valence for the manner of action, which is satisfied by the particle *e:škami* ‘gradually’.

- (3g) mo:hči =meko pa:h̄ta:wi- išawi+te ihkwe:w+a,
 even =EMPH gravely.ill if.**she**.fared. {that.way}/SUBJ **woman**

k+i:h=ne:se:h+a:wa =meko.
 you.will.cure.**her**/FUT.IND =EMPH

Even if **a woman** is gravely ill, you’ll cure **her**.

[Anonymous 9 NAA 2640 13H]

In (3g), *in-* again forms the initial part of the verb stem. It carries a valence for the manner of action, which is satisfied by the preverb *pa:h̄ta:wi* ‘gravely ill’.

A relative root of the type that takes a complement must have an overt complement which precedes it in the sentence.¹¹

2.3.1.2.2. Subject, object, and verb

All other satellites of a verb—subject, object, and second object—may be implicit, rather than overt. And if overt, they may occur in any order relative to the verb. If we set aside,

for the moment, cases involving discontinuous constituents, second objects, or complements licensed by relative roots, there are thus eleven possible permutations of a basic transitive clause in Meskwaki.

An example of each is given below. The verb is the same in each example: transitive animate *e:h=a:čimoh+a:či*, with animate proximate singular subject and animate obviative object. The transitive animate verb stem *a:čimoh* means ‘tell, inform, instruct’. The subject of *e:h=a:čimoh+a:či* is specified as animate, proximate, and singular; the object of the verb is specified only as animate and obviative. The subject of *e:h=a:čimoh+a:či*, then, translates as English ‘he’ or ‘she’; the object translates as English ‘him’, ‘her’, or ‘them’. Proximate and obviative have no reliable English analogs. They are rendered in translation as boldface and italics, respectively.

A informed B: Verb [V]

- (4a) o:ni e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
and then **he**.informed.*him*/CONJ
And then **he** informed *him*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 1108D]

A informed B: Subject Verb [SV]

- (4b) aškači: =’ni me:meškwimateta:ta e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
later then **Red Leggings** **he**.informed.*them*/CONJ
Then later **Red Leggings** informed *them*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.75B 82G]

¹¹ If the complement of a relative root consists of more than one word, it is only absolutely necessary for the first element of the complement to precede the relative root. See the discussion of discontinuous constituents in 2.3.1.2.3.

A informed B: Verb Subject [VS]

- (4c) o:ni =’pi¹² e:h=a:čimoh+a:či masahkamikohkwe:w+a.
and.then =HRSY **she**.informed.*him*/CONJ **Mother Earth**
And then **Mother Earth** informed *him*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 574H]

A informed B: Object Verb [OV]

- (4d) o+kye:+ni e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
her.mother she.informed.*her*/CONJ
She informed *her mother*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2024C 56J]

A informed B: Verb Object [VO]

- (4e) o:ni =ča:hi e:h=a:čimoh+a:či o+kwis+ahi.
and.then =so **she**.informed.*them*/CONJ *her.sons*
So then **she** informed *her sons*.

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2794.21 6K]

A informed B: Subject Object Verb [SOV]

- (4f) o:ni =’pi: =’na kamotan+a i:nihi e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
and.then =HRSY **that Crow** *those* **he**.informed.*them*/CONJ
And then **that Crow** informed *those (people)*.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 88G]

¹² The evidential particle =*ipi* ‘it is said’ is used profusely in narrative by some Meskwaki authors. For example, one sentence of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s consists of three freestanding particles, a verb, an emphatic enclitic, and four =*ipi*’s (Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 28G). The translation could be rendered as: “Then (it is said) eventually (it is said) from close by (it is said) he was watching her.” The four =*ipi*’s are obviously doing interesting and important work here. However, for purposes of this dissertation, I will translate only especially pointed uses of =*ipi*.

A informed B: Subject Verb Object [SVO]

- (4g) kaho:ni: =’na ihkwe:w+a: =’ni e:h=a:čimoh+a:či o+kye:+ni.
and.then **that woman** then **she**.informed.her/CONJ *her.mother*
And then **that woman** informed *her mother*.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 26D]

A informed B: Verb Subject Object [VSO]

- (4h) e:h=a:čimoh+a:či ihkwe:w+a o+tawe:ma:w+ani.
she.informed.him/CONJ **woman** *her.brother*
The woman informed *her brother*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.86 21E*]

A informed B: Verb Object Subject [VOS]

- (4i) kaho:ni =’pi e:h=a:čimoh+a:či o:s+ani i:na ihkwe:w+a.
and.then =HRSY **she**.informed.him/CONJ *her.father* **that woman**
And then **that woman** informed *her father*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 48F]

A informed B: Object Subject Verb [OSV]

- (4j) o:ni o+kye:+ni i:na ihkwe:w+a e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
and.then *her.mother* **that woman** **she**.informed.her/CONJ
And then **that woman** informed *her mother*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2062 264H*]

A informed B: Object Subject Verb [OVS]

- (4k) o:ni =’pi wi:sahke:h+ani e:h=a:čimoh+a:či masahkamikohkwe:w+a.
and.then =HRSY *Wi:sahke:h* **she**.informed.him/CONJ **Mother Earth**
And then **Mother Earth** informed *Wi:sahke:h*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 1047B]

As (4a)-(4k) show, all possible combinations of subject, object, and verb are permitted in Meskwaki. However, some of these combinations are rarer than others. Whether a subject or object figures overtly in a clause, and where in the clause it occurs, is

determined by the relative status of the argument at that point in the discourse. Its status is influenced by such factors as whether it is new information or old, emphasized or de-emphasized, proximate or obviative, and subject or object.

While a noun must be fairly central to a discourse's immediate concerns to appear overtly at all, proximates are by definition more central than obviatives. Obviatives have a marked tendency to appear after the verb, with an incidence of about three postverbal to one preverbal, or two postverbal to one preverbal, depending on the text and author. Where an overt proximate and an overt obviative occur within the same clause, the proximate typically either precedes the obviative, or immediately follows it in the prominent clause-final position.

In a clause containing both an overt subject and an overt object, where the subject is proximate and the object is obviative, SVO order (as in 4g), with focused subject, is the most common. VOS order (4i), with the subject's status slightly emphasized—usually indicating an upcoming change in that status—is the next most common. SOV order (4f), with both subject and object focused, is the next most common. VSO order (4h), with the subject's status slightly backgrounded, is the next most common. OVS order (4k) is exceedingly rare; and OSV order (4j) is vanishingly rare. In other words, a situation in which obviative precedes proximate is generally tolerated only if the obviative occupies the relatively uninteresting space between the verb and the final element in the clause.

2.3.1.2.3. Discontinuous constituents

All orders are permitted, but each order carries a different implication. This is never more true than in Meskwaki, where any single phrase may have its constituent parts scattered at different points within the sentence. Discontinuous constituents are not a default of Meskwaki clause production, but they are also far from rare. I give just a few examples here. In (5a)-(5g), discontinuous constituents are marked by boxes:

- (5a) kaho, meše=wi:na =’pi ma:haki e:h=owi:ki+wa:či mehtose:neniw+aki.
 well.now once =HRSY **these** **they**.lived/CONJ **people**
 Well now, once upon a time there lived **these people**.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.1 1A]

The sentence in (5a) is a stock story opening. The focused preverbal demonstrative sets the new scene; the noun trailing after the verb reflects the still-cloudy, unspecific nature of these people. Compare (5b):

- (5b) meše=wi:na =’pi
 once =HRSY
- ma:haki we:tani:pi:me:h+a o+nekwa:h+ani e:h=owi:ki+wa:či.
these **Elm.Owner** *his.cross-nephew* **they**.lived/CONJ

Once upon a time there lived **these Elm Tree Owner and his nephew**.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 1B]

In (5b), the story’s central characters are introduced explicitly, and the whole noun phrase occurs in the focused position. Note that the overt subject of the verb is a conjoined proximate and obviative, and that the verb inflects as proximate plural. Obviative conjoined with proximate always yields a proximate plural.

The sentence in (5a) illustrates a garden-variety kind of discontinuous constituent: a noun and its modifying demonstrative, flanking the verb of the clause. Locative phrases, also, are frequently arranged around the verb they modify, just as possessor phrases are frequently arranged around the possessed noun they modify. The sentence in (5c) gives an example of a discontinuous locative phrase; (5d) gives an example of a discontinuous possessor phrase.

- (5c) ma:h =ma:hi: =’na kahkiso+wa sa:kiči.
 over.there =see **that** **he**.is.hiding/IND outside
 See, **that (man)** is hiding outside there.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 13Q]

- (5d) i:na ow+i:w+ani neniw+a
that *his.wife* **man**
that man's wife

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 97H]

More than one phrase in a sentence may be discontinuous:

- (5e) nahi, či:kakoh+amoko mani nawači wi:kiya:p+i.
now! you.(pl).sweep.it/IMP this first wickiup
Now, first sweep **this wickiup!**

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 91G]

In (5e), the object of the verb is discontinuous, and so is the verb itself. The particle *nawači*, which modifies the verbal action, ordinarily occurs as a preverb attached to the verb stem. In (5e), however, it follows the verb, and intervenes between demonstrative and noun describing the object.

If we assign the verb the number 1 and the noun phrase the number 2, the order of elements in (5e) is 1212.

- (5f) kaši =’yo =tike i:niya mani
what? =for =goodness! **that.absent** this
- išiike+ni:toke k+o:s+ena:n+a o+hkone:h+i.
it.probably.fared.{that.way}/DUB **our.(incl).father** *his.blanket*

Goodness, what could be the matter with **our father's blanket?**¹³

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 46I]

¹³ Literally, “Goodness, what could be the matter with *this blanket of that absent father of ours?*”

In (5f), both possessor and possessed are discontinuous. The modifying demonstrative for each occurs preverbally, while the noun for each occurs postverbally. Note that the possessor is in this case itself a possessed noun. Also, the relative root *in-* carries a manner valence which is satisfied here by the question particle *kaši*.

If we assign the relative root and its complement the number 1, the possessor noun phrase the number 2, and the possessed noun phrase the number 3, the order of elements in (5f) is 123123.

Nested discontinuous phrases are more rare than sequenced discontinuous phrases, but they do occur:

(5g) maneto:w+ahi na.meki api+niwahi o+pehkwan+wa:+ki
manitous beneath *they.sit.there/IND* their.backs/LOC

ke:temina:+kowa:čihi
ones.that.blessed.them/CONJ.PPL

*The manitous that blessed **them** sit beneath their backs.*¹⁴

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 104F]

In (5g), both the subject and the locative complement of the verb are discontinuous. If we assign the subject the number 1, the locative phrase the number 2, and the verb the number 3, the order of elements in (5g) is 12321.

2.3.1.3. Second objects

Formally, there are only four classes of stem in Meskwaki. These are: inanimate intransitive, taking an inanimate subject; animate intransitive, taking an animate subject;

¹⁴ In Meskwaki tradition, a manitou is either a spirit or a human with supernatural powers bestowed by the spirits. Humans with manitou powers can often take the form of an animal. In rare cases, and irreversibly, they can take the shape of a rock, tree, or star. Manitous proper usually appear as an animal, rock, tree, star, or sun, but can also take human shape.

transitive inanimate, taking either gender of subject and an inanimate object; and transitive animate, taking either gender of subject and an animate object.

In actual fact, the possibilities for the argument structure of Meskwaki stems are far more complex than the inflectional system would suggest. Many verbs obligatorily or optionally take objects which are not indicated by the inflection.

Examples of such objects are given in (6a)-(6k). In (6a)-(6b), the verb is transitive inanimate. In (6c)-(6g), the verb is transitive animate. In (6h)-(6j), the verb is animate intransitive. In (6k), the verb is inanimate intransitive.

In what follows, I will call inflected objects plain “objects”. All uninflected objects, whether of transitive or intransitive verbs, I will call “second objects”.

Transitive inanimate stems occasionally take a second object. The second object is nearly always instrumental, as in (6a) and (6b):

- (6a) e:h=pepye:na:nakah+aki =’pi
she.kept.just.missing.it.by.tool/CONJ =HRSY
 keta:pehkahikan+i pe:kwa:+niki.
key worn-out.thing/CONJ.PPL
She kept missing (the keyhole) with the worn-out key.
 [Sam Peters NAA 2222 41G-I]

The transitive inanimate stem *pepye:na:nakah* ‘keep missing by tool’ optionally takes an instrumental second object, which in (6a) is realized as an inanimate noun. Pragmatic considerations alone tell us that the sole noun of (6a) must be a second object.

- (6b) se:sahikan+i e:h=ašihito:+wa:či =’pi: =’nini mahkw+ani.
dried.meat **they**.made.it/CONJ =HRSY *that bear*
They made dried meat out of *that bear*.
 [Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 57E]

The transitive inanimate stem *aših̄to*: ‘make’ optionally takes an instrumental second object, which in (6b) is realized as an animate noun.

No verb stem in Meskwaki takes an instrumental second object obligatorily, and no transitive inanimate stem in Meskwaki takes a second object obligatorily. Compare (6c):

- (6c) o:ni =’pi okima:w+ani e:h=mi:n+ekoči ihkwe:w+ani.
 and.then =HRSY *chief* *he.gave.to.him/CONJ* *woman*
 And then *the chief* gave **him** a *woman*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2024B.1 6G]

The transitive animate stem *mi:n* ‘give’ obligatorily takes a second object. The inflectional ending of *mi:n* in (6c) indicates only that the subject is animate obviative and that the object is animate proximate singular. Pragmatic considerations alone tell us that of the two animate obviative nouns occurring in this sentence, it is the chief who must be the subject.¹⁵ The verbal inflection in (6c) renders no information whatsoever about the second object of *mi:n*, which here is realized overtly, as an animate obviative singular noun.

- (6d) e:h=ča:ki- mi:n+ekoči ow+i:p+ani i:nini kwi:yese:h+ani.
 all *he.gave.to.him/CONJ* *his.arrows* *that* *boy*
That boy gave **him** all of *his arrows*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 26F]

¹⁵ One of these pragmatic considerations has to do with the fact that in (6c) ‘chief’ precedes the verb and ‘woman’ follows the verb. Recall the discussion in 2.3.1.2.2: LVH order—with L = a lower-ranked character and H = a higher-ranked character—is exceedingly rare. Ives Goddard has collected examples which show that wherever two non-coreferential overt obviatives appear in the same clause, one marked on the verb as primary obviative and the other marked on the verb as secondary obviative, then in most cases (and in all potentially ambiguous cases) the higher-ranked obviative precedes the lower-ranked obviative in the sentence, whether or not it is the subject of the verb. (Goddard, personal communication.) Similarly, it seems to be the case that wherever two non-coreferential overt obviatives appear in the same clause, one a subject or primary object marked on the verb and the other a second object of the verb, then in most cases (and in all potentially ambiguous cases) the inflected argument precedes the second object in the sentence.

In (6d), again, the inflection of *mi:n* ‘give’ references an animate obviative subject, and an animate proximate object. Again, both subject and second object are realized overtly. Here the second object is inanimate plural.

Note that, grammatically speaking, the possessor of ‘arrows’ in (6d) could be either the animate proximate or the animate obviative of the sentence. From the larger context in this story, we know that the proximate character in this sentence is the arrows’ owner.

- (6e) ne+mi:n+a:pena =ke:h =mo:hči k+i:ya:+wa:w+i.
 we.(excl).give.to.**him**/IND =and even your.selves
 And we’re even giving you guys to **him**.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 49J]

In (6e), the inflection of *mi:n* ‘give’ indicates a first person plural (exclusive) subject and an animate proximate object. The second object is second person plural, which is realized as a possessed inanimate noun used as a pronoun.

- (6f) ašihkanw+i na:hka e:h=natotama:+koči.
tallow also *he* asked **him**.for/CONJ

 na:hka =meko e:h=mi:n+a:či.
 again =EMPH **he**.gave.to.*him*/CONJ

He asked **him** for some tallow, too.
 And again **he** gave it to *him*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.1 20H-I]

In (6f), both *natotamaw* ‘ask for from’ and *mi:n* ‘give’ are ditransitive verbs. The second object of *natotamaw* is realized overtly, as an inanimate noun; the second object of *mi:n* is implicit.

Meskwaki has a large number of transitive animate stems that obligatorily take a second object. Double-object stems can be productively derived from single-object

stems by the addition of the secondary finals *-aw* or *-amaw*, as in the case of *natotamaw* ‘ask for from’, which is derived from transitive inanimate *natot* ‘ask for’.

Meskwaki also has a large number of transitive animate stems which take a second object optionally. An example is given in (6g):

- (6g) aškwa:ne:hkete:w+i e:h=panahw+a:či.
burning.brand **she**.struck.and.missed.*him*.by.tool/CONJ
She swiped at *him* with a burning brand and missed.

[Sam Peters NAA 2012.4 87D]

The transitive animate stem *panahw* ‘strike at and miss by tool’ optionally takes an instrumental second object, which in (6g) is realized as an inanimate noun. Compare a single-object attestation of this verb:

- na:hka =meko e:h=panahw+a:či.
 again =EMPH **he**.struck.and.missed.*them*.by.tool/CONJ
 Once again **he** swiped at *them* and missed.

[Jim Peters NAA 2024C 88H]

In addition, many formally intransitive verbs in Meskwaki take objects. Examples are given in (6h)-(6k).

- (6h) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=no:še:+či kwi:yese:he:h+ani.
 at.some.point =HRSY then **she**.gave.birth/CONJ *baby.boy*
 Then at some point **she** gave birth to *a baby boy*.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.35 1M]

The animate intransitive stem *no:še:* ‘give birth’ optionally takes a second object. The inflectional ending of *no:še:* in (6h) indicates only that the subject is animate proximate. Yet, in (6h), the formally intransitive verb functions as a transitive, licensing an object which here is realized as an animate obviative noun.

Compare a functionally as well as formally intransitive attestation of this verb:

meše:=’nahi kapo:twe e:h=no:še:+či metemo:he:h+a.
roughly.speaking at.some.point **she.gave.birth/CONJ** **little.old.woman**
At some point or other **the little old woman** gave birth.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.3 5H]

Animate intransitive *no:še:* ‘give birth’ even appears side by side with its transitive animate analog *no:ša:n* ‘give birth to’:

saka:ki =meko e:h=kaški- no:še:+či,
just.barely =EMPH able **she.gave.birth/CONJ**

kwi:yese:h+ani e:h=no:ša:n+a:či.
boy **she.gave.birth.to.him/CONJ**

She was able to give birth only with some effort,
giving birth to *a boy*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2688 4J-K**]

Whether the formally intransitive *no:še:* is used with an object, or whether the transitive animate form of the verb is used, is entirely up to the speaker.

Many formally intransitive verbs in Meskwaki take second objects obligatorily. Examples involving one such verb, animate intransitive *po:ta:hkwe:* ‘put in the pot to boil’, are given in (6i) and (6j). The subject is marked as animate proximate in each case. In (6i) the second object is inanimate plural; in (6j) the second object is animate obviative singular.

- (6i) e:h=po:ta:hkwe:+či ohkon+ani.
she.put.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ livers
She put the livers in the pot to boil.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 66K]

(6j) i:ni =’pi e:h=we:pi- po:ta:hkwe:+či
 then =HRSY begin **she**.put.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ

pešekesiw+ani e:škiki+ničini.
deer fresh.creature/CONJ.PPL

Then **she** started putting *fresh deer meat* in the pot to boil.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 33D]

In exceptional cases, inanimate intransitive verbs take second objects. Second objects for inanimate intransitive verbs, as for transitive inanimate verbs, are optional. An example is given in (6k):

(6k) n+i:hka:n+etike, mani mesenahikan+i
 O.my.friends this paper

pe:hki =meko me:menwa:čimo:mikat+wi
 really =EMPH **it**.repeatedly.tells.good.tales/IND

ki:ša:koči- ke:hta e:šahišawi+wa:tehe neno:te:w+aki.
 extremely long.ago *{what}.they.repeatedly.did/CONJ.PPL* **Indians**

Friends, **this paper** is really telling good tales about *what the Indians did in ancient times*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2024B.3 60C]

In (6k), the inanimate intransitive verb takes an inanimate noun phrase as subject and an inanimate participle as second object.

The inanimate intransitive stem *menwa:čimo:mikat* is transparently derived from the animate intransitive stem *menwa:čimo*. The derivational final *-:mikat* is employed in cases where inanimate subjects have taken on the properties of animates (e.g. speaking, walking). Animate intransitive stems in *-a:čimo* ‘narrate’ frequently take second objects of the type exhibited in (6k) (‘tell stories about ...’). This exception, then, only serves to reinforce the general rule that inanimate intransitives do not take second objects.

Note that the sentence in (6k) contains two non-coindexed proximates. I will return to examples of this type in section 3.3.2.3.

Meskwaki verbs sometimes take two second objects. In such cases one of the two is always instrumental. Examples are given in (6l) and (6m):

- (6l) ki:ši- wača:ho+wa:či =’pi: =’ni
 finish when.**they**.cooked/CC =HRSY then
- a:mo:w+i e:h=ašihpo+wa:či ahpenye:+hi.
honey **they**.ate.with.a.sauce/CONJ *potatoes*

When **they** had cooked, **they** ate *the potatoes* using *that honey* as a sauce.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 3B]

In (6l), the verb is animate intransitive. The verb here takes two second objects: an obviative direct object, and an inanimate instrumental object.

- (6m) i:ni: =’ni wi:h=šešo:hamaw+ači i:niki,
that then you.should.smear.for.**them**/FUT.CONJ **those**
- wi:h=pana:čih+ači.
 you.should.poison.**them**/FUT.CONJ

Then you must smear *it* with *that* for **them**, in order to poison **them**.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 85A]

In (6m), both verbs are transitive animate. The first verb of this sentence, *šešo:hamaw*, takes three objects. The inflected object is the beneficiary (or victim), realized as a proximate plural demonstrative. The required second object is the functional direct object, which has no overt realization in (6m). The optional second object is an instrumental object, realized as an inanimate singular demonstrative.

In exceptional circumstances, the second object of a verb can outrank an inflected argument of the verb. All attested cases involve intransitive verbs whose obviative subjects are possessed by their proximate second objects. An example is given in (6n):

- (6n) e:h=keše:mo+niči i:nihi o+to:te:m+ahi i:na neniw+a.
they.petted/CONJ those his.brothers that man
*That man's brothers petted him.*¹⁶

[Harry Lincoln NAA 1879.7 10D]

In what follows, second objects will be marked in the word-by-word glosses with shallow-pointed brackets (<>). In default of evidence to the contrary, they will be presumed obviative if an inflected argument of the verb is proximate, and will be presumed secondary obviative if an inflected argument of the verb is obviative. Examples are given in (6o)-(6t). The example in (6u) has two second objects: an inanimate direct object, and an inanimate instrumental object.

- (6o) i:na =ke:hi ='pi: ='ni ka:ka:kiw+a
that =and =HRSY then **crow**
 e:h=ašam+eči ='pi no:hkaha:n+i.
 X.gave.<it>.to.him.to.eat/CONJ =HRSY pemmican

Then **that crow** was given pemmican to eat.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 63B]

- (6p) nahi, pye:taw+iko =ta:ni: ='niki ne+taye:+ki.
 now! you.(pl).bring.<them>.to.me/IMP =please **those my.horses**
 Now, please bring me **those horses of mine!**

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.34 31J]

¹⁶ Literally, “*Those brothers of that man* petted **him**.” Or, possibly, “*Those brothers of his* petted **that man**.”

- (6q) e:h=awatenamaw+a:či: =’na o+tawe:ma:w+ani pi:simi:k+ahi.
she.handed.<THEM>.to.him/CONJ **that** her.brother WAMPUM.aBEADS
That (woman) handed *her brother* *THE WAMPUM BEADS*.¹⁷

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 87F]

- (6r) e:h=wača:ho:hi+wa:či pene:w+ani e:hkani:hi+ničini.
they.cooked.<it>.DIM/CONJ *turkey* *bony.creature.DIM/CONJ.PPL*
They cooked *the scrawny turkey*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2720.1 2E]

- (6s) na:hka =’pi otayi+nikwe:ni =’pi anemo:h+ani.
 also =HRSY *he*.must.have.had.<IT>.as.a.pet/INT =HRSY *dog*
He also must have had *A DOG* as a pet.

[Pearl Leaf NAA 2024D.1 7E]

- (6t) wi:h=ašihčike:we:+wa =’pi ahk+i n+i:yaw+i.
he.wants.to.make.<it>.out.of.<it>/FUT.IND =HRSY earth my.self
He says he wants to make *the earth* out of *me*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 1116C]

2.3.2. Mood

Mood indicates the role of a verb in a sentence. Meskwaki has fifteen everyday narrative and conversational moods, along with nine common categories of participle. Another ten moods occur infrequently, but regularly, and an additional two or more occur vanishingly rarely, in set phrases associated with particular motifs in certain well-known stories.

The moods of Meskwaki fall into three classes, defined by their inflection: the independent order¹⁸ moods, the conjunct order moods, and the imperative.

¹⁷ Note that there are three overt noun phrases in this naturally-occurring single clause of Meskwaki, a pro-drop language.

¹⁸ “Order” is a term borrowed from biology (as in, kingdom, phylum, class, order, family): it refers to an aggregation of morphologically closely related moods.

Moods of the independent order occur chiefly in conversation and in quoted speech in narrative.¹⁹ They never function as subordinate clauses, and can never be made into participles. They inflect on a pattern that includes marking second or first person involvement in a verb by means of prefixes.

The conjunct order moods are more varied as to function and distribution. Some resemble the independent order moods in being restricted to conversation and to main clauses. However, all narrative moods, all moods occurring in subordinate clauses, and all participles are conjunct. The conjunct order moods inflect on a pattern that includes marking all information about persons—whether second, first, or third—by means of suffixes.

The imperative mood, like the conjunct order moods, marks all information about persons by means of suffixes. Like the independent order moods, it occurs chiefly (actually, solely) in conversation, never functions as a subordinate clause, and can never be made into a participle. Inflectionally, it is entirely distinct from both the independent and the conjunct order moods.

As a rule, only the moods that occur in subordinate clauses ever occur with the particle *i:ni* ‘then, now’. For some speakers, for some subordinate-clause moods, the use of *i:ni* is obligatory.

The common moods of Meskwaki are the independent indicative, future indicative, and independent dubitative (independent order), the aorist conjunct, future conjunct, changed conjunct, iterative, past, subjunctive, negative, future negative, interrogative, prohibitive, and potential (conjunct order), and the imperative.

The rarer regular moods are the assertive and conclusive (independent order), and the plain conjunct, prioritiv, changed past, future past, subjunctive past, negative past, changed interrogative, and future interrogative (conjunct order).

¹⁹ In what follows, “conversation” stands for actual conversation AND quoted speech in narrative AND narrator’s interjections in narrative. “Narrative” stands for extra-quote, non-interjectional narrative. In terms of moods used, first-person narratives function rather like third-person narratives, but with a higher incidence of narrator’s comments. In first-person narratives the division between narration and narrator’s comments gets somewhat blurred.

The common types of participle are the conjunct, future conjunct, locative conjunct, past, future past, locative past, interrogative, future interrogative, and locative interrogative.

Examples of each of these types of mood and participle are given in 2.3.2.1–2.3.2.19.

Table 3 summarizes some of the information given below. Column one lists the 25 regular moods of Meskwaki. Column two indicates whether they inflect according to the imperative, independent, or conjunct paradigm. Column three indicates whether they occur in main clauses (*yes* if often, *rare* if seldom, *no* if never). Column four indicates whether they occur in subordinate clauses. Column five indicates whether they occur in conversation. Column six indicates whether they occur in narrative. Column seven lists their incidence in 89 third-person narratives by 19 authors (2,612 pages of manuscript; 29,395 lines of text, in all).

Note that all 25 moods occur in conversation. All but the changed conjunct and the iterative are common conversational moods. By contrast, only eleven of the 25 moods occur in narrative, and only seven of the eleven are common narrative moods.

All moods but the changed conjunct, the iterative, and the changed interrogative occur in main clauses. By contrast, only ten moods occur in subordinate clauses. Of those ten, only two—the aorist conjunct and the past—are as common in main as in subordinate clauses.

Since the texts culled for the figures in column seven are all third-person narratives, the incidence of narrative moods is high. Third-person narratives in Meskwaki typically contain a great deal of quoted conversation, however, and several of the conversational moods are well-represented in this sample. In order from highest incidence to lowest incidence, the moods rank as follows (with “!!” marking a step down in size of more than 50 per cent): aorist conjunct, !! changed conjunct, independent indicative, future indicative, future conjunct, imperative, subjunctive, !! negative, prohibitive, potential, iterative, independent dubitative, interrogative, future negative, past, !! future past,

subjunctive past, changed interrogative, prioritive, changed past, negative past, plain conjunct and conclusive, future interrogative and assertive.

Table 3. Meskwaki moods

	Order	Main	Subord.	Conver.	Narrat.	Incid.
imperative	imperative	yes	no	yes	no	1,050
assertive	independent	yes	no	yes	no	10
conclusive	independent	yes	no	yes	no	11
future indicative	independent	yes	no	yes	no	1,998
future negative	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	150
future interrog.	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	10
changed past	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	21
negative past	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	16
prohibitive	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	229
potential	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	212
plain conjunct	conjunct	yes	no	yes	no	11
indep. indicative	independent	yes	no	yes	rare	2,969
indep. dubitative	independent	yes	no	yes	rare	192
negative	conjunct	yes	no	yes	rare	425
interrogative	conjunct	yes	no	yes	rare	171
changed interrog.	conjunct	no	yes	yes	no	35
subjunctive	conjunct	rare	yes	yes	no	875
subjunctive past	conjunct	rare	yes	yes	no	38
changed conjunct	conjunct	no	yes	rare	yes	3,410
iterative	conjunct	no	yes	rare	yes	203
prioritive	conjunct	rare	yes	yes	yes	32
future conjunct	conjunct	rare	yes	yes	yes	1,345
future past	conjunct	rare	yes	yes	yes	62
aorist conjunct	conjunct	yes	yes	yes	yes	26,254
past	conjunct	yes	yes	yes	yes	141

2.3.2.1. Imperative

The imperative mood is a full paradigm, embracing both imperative and optative semantics. It occurs exclusively in conversation, and exclusively in main clauses. It is marked by means of suffixes that are etymologically distinct from the suffixes associated

with the independent order moods on the one hand, and the conjunct order moods on the other.

Examples of some of the imperative possibilities are given in (7a)-(7f).

- (7a) kehčipeno+no, kehčipeno+no, n+oš:hi.
you.run.your.hardest/IMP you.run.your.hardest/IMP O.my.grandchild
Run your hardest, run your hardest, grandchild!

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 72A]

- (7b) a:mi:+ta:we.
we.(incl).move.camp/IMP

nana:hinawi:+ko.
you.(pl).get.ready/IMP

Let's move camp!
Get ready!

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 24B-C]

- (7c) nahi, nowi:+wa:če ma:haki ihkwe:w+aki.
now! **they**.exit/IMP **these** **women**
Now, let **these women** go outside!

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 91J]

- (7d) o:, kašina:kwa, ne+si:hi, pena pemw+i.
well! say! O.my.younger.sibling better.do.it you.shoot.**him**/IMP
Well, gee, little brother, better shoot **him**!

[Anonymous 7 NAA 2794.63 9L]

- (7e) nahi, i:nina:h =we:na k+o:hkomes+ena:n+a
all.right! by.now =in.fact **our.(incl).grandmother**

ki:š- aw+e:toke o+še:šketo:h+ani.
finish **she** probably.used.it/DUB *her.kettle*

mawi- awih+a:ta:we.
go.and we.(incl).borrow.<it>.from.**her**/IMP

All right, **our grandmother** must have finished with *her kettle* by now.
Let's go and borrow *it* from **her**!

[Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 30I-J]

(7f) pemw+iče, pemw+iče.
he.shoots.me/IMP **he**.shoots.me/IMP

po:nim+i.
you.stop.getting.after.**him**.verbally/IMP

Let **him** shoot me, let **him** shoot me!
Stop trying to dissuade **him**!

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 86C-D]

2.3.2.2 Independent indicative

The independent indicative mood occurs exclusively in main clauses. It is the stock conversational mood for positive statements. In narrative, it is used infrequently for heightened effect. It translates as realis (present or simple past tense).

This mood inflects at both word-edges. It indicates second or first person involvement by means of verbal prefixes. All other inflectional information is conveyed by verbal suffixes.

The constructed examples in (8a)-(8l) illustrate this basic pattern. First person involvement is marked by the prefix *ne+*, and second person involvement by the prefix *ke+*. Third person involvement, plurals, and transitive relations are marked by means of suffixes.

(8a) ke+pya.
you.arrive/IND
You arrived.

- (8b) ke+pya:+pwa.
you.(pl).arrive/IND
You guys arrived.
- (8c) ne+pya.
I.arrive/IND
I arrived.
- (8d) ne+pya:+pena.
we.(excl).arrive/IND
We arrived.
- (8e) ke+pya:+pena.
we.(incl).arrive/IND
We arrived.
- (8f) pye:+wa.
s/he.arrives/IND
S/He arrived.
- (8g) pye:+waki.
they.arrive/IND
They arrived.
- (8h) ne+nakiškaw+a:wa.
I.meet.**him/her**/IND
I met **him/her**.
- (8i) ne+nakiškaw+a:waki.
I.meet.**them**/IND
I met **them**.
- (8j) ne+nakiškaw+a:pena.
we.(excl).meet.**him/her/them**/IND
We met **him/her/them**.
- (8k) nakiškaw+e:wa.
s/he.meets.*him/her/them*/IND
S/He met *him/her/them*.
- (8l) nakiškaw+e:waki.
they.meet.*him/her/them*/IND
They met *him/her/them*.

2.3.2.3. Future indicative

The future indicative mood occurs exclusively in main clauses, and exclusively in conversation. It translates as irrealis. It is marked by proclitic *(w)i:h=*, but otherwise inflects identically to the independent indicative.

The constructed examples in (9a)-(9l) give the future indicative versions of (8a)-(8l).

- (9a) k+i:h=pya.
you.will.arrive/FUT.IND
You will arrive.
- (9b) k+i:h=pya:+pwa.
you.(pl).will.arrive/FUT.IND
You guys will arrive.
- (9c) n+i:h=pya.
I.will.arrive/FUT.IND
I will arrive.
- (9d) n+i:h=pya:+pena.
we.(excl).will.arrive/FUT.IND
We will arrive.
- (9e) k+i:h=pya:+pena.
we.(incl).will.arrive/FUT.IND
We will arrive.
- (9f) wi:h=pye:+wa.
s/he.will.arrive/FUT.IND
S/He will arrive.
- (9g) wi:h=pye:+waki.
they.will.arrive/FUT.IND
They will arrive.
- (9h) n+i:h=nakiškaw+a:wa.
I.will.meet.**him/her**/FUT.IND
I will meet **him/her**.

- (9i) n+i:h=nakiškaw+a:waki.
I.will.meet.**them**/FUT.IND
I will meet **them**.
- (9j) n+i:h=nakiškaw+a:pena.
we.(excl).will.meet.**him/her/them**/FUT.IND
We will meet **him/her/them**.
- (9k) wi:h=nakiškaw+e:wa.
s/he.will.meet.*him/her/them*/FUT.IND
S/He will meet *him/her/them*.
- (9l) wi:h=nakiškaw+e:waki.
they.will.meet.*him/her/them*/FUT.IND
They will meet *him/her/them*.

2.3.2.4. Independent dubitative

The independent dubitative mood has the same distribution as the independent indicative. It occurs exclusively in main clauses, and almost exclusively in conversation. In narrative, it is used infrequently for heightened effect. It is used in statements for which the speaker has only indirect evidence.

This mood inflects similarly to the independent indicative, with some divergences. It is marked by the morpheme *:toke* in the suffixed inflection.

- (10a) pye:+toke piči:ša:h+a.
he.probably.arrived/DUB **Piči:ša:h**
Piči:ša:h must have arrived.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 57B]

In (10a), the speaker, an ogre, has just seen that its cave has been ransacked, and its victims restored to life. It correctly guesses the cause.

- (10b) pye:+toke:hiki me:mehteko:ši:h+aki.
they.probably.arrived/DUB **Frenchmen**
Frenchmen must have arrived.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 7I]

In (10b), the speaker, who is stranded on a deserted island, has pricked up his ears at a distant noise. He mistakenly guesses its source.

- (10c) net+omatekwaši+petoke.
I.probably.walked.in.my.sleep/DUB
I must have walked in my sleep.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 28I]

In (10c), the speaker's sons have just found him sleeping under the woodpile. He disingenuously guesses the cause.

- (10d) ne+mi:hkwih+a:petoke okima:w+a.
I.probably.got.**him**/DUB **chief**
I must have gotten **the chief**.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.82 22H]

In (10d), the speaker has killed an impressively attired enemy, and has just heard a shout of mourning go up from the enemy village. He correctly guesses the cause.

2.3.2.5. Aorist conjunct

The aorist conjunct mood is the stock narrative mood of main clauses. It is used in negative as well as positive statements. In conversation, its main clause uses are rare, and are typically accompanied by the particle *i:ni* 'then, now'. It very frequently occurs in subordinate clauses, both in narrative and in conversation, with meanings such as 'when (concurrently)' and 'because'. It translates as *realis*.

This mood is marked by the aorist proclitic *e:h=*. Otherwise, it is a strictly suffixing mood.

Aorist conjunct appears in many guises. It can mark the main clause of a sentence, either describing an event or depicting a scene; it can mark several verbs in an aorist chain, describing a sequence of events or depicting different aspects of a scene; it can mark a subordinate clause that is the complement of an independent verb; it can mark a subordinate clause that is the complement of another conjunct verb; it can act as the object of certain kinds of transitive inanimate stems.

Aorist conjunct can be used to describe simple narrative events, as in the constructed examples in (11a)-(11i):

(11a) *e:h=pya:+yani.*
you.arrived/CONJ
You arrived.

(11b) *e:h=pya:+ye:kwe.*
you.(pl).arrived/CONJ
You guys arrived.

(11c) *e:h=pya:+ya:ni.*
I.arrived/CONJ
I arrived.

(11c) *e:h=pya:+ya:ke.*
we.(excl).arrived/CONJ
We arrived.

(11e) *e:h=pya:+yakwe.*
we.(incl).arrived/CONJ
We arrived.

(11f) *e:h=pya:+či.*
s/he.arrived/CONJ
S/He arrived.

- (11g) e:h=pya:+wa:či.
they.arrived/CONJ
They arrived.
- (11h) e:h=nakiškaw+aki.
 I.met.**him/her/them**/CONJ
 I met **him/her/them**.
- (11i) e:h=nakiškaw+a:či.
s/he.met.*him/her/them*/CONJ
S/He met *him/her/them*.

Aorist conjunct can be used in description, as in examples (11j)-(11l):

- (11j) e:h=ki:ša:koči- =’pi -aškipaka:nahkwate+niki =’pi.
 extremely- =HRSY *it*.was.a.green.sky/CONJ =HRSY
 They say that *the sky* was very “green”.

[Pearl Leaf NAA 2024D.1 14D]

- (11k) e:h=mehta:hkwinameške:+niči, e:h=kehkeše:wa:hkono+niči,
he.was.without.proper.clothing/CONJ *he*.had.painted.himself.with.charcoal/CONJ
- e:h=kaka:no:hkwe:+niči i:nini neniw+ani e:semih+ekočini.
he.had.long.hair/CONJ *that man one.that.helped.him*/CONJ.PPL

That man who had helped him was naked, and daubed with charcoal, and had very long hair.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.59A 10E]

- (11l) i:ya:h =meko e:h=tašite:he:+či, e:h=ki:ši- pya:+či,
 there =EMPH **he**.thought.of.{there}/CONJ finish **he**.arrived/CONJ
- e:h=šekišekiši+ki e:h=a:ya:šo:ka:ši+ki.
he.was.lying.there/CONJ **he**.lay.with.his.legs.crossed/CONJ

When **he** thought of that place, **he** was already there, lying with his legs crossed.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.26 29D-E]

The sentence in (11j) is a simple aorist description. The sentence in (11k) gives three descriptive aorists in a row. The structure of (11l) is more complex. The first aorist in (11l) is a concurrent complement of the second aorist; the third and fourth aorists expand the description provided by the second.

Aorist conjunct can mark sequences of narrative events, as in (11m) and (11n):

(11m) e:h=to:hki:+wa:či, e:h=nana:hi:hta:+wa:či, e:h=peno+wa:či.
they.woke.up/CONJ they.got.dressed/CONJ they.set.out/CONJ
They woke up, and got dressed, and set out.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 81C]

(11n) e:h=keta:si:+či =^ʔpi ahkwita:hki:ki,
he.climbed.up/CONJ =HRSY atop.the.bank

e:h=kahken+aki wi:kop+i,
he.stripped.it/CONJ basswood.inner.bark

na:hka asen+i e:h=na:pita:ho+či,
 this.time stone **he.hung.<it>.around.his.neck/CONJ**

e:h=kotawi:+či.
he.dived.under.the.water/CONJ

He climbed up on the bank,
 and stripped off *some basswood bark*,
 and this time hung *a stone* around his neck,
 and dived under the water.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1879.5 1K-O]

Aorist conjunct can describe different aspects of a scene, as in (11o):

(11o) meše:=^ʔnah =kapo:twe e:h=apihapi+či kwi:yese:h+a,
 perhaps at.some.point **he.was.sitting.there/CONJ boy**

e:h=wa:pawa:pam+a:či pi:tanwa:n+ahi e:h=pem- ako:či+niči.
RED.**he**.looked.at.them/CONJ quivers in.a.row they.hung/CONJ

At some point, **the boy** was sitting there
looking at *the quivers* hanging in a row.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2790 29C]

An aorist conjunct clause can qualify an independent verb, as in (11p) and (11q):

(11p) “o:, iše =meko ne+ki:ki:yose e:h=ki:wa:tes+ya:ni,”
well! just =EMPH I.am.walking.around/IND I.am.lonely/CONJ

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ

“Well, I’m just walking around feeling lonely,” **he** told *him*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.59A 6M]

(11q) ši:, ne:pehe =’yo:we e:h=čakeši:hi+ya:ni=’yo:we ne+mešen+eko:pi.
say! I.forgot =formerly I.was.small/CONJ =formerly X.captured.me/IND
Say, I forgot, I was captured back when I was small.

[Pearl Leaf NAA 2024D.3 28C]

An aorist conjunct clause can qualify another conjunct verb, as in (11l), and in (11r)-
(11u):

(11r) wi:sahke:h+a e:h=neškinaw+a:či pešiw+ani
Wi:sahke:h he.hated.him/CONJ *Lynx*

nenote:hkwe:w+ani e:h=owi:wi+niči.
Indian.woman he.had.<HER>.as.wife/CONJ

Wi:sahke:h hated *Lynx* because *he* had married *A HUMAN WOMAN*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.89 4B]

Alternative translations for (11r):

Wi:sahke:h hated *Lynx* for having married *A HUMAN WOMAN*.

Wi:sahke:h hated *Lynx*, as *he* had married *A HUMAN WOMAN*.

Wi:sahke:h hated *Lynx*, *he* having married *A HUMAN WOMAN*.

Wi:sahke:h hated the fact that *Lynx* had married *A HUMAN WOMAN*.

(11s) e:h=pahte:hčike:+či,
he.started.his.pipe/CONJ

e:h=mi:ša:te:nemo+či =ta:taki e:h=pya:+niči o+kwis+ahi.
he.was.glad/CONJ =as.it.were *he*.returned/CONJ *his*.sons

He lit a pipe, feeling glad, as it were, because *his sons* had returned.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 66F-G]

(11t) i:ni ='pi e:h=kehči- no:te+niki.
then =HRSY greatly *it*.blew/CONJ

i:nini o:s+ani e:h=pem- ata:hpen+ekoči ='pi,
that his father went.to *he*.took.hold.of.**him**/CONJ =HRSY

e:h=se:kesi+niči ='pi e:h=no:te+niki.
he.was.frightened/CONJ =HRSY *it*.blew/CONJ

Then a strong wind sprang up.
And *that father of his* reached for **him**,
because *he* was scared when *it* blew.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1875.7 12C-D]

(11u) e:h=tanwe:we:kesi+či =ke:h =meko, e:h=mawit+aki o+mi:ša:m+i.
he.was.crying/CONJ =and =EMPH **he**.bewailed.*it*/CONJ *his sacred pack*

e:h=ahkani:hi+či =ke:h =pe:hki,
he.was.emaciated/CONJ =and really

e:h=wa:wa:šini:kwe:+či e:h=wa:wa:šapikwe:+či.
he.was.hollow-eyed/CONJ **he**.was.hollow-?/CONJ

e:h=pwa:wi- nahi:- 'seni+či menwi,
not never **he**.ate/CONJ well

e:h=otamite:he:+či e:h=natone:h+aki o+mi:ša:m+i.
he.was.preoccupied/CONJ **he**.sought.it/CONJ his.sacred.pack

And **he** was crying, bewailing his sacred pack.
And **he** was really emaciated,
hollow-eyed and hollow-?.
He hadn't been eating well,
as **he** was preoccupied with seeking his sacred pack.

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 63H-J]

An aorist conjunct clause can act as the object of a transitive inanimate stem, as in
(11v)-(11x):

(11v) kapo:twe e:h=ka:škeht+aki
at.some.point **she**.heard.it/CONJ

e:h=tanwe:we:hike:+niči me:nesa:+ničini.
he.was.making.a.chopping.sound/CONJ *one.gathering.firewood*/CONJ.PPL

At some point **she** heard the sound of someone chopping firewood.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 8D]

(11w) o:ni =ʼpi pa:ši =meko e:h=kwi:yese:hi+či e:h=nenehke:net+aki.
and.then =HRSY until =EMPH **he**.was.a.boy/CONJ **he**.thought.of.it/CONJ
And then **he** thought back to being a boy.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 73E]

(11x) e:h=menwe:net+aki mahkw+a
he.liked.it/CONJ **bear**

e:h=tapa:t+aminiči na:tawino:n+i mi:n+a:či.
she.cherished.it/CONJ medicine thing.he.gave.her/CONJ.PPL

The bear liked the fact that she cherished the medicine that he gave her.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.4 20B]

2.3.2.6. Future conjunct

The future conjunct mood is the narrative irrealis mood. In narrative and in conversation, it is chiefly used in subordinate clauses, as a complement of independent or conjunct or, rarely, imperative verbs. It can also function as the object of an independent or a conjunct verb.

Within the Michelson corpus, future conjuncts that function as the main predication of their sentences occur almost exclusively in conversation. They are typically accompanied by the particle *i:ni* ‘then, now’.

Future conjunct is marked by the future proclitic (*w*)*i:h=*, rather than by aorist *e:h=*. In other respects, this mood inflects identically to the aorist conjunct.

The examples in (12a)-(12c) are simple irrealis statements. In (12a) and (12c), the future conjunct verb is the sole verb of its sentence. In (12b), a main-clause future conjunct verb is modified by a subjunctive clause.

- (12a) kaho, i:ni =ya:pi wi:h=ma:mata:kwa:čimo+ya:ni.
 well.now now =here’s.the.plan I.will.tell.enjoyable.tales/FUT.CONJ
 All right now, here’s the plan: I’ll just tell some fun stories now.

[Sam Peters NAA 2792 1B]

The sentence in (12a) constitutes Sam Peters’ introduction to his story. It is the second line of the text, immediately succeeding the story’s title. The verb is future conjunct, rather than independent, due to the presence of the subordinating particle *i:ni*.

- (12b) nakisa:+te =’yo=ke:hi, i:ni=meko wi:h=nepo:hi+či.
 if.**she**.stops.running/SUBJ =by.the.way immediately **she**.will.die/FUT.CONJ
 i:ni =ča:hi =’pi we:či- koht+aki =’pi
that =so =HRSY {why} she.fears.it/CONJ.PPL =HRSY

i:h=naki:+či ihkwe:w+a.
she.will.stop/FUT.CONJ **woman**

If **she** stopped running, by the way, **she** would die right away.
That's why **the woman** was afraid to stop.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 25B-C]

In (12b), Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha momentarily steps outside of her narrative to comment on the plot. In the first sentence of her interjection, the future conjunct verb is the main predication. Again it occurs with *i:ni*. In the second sentence, the future conjunct verb is the object of the transitive inanimate stem *koht* 'fear'.

(12c) wa:pa+niki ='pi, "nahi, i:ni =ya:pi
 when.it.was.morning/CC =HRSY all.right! now =here's.the.plan

wi:h=na:kwa:+ya:ke," e:h=i+niči i:nihi waša:š+ahi.
 we.(excl).will.leave/FUT.CONJ they.said.{that}/CONJ those Osages

In the morning, "All right, here's the plan: we're going to leave now,"
those Osages said.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.1 3H]

In (12c), the future conjunct verb occurs in a quoted statement, again with *i:ni* 'then, now'.

The future conjunct verbs in (12d)-(12h) function as subordinate clauses. In (12d), the future conjunct verb is the complement of an independent indicative verb; in (12e), the future conjunct verb is the complement of an aorist conjunct verb; in (12g), the future conjunct verb is the complement of an imperative verb; in (12h), a future conjunct verb is the complement of a future conjunct verb which is itself the complement of an aorist conjunct verb.

(12d) ahpene:či =wi:na =’pi =meko kočihka:+kwa
always =but =HRSY =EMPH *he.tries.to.persuade.him*/IND

wi:h=ki:we:+či.
he.will.turn.back/FUT.CONJ

But *he* always tried to persuade **him** to turn back.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 113C]

In (12d), the future conjunct clause is the irrealis complement of an independent indicative verb. Since you only attempt to persuade people to do things that haven’t yet been done, a stem such as *koči:hkaw* ‘try to persuade’ necessarily implies an irrealis action.

(12e) i:ni =ča:h e:h=pe:we:nemo+či wi:h=na:wanone:hčike:+či.
then =so **she.gave.up**/CONJ **she.will.pursue.people**/FUT.CONJ
So then **she** gave up the pursuit.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 58G]

In (12e), the future conjunct clause is the irrealis complement of an aorist conjunct verb. Contrast this with (12f), in which the complement of *pe:we:nemo* ‘give up’ is realis:

(12f) e:h=koči- ma:waten+aki.
try **he.gathered.it**/CONJ

ke:keya:h =meko e:h=pe:we:nemo+či e:h=ma:waten+aki.
eventually =EMPH **he.gave.up**/CONJ **he.gathered.it**/CONJ

He tried to gather *it* up.
Eventually **he** gave up on gathering *it* up.

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 63F-G]

e:h=in+a:či =’pihi.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“Well, by gosh, I really long **to get a dear wife,**” **he** told *him*.

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.79 1G]

In (12i), the future conjunct clause functions as irrealis object of an independent indicative transitive inanimate verb.

2.3.2.7. Changed conjunct

The changed conjunct mood occurs exclusively in subordinate clauses. It is a narrative mood, cropping up infrequently in conversation. It translates as ‘at the juncture when’.

This mood inflects like the aorist conjunct, except that it lacks the aorist proclitic, and is marked instead by initial change.

Initial change in Meskwaki has the following effects: a short *o* in the initial syllable of a verb is replaced by *we:*; a short *a*, *e*, or *i* in the initial syllable of a verb is replaced by *e:*. A long vowel in the initial syllable of a verb is unaffected, except that a few verbs have irregular changed forms: most notably, the changed form of *pya:* ‘arrive’ is *pye:ya:*.

Changed conjunct marks the *concluding edge* of the action described. It frequently occurs with the perfective preverb *ki:ši-* ‘finish’.

Examples are given in (13a)-(13d):

(13a) i:ya:h pye:ya:+či, e:h=pi:tike:+či.
 there when.**he**.arrived/CC **he**.went.inside/CONJ
 When **he** got there, **he** went in.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 53K]

Compare *i:ya:h e:h=pya:+či* ‘**He** got there.’

- (13b) na:hka =meko pe:hkote:+niki, i:ya:hi e:h=nepa:+či.
 again =EMPH when *it*.was.night/CC there **he**.slept/CONJ
 When *night* came again, **he** slept there.

[Harry Lincoln NAA 1879.7 6L]

Compare *e:h=pehkote:+niki* ‘*Night* came.’

- (13c) o:ni na:hina:h =mekoho nwe:wi:+či,
 and.then at.the.time =EMPH when **he**.went.out/CC

pe:hki =mekoho ki:ša:kota.mo+niwani.
 really =EMPH *he*.fled.hard/IND

And then when **he** came out, *he* really fled away at top speed.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 1058L]

Compare *e:h=nowi:či* ‘**He** came out.’

- (13d) e:h=ašike:+či iškwe:se:h.
she.built.a.house/CONJ **girl**

ki:šike:+či: =’ni e:h=pehtawe:+či.
 when **she**.had.built.a.house/CC then **she**.made.a.fire/CONJ

ki:ši- pehtawe:+či: =’ni e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či,
 after when **she**.made.a.fire/CC then **they**.set.off/CONJ

e:h=ketahw+a:wa:či ahpenye:+hi.
they.dug.them.up/CONJ *potatoes*

ki:ši- ketahw+a:wa:či: =’ni e:h=mawi- wača:ho+wa:či.
 after when **they**.dug.them.up/CC then go.and **they**.cooked/CONJ

ki:ši:seni+wa:či: =’ni
 when **they**.had.eaten/CC then

e:h=ašihtaw+a:či o:si:me:h+ani mehte:h+ani,
she.made.<IT>.for.him/CONJ *her.younger.sibling* *BOW*

Compare the changed conjunct version of this verb:

wa:pa+niki, e:h=pya:+niči ow+i:hka:n+ani.
when.it.was.morning/CC he.arrived/CONJ his.friend
In the morning, his friend arrived.

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 98J]

(14b) mana =wi:na oškinawe:h+a,
this =but **young.man**

na:hina:hi pye:ya:+čini e:h=ši:ša:+či,
at.the.time whenever.he.arrived/ITER he.hunted/CONJ

e:h=we:pwe:we:kah+ki,
it.began.to.be.noise/CONJ

e:h=na:ni:mi+wa:či, ki:ši- pya:+čini.
RED.**they**.danced/CONJ finish whenever.**he**.arrived/ITER

As for **this young man**, whenever **he** came back from hunting **there** was a racket, because **they** danced, whenever **he** had come.²⁰

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.75B 46H-I]

(14c) e:h=mawinan+a:či, e:h=ta:takeškaw+a:či.
he.ran.at.them/CONJ RED.**he**.kicked.them/CONJ

e:taswi- =meko -takeškaw+a:čini,
every.time =EMPH whenever.**he**.kicked.them/ITER

“ka:, ka:,” e:h=i+niči.
caw caw they.said.{that}/CONJ

He ran at *them* and kicked *them* repeatedly.
Every time **he** kicked *them*, “Caw, caw!” *they* said.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.75B 82B-C]

2.3.2.9. Past

The past is a narrative mood. It has roughly the same distribution as the aorist conjunct mood. It occurs both in main and in subordinate clauses. In its subordinate-clause uses, it occurs in conversation as well as in narrative. It translates as pluperfect, or as ‘apparently, evidently’. In this latter use, it typically occurs in conjunction with the evidential particle *=ye:toke* ‘apparently, evidently’.

The past inflects like the aorist conjunct, but with the addition of a suffixed *-ehe*. It has two rarer derivatives: a future past marked by the future proclitic *(w)i:h=* in place of the aorist proclitic *e:h=*, and a changed past marked by initial change in place of the aorist proclitic. The future past mood translates as ‘would have, was about to’. The changed past mood occurs only in conjunction with the particle *keye:hapa* ‘in fact, as it turns out’.

The future past mood has roughly the same distribution as the future conjunct mood. It occurs both in conversation and in narrative. It occurs chiefly in subordinate clauses, but occasionally in main clauses. As a main clause predication, it is almost exclusively restricted to conversation.

The changed past mood occurs only in main clauses, subordinated to the particle *keye:hapa* ‘in fact, as it turns out’. It occurs only in conversation.

Examples of the pluperfect use of the past mood are given in (15a), (15b), and (15e). Examples of the evidential use of the past mood are given in (15c) and (15d). Examples of the future past mood are given in (15e)-(15g). An example of the changed past mood is given in (15h).

(15a) *e:h=ki:šiseta:so+nitehe,*
they.had.set.the.table/PST

²⁰ Note that there are three different proximates in this sentence. The hero is included among the dancers, which accounts for the proximate plural subject of ‘dance’. For an account of the inanimate proximate subject of *e:h=we:pwe:we:kah+ki*, see 5.3.2.1.

e:h=pa:wi- =meko -pakisen+aki ot+anwe:we:hikan+i.
 not =EMPH **he**.put.*it*.aside/CONJ his.drum

They had set the table, but **he** refused to put aside his drum.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.4 15J]

Compare the aorist conjunct *e:h=ki:šiseta:so+niči* ‘*They* set the table.’

(15b) i:ya:h pye:ya:+či, e:h=ki:ši- pya:+nitehe o:s+ani.
 there when.**he**.arrived/CC finish *he*.had.arrived/PST *his.father*
 When **he** got there, *his father* had already arrived.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 38D]

(15c) i:ni =ye:toke =’pi e:h=kohka:nemate+nikehe, e:h=ki:wa:ni:+či.
 then =EVID =HRSY *it*.changed.direction.blowing/PST **he**.got.lost/CONJ
 Then the wind changed direction, apparently, and **he** got lost.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.3 18E]

(15d) kaho:ni =ča:h =ye:toke aškači =meko kapo:twe
 and.then =so =EVID later =EMPH at.some.point

e:ye:ši- =meko -taši- ta:taneti:+wa:či,
 while =EMPH there **they**.gambled/CC

kapo:twe e:h=ne:w+a:wa:tehe pa:to:hk+ahi i:niki waša:š+aki.
 at.some.point **they**.saw.*them*/PST *Comanches* **those** **Osages**

Then, it seems, a considerable time later, while **they** were gambling, **those Osages** suddenly spotted *some Comanches*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.1 4F-G]

(15e) tameko e:h=maki- ne:mo+či.
 oh.how! big **he**.breathed/CONJ

ača:hmeko =ta:taki e:h=ne:mo+či.
 only.then =basically **he**.breathed/CONJ

e:h=kekye:škačihto:+tehe wi:h=ne:mo+či,
he.had.held.back/PST **he**.will.breathe/FUT.CONJ

wi:h=pwa:wi- ka:ških+ekotehe =ta:taki
not *they*.will.become.aware.of.**his**.presence/FUT.PST =in.order.that

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.wanted.{that}/CONJ

Oh how deeply **he** breathed.
Only then did **he** breathe, basically.
He had been holding back *from breathing*,
wanting *them* not to realize **he** was there.

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 72C-F]

- (15f) wi:h=nowi:+tehe, “naki:+no,” e:h=in+eči.
he.was.about.to.exit/FUT.PST you.stop/IMP X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ
As **he** was about to go out, **he** was told, “Stop!”

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 99H]

- (15g) i:nah =meko =’pihi wi:h=ata:hpen+a:tehe: =’ni
there =EMPH =HRSY **he**.was.about.to.grab.hold.of.*him*/FUT.PST then

e:h=mehtekwi+či.
he.became.a.tree/CONJ

Right there on the spot, as **he** was about to grab hold of *him*, **he** turned into a tree.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 5H]

- (15h) keye:hapa =wi:na: =’ni
as.it.turns.out =but then

e:wahawačipaho:to:+tehe kwi:yesē:he:h+a.
RED.**he**.had.run.away.with.*them*/C.PST **boy**.DIM

As it turns out, **a little boy** had been running away with *them*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 46C]

Compare the aorist conjunct *e:h=awahawačipaho:to:+či* ‘**He** kept running away with them.’

2.3.2.10. Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood occurs exclusively in conversation. It is used to express conditions, expected or hypothetical, actual or counterfactual. It translates as ‘if’ or as ‘when (in the future)’.

Subjunctive mood normally occurs in subordinate clauses. But idiomatically—often in conjunction with the particles *na:pi* and/or *=wi:na*—it can mean ‘how about if’, and can occur as the sole verb of its sentence.

This mood inflects like the aorist conjunct, but with *-e* replacing the final *-i* of the conjunct endings; also, it lacks the aorist proclitic *e:h=*. It has a rarer derivative, the subjunctive past, which attaches final *-ehe* to the subjunctive endings. The subjunctive past translates as counterfactual past. It has the same distribution as the subjunctive.

Examples of subjunctive used to express an expected condition are given in (16a)-(16b). Examples of the subjunctive used to express a hypothetical condition are given in (16c)-(16d). An example of the subjunctive used to express a counterfactual condition is given in (16e). Examples of subjunctive in its idiomatic, main-clause-subordinated-to-a-particle use are given in (16f)-(16g). Examples of the subjunctive past are given in (16h)-(16i).

(16a) “wa:pa+ke na:wahkwe:+ke k+i:h=pya,”
when.it.is.morning/SUBJ when.it.is.noon/SUBJ you.will.arrive/FUT.IND

e:h=in+eči.
X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ

“You should arrive tomorrow at noon,” he was told.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.34 4A]

The sentence in (16a) is irrealis conversational. Compare a realis narrative version of the sentence, with changed conjunct and aorist conjunct replacing subjunctive and future indicative:²¹

wa:pa+niki na:wahkwe:+niki e:h=pya:+wa:či.
 when.*it*.was.morning/CC when.*it*.was.noon/CC **they**.arrived/CONJ
They arrived at noon the next day.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 75G]

(16b) “aya:pami:+ya:ne =ča:hi k+i:h=owi:weti:+pena,”
 when.I.come.back/SUBJ =so we.(incl).will.get.married/FUT.IND

e:h=in+eči ihkwe:w+a.
 X.told.**her**.{that}/CONJ **woman**

“When I come back, we’ll get married,” **the woman** was told.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2775 39G]

(16c) “mo:hči owiye:h+a ki:ši- nepe+ke,
 even **someone** finish if.**he**.dies/SUBJ

wi:h=ne:se:+wa =meko
he.will.revive/FUT.IND =EMPH

mani na:tawino:n+i na:tawih+ate.”
this medicine if.you.doctor.**him**.with.<*it*>/SUBJ

“Even if **someone** has died,
he will revive if you treat **him** with this medicine.”

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2794.21 5B]

The sentence in (16c) is irrealis conversational. Compare a realis conversational sentence from the same text, with changed conjunct and independent indicative replacing subjunctive and future indicative:

²¹ Note that the expletive inanimate inflection is now obviative, rather than proximate. The reasons for this will be discussed in detail below. The inanimate proximate inflection for changed conjunct would be +*ki*.

ki:ši- nepe+ki, a:pesi:+wa mana.
 finish when.**he**.died/CC **he**.revived/IND **this**
 After **he** was dead, **this (man)** came back to life.

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2794.21 10H]

- (16d) mani =ke:hi =’šawi+yane, nano:škwe =meko iha:+yane,
this =and if.you.do.{that}/SUBJ at.random =EMPH if.you.go.{that.way}/SUBJ

natawe:nem+ate mehtose:neniw+a,
 if.you.want.to.find.**him/her**/SUBJ **person**

k+i:h=ne:w+a:wa =meko.
 you.will.see.**him/her**/FUT.IND =EMPH

And if you do this, if you go off completely at random,
 and if you want to find **people**,
 you’ll see **them**, indeed.

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 59D]

- (16e) “ši:, ni:na =’h=we:na: =’na ne+či:nawe:m+a:wa,
 say! *I* =obviously.not **that** I.am.related.to.**her**/IND

wi:h=taši- ki:ša:kotehtaw+aki.
 there I.will.hear.**her**.keenly/FUT.CONJ

či:nawe:m+ake =mata, taši- ki:ša:kotehtaw+iye:ka:ha.”
 if.I.were.related.to.**her**/SUBJ =alternatively there I.would.hear.**her**.keenly/POT

“Say, I’m not related to **that (woman)**, obviously,
 that I should be hearing **her** keenly.
 If instead I were related to **her**, I would be hearing **her** keenly.”

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 38I-K]

- (16f) “natawi- na:n+ake,” e:h=i+či =’pi: =’na neniw+a.
 set.about if.I.go.after.**him**/SUBJ **he**.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY **that man**
 “How about if I set about going after **him**,” **that man** said.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.3 6F]

- (16g) na:pi=wi:na owi:wi+ya:ne.
 why.don't.I if.I.get.married/SUBJ
 Why don't I get married.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 2I]

- (16h) i:nina:hi =’pi wi:h=ča:kih+etehe =meko waša:š+aki,
 at.that.time =HRSY X.was.about.to.kill.**them**.all/FUT.PST =EMPH **Osages**

pwa:wi- otowe:+wa:tehe meškwahki:h+aki.
 not **they**.had.taken.<*their*>.side/PST.SUBJ **Meskwakis**

At that time **the Osages** would all have been killed,
 if **the Meskwakis** hadn't taken *their* part.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.1 8F]

- (16i) “o:hwa:, we:nahi: =’ni to:taw+akehe,”
 oh.no! that's.it that if.I.had.treated.**him**. {that.way}/PST.SUBJ

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought. {that}/CONJ

“Alas, if only I had done *that* to **him**!” **he** thought.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2775 35J]

2.3.2.11. Negative

The negative mood has the same distribution as the independent indicative and the independent dubitative. It occurs exclusively in main clauses, and almost exclusively in conversation. In narrative, it is used infrequently for heightened effect. It is the stock conversational mood for negative statements. It occurs in conjunction with the negative particle *a:kwi*.

In conversation, negative statements typically consist of the negative particle *a:kwi* and a verb in negative mood. In narrative, negative statements typically consist of a verb in aorist conjunct mood containing the negative preverb *pwa:wi-*. Other possibilities for

negative statements in Meskwaki include: negative particle *a:kwi* combined with an aorist conjunct or future conjunct verb; negative potential particle *awita* ‘would not, could not’ combined with a verb in potential mood; negative prohibitive particle *ka:ta* ‘don’t’ combined with a verb in prohibitive mood.

The negative mood inflects like the aorist conjunct, except that it lacks the aorist proclitic *e:h=*, and adds final *-ini* to the conjunct endings.

Negative mood has two rarer derivatives: a future negative, which adds the future proclitic *(w)i:h=*, and a negative past, which replaces the negative ending *-ini* with *-ehe*. The future negative and the negative past have the same distribution as the future indicative and the changed past: they occur exclusively in main clauses, and exclusively in conversation.

Examples of the negative mood are given in (17a)-(17b). An example of the future negative is given in (17c). Examples of the negative past are given in (17e)-(17g).

(17a) *i:niki =’pi ke:hkya:h+aki a:kwi wi:seni+wa:čini =’pi.*
those =HRSY old.people not they.ate/NEG =HRSY
Those old people didn’t eat.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 31G]

Compare the aorist conjunct verbs *e:h=wi:seni+wa:či* ‘**They** ate’ and *e:h=pwa:wi-wi:seni+wa:či* ‘**They** didn’t eat.’

(17b) *a:kwi owiye:h+a ke:hena a:hkwe:+čini.*
 not **someone** sure.enough **s/he**.gets.angry/NEG
 mahkwači =meko *wi:če:noti:+waki.*
 quietly =EMPH **they**.play.together/IND

Sure enough, **no one** gets angry.
They play together peaceably.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 1892.1 19I-J]

(17c) “i:noki =we: =wi:na a:kwi aya:pami wi:h=pya:+ya:nini,”
 this.time =however =but not back I.will.come/FUT.NEG

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought. {that}/CONJ

“This time, however, I won’t come back,” **he** thought.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 29H]

The sentence in (17c) expresses a future negative proposition. Compare (17d), which expresses a nearly identical proposition by means of a negative preverb with future conjunct mood, instead of a negative particle with future negative mood. Note the presence in (17d) of the particle *i:ni* ‘then, now’:

(17d) “nahi, i:noki: =’ni wi:h=pwa:wi- pya:+ya:ni,”
 all.right! this.time now not I.will.come/FUT.CONJ

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought. {that}/CONJ

“All right, this time I won’t return,” **he** thought.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.6 58G]

Three examples of the negative past are given in (17e)-(17g). The negative past verb in (17e) is pluperfect, and the negative past verbs in (17f) and (17g) are evidential:

(17e) kaš =a:kwi =ni:hka =’yo:we nahipaho+tehe: =’na mešihke:h+a.
 why! not =by.gosh =formerly **he**.could.run/PST.NEG **that Turtle**
 Why, by gosh, way back when, **that Turtle** couldn’t run.

[Anonymous 4 NAA 2024A.5 21D]

(17f) a:kwi =ye:toke =ka:hkami a:čimo+yanehe.
not =EVID in.the.first.place you.told.the.story/PST.NEG
Why didn't you report this in the first place!

[Anonymous 13 NAA 2024A.12 72I]

(17g) a:kwi: ='na =ye:toke kehke:nem+atehe.
not **that** =EVID you.knew.about.**him**/PST.NEG
It seems you didn't know about **that (guy)**.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 84M]

2.3.2.12. Interrogative

The interrogative mood has the same distribution as the independent indicative, independent dubitative, and negative moods. It occurs exclusively in main clauses, and almost exclusively in conversation. In narrative, it is used infrequently for heightened effect. It is the conjunct equivalent of the dubitative: it is used in statements for which the speaker has insufficient evidence, expressing speculation, uncertainty, or surprise.

This mood is marked by means of suffixes, which diverge in many respects from the regular conjunct endings. It has two rarer derivatives: a future interrogative marked by the addition of the future proclitic *(w)i:h=*, and a changed interrogative marked by initial change. The future interrogative expresses incredulity. It has the same distribution as the future indicative and future negative: it occurs only in main clauses, and only in conversation. The changed interrogative expresses a hypothetical condition. It has a distribution similar to that of the subjunctive and the subjunctive past: it occurs only in subordinate clauses, and only in conversation.

Examples of the ordinary interrogative are given in (18a)-(18d). An example of the future interrogative is given in (18e). An example of the changed interrogative is given in (18f).

- (18a) “wi:, kaši, nehta:we:+we:kwe:ni,” e:h=in+eči.
 gee! why! you.(pl).must.have.gotten.game/IND X.told.**them**. {that}/CONJ
 “Gee, why, you must have gotten game!” was said to **them**.

[Sam Peters NAA 2012.4 72I]

In (18a), the speakers have come back to camp to find their friends cooking bear meat over a fire. Their hypothesis is correct.

- (18b) “kaši =ča:h =ma:haki išawi+kwe:hiki,”
 what? =so **these** **they**.must.have.fared. {that.way}/INT

e:h=i+či =’pihi.
he.said. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“ča:ki =ma:hi: =’niye:ka pa:keso+kwe:hiki,”
 all =obviously **those former** **they**.must.have.had.too.much.to.drink/INT

e:h=i+či =’pihi.
he.said. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“I wonder what’s the matter with **these (people)?**” **he** said.
 “Obviously, **those (people)** must all have had too much to drink,” **he** said.

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.56 50K-L]

In (18b), the speaker has just discovered a household plunged into chaos. His hypothesis is mistaken.

- (18c) “ši:, pe:hki =meko ašawaye =meko wa:pan+okwe:ni,”
 say! really =EMPH long.ago =EMPH **it**.must.have.been.morning/INT

e:h=i+či.
he.said. {that}/CONJ

“pe:hki =meko asa:mekwa:m+owakwe:ni,” e:h=i+či.
 really =EMPH we.(incl).must.have.overslept/INT **he**.said. {that}/CONJ

(19c) nahi, ki:we:+no.
all.right! you.turn.back/IMP

ketema:kihto:+hkani k+i:yaw+i.
you.might.bring.ruin.upon.it/PROH your.self

All right, turn back!
You might destroy yourself.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.82 11F-G]

(19d) “ši:, ke:hテナ =wi:na =ne:hi: =’na we:pene:me:hi+hkiče,”
say! real.true =but =too **that** he.might.be.Turkey.Owner/PROH

e:h=iyo+wa:či.
they.said.{that}/CONJ

“Say, **that** might be the real Turkey Owner!” **they** said.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 36F]

Compare a sentence from slightly later in this story: prohibitive marks the first dawning of suspicion, but dubitative marks congealing certainty:

“ši:, me:me:čiki =ya:pi =meko ke:hテナ =ye:hapa: =’na
say! I’m.sure =present.time =EMPH real.true =I.would.think **that**

we:pene:me:hi+:toke,” e:h=in+eči.
he.is.probably.Turkey.Owner/DUB X.said.{that}.about.him/CONJ

“Say, now I’m sure **that** must actually be the real Turkey Owner,” was said about **him**.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 37E]

(19e) “ka:ta neš+ihka:ke,” e:h=ičoči.
don’t you.kill.us.(excl)/PROH he.told.him.{that}/CONJ
“Don’t kill us!” he told **him**.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 84H]

(19f) ka:ta =wi:na apane:ni+hke:ko.
don't =but you.(pl).smile/IMP

apane:nem+e:kwe =ke:hi: ='ni=meko
if.you.(pl).smile.at.**them**/SUBJ =and immediately

wi:h=kehke:nem+ena:kwe.
they.will.know.about.you.(pl)/FUT.CONJ

ka:ta =ča:h apane:nem+iye:ke:ko.
don't =so you.(pl).smile.at.**them**/PROH

Don't smile!
If you smile at **them**, **they**'ll instantly know about you.
So don't smile at **them**!

[Jim Peters NAA 2729.1 3G-I]

(19g) e:hki =meko či:pi:h+a, "ši:, ka:ta pya:+hkiče.
lo.and.behold =EMPH **chief** say! don't **he**.comes/PROH

wi:ška:pam+iye:kiče ne+nekwan+ani," e:h=i+či.
he.might.(trouble?).*him*/PROH *my.son-in-law* **he**.said.{that}/CONJ

Lo, then **the chief**, "Say, don't let **him** come!
He might (trouble?) *my son-in-law* with his regard," **he** said.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 23A-B]

2.3.2.14. Potential

The potential mood occurs exclusively in main clauses, and exclusively in conversation. It occurs with or without a negative potential particle, *awita*. Without *awita*, it translates as 'would, could, should'; with *awita*, it translates as 'wouldn't, couldn't, shouldn't'.

This mood is marked by means of suffixes, which diverge in many respects from the regular conjunct endings.

Examples of the potential mood are given in (20a)-(20d). Note that potential mood frequently coöccurs with the subjunctive.

- (20a) “wi:te:m+iyane, wa:pat+akapa,” e:h=in+eči.
 if.you.accompanied.me/SUBJ you.could.look.at.it/POT X.told.him.{that}/CONJ
 “If you came with me, you could look at it,” **he** was told.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2082.2 20O]

- (20b) “ni:mi+hkapa =ke:h =meko anwe:we:n+ama:ne,”
 you.would.dance/POT =and =EMPH if.I.played.it/SUBJ

e:h=in+eči.
 X.told.him.{that}/CONJ

“You would dance if I played it,” **he** was told.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 35F]

- (20c) “ne+mi:ša:m+i kana:h =nekotenwi ne:se:not+amowa:sa,”
my.sacred.pack at.least once **they.could.be.cured.by.it/POT**

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.her.{that}/CONJ

“My sacred pack could cure **them** at least once,” **he** told *her*.

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2794.21 5M]

- (20d) “awita owiye:h+a amw+isa.
 not **someone** s/he.would.eat.me/POT

owiye:h+a =ke:h amw+ite, mi:simi:si:+sa,”
someone =and if.s/he.ate.me/SUBJ RED.s/he.would.defecate/POT

e:h=i+niči =’pihi.
it.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

“**No one** would eat me.
 If **anyone** ate me, **s/he** would have diarrhea,” *it* said.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1879.5 14B-C]

2.3.2.15. Plain conjunct

The potential is debarred from occurring in narrative sequences. The plain conjunct fills that gap. It typically occurs in combination with the potential particle *a:mitahi* and with the narrative sequential particle *i:ni* ‘then, now’. In the rare instances when it appears without these particles, its meaning stays the same. It means ‘would’.

The plain conjunct occurs exclusively in main clauses, and exclusively in conversation.

The plain conjunct lacks the aorist proclitic. In other respects, it inflects like the aorist conjunct.

Examples of the plain conjunct are given in (21a)-(21d).

(21a) pwa:wi- =ma:hi: =’na -amw+a:te maneto:w+a
 not =don’t.you.see **that** if.it.doesn’t.eat.her/SUBJ **manitou**

okima:hkwe:w+ani,
princess

i:n =a:mihtah mani pye:či- ča:kat+aki mani o:te:wen+i.
 then would this hither **it**.would.eat.it.all.up/PC this town

Don’t you see, if **that monster** doesn’t eat *the princess*,
 then **it** would come and eat up this whole town.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 101G]

In (21a), plain conjunct occurs with the particles *i:ni* and *a:mihtahi*. The speaker is describing a specific unrealized sequence of events.

(21b) še:ški =meko mahkwa:či =meko mi:hkem+a:sa.
 just =EMPH quietly =EMPH **he**.would.court.her/POT

kapo:twe =meko: =’n =a:mihtahi i:nini owi:wi+či.
 at.some.point =EMPH then would *that* **he**.would.marry.<her>/PC

He would just court *her* quietly.
Then at some point **he** would marry *that (woman)*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 3111A.F 2C-D]

In (21b), again, plain conjunct occurs with the particles *i:ni* and *a:mihtahi*. The speaker is describing a generic sequence of events. This example is a fragment from a discussion about how couples conduct themselves under certain circumstances.

(21c) “nepe+yakwe =koh =meko matan+enakwe,”
we.(incl).would.die/PC =certainly =EMPH if.**he**.overtook.us.(incl)/SUBJ

e:h=ikoči.
they.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ

“We would die for sure if **he** overtook us,” *they* told **him**.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.3 15J]

In (21c), plain conjunct occurs without *i:ni* or *a:mihtahi*. As in (21a), the speaker is describing a specific unrealized sequence of events.

(21d) mehto:či e:h=nana:hi- =mekoho -kekeni:hi+či ='ni
as.if get.set.to =EMPH **she**.went.fast.DIM/CONJ then

a:wasi:me:hi iši- mya:nose:+či.
more.DIM {that.way} **she**.would.walk.slowly/PC

It was as if as **she** tried to go faster **she** would walk slower and slower.

In (21d), again, plain conjunct occurs without *i:ni* or *a:mihtahi*. The speaker is describing a pattern of events.

2.3.2.16. Prioritive

The prioritive mood is used in both narrative and conversation. It occurs almost exclusively in subordinate clauses, and nearly always occurs in conjunction with the preverb *me:hi-* ‘not yet’. It translates as ‘when (counterfactual)’. With *me:hi-*, it means ‘before’.

Prioritive mood is marked by initial change on the verb. However, the effects of this change are typically masked by the long vowel in *me:hi-*. (Remember that long vowels are unaffected by initial change.)

This mood is marked by means of suffixes. The suffixes resemble the interrogative endings, except that they lack the final *-:ni* or *-:hiki* of the interrogative.²²

Note that changed interrogative and changed prioritive both describe counterfactual events.

Examples of the prioritive with *me:hi-* are given in (22a) and (22b). Examples of prioritive without *me:hi-* are given in (22c) and (22d).

(22a) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=mawine:hw+a:či,
at.some.point =HRSY then **he**.went.after.him/CONJ

me:h- =meko -mo:hkaha+nikwe.
not.yet =EMPH when.it.was.sunrise/PRIOR

Then at some point, before sunrise, **he** went after *him*.

[Bill Leaf NAA 2764.17 14E]

In (22a), prioritive is used to describe an event which has not yet taken place, but which we can presume will take place subsequently.

²² The prioritive truncation requires some adjustment of third person plural marking. For instance, where interrogative has third singular *+kwe:ni* and third plural *+kwe:hiki*, prioritive has third singular *+kwe* and third plural *+wa:kwe*.

(22b) me:h- te:pat+aminikwe =meko nep+i,
 not.yet when.they.ingested.enough.of.it/PRIOR =EMPH water

e:h=ata:hpa:pye:sah+a:či.
he.yanked.them.with.a.string/CONJ

Before *they* had drunk enough water, **he** yanked *them* back by their leashes.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.3 8F]

In (22b), prioritive is used to describe an event that never took place. This is a counterfactual statement, with initial change masked by the long vowel in *me:hi-*.

(22c) i:noki =wi:na wi:h=ne:se:+wa,
 now =but **he**.will.revive/FUT.IND

no:make:he pwa:wi- ne:se:+kwe.
 for.a.little.while.DIM not when.**he**.revived/PRIOR

Now **he**'ll recover, but it won't be for a little while yet.²³

[Jim Peters NAA 1831 96J-K]

In (22c), prioritive occurs with the negative particle *pwa:wi-* 'not' in place of the negative particle *me:hi-* 'not yet'.

(22d) “šihihwi:, ne:h- anenwi:+kwe =ni:hka k+o:s+ena:n+a,”
 golly! never when.**he**.bathed/PRIOR =by.gosh **our.(incl).father**

e:h=iyo+wa:či.
they.said.{that}/CONJ

“Golly, **our father** never used to swim!” **they** said.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 49N]

²³ Literally, “Now **he**'ll recover, when **he** has not-recovered for a little while.”

In (22d), prioritive is used to describe an event that never took place. The prioritive here occurs as the main clause of its sentence, and without *me:hi-*. Here the initial change is overt. The unchanged form of this verb would be *nah-anenwi:+kwe*.

2.3.2.17. Assertive

The assertive mood is a conversational mood. It is only used in statements about proximate third persons. It conveys emphatic certainty.

The assertive inflects as an independent order mood, but in circumstances much reduced. It is realized as a singular suffix *+(o):pa:ni* or as a plural suffix *+(o):pa:niki*.

Assertive mood is used very sparingly. It crops up only thirty-odd times in the edited corpus. It can carry considerable force. For instance, the song in (23a), which the singer repeats over and over, louder and louder, is intended to goad his monstrous grandparents into imprudent action:

(23a) “maneto:we:hi+:pani apaya:ši:h+a ne+si:me:h+a,”
he.is.a.manitou.indeed.DIM/ASSTV Apaya:ši:h my.younger.sibling

e:h=išina:ke:+či.
he.sang. {that}/CONJ

“**My little brother Apaya:ši:h** is a manitou indeed,” **he** sang.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 34K]

Compare the plural assertive version of *maneto:wi:*

(23b) “maneto:wi+:paniki anemi- mehtose:neniw+aki.”
they.are.manitous.indeed/ASSTV future people
“Humans are manitous indeed.”²⁴

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 38H]

In (23b), the speaker himself is a spirit. He is trying to warn his overconfident companion against trifling with a dangerous human.

(23c) a:ya:tawina:kwihto:+pani ow+i:yaw+i
RED.**she**.changes.*its*.appearance.indeed/ASSTV *her.self*

masahkamikohkwe:w+a.

Mother Earth

Mother Earth keeps changing *her* appearance.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 175C-D]

The sentence in (23c) comprises two lines from a ritual song describing the changing of the seasons.

(23d) “o:, ne+ta:nes+e, sanakat+o:pani e:šite:he:+yani.”
well! O.my.daughter **it**.is.difficult.indeed/ASSTV **{what}.you.want**/CONJ.PPL
“Well, daughter, **the thing you want** is difficult indeed.”

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2788 5N*]

The sentence in (23d) is pronounced by a mother newly alarmed by her daughter’s insistence that she will never marry.

2.3.2.18. Conclusive

Like the assertive, the conclusive is a conversational mood. It is only used in statements involving a third person proximate subject. Like the assertive, it conveys emphatic certainty.

Conclusive mood occurs slightly more often than the assertive. There are fifty-odd instances of it in the edited corpus. Since it takes animate objects, it occurs in a wider variety of inflected forms than the assertive. It is an independent order mood, and

²⁴ Spirits always refer to humans as ‘people to come’, or ‘future people’.

inflects like the independent indicative (note the prefix in (24c) marking second person involvement), except that it replaces the various indicative inflections for proximate third persons with singular *+(o):hapa* or plural *+(o):hapaniki*.

Examples of the conclusive are given in (24a)-(24c). Like the assertive, the conclusive may carry considerable force. For instance, (24a) is uttered by a speaker who has just peeped inside a house and seen, in the place of its inhabitants, a writhing mass of snakes:

- (24a) *ši:hče:, pe:hki =ni:hka ma:haki mena:nawi+:hapaniki*
 ooh! really =by.gosh **these** **they**.had.unusual.experiences/CONCL
e:h=nepa:+wa:či.
they.slept/CONJ

Ooh, by gosh, **these (guys)** really had strange things happen in **their** sleep!

[Sam Peters NAA 2024C 69A]

- (24b) *ano:hko, pe:hki =ni:hka*
 O.my.grandmother really =by.gosh
wi:ken+o:hapaniki pešekesiwi- ohka:t+aki.
they.taste.good/CONCL deer **feet**

By gosh, grandmother, **deer feet** really taste good!

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 952M]

The speaker of (24b) is a little carried away by this new experience.

- (24c) “*aše =meko ke+natawi- nes+eko:hapa k+o:s+a,*”
 merely =EMPH trying.to **he**.kills.you/CONCL **your father**
e:h=in+eči =’pi.
 X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

“It’s just that **your father** is trying to kill you,” **he** was told.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 16N]

The statement in (24c) is the result of deduction, rather than direct observation. Conclusive mood marks the speakers’ confidence in their reasoning, and directs a forceful warning to the addressee.

2.3.2.19. Participles

Any aorist conjunct or past or interrogative verb can be made into a participle. These participles occur without a proclitic, yielding ordinary conjunct participles, past participles, and interrogative participles, or with the future proclitic *(w)i:h=*, yielding future conjunct participles, future past participles, and future interrogative participles, or with the aorist proclitic *e:h=*, yielding locative conjunct participles, locative past participles, and locative interrogative participles.

All participles are marked by initial change. However, initial change is masked in the case of future and locative participles, since the proclitics *(w)i:h=* and *e:h=* both contain a long vowel.

The participial endings resemble the regular nominal endings: *-a* for animate proximate singular, *-iki* for animate proximate plural, *-ini* for animate obviative singular, *-ihi* for animate obviative plural, *-i* for inanimate singular, and *-ini* for inanimate plural.

Locative participles are conceived of as inanimate. They take inanimate singular or inanimate plural participial endings.

Past participles are generally inanimate, but may be animate. However, in the case of the past participles, the participial endings are not overtly marked,²⁵ so that gender and number of the participle must be deduced from the context in which it appears.

The range of things that can act as heads of Meskwaki participles is dauntingly inclusive. However, in the vast majority of cases, the head of a participle will be either

²⁵ This is a consequence of the fact that no suffixes may appear after *-ehe*.

the inflected subject of the verb, or an inflected object of the verb, or a highly salient second object of the verb, or a relative root contained within the verb (a relative root is a piece of the stem carrying a valence for a particular quality, such as *in-/iš-* for manner or direction or *tan-/taš-* for location or *ahkw-* for extent or duration), or an inherent locative valence or allative valence of the verb stem.²⁶

The examples in (25a) exhibit conjunct participles formed from animate intransitive verbs. In each case the head of the participle is the inflected subject of the verb.

(25a) **3s** inflection of verb, **3s** inflection of participle:

e:niwisa:+ta
one.who.runs.fast/CONJ.PPL
fast runner

[Jim Peters NAA 2789.1 1A]

Compare *e:h=aniwisa:+či* ‘**S/He** ran fast.’

3s inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

e:niwisa:+čiki
ones.who.run.fast/CONJ.PPL
fast runners

[Bill Leaf NAA 1879.1 15M]

²⁶ Participles headed by their subjects, objects, second objects, relative roots, inherent locative valences, or inherent allative valences all have heads that are internal to the verb. Some participles in Meskwaki instead have an external head. Participles headed by the particle *nehki* ‘as long a time as’ or by the particle *taswi* ‘that number’ are common. Illustrative examples: *nehki me:htose:neniwi+ya:ni* ‘as long as I have lived’, ‘in all my life’ (Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 39G); *taswi mi:n+eči* ‘the number of them that he was given’, ‘as many of them as he was given’ (Sam Peters NAA 1719 59G). Much rarer are participles headed by the possessor of some satellite of the verb. Illustrative examples: *i:na ow+i:hka:n+ani ne:s+emeta* ‘**that (man) whose friend had been killed**’ (Anonymous 6 2794.82 16A), where the head is the possessor of the inflected object of the participle; *o+hka:hk+eki ne:mate:+nika ani:p+i* ‘**the (man) who had an elm tree standing in his chest**’ (Bill Leaf NAA 2794.79 1A), where the head is the possessor of the participle’s locative complement. Also rare, and somewhat problematic, are temporal participles headed by the particles *na:hina:hi* ‘at the time’ or *i:nina:hi* ‘at that time’. Illustrative examples: *mani:=’nina:h=mek=a:peh=pye:ya:+wa:či* ‘this is the time when they usually come’ (Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 46J); *na:hina:h=meko ne:w+a:we:kwe:ni* ‘at whatever time you see them’ (Sam Peters NAA 2222 86A).

3s inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

nye:witepa:+čiki maneto:w+aki
one.with.four.heads/CONJ.PPL **manitous**
four-headed monsters

[nye:witepa:+čiki is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=nye:witepa:+wa:či maneto:w+aki* ‘**The snakes** had four heads.’ Again, the inflected subject of the verb is singular, although the participle is plural.

The examples in (25b) exhibit conjunct participles formed from transitive animate verbs. The head of the participle is either the inflected subject or the inflected object of the verb.

(25b) 1s-**3** inflection of verb, **3s** inflection of participle:

ne:kiškaw+aka
one.that.I.met/CONJ.PPL
the person I met

[ne:kiškaw+aka is not attested.]

1s-**3** inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

ne:kiškaw+akiki
ones.that.I.met/CONJ.PPL
the people I met

[ne:kiškaw+akiki is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=nakiškaw+aki* ‘I met **him/her/them.**’

3s-1s inflection of verb, **3s** inflection of participle:

ne:kiškaw+ita
one.that.met.me/CONJ.PPL
the person who met me

[*ne:kiškaw+ita* is not attested.]

3s-1s inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

ne:kiškaw+ičiki
ones.that.met.me/CONJ.PPL
the people who met me

[*ne:kiškaw+ičiki* is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=nakiškaw+iči* ‘**S/He** met me.’ Note that the subject of the verb again remains singular, whether the participle whose head it is is singular or plural.

3p-3’ inflection of verb, **3’s** inflection of participle:

me:hkaw+a:wa:čini
one.that.they found/CONJ.PPL
the person they found

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.68A 29I]

3p-3’ inflection of verb, **3’p** inflection of participle:

me:hkaw+a:wa:čihi
ones.that.they found/CONJ.PPL
the people they found

[*me:hkaw+a:wa:čihi* is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=mehkaw+a:wa:či* ‘**They** found *him/her/them*.’ Notice that here, where the subject of the verb is not the head of the participle, it may be plural.

3s-3' inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

me:hkaw+a:čiki
ones.that.found.him/her/them/CONJ.PPL
the people who found *him/her/them*

[Jack Bullard NAA 2673 23L]

Compare *e:h=mehkaw+a:či* 'S/He found *him/her/them*.' Here, once again, the subject of the verb is the head of the participle, and must be singular.

3'-3p inflection of verb, **3's** inflection of participle:

me:hka:+kowa:čini
one.that.found.them/CONJ.PPL
*the person who found **them***

[*me:hka:+kowa:čini* is not attested.]

3'-3p inflection of verb, **3'p** inflection of participle:

me:hka:+kowa:čihi
ones.that.found.them/CONJ.PPL
*the people who found **them***

[*me:hka:+kowa:čihi* is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=mehka:+kowa:či* 'She/He/They found **them**.' Here, the object of the verb is not the head of the participle, and may be plural.

3'-3s inflection of verb, **3p** inflection of participle:

me:hka:+kočiki
ones.that.she/he/they.found/CONJ.PPL
the people *she/he/they* found

[*me:hka:+kočiki* is not attested.]

0 inflection of verb, 0(′)p inflection of participle:

wa:peška:+kini pakiwaya:h+ani
white things/CONJ.PPL cloths
white cloths

[wa:peška:+kini pakiwaya:h+ani is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=wa:peška:+ki* ‘**It/They** are white.’

The examples in (25e) exhibit conjunct participles headed by second objects.

(25e) 1s(-⟨...⟩) inflection of verb, 3s inflection of participle:

we:kwisi+ya:na
⟨one⟩.I.have.as.a.son/CONJ.PPL
the person I have as son, my son

[we:kwisi+ya:na is not attested.]

Compare *e:h=okwisi+ya:ni* ‘I have (**him** as) a son.’

3s(-⟨...⟩) inflection of verb, 3’s inflection of participle:

we:na:pe:mi+čini
⟨one⟩.she.has.as.a.husband/CONJ.PPL
*the person **she** has as husband, **her** husband*

[Sam Peters NAA 2024D.4 70E]

3s(-⟨...⟩) inflection of verb, 3s inflection of participle:

we:na:pe:mi+ta
one.who.has.⟨(him).as⟩.a.husband/CONJ.PPL
the person who has (*him* as) a husband, (*his*) wife

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 35K]

Compare *e:h=ona:pe:mi+či* ‘**She** has (*him* as) a husband.’

3p-1s-⟨...⟩ inflection of verb, 0(?)s inflection of participle:

mi:š+iwa:či
⟨thing⟩.they.gave.me/CONJ.PPL
what they gave me

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 93A]

Compare *e:h=mi:š+iwa:či* ‘**They** gave *it* to me.’

The examples in (25f) exhibit conjunct participles headed by the relative roots *in-/iš-* ‘such a thing, in such a way; in such direction.’ Participles headed by relative roots are conceived of as inanimate.

(25f) **3p** inflection of verb, 0(?)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

e:šawi+wa:či
{what}.they.did/CONJ.PPL
what they did

[Anonymous 7 NAA 2794.63 13C]

Compare *i:ni e:h=išawi+wa:či* ‘**They** did *that*.’

3p-1s inflection of verb, 0(?)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

e:š+iwa:či
{what}.they.told.me/CONJ.PPL
what they told me

[Joe Peters NAA 3111A.H 9E]

Compare *i:ni e:h=iš+iwa:či* ‘**They** told me *that*.’

3s inflection of verb, 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

e:na:mo+či
{that.way}.s/he.fled/CONJ.PPL
the destination s/he fled to

[Maggie Morgan 2725.3 20H]

Compare *i:tepi e:h=ina:mo+či* ‘S/He fled thither.’

1s inflection of verb, 0(′)p inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

e:na:hpawa:+ya:nini
{ways}.I.dreamed/CONJ.PPL
the ways I dreamed, my dreams

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.88 12A*]

Compare *i:ni e:h=ina:hpawa:+ya:ni* ‘I dreamed **that**.’

Future conjunct participles work much like conjunct participles. Two examples are given in (25g).

(25g) 1s inflection of verb, 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

wi:h=ina:hpawa:+ya:ni
{what}.I.will.dream/FUT.CONJ.PPL
what I’ll dream

[*wi:h=ina:hpawa:+ya:ni* is not attested.]

3p-3′ inflection of verb, 3′s inflection of participle:

wi:h=mehkaw+a:wa:čini
one.they.will.find/FUT.CONJ.PPL
the person they’ll find

[*wi:h=mehkaw+a:wa:čini* is not attested.]

Locative participles can only be formed from verbs that have an inherent locative valence, or that contain the relative root *tan-/taš-*. Three examples of locative conjunct participles are given in (25h).

(25h) **3p** inflection of verb, 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

e:h=taši- nahkwamo:to:+wa:či
{there} *place.where.they.fish/LOC.PPL*
the place where they fish, their fishing spot

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 109H]

Compare *i:nahi e:h=taši-nahkwamo:to:+wa:či* ‘**They** fish there.’

3p inflection of verb, 0(′)p inflection of participle (licensed by inherent locative):

maneto:w+aki e:h=awi+wa:čini
manitous *places.where.they.are/LOC.PPL*
places where spirits are

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 367L]

Compare *i:nahi e:h=awi+wa:či maneto:w+aki* ‘There are **spirits** there.’

3′ inflection of verb, 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by inherent locative):

e:h=koten+a:či we:to:te:mi+ta
she.felt.him/CONJ one.who.has.<him>.as.a.sibling/CONJ.PPL

e:h=meškwinekwe:+niči.
place.where.he.had.an.armpit/LOC.PPL

His sister felt *in his armpit*.

[Sam Peters NAA 3111A.B 47G]

Past participles work much like conjunct participles. Examples of inanimate, animate, future, and locative past participles are given in (25i)-(25l).

(25i) 3'-3s inflection of verb, 0(')s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root; masked by *-ehe*):

a:wasi:me:h =meko ='pi to:taw+e:wa
 a.little.more.so =EMPH =HRSY **she**.treated.them. {that.way}/IND

e:to:ta:+kotehe.
{that.way}.they.had.treated.her/PST.PPL

She treated *them* a little worse than they had treated her formerly.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.1 12D]

The head of the participle in (25i) is a relative root, *in-*: the participle means ‘how they had treated her in the past’.

(25j) 3s-3' inflection of verb, 3's inflection of participle (masked by *-ehe*):

i:nah =meko e:h=pakin+a:či pešekesiw+ani
 there =EMPH **he**.threw.it.down/CONJ DEER

pye:taw+a:tehe ='yo:we ow+i:w+ahi.
 ⟨ONE⟩.**HE.HAD.BEEN.BRINGING.TO.THEM**/PST.PPL =formerly *his.wives*

Right on the spot **he** threw down *THE DEER THAT HE HAD BEEN BRINGING TO HIS WIVES*.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 20F]

The head of the participle in (25j) is a second object of the verb, the thing being brought to the wives. The participle does not agree overtly with its head. Its obviative singular character is cloaked by the past ending *-ehe*.

(25k) 3s-0' inflection of verb; 0(')p inflection of participle (masked by *-ehe*):

natawa:či: ='nahi: ='ni wi:h=mi:či+tehe
 nothing.for.it =EMPH then things.he.was.about.to.eat/FUT.PST.PPL

e:h=we:we:pa:hke:+či.
RED.**he**.flung.*them*/CONJ

Then there was nothing for it: piece by piece **he** flung away *the food he had been about to eat*.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 15B]

Recall that future past carries the meaning of ‘would have, was about to’. The head of the future past participle in (25k) is the object of the animate intransitive verb *mi:či* ‘eat’. The participle is presumably plural, since the verbal action is reduplicated, but again, gender and number of the participle are cloaked by *-ehe*.

(25l) 2s inflection of verb; 0(’s inflection of participle (licensed by inherent locative; masked by *-ehe*):

“peno+no =ni:hka e:h=awi+yanehe,”
you.go.home/IMP =by.gosh **place.where.you.had.been**/LOC.PST.PPL

e:h=in+a:či =’pihi.
he.told.*it*.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

“Go back to **where you were before!**” **he** told *it*.

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.68A 18H]

Compare *e:h=awi+yanehe* ‘You were there before.’ Only the context makes it plain that in (25l) *e:h=awi+yanehe* is a locative past participle, rather than a past verb.

Recall that the interrogative mood expresses speculation, uncertainty, or surprise. Interrogative participles reflect this uncertainty. A participle is obligatorily interrogative if its referent is not known. Examples of inanimate, animate, future, and locative interrogative participles are given in (25m)-(25p):

(25m) 2s inflection of verb; 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by relative root):

a:kwi kehke:nem+ena:nini e:šawi+wane:ni.
not I.knew.about.you/NEG **{whatever}.happened.to.you**/INT.PPL

I didn't know **what could have happened to you**.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.1 8F]

(25n) 3s(-⟨...⟩) inflection of verb; 3's inflection of participle:

ki:ši- =ča:hi =′pi -makekino:hi+či,
finish =so =HRSY when.**he**.got.big.DIM/CC

i:ni =′pi e:h=nana:tohtaw+oči we:yo:si+kwe:hini.
then =HRSY X.asked.**him**/CONJ ⟨*whoever*⟩.**he**.had.as.a.father/INT.PPL

So when **he** got bigger, **he** was asked *who his father might be*.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.35 1P]

(25o) 3s inflection of verb; 3s inflection of participle:

e:h=taši:hka:ti:+wa:či =na:hka
they.were.vying.with.each.other/CONJ and

wi:h=na:kwa:+kwe:na menehta.
whoever.would.go/FUT.INT.PPL **first**

And **they** were vying with each other over **who would go first**.

[Sam Peters NAA 2012.4 82A]

(25p) 3' inflection of verb; 0(′)s inflection of participle (licensed by inherent locative):

e:h=pwa:wi- =′yo=ke:h -kehke:net+aki e:h=owi:ki+nikwe:ni.
not =now **he**.knew.*it*/CONJ *wherever.they.lived*/LOC.INT.PPL
Now, **he** didn't know *where it might be that they lived*.

[Anonymous 7 NAA 2794.63 19J]

2.3.3. Verbal inflection summarized

To rehearse: every Meskwaki verb is specified for mood, for person and often number of its subject, and, if it takes an animate object, for person and often number of its object. In addition to inflected objects, verbs may take one or more uninflected objects. In addition to subjects, objects, and second objects, verbs may contain one or more explicit or implicit relative roots that add a valence which must be satisfied.

Word order in Meskwaki is relatively free. However, different word orders convey different implicatures.

There are 25 regularly occurring moods in Meskwaki, and nine modal categories of commonly occurring participles. Each mood has its own distribution and its own particular range of functions and implicatures.

Having completed this overview of Meskwaki nominal and verbal inflection, we are now ready to consider the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy.

2.4. The Meskwaki person hierarchy revisited

Ranked from highest to lowest (or nearest to farthest), the Meskwaki pronoun inventory is as in Table 4. Inclusive, second, and first person outrank the indefinite person, which outranks all third persons; among the third persons, animate proximate outranks animate obviative, which outranks animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate, and inanimate obviative.

This hierarchy is reflected in nominal possession. Recall that in Meskwaki non-third persons can possess any third person, whereas proximates can only possess obviatives and inanimates, and obviatives can only possess secondary obviatives and inanimates. Secondary obviatives and inanimates cannot act as possessors at all.

Table 4. Meskwaki person hierarchy

inclusive, second, first	12, 2, 1
indefinite	X
animate proximate	3
animate obviative	3'
animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate, inanimate obviative	3'', 0, 0'

2.4.1. Inverse marking

Meskwaki verbal inflection, like nominal possession, reflects the ranking in Table 4 explicitly, in its use of “inverse” marking. If a transitive verb’s object outranks its subject, the inflection incorporates an inverse marker, *+ekw*.

2.4.1.1. Inverse marking in interactions of non-third persons and third persons

So, for example, inclusive, second, and first persons acting on third persons exhibit “direct” marking (no *+ekw*), while third persons acting on inclusive, second, and first persons exhibit inverse marking (*+ekw*). This is illustrated by the constructed examples in (26a)-(26d):

(26a) n+i:h=ne:se:h+a:waki.
I.will.cure.**them**/FUT.IND
I'll cure **them**.

(26b) n+i:h=ne:se:h+eko:ki.
they.will.cure.me/FUT.IND
They'll cure me.

(26c) n+i:h=ne:se:h+ekoniwahi.
they.will.cure.me/FUT.IND
They'll cure me.

(26d) n+i:h=ne:se:h+ekwi.
it.will.cure.me/FUT.IND
It'll cure me.

In (26a), prefixed *ne+* indicates first person involvement; suffixed *a:* indicates a direct transfer of action; *waki* indicates the involvement of a plural proximate person. Because the transfer of action is direct (higher-ranked acting on lower-ranked person), the subject must be first person and the object proximate.

In (26b), again, prefixed *ne+* indicates first person involvement; suffixed *+ekw* indicates an inverse transfer of action; contracted *waki* indicates the involvement of a plural proximate person. Because the transfer of action is inverse, the subject must be proximate and the object first person.

In (26c) and (26d), similarly, the prefix is *ne+*, and the suffix consists of *+ekw* followed by obviative plural and inanimate markers, respectively.

2.4.1.2. Inverse marking in interactions of third persons

Lower-ranked third persons acting on higher-ranked third persons also exhibit inverse marking, as in the constructed examples in (27a)-(27d):

(27a) wi:h=ne:se:h+eko:ki.
they.will.cure.**them**/FUT.IND
They'll cure **them**.

(27b) wi:h=ne:se:h+ekoniwahi.
THEY.will.cure.*them*/FUT.IND
THEY'll cure *them*.

(27c) wi:h=ne:se:h+ekwiwaki.
it.will.cure.**them**/FUT.IND
It'll cure **them**.

(27d) wi:h=ne:se:h+ekwiniwahi.
it.will.cure.*them*/FUT.IND
It'll cure *them*.

The suffixes in (27a) and (27b) consist merely of +*ekw* plus marking for the higher-ranked person: contracted *waki* for plural proximate, and *niwahi* for plural primary obviative. The inverse marker itself serves as indication that the subject in (27a) is obviative, and that the subject in (27b) is secondary obviative.

In (27c) and (27d), the suffixes consist of +*ekw*, plus *i*, marking inanimate involvement, plus the appropriate object marker.

Compare the direct cases, with higher-ranked third persons acting on lower-ranked persons, as in the constructed examples in (28a)-(28b):

(28a) wi:h=ne:se:h+e:waki.
they.will.cure.*them*/FUT.IND
They'll cure *them*.

(28b) wi:h=ne:se:h+e:niwahi.
they.will.cure.*THEM*/FUT.IND
They'll cure *THEM*.

In (28a) and (28b), suffixed *e:* marks a direct transfer of action. Again, only the higher-ranked person is explicitly marked. The direct marker serves as indication that the object in (28a) is obviative, and that the object in (28b) is secondary obviative.

Several of the logically possible combinations of the third person pronouns do not arise. Animate secondary obviative inflection occurs only in conjunction with the animate primary obviative—hence only in transitive verbs, and only in 3'-3'' or 3''-3' combinations. And inanimate objects and inanimate subjects of transitive verbs are not marked for proximacy. In theory, inanimate proximates occur only in the absence of animate third persons (much more on this in Chapters 3 and 5). So, by default, inanimates should be proximate when acting on inclusive, second, or first persons, and obviative when acting on animate third persons. This is a mere presumption, however, which may not invariably hold. I know of exactly one sentence in which an inanimate acting on an animate could be interpreted as proximate:

(29) i:ni =ke:hi: ='ni takwihčikan+i e:h=ahkwisa:+ki
 then =and that additive it.ran.out/CONJ

a:paha:pesi:h+ekwiwa:či.

RED.thing.that.brought.them.back.to.life/CONJ.PPL

And then that mixture that kept bringing them back to life ran out.

or, And then that mixture that kept bringing THEM back to life ran out.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2658.10 19H*]

The sentence in (29) contains two proximates, the inanimate subject of the conjunct verb and the animate object of the participle. Neither inanimate nominal inflection nor inanimate transitive subject inflection specifies the proximity of its referent, but here the inanimate demonstrative, the inanimate noun, and the inanimate inflectional subject of the participle are all three coindexed with the inanimate proximate subject of the intransitive verb. Hence they should be inanimate proximate. There are two possible interpretations of what is going on here: the subject of the participle may be inanimate obviative, violating agreement (not impossible. See the discussion in section 3.3.2.1); otherwise, what we have here is a highly anomalous case of proximate acting on proximate. This is theoretically impossible, but perhaps not actually impossible, where the proximates are of different genders. I will return to this example in (49a).

2.4.1.3. The status of the indefinite

As noted above, cases of third persons acting on inclusive, second, or first persons are marked as inverse; cases of lower-ranked third persons acting on higher-ranked third persons are also marked as inverse. This brings us to the indefinite, which occupies a surprising position in the center of the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy.

The indefinite is an odd category of pronoun. Indefinite marking appears in subject position, almost exclusively.²⁷ It is used in generic statements, and in passive-like

²⁷ I know of only three instances of an indefinite object. These instances occur in the same text, and the subject in all three cases is inanimate: *o:ni nep+i me:no+kini*, *e:yi:ki=koh=meko kehke:nem+ekwipi e:ši-*

constructions where the speaker wishes to direct attention either towards a verb's object or away from its subject:

- (30a) še:ški =ča:h e:šiti:+kini =meko išawi+pi
 only =so **{things} X.says.to.each.other**/CONJ.PPL =EMPH X.does.{that}/IND
 na:hina:h no:še:+kini.
 at.the.time X.gives.birth/ITER

So one only does just **what one is told to do** at the times when one gives birth.

[Anonymous 1 NAA 2999 105B-C**]

The cautionary sentence in (30a) exemplifies the generic use of the indefinite.

- (30b) i:ni ina:čimekosi+wa.
that **he**.is.told.of.{that.way}/IND
 “ki:šeso:+ni o:si+wa,”
sun **he**.has.<him>.as.a.father/IND
 in+a:p =a:pehe.
 X.says.{that}.about.**him**/IND =usually

He is told about that way.

“**He** has *the sun* for a father,” is usually said about **him**.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2790 42D-E]

Note the derived passive stem *ina:čimekosi* ‘be told of that way’ in the first sentence of (30b). The indefinite subject in the second sentence is again generic, rather than specific.

natawe:net+ameki wi:h=ahpi:hči-tahkepye:ya:+ki ‘And whenever one drinks **water**, **it** also knows about one *how cold one wants it to be*’; *o:, pe:hki=mekoho kehke:nem+ekwipi=mekoho nepi:h+i e:hpi:hči-natawe:net+ameki e:hpi:hči-tahkepye:ya:+ki* ‘Well, **the water** really knows about one *how cold one wants it*’; *ke:hena=mekoho i:ni e:šawi+či=mekoho a:čimoh+ekwipi* ‘Sure enough, **it** tells one about *that which s/he did*’ [Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 247H, 254G, 945K]. Note that the inanimate-on-indefinite inflection is +*ekwipi*: inverse +*ekw* plus *i* for inanimate involvement plus *pi* for indefinite involvement.

- (30c) ča:ha:, ke+mawinan+eko:pena!
 hey.there! X.attacks.us.(incl)/IND
 Hey there, we're under attack!

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2790 39G]

In (30c), the indefinite subject stands for a specific person or persons unknown.

- (30d) nawači- nepe:w+ona:ne,
 stop.to if.I.sleep.at.your.house/SUBJ
- meše:=’nah =meko n+i:h=kehke:nem+eko:ki.
 perhaps =EMPH **they**.know.about.me/FUT.IND
- mo:hči i:noki meše:=’nah =koh =meko
 even now perhaps =certainly =EMPH
- ne+ki:ši- kehke:nem+eko:petoke.
 finish X.probably.knows.about.me/DUB
- i:noki =ča:h =meko sese:si net+ešite:he.
 now =so =EMPH hurriedly I.think.{that}/IND

If I stop to spend the night with you, **they** will very likely know about me.
 Even now I must already be known about.
 So I intend to make haste now.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 65E-G]

In (30d), the indefinite subject stands for a specific, known proximate. The shift from proximate-on-first to indefinite-on-first inflection centers attention more squarely on the speaker’s internal process. He is anxious about the success of his mission.

- (30e) aškači =’pi: =’ni =na:hka e:h=sa:si:kisahtaw+a:či =’pi
 after.a.while =HRSY then again **she**.spilled.<it>.for.him/CONJ =HRSY
- i:ni pemite:w+i.
that oil

i:ni =’pi na:hka: =’na
then =HRSY again **that**

ke:tawi- =meko =’pi -matan+eči,
nearly =EMPH =HRSY when.**she**.was.overtaken/CC

e:h=ne:t+aminiči: =’ni pemite:w+i.
he.saw.it/CONJ **that** oil

After a while **she** spilled some of *that oil* for *him* again.
Then when **that (woman)** was all but overtaken again, *he* saw *that oil*.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 21H-I]

In (30e), the indefinite stands for a specific, known obviative. Here the narrator wishes to direct attention towards the object of pursuit. In the context of this story, it’s clear that the pursuer (Rolling Skull) is the same character as our obviative of this short passage. However, had the narrator said *ke:tawi-matan+ekoči*, ‘when *he* nearly overtook **her**,’ rather than *ke:tawi-matan+eči* ‘when X nearly overtook **her**,’ our attention would not have been so firmly fixed on the woman’s perspective on her impending fate—or on the separation between her perspective and Rolling Skull’s.

(30f) ki:ši- wi:seni+či, e:h=ana:hkahaha:+koči wi:h=nepa:+či.
finish when.**he**.ate/CC *they*.spread.mats.for.**him**/CONJ **he**.will.sleep/FUT.CONJ

ki:šenamaw+oči, e:h=we:pi- nana:hišin+owa:či.
when.X.had.made.<it>.up.for.**him**/CC begin **they**.lay.down/CONJ

When **he**_i had eaten, *they*_j laid out mats for **him**_i to sleep on.
When (*his bed*) had been made up for **him**_i, **they**_{ij} lay down.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.3 21B]

In (30f), the indefinite again stands for a known obviative. Here the narrator wishes to direct attention away from the subject of the verb *ki:šenamaw* ‘make up (a bed) for’. The agent masked by the indefinite is again clearly the same as our obviative of the passage,

but, in the main verb of the sentence, that obviate combines with the proximate into a proximate plural. Nothing prohibits saying *ki:šenama:koči*, ‘when *they* made up his bed for **him**,’ here; yet *ki:šenamawoči*, by redirecting our attention from the agency of the action to its effect, achieves a smoother transition to the obviate and proximate’s acting in concert.

(30g) “ano:se, wi:h=po:ni- kwi:natawesi+yakwe šo:niya:h+i,”
 O.my.father cease we.(incl).will.lack.for.(it)/FUT.CONJ money

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ

“mi:čit+asa šo:niya:h+i,” e:h=in+a:či.
she.could.defecate.it/POT money **he**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ

“o:, wi:h=mi:čit+amwa?” e:h=in+eči.
 so! **she**.will.defecate.it/FUT.IND X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ

e:h=na:te+ki peškipe:h+i.
 X.fetched.it/CONJ hickory.stick

“Father, we’ll no longer lack for money,” **he** told *him*.
 “**She** can defecate money,” **he** told *him*.
 “So, **she**’s going to defecate it?” was said to **him**.
A hickory stick was fetched.

[Maggie Morgan NAA 2725.4 12E-H]

In (30g), the indefinite again substitutes for a known obviate. The father’s agency is backgrounded in the final two sentences of this passage, focusing our attention on the hero’s reception of the implied threat. Note the foregrounding of the inanimate object of transitive inanimate *na:t* ‘fetch’.

In (30d), the indefinite stands for a just-mentioned proximate, relative to a first person. In (30e), (30f), and (30g), the indefinite stands for a just-mentioned obviate, relative to a proximate person. It never happens that the indefinite stands for a current

proximate, relative to a current obviative. However, it IS possible for indefinite to stand in for current primary obviative, relative to a current secondary obviative:

(30h) ki:ši- =’pi -pye:n+a:niči,
 finish =HRSY when.he.brought.THEM/CC

na:waškote e:h=pakin+emeči,
 in.the.fire X.threw.them.down/CONJ

e:h=wa:wi:s+omeči i:nini mahkw+ani.
 X.singed.it/CONJ that bear

pešekesiw+ani =meko e:yi:ki e:h=wa:wi:s+omeči.
 deer =EMPH also X.singed.it/CONJ

no:make:he =meko e:h=ki:ši- wa:wi:s+omeči,
 in.a.little.while.DIM =EMPH finish they.were.singed/CONJ

e:h=po:ta:hkwe:+weči.
 X.put.(them).in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ

After *he* brought *THEM*, *they* were thrown in the fire,
 and *that bear* was singed.

The deer was also singed.

In a short space of time *they* had been singed,
 and *they* were put in the pot to boil.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 117E-118B]

The primary obviative in (30h) is the hunter; the game animals are explicitly marked as secondary obviative, in the first sentence of this passage. Presumably their real status, relative to the hunter, never shifts (see section 3.2, and especially the concluding paragraphs of 3.2.3). The hunter in (30h) has several advantages of status, being human, live, and an agent. Nonetheless, when he slings the game on the fire, the verb used is indefinite-on-obviative, and not obviative-on-secondary obviative. The string of indefinite-subject verbs that ensues focuses our attention on the cooking process itself, rather than on the motions of the cook. Note the foregrounding of the second object of animate intransitive *po:ta:hkwe:.* The inflectional ending *+weči* is a variant of the

standard intransitive indefinite inflection, a “relational” variant that surfaces under special circumstances. It invokes the presence—the affected presence—of a proximate.

The reason that a current obviative can be made indefinite relative to a lower-ranked obviative in passages such as (30h), whereas current proximates can never be made indefinite relative to current obviatives, is precisely because wherever there is an obviative there is a higher-ranked person—a proximate—available as an observer. (See the discussion of obviation in 3.3.1.)

Proximates and, more rarely, obviatives can be backgrounded in favor of inclusive, second, or first persons; obviatives can be backgrounded in favor of proximates; obviatives, whether primary or secondary, can be backgrounded in favor of other obviatives. Inclusive, second, and first persons can be backgrounded only when politeness taboos come into play: when a speaker is deliberately oblique, either from a desire not to be rude, or from a desire to be very rude.

(30i) “nahi, natawa:či k+i:h=nenye:škwi:+pena,”
all.right! nothing.for.it we.(incl).will.split.up/FUT.IND

e:h=in+a:či o+si:me:h+ani: =’na me:kekine+ka.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ his.younger.sibling **that one.who.was.big**/CONJ.PPL

“ke:keya:h meših̄ta:wih+i:ke:ni,”
eventually X.must.get.me.in.trouble/INT

e:h=iš̄iwe:+či: =’na me:kekine+ka.
he.declared.{that}/CONJ **that one.who.was.big**/CONJ.PPL

“All right, there’s nothing for it, we must part,” **that elder boy** told *his younger brother*.

“Lest I eventually be landed in hot water,” **that elder boy** declared.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 25A-B]

In (30i), the indefinite substitutes for the second person singular pronoun. The speaker doesn’t want to offend his brother by crudely stating, “You’re going to get me in trouble.” Second person is in effect backgrounded in favor of first person, here.

(30j) “kwe:hta:ni- aka:wa:t+amo:ke:ni wi:h=wi:hpe:+ki,”
 fearfully X.craves.it/INT X.will.sleep.double/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či.
she.told.them. {that}/CONJ

“One must fearfully badly want to sleep with someone!” **she** told *them*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2012.4 85L]

In (30j) the speaker, an ogress, is very angry with her daughters for having married a suitor instead of killing and eating him. Normally, when you wish to insult someone in Meskwaki, you address her, him, or them in the proximate person. We can assume that the indefinite insult in (30j) is even more scathing. Second person plural is backgrounded, period, here.

Although the indefinite person can substitute for an inclusive, second, or first person in exceptional circumstances, it is classified with the third persons whenever some rough assignment must be made. Recall the division of the possessive prefixes into second person *ke+*, first person *ne+*, and third person *o+*. Nouns that take an indefinite possessor take the third person prefix *o+*, and a suffixed indefinite-possessor marker *+inaw*. An example of this is given in (31):

(31) “nahi, n+i:hka:n+e, k+i:h=natom+a:waki okima:w+a,
 all.right! O.my.friend you.will.call.them/FUT.IND **chief**

wi:h=wi:seni+waki.
they.will.eat.a.meal/FUT.IND

wača:h+a:pi =ma:h =a:pehe ot+o:kima:+m+inaw+aki,”
 X.cooks.for.them/IND =as.you.know =usually **one’s.chiefs**

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“All right, friend, you must invite **the chief** and company to have a meal. See, one typically cooks for **one’s chiefs**,” he told *him*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 56F-G]

Note that the possessed noun in (31) is proximate. The indefinite possessor is marked by means of a third person prefix, and yet it outranks the explicit third persons.

The restrictions on the use of indefinite subjects shed an interesting light on the conceptualization of the proximate and obviative persons in Meskwaki. I will resume a discussion of their status in Chapter 3. But the restrictions also shed a light on the conceptualization of the indefinite person itself: they suggest that it rates very low in the pronoun hierarchy, since in transitive sentences its tendency is to be used only where low-ranking persons are acting on higher-ranking persons.

In fact, however, Meskwaki ranks the indefinite person above the various full-fledged third persons, but below the inclusive, second, and first persons. In the independent order moods, cases where indefinites act on inclusive, second, or first persons are marked as inverse transfers of action, whereas cases of indefinites acting on third persons are direct. This is illustrated by the constructed examples in (32a)-(32c):

(32a) n+i:h=ne:se:h+eko:pi.
X.will.cure.me/FUT.IND
I’ll be cured.

(32b) wi:h=ne:se:h+a:pi.
X.will.cure.**her/him/them**/FUT.IND
S/he/they will be cured.

(32c) wi:h=ne:se:h+ema:pi.
X.will.cure.*her/him/them*/FUT.IND
S/he/they will be cured.

Example (32a), with indefinite acting on first person, is marked as inverse. Examples (32b) and (32c), with indefinite acting on proximate and on obviative persons, respectively, are marked as direct.

2.4.1.4. Inverse marking summarized

Consider the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy again:

Table 5. Meskwaki person hierarchy

inclusive, second, first	12, 2, 1
indefinite	X
animate proximate	3
animate obviative	3'
animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate, inanimate obviative	3'', 0, 0'

In Meskwaki verbal inflection, all cases of lower-ranked persons acting on higher-ranked persons are marked as inverse. So, in the independent order moods, all and only these verbs get inverse marking: those that have indefinites or third persons acting on inclusive, second, and first persons; those that have third persons acting on indefinites (there are a mere three instances of this in the edited corpus); those that have animate obviatives acting on animate proximates; those that have animate secondary obviatives acting on animate primary obviatives; and those that have inanimates acting on anything.

The animate primary obviative/animate secondary obviative distinction is not marked on nouns, and in verbs is marked only on transitive animates that have a primary obviative as one inflected argument and a secondary obviative as the other.

The inanimate proximate/inanimate obviative distinction is not marked on nouns, and in verbs is marked only on inanimate intransitives.²⁸ It does not participate in inverse marking at all.

²⁸ There are exactly seven cases in the edited corpus of “transitive inanimate” verbs with an inanimate subject acting on an inanimate object. They all appear in highly unusual contexts, and their inflection is composed of unusual pieces: *-:mikat* (mentioned in section 2.3.1.3 in the discussion of 6k), which normally derives from an animate intransitive stem an inanimate intransitive verb whose inanimate subject has properties usually reserved for animates, in these seven cases attaches to a transitive inanimate stem

2.5. Agency

2.5.1. The role of agency in determining the pronoun hierarchy

It's not immediately obvious why an indefinite person, a category of pronoun that exists to direct attention to other targets, should be formally classified as "more prominent" or "nearer" than all the third persons—especially when we know that the indefinite frequently stands in for current obviatives. The solution must be that the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy reflects a primary division between agents (first and second persons) and patients (nouns): and that, closely tied as it is to agency, yet equally closely associated as it is with third person agency, the indefinite straddles the border between these two basic categories.

It's clear in any case that an abstract conception of graded agency is at work here. The basic divisions of the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy, with first and second persons outranking animate third persons outranking inanimate persons, represent a common variation on the universal agent hierarchy.²⁹ The behavior of the indefinite in inverse marking suggests a strong divide between non-third persons and third persons (universally, a sharp divide); and a complication elsewhere in the Meskwaki system of direct versus inverse marking suggests that there's an even stronger divide, in Meskwaki, between non-inanimates and inanimates.

This complication is as follows: it's only in one set of moods, the independent order moods, that the full range of inverse constructions are marked. In the independent order moods, as we've seen, action of any lower-ranked person on any higher-ranked person, according to the scale in Table 5, requires inverse marking. But it's in the independent order moods alone that third persons acting on indefinites, and indefinites and animate

and derives what is formally an inanimate intransitive verb. Unlike every other inanimate intransitive in the language, however, the seven instances of IIs in *-:mikat* from TIs obligatorily take a second object.

²⁹ Discussion of the universal agent hierarchy originates with Silverstein (1976), who proposed that pronoun systems are structured according to a universal hierarchy of features that exhibit different language-specific rankings. The phrase "universal agent hierarchy" is now commonly used to mean something much more simple-minded than this: a universally-recognized ranking of first and second persons above third persons and, within the third persons, of proper names above (other) nominals

third persons acting on inclusive, second, or first persons, are marked as inverse. In the conjunct moods, the inverse marks only those interactions in which obviative acts on proximate, secondary obviative acts on primary obviative, or inanimate acts on anything.

2.5.2. Agency and the proximate/obviative distinction

In other words, one class of moods in this language recognizes a finely graded agentive scale descending from inclusive, second, and first persons to an indefinite agent to animate third persons to inanimate third persons. Another class of moods recognizes a more fundamental agentive opposition between the various animated persons and the inanimates. All moods, additionally, recognize the internal divisions of third persons into proximates and obviatives. It's this last division that we need to explain.

Since the metaphor underlying the entire Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy is one of graded agency, we would expect metaphorical agency to be relevant to the conceptualization of the proximate and obviative categories as well: in whatever field of choice we're given, proximates should be those third persons that are most likely to be agents, and obviatives should be the third persons that are less likely to be agents, so that it's the cases where the natural agent/patient roles are reversed (with obviative acting on proximate) that the verb is marked as inverse.

Two questions arise here: how far can considerations of agency take us, in explaining what actually happens in the assignment of proximate and obviative categories in Meskwaki? And what factors come into play, in determining which of a range of third persons are most or least likely to be conceived of as agents?

referring to humans above nominals referring to other kinds of animates above nominals referring to inanimates.

Chapter 3. Basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use

To consider these questions, we must examine the basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use in actual discourse.

3.1. Basic interpretation

3.1.1. The morphological restrictions on proximate and obviative assignment

The unbreakable morphological rules governing the assignment of proximate and obviative are as follows:

- (1) The inflected arguments of a verb must be of different categories. Verbal inflection does not provide for animate proximate to act on animate proximate, for animate primary obviative to act on animate primary obviative, or for secondary obviative to act on anything but an animate primary obviative.
- (2) The possessor of a noun must be of higher rank than the noun itself. A proximate noun can be possessed by inclusive, second, first, or indefinite persons, but if a possessor is proximate, the noun must be obviative; and if the possessor is animate primary obviative, the noun must be animate secondary obviative or inanimate obviative. Instances of obviative possessors are rare, but they do occasionally occur. Inanimate proximate possessors, which logically could occur (if the noun were inanimate obviative), do not occur.

3.1.2. Implications of the morphological restrictions on proximate and obviative assignment

These fixed rules raise two points of interest. First, the fact that the arguments of a verb cannot be of equal status suggests that Meskwaki, in effect, gets as close as spoken

language can to using a different pronoun for every person mentioned in a discourse. In practice, of course, no discourse that mentions more than three different animate third persons, or more than two different inanimate third persons, can preserve this ideal distribution of pronouns. Nonetheless, the underlying metaphor must be that participants in a discourse can be neatly graded relative to each other, with their relative status then reflected in “direct” or “inverse” transfers of action. (See section 4.2 for an interesting development of this impulse.)

Second, the fact that a proximate may be the patient of an obviative agent, but cannot be possessed by an obviative possessor, already indicates that a wider principle than agency alone must be at work in distinguishing proximates from obviatives. Agency is one factor among many that together establish the relative prominence of two different persons. In possessive relations, however, relative prominence is incontrovertibly fixed. Possession, of its nature, requires that the possessed noun be subordinated to the possessor.

3.1.3. Relative prominence of third persons

Relative prominence, then, distinguishes proximate from obviative. It is the narrator’s interpretation of different third persons’ relative prominence, at a given moment in a given discourse, that determines which person receives proximate marking, and which persons are relegated to the obviative. Proximate marking indicates (one of) three things:

- (1) importance;
- (2) sympathy;
- (3) point of view.

A third person that is marked as proximate is being flagged as more deserving of attention than any other third person participant in the scene, or as more deserving of sympathy than any other third person participant in the scene, or as the locus of our

observation of the scene. A third person that is marked as obviative is being flagged as less deserving of attention than some other third person participant in the scene, or as less deserving of sympathy than some other third person participant in the scene, or as subject to observation by some other third person participant in the scene.

3.1.4. Two paradigms for proximate and obviative assignment

In ordinary discourses, the various factors affecting relative prominence frequently fail to line up behind a single character—and, in fact, are actively manipulated by narrators so that they shift about. Proximate and obviative assignments are accordingly continually subject to reassessment, and characters may change their status repeatedly within the course of a single narrative. “Proximate shifts” occur whenever proximate status transfers from one third person to another.

3.1.4.1. Narrow-domain proximate and obviative assignment

In a preliminary study (Thomason 1995), I compared two broad paradigms governing the patterns of proximate shifts. I discovered that in discourses where there is little motivation for preserving elaborate distinctions among third persons, the proximate/obviative opposition nearly reduces to a function of syntax: there is an overriding tendency to make each new third person subject proximate.

This paradigm works as follows. Where there is no motivation for preserving distinctions among third persons across stretches of discourse, the domain for proximate and obviative assignment is restricted to the most local level of all: the clause at minimum, the sentence at maximum. Within domains so local, actual agency looms large in determining prominence. Since we’re offered only one choice of actor per clause, the subject’s actions are bound to be more important than any other participant’s. Hence, unless there is an exceedingly good reason for preferring the object’s to the subject’s

point of view (as arises, for instance, when the subject is nonhuman and the object is human), every new third person subject will be proximate.

In Michelson's corpus, the texts that invoke a large number of third persons and nonetheless employ this paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment fall into one of two categories: autobiographies, where, at the global level, the person whose actions are most important and the person whose point of view we are intended to take are one and the same—the narrator herself or himself (hence first person, and removed from the sphere of proximate and obviative assignment); and descriptions of ceremonies, where prominence is determined entirely locally, act by act (“here's what they do when...”; “when the first person stands up, here's what he does...”; “here's what the singers tell them”).

The narrow-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment is employed not only in first person-narratives and in generic description, but in most quoted speech within third-person narratives. Quotes always constitute separate, embedded domains for proximate and obviative assignment. They switch over from narrow-domain to broad-domain proximate and obviative assignment only when they become narratives in their own right. Jim Peters' text “The Sucking Doctor” (NAA 1831), for instance, a text about a boy whose grandfather raises him to be a doctor, contains an embedded story—a winter story that the old man tells his grandson—that takes up 45 of its 111 pages.

3.1.4.2. Broad-domain proximate and obviative assignment

The second paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment is far more complex—and in fact varies, in many of its details, from speaker to speaker. It applies wherever there is a motivation for preserving distinctions among third persons across stretches of discourse larger than a single sentence. Such a motivation is clearest, and strongest, in cases of highly structured narratives employing a small, stock set of characters whose interrelations are clearly defined. Here, the domain for proximate and obviative assignment (the domain within which the various factors affecting proximate or obviative

marking must be assessed) is minimally the sentence, and maximally the entire narrative. Here, then, in interpreting references to proximates and obviatives, we must consider not only who is locally the most important actor, who is locally the most sympathetic experiencer, and whose point of view is locally most implicated, but also who is globally likely to be most interesting or most affected.

3.2. Factors influencing choice of proximate

A narrator's decisions about the relative prominence of third persons are influenced by a variety of potentially competing principles. Different categories of third persons are "weighted" differently in terms of their potential for proximate marking. This becomes apparent in the patterns of proximate and obviative resolution that emerge from the texts.

So, with regard to whose actions are most interesting: subjects outweigh objects; humans outweigh nonhumans; animates outweigh inanimates; characters whose importance spans the entire narrative, or section of the narrative, outweigh characters whose importance is more local.

With regard to whose point of view is most likely to be assumed: again, humans outweigh nonhumans, and animates outweigh inanimates. Moreover, onstage characters outweigh offstage characters, and conscious humans outweigh humans who are sleeping, unconscious, or dead.

With regard to who is most sympathetic: characters strongly emotionally affected by an event outweigh characters unmoved by the event. Even discreditable passions—envy, spite, greed—give a character a claim to proximacy. However, characters possessed by laudable or pitiable emotions outweigh characters gripped by selfish or wicked ones.

I will consider these points one by one.

3.2.1. Subjects are more prominent than objects

Every new third person subject carries with it at least a slight impulse for a proximate shift. In discourses of the narrow-domain type, this impulse tends to dominate. In discourses of the broad-domain type, it's frequently overridden by other factors. Nonetheless, even in narratives of the most complex type, the impulse to make subjects proximate in preference to objects accounts for a small proportion of otherwise slimly-motivated proximate shifts.

3.2.2. Humans are more prominent than nonhumans

Nonhumans almost never receive proximate marking in preference to, and at the expense of, humans. The system recognizes several degrees of humanity. One basic cut distinguishes all thinking and talking creatures, including talking animals, talking trees, talking quivers, etc., from unthinking animals, and from inert objects. Another cut distinguishes Meskwakis from everybody else: *mehtose:neniwaki* 'people' refers to Meskwakis only. Two important varieties of humanoid are contrasted with true people: on the one hand, members of other tribes (and especially the traditional enemies, the Frenchmen and the Sioux), and on the other, the manitous or spirits, who typically take animal shape.

In general, wherever true humans collide with Frenchmen, Sioux, or manitous, the humans will be marked as proximate. Other things being equal, the "nearer" perspective, the Meskwaki perspective, dominates.

This is a fixed convention in the case of manitous bestowing blessings. Meskwaki children, and, in extremity, Meskwaki adults, fast to attract the attention and compassion of the manitous. If successful, they are granted visions in which a manitou appears to them and offers them aid, supernatural powers, or supernatural gifts. In these contexts, the manitous are invariably obviative. This is a natural consequence of the fact that such

visions have a central importance in the culture, and are always presented as filtered through the dreamer’s experience. (See the discussion of obviation in 3.3.1).

In other contexts, Meskwakis may occasionally be made obviate relative to non-Meskwakis. This is especially likely to happen when internal experiences (thoughts or feelings) of the non-Meskwakis are described. (See the discussion of visceral experience in 3.2.7).

3.2.3. Animates are more prominent than inanimates

Inanimates almost never receive proximate marking in preference to, and at the expense of, animates. The rare counterexamples tend to involve cases where the inanimates are behaving like animates. Consider (33), from a passage in which an old man magically animates a series of household implements, while the hero looks on:

(33:1) ki:ši- kwa:škwina:te:+niki nep+i,
finish when.*it*.boiled/CC water

(33:2) “ši:, po:ta:hkwe:+no =wi:na =ki:na ata:min+aki,”³⁰
say! you.put.<**them**>.in.the.pot.to.boil/IMP =but *you* **corn.(pl)**

e:h=i+niči na:hka.
he.said.{that}/CONJ this.time

(33:3) e:h=pemi- ni:sehka:+ki mehtekwina:kan+i,
along it.descended/CONJ wooden.bowl

e:h=po:ta:hkwe:mikah+ki ata:min+ahi.
it.put.<*them*>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ *corn.(pl)*

(33:4) aškači: =’ni e:h=ki:šese:hkwe:+či še:šketo:h+a.
some.time.later then **it**.finished.cooking/CONJ **kettle**

(33:5) kapo:twe, “kotahw+i =wi:na =ki:na,”
presently you.try.**it**/IMP =but *you*

³⁰ In Meskwaki, in contrast to English, ‘corn’ is typically plural and ‘beans’ are typically singular.

- e:h=in+eči na:hka mehtekwa:mehkwa:h+a.
 X.told.it. {that}/CONJ in.turn **wooden.spoon**
- (33:6) e:h=kotahw+a:či.
it.tried.it/CONJ
- (33:7) kapo:twe na:hka mehtekwina:kan+i e:h=pemi- kwahkwi:sehka:+ki,
 presently again wooden.bowl along **it**.stood.itself.up/CONJ
- (33:8) a:mehkwa:h+i: ='nahi.
spoon =and
- (33:9) e:h=we:pi- si:kahike:mikah+ki: ='nahi ana:kan+eki.
 begin **they**.began.serving.food/CONJ there bowl(s)/LOC
- (33:1) After *the water* was boiling,
 (33:2) “Say, you, put **some corn** in the pot!” *he* said this time.
 (33:3) And **a wooden bowl** came down and put *corn* in the pot.
 (33:4) Then, some time later, **the kettle** finished cooking.
 (33:5) Presently, “Try **it**, you!” **a wooden spoon** was told, in turn.
 (33:6) And **it** tried *it*.
 (33:7) Presently **the wooden bowl** stood itself up again,
 (33:8) along with **the spoon**.
 (33:9) **They** began serving the food into bowls.

[Sam Peters NAA 2024B.1 9J-10F]

In this passage, the old man is obviative because he is viewed from the hero’s (proximate) perspective. The incidents involving the bowl, kettle, and spoon are framed within that larger context. In lines 2 and 3 the wooden bowl is acting on an inert substance, corn, which happens to fall into the animate gender class in Meskwaki. Recall that *po:ta:hkwe:* takes an object implicitly, but not explicitly. Hence in (33) we have an artificially-animated inanimate proximate acting on a technically-inanimate animate obviative. What this really amounts to is that the bowl is formally inanimate, but is acting as an honorary animate. A little later in the passage, when a wooden spoon is told to taste the corn (lines 5 and 6), the spoon actually jumps gender classes and is marked as animate, to achieve the proximate-on-obviative relation that the situation demands. Afterwards (line 8) it immediately reverts to the inanimate.

This passage is fairly remarkable in having an inanimate marked as proximate relative to animates of any kind. And notice that in the one instance where an inanimate (the water in line 1) is juxtaposed to one of the two humans actually present in this scene, that inanimate is marked as obviative. Everywhere else, the verbs are carefully chosen to keep humans and utensils from being mentioned in the same breath. This passage is a series of scenes-within-scenes, with the proximate and obviative marking of the humans resolved at a higher plane than the proximate and obviative marking of the utensils and food.

In other words, we know, as we read this passage, that the hero is the “real” proximate and the old man is the “real” primary obviative, throughout; however, they remain in the background, watching and directing, while at the local level each animated implement dominates the stage as it performs its tasks. The narrator chooses to recognize these local zigzags of prominence by marking each successive actor as proximate. What with the care employed in keeping the different levels of proximate/obviative assignment from colliding, this approach manages both to preserve the strict hierarchy of the larger situation, and to reflect the immediate prominence relations of the local situation.

Passages such as (33) indicate that a completely flat, linear view of proximate shifts can be misleading. A character may achieve proximate status without actually robbing the previous proximate of its status. When this happens, our field of vision contracts and expands as the narrator first draws us in to a tiny local discourse span by means of vivid proximate marking of a relatively low-status character, and then pulls back to show the broader relations again. We get the bird’s-eye, and then the worm’s-eye, and then again the bird’s-eye view.

Sometimes this can be performed within a very narrow scope:

- (34) e:hki =meko mehtose:neniw+aki,
 lo.and.behold =EMPH **people**
- mehteko:+ni ma:hani e:h=pa:sikikaha:te:+ki,
 trees these **they**.were.split.in.two.lengthwise/CONJ

e:h=sa:si:na:hkwikwe:ha:so+wa:či.
RED.**they**.were.squeezed.by.the.neck/CONJ

Lo, as for **the people**, **these trees** were split in two lengthwise,
and **they** were squeezed between them by the neck.

[Jack Bullard 2655.6 2K]

In (34), the inanimate intransitive verb with its inanimate proximate subject is flanked by a discontinuous verb phrase, with animate proximate subject to the left and animate intransitive verb to the right. Linear analysis of this sentence would yield an absurd result. Rather than effecting a series of proximate shifts, (34) presents us with an inanimate verb whose marking is invisible to its animate companion. The image presented is so vivid and so horrible that both parts, the description of the carrying poles and the description of the unhappy people squeezed between them, are highlighted in the proximate. (The people are being carried off to the larder of two cannibal giants, by the way.)

“Invisible” proximate inanimates—and “invisible” proximate animates: see the discussion in section 3.3.2, or the sentence in (71:27)!—are used sparingly in broad-domain speech. They occur only at dramatic junctures in a text.

In broad-domain narrative, with proximate and obviative assignment taking place within the sentence at minimum or the whole discourse at maximum, there is great latitude for speaker choice in deciding how small or how large to make each scene. Different choices make for very different stories. The passage in (33) could easily have been rendered with every extra-quote character in the obviative, in which case the wonderful magical behavior of the old man’s utensils would be presented as somewhat backgrounded and remote, with the hero’s reaction to them emphasized. The sentence in (34), which actually BREAKS the broad-domain sentence-at-minimum rule, could easily have been rendered with an inanimate obviative in place of the inanimate proximate:³¹ the result would be a much colder take on this affecting scene.

³¹ And indeed, Adeline Wanatee, in sober critical review of a similar sentence—in which a woman (proximate), chased by enemy Sioux, tries to climb the bank of a river but is hampered by her wet skirt

Proximate marking brings a character nearer to speaker and hearer; obviative marking makes a character more remote. In exceptional circumstances, as in (34), an inanimate can be brought AS near as an animate; in truly exceptional circumstances, as in (33), an inanimate can be brought even nearer than a (not very salient, not very sentient) animate.

3.2.4. Protagonists are more prominent than supporting cast

The ideally simplified situation, with strict hierarchical ranking of the participants in a discourse, is rarely realized in the texts. (But see the discussion in section 4.2.) However, any ordinary narrative makes at least one global hierarchical distinction, dividing the protagonist or protagonists from the rest of the cast. A narrator may in addition recognize figures of secondary or tertiary importance within a story. And in general, any character who figures over a long stretch of the narrative has a strong claim to proximacy relative to a character of incidental importance only.

A character's claim to larger-than-local prominence may be reflected in the local marking of prominence relations in one of several ways. It may override another character's purely local claim to proximate status. Or, as demonstrated by example (33), a narrator may make a local character proximate but go to great lengths to avoid shunting the globally-prominent character into the obviative. Or, and most interestingly, the globally-prominent character may shift temporarily into the obviative, but then revert with unusual suddenness to the proximate. "Unusual suddenness" means without the benefit of whatever devices the narrator usually employs to signal proximate shifts, such as overt nouns and demonstratives, or transitional verbs and particles.

Again, this suggests that both narrator and audience are capable of keeping several different tiers of prominence relations in mind. The abrupt proximate shifts mark a return to a higher tier of proximate and obviative resolution.

(inanimate proximate)—wanted to correct the inanimate proximate to an inanimate obviative. Yet clearly the inanimate proximate was put in by design. (Goddard, personal communication. The sentence is in a text by Jack Bullard edited by Goddard: NAA 2432.3 9H-I.)

The complexities inherent in such a system sometimes result in ambiguities. For instance, NAA 2222, by Sam Peters, contains several instances of brusque proximate shifts. In each case, the shifted-to proximate is the hero of the story, Piči:ša:h (“Petit Jean”). Truman Michelson recorded an English translation of NAA 2222, with the help of an unidentified interpreter. In translating one of the brusquer shifts, his interpreter slipped up:

(35) na:witepehki:+niki =’pi: =’ni =na:hka o+sese:h+ani,
 when.it.was.midnight/CC =HRSY then again *his.elder.brother*

“nahi, pe:hki =ya:pi =meko ne+katawi- šeki,”
 all.right! really =here’s.the.thing =EMPH have.to I.pee/IND

e:h=in+a:či o+sese:h+ani.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ *his.elder.brother*

“mawi- šeki+no =ni:hka,”
 go.and you.pee/IMP =chrissakes

e:h=in+a:či o+si:me:h+ani: =’na me:kekine+ka.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ *his.younger.sibling* **that one.who.was.big**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=nowi:+či.
he.exited/CONJ

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 22B-E]

My translation:

Then *at midnight*, again, to *his elder brother_i*,
 “All right, here’s the thing, I really have to pee,” **he_j** said to *his elder brother_i*.
 “Chrissakes, go and pee!” **that elder boy_i** said to *his younger brother_j*.
 And **he_j** went out.

The interpreter’s translation:

And at midnight he woke his brother and said to him,
“I want to go out.”
And he was told to go out.
And the older went out also.

There are two proximate shifts in the short passage in (35). Piči:ša:h’s elder brother briefly becomes proximate when he replies to Piči:ša:h’s announcement, while Piči:ša:h himself moves into the obviative. Here, the impulse to make subjects proximate relative to objects prevails over the impulse to make protagonists proximate relative to characters of secondary importance. This kind of choice is not uncommon, following quoted speech; nonetheless, the shift is sufficiently marked as to be accompanied by two overt noun phrases, one for the new obviative and one for the new proximate. Hard on the heels of the proximate noun phrase referring to his elder brother, Piči:ša:h reverts to proximate status in a purely pronominal proximate shift.

The shift back to Piči:ša:h is not so unexpected. Piči:ša:h is the hero of this text, and normally is proximate relative to his brother. Moreover, his brother has just given him a command, which he is performing; even a minor character might move into the proximate under these circumstances. Moreover, the proximate noun phrase effecting the shift to his elder brother is positioned clause-finally, suggesting that the shift is temporary (see section 2.3.1.2.2). In Sam Peters’ case, the distal demonstrative *i:na* of *i:na me:kekineka* also hints that this shift is a minor movement in the text.

All these indications, and especially the fact that Piči:ša:h is proximate by default in this narrative, combine to permit the abrupt shift in the final sentence of the passage. Nonetheless, the fact that the shift is not overtly signalled leaves some room for misinterpretation. In this instance, Truman Michelson’s interpreter mistook the proximate subject of *e:h=nowi:či* for a continuation of the just-mentioned proximate.

3.2.5. Onstage characters are more prominent than offstage characters

Offstage characters, however important, rarely receive proximate marking in preference to, and at the expense of, onstage characters. Proximate marking generally reflects the

narrator's choice of most prominent person *from among those characters currently available as observers*.

It's only when global considerations come into play, then, that an offstage third person can receive proximate marking. In (36), Jack Bullard allows global prominence relations to override the onstage/offstage consideration:

(36:1) manahka =wi:na we:či:+wa:či,
over.yonder =meanwhile *{whence}.they.came/CONJ.PPL*

pe:hki =meko e:h=ki:wa:ča:+niki,
really =EMPH *it.was.lonely/CONJ*

(36:2) e:h=waniso+wa:či.
they.were.lost/CONJ

(36:3) o+meso:ta:n+wa:w+ahi e:h=pwa:wi- kehke:nem+ekowa:či
their.parents not they.knew.<it>.about.them/CONJ

e:šawi+kwe:hiki.
{whatever}.happened.to.them/INT.PPL

(36:4) e:h=ma:mahkate:wi:+niči,
RED.*they.fasted/CONJ*

(36:5) wi:h=kehke:nem+ekowa:či e:h=išite:he:+niči.
they.will.know.about.them/FUT.CONJ they.wanted.{that}/CONJ

(36:1) Meanwhile, over yonder *where they had come from*, *it* was really lonely,

(36:2) because **they** were lost.

(36:3) *Their parents* didn't know *what could have become of them*.

(36:4) And *they* fasted again and again,

(36:5) wanting to learn about **them**.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2673 7A-F]

The two women who are the cause of the anxious activity in (36) are the protagonists of Jack Bullard's story. Their departure, by stealth, from their native village, and their subsequent adventures, dominate the story up to the point where passage (36) begins.

Their parents, on the other hand, are introduced here for the first time, and figure only

incidentally in the story. Jack Bullard here emphasizes the difference in global status of the characters by marking the parents as subordinate in interest to their daughters, even though the parents are actual participants in the scene and the daughters are not, and even though the parents are gripped by a pitiable emotion and the daughters are not. By keeping the parents in the obviative, he steers us away from direct involvement in their concerns. We are invited to view their distress as a reflection on the daughters' heartless behavior, rather than as interesting in its own right.

The passage in (36) is atypical. In general, scene shifts that invoke a new cast of onstage characters result in a shift of proximate focus as well. This is true even in many of the cases where global prominence relations have to be taken into account. In Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's story in NAA 1875.7, for instance, one extended adventure describes the culture hero's encounter with a lake monster, Whale. At first the scene shuttles back and forth between Wi:sahke:h on the lake's surface, and Whale's family under the water. Later, after Wi:sahke:h has goaded Whale into swallowing him, the scene shuttles back and forth between the interior of Whale's belly, and Whale's increasing discomfort, seen from the exterior. Throughout this adventure, considerable care is taken to ensure that Wi:sahke:h never shifts into the obviative (except once, when the starving animals in Whale's belly first address him).³² Meanwhile, in every scene in which Wi:sahke:h is invisible, a member of Whale's family shifts into the proximate. Whale himself appears in the obviative three times, each time juxtaposed to Wi:sahke:h.

Part of this adventure is presented in (37). Note the use of preverbal proximate noun phrases in two of the three proximate shifts (the two shifts to Whale in lines 5 and 13), and the "defocusing" postverbal proximate noun phrases indicating an imminent change in the current proximate's status (Wi:sahke:h's in lines 4; Whale's in lines 9 and 13). The one proximate shift to the culture hero is effected purely pronominally (line 10).

³² When Wi:sahke:h shifts into the obviative, the animals are the utterers of the quote, which always introduces at least the possibility of a proximate shift, even in cases of great discrepancy of rank. More to the point, though, the animals are a focus of pity at this juncture of the text: they are announcing how famished they are.

- (37:1) e:h=kehči- pehtawe:+či =’pi,
greatly **he**.made.a.fire/CONJ =HRSY
- (37:2) nep+i =’pi e:h=nemato:+či,
water =HRSY **he**.put.it.on/CONJ
- (37:3) e:h=papahkwe:šw+a:či =’pi ow+i:ya:s+ani.
RED.**he**.cut.a.slice.from.*him*/CONJ =HRSY his.flesh(pl)
- (37:4) ma:ne =meko e:h=wača:ho+či =’pi i:na wi:sahke:h+a.
a.lot =EMPH **he**.cooked.<it>/CONJ =HRSY **that** **Wi:sahke:h**
- (37:5) o:ni =’pi i:na meši:name:kw+a
and.then =HRSY **that** **Whale**
- e:h=we:pi- a:hkwamat+aki =’pi.
begin **he**.felt.ill/CONJ =HRSY
- (37:6) “pe:hki =meko ne+si:si:samat+a na:minawe,”
really =EMPH I.have.sharp.quick.pains/IND inside.the.body
- e:h=i+či =’pi.
he.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY
- (37:7) “ki:na =koči: =’na wi:h=to:taw+a:wate:ni.
you =of.course **that** {whatever}.could.you.want.with.**him**/FUT.INT
- (37:8) ke+komisah+a:wa keki-či:ma:ne.
you.gulped.**him**.down/IND canoe.and.all
- (37:9) nešiwina:kwate+niwi wi:h=mawinan+ači o+či:ma:n+i,”
it.looked.terrible/IND you.will.attack.**him**/FUT.CONJ his.canoe
- e:h=in+eči i:na meši:neme:kw+a.
X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **that** **Whale**
- (37:10) o:ni =’pi e:h=ki:ši- wača:ho+či.
and.then =HRSY finish **he**.cooked/CONJ
- (37:11) “wi:seni+ko,” e:h=in+a:či o+si:me:h+ahi.
you.(pl).eat/IMP **he**.told.*them*.{that}/CONJ *his.younger.siblings*
- (37:12) e:h=wi:seni+niči.
they.ate/CONJ

(37:13) i:na =ke:hi =’pi, “kaši, pe:hki =ma:h =meko ne+pasa:hkoso,”
that =and =HRSY why! really =see =EMPH I.have.a.fever/IND

e:h=i+či: =’na meši:name:kw+a.
he.said. {that}/CONJ **that Whale**

(37:1) **He** really built up the fire

(37:2) and put on *water*

(37:3) and cut slice after slice of *his flesh*.

(37:4) **That Wi:sahke:h** cooked a great deal of *it*.

(37:5) And then **that Whale** began to feel ill.

(37:6) “I’m really suffering stabs of pain inside,” **he** said.

(37:7) “Whatever could you have wanted with **that (guy)**!

(37:8) You gulped **him** down canoe and all.

(37:9) *His canoe* looked terrible for you to attack **him**,” **that Whale** was told.

(37:10) And then **he** was done cooking.

(37:11) “Eat!” **he** told *his younger brothers*.

(37:12) And *they* ate.

(37:13) As for **that (guy)**, “Why, see, I really have a fever!” **that Whale** said.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1875.7 5N-6I]

The passage in (37) exemplifies an interesting feature of Meskwaki narrative. Characters can be in contact with each other and still not occupy the same scene. *Only those characters that are available as observers are active participants in a scene.* When Wi:sahke:h is on the lake’s surface calling down to Whale, neither can see the other; when Wi:sahke:h is inside Whale’s belly, he can see Whale, but Whale can’t see him.

A scene is defined by the current field of vision. It shifts whenever the field of vision shifts. Since proximate status is frequently linked to perspective, proximate shifts can be used to shift the field of vision. Even in the absence of scene-shifting verbs and particles, they can take us to a far distant spot, or to a point that was previously visible from a different perspective, or to a point right at hand but previously invisible: under the lake, or inside the monster’s belly, or inside a house, or in a tree-top, or inside a hollow log.

Scene shifts, accompanied by proximate shifts, can occur in rapid-fire succession. In (38), the story's hero, Turkey Owner, has just shot a large number of turkeys in the woods:

- (38:1) e:h=po:ni- pemw+a:či, e:h=na:kwa:+či.
 cease he.shot.them/CONJ he.went.home/CONJ
- (38:2) e:h=kwa:pa:kwaso+wa:či pene:w+aki, me:teno:ški =taswi =meko.
 they.lay.scattered/CONJ turkeys tremendous {that.number} =EMPH
- (38:3) “nahi, nana:tom+ehko: =’nah =na:hka.
 all.right! RED.you.summon.them/IMP =time.to again
- (38:4) i:nina:h ke+meč- aka:wa:n+a:pwa:toke =na:hka pene:w+aki,”
 by.now quite you(pl).must.crave.them/DUB again turkeys
- e:h=i+či.
 he.said. {that}/CONJ
- (38:5) kekapeno:he =meko
 children.in.tow =EMPH
- na:hka e:h=we:patahoko+wa:či maškimate:h+ani.
 again they.set.off.carrying(them)on.their.backs/CONJ sacks
- (38:6) o:ni: =’na we:pene:me:h+a ow+i:hka:n+ani e:h=natom+a:či.
 and.then that Turkey.Owner his.friend he.summoned.him/CONJ

- (38:1) He stopped shooting *them* and went home.
 (38:2) **Turkeys** lay scattered all over, a tremendous amount of them.
 (38:3) “All right, it’s time to go call **them** again!
 (38:4) By now you must be quite keen to have more **turkeys**,” he said.
 (38:5) Children in tow, **they** again set off with sacks on their backs.
 (38:6) And then **that Turkey Owner** invited *his friend* over.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 50A-F]

There are extra-quote proximate shifts in lines 2, 4, 5, and 6 of passage (38). Turkey Owner’s speech contains an additional proximate shift, in line 4. (Remember that quotes

are wholly independent domains for proximate and obviative assignment, and that they tend to employ narrow-domain assignment.)

In line 1, Turkey Owner leaves the prairie for the village. We are then given a brief view of the turkeys scattered about unattended, center stage, in line 2. In line 3, Turkey Owner, back in the village, tells two or more people (probably his ceremonial attendants) to summon the villagers. In line 4, the second person plural subject expands to include the proximate of line 3, and the proximate object shifts to refer to the turkeys. The verb closing the quotation marks Turkey Owner as proximate again. In line 5, the villagers set off into the forest. In line 6, Turkey Owner, back in the village, summons his friend. The shift in line 6, which introduces a new episode in which Turkey Owner and his friend feature jointly, is accompanied by two overt preverbal noun phrases.

In each scene in (38), the most prominent visible third person—often the sole visible person—receives proximate marking. As in (33), it’s clear that the hero remains the “real” proximate throughout this passage. In (33), Sam Peters focused in on scenes within the larger scene: in (34), the different scenes involve actual changes of location. In neither case does a proximate spotlight on minor characters—the bowl, the kettle, the spoon, the turkeys, and the villagers—cause the hero to shift into the obviative, or perturb the higher tier of proximate and obviative resolution.

3.2.6. Conscious characters are more prominent than unconscious characters

People who are asleep, unconscious, or dead are not possible observers. Hence they are likely to be relegated to the obviative, if they share a scene with at least one person who is still in full possession of his or her faculties. Examples are given in (39a) and (39b):

- (39a) e:hki =meko e:h=taši- kotakihto:+či,
 oh! =EMPH there **he**.suffered/CONJ
- e:h=aka:wa:t+aki wi:h=nepa:+či.
he.longed.for.it/CONJ **he**.will.sleep/FUT.CONJ

kapo:twe: =’nahi: =’ni pye:či- wa:sa:pa+niki: =’ni
 at.some.point =EMPH then hither when.it.was.bright.dawn/CC then

e:h=nepa:+či.
he.slept/CONJ

kapo:twe: =’nah e:h=nana:tohta:+koči.
 at.some.point =EMPH *he*.questioned.**him**/CONJ

“kašina:kwa, i:ni =me:kwe:h e:h=nepa:+yani?” e:h=ikoči.
 why! now I.believe you.sleep/CONJ *he*.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ

e:h=pwa:wi- =meko -pakana:mo+či.
 not =EMPH **he**.uttered.a.sound/CONJ

“wa:, a:kwi: =’nah mana pwa:wi- nepa:+čini,”
 why! not =EMPH **this** not **he**.sleeps/NEG

e:h=in+a:či.
he.said.{that}.about.*him*/CONJ

o+škikom+ani e:h=pakam+a:či.
his.*snot* **he**.threw.<IT>.at.*him*/CONJ

Oh, **he_i** was having a terrible time with wanting *to sleep*.
 Then at some point, when *the dawn light* was growing bright, **he_i** slept.
 At some point *he_j* questioned **him_i**.
 “Why, you’re asleep now, I believe?” *he_j* said to **him_i**.
 And **he_i** didn’t make a sound.
 “**This (guy)** did so sleep, after all!” **he_j** said about *him_i*.
 And **he_j** threw *HIS SNOT* at *him_i*.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2655.6 21V-22A]

In (39a), the hero is struggling to stay awake, and the villain conniving to put him to sleep. At the beginning of this passage, we are very strongly identified with the hero’s point of view. The hero remains in the proximate until the villain is aware that he’s asleep. As soon as the villain perceives him to be asleep, we shift to the villain’s perspective, and the proximate and obviative designations switch.

(39b) e:na:čimo+či nekoti ‘makitok+a’
{what}.he.said.about.<it>/CONJ.PPL one **Makitok**

i:šiso+wa i:tepi e:h=a:piha:+či.
he.is.named. {that}/IND **thither** **he.went.** {that.way}and.came.back/CONJ

manahka e:h=a:pi- taši- nepo:hi+či
yonder went.and.returned {there} **he.died/CONJ**

si:nene:piteki anike:me:h.
at.Cedar.Rapids beyond.DIM

nekotah =ye:toke i:ni =ye:toke e:h=nepo:hi+tehe: =’ya:h =taši.
somewhere =EVID then =EVID **he.died/PST** there {there}

kaho:n =ihkwe:w+a we:to:te:mi+ta
and.then **woman** **one.who.has.<him>.as.a.sibling/CONJ.PPL**

e:h=pye:či- we:piwen+a:tehe či:pay+ani.
hither **she.started.carrying.him/PST** *corpse*

What someone called Makitok said about his trip to there and back.

He came back from dying over yonder on the far side of Cedar Rapids.

He died somewhere over there, it seems.

And then **a woman, his sister**, started carrying *the corpse* this way, it seems.

[Sam Peters NAA 3111A.B 46F-47C]

In (39b), the just-introduced titular hero of the story—‘Makitok’, a man who died and came back to life—is thrust into the obviative relative to his sister as soon as she appears in the scene, once he is dead. Subsequently the story switches back and forth between the sister’s handling of Makitok’s body (with the sister in the proximate), and Makitok’s soul’s journey to the land of the dead (with Makitok in the proximate).

It’s not absolutely required that a sleeping, unconscious, or dead character be obviative relative to more functional participants in a scene. A narrator can always choose to assign proximate marking to index importance rather than point of view. Consider (39c):

(39c) o:ni mečemo:k+a e:h=ahkawa:pi+či.
 and.then **old.woman** **she**.was.on.guard/CONJ

pi:tike =ke:hi e:h=nepa:+wa:či.
 inside =and **they**.slept/CONJ

na:hina:h =meko pye:ya:+niči,
 at.the.time =EMPH when.*they*.arrived/CC

mečemo:k+a e:h=pane:net+aki.
old.woman **she**.lost.consciousness/CONJ

e:h=kehči- nepa:+či mečemo:k+a
 greatly **she**.slept/CONJ **old.woman**

o:šisem+ahi e:h=kehči- no:čiha:so+niči.
her.grandchildren greatly *they*.were.courted/CONJ

And then **the old woman**_i was on guard.

They_{i+j} slept in the house.

But when *they*_k arrived, **the old woman**_i dropped off.

The old woman_i slept soundly as *her grandchildren*_j were being seriously courted.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.44 12A-D]

In (39c), the grandmother of two young girls is trying to prevent them from meeting men at night. However, the girls' suitors are stars, and have special powers. They cast the grandmother into an enchanted sleep.

Of the characters mentioned in (39c), the grandmother is the least central to the plot. She is a relatively unexpected proximate. Note how her status is reinforced, in three of the four lines, by means of overt nouns. She remains in the proximate nonetheless, even though she is the only inactive participant in the scene, because the narrator wants to emphasize how she is affected by the event she put so much stress on averting. The importance *to her* of these proceedings she's completely unaware of is deliberately played up.

Similarly, a famous story in which Wi:sahke:h revenges himself upon his friend Turtle culminates in Wi:sahke:h's stealing a pillow from under Turtle's sleeping head. The

pillow contains Turtle’s war-bundle, and he is doomed the moment Wi:sahke:h gains control of it. Every extant version of the story has Turtle shift into the proximate at the moment when the war-bundle is taken.

There are also exceptions that prove the rule that awake/conscious/alive outweighs asleep/unconscious/dead. In a little story about a young man who is slain and scalped in battle and who is then given new eyes and new hair and is brought back to life by the chiefs of all the animals, it is repeatedly emphasized that, although he is lying dead on a battlefield, he is aware of everything transpiring around him. He remains proximate throughout the story, except at the juncture when he is fully restored to life: there, the emphasis is on Wolf, who raises him upright, and who has deliberately not been named until that point.

If all the participants in a scene are sleeping, unconscious, or dead, proximate marking goes by their importance in the plot. So, in “The Woman Who Had Two Husbands”, the woman is the protagonist:

- (39d) o:ni =ye:toke e:h=neso:šin+owa:či.
 and.then =EVID **they**.lay.as.three/CONJ
- če:wi:šwi =meko e:h=nahkom+a:či.
 both =EMPH **she**.assented.to.*them*/CONJ
- o:ni nekoti e:h=tanhkwe:hi+niči e:h=nepa:+či.
 and.then one place.where.he.had.his.head/LOC.PPL **he**.slept/CONJ

And then **the three of them** lay down together, it seems.
She had agreed (to marry) both of *them*.
 And then **she** slept next to *that one of them*.³³

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.31 4G-H]

³³ ‘And then **she** slept next to *that one of them*’: more literally, ‘And then **she** slept where *that one of them had his head*.’ In other words, it’s not a threesome; she is sleeping in normal orientation with one of her husbands, while the other husband sleeps with his head next to the feet of his two companions.

3.2.7. Strongly affected characters are more prominent than less strongly affected characters

Because proximate status often implicates a point of view, references to any character's internal experience are likely to be made in the proximate. Of the 1,669 occurrences in the edited corpus of third person aorist forms of animate intransitive *išite:he:* 'think, want, believe', 1,654 have a proximate subject, while only 15 have an obviative subject. Of those 15, three are used in contexts in which the proximate person is reading the obviative person's thoughts. The remaining twelve occur in cases where there's a strong motivation for using proximate and obviative to mark relative importance, rather than point of view. Consider, for instance, the clause in (36:5).

Internal states that have obvious external symptoms are more likely to be described from the outside, in the obviative. So, for instance, animate intransitive *me:nešite:he:* 'feel ashamed' occurs 101 times with a proximate subject, and four times with an obviative subject (25:1); animate intransitive *mi:ša:te:nemo* 'feel glad, feel proud' occurs 210 times with a proximate subject, and 31 times with an obviative subject (7:1); animate intransitive *a:hkwe:* 'become enraged' occurs 86 times with a proximate subject, and 29 times with an obviative subject (3:1).

However, even indirect, external reference to a relatively minor character's state of mind can trigger a proximate shift. For instance, in the introductory passage from the Star Husbands tale, the two girls and their grandmother spend a night sleeping out-of-doors. The girls speculate aloud about their marriage prospects. The scene shifts briefly to the narrator's, and then to the grandmother's point of view:

(40:1) “meči=ča:h =ni:na owiye:h+a nana:ši
 obviously.not *I* **someone** never

 n+i:h=kaški- menwe:nem+ekwa,” e:h=i+či.
 able **he**.will.like.me/FUT.IND **she**.said. {that}/CONJ

(40:2) če:wi:šwi =ke:h =wi:na ='pi
 both =and =but =HRSY

- e:h=ki:ša:koči- =meko -we:wenesi+wa:či.
 extremely =EMPH **they**.were.pretty/CONJ
- (40:3) mečemo:k+a e:h=taši- e:nihe:niki:kwe:ši+ki
old woman there **she**.lay.smiling/CONJ
- e:h=pesepesetaw+a:či o:šisem+ahi.
 RED.**she**.listened.to.them/CONJ *her grandchildren*
- (40:4) e:h=wa:se:tepehki+niki =ke:hi.
it.was.a.bright.night/CONJ =and
- (40:5) aškači nekoti natawa:či,
 after.a.while one making.the.best.of.it
- (40:6) “nahi, ni:na anika:na:ka ona:pe:mi+ya:ne,”
 all.right! *I* **that over yonder** if.I.have.<him>.as.a.husband/SUBJ
- e:h=i+či, ana:kw+ani e:niwešawa:+ničini.
she.said.{that}/CONJ *star* *one.whose.fire.blazed.bright/CONJ.PPL*
- (40:1) “Obviously it’s impossible that **anyone** will ever like me,” **(one of them)** said.
 (40:2) But, in fact, **they** were both extremely pretty.
 (40:3) **The old woman** lay there smiling as **she** listened to *her grandchildren*.
 (40:4) And *it* was a brightly lit night.
 (40:5) After a while one of them, making the best of it,
 (40:6) “All right, how about if I marry **that one over there**,” **she** said, about *a brightly blazing star*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.44 2A]

The grandmother is peripheral in this story. The narrator’s interjection in line 2, and the brief shift to the grandmother’s point of view in line 3, are introduced to put the girls’ conversation in perspective.

In general, a character who is strongly affected by an event has a better claim to proximate status than a character who is relatively unaffected by the event. Even when this claim is outweighed by other factors, it can produce ripples in a text. For instance, some narrators consistently restate current obviatives in overt nominal form in moments of emotional crisis:

- (41:1) ki:ši- wi:seni+wa:či =’pi: =’ni e:h=po:naši+niči =’pi,
 finish when **they**.ate/CC =HRSY then *she*.set.down.a.load/CONJ =HRSY
- (41:2) e:h=po:no:t+aminiči mese:he:h+ani.
she.put.down.a.backload.of.it/CONJ pieces.of.firewood.DIM
- (41:3) e:h=nowa:ška:+wa:či =’pi i:niki ihkwe:w+aki =’pihi,
they.rushed.out/CONJ =HRSY **those women** =HRSY
- (41:4) e:h=kehči-nes+a:wa:či: =’nini we:wi:ke:hi+ničini =’pihi.
they.beat.her/CONJ *that one.who.lived.there.DIM/CONJ.PPL* =HRSY

- (41:1) When **they** had finished their meal, *she* came and set down a load,
 (41:2) putting down the paltry pieces of wood she had brought.
 (41:3) And **those women** rushed out,
 (41:4) and beat *that poor woman who lived there*.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 31N-32B]

In (41), the victim is painfully surprised when her enemies burst on her from inside her own house. Her state of mind is indicated obliquely in line 4, by the slight emphasis that overt restatement of the current obviative conveys, and by the choice of the participle, and by its diminutive coloring. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha is presenting this scene with a certain detachment, keeping the villains in the foreground, but making it clear which way our sympathies should incline.

3.3. Conventional restrictions on proximate and obviative distribution

In addition to the fixed morphological rules described in section 3.1.1—two inflected arguments of a verb must belong to different pronoun categories, and possessors must outrank possessed nouns—two sets of conventions restrict proximate and obviative distribution. One is a set of necessary preconditions of their use: third persons can be used only in the presence of an appropriate observer. The other is a set of preferred conditions of their use: third person assignments should hold across a discourse span.

3.3.1. Necessary preconditions of proximate and obviative use

All third persons presuppose the existence of an observer.

Proximate is the default category of third person. A proximate is a third person viewed from an inclusive, second, first, or indefinite person's perspective. Proximates exist only in the vicinity of an inclusive, second, first, or indefinite observer. The observer may be immediately juxtaposed to the proximate, as is typically the case in autobiographical narratives and in quoted speech within third-person narratives, or may be outside the frame of the narrative altogether, as is typically the case in third-person narratives. In third-person narratives, proximates are presented to the view of the narrative's audience.

Obviative is a marked category of third person. An obviative is a third person viewed in relation to a proximate person, or viewed from a proximate person's perspective. Obviatives exist only in the vicinity of a proximate.

Secondary obviative is a highly marked category of third person. A secondary obviative is a third person viewed in relation to a primary obviative person, or viewed from a primary obviative person's perspective. Secondary obviatives exist only in the immediate vicinity of a primary obviative.

3.3.1.1. Preconditions of proximate use

A proximate is a third person as viewed by a non-third person. This fact has different consequences in different contexts. In first-person narratives, and in quoted conversation in third-person narratives, proximates are immediately juxtaposed to the non-third persons who evaluate them; extra-quote in third-person narratives, proximates are viewed at a distance, by the narrative's audience.

3.3.1.1.1. First-person narratives and quoted conversation

In first-person narratives, and in quoted conversation within third-person narratives, proximate and obviative are assigned according to the narrow-domain paradigm briefly described in section 3.1.4.1. When immediately juxtaposed to inclusive, second, and first persons, third persons of any stripe are so low-ranked that distinctions among them are scarcely worth discriminating. Very, very rarely, you run across an inclusive, second, or first person interacting with an obviative, but in general, third persons juxtaposed to non-third persons are marked as proximate. This means that proximate shifts occur much more automatically, and much more freely, in autobiographical narrative and in quoted speech than they do in contexts where there is more reason to preserve distinctions among third persons.

Examples of narrow-domain, same-sentence proximate shifts are given in (42a)-(42e).

(42a) i:ni =ke:h n+i:k+i še:ški =meko
that =and my.house just =EMPH

wi:h=inekihkwišin+a:ke n+o:hkomes+a
{as.much.space}.as.we.(excl).will.lie.in/FUT.CONJ.PPL **my.grandmother**

inekihkwihito:+kwe:ni ne+ky+a.
she.must.have.made.it.so.big/INT **my.mother**

My mother must have made *that house of mine* just *big enough for*
Grandmother and me to lie down in.

[Anonymous 1 NAA 2999 41G**]

In the sentence in (42a), taken from an autobiographical text, the narrator's mother and grandmother are both presented in the proximate. Both are third persons defined in relation to a first person.

- (42b) meso:te:we =meko mana maneto:w+a ke+te:pe:nem+ekona:na,
 all.over =EMPH **this** **manitou** **they**.are.pleased.about.us.(incl)/IND
 e:h=pakin+enakwe k+o:s+ena:n+a.
he.disowned.us.(incl)/CONJ **our**.(incl).**father**

All **these manitous** are gloating over us, because **our father** has disowned us.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 74H]

In the sentence (42b), taken from quote embedded in a third-person narrative, both third persons are juxtaposed to an inclusive person, and both are proximate. Both are defined in terms of their relation to the inclusive person of the sentence: the father directly, by means of a possessive relation, and the manitous indirectly, in terms of their behavior's impact on the inclusive person's frame of mind.

Compare an example of quoted speech in which one third person is explicitly related to another which is itself explicitly related to a second person:

- (42c) “nahi, n+oši:hi, ka:ta =wi:na a:čimoh+iye:kani k+o:s+a
 now! O.my.grandchild don't =but you.tell.**him**/PROH **your**.**father**
 ow+i:we:h+ani e:h=am+omaki,” e:h=in+eči kwī:yesē:h+a.
his.wife.DIM I.ate.*her*/CONJ X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **boy**

“Now, grandson, don't tell **your father** that I ate *his little wife*,” **the boy** was told.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 22H]

This sentence is one of the rare cases in which first person acts directly upon an obviative. The obviative woman is defined relative to her proximate husband, who is defined relative to his son, the quote's addressee. The proximate person is placed directly before the addressee's mind's eye; the obviative is viewed at one remove, through the lens of the effect her fate will have on her husband.

Note how the in-quote second person translates into the extra-quote proximate object of the verb of quotation. The quote's utterer translates into indefinite subject of the verb

of quotation. The speaker’s view is backgrounded here: at this point in the story we, the audience, are strongly identified with the boy’s point of view. The boy is both more central to the overall plot, and more viscerally affected by the events that are taking place.

- (42d) “ki:weška:+ta =kohi: =’nah =awi+wa
one.traveling/CONJ.PPL =certainly there **he.is.there**/IND
 mano:ne:h+a e:h=owi:ki+či,” e:h=i+či.
Manoneh *place.where.she.lives*/LOC.PPL **she.said**. {that}/CONJ
 “A traveler is at Manoneh’s house,” she said.

[Jim Peters NAA 2024C 106K]

In the quoted sentence in (42d), a purely third-person report, both third persons are marked as proximate. This reflects their status relative to speaker and hearer, rather than their status relative to each other. Such a sentence would be exceedingly unlikely to occur extra-quote in narrative.

- (42e) “na:hina:h =ča:h =mawinaneti:+wa:te,
 at.the.time =so when.**they**.attack.each.other/SUBJ
 e:he:way+aki k+i:h=na:pin+a:pwa,”
swan.skins you.will.wear.**them**.around.your.neck/FUT.IND
 e:h=ikoči.
 he.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ

“At the time when **they** attack each other,
 you should be wearing **swan skins** around your necks,” he told **him**.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2673 10C]

The in-quote same-sentence proximate shift in (42e) is from a high-status animate (a group of Meskwaki warriors) to an extremely low-status animate (a pair of nonhuman, nonliving swan skins). Extra-quote in narrative, this disparity in rank would be too great

to be disregarded: the swan skins would necessarily be obviative. In-quote in (42d), however, both warriors and swan skins are defined in terms of their importance to the hearer, and both receive the default third person marking.

- (42f) ki:ši- nowa:hke:+te: =’ni
 finish when **he**.throws.<it>.out/SUBJ then
- ahkwitapahkwe we:či- na:wahkwe:+ki otapahkwe
 on.top.of.the.roof **{thence}** **it.is.noon**/CONJ.PPL at.{that.side}.of.the.roof
- wi:h=as+ači.
 you.must.put.**it**/FUT.CONJ

After **he**_i throws *it*_j out, you must put **it**_j on **the eastern side** of the rooftop.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 35H]

In the sentence in (42f), taken from quote embedded in a third-person narrative, *nowa:hke:* takes a second object which would be obviative, if it were overt, and which surfaces later in the sentence as a proximate. The sentence in (42f) effects two proximate shifts: first to an inanimate, and then to an animate promoted from the obviative. The three third persons differ greatly in status—one is the high-profile villain of the story, one is a dead thunderer chick, and one is an expletive inanimate—but the differences fade into obscurity as each is presented to the hearer’s attention.

Rapid-fire proximate shifts of this type can result in overt proximity mismatches, as in examples (42g) and (42h):

- (42g) “šina:kwa, mehteno:h =meko
 why! only =EMPH
- ayo:hi te:pi- nawasw+a:te owiye:h+a
 here succeeds **he**.outruns.*them*/SUBJ **someone**
- i:ni wi:h=otehten+akwe ma:haki ihkwe:w+aki,”
 then we.(incl).will.get.**them**/FUT.CONJ **these women**

e:h=ikoči.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“Why, only if **someone**_i succeeds in beating *them*_j to this spot will we get **these women**_j,” *he* told **him**.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 145C]

In the sentence in (42g), the women start out as obviative, juxtaposed to the hypothetical third person who will outrun them, and end up as proximate, juxtaposed to the inclusive person.

- (42h) kapo:twe: =’ni e:h=we:pe:nem+ekoči o:s+ani.
at.some.point then he.started.thinking.about.him/CONJ his.father
- “mo:hči =ča:h =wi:na ne+kwis+aki a:kwi: =’ni išawi+wa:čini.
even =so =but **my.sons** not that **they**.do. {that}/NEG
- ki:ši- =ča:h =-nes+ake, i:ni ne+kwis+aki
finish =so if.I.kill.him/SUBJ then **my.sons**
- i:ni wi:h=išawi+wa:či e:šawi+niči,”
that **they**.will.do. {that}/FUT.CONJ {what}.he.does/CONJ.PPL
- e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought {that}/CONJ

Then at some point *his father*_i started having thoughts about **him**_j.
“**My**_i **sons**_k don’t do that, even.
If I_i kill **him**_j, then **my**_i **sons**_k will do that thing he_j does,” **he**_i thought.

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.75B 41A-C]

In the first line of (42h), just before the quote opens, our proximate point of reference is the story’s hero, Red Leggings. This sentence is the first sentence of the story proper, following a narrator’s introduction. For that reason, Red Leggings’ status, and his father’s, are determined by their relative global prominence. Since the sentence gives us access to the father’s secret thoughts, however, there is a strong contradictory impulse to

promote the father to the proximate. The impulse takes effect immediately following the quote.

Red Leggings' father has "real" sons, as well as a stepson, Red Leggings. He is brooding over the fact that Red Leggings robs his real sons of the limelight. The quote shifts from proximate mention of the real sons to a pronominal proximate reference to Red Leggings to a second proximate mention of the real sons to pronominal obviative reference to Red Leggings, all in rapid succession. Red Leggings, as we have been told, is in the forefront of his father's thoughts, but the rival sons are nearer in their father's affections. The result is this odd hybrid solution in which (1) both sets of sons are marked as proximate to their father's concerns; (2) Red Leggings is treated as default proximate (since he is referred to pronominally each time, whereas his rivals are overtly named each time); (3) Red Leggings' actions are nonetheless marked as obviative relative to the wished-for future actions by the favored sons.

3.3.1.1.2. Third-person narratives

Section 3.2 has already explored some of the many ways in which proximates can be viewed in third-person narratives. Nonetheless, it is worth examining additional effects in which such things as proximate plurals and indefinite-on-proximate inflection can be exploited for the benefit of an audience.

Third persons in third-person narratives are rarely brought into direct contact with inclusive, second, or first persons. (I should note in passing, however, that narrator's asides, whether in first-person or in third-person voice, tend to constitute discrete domains for proximate and obviative marking, just as quoted speech does.) However, third persons very frequently run up against the indefinite, which is technically a higher rank of pronoun, and which is generally used to shift the perspective on a scene—by directing attention towards an object, by directing attention away from a subject, or by mediating between proximate and audience.

Proximate marking brings an audience very close to the named third person, in the absence of mediating first and second persons. At many junctures in any given narrative, we're actually looking, hearing, feeling, and thinking through the proximate's imagined senses. Indefinite pronouns can be used to increase the distance between the proximate and the audience. An indefinite subject focuses attention on an object, but also introduces an extra filter of observation between the proximate and the audience, and can thereby increase the emotional distance between the two.

A particularly interesting instance of this effect occurs in one of Jim Peters' stories. Meskwaki has an enclitic particle, =*či:hi*, which is used to report direct sensory perception. In first-person narrative and in quoted speech, it is used to report a first person's experience; in third-person narrative, it is everywhere but in this single instance used to report a proximate person's experience. In (43), it reports an indefinite person's experience. A delegation of villagers is spying on some anthropomorphized Crow Children:

- (43) "k+i:h=anawin+a:pwa: = 'noki,"
 you.(pl).will.sneak.up.on.**them**/FUT.IND this.time
- e:h=in+eči me:wa:pam+a:čiki.
 X.told.**them**. {that}/CONJ **ones.who.went.to.see.them**/CONJ.PPL
- e:h=anawin+eči, e:h=kesa:pam+eči.
 X.sneaked.up.on.**them**/CONJ X.peeped.in.at.**them**/CONJ
- kaš =e:ški =či:h =meko owi:nenō:+ni na:naye:na
 why! lo.and.behold =POV =EMPH *fat* all.over
- e:h=ki:- ni:mam+a:wa:či ka:ka:kiwi- panaša:h+aki.
 around **they**.held.it.in.their.mouths/CONJ crow **young.ones**
- e:h=pi:tike:notaw+oči, e:h=manih+eči: = 'niye:ka neniw+aki.
 X.entered.**their**.house/CONJ X.robbed.**them**/CONJ **those.former men**
- "You_i should sneak up on **them**_j this time," **the people**_i **who went to see them**_j were told.
They_j were crept up on and peeped in at.

Why, lo and behold, **the Crow Children**_j were going around all over the place with *fat* in their mouths.

Those (guys)_j were entered in upon and robbed.

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.75B F-I]

The actual witnesses in (43) are negligible in the overall story. The Crow Children's mortification is what's crucial in this scene, and the Crow Children are foregrounded throughout by means of an extended use of the indefinite agent. Nonetheless, we view them at a remove, and explicitly through the medium of unspecific but also unkind eyes. Our sympathies are not with the Crow Children here. Their father has repeatedly admonished them to keep quiet, while they persist in shrieking and squabbling over their fat. The scene is presented as a comedy of unpleasant surprises.

Interestingly enough, in cases where the logical proximate is also the logical agent, a shift from proximate singular to proximate plural can produce much the same effect as this type of shift to the indefinite: it can increase the emotional distance between viewer and viewed. Consider the passage in (44):

(44:1) kehčine =meko pye:ta:ška:+niči,
near =EMPH when.*it*.rushed.hither/CC

ke:tawi- =meko -ata:hpam+ekoči,
nearly =EMPH *it*.seized.**him**.in.its.jaws/CC

(44:2) i:ni e:h=mo:hkisa:+či nep+i.
then **he**.emerged.into.view.of.<*it*>.running/CONJ water

(44:3) nano:pehka e:h=inehpa:hkiwi+niki.
a.great.deal *it*.had.{so.high}.a.bank/CONJ

(44:4) i:nah =meko e:h=oči- we:pisaho+či, ka:ka:nwikaše:w+a na:hka.
there =EMPH {thence} **he**.jumped.off/CONJ **grizzly.bear** also

(44:5) i:nah =meko e:h=wa:wočisaho+wa:či če:wi:šwi.
there =EMPH RED.**they**.jumped.{thence}/CONJ both

(44:6) i:nina:h =meko e:h=inahko:ti:+wa:či,
 at.that.distance =EMPH **they**.followed.each.other. {that.way}/CONJ

e:h=pwa:wi- mataneti:+wa:či.
 not **they**.overtook.each.other/CONJ

(44:7) o:ni meši:name:w+a e:h=ni:ši+wa:či
 and.then **Whale** **they**.were.a.pair/CONJ

ow+i:hka:n+ani kehči- wi:šo:k+ani.
his.friend Great *Wishok*

(44:8) kapo:twe =wi:nwa:wa neno:te:w+ani
 at.some.point *they* *Indian*

e:h=pye:či- čapo:kisa:+niči.
 hither *he*.plunged.into.the.water/CONJ

- (44:1) When *it* drew very near, when *it* all but seized **him** in its jaws,
 (44:2) **he** came out of the forest at *some water*.
 (44:3) *It* had a great high bank.
 (44:4) And **he** jumped off from right there, and **the grizzly bear** also.
 (44:5) **They** both jumped from right there.
 (44:6) **They** went one after other at that same distance, the one not overtaking the other.
 (44:7) And then **Whale and his friend Great Wishok** were going around together.
 (44:8) At some point *an Indian* came plunging into the water towards them.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.4 2C-2I]

In lines 1 and 2 of (44), the proximate refers to the man who has been our protagonist and, most vividly, our subject of consciousness up to this point. The obviative pronouns in line 1 refer to the grizzly bear who is chasing him. In line 4, the grizzly bear is promoted to co-proximate, and we draw back to see them both falling through the air, in lines 5 and 6. The physical and emotional distance thus insinuated sets the stage for the proximate shift and perspective shift of lines 7 and 8.

A proximate is a third person viewed from a non-third person's perspective, but there is great latitude for play in which angle of view a narrator presents.

3.3.1.2. Preconditions of obviative use

An obviative is a third person viewed by a non-third person *by way of a proximate person's position or perspective*. An audience views a proximate who views an obviative, or an audience views an obviative in terms of that obviative's relation to a proximate.

It follows from this that obviative marking always implies the existence of another, more prominent third person, who should be in the forefront of both speaker's and audience's minds.

A secondary consequence of this implication is that the proximate person's relevance must be LOCAL. If a narrator utters a sentence in which the sole participant is obviative, the implication is that some proximate person, whose identity we should be readily able to deduce, is either observing the obviative's actions, or is in some other way associated with them. If the former, the narrator wishes us to be watching obviative's actions through the proximate's eyes; if the latter, the narrator wishes us to be focused on the point of association between obviative's and proximate's actions. Consider the following examples:

(45a) nekoti =ye:toke našawe =kwi:yese:h+a.
 one =EVID long.ago **boy**

e:h=ni:mihete:+niki =ča:h =ye:toke e:h=mawa:pake:+či,
it.was.dancing/CONJ =so =EVID he.went.to.look.at.people/CONJ

e:h=ne:w+a:či nekoti neniw+ani wa:paka:+ničini.
he.saw.him/CONJ one man one.looking.at.people/CONJ.PPL

e:hkwaškaha:te:+niki e:h=nenye:maso+niči,
{where}.the.cleared.space.ended/CONJ.PPL RED.he.stood/CONJ

nenosway+i e:h=ohkone:hi+niči.
buffalo.robe *he.had.<it>.as.a.blanket/CONJ*

maya:wi-pehkwane menehk+ani e:h=anepye:ha:te:+niki,
 in.the.middle.of.the.back hands *they.were.painted/CONJ*

šema:kan+i e:h=so:ken+aminiči,
spear he.held.it.in.his.hand/CONJ

na:hka mehte:h+ani e:h=so:ken+a:niči.
also bow he.held.IT.in.his.hand/CONJ

ketate:way+ani i:nah mehte:h+eki e:h=tetepa:hkwiši+niči.
otter.skin there bow/LOC it.was.wrapped.around/CONJ

e:h=ki:ša:koči- ='pi -menwa:pam+a:či i:na kwi:yes:h+a.
extremely =HRSY he.like.to.see.him/CONJ that boy

There was **a certain boy**, long ago.

He went to look on when there was a dance, apparently,
and **he** saw *a certain man who was watching the dancers*.

He was standing at the end of the cleared space,
wearing *a buffalo robe*.

Hands were painted in the middle of his back,
and *he* was holding a spear,
and *he* was holding *A BOW*.

An otter skin was wrapped around that bow.

That boy was extremely struck by *him*, it's said.

[Anonymous 6 NAA 2794.82 1B-G]

The title of the text from which (45a) is taken is “The Boy Who Was Impressed by a Warrior.” The point of this passage is the boy’s observation and admiration of a warrior he sees at a dance. The narrator intends us to register each separate detail of the scene through the boy’s eyes, imagining the boy’s reactions. Hence the long string of obviative descriptions. Note that the warrior remains in the primary obviative throughout (45a); his possessions, although not expressed explicitly as possessed forms here, are either secondary obviative or inanimate obviative. And the passage closes with a statement summarizing the impact of this encounter on the boy.

It’s instructive to compare (45a) with (33), the passage in which an old man’s bowl, kettle, and spoon magically cook a meal. In (33), the focus is on all the incredible things that are happening, and the result is a string of proximates. In (45a), the focus is on the

boy's reaction to the warrior's impressive accouterments, and the result is a string of obviatives and secondary obviatives.

(45b) i:ni =ča:hi =ʼpihi e:na:čim+eči ma:haki neniw+aki.
that =so =HRSY {what} is.said.about.them/CONJ **these men**

kapo:twe: =ʼnahi: =ʼni e:h=pakisa:hkwi:+niči.
 at.some.point =EMPH then *they.gave.up*/CONJ

i:ni =ča:hi =še:ški e:na:čim+eči.
that =so just {what} is.said.about.them/CONJ

So *that* is what is said about these men.

Then at some point *they* gave up.

Just *that* is what is said about them.

[Bill Leaf NAA 1879.1 21C-E]

Example (45b) is the close of a story about an enemy raid. The Meskwakis anticipated the raid, and played a war trick on their enemies that caused them to get discouraged, give up, and go home. Proximate here refers to the Meskwakis; obviative refers to their enemies. The obviative here preserves the contrast between the Meskwakis and their foes. Obviative's action, in giving up and going home, is presented here as a comment on proximate's war prowess. Again, we're meant to take the proximate's point of view.

(45c) i:na:ka =wi:na mači:hkiwesihkwe:w+a we:škiko:h+ani
that.yonder =meanwhile **Elder.Sister** *Snot.Nose*

e:h=taši- ona:pe:mi+či.
 there **she**.had.<*him*>.as.a.husband/CONJ

meše:=ʼnah =nekotenwi e:h=wi:škwe:we:kate+niki.
 perhaps once **it**.was.a.great.racket/CONJ

kwi:yese:h+ahi ačitamo:h+ani mehtek+oki e:h=ako:si:nehkaw+a:niči,
boys red.squirrel tree/LOC they.were.chasing.IT.climbing/CONJ

e:h=taši- pepye:škonaw+a:niči.
there RED.they.shot.at.IT.and.missed/CONJ

“mawi- pemotamaw+ipena: =’niki.
go.and you.shoot.<it>.for.them/IMP those

pe:hki =’škwe ne+neškehtaw+a:waki,”
really =land.alive! I.dislike.hearing.them/IND

e:h=in+a:či o+na:pe:m+ani.
she.told.him.{that}/CONJ her.husband

Meanwhile **that Elder Sister** was married to *Snot Nose*.

One day *there* was a great racket.

Some boys were chasing *A RED SQUIRREL* up a tree,
shooting at *IT* and missing.

“Why don’t you go and shoot *it* for **those (guys)**!

Land alive, I really dislike hearing **them**,” **she** told *her husband*.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 31M-32D]

In (45c), the boys are peripheral figures in the story. Their function is to provoke Snot Nose into displaying his poor hunting skills. The fact that the boys are introduced in the obviative suggests, first of all, that the noise they are making is having an effect on someone more central (i.e., the current proximate, Elder Sister); and second, that we should be prepared to interpret their actions chiefly in terms of their effect on that someone.

In (38:2) and in (38:5), Ša:poči:wa effected scene shifts by giving brief proximate status to the turkeys and then to the villagers. The turkeys and the people collecting the turkeys are presented as interesting to us, her audience, but not as having any special relevance to the proximate hero of (38). In (45c), by contrast, there is no scene shift: Ša:poči:wa presents the squirrel hunt as remote from us, but as highly relevant to the situation of the proximate and primary obviative of this passage.

Note that, as always, the quote introduces an independent domain for proximate and obviative marking.

(45d) kaho:ni =na:hka e:h=na:kwa:+či,
and.then again **he**.set.off/CONJ

i:nah =e:h=pya:+či.
there **he**.arrived/CONJ

aškači =meko =na:hka e:h=pya:+niči wi:htwi:ya:h+ani.
later =EMPH in.turn *he*.arrived/CONJ *blacksmith*

“ši:, ne+kwi:hi, i:noki =me:kwe:he: =’ni wi:h=owi:wi+ya:ni.
say! O.my.son today I.believe now I.will.get.married/FUT.CONJ

ke:kya:ta =ma:h =meko te:pa:ške:+wa ne+tay+a.”
nearly =you.know =EMPH **he**.reached.the.goal.flying/IND **my.horse**

kaho:ni =’pi =na:hka pa:pekwa wa:pa+niki,
and.then =HRSY again immediately when.*it*.was.morning/CC

na:hka e:h=na:kwa:+niči.
again *he*.set.out/CONJ

wi:na =ke:hi =’pi ke:tawi- =meko -na:wahkwe:hi+nikini
him =and =HRSY nearly =EMPH whenever.*it*.was.noon/ITER

ahpene:či e:h=na:kwa:+či,
every.time **he**.set.out/CONJ

e:h=mawi- manese:+či =ta:taki.
go.and **he**.gathered.firewood/CONJ =ostensibly

And then **he** set off again,
and **he** arrived there.

Later *the blacksmith* arrived, in turn.

“Say, son, I think I’ll get married today.

My horse nearly got there, you know.”

And then first thing *the next morning*, *he* set out again.

As for him, **he** always set out when *it* was nearly noon,
and went to gather firewood, ostensibly.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 35H-36C]

The passage in (45d), from a Meskwaki version of a French folktale, opposes the actions of a village blacksmith to those of his adoptive son. Both are courting a princess,

who has announced a series of contests for her hand. The blacksmith's son has been entering these contests clandestinely and in disguise. He leaves the house after after his father leaves, and arrives back home before his father gets home.

In (45d), instead of shuttling back and forth between father and son, we take the proximate's point of view on his father's departures and arrivals.

Note again that the quote introduces a separate domain for proximate and obviative marking.

To recapitulate: obviative marking always implies the existence, and the immediate relevance, of a more focal, proximate reference point. The juxtaposition of obviative and proximate functions to focus our attention either on the proximate's relation to the obviative's actions, as in (45b) and (45c), or on the proximate's actual perceptions of those actions, as in (45a) and (45d).

These two types of emphasis can even be played off against each other. Consider (45e), in which the proximate's perspective diverges from the narrator's (omniscient) perspective. Proximate here is Elder Brother, a stock villain who is trying to avenge himself on his two brothers-in-law. He has been decoyed into following the tracks of a pair of enchanted arrows. Elder Brother is convinced that the voices he hears are those of his brothers-in-law. We're aware, meanwhile, that it's the arrows talking. The arrows remain in the obviative throughout this passage, but they shift back and forth from animate to inanimate, depending on where we're standing in the story. In the one case, we're borrowing proximate's ears, and the obviative "brothers-in-law" are not in sight. In the other case, the obviative arrows are right in front of us, and proximate is not in sight. In this second set of scenes, the obviative marking on the arrows ensures that we are strongly aware of Elder Brother looming near, and of the effect the arrows' words must be having on him.

(45e) kapo:twe ta:twa:hki:+ki e:h=taši- pekeše:hi+niki,
 at.some.point ravine/LOC there it.was.smoke.DIM/CONJ

e:h=nakisa:+či, e:h=anawit+aki.
he.stopped.running/CONJ **he**.sneaked.up.on.*it*/CONJ

e:h=pi:kwaškato:hi+niki =meko e:h=tanetone:mo+niči ni:šwi.
it.was.a.thicket.DIM/CONJ =EMPH *they*.were.talking/CONJ two

e:h=apahapane:ni+niči =ke:hi.
they.were.laughing/CONJ =and

““o:, nakika:pa:+ko, me:ša:h+etike.
well! you.(pl).stop.and.stand/IMP O.brothers-in-law

ke+nepe+pwa =koh =meko.’
you.(pl).are.dead/IND =certainly =EMPH

meše =we: =wi:n =a:pehe
let.it.be =after.all =but =usually

mehtose:neniw+aki taši- ome:ša:hemi+waki.
people there **they**.have.brothers-in-law/IND

a:kwi =wi:na nahi- ki:winehkaw+a:wa:čini o+me:ša:h+em+wa:w+ahi,”
not =but never **they**.chase.*them*.around/NEG *their.brothers-in-law*

e:h=iti:mikate+niki aša:ti:h+ani.
they.said.{that}.to.each.other/CONJ headed.arrows

““o:, ke+nepe+pwa =koh =meko,””
well! you.(pl).are.dead/IND =certainly =EMPH

e:h=iti:mikate+niki.
they.said.{that}.to.each.other/CONJ

wi:na =ke:hi: =’ni e:h=anawin+a:či,
he =and then **he**.sneaked.up.on.*them*/CONJ

e:h=taši- pesetaw+a:či =meko e:h=išite:he:+či.
there **he**.listened.to.*them*/CONJ =EMPH **he**.wanted.{that}/CONJ

kapo:twe =meko e:h=mo:hki:htaw+a:či.
at.some.point =EMPH **he**.rushed.out.to.attack.*them*/CONJ

“ehe:he, ke+nepe+pwa =kohi,” e:h=pemi- ’na:naketone:mo+či.
yes you.(pl).are.dead/IND =certainly along **he**.talked.{that.way}/CONJ

e:h=taši- pekeše:hi+niki e:h=mawinat+aki.
 there it.was.smoke.DIM/CONJ **he**.ran.at.it/CONJ

i:na:h =pe:kama:ška:+či,
 there when.**he**.arrived.rushing/CC

aša:ti:h+ani =či:hi e:h=nemate:+niki.
headed.arrows =POV they.stood/CONJ

taka:wi =meko e:h=panikahkwane:či+ki.
 a.little =EMPH **he**.missed.being.struck.on.the.shins/CONJ

At some point there was a thread of smoke coming from a ravine,
 and **he** stopped running, and stole towards it.

Two (guys) were talking in a little thicket.

And they were laughing.

“Well, stop and stand, brothers-in-law!

You’re dead, for sure!’

But, after all, usually **people** just have brothers-in-law.

They don’t go around chasing *their brothers-in-law*,” the arrows said to each other.

“Well, you’re dead, for sure!” they said to each other.

Meanwhile, **he** crept up on them,
 wanting to listen to them.

At some point **he** rushed out to attack them.

“Yes, you’re dead, for sure!” **he** said as he went.

He ran at where the thread of smoke was.

When **he** arrived there in a rush,
 he saw it was arrows standing there.

He narrowly missed barking his shins.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 177E-179G]

3.3.1.3. Preconditions of secondary obviative use

The distinction between primary and secondary obviative is about as little regarded, in texts of the broad-domain type, as the distinction between proximate and obviative is in texts of the narrow-domain type. That is, it dwindles to insignificance as soon as either kind of obviative is juxtaposed to a proximate.

As a result, secondary obviatives occur only as subjects of verbs with primary obviative objects, as objects of verbs with primary obviative subjects, as second objects of verbs with primary obviative subjects or objects, and as nouns possessed by primary obviative possessors. As (46a) demonstrates, secondary obviatives shift immediately and automatically to primary obviative status as soon as they appear in any position but abutted to a higher-status obviative:

(46a) nekoti: =’ni e:h=a:čimoh+a:či
 one then **he**.instructed.*him*/CONJ

wi:h=ki:w- a:čimoh+a:niči neno:te:w+ahi
 around *he*.will.instruct.*THEM*/FUT.CONJ *Indians*

wi:h=na:na:to:m+a:niči pene:w+ahi.
 RED.*they*.will.carry.*THEM*.on.their.backs/FUT.CONJ *turkeys*

Then **he** told *one person* to go around telling *THE PEOPLE*
 to pack *THE TURKEYS* home.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.63 44D]

A more literal translation of (46a) would read as follows:

Then **he** told *one person_i* that *he_i* should go around telling *THE PEOPLE_j*
 that *they_j* should pack *THE TURKEYS_k* home.

The sentence in (46a) evokes four third persons in all. There is no special emotional import of this sentence, and the four characters’ ranking in terms of importance is straightforward: in terms of local importance, the primary instigator of the action outranks the second-tier instigator outranks the third-tier instigator outranks the patient. In terms of global importance, too, the hero outranks the “certain person” (*nekoti*) he employs as a messenger, who outranks the generic sum of the villagers, who outrank the generic sum of slaughtered turkeys. The first verb, *e:h=a:čimoha:niči* ‘he told *HIM*’, takes a future conjunct clause as its second object. That future conjunct clause takes a

future conjunct clause of its own as second object. The transfers of action, clause to clause, are hero-on-messenger, messenger-on-villagers, villagers-on-turkeys. There are four degrees of distance in this sentence, but the inflection is only capable of explicitly marking three. Hence, something must give way. In the event, proximate-versus-obviative assignments are preserved, but obviative-versus-secondary-obviative assignments are not. The transfers of action are marked as proximate-on-obviative, obviative-on-secondary obviative, and again obviative-on-secondary obviative, with the villagers jumping straight from secondary to primary obviative status.

The exact same thing takes place in sequences of possessed obviatives.³⁴ Consider (46b), from a story which talks about a man whose grandfather married a deer:

(46b) pešekesiway+ani e:h=ohkone:hi+či,
deer.skin **he**.had.<it>.as.a.blanket/CONJ

o+mešo:h+ani ow+i:w+ani ot+asa:+m+ani.
his.grandfather.DIM HIS.WIFE HER.SKIN

He had a *deer skin* blanket,
HIS GRANDFATHER'S WIFE'S SKIN.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2273 217H-I*]

The second noun phrase of the sentence in (46b) qualifies the first. Although the two noun phrases are coindexed, ‘deer skin’ is presumably primary obviative, and ‘his grandfather’s wife’s skin’ is presumably secondary obviative. ‘Deer skin’, as the second object of a verb with a proximate subject, should be straightforwardly primary obviative. ‘Grandfather’, possessed by a proximate, should also be primary obviative. ‘Wife’, possessed by a primary obviative, must be secondary obviative. ‘Skin’, possessed by an obviative, must also be secondary obviative, which means that the wife has to make the jump from secondary obviative possessee to primary obviative possessor, in order to preserve the proper relations between possessor and possessed.

³⁴ Or so we have to assume. Recall that nominal inflection doesn’t distinguish primary from secondary obviative.

The same thing can happen in reverse: primary obviatives can shift straight into secondary obviative status. Consider (47):

(47:1) e:h=atama:+či,
he.smoked/CONJ

(47:2) tameko mo:wečihke:h+ahi e:h=kwa:pisa:+niči.
 oh.how! *dung.beetles* *they.ran.scattering/CONJ*

(47:3) tameko e:h=apahapane:ni+či mačikehkiwesihkwe:w+a,
 oh.how! **she**.laughed/CONJ **Elder.Sister**

(47:4) e:h=na:nahkohw+a:či mo:wečihke:h+ahi.
 RED.**she**.hit.*them*.(with.a.stick)/CONJ *dung.beetles*

(47:5) na:hka kwi:yese:h+ahi e:h=wi:škwe:we:kih+ekoniči.
 also *boys* *THEY.made.them.shriek/CONJ*

(47:6) e:h=pi:pemw+a:wa:či ačitamo:h+ani.
 RED.**they**.shot.at.*it*/CONJ *red.squirrel*

(47:1) As **he**_i smoked,

(47:2) oh how *dung beetles*_j ran scattering.

(47:3) And oh how **Elder Sister**_k laughed

(47:4) as **she**_k struck at *the dung beetles*_j again and again.

(47:5) And also *THEY*_j made *the boys*_i shriek.

(47:6) **They**_i kept shooting at *a red squirrel*_m.

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 90K-91E]

Dung beetles are pretty much required to be obviative relative to any human proximate, and secondary obviative relative to any human obviative. They are introduced as a primary obviative, relative to a proximate, but shift to secondary obviative as soon as they come into contact with a human obviative, in line 5.

Jim Peters in (47) shuttles easily from proximate to proximate. The boys in (47) are introduced in the obviative: i.e., they are viewed from Elder Sister's perspective. This invokes the same motif that Ša:poči:wa gave such pointed attention to in (45c): the boys are annoying Elder Sister with their noise. In Jim Peters telling, however, the boys jump

straight into the proximate as the scene shifts off into the woods, to an encounter in which the only other participant is nonhuman.

3.3.1.4. The preconditions of third person usage summarized

Proximate, obviative, and secondary obviative can only occur in the vicinity of an appropriate higher-ranked person, and must be interpreted relative to that person. In the absence of embedded inclusive, second, first, or indefinite persons, proximates are interpreted relative to speaker and hearer. Primary obviatives are interpreted relative to a proximate, and secondary obviatives are interpreted relative to a primary obviative.

3.3.2. Preferred conditions of proximate and obviative use

In the default situation, proximate and obviative assignments hold throughout a discourse span. A discourse span, in discourses of the narrow-domain type, consists of one or more clauses; in discourses of the broad-domain type, a discourse span consists of one or more sentences.

This basic principle of proximate and obviative assignment translates into a series of favored constraints on proximate and obviative occurrence. Ordered from most-seldom to most-often violated, the constraints are:

- i Coreferential nouns and pronouns, within the same clause, should agree in proximity.
- ii Coreferential nouns and pronouns, within the same sentence, should agree in proximity.
- iii There should be at most one proximate per clause.
- iv There should be at most one proximate per sentence.

3.3.2.1.1. Exceptions involving misaligned participles

We've already seen a possible case where the standard assumptions fail to apply. Consider again example (29), repeated here as (49a). The inanimate subject of the participle, which should be obviative by default, since it's acting on a proximate, is here coindexed with the inanimate proximate subject of the verb:

(49a) i:ni =ke:hi: ='ni takwihčikan+i e:h=ahkwisa:+ki
then =and that additive it.ran.out/CONJ

a:paha:pesi:h+ekwiwa:či.
RED.thing.that.brought.them.back.to.life/CONJ.PPL

And then that mixture that kept bringing them back to life ran out.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2658.10 19H*]

Both of the third persons mentioned in (49a) have strong claims to proximity. The magic potion is both topic and subject of the sentence; the people-brought-back-to-life barely impinge on the sentence's import. However, the interest of the potion is defined in terms of the effect it has on those people. It is also almost impossible in Meskwaki to make an inanimate proximate at the expense of an animate; it would be highly incongruous, in (49a), to make the humans obviative relative to an inanimate whose importance is explicitly subordinated to theirs.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha in (49a) solves the dilemma by recognizing both claims for proximity. This requires sacrificing agreement between the participial inflection and the verb.

This is a rare, but not a unique, resolution of competing claims for proximity within a clause. A handful of similar instances are presented in (49b)-(49g). In each of these cases, the narrator has to choose between two animate candidates for proximate marking, and refuses to make a clear choice. In each case, one of the two candidates surfaces as

proximate, and the other surfaces as proximate in one part of the clause, but obviative in another.

(49b) ča:ki =meko taswi =’yo:we ki:ši- nep+owa:či
 all =EMPH {that.number} =formerly finish **they.died/CONJ.PPL**

e:h=ča:ki- a:pesi:h+a:či.
 all **he.brought.them.back.to.life/CONJ**

ALL, as many of **them_j** as had died formerly, **he_i** brought *them_j* all back to life.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 56C]

(49c) e:h=ki:ši- ča:kihtaw+a:či
 finish **he.killed.all.of.<THEM>.for.them/CONJ**

ne:nes+ekowa:čihi =’yo:we i:niki šama:kaneš+aki.
RED.ones.that.killed.them/CONJ.PPL =formerly **those soldiers**

He_i had killed for *them_j* all of *THE ONES_k THAT HAD BEEN KILLING THOSE SOLDIERS_j FORMERLY*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 68J]

(49d) “i:na =ma:hi: =’na: =’na ki:ši- nes+ata.
that =you.know **that that** finish **one.that.you.killed/CONJ.PPL**

i:na =ča:hi: =’na ne:nes+ekowa:čini šama:kaneš+aki.”
that =so **that** *RED.one.that.killed.them/CONJ.PPL* **soldiers**

“**That_i**’s **that same one you killed_i**, you know.
That_i’s **that_i one_i that kept killing the soldiers_j**.”

[Sam Peters NAA 2729.2 65C-D]

(49e) “nahi, na:š+i a:hkwikoma:+ta.”
 all.right! you.fetch.it/IMP **one.with.a.sharp.point/CONJ.PPL**

pe:hki =meko ke:ka:nwikoma:+ta e:h=pye:n+a:či.
 really =EMPH **one.with.long.points/CONJ.PPL** **he.brought.it/CONJ**

“All right, go get a **sharp-pointed stake!**”
He_i brought *it_j*, **one that had really long points_j**.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2673 16C-D]

(49f) mana =ča:hi =’pi mahwe:way+a menehta ne:na:toše:+wa:čini.
this =so =HRSY **wolf.skin** first ⟨one⟩**they.asked.about**/CONJ.PPL
This wolf skin is *the one they asked about first*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2012.1 5I]

(49g) nahi, i:na:ka =wi:na ihkwe:w+a =’pihi,
 now! **that.yonder** =meanwhile **woman** =HRSY
 pe:hki =mekoho kehči- ma:ne:hto:+wa mena:škono:n+i,
 really =EMPH greatly **she**.had.quantities.of.*it*/IND fresh.meat
 i:niya ma:mawi- ki:ški:ški:škatahw+a:wa:čini.
that.previous RED.go.and RED.RED.one **they**.whipped/CONJ.PPL

Now, as for **that woman yonder_i**,
she_i really had a great deal of fresh meat,
that_i one_i they_j kept going and whipping.

[Bill Leaf NAA 2794.56 33D-F]

The uneasy alliances of proximate and obviative exhibited in (49a) through (49g) are potentially attributable to miscalculations on the narrator’s part. Keeping proximate and obviative attributions straight through several revolutions of verbs and participles requires considerable jugglery, and it may be that narrators occasionally fail to anticipate the demands that the entire sentence will impose. In (49b), for instance, the repetition of *ča:ki* suggests a slight re-setting of course. The length of the object phrase, its fronted position, its accompanying particles, its shift of time-reference, and its use of the proximate combine to make it emphatic, and set it a little apart from what follows. Two impulses are striving here. The narrator wants to state the hero’s achievement (in resuscitating a monster’s caveful of victims), and at the same time wants to emphasize

the achievement's scope. Cramming both purposes into a single clause leads to this agreement violation.

Whether such crises are fully anticipated and intended by the narrator, or not, is of secondary concern. The mere fact that these collisions are possible tells us a great deal about what the proximate and obviative categories must mean to Meskwaki speakers. Recall that Meskwaki inflection does not permit proximate to act on proximate. The metaphor informing the Meskwaki pronoun hierarchy is one of finely graded distinctions among persons, which must be ranked according to their adjudged relative interest/importance/centrality. In any given scene, in any constructed world, there should be at most one proximate. Third persons marked as proximate are presented as central to a story's concerns in a given scene in a given world. Third persons marked as obviative are presented as subordinate in interest or importance to a proximate focal point in that scene and world. Yet, as examples (49a)-(49g) demonstrate, we occasionally get proximate acting on proximate, at a slender remove.

It's instructive to examine that remove. Proximate focuses our attention on a given character in a given scene and world. But how small or how large can the scene and world be? We've already seen that quoted speech introduces its own insulated worlds for proximacy marking; something of the same effect can be achieved whenever the narrator "steps out of" the narrative proper, to add a line of background information, or insert a comment in narrator's voice. Examples (49a)-(49h) appear to involve a similar kind of nesting of worlds. In each of these cases, a relatively low-ranked third person is locally highly topical. The narrator satisfies the colliding claims for proximate status, and makes the local salience of the relatively minor character briefly vivid, by marking it as proximate. But the proximate marking is "invisible" to the rest of the sentence: as soon as we pull back to a view encompassing more than one person, the low-ranked person reverts to obviative status.

So, in (49a), the inanimate is, from any but the narrowest local perspective, subordinate in interest and importance to the animate it acts on; in (49b) and (49c), the hero takes precedence over the monster's victims he has rescued; in (49d), the soldiers

take precedence over the mad bull that’s been killing them; in (49e), the animate takes precedence over the inanimate he wields; in (49f), the Meskwakis questioning an enemy who claims to be Meskwaki take precedence over the sacred skin they ask him to identify. Example (49g) is the only anomaly: in this sentence, the choice of who is most interesting, or most important to the plot, could go either way.³⁵ The narrator of (49g) has just returned to his story after a lengthy digression, and the anomalous participle occurs at the point where he realizes that he has omitted an important segment of the story. The clash in (49g) reflects his sudden shifting of gears.

Violations of the generalization that co-clausal coreferential nouns and pronouns agree in proximity are extremely few and far between. When they occur, if they are not simple blunders, they function like the spotlighted inanimate in example (34): they involve strong competing claims for proximity and extremely narrow focus on a scene within a scene.

3.3.2.1.2. Exceptions involving other types of narrator miscalculation

Cases of narrator miscalculation are usually more straightforward than the example in (49g). Lack of agreement within a clause occasionally arises from a narrator’s changing his or her mind in midstream. This happens most frequently around the margins of a quote, where a wholly independent domain for proximate and obviate marking intervenes between the narrator’s original choice, and reconsidered choice:

(50a) kaho:ni =’pi: =’nini nenemehkiw+ani,
 and.then =HRSY *that* *thunderer*

 “ne+pehkwan+eki či:tapi+no,” e:h=in+a:či.
 my.back/LOC you.sit.upright/IMP he.told.him.{that}/CONJ

³⁵ And does! In most versions of this narrative, obviate status shuttles back and forth between the woman and her sisters, who are savagely abusing her.

And then, as for *that thunderer*_i,
 “Sit at my back!” **he**_i told *him*_j.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 141C]

(50b) na:hka =meko kotak+ani, “ki:na =ča:h?
 and =EMPH other *you* =so

kaši k+i:h=inawe:m+i,”
 what? you.are.related.to.me. {that.way}/FUT.IND

e:h=in+eči ihkwe:w+a.
 X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ **woman**

And *another*_i, in turn, “And you?
 In what way will you be related to me?” **the woman**_i was asked.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 8A-B]

Correct interpretation of the sentences in (50a) and (50b) requires considerable contextual knowledge. As it stands, (50a) ought to be a suggestion directed at the thunderer by his companion. However, expectations set up previously in this story, and borne out by subsequent events, require that the thunderer (here obviative in the nominal inflection, but proximate in the verbal inflection) be the speaker. The narrator must have decided, midway through the quote, to make the new postquote subject proximate.

This is in other respects an anomalous shift; everywhere else in this text, the thunderer is marked as obviative relative to his companion. But, having introduced this freak reversal of roles, the narrator preserves it for the length of another sentence. I think this shift can be classed as an illustration of the principle that all new third person subjects, and especially postquote subjects, introduce at least a slight impulse for a proximate shift.

A contemporary translation of the sentence in (50a), by the gifted interpreter Horace Poweshiek, gives a false reading: “The[n] he told that thunder man, ‘sit behind my back.’” Horace Poweshiek’s reading here preserves agreement but mis-assigns the subject and object roles. We can take this as an indication of how confusing proximate

and obviative mismatches can be: native speakers are as likely to be misled by them as we are.

In (50b), the co-clausal obviative and proximate nouns ought to have different referents. Again, the larger context of the story (in which a chief's daughter and her friends are being asked one by one to claim kinship to the monster Rolling Skull) requires us to interpret them as coreferential. Here, the postquote verb, which is indefinite-on-proximate rather than the expected proximate-on-obviative, independently alerts us to the fact that the narrator has altered course.

Narrator changes-of-course occasionally occur without the excuse of an intervening quote:

(50c) me:me:kwe:šawi =meko pašito:h+a
 (butting.in).before.others =EMPH **old.man**

e:h=anemi- nehki:+niči,
 going.off he.went.out.of.sight/CONJ

e:h=čapo:kisaho+niči i:nini pašito:h+ani.
 he.jumped.into.the.water/CONJ that old.man

The old man_i shoved ahead, plunging out of sight,
that old man_i jumping into the water.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.75B 78J-79A]

The sentence in (50c) represents an abortive proximate shift. The narrator begins by making the sole argument of this sentence (a new topic, and new subject) proximate, and then reconsiders, and reverts to the obviative. The use of the obviative is standard at this juncture of this story; the obviative marking emphasizes the perspective of the old man's companions, who are watching him from the lakeshore. In (50c), the correction from proximate to obviative is conveyed in the verbal inflection, and then reinforced by obviative repetition of the overt noun.

3.3.2.1.3. Exceptions involving highly topical third-person-possessed nouns

There's a third category of intra-clausal failures of agreement that can't be attributed to narrator miscalculation. Just as the examples presented in (49a)-(49h) flouted the ban against proximate acting on proximate, this category of exceptions to the convention that verbs and their satellites must agree flouts the ban against proximate nouns possessed by a third person. Formally speaking, third-person-possessed proximate nouns are an impossibility. But some narrators occasionally resort to formally obviative possessed nouns that function like proximates in character and in agreement. Consider (51a)-(51e):

(51a) “ši:hwi:, wi:htwi:ya:h+a o+kwis+ani aniweke:+wa,”
oh.my! **blacksmith** *his.son* **he.dances.very.well/IND**

e:h=in+eči.
X.said. {that} .about.**him**/CONJ

“My! **He_i** dances very well, *the blacksmith_j's son_i*,” was said about **him_i**.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 103E]

(51b) “nahi, i:ni =ya:pi =ni:na e:h=ša:kwe:nemo+ya:ni
all.right now =here's.the.thing *I* I.am.unwilling/CONJ

e:h=ki:wa:mo+yakwe,” e:h=in+a:či
we.(incl).flee.from.place.to.place/CONJ **he.told.him. {that}/CONJ**

ow+i:hka:n+ani i:na we:tani:pi:me:h+a o+nekwa:h+ani.
his.friend **that Elm.Tree.Owner** *his.cross-nephew*

“All right, here's the thing: I'm getting fed up with our fleeing from place to place,” **he_i**, *that Elm Tree Owner_j's nephew_i*, told *his_i friend_k*.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 440]

(51c) o:ni =’pi i:na okima:neniw+a o+ta:nes+ani
and.then =HRSY **that chief.man** *his.daughter*

e:h=neškike:mo+či =’pi,
she.gave.warning/CONJ =HRSY

e:h=neškim+a:či: =’nihi ow+i:hka:n+ahi.
she.warned.them/CONJ *those her.friends*

And then **that chief**_j’s daughter_i gave warning,
she_i warned *those friends of hers*_k.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 4B-C]

(51d) k+i:h=wi:ke:či- a:čimoh+a:wa =ča:hi
carefully you.will.instruct.**him**/FUT.IND =SO

ma:haki n+i:h=anohka:n+a:waki masahkamikohkwe:w+a
these I.will.employ.**them**/FUT.IND **Mother.Earth**

o+taye:+hi ketiw+aki.
her.pets **golden.eagles**

So you must tell **him**_j carefully
that I’ll employ **these eagles**_i, **Mother Earth**_k’s *pets*_i.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 437F]

(51e) na:hkači i:niya ihkwe:he:h+a,
and **that.former** **woman.DIM**

pe:hki =meko a:ya:wasi =meko owi:sayiwi+wa
really =EMPH here.and.there =EMPH **he**.has.fur/IND

i:na ihkwe:w+a o+kwis+ani.
that **woman** *her.son*

And as for **that poor woman**_i,
he_j, **that woman**_i’s *son*_j, really has fur here and there in patches.

[Sam Peters NAA 2024C 64D]

Example (51a) is typical. The indefinite person here is standing in for a crowd of villagers; the person they are talking about is the hero of the story. The villagers don’t

know his real name. His adoptive father, the blacksmith, is not at the dance. The villagers' comment relates only to the son, and it would be very unnatural here to make the topic of their conversation, who happens also to be the topic of the story, obviative relative to a character who isn't even onstage. The conventional way of getting around this problem would be to refer to the boy with a participle, rather than with a possessed noun: *we:yo:si+ta wi:htwi:ya:h+ani* '**the man having the blacksmith as his father**'. In (51a), the narrator chose to treat the possessed obviative as a proximate, instead.

Example (51b) is a little more interesting. In (51b), the obviative that's treated as a proximate is itself the possessor of an obviative noun. Again, the obviative-as-proximate refers to the hero; and again, the referent of the morphologically proximate noun, the Elm Tree Owner, is not present in the scene. As in (51a), the narrator has substituted a simple possessive phrase for the circumlocution *we:šise:hi+ta we:tani:pi:me:h+a* '**the man having Elm Tree Owner (as) his uncle**', but has otherwise preserved the proximate-on-obviative (rather than obviative-on-secondary-obviative) relation of hero to hero's companion that is pragmatically more or less demanded by the context.

In (51c), as in (51b), the obviative-as-proximate noun is the possessor of the real obviative of the sentence. It refers to the heroine of the story, whose father, the chief, never appears onstage. In contrast to (51b), however, the burden of (51c) is split across two clauses, which exhibit an intransitive and then a transitive version of the verb, in order to reduce the possibility of confusion: *i:na okima:neniwa ota:nesani e:h=neškima:či*, by itself, would mean "**The chief** scolded *his daughter*."

Example (51d) exhibits the casual treatment of the proximate/obviative distinction that is typical of quoted speech. There are altogether three different persons marked as proximate in this sentence. The object of the second verb is rendered discontinuously; a proximate demonstrative and a proximate noun flank the possessed obviative noun that is their coreferent here.

In (51e), also taken from quoted speech, the possessor is actually the topic of the sentence. However, it's the woman's son, not she herself, who acts as proximate subject of the verb. Both the woman and her son have claims to proximate status, here; and the

competition is resolved in favor of both. Thus this sentence manages to violate both the ban against cooccurrence of proximates (in spirit as well as in fact), and the ban against proximate possessed nouns (in spirit but not in fact).

Quoted speech, in which the narrow-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment applies, has a relatively high tolerance for blurring of the proximate and obviative contrast. Extra-quote occurrences of obviatives-as-proximates, on the pattern of (51b) and (51c), are quite rare. A more common type of extra-quote honorary proximate is illustrated by (51f):

- (51f) “čiwe:na =wi:na: =’na,”
 how.dare! =but **that**
- e:h=i+či mešihke:hiškwe:s+a, o+ta:nes+ani mešihke:h+a.
she.said. {that}/CONJ **Turtle.Girl** *his.daughter* **Turtle**

“How dare **he!**” said **Turtle Girl**, *Turtle’s daughter*.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 50L]

In (51f), the honorary proximate occurs as a gloss upon a straightforwardly proximate noun.

Sentences (51a)-(51f) all involve morphologically obviative possessed animates acting as honorary proximates. Possessed inanimates may also act as honorary proximates. I’ve encountered exactly two instances of inanimate honorary proximates. Both occur in quoted speech:

- (51g) “če:winehki =meko, če:winehki =meko
 in.the.middle =EMPH in.the.middle =EMPH
- e:h=so:kihte:+ki ne+mešo:h+a o+mi:šehkwa:+m+i,”
 place.where **it**.is.tied/LOC.PPL **my grandfather**.DIM *his.scalp*
- e:h=anemi- ’netone:mo+či.
 going.off **he**.talked. {that.way}/CONJ

“In the middle, in the middle, *where it’s tied*, *my poor grandfather’s scalp!*”
he said as he went.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 71C]

In (51g) the inanimate noun, even though possessed by an animate proximate person, is coindexed with inanimate proximate verbal inflection. The scalp is of great importance in this scene; the scalp’s owner is not present in the scene; and this is quoted speech. The scalp’s claim to proximity here is thus nearly incontrovertible. The scalp’s owner’s claim to proximity, relative to his scalp, is near-absolutely incontrovertible. The result is that, as in (51e), this sentence contains two proximates in spirit as well as in fact.

(51h) “ši:, kaši, mawa:pam+e:hiya:ne =wi:na: =’niya ihkwe:w+a.
 say! why! if.I.go.see.**her**.DIM/SUBJ =but **that.former woman**

kana:h =ma:h =wi:na o+ški:šeko:h+ani menwikeno:hi+ke,
 at.least =see =but her.eyes if.**they**.are.good.DIM/SUBJ

mi:či:hi+hka:ha,” e:h=išite:he:+či.
 I.could.eat.**them**.DIM/POT **he**.thought. {that}/CONJ

“Say, why, how about if I go have a look at **that woman**.
 If her eyes are good, I could eat them, at least, see,” **he** thought.

[Jim Peters NAA 2024C 25C-D]

Should be:

“Say, why, how about if I go have a look at **that woman**.
Her eyes, if **they**’re good, I could eat **them**, at least, see,” **he** thought.

Example (51h) is less clear-cut than (51g). The woman and her eyes are of about equal importance to the crow who is musing to himself here, and neither is present in the scene. The woman is proximate in the first sentence of the quote. The first clause of the second sentence of the quote indexes the eyes as inanimate proximate. The second clause of the second sentence has a transitive inanimate verb whose subject is first person, a

situation that implies an inanimate proximate object. The noun is possessed by a third person and hence ought to be obviative. As in (51g), the quote in (51h) contains two proximates in spirit as well as in fact.

The “honorary proximate” status of the inanimate in (51h) cannot be attributed to narrator error. This exact thought of Crow’s is repeated, with minor variation, once in NAA 2024C and twice in NAA 2794.75B, alternate versions of this story also written by Jim Peters.

As in the case of some of the participle mismatches canvassed in 3.3.2.1.1, treating possessed obviatives as proximate is a rarely-exploited real device that sacrifices agreement in order to satisfy competing claims to proximate status. It is no accident that honorary proximates occur most frequently in quoted speech, where the distance between proximate and obviative status is much diminished.

In some 3,000 pages of Meskwaki manuscript, I have encountered only 32 honorary proximates. Thirteen of the 32 occur extra-quote. Seven of these thirteen occur as glosses upon straightforwardly proximate nouns, as in example (51f).

3.3.2.1.4. Violations of preferred condition (i) summarized

Violations of the principle that co-clausal, coreferential third persons agree in proximity fall into one of three categories: (1) misalignments between participles and verbs, due to narrator error and/or due to strong competition for proximate status; (2) more straightforward errors, unremarked, as in (50a) and (50b), or remarked, and repaired, as in (50c); and (3) third-person-possessed obviatives treated as proximate.

3.3.2.2. Same-sentence, coreferential third persons agree in proximity

In first-person narratives, and in quoted speech in third-person narratives, the narrow-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment applies, and there is no requirement that proximate and obviative assignments carry over from clause to clause.

Extra-quote in third-person narratives, however, proximate and obviative assignments typically hold for at least the duration of a sentence.

There is one important set of exceptions to this rule, in addition to the three categories of clause-level exceptions already canvassed in 3.3.2.1. This class of exceptions involves a same-sentence enjambment of old proximate to new obviative, or old obviative to new proximate. The formula is to present the old proximate or old obviative in a subordinate, changed conjunct clause that functions to set the new scene, and the new obviative or new proximate in the main clause of the sentence.

Recall that the changed conjunct mood translates as ‘at the juncture when’; it marks the concluding edge of the action described. A changed conjunct modifying an aorist means a strict sequential ordering of the events, whereas an aorist modifying an aorist implies some overlap of the events. Compare (52a) and (52b):

- (52a) i:ya:h =pye:ya:+či =’pi e:h=owi:ki+wa:či,
 there when.**he**.arrived/CONJ =HRSY place.where.they.live/LOC.PPL
- “yohohwa:,” e:h=i+či.
 whew! **he**.said. {that}/CONJ

When **he** got back to their house, **he** said, “Whew!”

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2658.10 29H*]

- (52b) e:h=na:kwa:+či, “yohohwa:,” e:h=i+či.
he.went.back/CONJ whew! **he**.said. {that}/CONJ
 And **he** went back, saying, “Whew!”

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2985 2G]

In (52a), with a changed conjunct verb of motion modifying an aorist verb of quotation, there is a clearly demarcated boundary between the man’s arrival and his utterance. In (52b), with an aorist verb of motion modifying an aorist verb of quotation, the departure and the utterance are simultaneous.

Changed conjuncts are scene-shifters. They nearly always introduce a new discourse paragraph, by locating a new scene in space (as in 52a) or in time. As a result, they frequently coincide with proximate shifts. By convention, such shifts may take effect at the sentence edge, or else may be delayed until the main clause of the sentence, with resultant enjambment.

Examples of the default situation are given in (53) and (54). Examples of enjambment are given in (55)-(59).

(53:1) e:h=pemi- we:pose:+či, e:h=pemi- pi:tike:+či.
 along **he**.started.walking/CONJ along **he**.went.inside/CONJ

(53:2) mani =meko e:ši- pi:tike:+či neniw+a,
this =EMPH {that.way} when.**he**.went.inside/CC **man**

e:h=wa:se:še:nike:+či.
he.lit.a.light/CONJ

(53:3) mani =meko e:ši- wa:se:še:nike:+niči,
this =EMPH {that.way} when.*he*.lit.a.light/CC

e:h=mawinahkye:+či mešihke:hiškwe:s+a,
she.pounced/CONJ **Turtle.Girl**

(53:4) e:h=panen+a:či,
she.missed.grabbing.*him*/CONJ

(53:5) e:h=nowa:ška:+niči.
he.rushed.out/CONJ

(53:6) “kana:kwa.
 it.is.impossible

(53:7) pe:hki =meko a:hkwe:+wa.
 really =EMPH **she**.is.fierce/IND

(53:8) ke:kya:ta =meko pe:hki ne+wi:sakine:h+okwa,”
 nearly =EMPH really **she**.injured.me.with.a.blow/IND

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ

- (53:1) **He** started walking, and went in.
 (53:2) As soon as **the man** went in, **he** lit a light.
 (53:3) As soon as *he* lit a light, **Turtle Girl** pounced
 (53:4) but missed **her** grab at *him*,
 (53:5) and *he* ran out.
 (53:6) “It’s no go.
 (53:7) **She**’s really fierce.
 (53:8) **She** really nearly hurt me when she struck at me,” **he** told *him*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2024C 110E-K]

Passage (53) invokes a rapid series of scene shifts. Lines (53:1), (53:2), and (53:3) all begin new, single-sentence discourse paragraphs. The first consists of two aorist clauses, the second consists of a changed conjunct and an aorist clause, and the third consists of a changed conjunct followed by a string of three aorist clauses. In (53:2) the scene shifts from outside to inside the house, with both edges of the shift bracketed by the verb stem *pi:tike*: ‘go inside’. In (53:2) the scene shifts from pitch black to light, with both edges of the shift bracketed by the verb stem *wa:se:še:nike*: ‘make a light’. In (53:6) the scene shifts from inside to outside the house, with the leading edge of the shift marked by the verb stem *nowa:ška*: ‘rush out’, and the trailing edge of the shift marked by a quote.

In the first, second, and fourth of these scenes, the hero is proximate. In the third scene, as soon as the light flares, the proximate relations shift: the hero moves into the obviative, and Turtle Girl takes proximate status, for the duration of the scene (four clauses, one sentence, in lines 3–5). The shift to Turtle Girl’s perspective heightens the emotional drama of her frustrated attack.

Note, incidentally, that the hero is referred to pronominally except in (53:2), right before his shift into the obviative. The bracketing verbs admit no possibility of confusion as to the subject of (53:2). The sole function of the overt noun here is to signal the upcoming, and slightly unexpected, proximate shift. No such signal is necessary in the case of the subsequent proximate shift back to the hero, which is effected purely pronominally, in (53:8).

Each sentence of passage (53) constitutes a scene; each constitutes a domain for proximate and obviative assignment. Proximate and obviative relations hold throughout each scene of passage (53).

Another example of this default situation is given in (54):

(54:1) o:ni mahkw+a e:h=pye:taw+a:či
and.then bear he.brought.<them>.to.him/CONJ

me:meškwimateta:kan+ani.
red.leggings

(54:2) wi:h=iši- =meko -ošehki:t+aminiči
{what} =EMPH he.would.wear/FUT.CONJ.PPL

e:h=iši- pye:taw+a:či.
{that} he.brought.<them>.to.him/CONJ

(54:3) ki:ši- nana:hi:hta:+či, e:h=awahawaso+či
finish when.he.dressed.up/CONJ RED.he.warmed.himself/CONJ

e:h=me:meškwimatete:pi+či.
he.sat.wearing.red.leggings/CONJ

(54:1) And then **the bear**_i brought *him*_j a pair of red leggings.

(54:2) **He**_i brought *him*_j a whole outfit to wear.

(54:3) When **he**_j was dressed, **he**_j sat warming himself, wearing his red leggings.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.4 20E-G]

Passage (54) contains two scenes. Scene one consists of two single-clause sentences, and scene two consists of a single sentence composed of three clauses. Note that the second sentence of scene one is a gloss upon the first, and that the second aorist clause of scene two is a gloss upon the first.

Neither scene is particularly clearly located in space. Scene two is defined, instead, by a proximate shift, and by a change in the cast of characters—the bear is now nowhere in sight. The scene is set off by a changed conjunct clause.

In scene one, the bear is proximate, the hero is obviative, and the inanimate noun and inanimate participle are unmarked for proximity. Scene two effects a purely pronominal proximate shift to the hero, who is the only character present in the scene.

Proximate and obviative relations hold throughout each scene of passage (54).

The pattern illustrated by passages (53) and (54), with proximate and obviative assignments maintained within each scene = discourse paragraph = discourse span, is the most common treatment of proximate and obviative in extra-quote third-person narrative, even when a new scene introduces a proximate shift ushered in by a changed conjunct clause. However, enjambments are far from rare. Examples of enjambments are given in (55)-(59).

- (55:1) e:h=anemi- pi:čisa:+niči wi:kiya:p+eki,
going.off she.ran.inside/CONJ wickiup/LOC
- (55:2) a:šitami e:h=pye:či- nowi:+niči še:škese:h+ahi.
in.turn hither they.exited/CONJ maidens
- (55:3) e:h=ki:ša:koči- na:nawe:nihkwe:he:hi+niči.
extremely they.were.beautiful.women/CONJ
- (55:4) “nawači- penaha:hkwa:+ko,” e:h=in+emeči.
first you.(pl).comb.your.hair/IMP X.told.them.{that}/CONJ
- (55:5) e:h=nawači- penaha:hkwa:+niči.
first they.combed.their.hair/CONJ
- (55:6) ki:ši- penaha:hkwa:+niči =’pi: =’ni,
finish when.they.combed.their.hair/CC =HRSY then
- (55:7) “nahi,” e:h=in+eči,
now! X.told.them.{that}/CONJ
- (55:8) “pya:+ko: =’nahi,” e:h=in+eči neniw+aki.
you.(pl).come/IMP =time.to X.told.them.{that}/CONJ men
- (55:9) kaho:ni ni:ka:ni:+ta menehta e:h=na:kwa:+či.
and.then one.who.led/CONJ.PPL first he.set.off/CONJ

- (55:10) menwina:h =meko e:nemehka:+či: ='ni
a.fair.ways.off =EMPH when.**he**.walked.off/CONJ then
- e:h=pye:či- mawinan+emeči.
hither X.ran.at.**him**/CONJ
- (55:11)no:make =meko e:h=pakisatah+omeči.
in.a.little.while =EMPH X.knocked.*him*.down.with.a.stick/CONJ
- (55:12) e:h=pye:či- kečisa:+niči mečemo:k+ani.
hither *she*.ran.out/CONJ *old.woman*
- (55:13) “pye:či- pi:taho:n+ehko,” e:h=in+emeči še:škesi:h+ahi.
hither you.(pl).drag.**him**.inside/IMP X.told.*them*.{that}/CONJ *maidens*
- (55:14)e:h=anemi- pi:taho:n+emeči.
going.off X.dragged.*him*.inside/CONJ

- (55:1) *She* ran back into the wickiup,
(55:2) and *the young women* came out in turn.
(55:3) *They* were extremely beautiful.
(55:4) “Stop to comb your hair!” *they* were told.
(55:5) And *they* stopped to comb their hair.
(55:6) After *they* combed their hair,
(55:7) “Now,” **they** were told,
(55:8) “Come on!” **the men** were told.
(55:9) And then **the leader** set off first.
(55:10) When **he** had gotten a fair ways off, *he* was attacked.
(55:11) In short order *he* was struck down.
(55:12) *The old woman* came running out.
(55:13) “Drag **him** inside here!” *the young women* were told.
(55:14) And *he* was dragged off inside.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 143B-144E]

The participants in (55) are the hero, his ten companions, an ogress, and her ogress daughters. We view every scene in this passage at a little distance, from the seated men’s perspective. The ogress and her daughters are obviative throughout; their first victim shifts into the obviative, too, as soon as he enters the field of observation.

The field of observation is very clearly oriented to the seated men’s perspective. We get the initial or preverb *anem-/anemi* ‘motion away from viewer’ in lines (55:1),

(55:10), and (55:14), and the preverb *pye:či* ‘motion towards viewer’ in lines (55:2), (55:10), and (55:12).

Secondary obviatives are sedulously avoided in this passage. And, in fact, with the single exception of the quoted command in (55:13), every transitive verb in (55) inflects as indefinite acting on primary obviative or indefinite acting on proximate. The effect is an equalization of the different obviative participants in the scenes, and an increase in the distance between observers and observed.

Line (55:9) effects a proximate shift, of sorts, to the most senior of the men. This isn’t a true proximate shift, but a shift of focus: the proximate of (55:9) is a subset of the current proximate.³⁶

Line (55:10) effects a striking mid-sentence proximate shift, via an obviative pronoun, that sets the leader apart from the remaining watchers. The changed conjunct of (55:10) locates the shift-of-scene; it measures out the distance to the middle ground between proximate viewers and obviative viewed. In the changed conjunct clause of the sentence, the leader is still proximate, and still active. In the main clause, he is obviative and passive. In the next sentence, he is dead.

The shift in (55:10) flouts the convention that same-sentence, coreferential third persons agree in proximacy. It invokes instead a more marked convention, of enjambment of old proximate to new obviative, to indicate exactly this kind of portentous passing from view.

A less lethal example is given in (56):

(56:1) “k+i:h=taši- kakano:neti:h+a:pwa,”
 there you.(pl).converse.with.him/FUT.IND

e:h=it+aki i:ni penaha:kan+i.
 she.told.it.{that}/CONJ that comb

³⁶ The proximate in (55:7) and (55:8) is a true proximate plural, with proximate status distributed across all the members of the group. This is deducible from context alone. Meskwaki morphology does not distinguish between plurals composed of proximate plus proximate and those composed of proximate plus obviative: both are indexed as proximate plural.

(56:2) i:nah =e:h=ahto:+či =’pi: =’na ihkwe:w+a.
there **she**.put.it/CONJ =HRSY **that woman**

(56:3) o:ni =’pi ki:ši- we:pipaho+či,
and.then =HRSY finish when.**she**.started.running/CC

(56:4) wa:natohka =meko: =’na we:wi:še:h+a
unconcernedly =EMPH **that Rolling Skull**

i:nah =e:h=tane:nem+a:či,
there **he**.thought.of.*her*. {there}/CONJ

(56:5) a:yahpi:hčina:hi e:h=kanawi+niči.
every.little.while *she*.spoke/CONJ

(56:1) “You must keep talking to **him**,” **she** told *that comb*.

(56:2) And **that woman** set it down there.

(56:3) And then after **she** started running,

(56:4) **that Rolling Skull** all unconcernedly continued to think of *her* as there,

(56:5) since every little while *she* spoke.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 17B-G]

Line (56:2) of this passage exhibits a “defocusing” postverbal proximate noun phrase, complete with distal demonstrative, that indicates an upcoming change in the current proximate’s status. Nonetheless, the proximate shift is delayed for one clause. Once again, the result is a same-sentence enjambment of old proximate to new obviative, marking the woman’s transition out of our field of vision. The changed conjunct, which still has her in view, keeps her in the proximate; by the main aorist clause she’s gone, and she shifts into the obviative.

In (56:3), it’s the trailing edge of the changed conjunct, rather than the leading edge—as in (53:3) and (54:3)—that marks the boundary between old proximate and new. The line of demarcation is one clause out of phase with the other scene-shifting indicators: the defocusing noun phrase in (56:2), and the particles *o:ni=’pi* in (56:3).

Note that the sentence in (56:3–4) flouts convention iv of proximate and obviative use (one proximate per sentence) as well as convention ii (intrasentential agreement in proximacy).

As in the passage in (45e), by the way, (56:5) contains a verb that's clearly filtered through the proximate's perceptions: Rolling Skull thinks he's hearing an animate obviative woman, rather than an inanimate obviative comb, and as a result the verb in (56:5) has an animate obviative subject.

An example of enjambment of old obviative to new proximate is given in (57).

- (57:1) ki:š- a:yaha:ya.čimoh+ekoči, e:h=na:kwa:+niči.
 finish RED.when.**he**.informed.*him*/CC *he*.went.home/CONJ
- (57:2) wi:na =ke:h =e:h=na:kwa:+či.
 he =and **he**.went.home/CONJ
- (57:3) i:ya:hi =ʼpi pye:či -pi:tike+niči,
 there =HRSY hither when.*he*.went.inside/CC
- ow+i:či- pašito:h+ani wa:natohka =meko e:h=nana:tohta:+koči.
 his.fellow *old.man* casually =EMPH *he*.questioned.**him**/CONJ
- (57:4) “ta:tepi =ča:h =a:piha:+yani,”
 where.to? =so {where} you went and came back/CONJ.PPL
- e:h=ikoči.
he.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ
- (57:5) “pwa:wi- kehke:neta, ayo:h =ni:hka: =ʼnoki
 not O.you.who.know here =jeeze now
- ke+taši- keteketemina:ke:+pena,” e:h=in+eči.
 {there} RED.we.(incl).blessed.people/CONJ X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ
- (57:6) e:h=nana:hi- kohkiši+ki.
 get.set.to **he**.rolled.over/CONJ

- (57:1) When *he_i* had told **him_j** everything, *he_i* went home.
 (57:2) And **he_j** also went home.
 (57:3) When *he_i* arrived down there, *his fellow old man_k* questioned **him_i** casually.
 (57:4) “So **where have you been to?**” *he_k* asked **him_i**.
 (57:5) “Jeeze, you idiot, we were giving out blessings here just now!” **he_k** was told.
 (57:6) **He_k** just rolled over in bed.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.4 261-27C]

The participants in (57) are the hero of the story, and two old men of roughly equal status who live beneath a lake. The first scene, above water in (57:1–2), includes just the hero and the fussier of the two old men; the next two scenes, below water in (57:3–4) and (57:5–6), include just the two old men.

The fussy old man is obviative relative to the hero. Line (57:3) preserves the obviative/proximate pronominal contrast between that old man and the hero one clause longer than it needs to. As the hero is now offstage, proximate emphasis can shift to the fussy old man in (57:3) and (57:4), and then to the complacent old man in (57:5) and (57:6). The choice of proximate in (57:3–4) heightens the effect of the fussy old man’s incredulous indignation. The choice of proximate in (57:5–6) heightens the effect of his companion’s unconcern.

Enjambments of the old-obviative-to-new-proximate type are rarely strongly compelled by circumstances. They frequently, as here, simply nod to a higher level of proximate and obviative resolution. The two old men are of peripheral importance, relative to the hero, and the scenes under the lake are of peripheral importance to the main story.

Another example of enjambment of old obviative to new proximate is given in (58).

- (58:1) aškači =meko mehte:h+ani e:h=ašihtaw+a:či, mehte:he:h+ani,
 later =EMPH bow **she**.made.<IT>.for.him/CONJ bow.DIM
- (58:2) e:h=ka:ki:wi- wi:škeno:hehke:+niči o+si:me:h+ani.
 RED.around *he*.hunted.birds/CONJ *her.younger.sibling*

(58:3) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe na:hka kotak+ani e:h=ašihtaw+a:či
 perhaps at.some.point again other **she**.made.<IT>.for.him/CONJ

mehte:h+ani,
bow

(58:4) aša:ti:h+ani: =’nahi.
headed.arrows =and

(58:5) ki:šihtaw+a:či,
 when.**she**.had.made.<THEM>.for.him/CONJ

meše:=’nah =kapo:twe e:h=ki:- wi:škeno:hehke:+či,
 perhaps at.some.point around **he**.hunted.birds/CONJ

(58:6) e:h=ne:w+a:či nekoti e:h=či:tapi+niči mehtek+oki,
he.saw.it/CONJ one it.sat.upright/CONJ tree/LOC

(58:7) e:h=pemw+a:či.
he.shot.it/CONJ

- (58:1) Later **she** fashioned *A BOW* for *him*, *A TINY BOW*,
 (58:2) and *her younger brother* went around hunting birds with it.
 (58:3) Before long **she** fashioned *ANOTHER BOW* for *him*,
 (58:4) along with *some stone-tipped arrows*.
 (58:5) After **she** made *THEM* for *him*, sometime later, **he** was out hunting birds,
 (58:6) and **he** saw *something* sitting in a tree
 (58:7) and shot *it*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.59A 2E-J]

Line (58:5) marks the transition in this passage from the sister to the brother, as locus of attention. Again, there is no particularly strong motivation for this enjambment. Sam Peters could just as easily have written *ki:šihtawoči* ‘after *they* were made for **him** (by indefinite)’, and avoided the mid-sentence proximate shift. The alternative he chose marks a more gradual transition to the new setting.

Note that the sentence in (58:5–7) flouts convention iv of proximate and obviative use (one proximate per sentence) as well as convention ii (intrasentential agreement in proximity).

A trivial variation on the pattern exemplified in (55)-(58) yields two proximates and no obviative in one sentence, flouting convention iv alone. An example is given in (59).

- (59:1) kaho:ni =’pi e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či.
and.then =HRSY **they**.departed/CONJ
- (59:2) i:ya:hi =’pi pye:ya:+wa:či,
there =HRSY when.**they**.arrived/CC
- (59:3) e:h=a:čimoh+eči we:tawe:mawi+ta
X.informed.**her**/CONJ **one.who.had.<him>.as.a.brother**/CONJ.PPL

ahkoweči:h+a iškwe:se:h+a,
youngest.sister girl
- (59:4) e:h=kehči- mayo:+či =’pi.
greatly **she**.wept/CONJ =HRSY
- (59:5) e:h=anemi- =’pi -nowe:kesi+či,
going.off =HRSY **she**.exited.wailing/CONJ
- (59:6) mano:ne:h+ani =’pi e:h=owi.ke:hi+niči =’pi
Manoneh =HRSY place.where.she.lived.DIM/LOC.PPL =HRSY

e:h=a:+či.
she.went.{thither}/CONJ

- (59:1) And then **they** went home.
(59:2) When **they** got there,
(59:3) **his sister, the youngest girl**, was told about it,
(59:4) and **she** cried hard.
(59:5) **She** went out wailing,
(59:6) going to *Manoneh*’s house.

[Pearl Leaf NAA 2024D.4 52L-53C]

The participants in (59) are the hero’s wicked father and brothers, the hero’s youngest sister, and Old Woman Manoneh. There is no overt obviative in (59) at all, until we get to the locative complement of the last clause, in (59:6). The enjambment in (59:2–3) is a variation on the old-proximate-to-new-obviative type. It marks an important transition

from one act of the story to another. The villains of Act One, proximate plural in (59:1–2), are passing out of view, and a new heroine, with her attendant constellation of friends and enemies, is moving to center stage. She occupies the full attention of this passage after the obligatory transition provided by the changed conjunct (the arrival half of the departure-and-arrival clauses bracketing the shift of scene). Note that the villains shift straight from proximate into indefinite status in the transition from (59:2) to (59:3).

3.3.2.3. There is at most one proximate per clause

There should be at most one proximate per discourse span, and hence at most one proximate per clause.

3.3.2.3.1. Exceptions involving participles

All the examples of misaligned participles discussed in 3.3.2.1.1 and all the examples of misaligned possessed nouns discussed in 3.3.2.1.3 constitute exceptions to convention iii of proximate and obviative use, which states that there should be at most one proximate per clause, as well as to convention i, which states that co-clausal, coreferential third persons should agree in proximity.

In addition to these, there are cases of misaligned participles and misaligned possessed nouns that introduce a second proximate into a clause without violating agreement. Examples are given in (60a) and (60b), and in (61a) and (61b).

(60a) “ket+o:kima:+m+ena:n+a e:h=owi:ki+či
 our.(incl).chief place.where.he.lives/LOC.PPL

pi:tikan+a:ta:wei:!” e:h=in+eči.
 we.(incl).bring**him**.in/IMP X.told**him**. {that}/CONJ

“Let’s bring **him** to where our chief lives!” was said about **him**.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 17F]

In (60a), both the object of the verb and the subject of its locative complement are proximate. The verb has two arguments, an inclusive subject and a proximate object. The locative participle has a single argument, a proximate subject. There is no clash in agreement at all.

This kind of shift, with a non-third person immediately juxtaposed to each proximate, is common in quoted speech. It's rarer for two animate proximates to coöccur without the intercession of a non-third person. And it's still rarer for such a sentence to occur extra-quote. I know of only one extra-quote case in which the proximate argument of a verb occurs side by side with the proximate subject of the verb's locative complement:

- (60b) i:nini e:h=mawi- pi:tah+oči.
 that go.and X.buried.**them**/CONJ
- ke:hтена =meko na:meki e:h=as+eči i:nini ne:po:hi+ničini.
 sure.enough =EMPH underneath X.placed.**him**/CONJ *that dead.person*/CONJ.PPL
- kaho:ni ='pi =na:hka: ='na mahwe:w+a e:h=mawi- waho:ne+ki
 and.then =HRSY and **that wolf** went.and **he**.howled/CONJ
- i:nah =taši e:h=api+či,
 there {there} place.where.he.was/LOC.PPL
- mahwe:w+ahi e:h=natom+a:či i:na mahwe:w+a.
 wolves **he**.summoned.*them*/CONJ **that wolf**

He was taken and buried with *that boy*.
 And sure enough, **he** was laid underneath *that dead boy*.
 And then **that wolf** went and howled there where he was laid,
that wolf summoning *the wolves*.

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.4 38C-D]

In (60b), the story's hero has been unjustly killed. He is buried along with a foreign chief's son, presumably in order to escort the other boy's ghost on the journey to the ghost country. The hero's companion, a wolf, goes to the grave and summons his fellow wolves to begin the work of reviving their benefactor.

The hero, though dead, is proximate in the first scene of (60b). His only rivals for proximate status are the other dead boy, and the people of the village who are actually performing the burial. The villagers are both the agent and the only available observer in the scene, but they far less sympathetic than the hero, and are also far less important in the plot. Having killed the hero, in fact, they have no further relevance to the plot. Hence they are shunted aside by means of two indefinite pronouns.

The scene shift in the third sentence of (60b) is accomplished by means of the scene-shifting particle *kaho:ni* (reinforced by *=ipi=na:hka*), the appearance of a new character in the scene (new to the scene, but far from new to the story), and a proximate shift. The cast of characters for this scene are the wolf, the dead hero, the other dead boy (not mentioned), and the other wolves (offstage). The wolf is the only available observer in this scene. He is also an active participant in the scene. He is also of great importance to the story as a whole. He is necessarily proximate here, relative to the hero's obviative.

Nonetheless, the hero's obviative surfaces as a proximate. Consider the alternative: if Sam Peters had said, instead, "Then **that wolf** went and howled where obviative was laid," the obviative would lend itself to a misleading interpretation. There are two boys in the grave, one of proximate and one of peripheral importance. The wolf is proximate relative to the hero in this scene, and the hero is proximate relative to the other boy. As the primary obviative versus secondary obviative distinction is not directly accessible in this context (the two boys not being brought into contact as the two arguments of a transitive verb), and as disambiguating the two through the use of nouns or participles is not particularly easy (both are boys, both are dead, neither is named in the story), Sam Peters chooses to inject a second proximate into the clause. He does this deliberately, casting it a little apart from the rest of the sentence (the ordinary way of expressing the verb plus locative complement would be *i:nah=e:h=api+(ni)či e:h=mawi-taši-waho:ne+ki*, rather than *e:h=mawi-waho:ne+ki i:nah=taši e:h=api+(ni)či*, with postposed relative root), and resetting the "real" current proximate, afterwards, by repeating *i:na mahwe:wa* in the second clause of the sentence.

As in the case of the misaligned participles discussed in 3.3.2.1.1, examples (60a) and (60b) involve participial proximate inflection that is “invisible” to the inflection of the verb. “Invisible” proximates of this type occur chiefly in quoted speech, where every third person neither possessed by another third person nor juxtaposed to another third person in a transitive verb is potentially a proximate. The last sentence of (60b) is the only attested extra-quote example of co-clausal, non-coreferential proximates. It occurs in circumstances exactly paralleling those of (49a)-(49h): the narrator recognizes two competing claims to proximate status, one in a narrower and one in a wider compass.

3.3.2.3.2. Exceptions involving possessive phrases

The inflection of possessive phrases can also be “invisible” to the inflection of the rest of the clause, as demonstrated by the examples in 3.3.2.1.3. Examples (61a) and (61b) provide instances in which the possessed noun is a “real” obviative rather than an honorary proximate.

- (61a) “pye:či- nakiškaw+ina:ke,”
 hither you.(pl).meet.us.(excl)/IMP
- e:h=in+a:či mahkw+a ow+i:w+ahi.
he.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ **Bear** *his.wives*

“Come and meet us!” **he** told *Bear*’s *wives*.

[Anonymous 5 NAA 2985 46J]

In (61a), the subject of the verb of quotation is proximate, the object of the verb of quotation is obviative, and the possessor of the object is proximate. The proximate marking of the possessor is simply invisible to the rest of the sentence. The result is a sentence with two proximates, but with no clash in agreement at all.

The speaker in (61a), Bear’s half-human son, has greater importance than Bear in the story as a whole, as well as a greater claim to proximate status in this scene. There is no

overriding reason for Bear to be proximate here at all. However, possessive phrases are one of the places where Meskwaki discourse tolerates narrow-compass within wide-compass marking of proximate relations. Within the possessive phrase itself, Bear has a nearer status than his wives, and the marking of the nouns in (61a) makes that relation explicit.

As in the case of the honorary proximate example in (51f), “invisible” proximate possessors often occur in explanatory glosses on a noun:

- (61b) kaho:ni =’pi: =’ni e:taši+wa:či =meko
 and.then =HRSY then *{as.many}as.there.were.of.them*/CONJ.PPL =EMPH
- šama:kaneš+aki a:ya:nehki:hi e:h=pemi- meno+wa:či
soldiers a.little.each along **they**.drank.<*it*>/CONJ
- i:ni šekiwen+i, piči:ša:h+a o+šekiwen+i.
that urine **Piči:ša:h** *his.urine*

And then as many of **the soldiers** as there were drank a little of *that urine*, ***Piči:ša:h***’s urine.

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 13A]

In (61b), the subject of the verb is proximate, the second object of the verb is intransitive, and the possessor of the second object is proximate. The possessor occurs in an expansion on the original noun phrase. There is no clash in agreement.

3.3.2.3.3. Violations of preferred condition (iii) summarized

Convention iii of proximate and obviative use, which states that there should be at most one proximate per clause, thus runs up against three types of exceptions:

- (1) narrator miscalculation of the kind discussed in 3.3.2.1.2.;
 - (2) narrow-compass proximate and obviative assignment within a participial complement of a verb;
 - (3) narrow-compass proximate and obviative assignment within a possessive phrase.
- Exceptions of type (1) are involuntary. Exceptions of types (3) and, especially, (2),

although voluntary, represent options that are relatively rarely exploited even in first-person narratives and in quoted speech.

3.3.2.3.4. Preferred condition (iii) and proximate plurals

Proximate plurals add a dimension to the one-proximate-per-clause consideration. With the exception of inanimate third persons conjoined to animate third persons, which follow special rules of their own (see the discussion in 5.3.1), plurals in Meskwaki reflect the status of the highest-ranked member of the set. So, cases of second persons plus third persons always yield a second person plural; cases of first persons plus third persons always yield a first person plural; cases of proximates plus obviatives always yield a proximate plural. A proximate plural thus may consist of more than one proximate, or of at least one proximate in combination with at least one obviative. The exact distribution of proximacy across the individuals composing a proximate sum is entirely at the narrator's discretion. It can even change without notice.

Overt nominal accompaniments of proximate plural verbal inflection, ranged from most to least commonly attested, are as follows: (1) no nominal accompaniment; (2) a proximate plural nominal; (3) the obviative part of a conjoined proximate and obviative; (4) both the proximate and the obviative parts of a conjoined proximate and obviative; (5) two proximate parts of a conjoined proximate; and (6) the proximate part of a conjoined proximate and obviative.

Examples of these possibilities are given in (62a)-(62f). The inflection of the main verb is proximate plural in each case. The animate intransitive stem *na:kwa:*, which occurs in the first four examples, means 'leave', 'set out', 'go home', or 'go back'.

(62a) kaho:n =e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či.
and.then **they**.went.home/CONJ
And then **they** went home.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 20C]

- (62b) kaho:n =e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či i:niki pašito:h+aki.
 and.then **they**.left/CONJ **those** **old.men**
 And then **those old men** left.

[Anonymous 7 NAA 2794.63 3B]

- (62c) nye:wokonakate+niki, e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či
 when.it.was.four.days/CC **they**.set.out/CONJ
- ow+i:hka:n+ani we:meke:h+ani, ow+i:w+ani: ='nahi.
his.friend *Running.Sores* *his.wife* =and

In *four days*, **he and his friend Running Sores** set out,
 along with **his wife**.

[Jim Peters NAA 2724.2 107H]

- (62d) o:ni ='pi e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či
 and.then =HRSY **they**.went.home/CONJ

masahkamikohkwe:w+a wi:sahke:h+ani.
Mother.Earth *Wi:sahke:h*

And then **Mother Earth and Wi:sahke:h** went home.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 464C]

- (62e) kaho:ni ='pi wa:pa+niki e:h=ma:wači:+wa:či
 and.then =HRSY it.was.morning/CC **they**.assembled/CONJ

mešihke:h+aki na:hka šo:škiwine:h+aki,
turtles also **antelopes**

e:h=kehči- taneti:+wa:či.
 greatly **they**.made.bets/CONJ

And then *the next day* **the turtles and the antelopes** came together
 and made lots of bets.

[Anonymous 4 NAA 2024A.6 24G-H]

- (62f) i:tep =e:h=a:+wa:či i:na neniw+a.
 thither **they**.went. {thither}/CONJ **that man**
 Then **he and that man** went there.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 12O]

Conjoined proximates of the type in (62e), with two subset proximates making up a proximate sum, in a sense introduce two proximates into a single clause. However, these kinds of sentences do not constitute a true violation of the one-proximate-per-clause convention iii.

As noted by Goddard (1990a:325), proximate plurals are frequently used as an intermediate step in promoting an obviative to proximate. This is an almost necessary result of their ambiguity. Consider passage (63):

- (63:1) pe:hki =meko =na:hka: =’ni peno:či =meko e:h=išihkahkye:+či.
 really =EMPH and then far.away =EMPH **he**.left.indef. {that.way}/CONJ

- (63:2) kapo:twe =wi:na =na:hka
 soon *he* again

e:h=po:ni- ne:w+a:či na:nawasoti:+čini.
 cease **he**.saw.him/CONJ <one>.he.mutually.raced/CONJ.PPL

- (63:3) “ši: =’ni =ya:pi wi:h=nawasw+iki me:me:čiki,”
 say! now =the.thing.is X.will.outrun.me/FUT.CONJ I’m.sure

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought{that}/CONJ

- (63:4) pe:hki na:hka e:h=mami:kwa:so+či.
 really again **he**.went.all.out/CONJ

- (63:5) aškači =meko =na:hka e:h=matahkye:+či.
 after.a.while =EMPH again **he**.caught.up/CONJ

- (63:6) kenwe:ši =meko =na:hka e:h=pemi- ta:h:ta:po:šin+owa:či.
 a.long.time =EMPH again along **they**.were.side.by.side/CONJ

(63:7) kapo:twe =na:hka: =’ni e:h=anemi- nawas+oči.
 at.some.point again then going.off X.outran.him/CONJ

- (63:1) Then **he_i** really left (the other guy) far behind.
 (63:2) For his part, **he_j** soon lost sight of *the man he was racing_i* again.
 (63:3) “Say, I’m going to be outrun now, I’m convinced!” **he_j** thought.
 (63:4) And **he_j** really went all out again.
 (63:5) After a while **he_j** caught up again.
 (63:6) For a long time, again, **they_{i+j}** were neck and neck.
 (63:7) Then at some point **he_i** was passed again.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2794.26 25F-27D]

In (63), the hero (subscript *i*) is racing against the fastest runner in the world (subscript *j*). The entire race occupies four manuscript pages. Point-of-view, and proximate status, veer back and forth from the hero to his rival as each outstrips the other in turn. The hero and his rival are treated almost as co-proximates in the excerpt in (63): note how the detransitive verbs in lines 1 and 5, and the indefinite subject in line 7, conspire to prevent either of the runners from being shunted into the obviative. The only obviative of the passage, in line 2, is named by a participle formed from the reciprocal verb stem *na:nawasoti*: ‘race each other’.

The proximate shifts of (63) are effected purely pronominally. Proximate status shifts from the hero’s rival to the hero in line 2. The shift is reinforced by the use of the emphatic proximate pronoun *wi:na*.

In line 6, when the two runners for once occupy the same scene, they are indexed by a joint proximate plural. In line 7 they separate, and the perspective shifts back to the hero. Both shifts, subset to superset and superset to subset, are effected without even the slight jolt or abruptness of perspective jump that is supplied in line 2 by *wi:na*.

Shifts in which a proximate plural provides a smooth transition from one proximate locus of consciousness to another are possible only when the two proximates in question have been set up as (temporarily, at least) roughly equal in status, as in (63). Where the status of the different components of a proximate sum is grossly unequal, proximate plurals can be used effect other kinds of perspective shifts. So, in passage (44), where

the grizzly bear was not remotely suited to be a subject of consciousness, promotion of the grizzly bear to co-proximate status with the man being chased functioned to lower the man's status, with the result that both man and bear could be backgrounded relative to a new observer.

In passage (64), the Osages are “nearer” than the Comanches, but would never be represented as “nearer” than the Meskwakis. The brief co-proximate status of Meskwakis and Osages is in this case used to raise the Osages' status:

(64:1) e:na:kwi:hi+niki =’pi: =’ni e:h=pye:či- po:ni:+niči waša:š+ahi,
it.was.evening.DIM/CC =HRSY then hither they.camped/CONJ Osages

(64:2) i:nahi e:h=pye:či- tahtakwike:+wa:či.
 there hither **they.united.camps/CONJ**

(64:3) neniw+aki =’pi e:h=ša:ši:ša:+wa:či.
men =HRSY they.hunted/CONJ

(64:4) kaho:ni =’pi =ye:toke kapo:twe aškači
 and.then =HRSY =EVID at.some.point later

e:h=we:pi- na:ni:mi+wa:či waša:š+aki na:hka meškwahki:h+aki.
 begin RED.**they.danced/CONJ Osages** and **Meskwakis**

(64:5) kaho:ni =’pi kapo:twe pe:hki =meko
 and.then =HRSY soon really =EMPH

e:h=anehka:ti:+wa:či i:nihi waša:š+ahi.
they.got.aquainted.with.each.other/CONJ those Osages

(64:6) kaho:ni =ča:h =ye:toke aškači =meko kapo:twe
 and.then =so =EVID later =EMPH at.some.point

e:ye:ši- =meko -taši- ta:taneti:+wa:či,
 while =EMPH there RED.**they.gambled/CC**

(64:7) kapo:twe e:h=ne:w+a:wa:tehe pa:to:hk+ahi i:niki waša:š+aki.
 suddenly **they.saw.them/PST Comanches those Osages**

(64:8) i:ni =’pi =meko waša:š+ahi e:h=mawinahkye:+niči.
 then =HRSY =EMPH *Osages* *they.attacked/CONJ*

(64:9) e:ya:wi- 'ši- ='pi =meko -ki:ši- ahkwitapi+ničini,
 respectively {that.way} =HRSY =EMPH finish whenever.they.mounted/ITER

e:h=mawinahkye:+niči waša:š+ahi.
 they.attacked/CONJ Osages

(64:10) kaho:ni ='pi =wi:nwa:wa, "ka:ta,"
 and.then =HRSY *they* don't

e:h=iti:+wa:či meškwahki:h+aki.
 they.said.{that}.to.each.other/CONJ Meskwakis

- (64:1) Then *that evening the Osages_j* came and camped,
 (64:2) and **they_{i+j}** merged camps there.
 (64:3) And **the men_(i+j)** went hunting.
 (64:4) Then a while later, it seems, **the Osages_j and the Meskwakis_i** started dancing.
 (64:5) Soon **they_i** really got to know *those Osages_j* well.
 (64:6) Then, it seems, a considerable time later, while **they_{i+j}** were gambling,
 (64:7) **those Osages_j** suddenly spotted *some Comanches_k*.
 (64:8) *The Osages_j* immediately went for them.
 (64:9) One by one, as *they_j* got mounted, *the Osages_j* went for them.
 (64:10) For their part, **the Meskwakis_i** said to each other, "Don't!"

[Sam Peters NAA 2008.1 4B-5C]

The Osages become part of "us", the Meskwakis, in lines 2 through 6. In line 4, they are explicitly co-proximate with the Meskwakis. In line 5 (compare 63:2), they resume their semi-obviative status, as the obviative half of the reciprocal relation indicated by *anehka:ti:*. Line 5 reinforces the point that the Meskwakis are embracing the Osages as friends: *anehka:ti:* implies incurred affection and obligation, as well as familiarity.

As the obviative part of the current proximate, the Osages surface in line 7 as proximate relative to the new intruder on the scene. In line 8, they quit their co-proximate status altogether. We shift back to the Meskwaki perspective of "us" versus "them" (note the jolt of perspective shift provided by the proximate plural emphatic pronoun *wi:nwa:wa* in line 10), and the Osages remain a distant obviative until the concluding lines of the story.

This story is a highly partisan description of how the Meskwakis got embroiled in a fight between the Osages and Comanches, and saved the Osages from certain destruction. The brief co-proximate status of the Osages motivates the events that follow, in which the Meskwakis try to hold apart from the fight but in the end can't stand to see their Osage friends slaughtered.

Note how smoothly proximate status slips from part to plural and from plural to part, mid-sentence, in lines 2 and 7 of (64). Subset to superset and superset to subset shifts in Meskwaki are never treated as true proximate shifts. Proximate plurals thus can blur the line between one proximate per clause and more-than-one proximate per clause.

3.3.2.4. There is at most one proximate per sentence

All the exceptions to convention iii of proximate and obviative use, which states that there should be at most one proximate per clause, also constitute exceptions to convention iv, which states that there should be at most one proximate per sentence. And as we saw in 3.3.2.2, proximate shifts of the enjambment type also frequently flout convention iv.

In addition to these, the narrow-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment routinely flouts the one-proximate-per-sentence requirement.

As in the case of conjoined proximates discussed in 3.3.2.3.4, coördinate proximates can introduce two proximates into a sentence without truly violating the one-proximate-per-sentence requirement. Examples are given in (65a) and (65b):

(65a) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe e:h=ahkohwe:+wa:či
 perhaps at.some.point **they**.used.<*it*>.up/CONJ

e:ši- keteminawesi+wa:či.
 {that.way} **they**.were.blessed/CONJ.PPL

mešihke:h+a =ke:h =e:h=ahkohwe:+či,
Turtle =and **he**.used.<*it*>.up/CONJ

me:meškwiमतeta:+ta =mek =e:yi:ki.
Red.Leggings =EMPH also

At some point **they** used up *their blessings*.
Turtle used up *his*, and **Red Leggings** did as well.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 83A-B]

The second sentence of (65a) is a recasting of the first. In (65a), Turtle and Red Leggings are co-proximates. The first sentence refers to them in the proximate plural; the second sentence shifts to two proximate singulars, employing a coördinate structure, with the verb omitted from the second half. Turtle and Red Leggings are still functioning as a proximate sum. Hence this sentence is not a true violation of convention iv.

(65b) e:h=ni:šwih+e:hiči o+ni:ča:nese:h+ahi, nekoti kwi:yese:h+ani
he.had.two.of.them.DIM/CONJ *his.children.DIM* one *boy.DIM*

nekoti iškwe:se:he:h+ani.
 one *girl.DIM*

iškwe:se:h+a a:wasi:me:hi e:h=inekino:hi+či,
girl a.little.more **she**.was.big.DIM/CONJ

kwi:yese:h+a e:h=po:si- =meko -čakeši:hi+či.
boy more.so =EMPH **he**.was.small/CONJ

He had two *small children*, one *little boy* and one *little girl*.
The girl was a little bigger,
 and **the boy** was smaller.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2764.4 1F-H]

Example (65b) occurs in the introduction to a story. In the first sentence of (65b), the two children are the conjoined obviative object of the verb, named first by an obviative plural noun and then by two obviative singular nouns. In the second sentence of (65b), the children have been promoted to co-proximates: they are indexed by

proximate nouns modifying coördinate verbs. Again, this sentence is not a true violation of convention iv.

3.4. Summary of the basic conditioning factors of proximate and obviative use

In first-person narratives, in ordinary quoted speech within third-person narratives, and in generic description, each clause constitutes, potentially, a new domain for the assignment of proximate and obviative status.

In third-person narratives, and in narrative quoted speech, each *scene* constitutes, potentially, a new domain for the assignment of proximate and obviative status. A scene is typically made up of one or more sentences. Scene shifts are defined by perspective shifts—changes in time, place, cast of characters, and/or point-of-view.

Scenes may be nested within scenes, and webs of proximate and obviative relations within webs of proximate and obviative relations, as described for instance in 3.2.3.

Proximate and obviative assignments hold throughout a discourse domain, *at minimum*.

There are two classes of conventional exceptions to this rule: (1) possessed nouns of the type described in 3.3.2.1.3, and (2) old-proximate-to-new-obviative and old-obviative-to-new-proximate enjambments of the type described in 3.3.2.2.

There is one proximate per discourse domain, *at maximum*.

If a discourse domain contains only one third person, implicit or explicit, that third person will be proximate. If a discourse domain contains more than one third person, one third person will be assigned proximate status, and the other(s) will be assigned obviative status.

There is one class of conventional exceptions to this general rule: possessors of the type described in 3.3.2.3.

Regarding implicit participants in a scene: proximate inflection always implies the presence of a non-third person observer, whether or not the non-third person is mentioned in the discourse domain. Obviative inflection always implies the presence of a proximate third person, whether or not the proximate third person is mentioned in the discourse domain. In addition, many Meskwaki verbs invoke arguments which may not have an overt realization. All verbs that take second objects fall into this category.

Where there is more than one third person participant in a discourse domain, the choice of proximate reflects the narrator's choice of nearest or most central third person. Proximate third persons are marked as nearer than obviative third persons because the narrator intends them to be taken as (a) more important in the scale of things or (b) more sympathetic in the scale of things or (c) the locus of perspective on a scene.

The nearer/farther division of persons has the following consequences: all else being equal, subjects have an edge over objects; humans have an edge over nonhumans; animates have an edge over inanimates; characters with global importance in a narrative have an edge over characters with lesser or local importance in the narrative; visible characters have an edge over invisible characters; characters in full possession of their faculties have an edge over characters who are asleep, unconscious, or dead; characters whose internal processes are described, or whose emotions are strongly engaged, have an edge over characters viewed solely from the outside.

In many cases narrators can manipulate the relative importance and relative pathos of different third persons through their choice of proximate. Even with a cast of roughly the same characters in roughly the same situation, there is often great latitude in how to present a scene. Chapter 4 describes some inter- and intra-author variation in managing proximate relations and setting up proximate shifts.

Chapter 4. Variation in proximate and obviative use

4.1. The Apaya:ši:hs

In order to take a closer look at some of the devices employed in proximate shifts, we can examine the set-up surrounding a violent, dramatic series of incidents in the Meskwaki strain of a famous North American tale type, the story of Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away. (See Reichard 1921 for a discussion of this tale type.) The Michelson corpus includes eight variants of this tale: one by Ša:poči:wa, one by Alfred Kiyana, two by Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha, three by Jim Peters, and one abbreviated version by an unidentified author, Anonymous 8. In Meskwaki the elder brother's name is Ne:nye:škwi:h, the younger brother's name is Apaya:ši:h, and the two together are termed Apaya:ši:haki (the Apaya:ši:hs).

The events surrounding Apaya:ši:h's birth involve an unusually large cast of sentient and strongly individual characters. They are also exceptionally gruesome, which means that they create plenty of opportunity for emotional crises in the story's characters and in the story's audience. As a result, they lend themselves ideally to an examination of different authors' juggling of considerations of importance, sympathy, and perspective.

The core incidents attending Apaya:ši:h's birth are his mother's murder by cannibals, his own extraction when his mother is cut into pieces for the pot, and Ne:nye:škwi:h's swift conveyance of him to the relative safety of a hollow tree. Their father is out hunting when this happens. Ne:nye:škwi:h subsequently tells his father what has taken place, and his father (except in Anonymous 8's version) reacts by fleeing to a new location with his son.

Anonymous 8's version consists of just the bare bones of these events. In the other seven versions, the cannibals are identified as the woman's parents-in-law (her father-in-law only, in Kiyana's version), and there is a more or less developed sinister series of exchanges leading up to the murder, in which the parents-in-law demand to be fed but reject everything their daughter-in-law attempts to serve them. In the end, she

deduces that they want to eat her, offers them a knife or an axe, and lays herself out on the floor.

There are several stages to the mother's preparation and consumption. At some stage in the process, either Ne:nye:škwi:h or else the cannibals wrap Apaya:ši:h in a buckskin or a buffalo robe, and Ne:nye:škwi:h finds a hollow tree to deposit him in. In Kiyana's and one of Jim Peters' versions of the story, Ne:nye:škwi:h is then urged to help devour his mother. He refuses. In Kiyana's and one of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions, he is admonished not to tell his father what has happened. This theme is much elaborated in Kiyana's version, but in the end the boy decides to tell his father anyway. He then, in Kiyana's version only, recapitulates the entire sequence of events in an extended narrative quote.

There are six more-or-less human participants in the scenes that make up this series of events: the mother, the father, Ne:nye:škwi:h, Apaya:ši:h, and two cannibals (one cannibal only, and hence five participants only, in Kiyana's version). Ša:poči:wa adds a seventh participant to the roster: in her version, the Great Manitou sees Apaya:ši:h in the tree-hollow where he's been discarded, takes pity on him, and breathes fresh life into him.

The woman is the only wholly human participant in these scenes. Her sons, and especially her younger son, have great magical powers, which officially makes them manitous as well as human; and her husband, like her parents-in-law, exhibits monstrous behavior. The foreignness of her husband's family is pointed up in various ways. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's and Jim Peters' stories have lengthy preambles, complete stories in themselves, explaining how the woman comes to marry a strange man in a strange land: she is chased to him across a vast stretch of territory by Rolling Skull (in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions) or by a cannibal giant (in Jim Peters' versions). Kiyana has a somewhat shorter preamble, told from the husband's point of view, describing how the husband travels south for many days to find and bring back a bride. In Ša:poči:wa's, Kiyana's, and Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions, the parents-in-law demand food using unintelligible language. In Jim Peters' versions, the father is the opposite of surprised

when he hears that his parents have eaten his wife. However, his monstrous inclinations for the most part become apparent only after his wife is dead, when he begins to marry frogs and leeches.

Only in Ša:poči:wa's version of the story is Apaya:ši:h treated as a sentient participant in these scenes. On the human-to-nonhuman scale, therefore, the characters range as follows: the mother (nearest), Ne:nye:škwi:h (very near), the father (near), the cannibals (far), and Apaya:ši:h (farthest).

Meskwaki narrative tends to draw an important symbolic distinction between virtue and pathos on the one hand, and selfishness and self-indulgence on the other. The former qualities are presented as morally attractive, and the latter as morally repellent. Virtue and pathos play a crucial part in one of the central concepts of Meskwaki culture: it's by behaving well and undergoing penance (fasting, crying, wearing torn poor clothing, blackening face and body with charcoal) that Meskwaki children attract the manitous' attention and their gifts.

In the opening scenes of the Apaya:ši:hs' story, the woman is an exceptionally dutiful daughter-in-law. Ne:nye:škwi:h is an obedient grandson and son (Kiyana makes Ne:nye:škwi:h's conflict between his duty to his grandfather and his duty to his father especially painful). The man is an attentive and dutiful husband until his wife is killed, and an attentive and dutiful father for some time after that. The cannibals, by contrast, behave selfishly and unfeelingly towards son, daughter-in-law, and grandsons alike.

In these scenes, then, father, mother, and child are presented as highly sympathetic. References to their good behavior (the father's diligent hunting, the mother's painstaking efforts to please her parents-in-law) bring them nearer on the affect scale.

All seven (or six, or five) characters experience crises of emotion. The mother is confused, then frustrated, and then aware that she is going to be killed and eaten. Her elder son is horror-stricken. The husband is grief-stricken, angry with his parents, and concerned for the safety of his son. The cannibals, even, violently crave a taste of their daughter-in-law and then eat her with great gusto. Apaya:ši:h emerges into the world in

distressing and potentially deadly circumstances. The Great Manitou feels keen compassion for him.

Any one of these characters—even the cannibals—can be brought nearer on the affect scale through direct reference to their emotional state. The painful (pitiable) emotions are treated as more affecting than the others, however.

In overall importance to the story, the mother weighs heavily in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's and Jim Peters' versions, where she is the heroine up to the point where she dies. This makes her as important to the story as her sons. In Ša:poči:wa's, Kiyana's, and Anonymous 8's versions, by contrast, she is the character most peripheral to the plot. Ša:poči:wa's, Kiyana's, and Anonymous 8's versions of the story rank the characters as follows: the two brothers (heroes of the story), followed by the father (overarching secondary importance), followed by the cannibals (important in two major episodes), followed by the mother (important in one major episode).

The various levels of local importance are determined by who is acting in a given scene or set of scenes. However, patients can be brought nearer in importance through use of indefinite-agent inflection (see the discussion in 2.4.1.3, 2.5.1, and 3.3.1.12).

The juxtaposition of so many characters with claims to proximity varying according to such different and such manipulable scales of comparison means tremendous scope for narrator choice. The result is strikingly different presentations of these few short scenes from author to author and from variant to variant. In addition to all other considerations, these are strong events: they have a potentially great dramatic effect both on the external audience and on the witnesses internal to the story. The narrators can choose to present the most sinister and shocking actions either directly to the audience's eye, or through the medium of one of the two chief witnesses to the events, the two most human of the characters, the mother and her elder son, Ne:nye:škwi:h.

Ša:poči:wa's and Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions, and two of Jim Peters' versions, exploit the mother as an observer during the portion of the story where her parents-in-law demand food but then refuse to eat it. Anonymous 8's version and two of Jim Peters' versions exploit Ne:nye:škwi:h as an observer during the parts of the story where his

mother is being killed, cooked, and eaten. Kiyana's version and Jim Peters' third version exploit Ne:nye:škwi:h as an observer during the part of the story where his mother is being eaten, only.

The events described above—the Apaya:ši:hs' parents' marriage, Ne:nye:škwi:h's birth, the mother's murder and consumption by cannibals, Apaya:ši:h's incubation in a tree, Ne:nye:škwi:h's report to his father, and the father's decision to flee—together constitute a single major episode of the Apaya:ši:hs' story. For convenience's sake, I will refer to this episode as “The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth.” Examining each of the eight extant versions in turn, I will discuss intra- and inter-author variation in management of proximate and obviative relations in Meskwaki narrative. I will track choice of proximates, presence or absence of overt nominals, placement of overt nominals, use of indefinite inflection, presence or absence of demonstratives, choice of demonstratives, and the ways in which all these things intersect with the narrative structure.

A note on terminology: a “new proximate” is a newly most-topical third person: hence either (a) the first proximate of a narrative, in its first mention, (b) the first proximate of a quote, in its first mention, or (c) the proximate product of an in-quote or extra-quote proximate shift, in its first mention. A “new obviative” is (a) the first obviative of a narrative, in its first mention, (b) the first obviative of a quote, in its first mention, or (c) the obviative product of an in-quote or extra-quote obviative shift, in its first mention.

I use “obviative shift” as if obviative shifts were a true parallel to proximate shifts, with a shift of topics taking place every time an obviative succeeds another obviative within a discourse segment. This is not necessarily the case. Every new obviative necessarily introduces a new, subsidiary, topic to the discourse, but not every new obviative involves a topic shift. Whereas proximates, in third-person narratives, remain current until replaced by another proximate, an obviative that is not mentioned for a sentence or two typically lapses from view. As a result, obviative resets—repetition of

the last-mentioned obviative in nominal form—are much more common than proximate resets.

4.2. Anonymous 8's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth

We can begin with an analysis of Anonymous 8's treatment of The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth. Anonymous 8 gives a stark, terse, unemotional presentation of the events. Proximate or obviative status of the participants is entirely determined by how important the characters are.

(66:1) na:hka nekotayaki man =e:šawi+wa:či owi:weti:h+aki,
 again one.pair this {what}.**they.did**/CONJ.PPL **married.couple**
This is another (story), about what a certain married couple did,

(66:2) nekoti: =’nahi kwi:yese:h+a.
 one =and **boy**
 and **a boy** too.

(66:3) i:na =ke:h =neniw+a e:h=ši:šaši:ša:+či.
that =and **man** RED.**he.hunted**/CONJ
The man went hunting all the time.

(66:4) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=ačihkwi+niči ow+i:w+ani.
 at.some.point =HRSY then *she*.was.pregnant/CONJ *his.wife*
 Then at some point *his wife* got pregnant.

(66:5) meše =nekotenwi: =’ni e:h=ašeno+či =’pi: =’na neniw+a
 let.it.be once then **he**.was.gone/CONJ =HRSY **that man**
 e:h=ši:šaši:ša:+či.
he.hunted/CONJ

Then once **that man** was out hunting.

(66:6) i:ni =’pi e:h=pya:+wa:či metemo:he:h+aki,
 then =HRSY **they**.arrived/CONJ **old.women.DIM**
 Then **some old women** came,

- (66:7) e:h=nes+a:wa:či i:nini ihkwe:w+ani.
they.killed.*her*/CONJ *that woman*
 and killed *that woman*.
- (66:8) e:h=pakačinanih+emeči.
 X.completely.butchered.*her*/CONJ
She was completely dressed out.
- (66:9) i:nahi =’pi: =’ni e:h=oten+emeči apeno:he:h+ani.
 there =HRSY then X.took.*him*.{thence}/CONJ *baby*
 And *a baby* was taken out of her.
- (66:10) “ši:, mana mawi- pakiš+i,”
 hey! **this** go.and you.throw.**him**.away/IMP
- e:h=in+eči =’pi: =’na kwi:yese:h+a,
 X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ =HRSY **that boy**
- “Hey, here, go throw **this** away!” **that boy** was told,
- (66:11) e:h=mawi- pakin+a:či o+si:me:h+ani.
 go.and **he**.threw.*him*.away/CONJ *his.younger.sibling*
 and **he** went and threw *his baby brother* away.
- (66:12) e:h=awan+emeči o+kye:+ni,
 X.took.*her*.away/CONJ *his.mother*
 And *his mother* was taken away,
- (66:13) wi:h=wača:ho+weči o+kye:+ni.
 X.will.cook.<*her*>/FUT.CONJ *his.mother*
 taken away to be cooked, *his mother* was.
- (66:14) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=pya:+niči: =’na o:s+ani,
 at.some.point =HRSY then *he*.arrived/CONJ **that** *his.father*
 Then at some point **that (boy)**’s *father* arrived,
- (66:15) e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
he.informed.*him*/CONJ
 and **he** told *him* what had happened.
- (66:16) “ne+nehtama:+ko:pi ne+ky+a,”
 X.killed.**her**.on.me/IND **my.mother**

e:h=in+a:či =’pi i:na o:s+ani.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY **that** *his.father*

“**My mother** has been killed on me,” **that (boy)** told *his father*.

(66:17) “o:ho:,” e:h=ikoči.
 I.see! *he*.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ
 “I see,” *he* answered **him**.

(66:18) e:h=ša:ši:ša:+či.
 RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ
He went on hunting.

[Anonymous 8 NAA 2664.9C 10A-R*]

All eight versions of The Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth consist of an introduction, a Part 1, which covers the woman’s death and Apaya:ši:h’s disposal, a Part 2, which describes Ne:nye:škwih’s conversation with his father, and a conclusion. In Anonymous 8’s account, The Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth is the first episode in the Apaya:ši:hs’ story. The introduction (lines 1–5) establishes the background of the story, introducing the major characters in lines 1–3 and naming two developments that set the stage for the main events in lines 4–5. Part 1 (lines 6–13) describes the woman’s murder in lines 6–8, Apaya:ši:h’s disposal in lines 9–11, and the woman’s disposal in lines 12–13. Part 2 (lines 14–17) gives a terse recapitulation of these events. The conclusion (line 18) gives an even terser resolution to the episode.

In Table 6, characters that occur extra-quote in the proximate in (66) are listed in boldface, and characters that occur in the obviative are listed in italics.

Table 6. Anonymous 8's choice of proximates

<hr/>		INTRO	lines 1–5
father+mother	<i>mother</i>		
father			
Ne:nye:škwi:h			
<hr/>		PART 1	lines 6–13
old women	<i>mother</i>		
Ne:nye:škwi:h	<i>Apaya:ši:h</i>		
<hr/>		PART 2	lines 14–17
Ne:nye:škwi:h	<i>father</i>		
<hr/>		CONCLUSION	line 18
father			

In (66), Ne:nye:škwi:h occurs only in the proximate. The father is proximate except when immediately juxtaposed to his son. The cannibals are proximate for the space of two verbs, after which they shift permanently to indefinite agent status. They are not significant enough to rank even as an obviative agent relative to Ne:nye:škwi:h. The mother and Apaya:ši:h occur only in the obviative,³⁷ and are presented as mere patients of events. This is true even in line 4, where the mother is the subject of the verb. Only when the father is speaking to Ne:nye:škwi:h, in line 17, do we get an obviative agent.

Except that Apaya:ši:h is not treated as a full-fledged character, this sliding proximity scale—Ne:nye:škwi:h > the father > the cannibals > the mother/Apaya:ši:h—exactly reflects the overall narrative status of the various characters. Ne:nye:škwi:h is one of the story's two heroes; the father is an important character throughout the story; the cannibals and the mother figure only in this opening episode; the cannibals initiate actions, whereas the mother is presented as a victim only.

³⁷ In (66:1) the mother is subsumed under a plural proximate noun. The fact that paired plurals such as *owi:weti:haki* 'married couple (lit., plural having each other as wife)' and *osi:meti:haki* 'pair of siblings (lit., plural having each other as younger sibling)' have a built-in asymmetry—by convention in Meskwaki, husband has higher status than wife and elder sibling has higher status than younger sibling—and the fact that the following two sentences make the father proximate and the mother obviative suggest that proximate status is not distributed equally across both halves of this set.

Working with only two of the three possible inflectional categories—proximate and obviative, of proximate, obviative, and secondary obviative—Anonymous 8 manages to establish four degrees of distance for the five characters that figure in this episode: nearest, near, far, and farther. Ne:nye:škwi:h is proximate throughout; the father is obviative relative to Ne:nye:škwi:h, but proximate elsewhere; the cannibals are indefinite relative to Ne:nye:škwi:h, and proximate or indefinite relative to the mother; the mother and the baby are obviative everywhere.

Anonymous 8 makes heavy use of nominals in this passage. Counting the inanimate demonstrative and inanimate participle in the equational opening sentence in line 1, there are 20 noun phrases in (66), relative to only 19 verbs. Of the 16 sentences in (66), thirteen contain at least one noun phrase per third person participant mentioned. Anonymous 8’s texts tend to be fairly liberally sprinkled with nouns; compare the more sparing usage in Ša:poči:wa’s and Kiyana’s variants of The Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth, below. Nonetheless, even for this author this passage is unusual. In the entire length of Anonymous 8’s Apaya:ši:hs’ text there are 120 nouns relative to 232 verbs: an incidence of 1:2, by contrast with this opening episode’s incidence of 1:1.

It’s instructive to compare (66:1–18) with the succeeding 14 lines of the story:

(66:19) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=wapawapaših+ekoči kehčika:na:he:h+ahi,
 at.some.point =HRSY then *they*.mocked.**him**/CONJ *chickadees*.DIM
 Then at some point *some little chickadees* began to make fun of **him**,

(66:20)e:h=anohka:n+a:či o:s+ani.
he.commissioned.*him*/CONJ *his*.father
 and **he** asked *his father* for a favor.

(66:21)“ne+mehte:h+a k+i:h=ašihtaw+i, n+i:p+ani: =’nahi,”
my.bow you.will.make.<**them**>.for.me/FUT.IND my.arrows =and

e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
 X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

“Could you make me **a bow** and some arrows?” **he** asked *him*.

(66:22) “ne+wapawapaših+eko:ki kehčika:na:he:h+aki,” e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
 RED.they.mock.me/IND chickadees.DIM he.told.him.{that}/CONJ =HRSY
 “Some little chickadees are making fun of me,” he told him.

(66:23) e:h=we:pi- aših+koči ow+i:p+ani.
 begin he.made.<them>.for.him/CONJ his.arrows
 And he set to making arrows for him.

(66:24) ot+anene:+m+wa:+ki =’pi: =’ni e:h=pa:pakiši+niči.
 their.smokehole/LOC =HRSY then RED.they.alighted/CONJ
 Then they started alighting on their smokehole.

(66:25) i:ni =’pi e:h=we:pi- pi:pemw+a:či,
 then =HRSY begin RED.he.shot.at.them/CONJ
 Then he set to shooting at them

(66:26) e:h=pwa:wi- =nana:ši -mešw+a:či.
 not never he.hit.them/CONJ
 but never hit them.

(66:27) meše:=’nah =meko =’pi: =’ni e:h=ča:kahte:+či ow+i:p+ani.
 perhaps =EMPH =HRSY then he.shot.all.of.<them>/CONJ his.arrows
 Then he shot away pretty much all of his arrows.

(66:28) na:hka =’pi e:h=anohka:n+a:či ow+i:p+ani o:s+ani.
 again =HRSY he.charged.him.with.<them>/CONJ his.arrows his.father
 He asked his father for another favor of more arrows.

(66:29) pye:ya:+niči =na:hka =’pi: =’ni e:h=aših+koči.
 when.he.arrived/CC again =HRSY then he.made.<them>.for.him/CONJ
 When he next got home, he made them for him.

(66:30) meše:=’nah =meko =’pi =na:hka =’pi: =’nini
 perhaps =EMPH =HRSY again =HRSY those

e:h=ča:kahte:+či ow+i:p+ani,
 he.shot.all.of.<them>/CONJ his.arrows

Once again he shot away pretty much all of those arrows of his,

(66:31) e:h=pepye:škonaw+a:či kehčika:na:na:he:h+ahi, [ahi: <a ki>]
 RED.he.shot.at.them.and.missed/CONJ chickadees.DIM
 shooting again and again at the little chickadees and missing,

(66:32)anene:+k =oči e:h=nowanowahte:+či.
smokehole/LOC {thence} **he**.shot.out/CONJ
shooting out through the smokehole.

[Anonymous 8 NAA 2664.9C 10R-11N*]

The passage in lines 19–29 exhibits a more ordinary use of nominals. The hero, Ne:nye:škwi:h, is the sole proximate of this episode. Except in the episode’s emphatic concluding sentence (line 42, below) he is referred to pronominally. This is true even in the abrupt scene shift and proximate shift of line 19. The chickadees, a new character in the story, are introduced by an obviative noun in line 19, mentioned again as a proximate noun in Ne:nye:škwi:h’s report to his father in line 22, and mentioned emphatically as they exit the story in line 31.³⁸ Otherwise they are referred to pronominally. This is true even in the abrupt scene shift and obviative shift of line 24. The father (as the bare bones of this passage suggest, and as we know more explicitly from more developed versions of the story) repeatedly leaves the main scene of the story in order to hunt. His two reappearances in this passage are marked by obviative nouns (lines 20 and 28). Otherwise he is referred to pronominally. The bow, a new element in the story, is introduced by a proximate noun in Ne:nye:škwi:h’s speech to his father in line 21. It is not mentioned thereafter. The arrows, a new element in the story, come in two batches, and are mentioned overtly five times altogether: first in Ne:nye:škwi:h’s speech to his father, in line 21; next in their first extra-quote appearance, in line 23; next when they’re lost, in line 27; next when a new batch of arrows is made, in line 28; and finally when the new batch of arrows is lost, in line 30. They are mentioned pronominally once, in line 29.

Anonymous 8’s default pattern is to use overt nominals if and only if one the following five contexts obtains: (1) a new character is introduced; (2) a character undergoes a status change (from proximate to obviative, or from obviative to proximate);

³⁸ Line (66:31) is unfortunately somewhat garbled in the manuscript. The verb lacks a crucial syllable, but retains the expected proximate singular on obviative inflection; and the noun, the logical object of the verb, is marked <ki> for animate plural rather than <i> for obviative plural.

(3) a character reappears in the story after a significant gap;³⁹ (4) a character departs from the story portentously or for good; (5) an important segment of the narrative ends.

Contexts (1), (2), and (3) involve new proximates, obviatives, and inanimates. Contexts (4) and (5) are *defocusing* contexts. In the passage in (66:19–32), defocusing nominals occur in lines 27, 29, and 31. In line 31, the chickadees make their final appearance in the story; in line 27, the first set of arrows is lost; in line 29, the second set of arrows is lost.

The three-clause sentence in lines 30–32 does more than defocus the chickadees and Ne:nye:škwi:h’s second set of arrows. It also marks the end of the first part of this episode. The second two clauses modify the first, and the three together summarize the action of the episode up to this point. Emphatic repetition combined with inanimate defocusing and obviative defocusing demarcates the end of a major segment of the narrative—Anonymous 8’s Apaya:ši:hs Episode II Part 1.

Compare the final sentence of Episode II, which combines emphatic repetition with inanimate defocusing, obviative defocusing, and proximate defocusing:

(66:33) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni e:h=mawa:pat+aki
 at.some.point =HRSY then **he**.went.to.see.it/CONJ

ow+i:p+ani e:h=pa:pakise+nikwe:ni.
his.arrows wherever.they.landed/LOC.INT.PPL

Then at some point **he** went and looked for the spot where his arrows had landed.

(66:34)e:h=pwa:wi- =ke:ko:h =-mehk+aki.
 not any **he**.found.them/CONJ
 But **he** didn’t find any of them.

(66:35)mo:hči =nekoti ow+i:p+i e:h=pwa:wi- meh+aki.
 even one his.arrow not **he**.found.it/CONJ
He didn’t find even a single one of his arrows.

³⁹ Obviously, the factors that govern what counts as a significant gap are somewhat variable. Obviatives and inanimates tend to be more sensitive than proximates to brief lapses from view.

(66:36) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni, “či:, či:, či:,”
 at.some.point =HRSY then hey! hey! hey!

e:h=ikoči =’pi: =’ni o+si:me:h+ani.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ =HRSY then *his.younger.sibling*

Then at some point, “Hey! Hey! Hey!” *his younger brother* said to **him** then.

(66:37) “ka:ta =wi:na pya:+hkani,”
 don’t =but you.come/PROH

e:h=ikoči: =’nini o+si:me:h+ani.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ *that his.younger.sibling*

“Don’t come any closer!” *that younger brother of his* said to **him**.

(66:38) “mehteno:h =meko ket+o:wi:ya:s+em+i mi:š+iyane,
 only =EMPH **your meat** if.you.give.<it>.to.me/SUBJ
 “Only if you give me **your meat**,

(66:39) i:ni wi:h=mi:n+ena:ni k+i:p+ani,”
 then I.will.give.<them>.to.you/FUT.CONJ **your arrows**
 only then will I give you **your arrows**,”

e:h=ikoči =’pi: =’nini o+si:me:h+ani.
they.told.him. {that}/CONJ =HRSY *that his.younger.sibling.DIM*
that younger brother of his said to **him**.

(66:40) i:ni =’pi e:h=pya:+niči o:s+ani.
 then =HRSY *he.arrived/CONJ his.father*
 Then *his father* got home.

(66:41) e:h=pwa:wi- =meko -a:čimoh+a:či.
 not =EMPH **he.informed.him/CONJ**
 But **he** didn’t tell *him* what had happened.

(66:42) e:h=awataw+a:či ot+o:wi:ya:s+em+i: =’na kwi:yesē:h+a,
he.took.<it>.to.him/CONJ his.meat that boy
That boy took *his meat* to *him*,

(66:43) e:h=ne:ya:pi- mi:n+ekoči =’pi ow+i:p+ani
 back *he.gave.<them>.back.to.him/CONJ* =HRSY *his.arrows*

o+si:me:h+ani,
his younger sibling

and *his arrows* were given back to **him** by *his younger brother*,

(66:44) i:niye:na me:wi- pakin+a:čini.
that former go and one he threw away/CONJ.PPL
by that one he had thrown away earlier.

(66:45) kapo:twe =’pi =’ni e:h=we:pi- wa:wi:če:nom+a:či.
at.some.point =HRSY then begin RED.he played with him/CONJ
Then at some point he started regularly playing with him.

[Anonymous 8 NAA 2664.9C 12A-L*]

Lines 33–35 contain an extremely abbreviated part of the episode, describing Ne:nye:škwi:h’s futile search for his arrows. The arrows are reintroduced in line 33, and defocused, with emphatic repetition, in lines 34–35. Episode II Part 3 begins in line 36. It concludes in lines 42–44, with a two-clause sentence which gives overt designations to four characters: meat, arrows, Apaya:ši:h, and Ne:nye:škwi:h. Apaya:ši:h is named in two consecutive noun phrases, the second of which harks back the events of Episode I. Ne:nye:škwi:h gets his only overt mention of Episode II. The combined effect of plot summary, inanimate defocusing, obviative defocusing, and proximate defocusing serves to demarcate the end of the episode.

Note that the emphatic overt mention of current obviative and current proximate in line 44 cannot be interpreted as character defocusing (“when a character departs from the story portentously or for good”), for in the very next line, 45, both Ne:nye:škwi:h and Apaya:ši:h recur in pronominal mention.

The first 45 lines of Anonymous 8’s Apaya:ši:hs narrative contain 39 extra-quote noun phrases, in all. Ten involve first mentions of characters: the proximate parents, in line 1; proximate Ne:nye:škwi:h, in line 2; the proximate father, in line 3; the proximate cannibals, in line 6; the obviative mother, in line 4; obviative Apaya:ši:h, in line 9; the obviative chickadees, in line 19; the inanimate arrows (first batch) in line 23; the

inanimate arrows (second batch) in line 28; the inanimate meat in line 42. Four more involve context-dependent first mentions: inanimate ‘this’ in line 1; inanimate ‘what they did’ in line 1; inanimate ‘the spot where they landed’ in line 33; and inanimate ‘any of them’ in line 34. Two involve characters resumed after a significant gap with a shift in status: in lines 14 and 20, the obviative father was last mentioned as a proximate; in each case, he has departed and returned to the scene since his last mention. Eight involve characters resumed after a significant gap with no change in status: proximate Ne:nye:škwih in line 10 was not previously mentioned as present in the scene; the obviative father in line 28 and line 40 and obviative Apaya:ših in line 36 and the inanimate arrows in line 43 have each departed from and returned to the scene since their last mention; in the case of the obviative mother in line 7 and line 12 and obviative Apaya:ših in line 43, the scene has shifted away and back again since their last mention.

The remaining 15 extra-quote noun phrases are emphatic. Three involve simple character defocusing: proximate defocusing in line 5, when the father departs the scene of Episode I Part 1, leaving his wife and children vulnerable to attack; obviative defocusing in line 11, when Apaya:ših is thrown away; inanimate defocusing in line 27, when the first batch of arrows is lost. Three more involve character defocusing combined with narrative segment defocusing: in line 13, the mother disappears from view for good, and the emphatic noun phrase naming her combines with other elements to defocus Episode I Part 1; in line 31, the chickadees disappear from view for good, and the noun phrase naming them combines with other elements to defocus Episode II Part 1; in line 30, the second batch of arrows is lost, and the emphatic noun phrase naming them combines with other elements to defocus Episode II Part 1. Three more involve narrative segment defocusing pure and simple: in line 42, the emphatic mention of the current and continuing proximate combines with other elements to defocus Episode II; in line 44, the emphatic mention of the current and continuing obviative combines with other elements to defocus Episode II; in line 35, the repetition, with emphatic variation, of the inanimate nothing found combines with other elements to defocus Episode II Part 2.

Of the six remaining emphatic noun phrases, two mark resets after “gaps” introduced by major scene shifts: in line 14, with the transition from Episode I Part 1 to Episode I Part 2, the current proximate is reset by an overt demonstrative *i:na*; in line 33, with the transition from Episode II Part 1 to Episode II Part 2, a more-or-less current inanimate (vanished, but still topical) is reset by an overt noun *owi:pani*. The remaining four emphatic noun phrases all occur after quotes: a proximate noun phrase referring to Ne:nye:škwi:h side by side with an obviative noun phrase referring to his father in line 16, and obviative noun phrases referring to Apaya:ši:h in lines 37 and 39.

Quotes constitute gaps in the story proper, and the postquote position is a classic context for proximate or obviative reset. Nonetheless, of eight quotes extant in (66:1–45), the five that are accompanied by noun phrases are the five that have emotionally charged content. In line 10, Ne:nye:škwi:h is ordered to dispose of his brother; in line 16, Ne:nye:škwi:h tells his father that his mother has been killed; in line 36, Apaya:ši:h suddenly shouts at his brother; in line 37, Apaya:ši:h warns his brother not to approach; in line 39, Apaya:ši:h gives his brother a hostile ultimatum. The three quotes that are unaccompanied by nominals are emotionally nearly colorless: the father’s bare acknowledgement of fact, in line 17, and Ne:nye:škwi:h’s request for a bow and arrows, in lines 21 and 22.

The handful of emphatic nominals marking character defocusing and emphatic nominals marking highly emotional quotes are Anonymous 8’s only concession to the affect scale in this narrative. Proximate status in this text is assigned according to a strict hierarchy of importance. This works itself out somewhat differently in the three different sets of circumstances obtaining in (66:1–45). The first half of Episode I juggles five characters who appear in different combinations in the segment’s seven scenes. Ne:nye:škwi:h outranks the other four characters, but he is not present in every scene, and in his absence, his father receives proximate marking twice and the cannibals, once. In the second half of Episode I, the cast of characters is reduced to two. Both Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father figure in the first scene, but the father appears alone in the second scene. In Episode II, Ne:nye:škwi:h is present in every scene. The other animate

characters—chickadees, bow, father, younger brother—are never brought into direct contact with each other.

In other words, the first half of Episode I has five characters, three of which are potentially proximate, arranged in a four-tiered hierarchy. The second half of Episode I has two characters, both potentially proximate, arranged in a two-tiered hierarchy. Episode II has five characters, one of which is potentially proximate, arranged in a two-tiered hierarchy. The result is that in the first half of Episode I each character present in a scene is mentioned overtly; in the second half of Episode I, the dominant proximate is named overtly twice, along with the obviative; in Episode II, the dominant proximate is named overtly only once, at episode's end.

Incidentally, notice that Anonymous 8 uses the particle phrase *kapo:twe:= 'pi= 'ni* at the beginning of Episode I Part 2, Episode II Part 1, Episode II Part 2, Episode II Part 3, and Episode III Part 1 (lines 14, 19, 33, 36, and 45), as well as just before Episode I Part 1 (line 4).

Anonymous 8, in the few texts we have by her or by him (506 lines of text in all), uses the preverbal position for nominals very sparingly. In (66:1–45) there are six preverbal nominals, two equational nominals, two circumverbal nominals, and 36 postverbal nominals. Of the six preverbal nominals, three occur in quotes (lines 10, 21, and 38), two are indefinite inanimates (lines 34 and 35), and one is a superset-subset shift (line 3). By convention, highly indefinite inanimates tend to occur preverbally.⁴⁰ The set-subset shift in line 3 carries with it contrastive emphasis; the noun phrase is focused by *=ke:hi*, a strict second-position particle. It necessarily occurs preverbally. In the quote in line 10, *mana* is a presentational demonstrative and hence must occur preverbally. In the quotes in lines 21 and 38, 'my bow' and 'your meat', new entities in the story, are

⁴⁰ In the case of *ke:ko:hi*, there is a marked semantic contrast: preverbal *ke:ko:hi* tends to mean 'something, anything', whereas postverbal *ke:ko:hi* tends to mean 'things'. (I am indebted to Goddard for this observation (personal communication)). Consider the following two sentences:
me:hkate:wi:+ta=meko ke:hke:net+aka ke:ko:h+i. mana=ke:h=še:š ki wa:wi:seni+ta,
a:kwi=ke:ko:h=kehke:net+akini. 'The ones who fast are the ones who learn things. Whereas those who just eat meal after meal don't learn anything.' [Jim Peters NAA 1831 105I-106A]

introduced preverbally. Note the chiasmus in lines 38 and 39: “Only if you give me your meat (new information, emphasized by the speaker, preverbal) will I give you your arrows (old information, de-emphasized by the speaker, postverbal).”

The story has a typical opening-sentence structure, with discontinuous, circumverbal subject. Circumverbal noun phrases occur also in line 30 and, in effect, in line 31, where the conjoined noun phrases “my bow” and “my arrows” flank the verb. In each case the new part of the information comes first (a certain two people, another batch, a bow), with the specifics loaded into the second half of the sentence (a married couple, of his arrows, along with some arrows).

All other noun phrases in Anonymous 8’s Apaya:ši:hs Episodes I and II are postverbal.

Anonymous 8 uses the *mana* series of demonstratives only in quoted speech, as in line 10, in narrator’s voice in the titles of stories, as in line 1, and in certain idioms involving inanimate *mani*. Anonymous 8 uses the *i:na* series of demonstratives both in-quote and extra-quote. Extra-quote, the *i:na* demonstratives mark highly topical proximates, obviatives, and inanimates. To be topical, a nominal must refer to a character already evoked in the narrative; it must refer to the most important current member of its category; and it must be immediately important to the plot. So, in line 3 *i:na* is used to single out the proximate member of a set; *i:na* is used thereafter (in lines 5, 10, 16, and 42) in every overt reference to the highest-ranking current proximate. In the introduction to Episode I, the father is the highest-ranking proximate active in the story, and he is marked by *i:na* in lines 3 and 5. After Ne:nye:škwi:h is introduced into the plot, Ne:nye:škwi:h and only Ne:nye:škwi:h is marked by *i:na* (lines 10, 16, and 42).

Proximates are by definition more topical than obviatives or inanimates. Anonymous 8 uses *i:na* or *i:niki* in every overt mention of a non-new highest-ranking current proximate, but uses *i:nini*, *i:nihi*, *i:ni*, and *i:nini* only of especially significant non-new highest-ranking current obviatives and inanimates. In line 7, *i:nini* is used to mark the mother as the topic of Episode I Part 1. Although the cannibals and

Ne:nye:škwi:h both outrank her, her fate is the crux of this part of the story. Similarly, in lines 37 and 39, Apaya:ši:h is viewed from Ne:nye:škwi:h's perspective, but his reappearance on the scene is the topic of Episode II Part 3. He is twice marked by *i:nini*. And in line 30 the arrows are emphasized as the topic of Episode II Part 1. In this single line they are marked by inanimate plural *i:nini*. Everywhere else they appear without an accompanying demonstrative.

Anonymous 8 uses the *i:niya* series demonstratives only in their most literal sense: formerly existing, but subsequently lost from view—dead or missing or fled. In line 44, *i:niye:na* identifies Apaya:ši:h as the infant that was formerly discarded.

In summary: in the extra-quote portions of (66), Anonymous 8's choice of proximates is entirely determined by the characters' importance in the plot. The most important character present in a scene receives proximate marking. All other characters present in a scene are marked as indefinite, obviative, or inanimate.

Anonymous 8 uses overt nominals for new proximates, obviatives, and inanimates (always in the case of first mention, often in the case of entry or re-entry into a scene), for reset after a quote (only in cases involving emotional drama), and for defocusing (often in the case of departure from a scene, often in the case of closure of a narrative, episode, or episode part).

Anonymous 8 places overt noun phrases before the verb if they highly indefinite inanimates or if they are focused by *=ke:hi* (with strong contrastive emphasis). Anonymous 8 places noun phrases around the verb if some non-nominal part of the noun phrase (particle or demonstrative) is important new information. Anonymous 8 places all other noun phrases after the verb.

Anonymous 8 uses indefinite inflection once in (66) (lines 8–10 and 12–13) in order to background a third-rank proximate relative to a first-rank proximate present in the same scene.

With the exception of certain idioms involving inanimate *mani*, Anonymous 8 never uses the *mana* (propinqual) series of demonstratives extra-quote. Anonymous 8 uses the

i:niya (absentative) series of demonstratives wherever their literal meaning is appropriate. Anonymous 8 uses the *i:na* (distal) series of demonstratives to mark importance in the discourse: the highest-ranking current proximate gets a distal demonstrative in every overt mention, and obviatives and inanimates get a distal demonstrative in especially significant overt mentions.

In the in-quote portions of (66), no clause contains more than one third person argument. As a result, no third person is ever marked as obviative.

No third person is discussed for more than a single clause per quote. As a result, all third persons constitute first mentions and hence are named by overt noun phrases.

Noun phrases are placed before the verb if they are more interesting than the verb. Noun phrases are placed after the verb if they are less interesting than the verb. So, the presentational *mana* is the most important part of ‘Here, throw this away!’; ‘bow’ is the most important part of ‘Please make me a bow and some arrows’; ‘your meat’ (new in the context) is the most important part of ‘Only if you give me your meat’; by contrast, ‘my mother’ is the most familiar part of ‘my mother was killed on me’, and ‘your arrows’ (old in the context) is the most familiar part of ‘Then I will give you your arrows’.

The cannibals are backgrounded in the quote in line 16, just as they are backgrounded extra-quote in lines 8–13.

One propinqual demonstrative is used in its most literal sense in line 10. Since this and the other third person mentions count as first mentions, and since apart from this single instance of *mana* no third person mentioned is actually visible in the scene, no other demonstratives are used.

4.3. Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth

Ša:poči:wa, like Anonymous 8, begins her story right in the middle of the actions leading up to Apaya:ši:h’s premature birth. The first episode of her story, like the first episode of Anonymous 8’s, consists of an introduction, a first part, a second part, and a conclusion.

As in Anonymous 8's version, the introduction is brief (lines 1–8), Part 1 is highly elaborated (lines 9–49), Part 2 (lines 50–53) is a terse recapitulation of Part 1, and the conclusion is very brief (line 54).

Ša:poči:wa differs strikingly from Anonymous 8 in her choice of proximates and use of overt noun phrases.

(67:1) kaho:ni =’pi e:h=owi:ki+wa:či pašito:he:h+a,
 and.then =HRSY **they.lived/CONJ** **old.man.DIM**
 And then there lived **a little old man and his family**,

(67:2) kaho:ni ow+i:w+ani metemo:he:h+ani,
 and.then *his.wife* *old.woman.DIM*
 with *the little old woman his wife*,

(67:3) kaho:ni o+semi+wa:w+ani,
 and.then *their.daughter-in-law*
 and *their daughter-in-law*,

(67:4) kaho:ni o+kwis+wa:w+ani,
 and.then *their.son*
 and *their son*,

(67:5) kaho:ni o:šisem+wa:w+ani kwi:yese:h+ani,
 and.then *their.grandchild* *boy.DIM*
 and *their grandson*,

(67:6) meše=meko e:h=inekino:hi+niči.
 fairly *he.was.big.DIM/CONJ*
who was fairly big.

(67:7) e:h=taši- ša:ši:ša:+niči o+kwis+wa:w+ani.
 there RED.*he.hunted/CONJ* *their.son*
 And *their son* went hunting all the time.

(67:8) (e:h=kehtwe:wesi+niči =’yo=ke:hi.)
he.was.skilled.at.getting.game/CONJ =*by.the.way*
 (*He was skilled at getting game, by the way.*)

(67:9) kapo:twe =’pi =’ni
 at.some.point =HRSY then

e:h=po:ni- =meko =ta:taki -anwa:či- wi:kwa:t+amowa:či
 cease =EMPH =as.it.were as.much.as.before **they**.paid.attention.to.*it*/CONJ

pe:pye:to:+niči o+kwis+wa:w+ani.
RED.{*what*}*.he.brought*/CONJ.PPL *their.son*

Then at some point **they** stopped paying as much attention as before to *what their son would bring home*.

(67:10) kaho:ni =’pi e:h=mi:na:we:nem+a:či: =’na naha:kanihkwe:w+a
 and.then =HRSY **she**.noticed.about.*them*/CONJ **that** **daughter-in-law**

e:h=po:ni- wi:kwa:t+aminiči mena:škono:n+i.
 cease *they*.paid.attention.to.*it*/CONJ fresh.meat

And then **that daughter-in-law** noticed *their* ceasing to pay so much attention to *the fresh meat*.

(67:11) kapo:twe: =’pi: =’ni e:h=we:pina:ke:+niči: =’nini metemo:k+ani.
 at.some.point =HRSY then *she*.started.singing/CONJ *that* *old.woman*
 Then at some point *that old woman* started singing.

(67:12) “ne+semy+e, nah=we: =<kipate>+no, <patapataškwe>+no,”⁴¹
 O.my.daughter-in-law go.ahead you.~/IMP RED.you.~/IMP

e:h=išina:ke:+niči.
she.sang. {*that*}/CONJ

“Daughter-in-law, g’wan, keel ye down, go flat upon!” *she* sang.

(67:13) o:ni panaki:h+ahi e:h=aših+a:či.
 and.then *hominy*.(pl) **she**.made.*them*/CONJ
 And then **she** made *some hominy*.

(67:14) ki:šesw+a:či =’pi: =’ni: =’ya:hi
 when.**she**.cooked.*it*.done/CC =HRSY then there

e:h=mawi- pakisenamaw+a:či e:na:samapi+niči.
 go.and **she**.set.<IT>.down.for.*her*/CONJ *where*.*she.was.facing*/CONJ.PPL

⁴¹ The words in angled brackets are nonsense words, meant to sound sinister. Their spelling is uncertain. ‘Keel ye down, go flat upon’ is Ives Goddard’s suggestion for a translation. <kip> is reminiscent of Meskwaki *ki:p-* ‘tip over’, and <patašk> is reminiscent of Meskwaki *patašk-* ‘flat up against’.

After **she** finished cooking *it*, **she** went and set *IT* there in front of her.

(67:15) “i:nah =aš+i, naha:kanihkwe,” e:h=i+niči.
 there you.place.it/IMP O.daughter-in-law she.said. {that}/CONJ
 “Put **it** over there, daughter-in-law!” *she* said.

(67:16) na:hka =meko e:h=we:pina:ke:+niči.
 again =EMPH she.started.singing/CONJ
 And *she* started singing once again.

(67:17) “ne+semy+e, nah=we: =<kipate>+no, <patapataškwe>+no,”
 O.my.daughter-in-law go.ahead you.~/IMP RED.you.~/IMP

e:h=išina:ke:+niči.
she.sang. {that}/CONJ

“Daughter-in-law, g’wan, keel ye down, go flat upon!” *she* sang.

(67:18) o:ni na:hka e:h=we:pi- natawe:net+aki
 and.then again begin she.cast.about.for.it/CONJ

wi:h=paka:htaw+a:kwe:ni.
{whatever}.she.will.boil.for.them/FUT.INT.PPL

And then **she** started casting about for something else she could boil for them.

(67:19) o:ni =ča:hi =’pi =na:hka takwaha:n+i e:h=ašihito:+či.
 and.then =so =HRSY this.time corn.mush she.made.it/CONJ
 So then **she** made corn mush next.

(67:20) ki:ši- po:tahw+a:či ata:min+ah, e:h=po:ta:hkwe:+či.
 finish when.she.ground.it/CC corn.(pl) she.put.<them>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ
 After grinding *the corn*, **she** put *it* in to boil.

(67:21) ki:šes+aki =na:hka: =’ni takwaha:n+i,
 when.she.cooked.it.done/CC in.turn that corn.mush

e:na:samapi+niči na:hka: =’ni
{where}.she.was.facing/CONJ.PPL in.turn then

e:h=mawi- pakisenamaw+a:či.
 go.and she.set.<IT>.down.for.her/CONJ

After **she** finished cooking *the corn mush*, in its turn, **she** went and set *it* down in front of *her*.

(67:22) “i:nah ahto:+no, naha:kanihkwe,” e:h=ikoči na:hka.
 there you.put.**it**/IMP O.daughter-in-law she.told.**her**.{that}/CONJ again
 “Put **it** over there, daughter-in-law!” *she* told **her** again.

(67:23) ča:ki =ke:ko:h =e:h=koči- ’nese:hkwe:+či.
 all something try **she**.cooked.{that.way}/CONJ
She tried cooking all kinds of things.

(67:24) kana:kwa =meko.
 it.was.impossible =EMPH
 But it was no use.

(67:25) e:h=pwa:wi- =meko -po:nina.ke:+niči.
 not =EMPH she.stopped.singing/CONJ
She didn’t stop singing.

(67:26) “kaši, wa:wosa:hi =’h=we: =wi:na wi:h=amw+iwa:či
 why! unsurprisingly =obviously.not =but **they**.will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ
 ma:haki išite:he:+wa:sa,” e:h=išite:he:+či.
these they.would.think.{that}/POT **she**.thought.{that}/CONJ

“Why, I hardly think **these** two could be thinking of eating me,” **she** thought.

(67:27) (e:h=nesapi+či =’yo=ke:h =o+na:pe:m+ani e:h=ši:ša:+niči.
she.stayed.home/CONJ =by.the.way her.husband he.hunted/CONJ
 (By the way, **she** had stayed home when *her husband* went hunting.)

(67:28) e:h=ačihkwi+či =’yo=ke:hi.)
she.was.pregnant/CONJ =by.the.way
 And **she** was pregnant.)

(67:29) “nahi, n+i:h=am+oko:ki wi:h=amw+iwa:či
 all.right **they**.will.eat.me/FUT.IND **they**.will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ
 e:šite:he:+kwe:hiki,” e:h=išite:he:+či kapo:twe.
 if.**they**.want.{that}/C.INT **she**.thought.{that}/CONJ at.some.point

“All right, if **they** do want to eat me, **they** can eat me,” **she** thought at some point.

- (67:30) o:ni papakye:h+i e:h=pem- ata:hpen+aki,
and.then axe along **she**.took.hold.of.it/CONJ
And then **she** got an axe,
- (67:31)e:na:samapi+niči e:h=maw- ahtaw+a:či.
{where}.she.was.facing/CONJ.PPL go.and **she**.placed.{it}.for.her/CONJ
and went and set it in front of her.
- (67:32)“i:ni=koh, naha:kanihkwe,” e:h=ikoči.
excellent O.daughter-in-law *she*.told.**her**.{that}/CONJ
“Excellent, daughter-in-law!” *she* told **her**.
- (67:33)pe:hki =meko e:h=ki:ša:koči- te:pesi+niči.
really =EMPH extremely *she*.was.pleased/CONJ
She was really extremely delighted.
- (67:34) o:ni: =’na metemo:he:h+a,
and.then **that old woman.DIM**
And then **that little old woman** (said),
- (67:35)“kašina:kwa, pašito, ki:na pa:pakam+i
why! O.old.man *you* you.club.**her**.dead/IMP

ke+semi+na:n+a.
our.(incl).daughter-in-law

“Why, old man, club **our daughter-in-law** dead!
- (67:36)k+i:h=mena:škono+pena,” e:h=in+a:či o+na:pe:m+ani.
we.(incl).will.eat.fresh.meat/FUT.IND **she**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ *her*.husband
We’re going to eat fresh meat,” **she** told *her husband*.
- (67:37) e:h=pa:pakam+eči i:na ihkwe:w+a.
X.clubbed.**her**.dead/CONJ **that woman**
And **that woman** was clubbed dead.
- (67:38) o:ni e:h=po:hkeče:n+eči.
and.then X.opened.**her**.belly.by.hand/CONJ
And then **her** belly was torn open.
- (67:39)i:na apeno:he:h+a e:h=keten+eči, e:h=mama:či:hi+či.
that baby X.took.**him**.out/CONJ **he**.was.alive.DIM/CONJ
And **that baby** was taken out, alive.

(67:40) ma:kini:h- ase:h+eki o+<nekanah>+eki
young.elk buckskin/LOC its.~/LOC

we:či- mi:weš+omečini e:h=wi:hkwe:setaw+oči:
{thence} one.cut.away.by.X/CONJ X.placed.{him}.in.fabric.for.him/CONJ

=’na we:si:me:hi+ta: =’ni.
that one.who.had.a.younger.sibling/CONJ.PPL then

In a piece of a young elk’s skin cut from the (foreleg) he was bundled up for his elder brother to take.

(67:41)“mawi- pakiš+i mana ke+si:me:h+a,”
go.and you.throw.him.away/IMP **this your.younger.sibling**

e:h=in+eči.
X.told.him.{that}/CONJ

“Go throw your younger brother away!” he was told.

(67:42)e:h=we:piwen+a:či: =’nini na:mata:si:he:h+ani.
he.started.carrying.him/CONJ that fetus.DIM
And he set off carrying that little fetus.

(67:43) peno:či:me:h =meko e:h=wa:šinihkate+niki: =’ni e:h=ne:t+aki,
far.away.DIM =EMPH place.where.it.was.hollow/LOC.PPL then **he.saw.it/CONJ**
A fair distance off, he saw a hollow tree,

(67:44)e:h=pi:činihkisah+a:či: =’nini.
he.pitched.him.into.a.hollow.space/CONJ that
and he dropped that (fetus) inside it.

(67:45) kaho:ni =wi:na: =’na kehči- maneto:w+ani e:h=ne:w+okoči
and.then *he* **that Great Manitou** he.saw.him/CONJ
And then the Great Manitou saw **that (fetus)**

e:h=taši- mama:či:hi+či e:h=pakin+e:hiki.
there **he.was.alive.DIM/CONJ** place.where.X.threw.him.away.DIM/LOC.PPL
alive in the place where he’d been thrown away.

(67:46)“na =nešiwī- =ni:hka mana -iši- kwe:hta:n-
very terribly =by.gosh **this** {that.way} fearfully

aka:wa:t+amo:toke wi:h=mehtose:neniwi+či,”
he.probably.longs.for.*it*/DUB **he**.will.live/FUT.CONJ

e:h=ine:nem+ekoči: =’nini kehči- maneto:w+ani.
he.thought. {that}.about.**him**/CONJ *that* *Great Manitou*

“By gosh, how frightfully badly **he** must want *to live!*”
the Great Manitou thought about **him**.

(67:47) e:h=po:ta:n+ekoči, e:h=mi:n+ekoči o+ne:mowen+i a:neta.
he.blew.on.**him**/CONJ *he*.gave.<*it*>.to.**him**/CONJ *his.breath* some
And *he* blew on **him** and gave **him** *some of his breath*.

(67:48) o:ni: =’nah =pi:neši =meko e:h=taši- makekino:hi+či,
and.then there of.own.accord =EMPH {there} **he**.got.bigger.DIM/CONJ

e:h=maneto:wi+či.
he.was.a.manitou/CONJ

And then **he** grew bigger there little by little all on his own, being a manitou.

(67:49) i:niki =ke:h =ke:hkya:h+aki: =’ni
those =and **old.people** then

e:h=kehči- wača:ho+wa:či o+semi+wa:w+ani.
greatly **they**.cooked/CONJ *their.daughter-in-law*

Meanwhile, **those old people** cooked a great feast of *their daughter-in-law*.

(67:50) pye:ya:+niči: =’ni we:yo:si+ta
when.*he*.arrived/CC then **one.who.had.<him>.as.a.father**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
he.informed.*him*/CONJ

When *he* arrived, **his son** told *him* about it.

(67:51) “nes+e:waki ne+kye:+ni.
they.killed.*her*/IND *my.mother*
“**They** killed *my mother*.”

(67:52) wača:ho+waki.
they.cooked.<*her*>/IND
And **they** cooked *her*.

(67:53) ne+mešo:h+a pa:pakam+e:wa,” e:h=in+a:či.
my grandfather.DIM **he**.clubbed.*her*.dead/IND **he**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ
My grandfather clubbed *her* dead,” **he** told *him*.

(67:54) kaho:ni e:h=a:mi:+wa:či.
and.then **they**.moved.camp/CONJ
And then **they** moved.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2671.3 1A-4M]

Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth consists of an introduction, a Part 1, a Part 2, and a conclusion. The introduction, like that of Anonymous 8’s version, introduces the major characters of this first episode of the story, and establishes the background of the Apaya:ši:hs’ father’s indefatigable hunting. The conclusion, in contrast to that of Anonymous 8’s version, which returns full circle to the story’s beginning point, sets the action on a new trajectory by moving father and son out of their original home, for good.

The major rhetorical subdivisions of the story contrast strikingly in length. Part 1 is long and Part 2 is very short. Part 1 contains two important subdivisions of its own, the first of which long and the second of which is short.⁴² Part 1A (lines 9–38) describes the mother’s crisis and her death. Part 1B (lines 39–48) describes Apaya:ši:h’s crisis and his rescue.

In Table 7, characters that appear extra-quote in the proximate in Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth are listed in boldface, and sentient characters that appear extra-quote in the obviative are listed in italics. A third column lists non-sentient obviatives and non-context-dependent inanimates. Context-dependent inanimates are not included in the table.

⁴² The pattern exemplified by the overall structure of Ša:poči:wa’s version of The Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth, as well by the internal structure of Part 1—a slow build-up to the first crisis of the story, followed by a very

Table 7. Ša:poči:wa's choice of proximates

<hr/>			—INTRO	lines 1–8
grandfather	<i>grandmother</i> <i>mother</i> <i>father</i> <i>Ne:nye:škwi:h</i>			
<hr/>			—PART 1A	lines 9–38
grandparents	<i>father</i>	<u>fresh meat</u>		
mother	<i>grandparents</i>	<i>hominy</i>		
grandmother	<i>grandmother</i> <i>grandfather</i>	<u>corn mush</u> <i>corn</i> <u>axe</u>		
<hr/>			—PART 1B	lines 39–49
Apaya:ši:h	<i>Apaya:ši:h</i>	<i>buckskin</i>		
Ne:nye:škwi:h	<i>Great Manitou</i>	<u>breath</u>		
grandparents	<i>mother</i>			
<hr/>			—PART 2	lines 50–53
Ne:nye:škwi:h	<i>father</i>			
<hr/>			—CONCLUSION	line 54
Ne:nye:škwi:h+father				

Note that in (67) all characters except the grandfather are introduced in the obviative. The grandparents occur in both the proximate and the obviative in Part 1A. Apaya:ši:h occurs in both the proximate and the obviative in Part 1B. The mother is proximate in Part 1A, but obviative in Part 1B. Ne:nye:škwi:h is proximate everywhere but in the introduction. The father is obviative everywhere but when conjoined to Ne:nye:škwi:h, in the conclusion.

Except that Ne:nye:škwi:h is an important proximate in both versions, Ša:poči:wa's choice of proximates is as different from Anonymous 8's as it well can be. Anonymous 8's choice of proximates in (66) was geared to the characters' importance. Ša:poči:wa's choice of proximates in (67) is geared to the characters' affect. The result is

rapid progression to the second crisis and resolution—is a common rhetorical feature of Meskwaki storytelling. See Thomason 1998 for a further discussion of this phenomenon.

that in Ša:poči:wa’s story proximate status shifts about. Ša:poči:wa also partly inverts Anonymous 8’s proximacy scale: where Anonymous 8 had Ne:nye:škwi:h > the father > the cannibals > the mother/Apaya:ši:h, Ša:poči:wa has the mother/Ne:nye:škwi:h/Apaya:ši:h > the cannibals > the Great Manitou ≥ the father. Only in her introduction, where the emotional tone is still neutral, does proximate status go by importance: here, the grandfather is named as the proximate head of the family, and all the other characters are listed as obviative.

The proximate shifts of Part 1 of Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth produce a perfect symmetry:

Table 8. Ša:poči:wa’s proximate shifts (Part 1)

grandfather+grandmother	9
mother	10–33
grandmother	34–36
mother	37–38
Apaya:ši:h	39
Ne:nye:škwi:h	40–44
Apaya:ši:h	45–48
grandmother+grandfather	49

In Ša:poči:wa’s version, Part 1 is framed by a proximate spotlight on the grandparents’ unnatural craving—the break in the domestic pattern that sets all the other events in train. In line 9, the grandparents are acting listless due to an unsatisfied desire. In line 49, their desire is satisfied. In lines 34–36, at the height of her excitement, the grandmother also briefly becomes proximate.

The mother is the only character in the episode whose thoughts we have access to. In lines 10–33, she is the person most affected by the events. She takes proximate status, and we view her parents-in-law as obviatives, through her eyes. She is proximate again when she is killed, in line 37.

The sentences in lines 38 and 39 put the two chief victims of the episode side by side. Both receive proximate marking. Notice that lines 37–41 contain only a single obviative, and that obviative a mere descriptive flourish in line 40. The cannibals shift into the indefinite for these five lines, and the three characters pathetically affected by their actions are held up directly before the audience’s eye, ranked in order according to the degree of sympathy they excite: the mother (killed), Apaya:ši:h (abandoned to die), and Ne:nye:škwi:h (bereaved).

The proximate shift that takes place in line 39 is at the central crux of Part 1. The indefinite-on-proximate marking that surrounds it is the only indefinite staging in Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth.

In line 42 we return to a direct transfer of action. Ne:nye:škwi:h’s plight takes central stage in lines 41–44, and Ne:nye:škwi:h here takes proximate status relative to his brother. In line 45 we return to Apaya:ši:h’s sorer straits. The Great Manitou, who appears nowhere else in this story, is necessarily obviative in lines 45–47 due to a seldom-broken convention that manitous are obviative when they bestow blessings.

Line 49 rounds off Part 1 with a full-circle return to our original proximate.

Line 50 introduces a new section of the story (Episode 1 Part 2), a newly diminished cast of characters (limited to father and son), and a new terse style. Line 50 is the only place in the episode where a new obviative (last mentioned seven obviatives ago) has no nominal accompaniment, and where a new proximate (last mentioned three proximates ago) has no *i:na* series demonstrative accompaniment. Line 51 of the quote, too, has one overt nominal fewer than it could have; in the boy’s report to his father in Kiyana’s version, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s two versions, and two of Jim Peters’ three versions, the slayers as well as to the slain get an overt nominal.

A very interesting feature of Ša:poči:wa’s style is that only new proximates get proximate nominals. In (67), there are nine extra-quote new proximates in all. The introductory sentence, in line 1, gives a bare proximate noun; the sentence just mentioned, in line 50, gives a bare proximate participle; the remaining seven new

proximates (proximate shifts in lines 10, 34, 37, 39, 40, 45, and 49) all involve an *i:na* demonstrative with or without an accompanying noun or participle.

Note that the products of the two subset-superset shifts in (67)—from grandfather to grandfather+grandmother in line 3, and from Ne:nye:škwi:h to Ne:nye:škwi:h+father in line 54—are not treated as new proximates: they are handled purely pronominally. See again the discussion in 3.3.2.3.4.

Extra-quote in (67), all new proximates and only new proximates get proximate nominals. This dense use of proximate nominals (at least one with every shift) and dense use of proximate demonstratives (one with nearly every shift) is a direct result of there being so many different characters to be juggled. In more typical situations, involving only two or three characters with competing claims to proximity, Ša:poči:wa uses few nominals even in proximate shifts. Look back for a moment, for instance, at passage (63), which invokes five proximate shifts but only one proximate nominal.

Obviatives are handled similarly, except that Ša:poči:wa resets current obviatives more frequently than she resets current proximates. She resets a current proximate only once in all the 2,968 lines of text we have from her hand, and that once in a classic context for resetting, after a lengthy quote. She resets a current obviative four times in (67): once in line 7, after the intervention of another obviative; once in line 9, with the start of an important new section of the narrative; once, perfunctorily, in line 44, after the intervention of an important inanimate; and once in line 46, after an emotionally charged quote.

Apart from these four resets, and apart from the omitted overt nominal in line 50, all new obviatives and only new obviatives get obviative nominal accompaniments in (67). An interesting facet of (67) is the grandmother's treatment in Part 1A. A narrator can set up two or more tiers of obviative status in the same manner as with proximate status. These tiers are typically reinforced by a striking disparity in the proximate potential of the characters involved: for example, competition between an animate and an inanimate (as in example 33), or between the living and the dead (as in example 60b). In Ša:poči:wa's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth, in lines 10–33, the woman's mother-in-law retains her

status as “real” obviative despite interruptions by obviative foodstuffs. The structure of this part of the narrative, which describes the mother’s anxious efforts to please her mother-in-law, is such that the mother-in-law never lapses from view. In this section of the narrative, she is accordingly never treated as a new obviative, after her first mention in line 11. In line 14, as a result, we actually wind up with two current obviatives: the just-mentioned hominy, and our default obviative, the mother-in-law.

In terms of topicality, inanimates typically have an even shorter half-life than obviatives. No extra-quote inanimate in (67) lacks an overt accompaniment. Of the 13 inanimates that occur extra-quote in (67), twelve count as new. Seven have meanings that are context-dependent, and hence necessarily overt: ‘in front of her’ in lines 14, 21, and 31, ‘a place where there was a tree hollow’ in line 43, ‘the place where he’d been thrown away’ in line 45, ‘what he would bring home’ in line 9, ‘something else she could boil for them’ in line 18. Two of these prepare the way for a “new” concrete noun: ‘what he would bring home’ in line 9 is followed by ‘fresh meat’ in line 10, and ‘something else she could boil for them’ in line 18 is followed by ‘corn mush’ in line 19. Three more new non-context-dependent inanimates—‘all kinds of things’, ‘axe’, and ‘breath’—crop up in lines 23, 30, and 47. Line 21 contains an inanimate reset: ‘corn mush’ of line 19 is resumed as ‘that corn mush’ in line 21, after the intervention of an animate obviative.

One consequence of this overt-nominals-for-shifts-or-resets-only policy is that Ša:poči:wa can not, and does not, explicitly defocus proximates or obviatives or inanimates ever, at all.

Ša:poči:wa reserves sentence-initial position for contrastively focused and/or startlingly new nominals. With the exception of highly indefinite inanimates, all other nominals occur after the first verb of the sentence.

In the extra-quote portions of (67), nine noun phrases occur sentence-initially (sentence-initially either in the strict sense, or immediately following the particle (*kah*)*o:ni* with or without accompanying second-position particles). In line 23, the

indefinite inanimate idiom *ča:ki=ke:ko:hi* ‘all kinds of things’ occurs sentence-initially. The sentence-initial inanimates in lines 13 and 19 mark the mother’s first two attempts to satisfy her in-laws’ appetite. The sentence-initial inanimate in line 30 marks a drastic change of course, when the mother first picks up her axe. The sentence-initial noun phrase in line 34 marks the grandmother’s vivid shift into the proximate. The sentence-initial proximate in line 39 marks Apaya:ši:h’s rude arrival on the scene. The elaborate sentence-initial obviative in line 40 marks an unexpected new element in the story. In line 45, the Great Manitou’s unexpected intervention in the scene, and Apaya:ši:h’s sudden presentation to him, are marked by both noun phrases occurring in focused position between *kaho:ni* and the verb. Line 49 contains the only contrastively focused noun phrase of the nine: we make an abrupt return from the scene in the woods to the grandparents, focused by *=ke:hi*.

Ša:poči:wa often uses sentence-final position for milder emphasis. Compare for instance the sentence-medial proximate noun phrases (in between two verbs) in lines 10 and 50, where the mother and Nenyeshkwih, respectively, continue as familiar topic of what follows, with the sentence-final obviative resets (following two verbs) in lines 9 and 44, where the father and Apaya:ši:h, respectively, depart from the story for a considerable stretch. These kinds of sentence-final obviative resets are as close as Ša:poči:wa comes to defocusing.

In Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth, the in-quote demonstratives are all from the propinqual (*mana*) series and the extra-quote demonstratives are all from the distal (*i:na*) series. Ša:poči:wa uses the distal demonstratives to single out one character from a set of prominent alternatives and move it to central stage. In (67), every new extra-quote proximate with the exception of the first (where we as yet have been given no alternatives) and the last (where the narrative shifts gears and we enter a new realm with only one choice of proximate) is accompanied by *i:na* or *i:niki*. Obviative *i:nini* is used more seldom: once to single out a member of a set, twice to mark a reset, and once to mark the equivalent of a reset (in line 42, where *i:nini* refers to a character last

mentioned, in line 40, as an implicit obviate juxtaposed to an explicit, though far less topical, obviate). Inanimate *i:ni*, in this episode, is used only once: in line 21 it marks an inanimate reset.

In direct speech in Meskwaki, the propinqual demonstratives have two uses: *mana*, for instance, can mean either ‘the one right here in front of me/us’ or ‘the one we all know about.’ Both of these uses are inappropriate in ordinary narrative. In narrative, therefore, the propinqual demonstratives would ordinarily appear only in quoted speech and in narrators’ asides. However, for some speakers the propinqual demonstratives have a third function, appropriate only in narrative, in which they are used to mean ‘back with the other guy(s)’. A few of Truman Michelson’s informants—Harry Lincoln, Bill Leaf, Jack Bullard, Sam Peters—make heavy use of the propinqual demonstratives in cases where a proximate or obviate shift coincides with a shift of scene. Others—Kiyana, Jim Peters, and Ša:poči:wa, most notably—resort to these demonstratives in this use only rarely. Still others—Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha, Pearl Leaf, and Anonymous 8, for instance—resort to them in this use not at all.

In all her 2,968 lines of text, Ša:poči:wa uses propinqual demonstratives to mean ‘back with the other guy’ a total of four times. Elsewhere in her texts, the propinqual demonstratives occur only in quoted speech or in her narrator’s voice.

Ša:poči:wa’s quoted speech contains both propinqual and distal demonstratives, chosen to suit the perspective of whichever character is speaking.

The foregoing remarks do not apply consistently to inanimate singular propinqual *mani* or inanimate singular distal *i:ni*. Both occur, in-quote and extra-quote, in idioms too numerous and too complex to canvass here.

The quoted speech and quoted thoughts in Ša:poči:wa’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth include 14 third person mentions: nine proximate, three obviate, and two inanimate. Only one quote mentions more than a single third person per clause. Proximate status in this quote, Ne:nye:škwih’s speech in lines 51–53, goes by importance rather than by affect: the cannibals are proximate, and their victim is obviate. It is crucial in this context that

Ne:nye:škwi:h's mother—now dead—is no longer an immediate object of pity, whereas the cannibals are a problem Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father must still cope with.

Three of the 14 third persons mentioned in-quote (the grandparents in line 52, and the mother in lines 52 and 53) are current, and are referred to pronominally. The remaining eleven third person mentions count as new mentions. However, unlike Anonymous 8, who treated quotes as entirely insular realms of reference, Ša:poči:wa treats four of the third persons mentioned in-quote as familiar from the surrounding context. In lines 15 and 22, the grandmother refers pronominally to the foodstuffs that have just been placed in front of her. The quote in line 29 functions like a direct continuation of the woman's previous train of thought, presented in line 26. And in line 51, reporting to his father, Ne:nye:škwi:h makes pronominal reference to his grandparents. Kiyana's, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's, and two of Jim Peters' versions of the story give an overt nominal to the grandparents at this juncture.

Six of the new third persons in-quote in (67) are realized as overt nominals, and a seventh, a context-dependent inanimate in line 46, is realized as a future conjunct clause. None of these seven is treated as strikingly new information, and only one occurs sentence-initially. The superset-subset shift in line 53 places contrastive stress on the grandfather, and he occurs at the head of the sentence.

In-quote noun phrases in (67) include propinqual demonstratives when the third person referred to is visible to the speaker. No distal or absentative demonstratives occur in-quote in (67).

In summary: in the extra-quote portions of (67), Ša:poči:wa's choice of proximates is determined by the characters' affect. Characters experiencing strong emotions, and especially those experiencing strong painful emotions, are made proximate. The mother and her two sons, as chief sufferers, are chief proximates of this episode. The mother shifts into the obviative only after she is dead, and Apaya:ši:h shifts into the obviative only in relation to Ne:nye:škwi:h. The grandparents are proximate at the three junctures when their lust for their cannibal feast is spotlighted. Elsewhere, they are obviative or

indefinite relative to the three chief proximates. The father, who exhibits an inhuman lack of emotion in this version of the story (as in Anonymous 8's and Jim Peters' versions, and in contrast to Kiyana's and Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions), is obviative everywhere. The Great Manitou, who is sympathetic to Apaya:ši:h's plight, is nonetheless obviative relative to Apaya:ši:h during his brief appearance in the story.

Ša:poči:wa uses overt nominals only for new proximates, new obviatives, new inanimates, and obviative or inanimate resets. In the unusual circumstances obtaining in The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth, every new proximate is accompanied by a proximate noun phrase. Ša:poči:wa does not use overt nominals in defocusing.

Ša:poči:wa positions nominals sentence-initially if they constitute surprising new information, or if they carry contrastive emphasis, or if they are highly indefinite inanimates. All other nominals occur postverbally.

Ša:poči:wa uses indefinite inflection in lines 37–41, at the crisis of the episode, in order to give center stage to the characters so piteously affected by the events. She uses indefinite inflection again, in line 45, in order to highlight Apaya:ši:h's plight.

Ša:poči:wa hardly ever uses the propinqual (*mana*) demonstratives extra-quote. She uses the distal (*i:na*) demonstratives to distinguish one of a set of alternatives: every new proximate with one or more rivals is marked by a distal demonstrative, and obviatives and inanimates are marked by distal demonstratives in cases of superset-subset shift, and reset after interruption by another obviative or inanimate.

In the in-quote portions of (67), nearly every third person is proximate. Only one quote contains more than one third person argument per clause, and in that quote, the grandparents are made proximate at the mother's expense. The speaker here, Ne:nye:škwī:h, accords proximate status to the most important character rather than the most piteous character.

Only seven of the eleven new third persons are realized as overt nominals. Four of the eleven are referred to pronominally, as already familiar to both speaker and hearer. The three non-new third persons are referred to pronominally.

The one nominal that carries contrastive stress occurs sentence-initially. The other six noun phrases occur medially or finally.

Ša:poči:wa does not use indefinite inflection in-quote in (67).

Ša:poči:wa does not use the distal demonstratives in-quote in (67). She uses the propinqual demonstratives in the sense ‘the one right here in front of me/us’ in lines 26, 41, and 46.

4.4. Kiyana’s Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth

Kiyana’s version of the Apaya:ši:hs’ story begins with two lengthy episodes describing how the boys’ parents come to be married. The story opens with a familiar motif, wrenched around to suit the situation; two people (usually a man and his sister, but in this case a man and his father) live isolated from other human contact, and one day the man starts thinking how much better off they would be if he had a wife. After a humiliating adventure with his father, the man sets out, and travels for many days before he reaches the town where the woman he’s intended to marry lives. She has already had a dream foretelling his arrival, and she accepts him a little too quickly. The story is given a sinister twist, in fact, by both sets of parents’ foreboding: neither the man nor the woman has fasted enough to be safe in trusting their dreams. Nonetheless, they get married. Three years later the woman gives birth to Ne:nye:škwi:h. The young couple stays for a few more years with the woman’s family, and then departs for the man’s father’s house. At this point Episode 3 begins:

(68:1) meše:=’nah =meko aškači i:ya:hi aya:pami
 perhaps =EMPH after.a.while there back

e:h=pya:+wa:či o:s+ani e:h=awi+niči.
they.arrived/CONJ *his.father* place.where.he.was/LOC.PPL

After a while **they** arrived back over there at his father’s place.

- (68:2) meše=meko e:h=inekino:hi+či kwi:yesē:he:h+a,
fairly he.was. {that}.big/CONJ boy.DIM
The little boy was fairly big,
- (68:3) e:h=wa:waneška:he:hi+či.
he.was.bad.DIM/CONJ
and **he** was naughty.
- (68:4) “ne:nye:škwi:h+a,” išiso+wa =’pi i:na kwi:yesē:h+a.
Ne:nye:škwi:ha he.had. {that}.name/IND =HRSY **that boy**
“**Ne:nye:škwi:ha**,” **that boy** was called.
- (68:5) meše:=’nah =nekotenwi e:h=anawi+či i:na neniw+a.
perhaps once he.went.on.a.hunting.trip/CONJ **that man**
One time **that man** went off on a hunting trip.
- (68:6) o:hkom+ani e:h=wi:či-nesapi:m+a:či pašito:h+a—
his.mother-in-law he.stayed.home.with.her/CONJ **old man**
The old man stayed at home with *his mother-in-law*—
- (68:7) o+semye:+ni e:h=wi:či-nesapi:m+a:či, o:šiseme:h+ani: =’nahi.
his.daughter-in-law he.stayed.home.with.her/CONJ *his.grandchild.DIM* =and
(that is,) **he** stayed at home with *his daughter-in-law* and *his little grandson*.
- (68:8) (wi:h=nye:wokone:te+niči =ke:hi o+kwis+ani.)
he.will.be.absent.four.days/FUT.CONJ =and *his.son*
(Now, *his son* was going to be away for four days.)
- (68:9) e:h=katawi- =meko -no:še:+niči o+semye:+ni pašito:h+a.
nearly =EMPH *she.gave.birth/CONJ his.daughter-in-law* **old man**
And the old man’s daughter-in-law was almost ready to give birth.
- (68:10) e:h=opiškwe:če:+či ihkwe:w+a.
she was big.in.the.belly/CONJ **woman**
The woman was very big in the belly.
- (68:11) ne:kotokone:te+niči o+kwis+ani,
when.he.was.away.one.day/CC *his.son*
- pašito:h+a e:h=we:pina:ke:+či.
old man **he**.started.singing/CONJ

When *his son* had been gone one day, **the old man** started singing.

- (68:12) mani =ča:hi =’pi e:šina:ke:+či:
this =so =HRSY {*what*}.**he.sang**/CONJ.PPL
This is what he sang:
- (68:13) “ne+semy+e, <nawenawa> <kipate>+no.”
 O.my.daughter-in-law ? you.~/IMP
 “Daughter-in-law, g’wan aww, keel ye down!”
- (68:14) i:ni =’pi e:šina:ke:+či.
that =HRSY {*what*}.**he.sang**/CONJ.PPL
That’s what he sang.
- (68:15) e:h=we:pi- wača:h+ekoči takwaha:n+i.
 begin she.cooked.<it>.for.him/CONJ corn.mush
She started cooking corn mush for him.
- (68:16) “a:kwi =koh, naha:kanihkwe,” e:h=in+a:či.
 not =certainly O.daughter-in-law **he.told.her.**{that}/CONJ
 “NO, daughter-in-law,” **he** told *her*.
- (68:17) “aška:pow+i =kohi net+aka:wa:t+a,”
fresh.soup =certainly I.crave.**it**/IND
 e:h=in+a:či o+semye:+ni.
he.told.her.{that}/CONJ *his.daughter-in-law*
 “I want **FRESH SOUP!**” **he** told *his daughter-in-law*.
- (68:18) ča:ki =meko ke:ko:h+i e:h=wa:wača:h+ekoči.
 all =EMPH something RED.*she.cooked.<it>.for.him/CONJ*
She cooked all kinds of things for him.
- (68:19) “a:kwi=kana:kwa =meko.
 it.is.impossible =EMPH
 “No way.
- (68:20) ma:mahka:či =meko aška:pow+i.”
 necessarily =EMPH fresh.soup
 It has to be fresh soup.”
- (68:21) ke:keya:hi =’pi e:h=ata:hpenamaw+a:či ma:tes+i
 finally =HRSY **she.took.hold.of.<it>.for.him/CONJ** knife

o+mešo:m+ani.
her.father-in-law

Eventually **she** got *a knife* for *her father-in-law*.

(68:22) ki:š- awatenamaw+a:či,
finish when **she** handed *(it)* to *him*/CC

e:h=paškitehkwe:saho+či mehtek+oki.
she dropped down with head over/CONJ tree/LOC

After handing *it* to *him*, **she** dropped down with her head over a log.

(68:23) “wi:h=neš+iyani =ʰh=we: =ye:toke, ne+mešo:m+e,”
you.will.kill.me/FUT.CONJ =obviously.not =EVID O.my.father-in-law

e:h=in+a:či o+mešo:m+ani.
she told *her*. {that}/CONJ *her.father-in-law*

“It isn’t that you want to kill me, is it, father-in-law?”
she said to *her father-in-law*.

(68:24) “ni:na:na =wi:na a:kwi ke:ko:h+i =ʰši- mya:ši-
we.(excl) =but not any {that.way} badly

to:taw+akečini i:ya:h =e:h=ki:wita:+či
we.(excl).treated **him**. {that.way}/NEG over.there **he** stayed.around/CONJ

ma:hiya ke+kwis+a,” e:h=in+eči pašito:h+a.
that.recently.present your.son X.told **him**. {that}/CONJ **old.man**

“For our part, we didn’t ill-treat **that son of yours** *in any way*, when **he** was staying over with us,” **the old man** was told.

(68:25) “ta:ni =ča:h.
how? =so
“So what!

(68:26) nepo:p+i =ča:h =net+aka:wa:t+a =ne:h =ni:na,”
soup =so I.crave it/IND =too *I*

e:h=in+a:či =meko o+semye:+ni.
he told *her*. {that}/CONJ =EMPH *his.daughter-in-law*

When it comes to me, I want **soup**,”
he said to *his daughter-in-law*.

(68:27) e:h=ki:škikwe:hw+a:či.
he.chopped.off.*her*.head/CONJ
And **he** hacked off *her* head.

(68:28) o:ni: =’nini na:mata:si:h+ani e:h=keten+a:či,
and.then *that fetus* **he**.took.*it*.out./CONJ
And then **he** took out *that fetus*,

(68:29) asa:+ki e:h=wi:weče:n+a:či.
buckskin/LOC **he**.wrapped.*it*.up/CONJ
and wrapped *it* in a buckskin.

(68:30) “nahi, n+oši:h, mana ke+si:me:h+a.
all.right! O.my.grandchild **this your.younger.sibling**
“All right, grandson, **here’s your younger brother**.

(68:31) nekotah =maw- aš+i mehteko:h+eki.
somewhere go.and you.put.**him**/IMP tree.DIM/LOC
Go put **him** in some little tree!

(68:32) k:i:h=natone:h+a mehteko:+ni i:h=wa:šinihkah+ki.
you.will.seek.**them**/FUT.IND trees **they**.will.be.hollow/FUT.CONJ
You must look for **trees** that would be hollow.

(68:33) i:ni =ča:h =ne:t+amane wa:šinihkah+ki,
then =so when.you.see.**it**/SUBJ **one.that.is.hollow**/CONJ.PPL

i:ni: =’h=po:čisah+ači
that place.where.you.will.shove.him.in/FUT.LOC.PPL

mana ke+si:me:h+a,” e:h=in+eči kwi:yese:h+a.
this your.younger.sibling X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **boy**

When you see **a hollow one**, *that’s where you must shove this younger brother of yours*,” **the boy** was told.

(68:34) saka:ki =meko e:h=ki:wi- kašken+a:či,
just.barely =EMPH around **he**.was.able.to.hold.*him*/CONJ
He was just barely able to carry *him* from place to place,

(68:35) e:h=natone:h+aki wa:šinihkate+niki.
he.sought.*them*/CONJ *one.that.was.hollow*/CONJ.PPL
 as **he** searched for *a hollow tree*.

(68:36) kapo:twe: =’nahi e:h=mehk+aki,
 at.some.point =EMPH **he**.found.*it*/CONJ
 At some point, then, **he** found *one*,

(68:37) e:h=po:čisah+a:či o+si:me:h+ani,
he.shoved.*him.in*/CONJ *his.younger.sibling*
 and **he** shoved *his younger brother* inside it,

(68:38) e:h=na:kwa:+či.
he.went.home/CONJ
 and went back.

(68:39) i:ya:h =pye:ya:+či aya:pami,
 there when.**he**.arrived/CC back

kwi:yena =meko e:h=ki:šeso+niči o+kye:+ni.
 exactly =EMPH *she.was.cooked.done*/CONJ *his.mother*

When **he** got back home, *his mother* was just then cooked done.

(68:40) aka:mete:ki e:h=nana:hapi+či.
 opposite.side.of.the.lodge **he**.seated.himself/CONJ
He sat down on the opposite side of the lodge.

(68:41) wa:natohka e:h=we:pisenye:+niči o+mešo:h+ani.
 blithely *he.started.eating*/CONJ *his.grandfather.DIM*
 And *his grandfather* blithely fell to.

(68:42) wa:natohka, “n+oših+e, kotam+iye:kani =wi:na ke+ky+a,
 blithely O.my.grandchild you.taste.**her**/PROH =but **your.mother**

n+oših+e,” e:h=in+eči.
 O.my.grandchild X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ

Blithely, “Grandson, you might have a taste of **your mother**, grandson,” **he** was told.

(68:43) še:ški e:h=memekohkwe:sa:+či kwi:yese:h+a.
 just **he**.shook.his.head/CONJ **boy**
The boy just emphatically shook his head.

(68:44) “anehki:h =amw+i, n+oši:h,” e:h=in+eči.
 a.little you.eat.**her**/IMP O.my.grandchild X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ
 “Eat a little of **her**, grandson!” **he** was urged.

(68:45) “a:kwi =ča:h =kana:kwa,”
 not =so it.is.possible

e:h=in+a:či o+mešo:h+ani kwi:yesē:h+a.
he.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ *his.grandfather.DIM* **boy**

“No way,” **the boy** told *his grandfather*.

(68:46) meše:=’nah =meko e:h=ča:kam+a:niči.
 more.or.less =EMPH *he.ate.HER.up*/CONJ
 And *he* more or less ate *HER* up.

(68:47) keki-nepo:p+e =meko e:h=iši- ča:kam+emeči o+kye:+ni kwi:yesē:h+a.
 soup.and.all =EMPH {that.way} X.ate.*her.up*/CONJ *his.mother* **boy**
The boy’s mother was eaten up broth and all.

(68:48) “ohohwa:, ’nasa:ki iši- wi:kanasite:+wa
 oh.boy! exceptionally {that.way} **she**.has.tasty.feet/IND

naha:kanihkwe:w+a,” e:h=i+či.
daughter-in-law **he**.said.{that}/CONJ

“Oh boy, **the daughter-in-law** has incredibly tasty feet!” **he** said.

(68:49) e:h=kehč- atama:+či pašito:h+a.
 greatly **he**.smoked/CONJ **old.man**
 And **the old man** smoked up a storm.

(68:50) o:ni o:šisem+ani,
 and.then *his.grandchild*
 And then to *his grandson*,

(68:51) “nahi, n+oši:hi, ka:ta =wi:na a:čimoh+iye:kani k+o:s+a
 now! O.my.grandchild don’t =but you.inform.**him**/PROH **your father**

ow+i:we:h+ani e:h=am+omaki,” e:h=in+eči kwi:yesē:h+a.
his.wife.DIM I.ate.*her*/CONJ X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **boy**

“Now, grandson, don’t tell **your father** that I ate *his little wife*,” **the boy** was told.

(68:52) “hawo,” e:h=i+či.
all.right **he**.said. {that}/CONJ
“All right,” **he** said.

(68:53) (e:h=kos+a:či =’yo=ke:hi o+mešo:mes+ani.)
he.feared.*him*/CONJ =by.the.way *his.grandfather*
(For **he** feared *his grandfather*.)

(68:54) “a:čimo+yane =ke:hi, k+i:h=po:hkeče:ška,”
if.you.tell/SUBJ =and you.will.have.your.belly.tear.open/FUT.IND

e:h=in+eči kwi:yese:h+a.
X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ **boy**

“If you tell, your belly will rip open,” **the boy** was told.

(68:55) “pwa:wi- =ke:h =-po:hkeče:ška:+yane,
not =and if.you.have.your.belly.tear.open/SUBJ

k+i:h=pa:škitepe:ška,” e:h=in+eči.
you.will.have.your.head.burst.open/FUT.IND X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ

“And if your belly doesn’t rip open, your head will burst open,” **he** was told.

(68:56) e:h=se:kim+eči.
X.frightened.**him**.by.speech/CONJ
And **he** was frightened by what he heard.

(68:57) “ke:hena =meko,” e:h=išite:he:+či.
truly =EMPH **he**.thought. {that}/CONJ
“It’s true,” **he** thought.

(68:58) ahkan+ani =ke:hi ši:kwat+akini i:na pašito:h+a
bones =and ones.left.over/CONJ.PPL **that old man**

e:h=ahkas+aki.
he.burned.them.up/CONJ

And **that old man** burnt the bones left over from his meal.

- (68:59) aškači o:s+ani e:h=pya:+niči kwi:yese:h+a,
 after.a.while *his.father* *he.arrived/CONJ* **boy**
 After a while **the boy's father** came home,
- (68:60) e:h=pye:taši+niči.
he.came.with.a.load.of.game/CONJ
 bringing a load of game.
- (68:61) ma:ne =meko e:h=pye:to:+niči mena:škono:n+i.
 much =EMPH *he.brought.it/CONJ* fresh.meat
He brought a lot of fresh meat.
- (68:62) ma:maya =meko e:h=pya:+niči e:nemi- ana:kwi:hi+niki.
 early =EMPH *he.arrived/CONJ* going.off *it.was.evening.DIM/CONJ*
He came home very early, towards evening.
- (68:63) “ke+ky+a =’yo: =’niya,” e:h=in+eči kwi:yese:h+a.
your.mother =for **that.former** X.told.him. {that}/CONJ **boy**
 “Where’s **your mother?**” **the boy** was asked.
- (68:64) še:ški =meko e:h=kehči -mayo:+či.
 just =EMPH greatly **he.wept/CONJ**
He just cried bitterly.
- (68:65) o:ni pašito:h+a e:h=kanawi+či.
 and.then **old.man** **he.spoke.up/CONJ**
 And then **the old man** spoke up.
- (68:66) “i:niye =ma:h =wi:na =meko: =’na na:hina:h =na:kwa:+yani
 then.past =see =but =EMPH **that** at.the.time when.you.departed/CC
 we:wi:tēpi mehto:či anemi- nowi:+wa.”
 for.a.short.time as.if going.off **she.exited/IND**
 “See, at the time of your departure, **that (wife of yours)**
 went out as if for a short time.”
- (68:67) ahpene:či, “ke:hena?” e:h=in+a:či o+kwise:h+ani.
 every.time truly **he.told.him. {that}/CONJ** *his.son.DIM*
 Each time **he** asked *his little son*, “Really?”
- (68:68) “ehe:he,” e:h=inehkwe:sa:+či kwi:yese:h+a.
 yes **he.nodded. {that.way}/CONJ** **boy**
The boy nodded, “Yes.”

(68:69) e:h=wanihta:so+či neniw+a.
he.suffered.a.loss/CONJ man
The man was bereaved.

(68:70) ča:ki =meko e:nowe:+niči e:h=nenehke:net+aki,
 all =EMPH *{what}.she.said/CONJ.PPL* **he.thought.about.it/CONJ**
He thought over everything she'd said,

(68:71) e:ši- pemen+a:či =ke:hi.
{that.way} **he.took.care.of.her/CONJ.PPL** =and
 and how he had taken care of her.

(68:72) e:h=menwi- to:taw+a:či,
 well **he.treated.her. {that.way}/CONJ**

e:h=pwa:wi- mya:ši- to:taw+a:či.
 not badly **he.treated.her. {that.way}/CONJ**

He had treated *her* well, and hadn't treated *her* badly.

(68:73) "we:kone:h =ča:h =ye:toke we:či- nakaš+iči,"
what =so =EVID *{thence}* **she.left.me/CONJ.PPL**

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought. {that}/CONJ

"What possible reason was there for her to leave me," **he** wondered.

(68:74) e:h=pwa:wi- =meko -mehk+aki
 not =EMPH **he.found.it/CONJ**

wi:h=oči- pakin+ekokwe:ni.
{whyever} **she.divorced.him/FUT.INT.PPL**

He couldn't hit on any reason why she would divorce him.

(68:75) i:ni =p =a:pehe: =na kwi:yes:h+a
 then =HRSY =usually **that boy**

e:h=taši- mečime:nemo+či wi:h=a:čimoh+a:či o:s+ani.
 there **he.hesitated/CONJ he.will.inform.him/FUT.CONJ his.father**

Then **that boy** would always hesitate to tell *his father*.

(68:76) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe, “nahi, n+i:h=a:čimoh+a:wa
 perhaps at.some.point all.right! I.will.tell.him/FUT.IND

n+o:s+a,” e:h=išite:he:+či, ki:h- we:pi- mahkate:wi:+niči.
my.father he.thought.{that}/CONJ finish begin when.he.fasted/CC

At some point, “All right, I’ll tell **my father**,” **he** thought, after *he*’d started fasting.

(68:77) “kaši=we:=wi:h=towi pa:škitepe:ška:+ya:ne,”
 what.does.it.matter? if.I.have.my.head.burst.open/SUBJ

e:h=išite:he:+či.
he.thought.{that}/CONJ

“What does it matter if my head bursts open?” **he** thought.

(68:78) atehči e:h=ma:mawi- taši- mayo:+niči.
 away RED.go.and {there} he.wept/CONJ
He kept going off someplace to cry.

(68:79) meše:=’nah =nekotenwi, “ne+mešo,”
 perhaps once O.my.grandfather.DIM

e:h=in+a:či o+mešo:mes+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ his.grandfather

One time, “Grandfather,” **he** said to *his grandfather*.

(68:80) “we:kone:h, n+oši:hi,” e:h=ikoči.
what O.my.grandchild he.told.him.{that}/CONJ
 “What is it, grandson?” *he* asked **him**.

(68:81) “pena, n+i:h=konwa:ške:hehke,”
 I’d.better I.will.hunt.for.frogs/FUT.IND

e:h=in+a:či o+mešo:h+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ his.grandfather.DIM

“I think I’ll hunt for frogs,” **he** told *his little grandfather*.

(68:82) “hawo,” e:h=ikoči.
 all.right he.told.him.{that}/CONJ
 “All right,” *he* told **him**.

(68:83) e:h=na:kwa:+či.
he.set.off/CONJ
 And **he** set off.

(68:84) meše-na:hina:h =e:nemehka:+či, “ši:, n+oši:hi,
 some.ways.off when **he.went.off/CC** say! O.my.grandchild
 nawači- pya:+yane =wi:na.
 first if.you.arrive/SUBJ =but

When **he** had gotten some ways off, “Hey, grandson, how about coming back first!

(68:85) k+i:h=a:čimoh+ene no:make:we,”
 I.will.inform.you/FUT.IND for.a.little.while

e:h=ikoči o+mešo:mese:h+ani.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ *his.grandfather.DIM*

I want to talk to you for a little while,” *his little grandfather* told **him**.

(68:86) i:tepi e:h=a:+či.
 thither **he.went**. {thither}/CONJ
 And **he** went back to him.

(68:87) “ka:ta =wi:na k+o:s+a e:h=awi+či iha:+hkani,”
 don’t =but **your.father** place.where.he.is/LOC.PPL you.go/PROH

e:h=ikoči.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“Don’t go to where your father is,” *he* told **him**.

(68:88) “či:hi:, a:kwi =ma:h, ne+mešo,”
 gee.whiz! not =as.you.know O.my.grandfather.DIM

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“Gee whiz, of course not, grandfather,” **he** said to *him*.

(68:89) “paya:hkiči =ma:h =n+i:h=a,”
 in.another.direction =as.you.know I.will.go. {thither}/FUT.IND

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“I’ll go in another direction, of course,” he said to *him*.

(68:90) “ke+kehke:net+a =’yo:we e:n+ena:ni,”
you.know.it/IND =formerly what}.I.told.you/CONJ.PPL

e:h=ikoči na:hka.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ again

“Do you have in mind what I told you?” he asked **him** next.

(68:91) “ehe:he,” e:h=in+a:či.
yes he.told.him. {that}/CONJ
“Yes,” he replied to *him*.

(68:92) “kaši =ča:hi =’yo:we ket+ene,” e:h=ikoči.
what? =so =formerly I.told.you/IND he.told.him. {that}/CONJ
“So, what did I tell you?” he asked **him**.

(68:93) “mani =ča:h =e:š+iyani:
this =so what}.I.told.you/CONJ.PPL
“**This** is what you told me:

(68:94) ‘k+i:h=po:hkeče:ška =ke:h =a:čimo+yane,’
you.will.have.your.belly.tear.open/FUT.IND =and if.you.tell/SUBJ

ket+eš+i =ča:hi =’yo:we.
you.told.me/IND =so =formerly

‘Your belly will rip open if you tell,’ you told me formerly.

(68:95) ‘meše=ke:h =k+i:h=pa:škitepe:ška,’
or.perhaps you.will.have.your.head.burst.open/FUT.IND

ket+eš+i =ča:hi =’yo:we,” e:h=in+eči pašito:h+a.
you.told.me =so =formerly X.told.him. {that}/CONJ **old man**

‘Or perhaps your head will burst open,’ you told me formerly,” **the old man** was told.

(68:96) “i:ni =koh =ke:hena wi:h=išawi+yani,”
that =certainly truly what.will.happen.to.you/FUT.CONJ.PPL

e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“**That** is for certain **what will happen to you**,” he told *him*.

(68:97) “ke:nema:pi.
I.don’t.know
“I don’t know.

(68:98) me:mešihka =kohi, me:mešihka =ke:h =a:kwi,” e:h=išite:he:+či.
perhaps =certainly perhaps =and not he.thought. {that}/CONJ
Perhaps yes, perhaps no,” he thought.

(68:99) “n+i:h=a:čimo =koči i:noki,”
I.will.tell/FUT.IND =of.course this.time

e:h=ine:nem+a:či o+mešo:h+ani.
he.thought. {that}.about.him/CONJ his.grandfather.DIM

“All I know is, this time I’ll tell,” he thought, regarding *his grandfather*.

(68:100) e:h=na:kwa:+či.
he.set.out/CONJ
And he set out.

(68:101) o+mehte:he:h+ani nahi- pa:hpi+wa,
his.bow.DIM know.how.to he.did.tricks.with.<them>/IND

akahko:h+ani: =’nahi.
knob-head.arrows =and

He knew how to do tricks with *his little bow and little blunt arrows*.

(68:102) paya:hkiči e:h=anemiha:+či, e:h=anemina:ke:+či.
in.another.direction he.went.off. {thither}/CONJ he.went.off.singing/CONJ
He went off in a different direction, singing as he went.

(68:103) ne:hki:+či, paya:hkiči e:h=anemipaho+či.
when.he.went.out.of.sight/CC in.another.direction he.ran.off/CONJ
When he got out of sight, he ran on in another direction.

(68:104) i:ya:h =e:h=pya:+či o:s+ani e:h=tanwe:kesi+niči.
there he.arrived/CONJ his.father place.{where}.he.was.wailing/LOC.PPL
And he arrived over where his father was wailing.

(68:105) “ano:se,” e:h=in+a:či.
 O.my.father **he**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ
 “Father,” **he** said to *him*.

(68:106) “kaši =’yo ket+ešawi, e:h=taši- mayomayo:+yani,”
 what? =for you.do. {that}/IND there RED.you.weep/CONJ

 e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ

“What’s the matter with you, that you keep weeping,” **he** asked *him*.

(68:107) “ne+mešo:h+a =ma:hi =’yo:we i:niye:ne ne+kye:+ni
my.grandfather.DIM =see =formerly *that*.former *my*.mother

 nes+e:wa.
he.killed.*her*/IND

“See, **my grandfather** killed *my mother that’s gone*.

(68:108) menehta =ke:h =nakamo+wa.”
 first =and **he**.sang/IND
He sang, first.”

(68:109) “kaši =ča:hi išina:ke:+wa,” e:h=in+eči.
 what? =so **he**.sang. {that}/IND X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ
 “What did **he** sing?” **he** was asked.

(68:110) “mayakina:ke:+wa =ča:hi,” e:h=i+či.
he.sang.strangely/IND =so **he**.said. {that}/CONJ
 “**He** sang very strangely,” **he** said.

(68:111) “mani =ča:h =e:šina:ke:+či,” e:h=i+či.
 this =so {what}.**he**.sang/CONJ.PPL **he**.said. {that}/CONJ
 “*This* is *what he sang*,” **he** said.

(68:112) “ ‘ne+semy+e, <nawanawe> <kipate>+no,’
 O.my.daughter-in-law ? you.~/IMP

 išina:ke:+wa =ča:hi,” e:h=i+či.
he.sang. {that}/IND =so **he**.said. {that}/CONJ

“ ‘Daughter-in-law, g’wan aww, keel ye down!’ **he** sang,” **he** said.

- (68:113) “o:ni ne+ky+a e:h=ašihito:+či takwaha:n+i.
and.then **my.mother** **she.made.it/CONJ** corn.mush
“And then **my mother** made corn mush.
- (68:114) “ ‘a:kwi=kana:kwa, naha:kanihkwe.
it.is.impossible O.daughter-in-law
“ ‘No way, daughter-in-law.
- (68:115) aška:pow+i =koh =net+aka:wa:t+a,’ in+e:wa =ča:h.
fresh.soup =certainly I.crave.**it/IND** **he.told.her.**{that}/IND =so
I want **FRESH SOUP!**’ **he** told *her*.
- (68:116) ča:ki =meko ke:ko:h+i koči- wača:h+ekwa.
all =EMPH something try *she.cooked.<it>*.for.**him/IND**
“*She* tried cooking all kinds of things for **him**.
- (68:117) “ ‘a:kwi =koh =kana:kwa.
not =certainly it.is.possible
“ ‘No way.
- (68:118) aška:pow+i =koh =net+aka:wa:t+a,’ in+a:pi =meko
fresh.soup =certainly I.crave.**it/IND** X.told.**her.**{that}/IND =EMPH

ne+ky+a,” e:h=i+či.
my.mother **he.said.**{that}/CONJ

I want **FRESH SOUP!**’ **my mother** was told,” **he** said.
- (68:119) “ke:keya:h =meko: =’ni ma:tes+i e:h=awata:hkaw+a:či.
eventually =EMPH then knife **she.flung.<it>**.at.*him/CONJ*
“Eventually **she** flung a knife at *him*.
- (68:120) ‘mani =ča:h.
this =so
‘Here.
- (68:121) ni:na:na =wi:na: =’niya i:ya:h =e:h=ki:wita:+či
we.(excl) =but **that.former** over.there **he.stayed.around/CONJ**

a:kwi ke:ko:h+i iši- mya:ši- to:taw+akečini,’
not any {that.way} badly we.(excl).treated.**him.**{that.way}/NEG

i+wa ne+ky+a,” e:h=i+či.
she.said. {that}/IND **my.mother** **he**.said. {that}/CONJ

For our part, when **that (son of yours)** was staying over with us, we didn't ill-treat **him** *in any way*, ' **my mother** said,' **he** said.

(68:122) “o:ni e:h=ki:škikwe:šw+a:či ne+kye:+ni, e:h=nes+a:či.
 and.then **he**.cut.off.*her*.head/CONJ *my.mother* **he**.killed.*her*/CONJ
 “And then **he** cut off *my mother*'s head, killing *her*.

(68:123) o:ni asa:+ki e:h=wi:wen+a:či na:mata:si:he:h+ani.
 and.then buckskin/LOC **he**.wrapped.*it*/CONJ *fetus*.DIM
 And then **he** wrapped *the little fetus* in a buckskin.

(68:124) ‘mana ke+si:me:h+a.
this your.younger.sibling
 ‘**Here**'s **your younger brother**.

(68:125) nekotah =mawi- pakiš+i.
 somewhere go.and you.throw.**him**.away/IMP
 Go throw **him** away somewhere!

(68:126) mehteko:+ni k+i:h=natone:h+a e:h=wa:šinihkato:hi+ki.
trees you.will.seek.**them**/FUT.IND **they**.are.hollow.DIM/CONJ
 You must look for trees that are a little hollow.

(68:127) i:ni =ča:h =wi:h=as+ači,’ net+ekwa.
 that =so *place.where.you.will.put.him*/FUT.LOC.PPL **he**.told.me. {that}/IND
That's where you should put him, ' **he** told me.

(68:128) i:ni =ča:h =e:šawi+ya:ni.
 that =so **{what}.I.did**/CONJ.PPL
 So that's what I did.

(68:129) “kwi:yena =meko pye:ya:+ya:ni, e:h=ki:šesw+a:či
 exactly =EMPH when.I.arrived/CC **he**.cooked.*her*.done/CONJ

ne+kye:+ni.
my.mother

“Just as I got back, **he** finished cooking *my mother*.

(68:130) ‘kotam+i ke+ky+a, n+oši:h+e,’ net+ekwa.
 you.taste.**her**/IMP **your mother** O.my.grandchild **he**.told.me.{that}/IND
 ‘Have a taste of **your mother**, grandson!’ **he** said to me.

(68:131) ‘a:kwi,’ net+enekwe:htaw+a:wa.
 not I.signalled.with.head.to.**him**/IND
 I shook my head to tell him, ‘No.’

(68:132) keki-nepo:p+e =meko iši- ča:kisenye:+wa.
 soup.and.all =EMPH {that.way} **he**.ate.all/IND
He ate up everything, broth and all.

(68:133) ‘ohohwa:, anasa:ki iši- wi:kanasite:+wa
 oh.boy! exceptionally {that.way} **she**.has.tasty.feet/IND
 naha:kanihkwe:w+a,’ i+wa.
daughter-in-law **he**.said.{that}/IND

‘Oh boy, **the daughter-in-law** has incredibly tasty feet!’ **he** said.

(68:134) ‘o:ni =mani e:h=iš+iči:
 and.then this **he**.told.me.{that}/CONJ
 ‘And then **he** said this to me:

(68:135) ‘n+oši:h+e, ka:ta =wi:na k+o:s+a a:čimoh+iye:kani,’
 O.my.grandchild don’t =but **your father** you.tell.**him**/PROH
 net+ekwa.
he.told.me.{that}/IND

‘Grandson, don’t tell **your father**,’ **he** told me.

(68:136) ‘a:čimo+yane =ke:hi k+i:h=po:hkeče:ška.
 if.you.tell/SUBJ =and you.will.have.your.belly.tear.open/FUT.IND
 ‘If you tell, your belly will rip open.

(68:137) meše=ke:hi k+i:h=pa:škitepe:ška,’ net+ekwa.
 or.perhaps you.will.have.your.head.burst.open/FUT.IND **he**.told.me.{that}/IND
 Or perhaps your head will burst open,’ **he** told me.

(68:138) i:ni =ča:h we:či- pwa:wi- našawaye -a:čimoh+ena:ni,”
that =so **thence** **not** long.ago **I informed you**/CONJ.PPL

conclusion in (67:54), and the second, in (68:143–144), is unlike every other version of this story in that it describes the cannibal’s reaction to his son’s and grandson’s disappearance. Kiyana’s Part 1 has the same major subdivisions as in every other version of the story: Part 1A describes the mother’s plight, and Part 1B describes the Apaya:ši:hs’ plight. Kiyana’s Part 2, anomalously, also has two major subdivisions: Part 2A describes the events before the father learns the true fate of his wife, and Part 2B covers Ne:nye:škwi:h’s relation of the truth.

The most noticeable feature about proximate and obviative distribution in (68) is that, in every section of the episode apart from the introduction and Part 2B, every character that occurs in the proximate occurs in the obviative as well:

Table 9. Kiyana’s choice of proximates (extra-quote)

<hr/>			INTRO	lines 1–5
mother+father+Ne:ny. Ne:nye:škwi:h father		<i>grandfather</i>		
<hr/>			PART 1A	lines 6–27
grandfather mother	<i>mother</i> <i>Ne:nye:škwi:h</i> <i>father</i> <i>grandfather</i>	<u>corn mush</u> <u>knife</u>		
<hr/>			PART 1B	lines 28–58
grandfather Ne:nye:škwi:h	<i>Apaya:ši:h</i> <i>mother</i> <i>grandfather</i> <i>Ne:nye:škwi:h</i>	<u>hollow tree</u> <u>bones</u>		
<hr/>			PART 2A	lines 59–100
Ne:nye:škwi:h grandfather father	<i>father</i> <i>Ne:nye:škwi:h</i> <i>mother</i> <i>grandfather</i>	<u>fresh meat</u>		

	PART 2B	lines 101–140
Ne:nye:škwih	<i>father</i>	<i>bow</i> <u>arrows</u>

	CONCLUSION	lines 141–144
Ne:nye:škwih+father	<i>grandfather</i>	
grandfather	<i>Ne:nye:škwih+father</i> <i>Ne:nye:škwih</i>	

In the extended narrative quote in Part 2B, the same observation holds. Every character that occurs in the proximate occurs in the obviative as well:

Table 10. Kiyana’s choice of proximates (in-quote)

	QUOTE	lines 105–139
grandfather	<i>mother</i>	<u>corn mush</u>
mother	<i>grandfather</i>	<u>knife</u>
	<i>Apaya:ši:h</i>	<u>bones</u>

The mother is proximate shortly before the episode in (68) begins. However, she and her husband and son depart from her family’s house as an undifferentiated obviative plural, and arrive at their destination, in (68:1), as an undifferentiated proximate plural. The individual members of this plural remain proximate throughout the brief introduction. The grandfather, in the opening sentence of the introduction, is reintroduced into the plot as an obviative.

Part 1A has the grandfather as chief proximate, and the mother as second-rank proximate. The grandfather’s proximate status straddles the boundary into Part 1B, but in 1B Ne:nye:škwih ranks as chief proximate, and the grandfather is treated as a secondary proximate.

As in every other version of the story, Part 2 begins with the father’s return from his hunt. Kiyana’s version of Part 2 is highly elaborated. No other variant of Part 2 involves the cannibals at all, or describes the father’s emotional state, or contains a complete recapitulation of the events of Part 1. Kiyana’s Part 2A has three major subdivisions: the father’s arrival, which is met by the grandfather’s false story about his wife; the father’s

reaction to his wife's disappearance, which prompts Ne:nye:škwi:h's decision to tell him the truth; Ne:nye:škwi:h's false story to his grandfather, which facilitates Ne:nye:škwi:h's escape.

Ne:nye:škwi:h's proximate status straddles the boundary into Part 2B. Ne:nye:škwi:h is chief proximate throughout Part 2. In 2Aa his grandfather is a second-rank proximate, and his father is obviative; in 2Ab his father is a second-rank proximate, and his grandfather is not mentioned; in 2Ac his grandfather is a second-rank proximate, and his father is mentioned only in quoted speech. In 2B Ne:nye:škwi:h is the sole proximate; his father is obviative, and his grandfather is mentioned only in quoted speech.

In the first part of the conclusion, Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father are a joint proximate and the grandfather (who is absent from the scene) is obviative. In the second part of the conclusion, the grandfather is proximate and Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father (who are both absent from the scene) are obviative.

Kiyana's scheme for proximate and obviative assignment in his version of The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth can be summarized as follows: in the introduction and the conclusion, everyone visible in the scene is proximate, and other characters are obviative or inanimate; in 1A the grandfather is chief proximate, the mother is second-rank proximate, and all other characters are obviative or inanimate; in 1B Ne:nye:škwi:h is chief proximate, the grandfather is a second-rank proximate, and all other characters are obviative or inanimate; in 2A Ne:nye:škwi:h is chief proximate, the grandfather or the father is second-rank proximate, and all other characters are obviative or inanimate; in 2B Ne:nye:škwi:h is proximate and all other characters are obviative or inanimate

A proximate hierarchy, reminiscent of Anonymous 8's, emerges from this scheme. The ranking in Kiyana's version is as follows: Ne:nye:škwi:h > the grandfather > the father ≥ the mother > Apaya:ši:h. Allowing for the fact that Kiyana's plot makes the cannibal a central figure, this hierarchy is not very different from Anonymous 8's. Both clearly reflect the different characters' importance in the plot. However, there are some notable perturbations in Kiyana's hierarchy. Ne:nye:škwi:h appears in the obviative

twice relative to his grandfather when both are present in the same scene. Ne:nye:škwi:h appears in the obviative once relative to his father when both are present in the same scene. And the grandfather appears in the obviative once relative to the mother when both are present in the same scene.

Notice that Kiyana's choice of proximates for this episode falls into patterns of oppositions:

Table 11. Kiyana's proximate shifts

—————INTRO lines 1–5

mother+father+Ne:nye:škwi:h
Ne:nye:škwi:h
father

—————PART 1A lines 6–27

grandfather
mother
grandfather
mother
grandfather

—————PART 1B lines 28–58

grandfather
Ne:nye:škwi:h
grandfather
Ne:nye:škwi:h
grandfather

—————PART 2A lines 59–100

Ne:nye:škwi:h
grandfather

father
Ne:nye:škwi:h
father
Ne:nye:škwi:h

Ne:nye:škwi:h
grandfather
Ne:nye:škwi:h

Ne:nye:škwi:h**Ne:nye:škwi:h+father
grandfather**

Anonymous 8's choice of proximates was almost exclusively determined by the characters' importance. Ša:poči:wa's was almost exclusively determined by the characters' affect. Kiyana's choice of proximates is influenced by both sets of considerations. The chief proximate of Part 1A is the chief actor of 1A, the grandfather; 1A's second-rank proximate is the character acting in reaction to the grandfather (the mother). The grandfather also has greater global importance in the plot than the mother; he appears as a prime mover in three episodes, whereas she appears as a secondary character in two. Ne:nye:škwi:h, who has no active role whatsoever in 1A, and his father, who is not physically present in these scenes, appear only in the obviative.

In 1A the mother is proximate twice: once in a purely descriptive line (line 10; notice the mid-scene shift from possessed obviative in line 9), and once at her moment of greatest decision, and moment of greatest pathos, in lines 21–23. Everywhere else in 1A she is immediately juxtaposed to her father-in-law, and is marked as obviative; in 21–23 she takes proximate status, and her father-in-law moves into the obviative.

In 1B, as in 1A, the grandfather is the chief actor. Ne:nye:škwi:h acts only in response to his grandfather. Nonetheless, Ne:nye:škwi:h here, as in every other version of the story, takes primary proximate status. Ne:nye:škwi:h has greater global importance in the plot than his grandfather; he is also more sympathetic than his grandfather, at this stage of the story.

Ne:nye:škwi:h's mother and brother have purely passive roles in 1B, and appear only in the obviative. The grandfather is proximate three times: relative to Apaya:ši:h, in lines 28–29; relative to the bones, in line 57; and when he achieves his desire, in lines 48–49 (compare Ša:poči:wa's line 49). Line 50 briefly shunts Ne:nye:škwi:h into the obviative relative to his grandfather via an enjambment of pre-quote obviative to

postquote proximate. Ne:nye:škwi:h is proximate everywhere else in 1B. The grandfather is obviative twice when immediately juxtaposed to Ne:nye:škwi:h, in lines 45 and 53, and obviative twice more when seen through Ne:nye:škwi:h's eyes, in lines 41 and 46.

In 2A Ne:nye:škwi:h, his father, and his grandfather are all important actors. Each of them initiates behavior that influences the others. In terms of global importance, Ne:nye:škwi:h > the father > the grandfather; in terms of affect, at this stage of the story, Ne:nye:škwi:h ≥ father > the grandfather. Ne:nye:škwi:h again takes primary proximate status, but each of the others appears in the proximate twice. The grandfather is proximate in line 65, when he intervenes to tell his lie, and is proximate again relative to Ne:nye:škwi:h, a little anomalously, in lines 95–96, at the end of a lengthy exchange between the two. The father is proximate relative to Ne:nye:škwi:h when he first hears that he has lost his wife, in line 67, and is proximate again in his subsequent distress, described in lines 69–74. Ne:nye:škwi:h is obviative once relative to his grandfather, in line 95, and once relative to his father in line 67. Elsewhere in 2A, Ne:nye:škwi:h is proximate and his father and grandfather are obviative. The mother, who is thoroughly absent from the scene, is obviative relative to the father in lines 70–73.

In 2B Ne:nye:škwi:h is the sole proximate. He is very nearly the sole actor. The father's agency is limited to asking one brief question, in line 109, and giving one brief response, in line 140.

Notice that the father is indefinite in lines 109 and 140. Indefinite inflection appears 14 times in (68). In twelve of the 14 cases, it occurs in an indefinite-on-proximate verb of quotation (*e:h=ineči*, eleven times, and once an in-quote *ina:pi*); in eleven of those twelve cases, the proximate pronoun refers to the current chief proximate. The exception is line 95, where the grandfather takes an *e:h=ineči* either in deference to his role in the quote, or as one of the occasional instances of an otherwise-unmotivated postquote perspective shift (it's worth noticing that elsewhere in this exchange with his grandson the grandfather keeps his obviative status; the balance of power between them is marked as more nearly equal than in indefinite-on-proximate exchanges). The 13th of the 14

cases of indefinite inflection is a close equivalent to an *e:h=ineči*; it occurs in line 56, refers to words addressed to Ne:nye:škwi:h, and follows hard on the heels of two *e:h=inečis* addressed to Ne:nye:škwi:h. In all these 13 cases, the indefinite-on-proximate inflection focuses attention on the hearer's reaction to what's said. In line 24, for instance, the unrepentant grandfather should feel keen shame; in line 33, the boy feels horror and consternation. Lines 42, 44, 51, 54–56, 63, and 118 similarly involve a strong emotional response in the quote's addressee. Lines 109 and 140 are interesting: in Part 2B, the boy's extended quote is framed by proximate-on-obviative *e:h=ina:čis* (two at either end) as he addresses his father; in the middle of the quote, dramatic breaks are marked by five intransitive *e:h=ičis*. The father's two rejoinders are couched as indefinite-on-proximate *e:h=inečis* in lines 109 and 140. His role in 2B is thus represented as wholly passive.

The 14th occurrence of indefinite inflection is the most telling. In line 47, the obviative-on-secondary-obviative verb of line 46 is repeated as indefinite-on-obviative, with an emphatic complement (*keki-nepo:pe=meko*) and two emphatic accompanying nominals. This is Kiyana's version of major defocusing of the mother, as she passes out of the story. Compare Anonymous 8's repetition of the obviative noun in (66:13).

Kiyana's choice of proximates in (68), then, is influenced a lot by the characters' local importance, a little by the characters' global importance, and a little by the characters' affect. In three places in (68), at the climax of three different characters' crises of feeling, the affect scale overturns the importance scale. In lines 21–23, when the mother realizes that she is going to be killed, she moves into the proximate and the grandfather moves into the obviative. In lines 48–50, when the grandfather enjoys his meal of meat, he moves into the proximate and Ne:nye:škwi:h moves into the obviative. In line 67, when the father realizes that his wife is gone, he moves into the proximate and Ne:nye:škwi:h moves into the obviative. In each case a second-tier proximate briefly switches places with a first-tier proximate. In each case, the proximate shift to a second-tier character is effected pronominally.

Elsewhere in (68), new proximates tend to be accompanied by proximate nominals. The only exceptions, besides the three cases just mentioned, are the subset-superset shift in line 141, which is not treated as a true shift, and a single pronominal shift to the hero, Ne:nye:škwi:h, as default proximate, in line 98.

New obviatives tend to be accompanied by obviative nominals. There are seven exceptions in (68): in lines 34, 46, 70, and 141, the new obviative is an extra-quote continuation of an in-quote proximate, and is introduced pronominally. In line 15, the new obviative is an extra-quote continuation of an in-quote vocative, and is introduced pronominally. In lines 96 and 143, which do not count as role reversals of the emotional-override type, Ne:nye:škwi:h is mentioned briefly in the obviative without an accompanying nominal.

The passage in (68) boasts a single expletive inanimate: line 62's *e:nemi-ana:kwi:hiniki* 'towards evening'. Every other new inanimate in (68) is accompanied by an inanimate nominal.

In (68) Kiyana ten times uses overt nominals for current proximates and eight times uses overt nominals for current obviatives. In all 18 of these cases, the nominal in question occurs postverbally; 15 of the 18 occur sentence-finally. Four of 18 possibly constitute resets: line 54 might be intended to reset Ne:nye:škwi:h as proximate after the intervention of an *=iyo=ke:hi* aside; line 63 possibly resets Ne:nye:škwi:h as proximate after two sentences featuring his obviative father only; lines 33 and 37 possibly reset Apaya:ši:h after the intervention of an inanimate (however, compare line 127, which fails to reset Apaya:ši:h after intervention of the same inanimate). One of the 18 is definitely a case of obviative defocusing: in line 47, as discussed above, Ne:nye:škwi:h's mother is marked by a noun phrase as she disappears from view for good.

All 18 nonshifting nominals convey dramatic emphasis. Ten (in lines 17, 23, 45, 54, 63, 79, 81, 85 and 121) accompany emotionally charged quotes. One (in line 43) accompanies Ne:nye:škwi:h's refusal to eat his mother. One (in line 49) accompanies the grandfather's hearty smoking after he finishes his meal. Two (in lines 33 and 37)

accompany the disposal of *Apaya:ši:h*; one (in line 47) accompanies the permanent departure of *Ne:nye:škwi:h*'s mother; one (also in line 47) interjects the current proximate as an overt possessor, focusing attention on *Ne:nye:škwi:h*'s reaction to her departure; one (in line 9), also interjects the current proximate as an overt possessor, focusing attention on the grandfather's reaction to the mother's pregnancy. One (in line 4) marks a narrator's voice, indicative-mood mention of *Ne:nye:škwi:h*'s name.

A curious feature of Kiyana's style in (68) is perhaps worth mentioning here. With the exception of the proximate demonstratives, and two proximate occurrences of *naha:kanihkwe:wa* 'co-resident daughter-in-law', and that single mention of the name *Ne:nye:škwi:h*, all extra-quote proximate nouns in (68) are neutral terms: *kwi:yese:h(e:h)a* '(little) boy' for *Ne:nye:škwi:h*, *ihkwe:wa* 'woman' for his mother, *neniwa* 'man' for his father, *pašito:ha* 'old man' for his grandfather. All in-quote proximate nominals in (68), and all obviative nominals, with the exception of the obviative demonstratives and two obviative occurrences of *na:mata:si:h(e:h)ani* 'fetus', are possessed kinship terms.

Verbs of quotation in (68) take intransitive proximate inflection accompanied by a proximate noun to emphasize the effect of the quote on the quote's utterer. They take transitive indefinite-on-proximate inflection to emphasize the effect of the quote on the quote's addressee. They take transitive proximate-on-obviative or obviative-on-proximate inflection *accompanied by an obviative noun* to heighten the impact of the quote itself. Since all (or all but two) of the obviative nouns in (68) are kinship terms invoking the current proximate as possessor, they're ideally suited to emphasize the whole context of the quote.

There's only one instance in this episode where a verb of quotation is accompanied by two noun phrases. In line 45, *Ne:nye:škwi:h*'s second refusal to eat his mother is reinforced by overt nominals for both speaker and addressee. The rapid shifts of focus in this passage, punctuated by dramatic emphasis in lines 43, 45, 47 and 49, dramatize the cannibal feast.

Only new proximates, new obviatives, and inanimates of the types discussed below occur in preverbal position in (68). Extra-quote in (68), sentence-initial position (initial in the strict sense, or else preceded only by particles) is reserved for highly topical characters resumed after a substantial gap. So, the grandfather in line 65 is reintroduced as a new proximate after an interlude that names only Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father as participants; the grandfather in line 143 is reintroduced as a new proximate after an interlude that names only Ne:nye:škwi:h and his father as onstage participants; Ne:nye:škwi:h in line 75 is reintroduced as a new proximate after an interlude that names only his father and his mother (in absentia) as participants. All three of these proximate shifts occur in passages (Part 2A, and the episode's conclusion) containing three competing proximates. All three are introduced by preverbal nominals preceded only by time particles.

In line 28, the story's first explicit mention of Apaya:ši:h (a character inferrable from line 9) is a sentence-initial obviative. In line 59, the father is reintroduced as a sentence-initial obviative after a long interlude (nearly all of 2A) during which he was absent from the scene. In the garbled and repaired sentence in lines 6 and 7, the mother is reintroduced as a sentence-initial obviative after a seven-line, four-proximate gap since her last explicit mention. In line 50, Ne:nye:škwi:h is restored to dominant proximate status after an important two-line gap by means of a prequote obviative and a postquote proximate, in an obviative to proximate shift of the enjambment type.

The three sentence-initial proximates and four sentence-initial obviatives described above have in common a status as *new and continuing topic* of the narrative segments they occur in. Contrast, for example, the sentence-final position of the father in line 5: the father here resumes proximate status after a gap, yet he disappears from view again after this single line. Compare also the sentence-final position of Ne:nye:škwi:h in line 7: Ne:nye:škwi:h and his mother are the conjoined object of this sentence, but the mother continues as co-topic of 1A, whereas Ne:nye:škwi:h doesn't appear again until 1B. As a result, they occur discontinuously.

Inanimates behave somewhat differently than animates for Kiyana. New definite inanimates occur sentence-initially, as do inanimates treated more or less like particles. There are three extra-quote sentence-initial occurrences of inanimates in (68): the bones of line 58, and two particle-like expressions involving the idiom *ča:ki=meko* — in lines 18 and 70.

The sole nonliving animate of (68), *omehte:he:hani* ‘his little bow’ (line 101), behaves like an inanimate. The definite part of the conjoined noun phrase appears sentence-initially, and the indefinite part appears sentence-finally.

All other extra-quote nominals in (68) occur in non-initial position. All but seven of these occur sentence-finally. In the few instances in (68) where an overt nominal is (a) not new enough to be sentence-initial and (b) is the argument of two consecutive verbs, Kiyana positions it in between the two verbs. So, for instance, the new proximate in line 2, which is not sufficiently new to take initial position (*Ne:nye:škwih*, in (68:2), is the product of a superset-subset shift) occurs medially between the two verbs to which it acts as subject. The new proximate in line 58 (the grandfather, mentioned as an indefinite only two lines ago) takes a medial position between the participle and verb to which it acts as subject.⁴³

In-quote nominals behave much like extra-quote nominals, for Kiyana. Compare lines 31–32 with lines 125–126:

(68:31) nekotah =maw- aš+i mehteko:h+eki.
 somewhere go.and you.put.**him**/IMP tree.DIM/LOC
 Go put **him** in some little tree!

(68:32) k+i:h=natone:h+a mehteko:+ni i:h=wa:šinihkah+ki.
 you.will.seek **them**/FUT.IND trees **they**.will.be.hollow/FUT.CONJ
 You must look for **trees** that would be hollow.

⁴³ The resultant order—O S V, with O = inan or obv and S = prox—is one of the rarest orders of all: only 12 instances in all in several thousand pages of manuscript.

(68:125) nekotah =mawi- pakiš+i.
 somewhere go.and you.throw.**him**.away/IMP
 Go throw **him** away somewhere!

(68:126) mehteko:+ni k+i:h=natone:h+a e:h=wa:šinihkato:hi+ki.
trees you.will.seek.**them**/FUT.IND **they**.are.hollow.DIM/CONJ
 You must look for trees that are a little hollow.

In the grandfather's original speech to Ne:nye:škwih, in line 31, he says "Put (Apaya:ši:h) in some kind of little tree," with the locative phrase *nekotahi mehteko:heki* appearing as a discontinuous constituent, with the generic part of the information given sentence-initially and the details given sentence-finally. In line 32, the noun *mehteko:ni* 'trees' refers to an evoked inanimate, and it occurs sentence-medially as object of the main verb and subject of the subordinate verb. Compare the recapitulation of the grandfather's speech, in line 125, where Ne:nye:škwih has him say, "Go throw (Apaya:ši:h) away somewhere." The particle *nekotahi* here is unaccompanied, and in line 126 the noun *mehteko:ni* "trees" refers to a new entity in the discourse. As a new definite inanimate, it occurs sentence-initially.

Compare line 51 with line 135:

(68:51) "nahi, n+oši:hi, ka:ta =wi:na a:čimoh+iye:kani k+o:s+a
 now! O.my.grandchild don't =but you.inform.**him**/PROH **your father**
 ow+i:we:h+ani e:h=am+omaki," e:h=in+eči kwi:yese:h+a.
his.wife.DIM I.ate.*her*/CONJ X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **boy**

"Now, grandson, don't tell **your father** that I ate *his little wife*," **the boy** was told.

(68:135) 'n+oši:h+e, ka:ta =wi:na k+o:s+a a:čimoh+iye:kani,'
 O.my.grandchild don't =but **your father** you.tell.**him**/PROH
 net+ekwa.
he.told.me.{that}/IND

'Grandson, don't tell **your father**,' **he** told me.

In the grandfather's original speech to Ne:nye:škwi:h, in line 51, he says, "Don't tell your father that I ate his little wife." The noun *ko:sa* is linked to both clauses of this sentence, as the object of the first and the possessor of the object of the second. It occurs sentence-medially between the two. Compare the recapitulation of this speech, in line 135, where Ne:nye:škwi:h omits the second clause. Here *ko:sa* occurs sentence-medially, still, but before the verb stem, loosely incorporated into the verbal construction.

The new and continuing proximate in line 11 (which is not new enough to merit sentence-initial status, as it refers to a character last mentioned only two lines ago) occurs sentence-medially before the only verb it has a link to. The new and continuing topical obviatives of lines 1 and 104 occur sentence-medially before the only verbs (actually, locative participles) they have a link to. The new and ending obviatives of lines 11 and 37 occur sentence-medially after the only verbs they have a link to. The father, in line 11, and Apaya:ši:h, in line 37, are both explicitly passing from view: their positioning in these sentences is an example of minor defocusing.

Quoted speech in narrative frequently lacks the elaborately structured extended context typical of extra-quote narrative. As a result, the rule that only strikingly new nouns (or, at the other extreme, colorless idioms) occur in preverbal position is more frequently broken.

Ne:nye:škwi:h's narrative quote, when he makes his report to his father, differs in several respects from the original narrative. The most obvious change is Ne:nye:škwi:h's removal into the first person, which leaves only two third person actors on the scene. The sentence that introduces the quoted narrative, in line 107, establishes their relative rank. As new and continuing topics of the ensuing quote, they occur preverbally. The grandfather is named first, in the proximate, and the mother is named second, in the obviative. The mother is proximate only twice in the narrative quote: once, in contrast to the original narrative, when she makes corn mush (this follows the rule of quotes which dictates that any third person not in immediate contact with a higher-ranked third person

appears in the proximate), and once, as in the original narrative, at her crisis, when she takes up the knife. She is obviative five times, each time immediately juxtaposed to the grandfather across a transitive verb. Apaya:ši:h is also obviative once, in line 123, when immediately juxtaposed to the grandfather across a transitive verb. The grandfather is marked as indefinite once, just before the mother gives him the knife (this is the only instance of in-quote indefinite marking in 68), and as obviative once, in the next line, when the mother gives him the knife. Everywhere else he appears in the proximate. The only other proximates in this narrative quote occur in quotes-within-the-quote: one reference to the father (the mother speaking), two references to Apaya:ši:h (the grandfather speaking), and one reference to hollow trees (the grandfather speaking: this again obeys the rule that in-quote third persons, however humble, take the proximate unless immediately juxtaposed to a higher-ranked third person).

The narrative quote is interrupted after line 108 and in lines 110, 111, 112, 118, 121, and 138, in a pattern of emphatic punctuation. Major breaks set off lines 107–108, which give a précis of the encapsulated narrative, and line 139, which adds a codicil to it. Lesser breaks set off the song,⁴⁴ the moment just before the mother reaches for the knife, and the moment just before the mother is killed.

Ne:nye:škwih's version of everything that happened while his father was away is considerably more succinct than the original account. Kiyana has Ne:nye:škwih abbreviate, summarize, or omit many elements of the original description. In the case of animate noun phrases, Ne:nye:škwih preserves eight (three obviatives and five proximates), adds five (one obviative and four proximates), and omits 19 (ten obviatives and nine proximates).

Two of the five added noun phrases occur in Ne:nye:škwih's précis of his story, in line 107, where he names his grandfather and his mother. His grandfather is the central figure of his story and is never mentioned by name again. His mother is the secondary topic of his story, and she gets three overt mentions, each time as proximate *nekya*. Two of these mentions coincide with the two in-quote proximate shifts to the mother, in lines

113 and 118; the third is an emphatic reference in line 121. Kiyana is in general very concerned with the moral aspect of the stories that he tells. In line 24, with *e:h=ineči pašito:ha* (“the old man was told”), he plays up the effect on the grandfather of the mother’s cry of reproach; in line 121, with *iwa nekya* (“my mother said”), he plays up Ne:nye:škwi:h’s sense of the injustice and pathos of his mother’s situation. The noun in line 121 is the only emphatic nominal that occurs in quoted speech in (68). It carries defocusing emphasis, too: it is followed by an punctuating *e:h=iči*, and when the quoted story resumes, the mother is killed.

Of the 19 original noun phrases omitted in Ne:nye:škwi:h’s narration, five (all obviative) occurred in omitted segments of the story; six (one obviative and five proximate) referred to Ne:nye:škwi:h, who of course now refers to himself in the first person; one (proximate) accompanied a now-unnecessary proximate shift to the grandfather (compare lines 58 and 139); one (obviative) accompanied a now-anticipated proximate switch that shunts the grandfather into the obviative (compare lines 21 and 119); six (three obviative and three proximate) are emphatic nominals.

Line 139 might merit a proximate reset and line 119 might merit a nominal thrown in for the obviative half of the switch. But there are only three animates, and only two active animates, in play in Ne:nye:škwi:h’s narrative quote, and Kiyana here reverts to a simpler system for handling third person reference: consistently pronominal reference for the hero (or villain, here), with nominals reserved for the few other characters’ changes in status. Emphatic nominals disappear almost entirely. Emphatic breaks in the quote are used sparingly. The quotes-within-quotes are not broken up at all: compare lines 16–17 (with emphatic nominal plus emphatic break in the quote) with lines 114–115, and lines 54–55 (also with emphatic nominal plus emphatic break in the quote) with lines 136–137.

Of the eight original animate noun phrases Ne:nye:škwi:h’s account preserves more or less intact, four change position in their sentences. Line 135 has already been discussed: omission of the subordinate clause included in line 58 causes *ko:sa* to occur earlier in the

⁴⁴ The song is set off by three *e:h=i+čis*, in all. Compare the original description in lines (68:12–14),

sentence. Line 122 omits the first of the two transitive verbs in lines 25–27, and adds a new modifying clause to the second. The noun naming the mother switches place relative to *e:h=ki:šikwe:(h/š)wa:či*, but in each case appears between the two verbs that refer to her. Line 123 compresses lines 28–29 into a single clause. *Apaya:ši:h* is now an evoked character for us, and perhaps for the father as well, and he occurs postverbally. Line 121 involves a change in the content as well as the position of the nominal mentioned in line 24. In line 121, the demonstrative *i:niya* ‘that absent proximate’ replaces *ma:hiya* ‘that recently present proximate’ and the noun *kekwise* drops out; the whole subordinate clause switches places with the main clause, and its subject switches places with its verb.

(68:24) “ni:na:na=wi:na
 [a:kwi ke:ko:h+i=’ši-mya:ši-to:taw+akečini]
 [i:ya:h=e:h=ki:wita:+či **ma:hiya ke+kwis+a**],”
 e:h=in+eči **pašito:h+a**.
 “For our part,
 [we didn’t in any way ill-treat **him**],
 [when stayed over with us **that just-departed son of yours**],”
the old man was told.

(68:121) ni:na:na=wi:na:
 [=’**niya** i:ya:h=e:h=ki:wita:+či]
 [a:kwi ke:ko:h+i iši-mya:ši-to:taw+akečini],’
 i+wa **ne+ky+a**,” e:h=i+či.
 For our part,
 [when **that long-gone person** stayed over with us],
 [we didn’t in any way ill-treat **him**],’
my mother said,” **he** said.

The structure of line 24 lends extra weight to the mother’s accusation. The main clause precedes the subordinate clause and the noun phrase comes after the two verbs it modifies—the only place in (68) where this happens. The three telling points of the accusation (‘we, in contrast to you’, ‘didn’t in any way ill-treat him’, and ‘your son’)

where the song is set apart from the rest of the text by bracketing equational sentences.

come at the beginning and end of the sentence, with the necessary but uninteresting qualifier huddled into a backgrounded space. Ne:nye:škwi:h's recapitulation in line 121 has a lighter impact: the noun phrase is shortened to the demonstrative alone, and the qualifier precedes the main clause. Interestingly, the demonstrative also changes from *ma:hiya* to a more remote *i:niya*. The demonstrative is cliticized to the particles that open the sentence. Compare *i:na*, in the quote in line 66: for Kiyana, as for most other authors, unaccompanied demonstratives rarely follow their verbs.

Kiyana uses the *mana* series and *ma:hiya* series demonstratives—with the exception of inanimate *mani* in certain idioms—in quoted speech, almost exclusively. In some 2,000 pages of Kiyana's writing, there are only 14 instances of extra-quote *mana*, *ma:haki*, and *ma:hani*. Kiyana uses the *i:na* series and *i:niya* series demonstratives both in-quote and extra-quote.

The passage in (68) contains 24 occurrences of demonstratives, 17 in-quote and seven extra-quote. Of the seven extra-quote occurrences, two, inanimate *mani* and *i:ni*, occur in the narrator's brackets framing the grandfather's song. One, animate *i:na*, occurs in a narrator's comment in (68:4). The remaining four are animate distal demonstratives. Each of these four demonstratives introduces a new proximate or a new obviate and effects a scene shift simultaneously. In (68:28), *i:nini* marks Apaya:ši:h's arrival on the scene, and at the same time helps to effect the transition to Part 1B. In (68:5), *i:na* marks a proximate shift to the father, and also re-sites us on a hunting trip. In (68:58), *i:na* marks the proximate shift to the grandfather and the scene shift to the grandfather's disposal of the incriminating remains. In (68:75), *i:na* marks the proximate shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h and the scene shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h's dilemma.

In general, Kiyana uses the distal series demonstratives to set up and shuttle back and forth between contrasted proximates (or contrasted obviatives) and contrasted scenes. This practice of Kiyana's is described at much greater length in Goddard 1990a. But refer again to Table 11, which clearly illustrates Kiyana's preference for establishing pairs of contrasting proximates.

In summary: in the extra-quote portions of (68), Kiyana's choice of proximates is influenced a lot by the characters' local importance, a little by the characters' global importance, and a little by the characters' affect. Kiyana's introduction and conclusion provide a fairly neutral transition into and out of the episode by making every visible character proximate and every invisible character obviative. In most of the rest of the episode, proximate status shuttles back and forth between a first-tier proximate and an second-tier proximate. Three times, at highly emotional junctures in the text, the affect scale actually reverses this established importance scale.

Kiyana uses overt nominals for all new proximates, new obviatives, and new inanimates, except in the case of the three reversals just mentioned, and except for a handful of other cases in which, we could argue, the character in question is not truly new.

Kiyana also uses overt nominals for dramatic emotional punctuation.

Kiyana reserves preverbal position for new definite inanimates, and for new proximates and new obviatives that are going to occupy center stage in the narrative for at least another sentence or two. Nominals used for dramatic emphasis, and nominals used for new proximates and obviatives that are going to leave the stage again almost as soon as they arrive, occur postverbally.

Kiyana in (68) uses indefinite inflection 13 times to emphasize the emotional impact of a quote on the quote's hearer. Kiyana uses indefinite inflection once in (68) to defocus the mother as she departs from the story for good. This last case is accompanied by two emphatic nominals, the only place in the episode where this happens.

With the exception of certain idioms involving inanimate *mani*, Kiyana almost never uses the *mana* (propinqual) series of demonstratives extra-quote. Kiyana uses the *i:na* (distal) series of demonstratives in (68) to mark scene shifts involving new proximates or new obviatives.

The in-quote portions of (68) include an extended narrative quote. The quote has only three animate participants. As in the extra-quote portions of (68), proximity goes by importance, with an occasional affect-related upset.

As in the extra-quote portions of (68), overt nominals in quoted speech mark new proximates, new obviatives, and new inanimates. There is also one instance, in the narrative quote, of a nominal used for dramatic punctuation.

As in the extra-quote portions of (68), preverbal position in quoted speech is reserved for new definite inanimates, and for new proximates and new obviatives that are going to occupy center stage in the narrative for at least another sentence or two. All other nominals occur postverbally.

Kiyana uses indefinite inflection once in the narrative quote, at the juncture when the affect scale temporarily overturns the importance scale.

Kiyana uses both the *mana* (propinqual) and *i:na* (distal) series of demonstratives in-quote.

4.5. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's Apaya:ši:hs' Birth

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two versions of the Apaya:ši:hs' story both begin with a completely self-contained story about a chief's daughter and the ogre Rolling Skull. The heroine's troubles with Rolling Skull begin when her nine friends, who are traveling with her through the prairie, fool around with an old skull that they find. She remonstrates with them to no avail. The skull follows them into the forest that night, forcibly marries each of them in turn, and bites off their heads. Only the chief's daughter is spared. She lives in the forest with Rolling Skull, hunting with him and cooking for him, until one day two chickadees warn her that Rolling Skull intends to eat her. They advise her on how to escape. She builds a sweat lodge for Rolling Skull, shuts him inside, and leaves behind a medicine that pours itself onto the stones and a comb that talks to cover her flight. As she flees, she sloshes raccoon oil onto the ground. Rolling Skull, when he finally sets off after her, is compelled by anger and greed to stop and lap up every drop of spilt oil. He nearly catches her anyway, but at the last minute she runs across a man cutting wood in the forest, and begs for his help. The man smashes the skull with his axe. She marries him, and goes home with him, and the Apaya:ši:hs' story begins.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha wrote one version of this story in the fall of 1912 and another in October, 1913. The sections describing the events surrounding the Apaya:ši:hs' births are given below in (69) and (70). The two versions have the same skeletal structure, but differ drastically in detail. Even the few parts that correspond fairly closely in intent and in content carry different nuances. Compare for instance the sentences in (69:3–4) and in (70:15), which establish the father's diligence as a hunter: both descriptions contain the noun phrase *i:na neniwa*, the verb stem *ši:ša:*, and the particle *na:nahkaniki:šekwe*, but they diverge in nearly every other respect. Even the order in which they occur, relative to other scene-setting information, varies: the father's hunts are the third thing mentioned in the introduction to (69) but the last thing mentioned in the introduction to (70).

Despite giving a very different texture to her two variants of this story, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha shows remarkable consistency in her post-introductory choice of proximates, and in her handling of proximate, obviative and inanimate shifts throughout.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha Variant 1:

(69:1) i:ni =’pi =meko e:h=owi:wi+či, e:h=awan+a:či.
 then =HRSY =EMPH **he**.had.<*her*>.as.a.wife/CONJ **he**.took.*her*.home/CONJ
He married *her* right then and there and took *her* home with him.

(69:2) ow+i:ke+wa:+ki e:h=pya:+wa:či.
 their.house/LOC **they**.arrived/CONJ
They arrived at his family's house.

(69:3) i:ni =’pi: =’na neniw+a pe:hki e:h=ša:ši:ša:+či.
 then =HRSY **that man** really RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ
 Then **that man** really went hunting all the time.

(69:4) na:nahkaniki:šekwe e:h=ine:te+ki.
 RED.all.day.long **he**.was.gone.{that.way}/CONJ
He was gone all day long, every day.

(69:5) ke:ko:h+i e:h=no:hkihto:+či.
anything **he**.killed.it.easily/CONJ
He killed things easily.

(69:6) aškači =’pi: =’ni e:h=okwisi+wa:či,
 after.a.while =HRSY then **they**.had.a.son/CONJ
 Then after some time had passed **they** had a son,

(69:7) kwi:yese:h+ani e:h=oni:ča:nesi+wa:či.
 boy **they**.had.<him>.as.a.child/CONJ
 having a boy.

(69:8) aškači e:h=makekino:hi+niči =’pi.
 after.a.while *he*.was.big.DIM/CONJ =HRSY
 After some time had passed *he* grew fairly big.

(69:9) ke:hkya:h+ahi =ke:hi =’pi e:h=wi:čih+a:wa:či i:na neno:te:w+a.
 old.people =and =HRSY **they**.lived.with.them/CONJ **that Indian**
 And **that man** and the others lived with *some old people*.

(69:10) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni =na:hka e:h=ačihkwi+či
 at.some.point =HRSY then again **she**.was.pregnant/CONJ

i:na ihkwe:w+a.
that woman

At some point **that woman** got pregnant again.

(69:11) i:ni =’pi i:niki ke:hkya:he:h+aki, “na:pi=wi:na
 then =HRSY **that old.people.DIM** why.don’t.we

ke+semi+na:n+a wača:ho+yakwe,”
our.(incl).daughter-in-law if.we.cook.<her>/SUBJ

e:h=iti:+wa:či.
they.said.{that}.to.each.other/CONJ

Then one of **those little old people** said to the other, “How about if we cook **our daughter-in-law**.”

(69:12) “ši: =’ni k+i:h=išawi+pena,”
 say! that we.will.do.{that}/FUT.IND

e:h=iti:+wa:či =’pi.
they.said. {that} .to. each. other/CONJ =HRSY

“Hey, let’s do **that!**” **the other** agreed.

(69:13) i:ni =’pi e:h=a:čimoh+a:wa:či o+semi+wa:w+ani.
then =HRSY **they**.informed.*her*/CONJ *their daughter-in-law*
Then **they** issued instructions to *their daughter-in-law*.

(69:14) pašito:he:h+a =’pi e:h=nesapi+wa:či.
old man.DIM =HRSY **they**.stayed.home/CONJ
The little old man (and his wife) had stayed home.

(69:15) “naha:kanihkwe, aška:pow+i net+aka:wa:t+a,” e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
O.daughter-in-law fresh soup I.crave.it/IND **he**.told.*her*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
“Daughter-in-law, I want **fresh soup**,” **he** told *her*.

(69:16) “ihkwe:wino:n+i,”⁴⁵ e:h=i+či.
?
he.said. {that}/CONJ
“**Womeat**,” **he** said.

(69:17) i:ni =’pi: =’na ihkwe:w+a e:h=nemato:+či nep+i.
then =HRSY **that woman she**.put.it.on/CONJ water
Then **that woman** put water on.

(69:18) i:ni =’pi panaki:h+ahi e:h=aših+a:či =’pi.
then =HRSY *hominy*.(pl) **she**.made.*them*/CONJ =HRSY
Then **she** made *some hominy*.

(69:19) o:ni =’pi ki:ši- aših+a:či, e:h=wača:ho+či.
and.then =HRSY finish when.**she**.made.*them*/CC **she**.cooked.<*them*>/CONJ
And then after **she** finished making *it*, **she** cooked *it*.

(69:20) ki:ši- wača:ho+či, “ma:haki am+ohko,”
finish when.**she**.cooked.<*them*>/CC **these** you.(pl).eat.**them**/IMP

e:h=in+a:či.
she.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ

⁴⁵ The inanimate noun stem *ihkwe:wino:n* is a nonsense word. It is composed of an initial derived from the noun *ihkwe:w* ‘woman’, and from a final chopped out of the inanimate noun stem *mena:škono:n*, ‘fresh meat’. ‘Womeat’ is Ives Goddard’s suggestion for a similarly-irregularly-formed English translation of this noun.

After cooking *it*, **she** told *them*, “Eat **this!**”

(69:21) “a:kwi.
not
“No.

(69:22) ihkwe:wino:n+i =kohi,” e:h=in+ekoči =na:hka.
? =certainly *they.told.her*. {that}/CONJ again
Womeat!” *they* told **her** again.

(69:23) aškiwin+i e:h=ašihito:+či.
? **she**.made.*it*/CONJ
She fixed *some (fresh marrow)*.

(69:24) “mani =ča:h mi:či+ko,” e:h=in+a:či.
this =so you.(pl).eat.*it*/IMP **she**.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ
“Eat **this!**” **she** told *them*.

(69:25) “a:kwi =koh, naha:kanihkwe,” e:h=in+eči.
not =certainly O.daughter.in.law X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ
“No, daughter-in-law!” **she** was told.

(69:26) “aška:pow+i =kohi,” e:h=in+eči =’pi.
fresh.soup =certainly X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
“**Fresh soup!**” **she** was told.

(69:27) o:ni =na:hka maškoči:s+ani, “mana,” e:h=in+a:či.
and.then again *bean.(sg)* **this** **she**.told.*them*. {that}.about.<IT>/CONJ
And then next **she** told *them*, “**Here!**”, about *SOME BEANS*.

(69:28) “a:kwi,” e:h=in+eči.
not X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ
“No,” **she** was told.

(69:29) “ihkwe:wino:n+i =kohi e:ka:wa:t+ama:ke,”
? =certainly **{what} we.(excl).crave**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=in+eči.
X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ

“**Womeat** is **what we want!**” **she** was told.

(69:30) na:hka =meko e:h=we:pi- po:taheso+či,
 and =EMPH begin **she**.caused.herself.to.grind/CONJ
She set herself to grinding, this time,

(69:31) e:h=po:tahw+a:či =’pi ata:min+ahi.
she.pounded.them/CONJ =HRSY *corn.(pl)*
 grinding up *corn*.

(69:32) “mani mi:či+ko,” e:h=in+a:či, takwaha:n+i.
this you.(pl).eat.**it**/IMP **she**.told.them. {that}.about.(*it*)/CONJ corn.mush
 “Eat **this!**” **she** told *them*, referring to some corn mush.

(69:33) “a:kwi.
 not
 “No.

(69:34) ihkwe:wino:n+i =kohi,” e:h=i+niči.
 ? =certainly *she*.said. {that}/CONJ
Womeat!” *they* said.

(69:35) na:hka =meko kotak+i e:šiki+ničihi mesi:kw+ahi
 again =EMPH other *ones.like.{that}* *dried.corn.(pl)*

e:h=ketasw+a:či,
she.made.cracked-corn.mush.from.them/CONJ

And then **she** cracked another kind of dried corn,

(69:36) ketasa:n+i e:h=ašihto:+či.
cracked-corn.mush **she**.made.*it*/CONJ
 making cracked-corn mush.

(69:37) ketasa:n+i ki:šihto:+či,
cracked-corn.mush when **she**.had.made.*it*/CC
 After making the cracked-corn mush,

(69:38) “mani mi:či+ko,” e:h=in+a:či.
this you.(pl).eat.**it**/IMP **she**.told.them. {that}/CONJ
 “Eat **this!**” **she** told *them*.

(69:39) “a:kwi,” e:h=i+niči.
 not *they*.said. {that}/CONJ
 “No,” *they* said.

(69:40) “aška:pow+i =kohi,” e:h=i+niči.
fresh.soup =certainly *they.said.* {that}/CONJ
 “Fresh soup!” *they* said.

(69:41) o:ni =’pi =na:hka wa:pikon+ani e:h=wača:ho+či =’pi.
 and.then =HRSY again pumpkins **she**.cooked.<*them*>/CONJ =HRSY
 And then next **she** cooked pumpkins.

(69:42) na:hka =meko, “a:kwi,” e:h=i+niči.
 again =EMPH not *they.said.* {that}/CONJ
 Once again *they* said “No.”

(69:43) e:h=pa:wi- nahkonama:+koči =’pi.
 not *they.accepted.*<*it*>.from.**her**/CONJ =HRSY
They wouldn’t accept *it* from **her**.

(69:44) i:ni =ča:hi =’pi pešekesiw+ani e:škiki+ničini
 then =so =HRSY *deer* *fresh.creature*/CONJ.PPL

e:h=wača:h+a:či.
she.cooked.<*IT*>.for.*them*/CONJ

So then **she** cooked *FRESH DEER MEAT* for *them*.

(69:45) “a:kwi,” e:h=i+niči.
 not *they.said.* {that}/CONJ
 “No,” *they* said.

(69:46) “aška:pow+i =kohi,” e:h=i+niči =meko.
fresh.soup =certainly *she.said.* {that}/CONJ =EMPH
 “Fresh soup!” *they* said.

(69:47) “i:ni =ča:h e:h=ča:kisa:+ki taswi mi:či+ki,”
 then =so **it**.is.all.gone/CONJ that.number **what.X.eats**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
she.told.*them.* {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“**Everything people eat** has been run through now,” **she** told *them*.

(69:48) o:ni =’pi =wi:na: =’niki, “aška:pow+i =kohi,”
 and.then =HRSY =but **those** fresh.soup =certainly

e:h=iyo+wa:či.
they.said. {that}/CONJ

But still **those (two)** said, “**Fresh soup!**”

(69:49) “ši:, we:nahi wi:h=amw+iye:kwe,”
hey! that’s.it you.(pl).will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
she.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“Hey, that must be it, you want to eat me!” **she** said to *them*.

(69:50) “ehe:he,” e:h=i+niči.
yes *they*.said. {that}/CONJ
“Yes,” *they* said.

(69:51) “či:, ’šina:, neš+iko,” e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
say! why! you.(pl).kill.me/IMP **she**.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
“Say, why, then kill me!” **she** told *them*.

(69:52) i:ni =’pi i:na kwi:yese:he:h+a
then =HRSY **that boy**.DIM

we:ki+ta: =’nini ...
one.who.had.<*her*>.as.a.mother/CONJ.PPL *that*

That poor little boy, that (woman)’s son ...

(69:53) (e:h=makekino:hi+či =’yo=ke:h =meko =’pihi.)
he.was.big.DIM/CONJ =by.the.way =EMPH =HRSY
(**He** was fairly big then, by the way.)

(69:54) e:h=anohka:n+eči =’pi wa:natohka i:h=awato:+či nep+i
X.sent.**him**/CONJ =HRSY casually **he**.will.take.*it*.home/FUT.CONJ water

i:h=wača:ho+weči ow+i:yaw+i i:na kwi:yese:h+a.
X.will.cook.<*it*>/FUT.CONJ her.self **that boy**

They making nothing of it, **that boy** was sent to get water, so that she could be cooked.

(69:55) i:ni =’pi ki:š- awato:+či nep+i,
 then =HRSY finish when.**he**.took.*it*.home/CC water
 Then when **he** had fetched *the water*,

(69:56) i:ni =’pi: =’na ihkwe:w+a e:h=pa:pakam+eči,
 then =HRSY **that woman** X.clubbed.**her**.dead/CONJ
that woman was clubbed dead,

(69:57) e:h=wi:nanih+eči =’pihi.
 X.butchered.**her**/CONJ =HRSY
 and **she** was butchered.

(69:58) i:ni =’pi e:h=we:pi- po:ta:hkwe:+ki,
 then =HRSY begin X.put.<**her**>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ
 Then **she** was put in to boil piece by piece,

(69:59) še:šketo:h+eki e:h=tanes+oči.
 kettle/LOC X.cooked.**her**.{there}/CONJ
 and **she** was cooked in the pot.

(69:60) i:ni =’pi: =’na kwi:yesē:h+a na:mata:si:he:h+ani kwi:yesē:he:h+ani
 then =HRSY **that boy** *fetus.DIM* *boy.DIM*

nenosway+i e:h=wi:weče:namaw+oči =’pi.
buffalo.robe X.wrapped.<*him*>.up.in.<*it*>.for.**him**/CONJ =HRSY

Then *the little fetus, a baby boy*, was swaddled in a buffalo robe for **that boy** to take.

(69:61) “mawi- pakiš+i ke+si:me:h+a,”
 go.and you.throw.**him**.away/IMP **your younger sibling**

e:h=in+eči kwi:yesē:h+a.
 X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ **boy**

“Go throw away **your poor little brother!**” **the boy** was told.

(69:62) ki:ši- wača:ho+niči o:hkomes+ani,
 finish when.*she*.cooked/CC *his grandmother*
 After *his grandmother* was through with cooking,

(69:63) “sa:kiči ki:wita:+no,” e:h=in+eči.
 outside you.stay.around/IMP X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ
he was told, “Stay outside!”

(69:64) “mena:m+iye:kani,” e:h=in+eči =’pi.
 you.might.smell.**her**/PROH X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
 “Lest you smell **her**,” **he** was told.

(69:65) “ka:ta =ke:h =e:yi:ki k+o:s+a a:čimoh+iye:kani,”
 don’t =and also **your father** you.inform.**him**/PROH

e:h=in+eči =’pi.
 X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“And also, don’t tell **your father!**” **he** was told.

(69:66) “hawo,” e:h=i+či =’pi.
 all.right **he**.said. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
 “All right,” **he** said.

(69:67) i:ni =’pi: =’na neniw+a pe:hkote:hi+niki =meko
 then =HRSY **that man** when.*it*.was.night.DIM/CC =EMPH

e:h=pya:+či.
he.arrived/CONJ

Then **that man** got home *early that night*.

(69:68) kwi:yese:h+a we:yo:si+ta
boy one.who.had.<him>.as.a.father/CONJ.PPL

e:h=wi:hpe:m+a:či o:s+ani.
he.slept.with.*him*/CONJ *his.father*

The boy, his son, slept next to *his father*.

(69:69) “nes+e:waki ne+kye:+ni ma:haki,” e:h=in+a:či.
they.killed.*her*/IND *my.mother* **these he**.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ
 “**These (people)** killed *my mother!*” **he** told *him*.

(69:70) “ne+si:me:h+a =ke:h i:ya:ma:h
my.younger.sibling =and over.yonder

net+a:pi- pakin+a:wa.
went.and.returned I.threw.him.away/IND

“And I’ve thrown away **my poor little brother** over yonder.

(69:71)kwi:yese:he:hi+kwe:ni,”
he.must.have.been.a.baby.boy /INT

e:h=i+či =’pi: =’na kwi:yese:h+a.
he.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY **that** **boy**

He must have been a baby boy,” **that boy** said.

(69:72) wa:pa+niki =’pi, “nana:hi:hta:+no,”
when.it.was.morning/CC =HRSY you.get.dressed/IMP

e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ his.son

In *the morning*, **he** told *his son*, “Get dressed!”

(69:73)“k+i:h=wi:te:m+i e:h=ši:ša:+ya:ni,”
you.will.accompany.me/FUT.IND I.hunt/CONJ

e:h=in+a:či i:na neniw+a.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ **that** **man**

“You’re coming with me on my hunt,” **that man** told *him*.

(69:74) e:h=nana:hi:hta:+či kwi:yese:h+a,
he.got.dressed/CONJ **boy**
The boy got dressed,

(69:75)e:h=wi:te:m+a:či o:s+ani.
he.accompanied.him/CONJ his.father
and set off with *his father*.

(69:76) i:ya:hi =’pi: =’ni e:h=po:ni:+wa:či.
over.there =HRSY then **they**.camped/CONJ
Then **they** camped over there.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.5 17P-21L]

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha Variant 2:

(70:1) natawa:či =meko =’pi: =’nini e:h=ona:pe:mi+či =’pi
 nothing.for.it =EMPH =HRSY *that* **she**.had.<*him*>.as.a.husband/CONJ =HRSY

i:nini neniw+ani ši:ša:hi+ničini.
that man one.who.hunted.DIM/CONJ.PPL

She couldn’t help but marry *that man who was something of a hunter*.

(70:2) o:ni =’pi: =’ya:h =pye:ya:+wa:či,
 and.then =HRSY over.there when.**they**.arrived/CC

ke:hkya:h+ahi e:h=ni:ši+niči.
old.people they.were.two/CONJ

And then when **they** arrived over there, there were *(two) old people*.

(70:3) i:niki =’pi ke:hkya:h+aki i:nini e:h=ne:w+a:wa:či ihkwe:w+ani,
those =HRSY **old.people** *that* **they**.saw.*her*/CONJ *woman*

e:h=či:peneti:+wa:či.
they.nudged.each.other/CONJ

Those old people nudged each other when **they** saw *that woman*.

(70:4) owi:weti:he:h+aki =’pi i:niki mehtose:neniw+aki,
married.couple.DIM =HRSY **those people**
Those people were a little married couple,

(70:5) nekoti =’pi pašito:he:h+a, nekoti =’pi metemo:he:h+a.
 one =HRSY **old.man.DIM** one =HRSY **old.woman.DIM**
a little old man and a little old woman.

(70:6) o:ni =’pi i:na ihkwe:w+a e:h=wača:ho+či =’pi
 and.then =HRSY **that woman** **she**.cooked.<*it*>/CONJ =HRSY

e:sepa:h+ani.
raccoon

And then **that woman** cooked *the raccoon*.

(70:7) wi:nwa:wa =meko nešihka e:h=amw+a:wa:či.
 they =EMPH alone **they**.ate./CONJ
 And **they** ate *it*, just the two of them.

(70:8) i:niki =’pi ke:hkya:h+aki a:kwi wi:seni+wa:čini =’pi.
those =HRSY **old people** not **they**.ate/NEG =HRSY
Those old people didn’t eat.

(70:9) o:ni =’pihi aškači =meko =’pi: =’ni e:h=wi:seni+wa:či.
 and.then =HRSY after.a.while =EMPH =HRSY then **they**.ate/CONJ
 And then after a considerable time had passed **they** ate a meal.

(70:10) i:niki ke:hkya:h+aki a:yaškači =’pi wi:seni+waki.
those old people every.once.in.a.while =HRSY **they**.ate/IND
Those old people ate every once in a while.

(70:11) a:kwi =’pi še:še:hkami wi:seni+wa:čini =’pihi.
 not =HRSY unrestrained **they**.ate/NEG =HRSY
They didn’t have meals just any old time.

(70:12) i:ni =’pi: =’niki kwi:yese:h+ani e:h=as+a:wa:či
 then =HRSY **those boy** **they**.had./CONJ

e:škiki+čiki.
young ones/CONJ.PPL

Then **those young people** had *a son*.

(70:13) i:niki =ke:h ke:hkya:+čiki e:h=o:šisemi+zwa:či.
those =and **old ones**/CONJ.PPL **they**.had.a.grandchild/CONJ
 And **those old people** had a grandchild.

(70:14) i:na kwi:yese:h+a pe:hki =meko =’pi e:h=kekeni- makekine+ki.
that boy really =EMPH =HRSY quickly **he**.was.big/CONJ
 And **that boy** really got big quickly.

(70:15) i:na =ke:h =neniw+a še:ški =meko na:nahkaniki:šekwe
that =and **man** just =EMPH RED.all.day.long

e:h=ki:wi- ši:ša:+či =’pi.
 around **he**.hunted/CONJ =HRSY

Meanwhile, **that man** did nothing but go around hunting all day long, day

after day.

(70:16) i:ni =’pi: =’na pašito:he:h+a, “ši:, na:pi=wi:na =manaha
then =HRSY **that** **old.man.DIM** hey! why.don’t.we **this**

amw+akwe ke+semi+na:n+a,”
if.we.(incl).eat.**her**/SUBJ **our.(incl).daughter-in-law**

e:h=in+a:či =’pi ow+i:w+ani.
he.told.*her*.{that}/CONJ =HRSY *his.wife*

Then **that little old man** said to *his wife*, “Hey, how about if we eat **this daughter-in-law of ours.**”

(70:17) i:ni =’pi: =’na metemo:he:h+a, “ši:, ke:h:tena =ma:hi,”
then =HRSY **that** **old.woman.DIM** hey! sure.enough =see

e:h=in+a:či o+na:pe:m+ani.
she.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ *her.husband*

Then **that little old woman** said to *her husband*, “Hey, sure enough.”

(70:18) “ši: =’ni k+i:h=in+a:pena pya:+te,”
hey! that we.(incl).will.tell.**her**.{that}/FUT.IND when.**she**.arrives/SUBJ

e:h=iyo+wa:či =’pihi.
they.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

“Hey, let’s tell **her that** when **she** gets home,” **they** said.

(70:19) (e:h=manese:+či =’yo=ke:hi =’pi: =’na ihkwe:w+a.
she.gathered.firewood/CONJ =by.the.way =HRSY **that** **woman**
(**That woman** was out gathering firewood, by the way.

(70:20)e:h=awato:t+aki =’pi mese:h+ani
she.carried.it.on.her.back/CONJ =HRSY pieces.of.firewood

nahkaniki:šekwe =meko.)
all.day.long =EMPH

She fetched firewood in backloads all day long.)

(70:21) pye:či- pi:tike:+niči =meko =’pi: =’ni,
 hither when.*she*.went.inside/CC =EMPH =HRSY then
 When *she* came inside,

(70:22) “ši:, naha:kanihkwe, aška:pow+i net+aka:wa:t+a:pena
 say! O.daughter-in-law fresh.soup we.(excl).crave.it/IND

i:h=meno+ya:ke,” e:h=in+a:wa:či.
 we.(excl).will.drink/FUT.CONJ **they**.told.*her*. {that}/CONJ

“Hey, daughter-in-law, we want fresh soup to drink,” **they** told *her*.

(70:23) i:na =wi:na =’pi ihkwe:w+a e:h=we:pi- nemato:+či =’pi nep+i
that =but =HRSY **woman** begin **she**.put.it.on/CONJ =HRSY water

kehči- še:šketo:h+eki.
 great- kettle/LOC

That woman set to putting water on in a big kettle.

(70:24) i:ni =’pi e:h=we:pi- po:ta:hkwe:+či
 then =HRSY begin **she**.put.<*it*>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ

pešekesiw+ani e:škiki+ničini.
deer *fresh.creature*/CONJ.PPL

Then **she** started boiling *fresh deer meat*.

(70:25) i:ni =’pi: =’na ki:ši- wača:ho+či =’hkwe:w+a,
 then =HRSY **that** finish when.**she**.cooked/CONJ **woman**
 After **that woman** was through with cooking,

(70:26) “nahi, wi:seni+ko,” e:h=in+a:či.
 all.right! you.(pl).eat/IMP **she**.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ
 “All right, eat!” **she** told *them*.

(70:27) i:ni =’pi e:h=a:nom+a:či wi:h=wi:seni+niči.
 then =HRSY **she**.failed.to.persuade.*them*/CONJ *they*.will.eat/FUT.CONJ
 But *they* refused **her** invitation to eat.

(70:28) “a:kwi.
 not
 “No.

(70:29) aška:pow+i =koh e:t+ama:ke
fresh soup =certainly **{what}.we.(excl).said.about.it**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=aka:wa:t+ama:ke,” e:h=i+niči =’pi.
we.(excl).craved.**it**/CONJ they.said.{that}/CONJ =HRSY

Fresh soup is what we said we wanted!” they said.

(70:30) “ihkwe:wino:n+i,” e:h=i+niči.
?
they.said.{that}/CONJ
“**Womeat**,” they said.

(70:31) “ši:, we:kone:h =ča:h =ye:toke: =’ni ihkwe:wino:n+i,”
hey! what =so =EVID that ?

e:h=išite:he:+či.
she.thought.{that}/CONJ

“Hey, so **what’s womeat?**” **she** wondered.

(70:32) i:ni =’pi =na:hka =takwaha:n+i e:h=we:pi- ašihito:+či.
then =HRSY again corn.mush begin **she.made.it**/CONJ
She started making corn mush next.

(70:33) “a:kwi,” e:h=i+niči =meko.
not they.said.{that}/CONJ =EMPH
“No,” they insisted.

(70:34) “ihkwe:wino:n+i =koh e:ka:wa:t+ama:ke.”
?
=certainly **what.we.(excl).want**/CONJ.PPL
“**Womeat is what we want!**”

(70:35) “kaši, pe:hki =’škwe =ma:haki
why! really =my.goodness **these**

kwe:hta:ni- sanaka:towe:+waki,”
fearfully **they**.speak.a.difficult.language/IND

e:h=išite:he:+či =’pi: =’na ihkwe:w+a.
she.thought.{that}/CONJ =HRSY **that woman**

“Why, my goodness, **these (people)** really speak a frightfully difficult language,” **that woman** thought.

(70:36) na:hka =meko =’pi aškiwin+i e:h=ašihito:+či.
 again =EMPH =’HRSY ? **she**.made.*it*/CONJ
 Next **she** fixed *some (fresh marrow)*.

(70:37) “a:kwi,” e:h=i+niči =meko.
 not *they*.said. {that}/CONJ =EMPH
 “No,” *they* insisted.

(70:38) “ihkwe:wino:n+i =kohi,” e:h=i+niči =’pi.
 ? =certainly *they*.said. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
 “**Womeat!**” *they* said.

(70:39) kapo:twe =’pi: =’ni, “we:nahi: =’h=amw+iya:ke,”
 at.some.point =HRSY then that’s.it you.will.eat.us.(excl)/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či.
she.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ

Then at some point, “That must be it, you want to eat us!”⁴⁶ **she** said to *them*.

(70:40) “e:he:he,” e:h=i+niči.
 yes *they*.said. {that}/CONJ
 “Yes,” *they* said.

(70:41) “kaši, k+i:h=amw+ipwa,” e:h=in+a:či.
 why! you.(pl).will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ **she**.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ
 “Why, you can eat me,” **she** told *them*.

(70:42) i:ni =wi:na =’pi: =’niki pe:hki =meko
 then =but =HRSY **those** really =EMPH

e:h=či:keškwe:sa:hi+wa:či =’pi ke:hkya:h+aki,
they.lifted.their.heads.rapidly/CONJ =HRSY **old**.people

i:h=wi:seni+wa:či,
they.will.eat/FUT.CONJ

Then **those old people** really raised their heads quickly, because **they** were going to have a meal,

⁴⁶ “you want to eat us”: almost certainly a mistake for “you want to eat me”, which is what Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s other variant of this episode has, in (69:49). It’s remotely possible—a grisly possibility—that in saying “us” in (70:39) the mother is referring to herself and her unborn child.

- (70:43) i:h=amw+a:wa:či o+semi+wa:w+ani.
they.will.eat.*her*/FUT.CONJ *their daughter-in-law*
because **they** were going to eat *their daughter-in-law*.
- (70:44) e:h=ki:še:nem+a:wa:či i:h=amw+a:wa:či ='pi.
they.had.thought.about.*her*/CONJ **they**.will.eat.*her*/FUT.CONJ =HRSY
They had already resolved on eating *her*.
- (70:45) pašito:he:h+a ='pi e:h=pa:pakam+a:či o+semye:+ni.
old.man.DIM =HRSY **he**.clubbed.*her*.dead/CONJ *his daughter-in-law*
The **little old man** clubbed *his daughter-in-law* dead.
- (70:46) sese:si =meko e:h=wača:ho+wa:či.
hurriedly =EMPH **they**.cooked/CONJ
And **they** cooked hastily.
- (70:47) ki:ši- wača:ho+wa:či ='pi: ='ni o:šiseme:h+wa:w+ani,
finish when.**they**.cooked/CC =HRSY then *their grandchild.DIM*
After **they** were through with cooking, *their poor little grandchild* (was told),
- (70:48) “mani mawi- pakit+ano onakeš+i.
this go.and you.throw.it.away/IMP innards.(sg)
“Go throw away **these innards!**”
- (70:49) i:nahi k+i:h=wi:wen+a nenoswa:+ki.
there you.will.wrap.it/FUT.IND buffalo.robe/LOC
Wrap **them** in that buffalo robe.
- (70:50) k+i:h=wi:hkwe:seto,” e:h=in+eči.
you.will.place.it.in.fabric/FUT.IND X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ
You must bundle **them** up,” **he** was told.
- (70:51) i:ni ='pi: ='na kwi:yese:h+a
then =HRSY **that** **boy**
- e:h=mawi- pakit+aki ='pi: ='ni onakeš+i.
go.and **he**.threw.it.away/CONJ =HRSY that innard.(sg)
- Then **that boy** went and threw away *those innards*.
- (70:52) o:ni ='pi mehtekw+i e:h=wa:šinihkato:hi+niki ='pi:
and.then =HRSY tree place.where.it.was.hollow.DIM/CONJ.PPL =HRSY

=’ni e:h=ahto:+či.
that **he**.put.*it*/CONJ

He put *those (innards)* in *the little hollow of a tree*.

(70:53) i:ni =’pi: =’na neniw+a e:h=pya:+či e:na:kwi:hi+niki.
then =HRSY **that man** **he**.arrived/CONJ when.*it*.was.evening.DIM/CC
Then **that man** got home *early in the evening*.

(70:54) i:ni =’pi: =’na kwi:yese:h+a ki:mo:či e:h=a:čimoh+a:či
then =HRSY **that boy** secretly **he**.informed.*him*/CONJ

o:s+ani.
his father

Then **that boy** informed *his father* privately.

(70:55) “ma:haki =wi:na ne+kye:+ni nes+e:waki,” e:h=in+a:či.
these =but *my mother* **they**.killed.*her*/IND **he**.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ
“**These (people)** killed *my mother!*” **he** told *him*.

(70:56) “wača:ho+waki,” e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
they.cooked.<*her*>/IND **he**.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ =HRSY
“**They** cooked *her*,” **he** told *him*.

(70:57) i:ni =’pi: =’na neniw+a e:h=a:hkwe:+či
then =HRSY **that man** **he**.was.angry/CONJ

e:h=nes+emeči =’pi: =’nini ow+i:w+ani.
X.killed.*her*/CONJ =HRSY *that his wife*

Then **that man** was angry over the fact that *that wife of his* had been killed.

(70:58) wa:pa+niki =’pi: =’ni, “nahi, wi:te:m+ino,”
when.*it*.was.morning/CC =HRSY then all.right you.come.with.me/IMP

e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
he.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ *his son*

In *the morning*, “All right, come with me!” **he** told *his son*.

(70:59) “ne+ša:kwe:nemo i:h=ki:wi- nekoti:hi+ya:ni,”
I.am.unwilling/IND around I.will.be.alone/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či =’pi.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ =HRSY

“I don’t want to go around all by myself,” he told *him*.

(70:60) “pe:hki =ma:hi: =’noki peno:či =n+i:h=a,” e:h=in+a:či.
really =see this.time far.away I.will.go/FUT.IND he.told.him. {that}/CONJ
“See, I’m really going to go far away this time,” he told *him*.

(70:61) “i:ni =ča:h we:či- i:h=wi:te:m+iyani
that =so **{thence}** you.will.accompany.me/FUT.CONJ
-išite:he:+ya:ni =ni:na,” e:h=in+a:či.
I.want. {that}/CONJ.PPL *I* he.told.him. {that}/CONJ

“So **that’s why I want you to come with me**,” he told *him*.

(70:62) i:ni =’pi: =’na kwi:yese:h+a e:h=wi:če:we:+či =’pihi,
then =HRSY **that boy** he.went.along/CONJ =HRSY

e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či.
they.set.out/CONJ

Then **that boy** went along, and **they** set out.

(70:63) i:ya:hi =’pi a:šowa:hkiwe =’pi e:h=ašike:+wa:či.
there =HRSY over.the.hill =HRSY **they.built.a.house/CONJ**
They built a house over there on the other side of the hill.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 30I-36A]

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s two variants of this episode each divide into an introduction, a first part, a second part, and a conclusion. Her introductions for this episode are considerably more elaborated than Anonymous 8’s and Ša:poči:wa’s and Kiyana’s. The body of the story is structured like Ša:poči:wa’s, in that it is divided into two parts, the first of which is long and the second of which is short. Part 1 is subdivided into two parts, the first of which is long and the second of which is short. Part 1A, in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s versions, lacks both the sinister song and the business with the knife or axe, but is longer than either Ša:poči:wa’s and Kiyana’s nonetheless. Part 1B, in

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's versions, gets considerably shorter shrift than either Ša:poči:wa's or Kiyana's. Part 2 is unlike Ša:poči:wa's and Anonymous 8's in that it is divided into two parts: unlike Kiyana's version, 2A consists of Ne:nye:škwi:h's report and 2B consists of the father's response.

The shared plot elements of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two variants are as follows:

In the introduction, the woman marries her savior. She accompanies him to his house, where his parents are living. The man goes hunting every day. He and his wife have a son together, who begins to grow up.

In Part 1A, the grandparents plot to eat their daughter-in-law. They tell her repeatedly they want fresh soup made of "womeat" (a nonsense word in Meskwaki. See the footnote to 69:16). She tries and fails to cook food that will satisfy them. After several attempts, she realizes that they intend to eat her. She gives them free leave, and she is clubbed to death and cooked.

In Part 1B, Ne:nye:škwi:h is told to dispose of her innards, which are wrapped in a buffalo robe.

In Part 2A, the father comes home from his hunt. Ne:nye:škwi:h manages to speak to him in private, and tells him what has happened.

In Part 2B, the next day, the father announces his decision to his son.

In the conclusion, father and son leave the grandparents' house together, and resettle elsewhere.

The divergent plot elements of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two variants are as follows:

The description of the father's hunts, the description of the grandparents, and the description of Ne:nye:škwi:h are presented in a different order in (69) and (70). Also, the introduction to (69) but not (70) mentions the mother's second pregnancy. In (69), Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha later refers to Apaya:ši:h as *na:mata:si:he:hani kwi:yese:he:hani* 'the little fetus, a boychild,' whereas in (70) she refers only to *onakeši*, the mother's 'innards'. The introduction to (70) but not (69), meanwhile, paints in ominous details about the

grandparents. Line (70:3) describes how they nudge each other when they see their son's wife, and lines (70:7–11) describe their curious lack of interest in their daughter-in-law's cooking.

In Part 1A, version (69) but not version (70) remarks that grandparents stay home while the father is out hunting. Version (70) but not version (69), in a two-line narrator's aside, describes what a dutiful daughter-in-law the heroine is: she spends her days gathering firewood. Version (69) has her make seven separate attempts to satisfy her in-laws' difficult palates; in version (70), she makes only three attempts. The foods she tries in (69) go up the scale of gustatory delights, from hominy to what might be marrow (this word is an unknown) to beans to corn mush to special, cracked-corn mush to pumpkins and, finally, to fresh deer meat. The foods she tries in (70) climb down the scale, from fresh deer meat to corn mush to what might be marrow. In (70) but not in (69), the woman reflects twice on her in-laws' odd language. In (69) but not in (70), she announces in the end that there's nothing left to cook, only to hear a final imperative cry for fresh soup. In (70) but not in (69), three lines describe how swiftly the grandparents shed their sullen airs, when their daughter-in-law offers herself as their soup. And in (69) but not in (70), Ne:nye:škwi:h intrudes into 1A, first in a one-line narrator's aside commenting afresh on his size, and then again in a separate line sending him off to fetch water.

In Part 1B, version (69) has the grandparents swaddle Apaya:ši:h in a buffalo robe for Ne:nye:škwi:h to take. In version (70) the grandparents merely instruct Ne:nye:škwi:h to wrap up the guts in a buffalo robe. Version (70) but not version (69) explains that Ne:nye:škwi:h deposits his burden in the hollow of a tree. In version (69) but not in version (70), Ne:nye:škwi:h's grandmother tells him to stay outside, so that he won't smell his mother. His grandmother also forbids him to report to his father.

In Part 2A, version (70) but not version (69) has Ne:nye:škwi:h tell his father that his mother was cooked after she was killed. Version (69) but not version (70) has Ne:nye:škwi:h tell his father what happened to Apaya:ši:h.

In Part 2B and in their conclusions, (69) and (70) differ little structurally—compare (69:72) with (70:58), and (69:76) with (70:63), in particular—and differ little in their gist, but contrast in nearly every non-structural lexical choice. Also, version (70) but not version (69) gives the motivation for the father’s decision: he is angry with his parents for having killed his wife.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s choices of proximates, obviatives, and inanimates for her two versions of The Apaya:ši:hs’ Birth are given in Table 12. Characters that appear extra-quote in the proximate are listed in boldface, and sentient characters that appear extra-quote in the obviative are listed in italics. The third column lists non-sentient obviatives and non-context-dependent inanimates. Context-dependent inanimates are not included in the table.

For purposes of space, “grandparents” is abbreviated as “grandp”; “grandfather” as “grandf”; “grandmother” as “grandm”; “Ne:nye:škwi:h” as “Ne:ny”; “Apaya:ši:h” as “Apay”; “corn mush” as “mush”; “cracked-corn mush” as “special mush”; “fresh marrow” (if that’s in fact what it is) as “marrow”; “fresh deer meat” as “deer meat”; and “buffalo robe” as “robe”.

Table 12. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s choice of proximates

VERSION 1		VERSION 2		
father	<i>mother</i>	mother	<i>father</i>	—INTRO
parents	<i>Ne:ny</i>	parents	<i>grandp</i>	lines 69:1–10
mother	<i>grandp</i>	grandp	<i>mother</i>	lines 70:1–15
		Ne:ny	<i>Ne:ny</i>	
		father		

					—PART 1A	lines 69:11–59
grandp	<i>mother</i>	<u>water</u>	grandf	<i>grandm</i>	<u>firewood</u>	lines 70:16–46
grandf	<i>grandp</i>	<i>hominy</i>	grandm	<i>grandf</i>	<u>water</u>	
mother		<u>marrow</u>	grandp	<i>mother</i>	<i>deer meat</i>	
Ne:ny		<i>beans</i>	mother	<i>grandp</i>	<u>mush</u>	
		<i>corn</i>			<u>marrow</u>	
		<u>mush</u>				
		<i>dried corn</i>				
		<u>special mush</u>				
		<u>pumpkins</u>				
		<i>deer meat</i>				
<hr/>						
					—PART 1B	lines 69:60–66
Ne:ny	<i>Apay</i>	<u>robe</u>	grandp	<i>Ne:ny</i>	<u>innards</u>	lines 70:47–52
	<i>grandm</i>		Ne:ny		<u>tree-hollow</u>	
<hr/>						
					—PART 2A	lines 69:67–71
father	<i>father</i>		father	<i>father</i>		lines 70:53–56
Ne:ny			Ne:ny			
<hr/>						
					—PART 2B	lines 69:72–73
father	<i>Ne:ny</i>		father	<i>mother</i>		lines 70:57–61
				<i>Ne:ny</i>		
<hr/>						
					—CONCL	lines 69:74–76
Ne:ny	<i>father</i>		Ne:ny			lines 70:62–63
Ne:ny+father			Ne:ny+father			

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s choice of proximates in (70) is almost exclusively determined by the characters’ local importance. The most important actor of every sentence receives proximate marking, except that we hear the grandparents’ reponses to the mother’s offers of food through the mother’s ears, and we hear the grandparents’ orders to Ne:nye:škwi:h partly through Ne:nye:škwi:h’s ears.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s choice of proximates in (69) is also largely determined by the characters’ local importance. However, in (69) the episode’s prolonged crisis goes entirely by affect: the grandparents in (69) lines 52–66 instigate nearly every action, yet they are shunted into the indefinite, and their victims are foregrounded as proximate.

In (70), nearly every third person subject is proximate. There are 13 exceptions, out of 72 third person subjects.⁴⁷ Six of the 13 occur in sentences that also contain a more important actor: two obviative participles have obviative subjects (lines 1 and 24: the participles are second objects to verbs with proximate subjects); two subordinate verbs have obviative subjects (lines 21 and 27: the subordinate subjects are also objects of main verbs with proximate subjects); one subordinate verb has an indefinite subject and an obviative object (line 57: the main verb of this sentence has a proximate subject); one stative main verb has an obviative subject (line 2: the subordinate verb of the sentence is active and has a proximate subject).

The remaining seven exceptions all occur in verbs of quotation. In each case, the foregrounded patient is the chief actor of the passage, and, almost certainly, the person whose point of view we're intended to take. These seven verbs of quotation represent Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's one concession to the affect scale in this episode. Six of them have an obviative speaker addressing a proximate hearer (lines 29, 30, 33, 37, 38, and 40: these are the grandparents' responses to the mother's suggestions). The seventh has an indefinite speaker addressing a proximate hearer (line 50, where a prequote obviative becomes a postquote proximate as the action shifts to Ne:nye:škwi:h).

Note that the grandparents are proximate when they first make their demand for fresh soup, in (70:22). It is only in their subsequent rejections of everything their daughter-in-law tries to offer them that they shift into the obviative. And note that Ne:nye:škwi:h is obviative as we dive into the quote in (70:48–50), but proximate when we pop out of it. When we enter the quote, the grandparents are the only actors on the stage; however, the quote consists of a series of commands for actions Ne:nye:škwi:h must perform, and which he does perform as soon as the quote ends.

If local importance is defined as operating within the clause at minimum, and the sentence at maximum (as in the narrow-domain paradigm for proximate/obviative assignment, which should not and does not apply here), Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha in (70) makes many concessions to the affect scale. If local importance is defined as operating sentence

⁴⁷ In this count I include two indefinite subjects standing in for a third person.

by sentence (as in the narrowest reach of the broad-domain paradigm for proximate/obviative assignment), Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha in (70) makes several—seven—concessions to the affect scale. If local importance is defined as operating across several sentences together (as is common for the broad-domain paradigm), then Sa:kihtanhohkwe:ha in (70) makes NO concessions to the affect scale. In other words, even if we are hearing through the mother’s ears in lines 29, 30, 33, 37, 38, and 40, and through Ne:nye:škwi:h’s ears in line 50, it is a fairly mild effect: Sa:kihtanhohkwe:ha presents the events in this episode relatively neutrally.

The proximate/obviative assignments of (69) are much like those of (70), except for a drastic departure from pattern at the episode’s crisis, in lines 52–66. Setting aside lines 52–66, nearly every third person subject in (69) is proximate. The exceptions are as in (70): third persons are obviative when they share a sentence with a more important third person actor, and the grandparents’ rote rejections of their daughter-in-law’s offers of food are all couched in the obviative.⁴⁸ Also, in the introduction Ne:nye:škwi:h’s first mention as an obviative carries over from (69:7) to (69:8).

The crisis of (69) encompasses the last nine lines of Part 1A and Part 1B in its entirety. It describes the mother’s death, Apaya:ši:h’s disposal, and the warnings given to Ne:nye:škwi:h. The grandparents are the chief actors of this passage. Ne:nye:škwi:h acts only in response to his grandparents’ orders, and the mother and Apaya:ši:h are in no position to act at all. Nonetheless, the grandparents are marked as indefinite throughout,⁴⁹ and Ne:nye:škwi:h and his mother take center stage as proximates.

The shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h in (69:52) is very abrupt. The shift back to the mother, in line 56, is equally abrupt: it takes place in mid-sentence.

In (69) Apaya:ši:h is not given an equal role with Ne:nye:škwi:h and the mother as an object of our sympathy, as he is in Ša:poči:wa’s version of the story. But in their first mentions in this passage (extra-quote in lines 52 and 60, and in-quote in line 61), both

⁴⁸ With one important exception: we get a proximate spotlight on the grandparents in their last insistence on fresh soup, in (69:48), right before their daughter-in-law realizes what they really have in mind.

Ne:nye:škwi:h and Apaya:ši:h are marked with diminutives that point to the pathos of their condition.

All of these factors—backgrounding of the agents as indefinites, abrupt spotlight on the sufferers at the height of their suffering, the use of pitying diminutives—combine to overturn the importance scale in favor of the affect scale during the most violent and affecting events of the episode.

Both (70), with its narrative detachment throughout the story of the Apaya:ši:hs birth, and (69), with its narrative detachment briefly broken by vivid emotional engagement, are typical of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's style. Her background voice is usually very matter-of-fact, a tone which sets her audience up for sudden outcroppings of outrageous comedy or of tragedy or melodrama.⁵⁰

As a sidelight on Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's use of diminutives to heighten her audience's awareness of Ne:nye:škwi:h's and Apaya:ši:h's plight: twice in (69), and no less than seven times in (70), she uses non-literal diminutives to refer to the cannibals! It's no accident that in her dry telling in (70) the cannibals at the moments of their very worst behavior—when they jump with eagerness at the idea of eating their daughter-in-law, in (70:42), and when they club her dead, in (70:45)—are marked ironically as “dear” or “poor” little old people. Ne:nye:škwi:h gets a diminutive too, in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's chief departure from a strictly neutral telling in (70), in line 47. Whereas the sympathy vote for Ne:nye:škwi:h briefly closes the gap between the audience and events of the story, the sympathy votes for the cannibals have the opposite effect: they increase the emotional distance between narrator and audience and the events being described.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha tends to resolve proximate and obviative status at a very local level of structure—within a span of one-to-several sentences, usually. The passages in (69) and (70) are unusual in that they juggle five characters who are all roughly equal on the human scale. In cases where one character is far more human than another—where

⁴⁹ Except in line 62, where a superset-subset shift necessitates overt mention of the grandmother. She gets obviative reference, and then shifts straight back into the indefinite in mid-sentence in line 63.

⁵⁰ See Goddard, forthcoming, for a commentary on Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's sense of humor.

one is Meskwaki and the other is a Sioux, a Frenchman, a manitou, or an animal, for instance—Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha typically favors affect over importance. Her basic principle for proximate and obviative assignment in narrative can be stated as follows: (1) in general, third persons are proximate unless they share a sentence with a more important third person actor, or share a scene with a far more important third person actor, or share a sentence or a scene with a far more human third person. (2) This rule can be subverted for dramatic effect. In that case the affect scale takes precedence, and important actors can be backgrounded as obviative or indefinite.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha makes sparing use of this second alternative. She uses it for fifteen lines at the dramatic climax of (69), but for at most a single line of (70). She uses it for thirteen lines at the dramatic climax of the episode preceding (70) (where she gives proximate status to Rolling Skull in the scenes where Rolling Skull is killed), but not at all in the episode preceding (69) (where she has proximate status shift back and forth between Rolling Skull and the woodchopper, as each acts in turn).

As a result of her largely local determination of proximate and obviative status, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha has a relatively low incidence of transitive obviative subjects. She uses three obviative-on-proximate verbs for every 16 that are proximate-on-obviative, as opposed to Alfred Kiyana's or Sam Peters' three obviative-on-proximate verbs for every eight that are proximate-on-obviative.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's choices of proximate in her two versions of *The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth* can be listed as in Table 13.

Table 13. Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's proximate shifts

Version (69)	Version (70)
—————INTRO lines 1–10	—————INTRO lines 1–15
father	mother
parents	parents
father	grandparents
parents	mother
mother	parents
	grandparents
	parents
	grandparents
	Ne:nye:škwi:h
	father
—————PART 1A lines 11–59	—————PART 1A lines 16–46
grandparents	grandfather
grandfather	grandmother
mother	grandparents
grandparents	mother
mother	grandparents
Ne:nye:škwi:h	grandfather
mother	grandparents
—————PART 1B lines 60–66	—————PART 1B lines 47–52
Ne:nye:škwi:h	grandparents
	Ne:nye:škwi:h
—————PART 2A lines 67–71	—————PART 2A lines 53–56
father	father
Ne:nye:škwi:h	Ne:nye:škwi:h
—————PART 2B lines 72–73	—————PART 2B lines 57–61
father	father
—————CONCL lines 74–76	—————CONCL lines 62–63
Ne:nye:škwi:h	Ne:nye:škwi:h
Ne:nye:škwi:h+father	Ne:nye:škwi:h+father

The proximates in the introductions to (69) and (70) are set up somewhat differently. The joint activities that introduce these episodes—the couple marries and goes to the man's house together—are presented as asymmetrical verbs (*owi:wi* 'marry a wife',

ona:pe:mi ‘marry a husband’; *awan* ‘take someone home’, *w:ite:m* ‘accompany someone’). The man is proximate right before (69) begins, and he remains proximate in the opening sentence of *The Apaya:ši:hs*’ Birth. Rolling Skull is proximate three lines before (70) begins, and when he exits the stage, proximate status reverts to the heroine, who remains proximate in the opening sentence of (70). Elsewhere in these introductions, the young couple are proximate plural for background information pertaining to both, and proximate singular for background information pertaining only to the husband (his hunting) or only to the wife (her cooking, her pregnancy). *Ne:nye:škwi:h* gets a three-line mention, obviative in (69) and first obviative and then proximate in (70). The grandparents are mentioned once, in the obviative, in the introduction to (69). They figure prominently in the introduction to (70), alternating with the younger married couple as contrasting proximate, after an initial obviative mention.

In Part 1A, in both versions, the grandparents confer in the proximate. The mother is sole proximate from the moment she puts the kettle on until the moment when she finally offers her in-laws the soup they want, with the exception of one line, (69:48), in which the grandparents shift into proximate when they restate their demand.

In (69), immediately after the mother offers herself up to be eaten, *Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha* switches over to affect-based proximate marking. *Ne:nye:škwi:h* and then his mother are proximate for the remainder of Part 1A, and *Ne:nye:škwi:h* continues as a passive proximate throughout Part 1B.

In (70), immediately after the mother offers herself up to be eaten, the grandparents shift into the proximate. They straddle the boundary into Part 1B, in a prequote obviative to postquote proximate shift of the enjambment type which promotes *Ne:nye:škwi:h* to the proximate. *Ne:nye:škwi:h* continues as an active proximate throughout the brief remainder of Part 1B.

Notice that (70), which makes the cannibals rather than their victims proximate at the crisis of the episode, devotes considerable space to their emotions (though viewed from without): consider lines 3, 8, 42–44, and 46 in (70), versus nothing comparable in (69).

Part 2A, Part 2B, and the conclusion have exactly parallel proximate and obviative assignments in the two versions. Of the five Apaya:ši:h authors, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha alone makes the father proximate when he comes home from his hunt. This is a striking consequence of her tendency to make actors proximate.

Nearly every new proximate, obviative, and inanimate in (69) and (70) is accompanied by an overt nominal. The exceptions are all unsurprising: four subset-superset proximate shifts, which are not treated as true shifts; two in-quote proximate references to established topics; the postquote enjambment shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h in (70:50); the postquote reversion to the mother in (69:49) after a one-line emphatic interruption; the postquote proximate shift accompanied by an obviative nominal, only, in (69:72); ten reversions to the grandparents, as default obviatives of the extended interchange with the mother, after interruptions by obviative and inanimate foodstuffs; one pronominal obviative extra-quote continuation of an in-quote proximate in (70:21); four expletive inanimates referring to times of day.

A total of eight current proximates, two current obviatives, and three current inanimates are accompanied by overt nominals in (69) and (70). All thirteen are emphatic. Three of the proximates and one of the obviatives are sentence-final and defocusing: *i:na neno:te:wa* in (69:9) defocuses the father as he exits the stage for a long stretch; *osemye:ni* in (70:45) defocuses the mother as she exits the stage for good; *i:na kwi:yese:ha* in (69:71) defocuses Ne:nye:škwi:h's report to his father; *i:na neniwa* in (69:73) defocuses the father's speech to his son. Three of the proximates are sentence-final but non-defocusing. Two follow quotes: *kwi:yese:ha* in (69:61) emphasizes Ne:nye:škwi:h's emotion on being ordered to get rid of his brother, and *i:na ihkwe:wa* in (70:35) emphasizes the mother's consternation over her in-laws' strange demand. The third, in (69:54), resets a proximate shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h that was interrupted midway by an =*iyo=ke:hi* aside. Two of the proximates and two of the inanimates are sentence-initial or sentence-medial and emphasize scene changes: *i:na ihkwe:wa* in (70:25) accompanies the mother's first offer of food; *i:na kwi:yese:ha* in

(70:51) accompanies Ne:nye:škwi:h's expedition to discard Apaya:ši:h; *ketasa:ni* in (69:36) accompanies the mother's offer of special corn mush; *nepi* in (69:55) accompanies the mother's death. Three of these four occur with a changed conjunct verb beginning in perfective *ki:ši-*, the classic marker of the boundary between scenes. All four follow hard on the heels of another overt mention of the character. One preverbal inanimate, *i:ni* in (70:52), resets the main inanimate topic after the intervention of another inanimate. The preverbal part of a circumverbal obviative, *i:nini i:nini neniw+ani ši:ša:hi+ničini* in (70:1), resets the main obviative topic after the intervention of another obviative (the preceding sentence is the one given in example 48).

In addition to these, a preverbal proximate in (70:10) marks a shift into narrator's commentary. Note the use of indicative mood in (70:10) and of negative mood in (70:11). Narrator's comments tend to be treated as islands in the text.

Notice that all twelve of the emphatic nominals listed above are optional effects, in the sense that (69) and (70) never emphasize the exact same people/scenes/events in the exact same places. Emphatic nominals are part of the rhetorical pacing of a story, and the rhetorical pacing can vary considerably from one telling to the next.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha uses preverbal position for new proximates, brand-new obviatives, and brand-new inanimates. Unaccompanied demonstratives and noun phrases with generic reference also typically occur preverbally in her texts, as do emphatic nominals accompanying scene changes or resets. Nonshifting proximates, evoked obviatives, evoked inanimates, and emphatic nominals involved in defocusing or associated with quotes tend to occur postverbally in her texts.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha frequently—more often than most authors—sets up new nominals discontinuously, with demonstrative preceding the verb and the rest of the noun phrase following the verb. Discontinuous noun phrases behave like preverbal noun phrases: they tend to be new proximates, brand-new obviatives, and brand-new inanimates.

In (69) and (70), 34 of 39 overt new proximates occur sentence-initially (initial in the strict sense, or else preceded only by particles). Five occur postverbally. One of the five

occurs in an =*iyō=ke:hi* aside in (70:19) which focuses the verb, rather than the noun, as the important added information; another, in (69:10), is a superset-subset shift to a character whose co-proximate has just been defocused, and who is herself about to undergo a status shift; another, in (69:74), seems to follow a fairly common pattern for command-and-response, in which the response begins with a bare aorist verb that echoes the command. The sentence in (69:74) is also slightly anomalous in that *kwi:yese:ha* lacks an accompanying demonstrative. The remaining two postverbal overt new proximates occur in quotes, in (69:61) and (69:69). As remarked above, in the discussion of (68), quotes depart from the narrators' conventions of implicature more often than extra-quote narrative.

In (69) and (70), 19 of 21 brand-new obviatives and inanimates occur in preverbal position. Two obviative foodstuffs—kernels of corn in (69:31), and deer meat in (70:24)—are introduced postverbally.

In (69) and (70), 24 of 37 overt evoked obviatives and inanimates occur postverbally. Of the 13 that occur preverbally, nine are unaccompanied demonstratives or other pronouns (inanimate *mani* three times, inanimate *i:ni* three times, obviative *i:nini* once, inanimate *ke:ko:hi* 'something' once, inanimate *kotaki* 'another' once). Of the remaining four, one is a scene-shifting emphatic noun already mentioned above (*ketasa:ni*, in 69:36); one refers to Ne:nye:škwi:h, who, while not brand-new in (70:47), is nonetheless being reintroduced into the story after a considerable gap; two, *aška:powi e:tama:ke* in (70:29) and *nekye:ni* in (70:55), occur in quotes.

In addition to these, 24 overt nominals in (69) and (70) occur in NO relation to a verb: 14 are in equational sentences and 10 (all in-quote) stand as complete statements.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's rules for how new something has to be before it can occur preverbally, and how old it has to be before it can occur postverbally, are obviously strong but not unbreakable. There are two pairs of equivalent sentences in (69) and (70), one in-quote and one extra-quote, in which she varies the order of noun(s) and verb. Compare (69:44) with (70:24), and (69:69) with (70:55):

(69:44) i:ni =ča:hi =’pi pešekesiw+ani e:škiki+ničini
 then =so =HRSY *deer* *fresh.creature/CONJ.PPL*

e:h=wača:h+a:či.
she.cooked.<IT>.for.*them*/CONJ

So then **she** cooked *FRESH DEER MEAT* for *them*.

(70:24)i:ni =’pi e:h=we:pi- po:ta:hkwe:+či
 then =HRSY begin **she**.put.<it>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ

pešekesiw+ani e:škiki+ničini.
deer *fresh.creature/CONJ.PPL*

Then **she** started boiling *fresh deer meat*.

(69:69)“nes+e:waki ne+kye:+ni ma:haki,” e:h=in+a:či.
they.killed.*her*/IND *my.mother* **these** **he**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ
 “**These (people)** killed *my mother!*” **he** told *him*.

(70:55)“ma:haki =wi:na ne+kye:+ni nes+e:waki,” e:h=in+a:či.
these =but *my.mother* **they**.killed.*her*/IND **he**.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ
 “**These (people)** killed *my mother!*” **he** told *him*.

The phrase for “fresh deer meat,” a brand-new though relatively minor entity in the story, comes in the expected initial position in (69:44), but in final position in (70:24). And Ne:nye:škwi:h’s bolt-from-the-blue announcement occurs in expected SOV order in (70:55), but in VOS order in (69:69). In both cases, the proximate nominal and the verb occupy the prominent positions at the sentence’s edges.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s use of demonstratives is striking. She adds a demonstrative to nearly every overt proximate. This principle of hers operates in the overwhelming majority of cases (especially when compared to the habits of most other authors), but nonetheless permits some latitude for variation. Passages (69) and (70) contain nine overt proximates which lack a demonstrative. Two of the nine, in (69:14) and (70:45), involve mention of one of two established and continuing co-proximates, and probably could not take a demonstrative even in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s system. Of the other seven,

four are in-quote possessed proximates; one is an extra-quote proximate accompanied by a participle defining its kinship relation; one is an emphatic proximate that immediately succeeds a sentence naming the same character with demonstrative plus noun; one, in (69:74), is the somewhat anomalous case already mentioned above.

All of these categories of noun would ordinarily mildly-to-strongly disfavor accompaniment by demonstrative. However, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's system is not entirely ordinary. Compare (69:11) with (70:16), for instance. The quoted sentences in the two versions are nearly identical, except that the verb choice differs and Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha includes the demonstrative *mana* (with discontinuous noun) in (70) but not in (69):

(69:11) i:ni =’pi i:niki ke:hkya:he:h+aki, “na:pi=wi:na
 then =HRSY **that** **old.people.DIM** why.don’t.we

ke+semi+na:n+a wača:ho+yakwe,”
our.(incl).daughter-in-law if.we.cook.(her)/SUBJ

e:h=iti:+wa:či.
they.said. {that} .to.each.other/CONJ

Then one of **those little old people** said to the other, “How about if we cook **our daughter-in-law**.”

(70:16) i:ni =’pi: =’na pašito:he:h+a, “ši:, na:pi=wi:na =manaha
 then =HRSY **that** **old.man.DIM** hey! why.don’t.we **this**

amw+akwe ke+semi+na:n+a,”
 if.we.(incl).eat. **her**/SUBJ **our.(incl).daughter-in-law**

e:h=in+a:či =’pi ow+i:w+ani.
he.told.her. {that}/CONJ =HRSY *his.wife*

Then **that little old man** said to *his wife*, “Hey, how about if we eat **this daughter-in-law of ours**.”

In summary: in the extra-quote portions of (69) and (70), Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's choice of proximates is almost entirely determined by local importance. She departs from this pattern only the extended dramatic crisis of (69), when she promotes the most affected

characters to proximate status at the expense of the locally important actors. In (70), by contrast, she deliberately underplays the most affecting parts of the story.

In general, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha makes third persons proximate unless they share a sentence with a more important third person actor, or share a scene with a far more important third person actor, or share a sentence or a scene with a far more human third person. She makes sparse use of dramatic departures from this pattern.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha uses overt nominals for nearly every new proximate, obviative, and inanimate. She uses overt nominals for current proximates, obviatives, and inanimates to defocus characters or scenes, to reset characters or to set new scenes, and to spotlight a character's emotion.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha largely reserves preverbal position for new proximates, for brand-new obviatives and inanimates, for unaccompanied demonstratives, and for noun phrases with generic reference. She uses postverbal position for nonshifting proximates, evoked obviatives and inanimates, and emphatic nominals.

Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha never uses the propinqual (*mana* series) demonstratives extra-quote, with the exception of certain idioms involving inanimate singular *mani*. She adds a distal (*i:na* series) demonstrative to nearly every overt proximate.

4.6. Jim Peters' Apaya:ši:hs' Birth

Jim Peters' three versions of the Apaya:ši:hs' story all begin with a short self-contained story about ten sisters who are visited by cannibal giants. One of the sisters is warned in a dream that the giants are coming. Cannibal giants are notoriously stupid, and she is advised to try to trick them by filling a large bowl with water, setting the bowl in the fireplace, and sitting with her sisters in a ring around the smokehole. At first the trick works, and the giants, seeing the women's reflections, dig futilely in and under the water. In the end, though, one of the sisters laughs at the spectacle. The giants spot them, race out of the house, catch them, and kill them, all but the one that the manitous warned. She turns herself into a turkey and flees around the surface of the earth, with one of the giants

hot on her heels. At last she runs across a man cutting wood in the forest, and begs for his help. He threatens the giant, who departs without argument. He then marries the woman and takes her home with him, and the Apaya:ši:hs' story begins.

Jim Peters and Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha both preface their stories about the Apaya:ši:hs with a separate story about ten women, nine of whom end up getting killed by monsters while the tenth escapes, after a lengthy chase and with the help of a woodchopper who threatens to kill her pursuer. The details of the woodchopper sequence are very similar in all five versions, except that in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two stories Rolling Skull replies with his own threats, attacks the woodchopper, and is killed by him. In Jim Peters' three stories, the cannibal giant turns back when admonished to do so.

We have no dates for two of Jim Peters' three Apaya:ši:hs stories, but the third, NAA 2794.72B, was written in September of 1912. The three versions strongly resemble each other. Unlike Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two variants of the story, they agree in many minor details of their structure, as well as in their overall organization. Nonetheless, they exhibit some interesting differences.

Jim Peters Variant 1:

(71:1) i:na =ke:h =neniw+a
that =and **man**

i:ni =meko: ='nini e:h=owi:we:hi+či ihkwe:w+ani,
 then =EMPH *that* **he**.had.<her>.as.a.wife.DIM/CONJ *woman*

That man married *that woman* right then and there

(71:2) e:h=awan+a:či.
he.took.*her*.home/CONJ
 and took *her* home with him.

(71:3) “nahi, pya:+no,” e:h=in+a:či: ='nini ihkwe:w+ani: ='na.
 now! you.come/IMP **he**.told.*her*.{that}/CONJ *that woman* **that**
 “Come, now!” **that (man)** told *that woman*.

(71:4) e:h=awan+eči: =’na
X.took.**her**.home/CONJ **that**
That woman was taken to his house,

e:h=mawi- naha:kanihkwe:wi+či: =’na ihkwe:w+a.
go.and **she**.was.a.co-resident.daughter-in-law/CONJ **that woman**
and went and lived with her in-laws.

(71:5) e:h=we:pi- ša:ši:ša:+či: =’na neniwa:nowa:kan+a.
begin RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ **that Man Tail**
And **that Man Tail** started hunting all the time.

(71:6) tameko e:h=kehtwe:wesi+či.
oh.how! **he**.was.skilled.at.getting.game/CONJ
How skilled **he** was at getting game!

(71:7) e:h=awahawato:m+a:či mi:čipe:h+ahi.
RED.**he**.carried.them.home.on.his.back/CONJ *game.animals*
He brought back *kill after kill*.

(71:8) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe e:h=oni:ča:nesi+či ihkwe:w+a.
perhaps at.some.point **she**.had.a.child/CONJ **woman**
At some point **the woman** had a child.

(71:9) e:h=kwi:yese:he:hi+niči.
he.was.a.baby.boy/CONJ
It was a baby boy.

(71:10) tameko e:h=mi:ša:te:nemo+či neniwa:nowa:kan+a
oh.how! **he**.was.glad/CONJ **Man Tail**

e:h=kwi:yese:hehke:+či.
he.got.a.boy/CONJ

How glad **Man Tail** was about having a boy!

(71:11) kaho:ni pe:hki e:h=we:pi- ša:ši:ša:+či,
and.then really begin RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ

e:h=awahawato:m+a:či mi:čipe:h+ahi.
RED.**he**.carried.them.home.on.his.back/CONJ *game.animals*

And then **he** really started hunting all the time, and **he** brought back *kill after kill*.

(71:12) meše:=’nah =na:hka kapo:twe =na:hka
 perhaps again at.some.point again

e:h=ačihkwi+niči ow+i:w+ani na:hka.
she.was.pregnant/CONJ his.wife again

At some point *his wife* became pregnant again.

(71:13) wi:na =ke:hi e:h=ša:ši:ša:+či =meko.
 he =and RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ =EMPH

And **he** hunted constantly.

(71:14) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe =na:hka nekotenwi e:h=wa:pa+niki,
 perhaps suddenly again once when.*it*.was.morning/CONJ

i:na ihkwe:w+a, ki:ši- wayači:+niči o+na:pe:m+ani,
that woman finish when.*he*.was.gone/CC *her.husband*

e:h=kano:n+ekoči o+mešo:m+ani.
he.spoke.to.her/CONJ her.father-in-law

One *day* after *her husband* had left the house, **that woman** was suddenly addressed by *her father-in-law*.

(71:15) “naha:kanihkwe, aška:pow+i net+aka:wa:t+a,” e:h=ikoči: =’nini.
 O.daughter-in-law fresh.soup I.crave.**it**/IND *he.told.her*. {that}/CONJ *that*
 “Daughter-in-law, I want **fresh soup!**” *that (man)* told **her**.

(71:16) ašk- owi:ya:s+i e:h=po:ta:hkwe:+či.
fresh meat **she**.put.<*it*>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ
She boiled *some fresh meat*.

(71:17) “a:kwi =kohi, naha:kanihkwe.
 not =certainly O.daughter-in-law
 “NO, daughter-in-law.

(71:18) aška:pow+i =kohi net+aka:wa:t+a,” e:h=ikoči =meko.
fresh.soup =certainly I.crave.**it**/IND *he.told.her*. {that}/CONJ =EMPH
 I want **FRESH SOUP!**” *he* insisted to **her**.

(71:19) kapo:twe: =’ni e:h=nenohaw+a:či
 at.some.point then **she**.understood.*him*/CONJ

e:šiwe:pim+ekoči.

{what}.he.meant.by.what.he.said.to.her/CONJ.PPL

Then at some point **she** understood what he meant.

(71:20) “o:ho:, we:nah =wi:h=amw+iye:kwe,”
I.see! that’s.it you.(pl).will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či: =’nini, we:šinem+a:čihi.
she.told.him. {that}/CONJ *that ones.she.had.as.in-laws*/CONJ.PPL

“I see, so that’s it, you two want to eat me!” **she** told *him*, meaning **her** (*two*) *parents-in-law*.

(71:21) “e:he:he,” e:h=ikoči: =’nini pašito:k+ani.
yes *he*.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ *that old.man*
“Yes,” *that old man* told **her**.

(71:22) e:h=we:pi- ki:nihto:+či ihkwe:w+a ma:tes+i.
begin **she**.sharpened.*it*/CONJ **woman** knife
The woman began sharpening a knife.

(71:23) ki:h- meči- =meko pe:hki -ki:nya:+niki: =’ni ma:tese:h+i,
finish rather =EMPH really when.*it*.was.sharp/CC that knife.DIM

e:h=nana:h- a:htawa:ši+ki nanakote:ki,
get.set.to **she**.lay.on.her.back/CONJ in.the.center.of.the.lodge

After that knifeling was really fairly sharp, **she** arranged herself on her back in the center of the house,

(71:24) ahkwīči: =’nahi: =’ni e:h=ahto:+či ma:tes+i o+šehk+eki.
on.top there that **she**.put.*it*/CONJ knife her.belly/LOC
placing that knife atop her belly.

(71:25) ki:šiši+ki, “nahi, i:ni=kohi, naha:kanihkwe,”
when.**she**.had.lain.down/CC all.right! excellent O.daughter-in-law

e:h=ikoči: =’nihi we:šinem+a:čihi.
they.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ *those ones.she.had.as.in-laws*/CONJ.PPL

After **she** lay down, “All right, excellent, daughter-in-law!” *those parents-in-law* of **hers** told **her**.

(71:26) e:h=we:pinanih+ekoči.
they.started.butchering.her/CONJ
 And *they* started butchering **her**.

(71:27) e:h=po:hkeče:n+eči, e:h=keta:hke:+ki na:mata:si:h+a.
X.opened.her.belly.by.hand/CONJ X.flung.<him>.out/CONJ fetus
Her belly was torn open, and **the fetus** was flung out.

(71:28) kwi:yese:he:h+a e:h=pemi- nawačisa:+či
boy.DIM along **he**.grabbed.<*it*>.on.the.run/CONJ

o+nenoswa:+m+e:h+wa:w+i,
their.buffalo.robe.DIM

The little boy grabbed up *their buffalo robe* on the run

(71:29) e:h=wi:weče:n+a:či: =ʼnini na:mata:si:he:h+ani,
he.wrapped.*him*.up/CONJ *that fetus.DIM*
 and swaddled *that little fetus* in it

(71:30) e:h=wa:šinihkate+niki e:h=mawi- pi:čisah+a:či.
place.where.it.was.hollow/LOC.PPL go.and he.threw.him.in/CONJ
 and went and dropped *him* inside *a hollow tree*.

(71:31) ki:ši- pi:činihkisah+a:či,
 finish **he**.pitched.*him*.into.a.hollow.space/CC

ne:ya:pi e:h=mawi- pi:čisa:+či.
 back go.in **he**.ran.inside/CONJ

After depositing *him* in the tree-hollow, **he** ran back inside.

(71:32) kaši: =ʼnah =či:hi e:h=katawi- =meko -ki:šinanih+emeči
 why! there =POV nearly =EMPH X.had.finished.butchering.*her/CONJ*

o+kye:+ni: =ʼna kwi:yese:h+a, e:h=wa:pawa:pam+a:či.
his.mother that boy RED.he.looked.at.her/CONJ

Why, here **that boy** found that *his mother* had been nearly completely butchered,
 and he kept watching *her*.

(71:33) ki:šes+omeči: =ʼnini o+kye:+ni,
 when.X.cooked.*her*.done/CC *that his.mother*

e:h=we:p- akwa:h+omeči.
begin X.fished.her.out/CONJ

After *that mother of his* had been cooked done, *she* was fished out of the pot piece by piece.

(71:34) ki:š- akwa:h+omeči, e:h=kočim+eči
finish when.X.fished.her.out/CC X.urged.him/CONJ

wi:h=amw+a:či: =’nini o+kye:+ni: =’na kwi:yesē:h+a.
he.will.eat.her/FUT.CONJ *that his.mother that boy*

After *she* had been fished out of the pot, **that boy** was urged to eat *that mother of his*.

(71:35) “a:kwi =ča:h =ni:na wi:h=amw+akini.
not =so *I* I.will.eat.**her**/FUT.NEG
“I’M not going to eat **her**.”

(71:36) ne+ky+a =ma:hi: =’na,”
my.mother =you.know **that**

e:h=in+a:či: =’nihi ke:hkya:h+ahi.
he.told.them.{that}/CONJ *those old.people*

That’s my mother, you know!” **he** told *those old people*.

(71:37) e:h=nana:hi- wa:wa:ta:samapi+niči,
get.set.to they.sat.facing.each.other/CONJ

e:h=am+omeči: =’niye:na o+kye:+ni neniw+a.
X.ate.her/CONJ *that.former his.mother man*

They sat down facing each other, and **the guy’s had-been mother** was eaten.

(71:38) pye:ya:+niči: =’nini o:s+ani, e:h=a:čimoh+a:či.
when.he.arrived/CC *that his.father he.informed.him/CONJ*
When *that father of his* got home, **he** told *him* about it.

(71:39) “amw+e:waki =koči ne+kye:+ni ma:haki,”
they.ate.her/IND =of.course *my.mother these*

e:h=in+a:či o:s+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his.father*

“**These (people)** ate my mother!” he told *his father*.

(71:40) “i:ni =ma:h =ma:haki e:šawi+wa:či,”
that =see **these** {*what*}.**they.do**/CONJ.PPL

e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
he.told.him. {that}/CONJ *his.son*

“See, that’s what **these (people)** do,” he told *his son*.

(71:41) wa:pa+niki: =’ni, “nahi, neniw+e,
when.*it*.was.morning/CC then all.right! O.man

k+i:h=we:pa:mowen+ene,” e:h=in+a:či o+kwise:h+ani.
I.will.flee.away.with.you/FUT.IND **he.told.him.** {that}/CONJ *his.son.DIM*

The next day, “All right, guy, I’ll flee away with you,” he told *his little son*.

(71:42) wa:pa+niki: =’ni e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či,
when.*it*.was.morning/CC then **they.set.out**/CONJ

e:h=we:pa:mowen+a:či o+kwise:h+ani.
he.fled.away.with.him/CONJ *his.son.DIM*

The next day **they** set out, **he** fleeing away with *his little son*.

(71:43) meše=meko nano:škwe e:h=a:+wa:či,
freely at.random **they.went.** {thither}/CONJ
They went just anywhere, at random,

(71:44) peno:či =meko e:h=a:+wa:či.
far.away =EMPH **they.went.** {thither}/CONJ
going very far away.

[Jim Peters NAA 2674.2 9I-14G]

Jim Peters Variant 2:

(72:1) wa:, i:ni =meko: ='nini e:h=owi:wi+či: ='na neniw+a
 why! then =EMPH *that* **he**.had.<*herthat man*

pye:nehkamaw+očini,
 <*onehim/CONJ.PPL*

Why, right then and there **that man** married *that (woman) who was chased to him*,

(72:2) e:h=awan+a:či ow+i:ke+wa:+ki ='ši,
he.took.*her*.home/CONJ their.house/LOC {thither}
 and **he** took *her* home to his family's house,

(72:3) e:h=owihowi:ki+wa:či,
 RED.**they**.lived.there/CONJ
 and **they** lived along there,

(72:4) e:h=taši- ša:ši:ša:+či: ='na neniw+a.
 there RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ **that man**
that man going hunting all the time.

(72:5) meše:='nah =kapo:twe e:h=ačihkwi+niči ow+i:w+ani.
 perhaps at.some.point *she*.was.pregnant/CONJ *his.wife*
 Soon *his wife* became pregnant.

(72:6) aškači e:h=oni:ča:nesi+wa:či kwi:yese:he:h+ani.
 after.a.while **they**.had.a.child/CONJ *boy*.DIM
 After some time had passed **they** had *a baby boy*.

(72:7) e:h=taši- =meko -makekino:hi+niči.
 there =EMPH *he*.was.big.DIM/CONJ
 And *he* was getting bigger.

(72:8) meše:='nah =meko na:hka kapo:twe e:h=oni:ča:nesi+wa:či,
 perhaps =EMPH again at.some.point **they**.had.a.child/CONJ
 Soon **they** had another child,

(72:9) e:h=ačihkwi+niči ow+i:w+ani.
she.was.pregnant/CONJ *his.wife*
his wife becoming pregnant.

(72:10) i:na =ke:h =kwi:yesē:he:h+a e:h=makekino:hi+či =meko e:škami.
that =and **boy.DIM** **he**.was.big.DIM/CONJ =EMPH gradually
 Meanwhile **that little boy** was gradually growing bigger.

(72:11) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe ke:hkya:h+aki,
 perhaps at.some.point **old.people**
 At some point or other **the old people**,

(72:12)“naha:kanihkwe, ne+mya:nehka.
 O.daughter-in-law I.crave.meat/IND
 “Daughter-in-law, I crave meat.

(72:13)aška:pow+i net+aka:wa:t+a,”
fresh.soup I.crave.it/IND

e:h=ikoči o:hkom+ani, o+mešo:m+ani: =’nahi.
they.told.**her**.{that}/CONJ *her.mother-in-law* *her.father-in-law* =and

I want **fresh soup**,” *her mother-in-law* and *father-in-law* told **her**.

(72:14)e:h=wača:h+a:či mena:škono:n+i.
she.cooked.<it>.for.*them*/CONJ fresh.meat
 And **she** cooked some fresh meat for *them*.

(72:15) “a:kwi =koh, naha:kanihkwe.
 not =certainly O.daughter-in-law
 “NO, daughter-in-law.

(72:16)kotak+i =koh =wi:ša:pene:+ya:ni aška:pow+i,”
other =certainly <**that**>.I.am.hungry.for/CONJ.PPL fresh.soup

e:h=in+eči =meko.
 X.told.**her**.{that}/CONJ =EMPH

It’s **another kind of soup I’m hungry for!**” **she** was told.

(72:17) “o:ho:, we:nah =wi:h=amw+iye:kwe
 I.see! that’s.it you.(pl).will.eat.me/FUT.CONJ

we:či- ’nowe:+ye:kwe,” e:h=in+a:či.
{thence} **you.(pl).talk.{that.way}**/CONJ.PPL **she**.told.*them*.{that}/CONJ

“I see, so that’s it, you two are saying that because you want to eat me!” **she** said to *them*.

(72:18) e:h=we:pi- ki:nihto:+či ma:tes+i.
 begin **she**.sharpened.*it*/CONJ knife
 And **she** began sharpening a knife.

(72:19) ki:ši- ki:nihto:+či, e:h=nana:h- a:htawa:ši+ki
 finish when **she**.sharpened.*it*/CC get.set.to **she**.lay.on.her.back/CONJ

nanakote:ki,
 in.the.center.of.the.lodge

After sharpening *it*, **she** arranged herself on her back in the center of the house,

(72:20) ahkwiči e:h=ahto:+či ma:tes+i ki:ši- ki:nihto:+či
 on.top **she**.put.*it*/CONJ knife finish {one}.**she**.sharpened/CONJ.PPL

o+šehk+eki.
 her.belly/LOC

placing the sharpened knife atop her belly.

(72:21) e:h=pemi- pasekwi:+niči o+mešo:h+ani, o:hkomes+ani: =’nahi,
 along they.got.up/CONJ his.grandfather.DIM his.grandmother =and

e:h=wa:pawa:pam+a:či we:ki+ta.
 RED.**he**.looked.at.*them*/CONJ **one.who.had** {*her*}**.as.a.mother**/CONJ.PPL

As **her son** looked on, *his grandfather* and *grandmother* got up.

(72:22) e:h=we:pinanih+emeči =či:hi o+kye:+ni.
 X.started.butchering.*her*/CONJ =POV *his.mother*
 Why, he saw *his mother* being butchered.

(72:23) e:h=po:hkeče:n+emeči,
 X.opened.*her*.belly.by.hand/CONJ

na:mata:si:h+ani o+si:me:h+ani manahka e:h=pakin+emeči.
fetus *his.younger.sibling* over.yonder X.threw.*him*.away/CONJ

Her belly was torn open, and *the fetus*, *his younger brother*, was thrown aside.

(72:24) e:h=pemi- nawačisa:+či o+nenoswa:+m+wa:w+i,
 along **he** grabbed.⟨*it*⟩.on.the.run/CONJ their.buffalo.robe
He grabbed up their buffalo robe on the run

(72:25)e:h=wi:weče:n+a:či,
he wrapped.*him*.up/CONJ
 and swaddled *him* in it

(72:26)e:h=pemi- nowipaho:n+a:či.
 along **he** ran.out.with.*him*/CONJ
 and ran out with *him*.

(72:27)ki:škanahkatw+i e:h=pepikwe:ya:+niki
tree.with.cut-off.top place.where.it.was.hollow/LOC.PPL

e:h=mawi- pi:čisah+a:či o+si:me:h+ani =ta:taki.
 go.and **he** threw.*him*.in/CONJ *his.younger.brother* =so.to.speak

He went and dropped *his so-to-speak younger brother* into the cavity of a broken-off tree.

(72:28) i:ya:h =pye:ya:+či,
 there when **he** arrived/CC

wa:natohka =meko e:h=ki:ši- ča:ki- wi:nanih+emeči,
 casually =EMPH finish all X.butchered.*her*/CONJ

When **he** got back home, *she* had been butchered, as if it were nothing out of the way,

(72:29)e:h=we:pi- pa:po:ta:hkwe:+weči.
 begin RED.X.put.*her*.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ
 and *she* was put in to boil piece by piece.

(72:30)menwinehki =meko e:h=pemes+omeči.
 for.a.good.while =EMPH X.cooked.*her*.along/CONJ
She was cooked for a good while.

(72:31) ki:šes+omeči: =’nini o+kye:+ni,
 when.X.cooked.*her*.done/CC *that his.mother*

e:h=sa:si:kah+omeči ana:kan+eki.
 RED.X.served.*her*.up/CONJ bowl/LOC

After *that mother of his* had been cooked done, *she* was dished out into a bowl.

(72:32) e:h=nana:hi- wa:wa:tehkwe:pi+niči,
get.set.to they.sat.head-to-head/CONJ
They sat down head to head,

(72:33) e:h=am+omeči: =’niye:na o+kye:+ni.
X.ate.her/CONJ that.former his.mother
and *his had-been mother* was eaten.

(72:34) no:make =meko e:h=tanam+emeči.
in.a.little.while =EMPH X.ate.her.there/CONJ
The eating of her went on for only a short while.

(72:35) i:ni, “pe:hki =meko nehkihokosi:hi+wa naha:kanihkwe:w+a,”
then really =EMPH **she**.is.losing.flavor.DIM/IND **daughter-in-law**

e:h=i+či pašito:h+a, ki:ši- ča:kam+a:či o+semye:+ni.
he.said.{that}/CONJ **old.man** finish **he**.ate.her.up/CC *his daughter-in-law*

Then, “**The daughter-in-law**’s flavor is really fading,” **the old man** said, after eating *his daughter-in-law* all up.

(72:36) mana =wi:na kwi:yesē:h+a e:h=nakiškaw+a:či o:s+ani.
this =but **boy** **he**.met.him/CONJ *his.father*
Meanwhile, **the boy** went to meet *his father*.

(72:37) “ano:se, amw+e:waki =koči ne+kye:+ni, ano:se,”
O.my.father **they**.ate.her/IND =of.course *my.mother* O.my.father
“Father, **they** ate *my mother*, father!”

e:h=in+a:či o:s+ani kwi:yesē:h+a.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his.father* **boy**
the boy told *his father*.

(72:38) meše:=’nah =kapo:twe, “nahi, k+i:h=nakan+a:pena.
perhaps at.some.point all.right! we.(incl).will.leave.them/FUT.IND
Soon, “All right, we’re going to leave **them**.”

(72:39) k+i:h=we:pa:mowen+ene.
I.will.flee.away.with.you/FUT.IND
I’ll run away with you.

(72:40) i:ni =koh =meko =na:hka =ki:na ki:ši- anemi-
then =certainly =EMPH in.turn *you* finish continue

makekino:hi+yane, wi:h=we:pe:nem+ehki,”
when.you.are.big.DIM/SUBJ **they**.will.start.thinking.about.you/FUT.CONJ

e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his.son*

After you've grown bigger, **they**'ll start having thoughts about you next,” **he** told *his son*.

(72:41) “natawa:či =ča:h =k+i:h=we:pa:mowen+ene.
I.guess.I'd.better =so I.will.flee.away.with.you/FUT.IND
“So I had better run away with you.

(72:42) ketema:kih+enakiče,” e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
they.might.ill-treat.you/PROH **he**.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his.son*
They might maltreat you,” **he** told *his son*.

(72:43) meše:=’nah =nekotenwi wa:pa+niki, e:h=na:kwa:hi+wa:či
perhaps once when.it.was.morning/CC **they**.set.out.DIM/CONJ

okwiseti:h+aki.
father.and.son

One *day*, **the father and son** left.

(72:44) meše=meko nanawi =peno:či e:h=a:+wa:či.
freely off.in.some.isolated.place far.away **they**.went.{thither}/CONJ
They went off into the wild, far away.

[Jim Peters NAA 2729.1 10B-14E]

Jim Peters Variant 3:

(73:1) i:na =ke:hi ='hkwe:w+a i:ni=meko: ='nini
that =and **woman** immediately *that*

e:h=ona:pe:mi+či neniw+ani.
she.had.<*him*>.as.a.husband/CONJ *man*

That woman married *that man* right then and there.

(73:2) i:na ihkwe:w+a e:h=awatehkwe:wa:n+eči wi:kiya:p+eki ='ši,
that woman X.took.**her**.home.as.a.wife/CONJ wickiup/LOC {thither}
That woman was taken home to a wickiup as a bride,

(73:3) e:h=ka:ki:wita:+wa:či,
 RED.**they**.stayed.around/CONJ
 and **they** stayed on there,

(73:4) e:h=ša:ši:ša:+či: ='na neniw+a.
 RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ **that man**
 and **that man** hunted all the time.

(73:5) i:na =ke:hi ='hkwe:w+a e:h=ačihkwi+či.
that =and **woman** **she**.was.pregnant/CONJ
That woman got pregnant.

(73:6) no:hkawahi:nakate+niki e:h=no:še:+či,
 when.*it*.was.next.year/CC **she**.gave.birth/CONJ
The next year **she** gave birth,

(73:7) kwi:yese:h+ani e:h=oni:ča:nesi+či.
boy **she**.had.<*him*>.as.a.child/CONJ
 having *a boy*.

(73:8) i:nah =meko e:h=awihawi+wa:či,
 there =EMPH RED.**they**.were.there/CONJ
They just went along in that same place,

(73:9) e:h=taši- ša:ši:ša:+či neniw+a.
 there RED.**he**.hunted/CONJ **man**
 and **the man** went hunting all the time.

(73:10) meše:='nahi kapo:twe ne:swipepo:nakate+niki,
perhaps at.some.point when.*it*.was.three.winters/CC

na:hka e:h=ačihkwi+či ihkwe:w+a.
again **she**.was.pregnant/CONJ **woman**

At the end of about *three years*, **the woman** became pregnant again.

(73:11) i:na =ke:h =kwi:yesē:he:h+a
that =and **boy**

e:h=menwi- 'nekino:hi+či =meko.
well **he**.was.{that}.big.DIM/CONJ =EMPH

Meanwhile **that little boy** was fairly well grown.

(73:12) meše:='nah =nekotenwi, "naha:kanihkwe, ne+pahkate,"
perhaps once O.daughter-in-law I.am.hungry/IND

e:h=in+a:či o+semye:+ni.
he.told.*her*.{that}/CONJ *his.daughter-in-law*

One day, "Daughter-in-law, I'm hungry," **he** told *his daughter-in-law*.

(73:13)e:h=wača:h+ekoči.
she.cooked.for.**him**/CONJ
And *she* cooked for **him**.

(73:14) ki:šese:hkwaw+a:či, "i:ni.
when.**she**.finished.cooking.<*it*>.for.*him*/CC **that**
After **she** finished cooking *it* for *him*, "It's done."

(73:15)wi:seni+ko: = 'nahi," e:h=in+a:či.
you.(pl).eat/IMP =time.to **she**.told.*them*.{that}/CONJ
Now you can eat!" **she** told *them*.

(73:16)e:h=pwa:wi- =meko -ame:+niči.
not =EMPH *they*.didn't.react/CONJ
But *they* didn't move a muscle.

(73:17) "a:kwi, naha:kanihkwe.
not O.daughter-in-law
"No, daughter-in-law."

(73:18)ne+pahkate =kohi,” e:h=in+a:či =meko.
 I.am.hungry/IND =certainly **he**.told.*her*. {that}/CONJ =EMPH
 I’m HUNGRY!” **he** told *her*.

(73:19) aškači e:na:kwi+niki e:h=pya:+niči o+na:pe:m+ani,
 later when *it*.was.evening/CC *he*.arrived/CONJ *her*.husband
 Later, that evening, *her husband* got home,

(73:20)e:h=wi:tamaw+a:či.
she.told.*him*/CONJ
 and **she** told *him* about it.

(73:21)“mani =koči e:š+iwa:či ma:haki,”
this =of.course {*what*}.**they**.said.to.me/CONJ.PPL **these**

e:h=in+a:či.
she.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ

“Here’s what **these (people)** said to me,” **she** told *him*.

(73:22)“ ‘naha:kanihkwe, ne+pahkate,’ net+eko:ki,”
 O.daughter-in-law I.am.hungry/IND **they**.told.me. {that}/IND

e:h=in+a:či.
she.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ

“ ‘Daughter-in-law, I’m hungry,’ **they** told me,” **she** told *him*.

(73:23)“e:h=we:pi- wača:h+aki.
 begin I.cooked.for.**them**/CONJ
 “I started cooking for **them**.”

(73:24)ki:šese:hkwaw+aki,
 when.I.finished.cooking.<*it*>.for.**them**/CC
 After I finished cooking *it* for **them**,

(73:25)‘a:kwi, naha:kanihkwe.
 not co-resident.daughter-in-law+VOCsg
 ‘No, daughter-in-law.’

(73:26)ne+pahkate =kohi,’ net+eko:ki =meko,”
 I.am.hungry/IND =certainly **they**.told.me. {that}/IND =EMPH

e:h=in+a:či o+na:pe:m+ani.
she.told.*him*. {that}/CONJ *her.husband*

I'm HUNGRY!' **they** told me," **she** told *her husband*.

(73:27) "e:he:he," e:h=ikoči.
yes **he**.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ
"Yes," *he* told **her**.

(73:28) "i:ni =ma:hi: =`niki e:h=we:pe:nem+ehki,"
now =see **those** **they**.are.starting.to.think.about.you/CONJ

e:h=ikoči.
he.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ

"See, **those (two)** are starting to have thoughts about you now," *he* told **her**.

(73:29) wa:pa+niki, na:hka e:h=we:peših+aki neniw+a.
when.*it*.was.morning/CC again **he**.started.hunting/CONJ **man**
The next day, **the man** went hunting again.

(73:30) na:hka =meko, "naha:kanihkwe, ne+pahkate,"
again =EMPH O.daughter-in-law I.am.hungry/IND

e:h=in+a:wa:či.
they.told.*her*. {that}/CONJ

Once again, "Daughter-in-law, I'm hungry," **they** told *her*.

(73:31) e:h=we:pi- ki:nihto:+či ma:tes+i.
begin **she**.sharepnd.*it*/CONJ knife
She began sharpening *a knife*.

(73:32) ki:ši- ki:nihto:+či,
finish when.**she**.sharpened.*it*/CC

e:h=nana:hiši+ki nanakote:ki,
she.lay.down/CONJ in.the.center.of.the.lodge

After sharpening *it*, **she** lay down in the center of the house,

(73:33) e:h=maya:w- a:htawa:ši+ki.
directly **she**.lay.on.her.back/CONJ
lying flat on her back.

(73:34) e:h=mawinan+ekoči we:šinem+a:čihi.
they.ran.at.her/CONJ ones.she.had.as.in-laws/CONJ.PPL
 And **her** parents-in-law pounced on **her**.

(73:35) e:h=po:hkeče:n+ekoči: =’nini ke:hkya:h+ahi.
they.opened.her.belly.by.hand/CONJ those old.people
Those old people tore her belly open.

(73:36) i:na =ke:h =kwi:yese:he:h+a we:ki+ta:
that =and boy.DIM one.who.had.<her>.as.a.mother/CONJ.PPL

=’nini ihkwe:w+ani e:h=taši- wa:pawa:pam+a:či.
that woman there RED.he.looked.at.her/CONJ

And **that little boy**, **that woman’s son**, was looking on.

(73:37) ki:ši- po:hkeče:n+emeči,
finish X.opened.her.belly.by.hand/CC
 After *her* belly was torn open,

(73:38) e:h=pemi- nawačisa:+či o+nenoswa:+m+e:h+wa:w+i,
 along **he**.grabbed.<it>.on.the.run/CONJ *their.buffalo.robe.DIM*
he grabbed up *their buffalo robe* on the run

(73:39) e:h=wi:weče:n+a:či: =’nini na:mata:si:h+ani,
he.wrapped.him.up/CONJ *that fetus*
 and swaddled *that fetus* in it

(73:40) e:h=mawi- pi:činihkisah+a:či
 go.and **he**.pitched.him.into.a.hollow.space/CONJ

ki:škanahkato:h+eki.
tree.with.cut-off.top.DIM/LOC

and went and deposited *him* inside a broken-off tree.

(73:41) i:niye:na =ke:h =o+kye:+ni =’yo:we, pye:ya:+či,
that.former =and his.mother =formerly when.he.arrived/CC

e:h=tašinanih+emeči,
 X.butchered.her.there/CONJ

As for *that had-been mother of his*, when **he** got home *she* was being butchered,

(73:42) e:h=we:pi- pa:po:ta:hkwe:+weči še:šketo:h+eki,
 begin RED.X.put.<her>.in.the.pot.to.boil/CONJ kettle/LOC
 and *she* was put in the pot piece by piece

(73:43) e:h=wača:ho+weči,
 X.cooked.<her>/CONJ
 and cooked

(73:44) e:h=wa:wa:pam+a:či.
 RED.**he**.looked.at.*her*/CONJ
 as **he** looked on.

(73:45) ki:šeso+niči,
 when.*she*.was.cooked.done/CC

e:h=nana:hi- wa:wa:tehkwe:pi+niči: =’nihi,
 get.set.to they.sat.head.to.head/CONJ those

When *she* was cooked done, *those (two)* sat down and put their heads to together,

(73:46) e:h=am+omeči: =’niye:na o+kye:+ni.
 X.ate.*her*/CONJ that.former his.mother
 and *that had-been mother of his* was eaten.

(73:47) pye:ya:+niči o:s+ani,
 when.*he*.arrived/CC his.father
 When *his father* got home,

(73:48) “ano:se, nes+e:waki =koči ma:haki ne+kye:+ni,”
 O.my.father they.killed.*her*/IND =of.course these my.mother

e:h=in+a:či o:s+ani.
he.told.*him*.{that}/CONJ his.father

“Father, **these (people)** killed *my mother!*” **he** told *his father*.

(73:49) “amw+e:waki =ke:h =meko.
they.ate.*her*/IND =and =EMPH
 “And **they** ate *her*.”

(73:50) wa:ča:ho+waki,” e:h=in+a:či o:s+ani.
they.cooked.<her>/IND **he**.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his*.father
They cooked *her*,” **he** told *his* father.

(73:51) “i:ni =ma:h =ma:haki e:šawi+wa:či,” e:h=in+a:či.
that =see **these** {what}.they.do/CONJ.PPL **he**.told.him.{that}/CONJ
“See, *that*’s what these (people) do,” **he** told *him*.

(73:52) wa:pa+niki, na:hka neniw+a e:h=ši:ša:+či.
when.*it*.was.morning/CC again **man** **he**.hunted/CONJ
The next day **the** man went hunting again.

(73:53) na:hka pye:ya:+či,
again when.**he**.arrived/CC
When **he** got home,

(73:54) “nahi, ne+kwi:hi, k+i:h=a:mi:+pena,”
all.right! O.my.son we.(incl).will.move.camp/FUT.IND

e:h=in+a:či i:nini o+kwise:h+ani.
he.told.him.{that}/CONJ *that* *his.son.DIM*

“All right, son, we’re going to move,” **he** told *that little son of his*.

(73:55) wa:pa+niki e:h=we:pa:mowen+e:hiči o+kwise:h+ani.
when.*it*.was.morning/CC **he**.fled.away.with.him.DIM/CONJ *his.son.DIM*
The next day, **he** ran away with *his poor little son*.

(73:56) “k+i:h=we:pa:mowen+ene,” e:h=ikoči o:s+ani.
I.will.flee.away.with.you/FUT.IND *he*.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his*.father
“I’ll run away with you,” *his* father told **him**.

(73:57) “i:ni =koh =meko =na:hka ki:na
that =certainly =EMPH this.time *you*

a:mi- ’na:hpenan+ehki,” e:h=in+a:či o+kwis+ani.
would {that.way}.they.treat.you/CONJ.PPL **he**.told.him.{that}/CONJ *his*.son

“That selfsame way is how they would treat you next,” **he** told *his* son.

(73:58) “o:ho:,” e:h=ikoči.
I.see! *he*.told.him.{that}/CONJ
“I see,” *he* answered **him**.

(73:59) i:ya:h =meše:=’nah =nekotahi peno:či =meko
there perhaps somewhere far.away =EMPH

e:h=mawi- po:ni:+wa:či.
go.and **they**.camped/CONJ

They went and camped somewhere a long way off.

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.72B 35H-38E*]

Jim Peters’ versions of this episode divide into an introduction, a Part 1A, a Part 1B, a Part 2A, a Part 2B, and a conclusion. Jim Peters’ introduction, like Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s, is very drawn out. His Part 1A, like Ša:poči:wa’s, Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s, and Kiyana’s, describes the mother’s attempts to please her in-laws, which culminate in her death. His Part 1B, like Kiyana’s, describes Ne:nye:škwi:h’s disposal of Apaya:ši:h and Ne:nye:škwi:h’s horrified observation as his mother is cooked and eaten. His Part 2A, like everyone’s, describes how Ne:nye:škwi:h makes his report to his father, and his Part 2B, like Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s, describes the father’s next-day decision. His conclusion, a terse two lines, re-situates the father and son.

The shared plot developments of Jim Peters’ three variants are as follows: in the introduction, the woman and her savior marry. They go to the man’s house and live there uneventfully for some time. The man hunts diligently. The woman gives birth to a boy. After some time has passed, the woman starts on a second pregnancy. Part 1A begins as the woman’s father-in-law (in 72, both of her in-laws) suddenly speaks to her. He demands fresh soup in (71) and (72); in (73) he uses a Sauk word, *pahkate:*, to complain of hunger. She cooks for him, but he rejects what she offers, and repeats his demand. She sharpens a knife. When the knife is sharp, she lies down on her back in the center of the house and (except in 73) places the knife on her belly. Her in-laws pounce on her and start to butcher her. They tear her stomach open. At this point Part 1B begins, as Ne:nye:škwi:h intervenes by snatching up a buffalo robe, swaddling the fetus in it, and depositing fetus and all in the hollow of a tree. When Ne:nye:škwi:h gets back, the butchering is well underway. He watches as his mother is cooked. When the whole

process is finished, his grandparents sit head to head and eat his mother up. Part 2A begins, as always, when Ne:nye:škwih's father gets home. Ne:nye:škwih tells his father that his grandparents have eaten his mother. His father (except in 72) replies, "That's what they do." In Part 2B, after an interval, the father tells his son that they must leave his parents' house. The episode concludes when they start out the next day, and resettle in a distant location.

There is one major structural difference between (73) and (71), (72). Variant (73) includes a whole section of the story—(73:19–29)—in which the woman confers with her husband about her in-laws' peculiar request. Her husband isn't at all surprised. He makes the ominous comment, "Yes. They're starting to have thoughts about you now."

In addition to this, the three versions differ in a number of minor motifs. Variant (71) alone gives Ne:nye:škwih's father a name, and alone mentions how proud he is to have a son. The introduction in (71) comments on the father's zealous efforts as a hunter three times: once right after his marriage, once right after Ne:nye:škwih is born, and once right after his wife becomes pregnant for the second time. The introduction in (73) remarks on the father's hunting just twice (after the marriage and after the birth of Ne:nye:škwih) and the introduction in (72) just once (after the marriage). The introduction in (72) comments twice that Ne:nye:škwih is getting to be fair-sized. Variant (73) makes this comment only once, and variant (71) omits it altogether. In all three versions of the episode, Jim Peters has the mother make only a single cooking attempt. Variants (71) and (72) both gloss over the mother's actual presentation of food. Variant (73) devotes four brief lines to it. Variants (71) and (72) each devote a couple lines to the mother's realization that her in-laws want to eat her. Variant (73), in place of this, substitutes her extended conversation with her husband, and implies that her husband's hint is enough to alert her to what's going on. The next time her father-in-law demands food, in (73), she immediately reaches for the knife. In (71) alone, her in-laws cheer her action. Variants (71) and (72), only, mention the fetus before Ne:nye:škwih lunges for it. All three variants mention Ne:nye:škwih's status as an observer, but they do so in different places: in (72), it's right after Ne:nye:škwih's mother lies down with

the knife; in (71), it's after Ne:nye:škwi:h returns from cacheing Apaya:ši:h; in (73) it's mentioned at both junctures. The three versions vary a great deal in regard to the details they give about the cooking process. Also, variant (71) alone gives the motif familiar from Kiyana's version in which Ne:nye:škwi:h is urged to eat his mother and emphatically refuses. Variant (72) alone gives the motif familiar from Kiyana's version in which the grandfather comments on his daughter-in-law's flavor. Variants (71) and (73) have the father arrive at the house after his hunting trip; variant (72) has Ne:nye:škwi:h go out to meet him. Variant (73) has Ne:nye:škwi:h give a three-sentence report on his mother's fate, whereas variants (71) and (72) condense the news into a single sentence. Variant (73) has the father go on one more hunt before announcing his decision. Variant (71) condenses the father's speech into a single line. Variant (73) starts out to do the same, starts in on the conclusion, and then darts back and adds three more statements to the speech (an instance of OVERLAY, of a type very common in Meskwaki narrative). Variant (72) gives the father a five-line speech, devoting two lines to his reason for the move, which is that his parents will want to eat Ne:nye:škwi:h once Ne:nye:škwi:h grows a little bigger. The two-sentence conclusion is cast somewhat differently in each version of this episode.

Jim Peters' choices of proximates, obviatives, and inanimates for his three versions of The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth are given in Table 14. Characters that appear extra-quote in the proximate are listed in boldface, and sentient characters that appear extra-quote in the obviative are listed in italics. Non-sentient obviatives are listed in italics and in parentheses. Non-context-dependent inanimates are listed underlined and in parentheses. Context-dependent inanimates are not included in the table.

For purposes of space, "grandparents" is abbreviated as "grandp"; "grandfather" as "grandf"; "Ne:nye:škwi:h" as "Ne:ny"; "Apaya:ši:h" as "Apay"; "father+Ne:nye:škwi:h" as "fa+Ny"; "buffalo robe" as "robe"; "fresh meat" as "meat"; "hollow tree" as "hollow"; and "broken-off tree" as "snag".

Table 14. Jim Peters' proximate shifts

VERSION 1		VERSION 2		VERSION 3			
						—INTRO	lines 71:1–13
father	<i>mother</i>	father	<i>mother</i>	mother	<i>father</i>		lines 72:1–10
mother	<i>Ne:ny</i> (<i>game</i>)	parents	<i>Ne:ny</i>	parents	<i>Ne:ny</i>		lines 73:1–11
		Ne:ny		father			
				Ne:ny			
						—PART 1A	lines 71:14–27
mother	<i>father</i>	grandp	<i>grandp</i>	grandf	<i>mother</i>		lines 72:11–23
Apay	<i>grandf</i>	mother	<i>mother</i>	mother	<i>grandf</i>		lines 73:12–35
	<i>grandp</i>	Ne:ny	<i>Apay</i>	father	<i>grandp</i>		
	(<u>meat</u>)		(<u>meat</u>)	grandp	<i>father</i>		
	(<u>knife</u>)		(<u>knife</u>)		(<u>knife</u>)		
						—PART 1B	lines 71:28–37
Ne:ny	<i>Apay</i>	Ne:ny	<i>Apay</i>	Ne:ny	<i>mother</i>		lines 72:24–35
	<i>mother</i>	grandf	<i>mother</i>		<i>Apay</i>		lines 73:36–46
	<i>grandp</i>		<i>grandp</i>		<i>grandp</i>		
	(<u>robe</u>)		(<u>robe</u>)		(<u>robe</u>)		
	(<u>hollow</u>)		(<u>snag</u>)				
						—PART 2A	lines 71:38–40
Ne:ny	<i>father</i>	Ne:ny	<i>father</i>	Ne:ny	<i>father</i>		lines 72:36–37
father	<i>Ne:ny</i>			father	<i>Ne:ny</i>		lines 73:47–51
						—PART 2B	line 71:41
father	<i>Ne:ny</i>	father	<i>Ne:ny</i>	father	<i>Ne:ny</i>		lines 72:38–42
				Ne:ny	<i>father</i>		lines 73:52–54, 56–58
						—CONCL	lines 71:42–44
fa+Ny	<i>Ne:ny</i>	fa+Ny		father	<i>Ne:ny</i>		lines 72:43–44
father				fa+Ny			lines 73:55,59

The choice of proximates in Jim Peters' three versions of this episode look very different, at a glance. However, they betray an underlying consistency. Jim Peters' choice of proximates in all three variants is almost exclusively determined by the characters' affect.

Jim Peters' choices of proximate in his three versions of The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth can be listed as follows:

Table 15. Jim Peters' proximate shifts

Version (71)	Version (72)	Version (73)
<p>—————INTRO 1–13</p> <p>father mother father mother father</p>	<p>—————INTRO 1–10</p> <p>father father+mother father father+mother father Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————INTRO 1–11</p> <p>mother mother+father father mother mother+father father mother Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>
<p>—————PART 1A 14–27</p> <p>mother Apaya:ši:h</p>	<p>—————PART 1A 11–23</p> <p>grandparents mother Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————PART 1A 12–35</p> <p>grandfather mother grandfather mother father grandparents mother</p>
<p>—————PART 1B 28–37</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————PART 1B 24–35</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h grandfather</p>	<p>—————PART 1B 36–46</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>
<p>—————PART 2A 38–40</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h father</p>	<p>—————PART 2A 36–37</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————PART 2A 47–51</p> <p>Ne:nye:škwi:h father</p>
<p>—————PART 2B 41</p> <p>father</p>	<p>—————PART 2B 38–42</p> <p>father</p>	<p>—————PART 2B 52–54, 56–58</p> <p>father Ne:nye:škwi:h father</p>
<p>—————CONCL 42–44</p> <p>father+Ne:nye:škwi:h father father+Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————CONCL 43–44</p> <p>father+Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>	<p>—————CONCL 55, 59</p> <p>father father+Ne:nye:škwi:h</p>

In Jim Peters' introductions to this episode, as in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's, the mother and father have roughly equal claims to proximate status. The introduction, devoted to background information about the mother, the father, and their firstborn son, is relatively affect-neutral. What affect there is is slightly in the father's favor: prior to this episode, the mother was the story's emotional focal point, but it's a narrative convention of Meskwaki that husbands are ecstatic after bringing home a new bride, and the father's energetic hunting indicates his state of mind. In Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's two stories, the father winds up as main proximate in the introduction that makes little reference to his parents, and as subsidiary proximate in the introduction that makes much of the interaction between his parents and his wife. In Jim Peters' three stories, he winds up as main proximate in the introductions to (71) and (72), and alternate proximate in the introduction to (73). The mother is the main proximate of the introduction to (73),⁵¹ an alternate proximate in (71), and obviative only in (72). In (71), after the father's emotions are mentioned directly, in lines 10–11, the mother shifts into the obviative. Ne:nye:škwi:h is also kept in the obviative in (71). In (72) and (73), he gets a one-line proximate mention before the story proper begins.

In Part 1, in all three versions, the mother is chief proximate, chief victim, and chief observer until she is killed, and Ne:nye:škwi:h is chief proximate, chief victim, and chief observer from the time when she's killed until after his father comes home. The three versions are slightly out of synch—the only time this happens—at the point where the switchover takes place. In (71), Ne:nye:škwi:h is not mentioned until after his mother's belly is cut open. He is already in motion, reaching for the buffalo robe, when he first comes into view. The result is a two-clause interval in (71:27) where there is NO on-scene observer: the mother and Apaya:ši:h are named in turn, vividly, as proximates acted on by indefinites. In (72), by contrast, Ne:nye:škwi:h becomes proximate immediately after his mother lies down and sets the knife on her stomach. He looks on in (72:21) as his grandparents get up. Their subsequent treatment of his mother and his

⁵¹ Notice that the opening sentences of (71) and (73) are identical except that 'that man' and 'that woman' switch places as proximate subject and obviative second object, and that the verb stem changes from *owi:wi* 'marry a wife' to *ona:pe:mi* 'marry a husband'.

little brother is presented from his point of view, as indefinite-on-obviative action. In (73), time freezes for a second and Ne:nye:škwi:h is named in a suspended interval between his grandparents' obviative-on-proximate attack on his mother (*e:h=po:hkeče:nekoči* in 73:35) and its immediate aftermath (*ki:ši-po:hkeče:nemeči* in 73:37), which is presented as indefinite-on-obviative action, seen through his eyes.

The mother is the only proximate in Part 1A of (71), until in the very last clause Apaya:ši:h replaces her in center stage. Ne:nye:škwi:h is sole proximate throughout Part 1B of (71).

In Part 1A of (72), the grandparents are proximate for the first third of the first sentence. This is their first overt mention in (72), although *owi:kewa:ki* 'his family's house' in (72:2) implies their existence. The grandparents are proximate as they announce that they crave meat, but then immediately revert to the obviative in favor of the mother, in a prequote proximate to postquote obviative shift of the enjambment type. The mother continues in the proximate until Ne:nye:škwi:h takes over, early, for the last three lines of Part 1A. Ne:nye:škwi:h's proximate status straddles the boundary into Part 1B. He remains proximate until the very last line of Part 1B, in (72:35), when the grandfather becomes proximate briefly as he exclaims that the longed-for sensation is already diminishing. Part 1 of (72), in other words, is set up much like Ša:poči:wa's version: in both stories, the cannibals conceive their desire in the first line of 1A, in (67:9) and (72:11), and slake their desire in the last line of 1B, in (69:49) and (72:35). In between these endpoints, Part 1A and Part 1B deal with the characters most affected by events: the mother and Apaya:ši:h, primarily, in Ša:poči:wa's version, and the mother and Ne:nye:škwi:h, in Jim Peters' version.

Part 1A of (73) is very interesting. This passage has a remarkable paucity of noun phrases, given its density of proximate and obviative shifts. Proximate status in Part 1A of (73) shifts back and forth three times between the cannibals and their daughter-in-law. The father is also proximate, briefly, in the one sentence that shrinks to his size only, when he is sent off on his hunt with an overt proximate defocusing reference in (73:29). The father also gets overt obviative mention when he arrives, in (73:19), and another

overt obviative mention that marks the end of his wife's extended narrative quote, in (73:26). The quote itself begins with proximate *ma:haki* 'these (two)', and the father's response closes with *i:niki* 'those (two)'. An obviative mention of the mother marks the beginning of 1A, and two obviative references to the grandparents in (73:34) and (73:35), the second one defocusing, mark the close of 1A. The remaining three obviative shifts and six proximate shifts in this passage are pronominal. This passage shifts back and forth between the grandparents' and the mother's perspective: when the grandparents make their complaints, we take their point of view (note 73:13, in particular); when the mother strives to please them, we take her point of view (note 73:16, in particular). When the grandparents cease to hanker and begin to act, they are no longer fit objects of empathy, and they take obviative or indefinite status for the remainder of the episode. As in (71), Ne:nye:škwih becomes proximate in the first line of Part 1B, and remains proximate until well into Part 2A.

Ne:nye:škwih's proximate status straddles the boundary between 1B and 2A in (71) and (73). In (72), Ne:nye:škwih becomes proximate again with the first word of Part 2A. Interestingly, this shift is handled with propinqual *mana=wi:na*, which indicates a change of scene that takes us back to our real subject of consciousness. In all three of Jim Peters' versions of this story, Ne:nye:škwih is proximate in 2A until he finishes his report to his father. His father is proximate when he makes his reply. In (72), where the father makes no immediate reply, he becomes proximate in the first line Part 2B. Version (73)'s switching of gears—one line of conclusion followed by three more lines of Part 2B, followed by the second and final line of the conclusion—causes a brief perspective jump to Ne:nye:škwih. Otherwise, the father is proximate throughout the short extent of Part 2B in all three versions. And in all three versions, as the episode concludes, the father and son shift into a joint proximate slightly favoring the father.

In Jim Peters' three versions of this episode, proximate status in the introduction is given to the father, or to the father alternating with the mother, with a single proximate reference to Ne:nye:škwih marking the introduction's end in (72) and (73). Version (71) strongly emphasizes the father's emotions. The mother is the locus of sympathy in Part

1A, with a single proximate reference to Apaya:ši:h marking 1A's end in (71), and with the intensity of the grandparents' craving recognized in two different ways in versions (72) and (73). Ne:nye:škwi:h is reintroduced in the proximate immediately before or immediately after the mother ceases to be an experiencer and an observer, at the end of 1A or in the first line of 1B. Ne:nye:škwi:h continues as the locus of our sympathy until his father speaks out in 2B. The father's anxiety for his son is strongly emphasized in versions (72) and (73).

In all three versions, the crisis of the episode is littered with indefinite-on-proximate and indefinite-on-obviative staging. In (71), the mother, Apaya:ši:h, and Ne:nye:škwi:h are each once the proximate object of an indefinite agent. Also in (71), five indefinite-on-obviative verbs describe how the mother is prepared and eaten. In (72:16), the mother is cast as the proximate audience of an indefinite speaker, when her in-laws' insistence upon "another kind of fresh soup" opens her eyes to what is really being demanded of her. In addition to this, nine indefinite-on-obviative verbs in (72) describe how the mother is prepared and eaten, and another describes how Apaya:ši:h is thrown aside. In (73), five indefinite-on-obviative verbs describe how the mother is prepared and eaten.

Apart from these instances, the only indefinite marking in Jim Peters' three versions of the episode comes early in their introductions: the mother is named as the proximate object of an indefinite agent (= the father) once each in (71) and (73), and is named as the obviative object of an indefinite agent (= the cannibal giant) once in (72).

As has already been seen, not every new proximate in Jim Peters' stories is accompanied by an overt nominal. Jim Peters has his own rules regarding quoted speech. He tends to demarcate the ends of quotes with a post-verb of quotation obviative noun phrase. He adds a proximate noun phrase only in rare cases of strong emphasis. There are two instances in the episodes above of a postquote containing both a proximate and an obviative nominal: one in (71:3), where the emphasis is part of the shift from one

story to the next (compare the emphatic proximate in 73:2), and one in (72:37), when Ne:nye:škwi:h makes his hysterical report to his father.

Of 56 new proximates in (71), (72), and (73), 25 lack a proximate nominal accompaniment. Seven of these 25 are subset-superset shifts, and are not treated as true shifts. Two more of the 25 are superset-subset shifts via an obviative noun. Of the remaining 16, four are in-quote: a pronominal reference to the mother in (71:35), which picks up the indirect-speech topic of the preceding sentence; a pronominal reference to the grandparents in (72:37), when Ne:nye:škwi:h makes his hysterical report to his father (compare 71:39 and 73:48); a pronominal reference to the grandparents in the very next line, (72:38), when the father speaks after an elapse of time; and another pronominal reference to the grandparents, again after an elapse of time, in (73:57). The remaining twelve of the 16 are extra-quote. Of these, six (71:40, 72:13, 72:40, 73:12, 73:56, and 73:57) are postquote proximate shifts involving an obviative nominal. Two (73:14 and 73:31) are purely pronominal non-postquote shifts to the mother, as default proximate, in the section of Part 1A discussed above. Another, in the same passage, in (73:19), is a non-postquote shift to the mother involving an obviative nominal. Two more (73:18 and 73:30) are purely pronominal postquote shifts to the grandparents from the same passage. And the last of the twelve, in (73:51), is a purely pronominal postquote shift to Ne:nye:škwi:h's father when he replies to his son in (73) Part 2A (compare 71:40).

Of 47 new obviatives in (71), (72), and (73), only seven lack an accompanying nominal. Of the seven, four (73:14, 73:18, 73:30, and 73:51) are obviative halves of the purely pronominal shifts just mentioned: three occur in the unusually noun-poor section of (73) Part 2A, and one occurs in the father's reply to his son's announcement. One more purely pronominal new obviative occurs in (71:9), when Ne:nye:škwi:h is mentioned for the first time. "*The woman had a child. It was a boy*" is a conventional way of introducing a newborn. Compare (72:6) and (73:7), which condense this information into a single sentence: "*They(She) had a little boy for their(her) child.*" The remaining two purely pronominal obviatives occur in an interesting setting, in (72:28) and (72:32), in the second half of (72) Part 2B, as Ne:nye:škwi:h's mother is cooked and

eaten. Even though an independent scene with its own obviative has intervened since her last mention, Ne:nye:škwi:h's mother is presented as pronominal obviative when Ne:nye:škwi:h returns from disposing of his brother. And even though an independent scene and a string of same-scene obviatives have intervened since their last obviative mention, Ne:nye:škwi:h's grandparents are presented as pronominal obviative when they sit down to eat his mother. Compare (71:32) and (71:36), and (73:41) and (73:45), which reset both the mother and the grandparents in these same contexts. Version (72) appears to be making the pictures—the mother's dismemberment, and the grandparents' squatting head-to-head over their feast—much more vivid by omitting the nominal resets, and so partaking more directly of Ne:nye:škwi:h's point of view.

Of 30 new inanimates in (71), (72), and (73), eleven lack an accompanying nominal. Ten of these are expletive inanimates referring to times of day or numbers of years. The eleventh is the subject of a locative participle referring to a hollow space, and hence is roughly equivalent to an expletive inanimate (but compare 72:27, in which a similar participle has a nominal realization of the subject).

Ten current proximates in (71), (72), and (73) have an overt nominal realization. Of the ten, six occur at emotional crises. One of these, in (72:37), is Ne:nye:škwi:h's report to his father, which in version (72) is accompanied by two vocatives and a postquote emphatic proximate. Lines (71:39) and (73:48) are calmer, by contrast. The other five occur at the dramatic climax of (71): when the mother begins to sharpen her knife, in (71:22); when Ne:nye:škwi:h sees his mother butchered, in (71:32); when Ne:nye:škwi:h is urged to eat his mother, and when he refuses, in (71:34) and (71:36); and when his mother is eaten, in (71:37). Versions (72) and (73) lack this extra emphasis.

The remaining four emphatic proximates in (71), (72), and (73) are used for an interesting purpose: they mark structural boundaries in the narrative. Three, in (71:3), (72:4), and (73:2), reinforce the shift to the Apaya:ši:hs' story: each version begins with a focused new proximate and focused new obviative, quickly followed by an emphatic proximate reset. The fourth effects the shift to Part 2B in (73): this version of the story,

which sends the father off on a final boundary-setting hunt, marks the transition with a focused emphatic proximate.

Nineteen current obviatives in (71), (72), and (73) have an overt nominal realization. Eleven of the 19 are postquote resets of the kind described above. Of the remaining eight, one is an obviative accompaniment to one of the emotion-heightening emphatic proximates just mentioned: it occurs in (71:34), when Ne:nye:škwih is urged to eat his mother. Three more occur with a changed conjunct verb beginning in perfective *ki:ši-*, and emphasize a change of scene. Two of these, in (71:33) and (72:31), mark the moment when the mother is served out to be eaten; the third, in (72:35), is postposed, and defocuses the mother and (72) Part 1B, simultaneously. Another emphatic obviative, *osi:me:hani* in (72:27), defocuses Apaya:ši:h and the outdoor scene simultaneously. Another, *i:nihi ke:hkya:hahi* in (73:35), heightens the emotional drama (it follows hard on the heels of another overt reference to the grandparents), and defocuses the grandparents and (73) Part 1A simultaneously. The remaining two, like the four emphatic proximates mentioned above, delimit a structural boundary in the narrative: *okwise:hani* in (71:42) and (73:55) marks the transition to the episode's conclusion.

In addition to these, three emphatic defocusing obviatives occur at a juncture where the interposition of another obviative somewhat confuses their status:

e:h=amomeči:=niye:na okye:ni 'that former/that late mother of his was eaten' in (71:37), (72:33), and (73:46).

There are three current inanimates in (71), (72), and (73) that have an overt realization. All three refer to the knife. One occurs with a changed conjunct verb beginning in perfective *ki:ši-*, emphasizing a scene change, and the other two are more simply emotionally emphatic, and mark the moment when the woman lays the knife atop her belly. Version (73) refrains from emphasizing the knife at all. The relevant portions of the three texts are repeated below:

- (71:22) e:h=we:pi-ki:nihto:+či **ihkwe:w+a ma:tes+i**.
 (71:23) ki:h-meči=-meko pe:hki -ki:nya:+niki:='ni ma:tese:h+i, e:h=nana:h-a:htawa:šiki nanakote:ki,
 (71:24)ahkwiči:='nahi:='ni e:h=ahto:+či ma:tes+i o+šehk+eki.

- (71:22) **The woman** began sharpening *a knife*.
 (71:23) After *that knifeling* was really fairly sharp, **she** arranged herself on her back in the center of the house,
 (71:24)placing *that knife* atop her belly.

- (72:18)e:h=we:pi-ki:nihto:+či ma:tes+i.
 (72:19) ki:ši-ki:nihto:+či, e:h=nana:h-a:htawa:ši+ki nanakote:ki,
 (72:20)ahkwiči e:h=ahto:+či ma:tes+i ki:ši-ki:nihto:+či o+šehk+eki.

- (72:18)And **she** began sharpening *a knife*.
 (72:19) After sharpening *it*, **she** arranged herself on her back in the center of the house,
 (72:20)placing *the sharpened knife* atop her belly.

- (73:31) e:h=we:pi-ki:nihto:+či ma:tes+i.
 (73:32) ki:ši-ki:nihto:+či, e:h=nana:hiši+ki nanakote:ki,
 (73:33)e:h=maya:w-a:htawa:ši+ki.

- (73:31) **She** began sharpening *a knife*.
 (73:32) After sharpening *it*, **she** lay down in the center of the house,
 (73:33)lying flat on her back.

As we have seen throughout the discussion of the various versions of The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth, and especially in examination of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's and Jim Peters' different variants of the story, which things get singled out for emphasis may vary from text to text, and yet the categories of things that can be emphasized—both Meskwaki-general, and author-specific—remain constant and distinguishable. Jim Peters employs emphatic nominals to mark emotional intensity and/or major structural joins in the narrative. However, none of his variants uses emphatic nominals in every possible site. The sites that are chosen, or not chosen, can significantly alter the rhetorical texture of a segment of text.

Jim Peters has yet a new slant on the new/old preverbal/postverbal nominal division. Of 41 overt proximates in his three versions of this episode, 15 are preverbal. Eight of the 15 mark major structural joins in the narrative (the introductions of 71 and 73; Part 1A in 71 and 72; Part 1B in 71 and 73; Part 2A in 72; Part 2B in 73). Another, already discussed above, reinforces the shift into the introduction of (73): line (73:2) contains a preverbal overt emphatic repetition of the current proximate. Of the remaining six, three are in-quote unaccompanied demonstratives (lines 71:4, 73:28 and 73:51), and three, in the introductions to (72) and (73) (lines 72:10, 73:5, and 73:11), are contrastive shifts marked by a focusing =*ke:hi*.

Of 60 overt obviatives in (71), (72), and (73), six are wholly or partially preverbal. Three of the six are circumverbal and occur in the introductory lines of the three episodes. The remaining three are preverbal. One, in (73:41), is a sentence-initial contrastive shift marked by a focusing =*ke:hi*. The other two are sentence-medial, and mark the first explicit mention of Ne:nye:škwih, in (73:7), and the first explicit mention of Apaya:ši:h, in (72:23). Compare (73:6–7) with (72:6) and (71:8–9):

(73:6) no:hkawahi:nakate+niki e:h=no:še:+či,
 (73:7) *kwi:yese:h+ani* e:h=oni:ča:nesi+či.

(73:6) *The next year* **she** gave birth,
 (73:7) *having a boy.*

(72:6) aškači e:h=oni:ča:nesi+wa:či *kwi:yese:he:h+ani*.
 (72:6) After some time had passed **they** had *a baby boy*.

(71:8) meše:=’nah=kapo:twe e:h=oni:ča:nesi+či **ihkwe:w+a**.
 (71:9) e:h=kwi:yese:he:hi+niči.

(71:8) At some point **the woman** had a child.
 (71:9) *It* was a baby boy.

In (72:6), the sentence consists of a single clause, and *kwi:yese:he:h+ani* is ordered postverbally. In (73:6–7), with a sentence made up of two clauses with overlapping

semantics, *kwi:yesē:he:h+ani* is ordered preverbally. In both cases, the new verb ranks as more important information than the new obviative. In (71:8–9), *Ne:nye:škwi:h* does not get a nominal mention at all.

Compare (72:23) with (71:27) and (73:35):

(72:23)*e:h=po:hkeče:n+emeči, na:mata:si:h+ani o+si:me:h+ani* manahka
e:h=pakin+emeči.

(72:23)*Her* belly was torn open, and *the fetus, his younger brother*, was thrown aside.

(71:27)*e:h=po:hkeče:n+eči, e:h=keta:hke:+ki na:mata:si:h+a.*

(71:27)**Her** belly was torn open, and **the fetus** was flung out.

(73:35)*e:h=po:hkeče:n+ekoči:= 'nihi ke:hkya:h+ahi.*

(73:35)*Those old people* tore **her** belly open.

Apaya:ši:h gets a sentence-medial preverbal mention when he is introduced in the obviative, in (72), and a sentence-final postverbal mention when he is introduced in the proximate, in (71). He gets no nominal mention at all when he is introduced into (73).

Of 24 overt inanimates in (71), (72), and (73), six are preverbal. Three of the six are in-quote emphatic references to soup. The fourth is an inanimate foodstuff, which is mentioned preverbally in (71:16), postverbally in (72:14), and not at all in (73:13):

(71:16)*ašk-owi:ya:s+i e:h=po:ta:hkwe:+či.*

(71:16)**She** boiled some fresh meat.

(72:14)*e:h=wača:h+a:či mena:škono:n+i.*

(72:14)And **she** cooked some fresh meat for *them*.

(73:13)*e:h=wača:h+ekoči.*

(73:13)And *she* cooked for **him**.

Compare again *Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's* (69:44) and (70:24): the noun for 'fresh deer meat' occurs preverbally in one and postverbally in the other.

The remaining two preverbal inanimates in Jim Peters' excerpts are locative complements to the verbs in (71:30) and (72:27). Compare the locative noun in (73:40), which appears postverbally:

(71:30)*e:h=wa:šinihkate+niki* e:h=mawi-pi:čisah+a:či.
(71:30)and went and dropped *him* inside a hollow tree.

(72:27)*ki:škanahkatw+i e:h=pepikwe:ya:+niki* e:h=mawi-pi:čisah+a:či
o+si:me:h+ani=ta:taki.
(72:27)**He** went and dropped *his younger brother*, so to speak, into the cavity of a broken-off tree.

(73:40)*e:h=mawi-pi:činihkisah+a:či ki:škanahkato:h+eki*.
(73:40)and went and deposited *him* inside a broken-off tree.

Jim Peters' rules for the new/old preverbal/postverbal distribution of nouns are as follows: (1) Proximates and obviatives carrying contrastive emphasis are preverbal. (2) All other extra-quote preverbal proximates mark new segments of narrative. (3) All other extra-quote preverbal obviatives mark important new characters in the narrative. (4) Inanimates, in-quote proximates, and in-quote obviatives are postverbal more often than preverbal, but can appear preverbally even in the absence of special conditions. The rules for the new/old preverbal/postverbal distribution reflect the global information structure in a narrative: inanimates and in-quote nominals—with rare exceptions—have no role in the larger context.

Notice that the introduction to each episode is strongly marked as new. Lines (71:1) and (73:1) each contain a preverbal proximate and a circumverbal obviative. Line (72:1) contains a circumverbal obviative, and places the proximate before the obviative participle that refers to it, after the main verb.

4.7. Summary of proximate and obviative use in The Apaya:ši:hs' Birth

Several points emerge from examination of five authors' eight variants of the events surrounding the Apaya:ši:hs' birth. First, in highly structured narrative of this type, proximate status can be assigned exclusively by the characters' importance in the story, as in Anonymous 8's variant (66) or in Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's variant (70); it can be assigned exclusively by the characters' affect, as in Ša:poci:wa's variant (67) or Jim Peters' three variants (71), (72), and (73); or it can be assigned predominantly by characters' importance, with occasional marking by affect for dramatic effect, as in Alfred Kiyana's variant (68) or Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha's variant (69).

Second, different ways of telling a story can create different rankings of importance or affect.

Third, different choices of proximates can create very different stories out of the same series of events.

Fourth, it is possible to create a strict greater-than-three-tiered ranking of characters. (Recall that Meskwaki morphology only provides for three degrees of distance for animates, and two degrees of distance for inanimates.)

Fifth, all five authors manipulate presence or absence of overt nominals, placement of overt nominals, presence or absence of indefinite inflection, presence or absence of demonstratives, and choice of demonstratives to convey information about the status of the different characters and the status of the story. In many instances the different authors exhibit strikingly different preferences about the use and import of these devices.

Chapter 5. The meaning of proximate and obviative

5.1. Halle & Marantz's proposal: [obv], [-obv], and [+obv]

One of the standard theories of how Algonquian inflection works, Halle & Marantz's Distributed Morphology analysis, assumes that the category I have been calling "proximate" does not exist.

In developing their analysis, Halle & Marantz fall into two attractive errors. The first is the assumption that there is a one-to-one relationship between morphological categories and the markers of morphological categories. The second is an attempt at maximal parsimony of explanation, carried too far.

These errors reflect an attempt to impose a greater logical symmetry on linguistic structures than any natural language will tolerate. They are interesting (a) because few or no linguists entirely avoid making errors of this kind, and (b) because speakers of languages often act in response to the same tension linguists are subject to—the wish to substitute a more ideal relation of linguistic forms and linguistic ideas for the actual messy choices our grammars present us with. (One result, in historical linguistics, is the phenomenon of change by analogy, which notoriously often achieves greater symmetry in one part of a paradigm or a grammar at the expense of chaos elsewhere in the paradigm or grammar.)

I will discuss Halle & Marantz's claims about Potawatomi, an Algonquian language closely related to Meskwaki, with reference to Potawatomi and to Meskwaki grammar.

The inflection for intransitive verbs with third person subjects for most moods in Meskwaki exhibits a three-way contrast between proximate, obviative, and animate proximate plural. So, for instance, the imperative mood suffixes *+čē* to inanimate intransitive stems with an inanimate proximate subject, whether singular or plural, and to animate intransitive stems with an animate proximate singular subject. It suffixes *+ničē* to inanimate intransitive stems with an inanimate obviative subject, whether singular or

plural, and to animate intransitive stems with an animate obviative subject, whether singular or plural. It suffixes *+wa:če* to animate intransitive stems with an animate proximate plural subject. Analytically, this system of marking consists of a default marker (*+če*) for inanimate proximate singular, inanimate proximate plural, and animate proximate singular. It gives *+ni* plus the default marker for obviative, and *+wa:* plus the default marker for animate proximate plural.

The imperative, prohibitive, potential, and interrogative moods in Meskwaki all inflect according to this pattern.⁵² The dubitative mood inflects according to the same basic pattern, except that the plurals are distinguished by the addition of participial endings (*+ini* for inanimate plural, *+iki* for animate proximate plural, and presumably *+ihi* (unattested) for obviative plural), resulting in a superficial six-way contrast. The independent indicative mood inflects according to a similar pattern, except that all forms are distinguished by the addition of nominal endings, resulting in a superficial eight-way contrast. In the independent, a basic division of *+w* for proximate and *+niw* for obviative results in *+wi* for inanimate proximate singular, *+wani* for inanimate proximate plural, *+niwi* for inanimate obviative singular, *+niwani* for inanimate obviative plural, *+wa* for animate proximate singular, *+waki* for animate proximate plural, *+niwani* for animate obviative singular, and *+niwahi* for animate proximate plural.

The aorist conjunct is the only mood that exhibits a fundamental contrast between animate and inanimate. The aorist conjunct has a five-way contrast between *+ki* for inanimate proximate, *+niki* for inanimate obviative, *+či* for animate proximate singular, *+niči* for animate obviative, and *+wa:či* for animate proximate plural.

In Table 16, μ stands for the core marker for each mood (for intransitive verbs with third person subjects). The symbol μ represents *+če* for the imperative, *+hkiče* for the prohibitive, *+sa* for the potential, *+kwe:ni* for the interrogative, *+:toke* for the dubitative, *+w* for the independent indicative, *+či* for the aorist conjunct animate and *+ki* for the aorist conjunct inanimate.

⁵² Except that the interrogative animate proximate plural suffixes *+iki* instead of prefixing *+wa:*. The result is *+kwe:ni* vs. *+nikwe:ni* vs. *+kwe:hiki* instead of *+kwe:ni* vs. *+nikwe:ni* vs. *+wa:kwe:ni*.

In Tables 16 and 17, “3s” stands for animate proximate singular; “3p” for animate proximate plural; “3’s” for animate obviative singular; “3’p” for animate obviative plural; “0s” for inanimate proximate singular; “0p” for inanimate proximate plural; “0’s” for inanimate obviative singular; “0’p” for inanimate obviative plural.

Table 16. Basic contrasts in Meskwaki inflection for intransitive verbs with 3rd subject

imperative, prohibitive, potential, and interrogative	3s, 0s, 0p μ	3’s, 3’p, 0’s, 0’p <i>ni</i> + μ	3p <i>wa:</i> + μ
dubitative	3s, 0s μ	3’s, 0’s <i>ni</i> + μ	3p, 3’p, 0p, 0’p μ + appropriate plural participial ending
independent indicative	3s, 3p, 0s, 0p μ + appropriate prox. nominal ending	3’s, 3’p, 0’s, 0’p <i>ni</i> + μ + appropriate obv. nominal ending	
aorist conjunct animate	3s μ	3’s, 3’p <i>ni</i> + μ	3p <i>wa:</i> + μ
aorist conjunct inanimate	0s, 0p μ	0’s, 0’p <i>ni</i> + μ	

In Meskwaki, only the aorist conjunct moods make a fundamental difference between the verbal inflection for animate singular and the verbal inflection for inanimate. This difference is not critical (and, in fact, there is a variant of the animate proximate singular aorist conjunct ending, attaching to consonant-final stems, which is identical to the inanimate proximate aorist conjunct ending). Recall that the verb stems differ in each case: animate subjects are marked on animate intransitive stems, whereas inanimate subjects are marked on inanimate intransitive stems. The inflectional contrasts in Table 16, then, basically boil down to a three-way contrast between obviative, animate proximate plural, and default proximate. The aorist conjunct moods introduce a

superficial contrast between default animate proximate and default inanimate proximate; and the dubitative and independent indicative moods, borrowing from the participial paradigm, build their underlying three-way contrasts into superficial six-way and eight-way contrasts, respectively.

At the crudest level of analysis, if we take μ to be a mood marker, and restrict our attention to third person subjects of intransitive verbs, we have a pronoun system that opposes nothing (= default proximate) to nothing + something (= obviative) to nothing + something else (= animate proximate plural). Analytically, then, it's tempting to say that the pronoun system is structured on the basis of the features [obv], [anim], and [pl]. That is exactly what Halle & Marantz posit for Potawatomi.

The details of Potawatomi differ somewhat from the Meskwaki case. Potawatomi has altogether lost the contrast between obviative singular and obviative plural. It has also undergone final vowel loss, with the result that its marker for animate proximate singular nouns and inanimate nouns alike is phonetically null. Also as a result of final vowel loss, the inflection for independent indicative verbs with animate proximate singular subjects and inanimate proximate singular subjects is phonetically null.

In Table 17, asterisk (*), dagger (†), and thorn (þ) mark suffixes within a paradigm that are phonetically identical. Note that Potawatomi has a four-way surface contrast in nominal inflection, whereas Meskwaki has a five-way surface contrast in nominal inflection. Note also that Potawatomi, in the independent indicative, has a five-way surface contrast in verbal inflection, whereas Meskwaki, in the independent indicative, has an eight-way surface contrast in verbal inflection.

Table 17. A comparison of Potawatomi and Meskwaki nominal and verbal inflection

nouns		independent indicative verbs					
Potawatomi		Meskwaki		Potawatomi		Meskwaki	
3s	∅ *	3s	a	3s	∅ *	3s	wa
3p	k	3p	aki	3p	k	3p	waki
3's	n †	3's	ani*	3's	n †	3's	niwani
3'p	n †	3'p	ahi	3'p	n †	3'p	niwahi
0s	∅ *	0s	i †	0s	∅ *	0s	wi
0p	un ɓ	0's	i †	0p	ton	0p	wani
0's	∅ *	0p	ani*	0's	nun ɓ	0's	niwi
0'p	un ɓ	0'p	ani*	0'p	nun ɓ	0'p	niwani

In contrast to Meskwaki, Potawatomi nominal inflection consistently fails to distinguish animate singular from inanimate singular, and animate obviative singular from animate obviative plural. Also in contrast to Meskwaki, Potawatomi verbal inflection consistently fails to differentiate animate singular from inanimate singular, and obviative singular from obviative plural. Even more than Meskwaki, then, Potawatomi lends itself to an analysis which has default inflection (which happens to be phonologically null) opposed to marked obviative inflection (+animate or -animate) and marked plural inflection (+animate or -animate).

For their analysis of Potawatomi, Halle & Marantz consider only nouns and independent indicative verbs with first person, second person, and third person subjects. They do not discuss inclusive, indefinite, and secondary obviative persons. As a result, taking singulars and plurals into account, they have twelve instead of sixteen pronouns to consider: 1s, 1p, 2s, 2p, 3s, 3p, 3's, 3'p, 0s, 0p, 0's, 0'p. They propose that the basic three-way inflectional contrast between default, obviative, and plural reflects a deeper level of meaning, which structures the entire pronoun system on the basis of the features [anim], [obv], and [pl]. What I have been calling proximate, Halle & Marantz call unspecified for the feature [obv]. For Halle & Marantz, first and second persons are underlyingly [-obv], whereas third persons acquire the specification [-obv] if and only if

they occur across a transitive verb from a [+obv] person, or occur as the possessor of a [+obv] noun.

There are two immediate objections to Halle & Marantz's system. First, the considerably different behavior of [-obv] first and second persons on the one hand and [-obv] third persons on the other requires Halle & Marantz to state that underlyingly [-obv] persons behave differently than derived [-obv] persons.⁵³ Logically, this means that the features [anim], [obv], and [pl] are insufficient to describe the entire Algonquian pronoun system. And second, Halle & Marantz's system is not equipped to cope with secondary obviatives. Halle & Marantz do not discuss the existence of secondary obviatives. Potawatomi (unlike Meskwaki) has lost the primary obviative versus secondary obviative inflectional contrast, but it retains obviative-on-obviative possession. One clear example of obviative-on-obviative possession is given in the data from Hockett (1939), which provides the raw material for Halle & Marantz's analysis of Potawatomi.⁵⁴

5.2. A counterproposal: agent hierarchy versus proximity hierarchy

Clearly, Halle & Marantz's attempt to reduce the complexity of the Algonquian inflectional system to three binary features is unworkable. It gives a beautifully spare

⁵³Halle & Marantz 1993:143. "There is one major difference between the structures involving a 3rd person [-obv] DP and those involving a 1st or 2nd person DP (which are automatically [-obv]), a difference that shows up in the possessed form of an animate noun (22e-i) or in the transitive verb pattern with an animate direct object (23). (22e) shows that an animate noun possessed by a 2nd person need not be marked [+obv], whereas the ungrammaticality of (22i) shows that an animate noun possessed by a 3rd person (by hypothesis, [-obv]) DP must be so marked. (23a-b) show that the 3rd person object with a 2nd person subject also need not be marked [+obv], whereas the ungrammaticality of (23e) indicates again that the 3rd person object with a [-obv] 3rd person subject must be marked [+obv]." In other words, there's a problem because inherently [-obv] persons can act on/be acted on by/possess [+obv] OR derived [-obv] (unspecified for [obv]) persons, whereas derived [-obv] (unspecified for obv) persons can only possess [+obv] persons, and can only act on/be acted on by [+obv] persons or inherently [-obv] persons.

⁵⁴ *nos·?ok-məs·ən tənnimnən* 'my father's grandmother's husband'. (Hockett 1939:240.) In this phrase, 'father' is marked as proximate, 'grandmother' as obviative, and 'husband' as obviative (secondary obviative, for Hockett). Potawatomi (unlike Meskwaki) retains a reflex of the Proto-Algonquian marker for an obviative possessor, which Hockett actually misconstrues as a marker for the secondary obviative status of the possessed noun. (Goddard, personal communication.) For Hockett, the noun *tənnimnən* 'her husband' consists of third person possessive prefix plus the noun stem for 'man' plus the possessive marker *m* plus secondary obviative inflection; with Goddard's correction, *tənnimnən* actually consists of

and stark, but also, unfortunately, Procrustean account of the facts. The reduction to the features [anim], [obv], and [pl], so well-keyed to one superficial aspect of the morphology and so profoundly satisfying at first glance, requires a profoundly unsatisfying complicated machinery elsewhere, in order to account for the fact that not all [-obv] persons are equal. And Halle & Marantz's system not only fails to account for differences in the behavior of non-third persons and proximates, but fails to allow for the existence of such persons as the indefinite and the secondary obviative.

If such extreme parsimony fails to give us even the basic pronoun array of an Algonquian language, what do I have in to offer in its place? Unfortunately, in order even to begin to account for the facts we have to posit a system that involves many, many primitives and tolerates massive redundancy, overlap, and ambiguity. It ought to reassure us that nature frequently favors redundant design. Just as the human ear contains thousands of cells wired in parallel to process the same incoming sounds, just as homing pigeons navigate by Earth's magnetic fields or by the sun or by familiar landmarks, or by any two of these, or by all three, humans as reasoning animals and as producers of linguistic output have a terrific tolerance for arriving at conclusions by multiple (often complementary, often contradictory) paths. Speakers of Algonquian languages produce an output that is, with regard to person marking, simultaneously informed by: (1) a number of inflected pronoun categories to choose among, (2) a concept of graded agency, (3) a concept of graded proximacy, or centrality to the topic at hand, (4) a principle that no two persons occupying the same discourse universe can have the same status (occasionally complicated by scenarios in which two persons necessarily have indistinguishable status), and (5) a principle that animates always outrank inanimates (occasionally complicated by scenarios in which inanimates necessarily outrank animates, or in which inanimates and animates are one and the same).

Good linguistic methodology requires us to start out with the most elegantly spare hypotheses we can construct, and then amend them when they fail to account for the

third person possessive prefix plus the noun stem for 'man' plus possessive *m* plus a marker of obviative

linguistic facts, or discard them altogether when they lead to logical inconsistencies. It's important to recognize that redundancy, overlap, and ambiguity—different linguistic forms dedicated to the same function, or different functions fulfilled by the same linguistic form—are not only possible but common in natural language. I arrived at my current theory about Meskwaki person marking after many years of analyzing many lines of text and successively complicating my theory to try to account for the facts (the patterns of facts) I was sure I had observed, and no others. According to my theory, the inclusive, second person, first person, indefinite, proximate, obviative, secondary obviative, animate, inanimate, singular, and plural categories are all concepts in their own right that notably influence speakers' usage; and the metaphors of graded potential for agency, and graded potential for proximity, are concepts that notably influence speakers' usage; and the notions that no two persons are equal in rank, and that animates always outrank inanimates, are concepts that notably influence speakers' usage; and all of these factors sometimes collide with each other, or with external facts, in ways that require creative resolution.

Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation have already demonstrated most of these facts. However, I have not brought to bear all the evidence that proximate and obviative *as categories* cross-cut the division of third persons into animate and inanimate.

In section 2.5, I showed that the organizing principle of the Meskwaki inflectional system is an abstract concept of agency. The fifteen different categories of pronoun⁵⁵—inclusive, second person singular, second person plural, first person singular, first person plural, indefinite, animate proximate singular, animate proximate plural, animate obviative singular, animate obviative plural, animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate singular, inanimate proximate plural, inanimate obviative singular, and

possessor plus obviative inflection.

⁵⁵ It may be overcautious to include all fifteen of these categories. However, each of the fifteen has its own special markers in at least some part of the inflectional paradigms of Meskwaki. And in Chapters 2 and 3, I discussed unique uses that pertain to at least ten of these categories: the inclusive, second person, first person, indefinite, animate proximate singular, animate proximate plural, animate obviative, animate secondary obviative, inanimate proximate, and inanimate obviative.

inanimate obviative plural—are classified as natural agents or as natural patients according to three major divisions. A four-way cut (represented only in the independent order moods) separates inclusive, second and first persons from indefinite persons from animate third persons from inanimate third persons. A two-way cut (represented in all moods) separates animate persons from inanimate persons. Another two-way cut (represented in all moods) separates animate proximate third persons from animate obviative third persons. In addition, in the moods for which obviative-on-obviative inflection is attested (conjunct, interrogative, and independent indicative), obviative persons are distinguished from remote obviative persons.

Meskwaki nominal inflection adheres strictly to the agent hierarchy.⁵⁶ In nominal inflection, non-third persons and indefinites can possess third persons, animates can possess inanimates, proximates can possess obviatives, and obviatives can possess secondary obviatives, but not vice versa. Imperative verbs, too, adhere to the agent hierarchy.⁵⁷ In the imperative paradigm, animates act on inanimates and on each other, but inanimate never acts on animate and obviative never acts on proximate. Elsewhere, Meskwaki verbal inflection permits reversals of the agent hierarchy, but marks all reversals with the inverse suffix *+ekw*. In other words, all cases and only cases of inanimates acting on animates, animate obviatives acting on animate proximates, animate secondary obviatives acting on animate primary obviatives, and (for the independent order moods only) animate third persons acting on indefinite, inclusive, second and first persons and indefinite persons acting on inclusive, second, and first persons are marked by the suffix *+ekw*.

The three different kinds of agent and patient relations defined by inverse marking in Meskwaki grammar can be represented as in Table 18. In Tables 18–21, “12” stands for inclusive person; “2” for second person; “1” for first person; “X” for indefinite person; “3” for animate proximate person; “3’” for animate obviative person; “3’” for animate

⁵⁶ According to the strictest scheme possible: scheme A in Table 17 below, augmented by schemes C and C’. Nouns, of course, are always third persons.

⁵⁷ According to schemes B and C in Table 17 below. The combinations that occur are: 12, 2 acting on 3, 3’, 0 or 0’; 3 acting on 3’ or 0’; 3’ acting on 0’; also, 2 acting on 1 and 3 acting on 12, 2 or 1. There are no inverse imperative transfers of action.

secondary obviative person; “0” for inanimate proximate person; “0” for inanimate obviative person.

Table 18. The Meskwaki agent hierarchy

	A independent order moods	B all moods	C all moods	C' conjunct, interrogative, independent indicative
Agent	12, 2, 1	12, 2, 1, X, 3, 3'	3	3'
Agent in tendency	X			
Patient in tendency	3, 3'			
Patient	0, 0'	0, 0'	3'	3''

The four hierarchies in Table 18 (A, B, C and C') can be collapsed into a single agent hierarchy. The resulting hierarchy, in Table 19, has the property that each point is treated in the compositional rules of the inflection as less agentive than what is above it and as more agentive than what is below it. Action of lower nodes upon higher nodes is always marked as inverse, and action of higher nodes upon lower nodes is never marked as inverse.

Table 19. The Meskwaki agent hierarchy simplified

independent order moods		conjunct order and imperative moods
Agent	12, 2, 1	Agent
Agent in tendency	X	
Patient in tendency	3	Patient Subpatient
Patient	3'	
Subpatient	3'', 0, 0'	

Note the pooling of persons at the top and at the bottom of the hierarchy in Table 19. Interactions of inclusive, second, and first persons are never marked as inverse. Similarly, the rare instances of inanimates acting on inanimates are never marked as

inverse. And inanimates and secondary obviatives are never brought into contact as the inflected arguments of a transitive verb.

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the patterns of use of these pronouns partially contradict the agent hierarchy. Especially interesting are the facts (a) that two rankings of inanimates exist at all, and (b) that these two rankings are distributed as they are: inanimates are proximate if they are highly interesting, or if they are the only third person in their discourse span; they are obviative everywhere else. In other words, they pattern exactly like animate proximates in that they represent the most interesting third person of their discourse spans.

What is so striking about this is that inanimate proximates do not behave as if they are lower-ranked than animate obviatives. On the contrary, they behave as if they are higher-ranked than animate obviatives, and equal to animate proximates. This fact, when taken into account with the fact that the agent hierarchy ranks all inanimates below all animates, explains Meskwaki speakers' avoidance of having an inanimate proximate side by side with an animate third person in the same discourse span.

The behavior of the Meskwaki pronouns in discourse defines a pronoun hierarchy which we might call a "proximacy hierarchy". In discourse, inclusive, second, and first persons are foregrounded relative to all other persons. Proximates are backgrounded relative to inclusive, second, and first persons, but foregrounded relative to obviative and indefinite persons. Obviatives are backgrounded relative to proximates, but foregrounded relative to the indefinite person.

In Table 20, my proposed proximacy hierarchy is listed side by side with the agent hierarchy from Table 19. The two hierarchies differ in the position of the indefinite and the position of inanimate proximates. The proximacy hierarchy ranks all proximates above all obviatives, whereas the agent hierarchy ranks inanimate proximates below animate obviatives. Also, the proximacy hierarchy ranks the indefinite person as more

remote than all specified third persons, whereas the agent hierarchy ranks the indefinite person as nearer than all third persons.

Table 20. Proximity hierarchy versus agent hierarchy

Proximity hierarchy		Agency hierarchy	
Near	12, 2, 1 3, 0	Agent	12, 2, 1 X
	3'		3
	3'', 0'		3'
Far	X	Patient	3'', 0, 0'

The beauty of the Meskwaki system is that it has a single, simple metaphor, agency, underpinning its inflectional categories, and a more complex metaphor, proximity, underpinning their use. The gap between the two is the gap that always exists between the finite set of choices that give structure to a grammar and the infinitely various sets of situations that people might want to employ that grammar to describe.

Inanimate obviative is the only inflectional category of Meskwaki to fall out of the gap. Inanimates universally, and in Meskwaki very pointedly, are treated as the third persons least likely to be agents. In a system which does not permit inanimates to possess or otherwise act on other inanimates, there is no reason connected with agency for the inanimate proximate/obviative division to exist.

The existence of the inanimate obviative category derives directly from the fact that proximity is more complex than agency. Proximity is a relation of prominence, informed partly by local importance, partly by global significance, and partly by potential emotional impact of the status of the different participants in a discourse. The prominence of discourse participants is determined by a number of considerations that in many cases, for compelling reasons, turns the agent hierarchy on its head.

In what follows, I will argue for the existence of proximate and obviative as meaningful categories in their own right.

5.2.2. The status of proximate pronouns

5.2.2.1. Problems with perspective

What is so interesting is that Halle & Marantz's basic observation—that, in terms of Algonquian morphology, obviatives and plurals are marked, whereas proximate singulars are unmarked—in fact reflects an important principle that has ramifications not in only in the morphology but in the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of Algonquian. As discussed in Chapter 3, proximate is the default category of third person: if there is a single third person present in a discourse span, that third person will be proximate. Obviatives in Algonquian are marked. Obviatives are *highly* marked anywhere but immediately abutting a proximate; and secondary obviatives are highly marked wherever they occur. Plurals, too, are marked in Algonquian: as discussed in 3.3.2.3.4 and elsewhere, in the standard case they are treated as complex and asymmetric.

The problem lies in the assumption that a satisfying coincidence of function and form in one part of the grammar has an explanatory power that holds across the entire grammar. Proximates are classified as default third person from a speaker and hearer-centered view of the world. In relation to non-third persons, proximates are the default third person, obviatives are highly marked third persons, and secondary obviatives are off the chart; in relation to proximates, however, obviatives are the default third person, secondary obviatives are highly marked third persons, and tertiary obviatives are so highly marked that no special inflection for them exists.

Halle & Marantz's system breaks down exactly where the interaction between proximates and obviatives (and still more the interaction between obviatives and secondary obviatives) starts to appear. Halle & Marantz's analysis is based on the iconic structure of the inflectional morphology, and the iconic structure of the inflectional morphology is *partially geared to the interaction of non-third persons with third persons*.

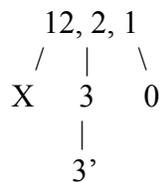
We need a feature [prox], as well as a feature [obv], in order to account fully for what happens to third persons around non-third persons. And we can scarcely discuss what

happens to third persons around other third persons without invoking a feature [prox] as well as a feature [obv].

5.2.2.2. Problems with the agent hierarchy

The agent hierarchy, like Algonquian inflectional morphology, is partially geared to the interaction of non-third persons with third persons. If all Meskwaki discourse were narrow-domain discourse, the agent hierarchy and the proximity hierarchy would be identical. All third persons would be proximate, unless (a) they were possessed by a third person, in which case they would be obviative, or (b) they occurred across a transitive verb from another third person, in which case one of the two would be obviative. Secondary obviatives would disappear, as would inanimate obviatives; primary obviatives would behave much like secondary obviatives. Neither the status of the indefinite nor the status of inanimate proximates would matter at all. The resulting pronoun hierarchy would be as in Table 21.

Table 21. The agent hierarchy (narrow domain)



The features [anim] and [prox], or [anim] and [obv], would be sufficient to distinguish the three third persons portrayed in Table 21. The five third persons in Table 20 require at least two additional features: one to account for the secondary obviative, and another to account for the difference between the agency hierarchy cut and the proximity hierarchy cut.

5.2.2.3. Problems with proximity

More interesting than Halle & Marantz's claim that the pronouns of Potawatomi can be adequately described using only the features [anim], [obv], and [pl] is their claim that nonobviative animates and inanimates are different in kind, not only with respect to their animacy, but with respect to their nonobviative character. In Potawatomi, as in Meskwaki, inanimates never occur as possessors, and, when they occur across a transitive verb from another third person, are necessarily obviative. Hence inanimates, in Halle & Marantz's system, never receive the specification [-obv]. In other words, Halle & Marantz assume that what I have been calling "inanimate proximates" do not exist.

This claim requires a little more thought. I have been remarking throughout this dissertation that proximate is the default category of third person, and that the distinction between proximate and obviative, in the vicinity of inclusive, first and second persons, typically dwindles to nearly nothing. The status of inanimates, in the vicinity of animates, is usually similarly marginal. A ranking of inclusive, second, and first persons as inherently [-obv], animate third persons as sometimes derived [-obv], sometimes unspecified for [obv], and sometimes [+obv], and inanimate third persons as sometimes unspecified for [obv] and sometimes [+obv], would account for most of the divisions in the agent hierarchy chart in Table 20. According to this analysis, the feature [prox] would have no explanatory power of its own, and we would expect nonobviative animates and nonobviative inanimates to behave very differently.

Even if we discard the arbitrary reliance on the feature [obv], it's attractive to assume that the Algonquian pronouns are ranked in a strict linear hierarchy, ranging from inclusive to second to first to indefinite to animate proximate to animate obviative to secondary obviative to inanimate proximate to inanimate obviative. There is a strong morphological basis for assuming the superior status of animates to inanimates. Nonetheless, I have argued throughout this dissertation that, based on their use, proximate and obviative have a meaning independent of their association with the different gender classes. Paradoxical though it may seem at first glance, animates

outrank inanimates, but animate proximates, animate obviatives, and animate secondary obviatives do not outrank inanimate proximates.

5.3. Evidence for the proximate/obviative contrast

As one example of the gap between formal categories and functional categories, consider the animate/inanimate contrast in Meskwaki. Meskwaki treats animates and inanimates as fundamentally different in kind. Intransitive verb stems divide into formally and functionally distinct sets on the basis of whether they take an animate or an inanimate subject. Transitive verb stems divide into formally and functionally distinct sets on the basis of whether they take an animate or an inanimate object. Animate and inanimate nouns inflect differently, and according to partially divergent patterns. Animate and inanimate arguments of transitive verbs inflect according to highly divergent patterns. Inanimates can act as possessors functionally, but not formally. Inanimates can be proximate (or unspecified for obviative) relative to an animate only in exceptional circumstances (see 3.2.3). And all transitive inanimate subjects, even those acting on obviatives, are marked as inverse.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, in actual usage there are numerous cases in which animate and inanimate nouns are coördinate, or in which animates and inanimates have the same referent.

5.3.1. Coördinate animate and inanimate nouns

As observed in Dahlstrom (1995:62–64), the rule for coördinate animates and inanimates in Meskwaki is that the noun phrase closest to the verb determines the shape of the verb. This rule needs to be slightly qualified to cover cases in which a coördinate animate and inanimate form a discontinuous constituent flanking the verb: in such instances, whichever noun phrase comes first determines the shape of the verb.

⁵⁸ Remember that inanimate subjects of transitive inanimate verbs do not exist.

If the coördinate animate/inanimate is the subject of an intransitive verb, the verb will be animate intransitive if the nearest noun phrase is animate, and inanimate intransitive if the nearest noun phrase is inanimate. If the coördinate animate/inanimate is the object of a transitive verb, the verb will be transitive animate if the nearest noun phrase is animate, and transitive inanimate if the nearest noun phrase is inanimate. If the coördinate animate/inanimate is the second object of a verb, it has no effect on the shape of the verb. There are no attested examples of coördinate animate/inanimate subjects of transitive verbs (recall how rare inanimate transitive subjects are).

As far as can be determined, coördinate animate/inanimate noun phrases always agree in proximacy. Recall that inanimate nominal inflection in Meskwaki does not distinguish proximate from obviative. However, if the animate part of a coördinate animate/inanimate is proximate, then the verb inflects for a proximate argument. If the animate part of a coördinate animate/inanimate is obviative, then the verb inflects for an obviative argument.

Note that this appears to violate the rule (discussed in section 3.3.2.3.4) that plurals in Meskwaki reflect the status of the highest-ranked member of the set. It's an apparent violation only: in terms of the proximacy hierarchy, inanimate proximates have the same rank as animate proximates. Again, this a case of clashing paradigms: for the parts of the grammar informed by the agency metaphor, animates outrank inanimates; for the parts of the grammar informed by the proximacy metaphor, inanimate proximates rank equal with animate proximates and rank above animate obviatives, and inanimate obviatives rank equal with animate obviatives.

Examples coördinate animate/inanimate are given in (74a-i):

0 verb; overarching **0p** demonstrative; **0s** and **3s** nouns, **3s** demonstrative

(74a) i:nini =ča:h =mani e:šiwe:pi- otehtena:te:+ki
those =so this {signifying.so} they are.gotten. {thence}/CONJ.PPL
na:tawino:n+i na:hka mana maneto:wi- ni:ča:p+a.
medicine also **this** manitou **doll**

So this is the explanation for the origin of **those things, the medicine and also this manitou doll.**

[Anonymous 9 NAA 2640 19I]

In (74a), the conjoined noun phrases, linked by *na:hka*, are the subject of the inanimate participle. The inanimate noun phrase occurs immediately to the right of the verb. The inanimate half of the subject is marked as inanimate singular, and the animate half of the subject is marked as animate proximate singular. The demonstrative referring to both is inanimate plural! The verb is inanimate intransitive, and the verbal agreement is inanimate proximate. In this sentence the conjoined animate and inanimate are both explicitly marked or indexed as proximate.

0' verb; 0s and 3's and 0s nouns

(74b) e:h=we:pi- mi:hkeče:wi:mikate+niki o+wača:howen+i,
begin they.worked/CONJ his.cooking.equipment
še:šketo:h+ani, ana:kan+i.
kettle bowl

His cooking equipment, a kettle and a bowl, began to do the work.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 62F]

In (74b), an inanimate noun phrase, specified by conjoined obviative and inanimate noun phrases, is the subject of the verb. The three noun phrases are ordered consecutively, with the more general inanimate noun phrase immediately following the verb. The inanimate nouns are marked as inanimate singular, and the animate noun is marked as obviative singular. The verb is inanimate intransitive, and the verbal agreement is inanimate obviative. In this sentence the conjoined animate and inanimate are both explicitly marked or indexed as obviative.

3' verb; 3'p and 0p nouns

- (74c) e:h=papa:mako:či+niči še:šketo:h+ahi, ana:kan+ani =ke:hi.
they.hung.along/CONJ kettles bowls =and
Kettles and bowls were hanging there.

[Sam Peters NAA 2005.5 138C]

In (74c), the conjoined noun phrases, linked by =*ke:hi*, are the subject of the verb. The two noun phrases are ordered consecutively, with the animate noun phrase immediately following the verb. The obviative noun is marked as obviative plural, and the inanimate noun is marked as inanimate plural. The verb is animate intransitive, and the verbal agreement is animate obviative. In this sentence only the animate of the conjoined animate/inanimate is explicitly marked as obviative.

3s-0' verb; 0's and 3's nouns

- (74d) e:h=ata:hpen+aki ow+i:p+i, o+mehte:h+ani: =i'nahi.
he.took.them.up/CONJ his.arrow his.bow =and
He took up his arrow and his bow.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 329F]

In (74d), the conjoined noun phrases, linked by =*i:nahi*, are the object of the verb. The two noun phrases are ordered consecutively, with the inanimate noun phrase immediately following the verb. The inanimate noun is marked as inanimate singular, and the animate noun is marked as obviative singular. The verb is transitive inanimate, with a proximate subject. In this sentence only the animate of the conjoined animate/inanimate is explicitly marked as obviative. However the inanimate, as object and possessee of a proximate, must be obviative as well.

3s-3' verb; 3's and 0p nouns

- (74e) e:h=ata:hpen+a:či o+mehte:h+ani, ow+i:p+ani: = 'nahi.
he.took.*them*.up/CONJ *his.bow* *his.arrows* =and
He took up *his bow* and *his arrows*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2729.1 16E]

The sentence in (74e) is identical to the sentence in (74d), except that in (74d) the inanimate noun is plural, not singular, and it precedes the animate noun, with the result that the verb is transitive inanimate in (74d) but transitive animate in (74e). In (74e), as in (74d), the animate is explicitly and the inanimate is implicitly marked as obviative.

3s-0' verb; 0s and 3's nouns

- (74f) maneto:we:kenw+i e:h=ki:šken+aki, kehči:pi:h+ani =na:hka.
fine.broadcloth **she**.tore.*them*.off/CONJ *belt* also
She tore off *some fine broadcloth* and a woven belt.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 46J]

In (74f), the conjoined noun phrases, linked by *na:hka*, are again the object of the verb. The two noun phrases are ordered discontinuously, with the inanimate noun preceding the verb and the animate noun following the verb. The verb is transitive inanimate, with a proximate subject. The animate is explicitly marked as obviative, and the inanimate is indexed as obviative.

3s-3' verb; 3's and 0p nouns

- (74g) ši:, ne:pehe, o+mehte:h+ani i:nah =e:h=ako:n+a:či, ow+i:p+ani: = 'nahi.
say! I.forgot *his.bow* there **he**.hung.*them*.up/CONJ *his.arrows* =and
Say, I forgot, **he** hung up *his bow* and *his arrows* there.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 75E]

In (74g), the conjoined noun phrases, linked by *=i:nahi*, are again the object of the verb. The two noun phrases are ordered discontinuously, with the obviative noun preceding the verb and the inanimate noun following the verb. The verb is transitive animate, with a proximate subject. The animate of is explicitly and the inanimate is implicitly marked as obviative.

2p-0 verb; 3p and 0p nouns

(74h) ke+mehte:h+wa:w+aki ket+aša:ti:h+wa:w+ani
your.(pl).bows **your.(pl).headed.arrows**

ni:mat+amoko.
 you.(pl).hold.**them**.in.your.mouths/CONJ

Carry **your bows and your arrows** in your mouths.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2683 40M*]

In (74h), the conjoined noun phrases are again the object of the verb. The two noun phrases are ordered consecutively, with the inanimate noun immediately preceding the verb. The verb is transitive inanimate, with a second person subject. The animate is explicitly and the inanimate is implicitly marked as proximate.

2s-3 verb; 3p and 0p and 0s nouns

(74i) nahi, mehteno:h =meko pye:n+ate ke+taye:+ki,
 all.right! only =EMPH if.you.bring.**them**/SUBJ **your.pets**

po:či:h+ani: ='nahi, ato:hposo:n+i: ='nahi.
boots.DIM =and tablecloth =and

All right, only if you bring **your pets, and the little boots, and the tablecloth.**

[Sam Peters NAA 2222 40H]

In (74i), the conjoined noun phrases are again the object of the verb. The three noun phrases are ordered consecutively, with the animate noun immediately succeeding the

verb. The verb is transitive animate, with a second person subject. Here only the animate marked as proximate.

The examples in (74a)-(74i) are representative. They show that whereas cases of conjoined animates often exhibit asymmetrical proximity, cases of conjoined animates and inanimates are apparently always symmetrical: the different individuals composing the animate/inanimate plural are all proximate or all obviative. This is not so surprising when you consider that animates conjoined to inanimates—as in all the cases cited above—are likely to be nonhuman and non-alive: there is little possibility here for such a great disparity in rank such as usually exists in the case of asymmetrical animate plurals.

As (74a)-(74i) demonstrate, conjoined animates and inanimates take an inanimate intransitive or transitive inanimate verb if an inanimate is closest to the verb, and an animate intransitive or transitive animate verb if an animate is closest to the verb. In other words, animates and inanimates when conjoined are treated as *equal* in rank and in status. Animate proximate markers and inanimate proximate markers, and animate obviative markers and inanimate obviative markers, behave as equivalents. Proximity still matters intensely in these situations, but animacy matters only at the mechanical level of which form of the verb is slotted in.

Given the fact that plurals in Meskwaki elsewhere always reflect the status of the highest-ranking member of the set, it seems conclusive that animate proximate and inanimate proximate have equal rank in Meskwaki in this context. When taken into account with the fact that inanimates in Meskwaki can never—or almost never—assume proximate status at an animate's expense, this explains the prevailing tendency in the distribution of inanimate proximates and inanimate obviatives in Meskwaki discourse: namely, that inanimates are nearly always obviative when they occupy the same discourse domain as a third person animate.

Two more kinds of evidence about animates and inanimates in Meskwaki will help to demonstrate this fact.

5.3.2. Co-construed animates and inanimates

There are two basic types of co-construed animates and inanimates in Meskwaki. One type occurs in a common idiom in which an inanimate event is identified with an animate entity closely related to the event. The other occurs in the set of cases in which, since grammatical gender is always partly arbitrary, it's necessary or convenient to refer to a single entity by means of both animate and inanimate nouns. In both kinds of cases, animacy varies but proximacy is the same.

5.3.2.1. Inanimate intransitive verbs with animate adjuncts

Inanimate intransitive verbs in Meskwaki can occur with a closely allied animate noun as an adjunct. This typically happens in cases involving a large group of people: situations that can be described, as in English, either with a focus on the subject—‘The people all moved camp’, ‘The crowd gave a great shout’—or with a focus on the event—‘There was a moving of camp of all the people’, ‘A great shout went up from the crowd’.

When an inanimate intransitive verb in Meskwaki is construed with an animate adjunct, the proximate status of the verb and the proximate status of the adjunct are always the same. Either both are proximate, or both are obviative.

A typical story opening is given in (75a):

3p demonstrative; **3p** verb; **3p** noun

(75a) nahi, meše=wi:na =’pi
all right! once =HRSY

ma:haki e:h=ma:wa:seto:+wa:či mehtose:neniw+aki.
these **they**.had.a.village/CONJ **people**

All right, once there were **these people** who had a village.

[Sam Peters NAA 1719 49B]

In (75a), the subject and the verb agree in both animacy and proximity. A rarer example of this stock opening is given in (75b). Here, the demonstrative and the verb are inanimate proximate, and the noun is animate proximate:

0s demonstrative; 0 verb; 3p noun

(75b) o:, meše=wi:na =’pi mani e:h=ma:wa:se+ki mehtose:neniw+aki.
 well! once =HRSY this it.was.a.village/CONJ **people**
 Well, once there was this village of **people**.

[Sam Peters NAA 1860.3 20C]

The structure of (75b) is nearly exactly parallel to that of (75a). Both sentences consist of an exclamation followed by the particle string *meše=wi:na=’pi* followed by a propinqual demonstrative followed by an aorist verb followed by the animate proximate plural noun *mehtose:neniw+aki*. The demonstrative is animate proximate plural in (75a), but inanimate singular in (75b). The verb is animate intransitive *e:h=ma:wa:seto:+wa:či* in (75a), but inanimate intransitive *e:h=ma:wa:se+ki* in (75b). Clearly the inanimate demonstrative, inanimate proximate subject of the verb, and animate noun of (75b) are in some sense construed together, even though this means not only an animacy clash but also a number clash. The alternative—that there are two separate proximates in this sentence—strains credibility.

Another pair of examples is given in (75c-d):

3’ verb; 3’p participle

(75c) kwi:yena =meko e:h=nowi:+či keše:-maneto:w+a,
 exactly =EMPH **he**.exited/CONJ **Great.Manitou**

e:h=wi:škwe:we:kesi+niči me:yo:+ničihi.
they.made.a.great.racket/CONJ *ones*.weeping/CONJ.PPL

Just as **the Great Manitou** went out,
people who were weeping made a terrific hubbub.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 317H-I]

0' verb; 3'p participle

- (75d) nye:wokone:t+owa:či = 'pi,
when. **they**.had.been.absent.four.days/CONJ =HRSY
- i:ni peteki e:h=wi:škwē:we:kate+niki me:yo:+ničihi.
then back it.was.a.great.racket/CONJ *ones.weeping*/CONJ.PPL

After **they** had been gone for four days,
there was a terrific hubbub behind them of *people who were weeping*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2957 742C*]

In (75c), the animate intransitive verb *e:h=wi:škwē:we:kēsi+niči* inflects for an animate obviative subject, which is specified by the animative obviative plural participle *me:yo:+ničihi*. In (75d), the same animate obviative plural participle occurs with the inanimate intransitive verb *e:h=wi:škwē:we:kate+niki*, which inflects for an inanimate obviative subject. In (75c), the verb and the nominal agree in proximity and in animacy; in (75d), the verb and the nominal agree in proximity but not in animacy.

Some further examples of this kind of construction are given in (75e-k):

0' verb; 0'p participle

- (75e) e:h=ni:sehkwe:+niki ne:hkot+aminičihi.
it.was.a.shout.of.assent/CONJ *ones.agreeing.to.it*/CONJ.PPL
There was a shout of assent from *the ones who agreed to it*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 967C]

0 verb; **3p** participle

- (75f) e:h=ni:sehkwe:+ki ne:hkot+akiki.
it.was.a.shout.of.assent/CONJ **ones.agreeing to it**/CONJ.PPL
There was a shout of assent from **the ones who agreed to it**.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 959D; Anonymous 5 NAA 2985 3F]

3p participle; **0** verb

- (75g) “hawo,” e:+čiki e:h=ni:sehkwe:+ki.
yes **ones.saying. {that}**/CONJ.PPL it.was.a.shout.of.assent/CONJ
There was a shout of assent from **ones saying, “Yes!”**

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 969K; NAA 2179 40C*; NAA 2957 440E*]

3p noun; **0** verb; **3p** participle; **3p** participle

- (75h) neniw+aki e:h=ni:sehkwe:+ki ne:hkot+akiki,
men it.was.a.shout.of.assent/CONJ **ones.agreeing to it**/CONJ.PPL
“hao,” e:+čiki.
yes **ones.saying. {that}**/CONJ.PPL

There was a shout of assent from **the men who agreed to it, (men) saying, “Yes!”**

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2958 445*]

0' verb; *3'p* noun

- (75i) e:h=menipya:kahkiwi+niki oškinawe:h+ahi.
it.was.shouts.of.laughter/CONJ *young.men*
There were shouts of laughter from *the young men*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2959 259A]

3p demonstrative; **0** verb; **3p** participle

- (75j) i:ya:ma:haki =wi:na e:h=po:ni:hete:+ki
those.visible =meanwhile it.was.a.camping/CONJ

a:mi:+čiki =’pihi.
ones.who.moved.camp/CONJ.PPL =HRSY

Meanwhile **there** was a camping of **those people who had moved**.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 27B]

0 verb; **3p** noun; **3p** verb

(75k) e:h=pye:či- ka:hka:hkihkwe:+ki =’pi
 hither **it**.was.a.rattling.noise/CONJ =HRSY

nenemehkiw+aki e:h=pye:čisa:+wa:či.
thunderers **they**.flew.hither/CONJ

There came a rattling sound as **the thunderers** came flying up.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 1861 14N]

The examples given in (75b), (75f-h), and (75j-k) all involve inanimate proximates cheek by jowl with animate proximates. These cannot be explained away as “invisible” proximate inanimates of the type discussed in 3.2.3. Rather, as the obviative coindexing in (75d), (75e), and (75i) helps to show—as the lack of a verb expressing an animate argument in (75b), (75f-h), and (75j) helps to show—as the discontinuous noun phrase arranged around the verb in (75h) and (75j) helps to show—they are cases of proximity assigned to an event, an inanimate phenomenon involving a large crowd of animate participants, viewed collectively. This is not narrow focus, as in 3.2.3, but broad focus. The emphasis is on the event, viewed at a little remove. In sentences of this type the inanimate phenomenon and its animate participants are co-construed, and receive the same proximate or the same obviative marking.

5.3.2.2. Entities described by both inanimate and animate nouns

Even in a language shaped by the principle that animates and inanimates are fundamentally different in kind, situations often arise in which a single entity can be

before they can kill any other kind of game. In the sentence in (75b), inanimate *ke:ko:h* ‘something’ rather than animate *owiye:h* ‘someone’ supplies the indefinite ‘any kind of game’ being killed. The author then decides to further specify the game as ‘birds’, a noun which in Meskwaki is necessarily animate, whether it is definite or indefinite. As in the English translation, the Meskwaki sentence changes gears without difficulty from discussing an inanimate singular thing hunted to discussing an animate plural thing hunted. It’s the same entity under discussion, and it maintains its obviative status. The first verb of the sentence is transitive inanimate *ne:hto:* ‘kill (an inanimate object)’, and second verb is transitive animate *as* ‘place (an animate object)’.

Tracking the animacy and proximity of characters undergoing gender shift is much more interesting across larger segments of discourse than a single sentence. A simple example is given in (77). The passage in (77) is taken from a story in which two stars come to earth to court two mortal maidens. When the stars leave again, the girls see them returning to heaven as fiery trails of light. Both humans and stars are animate in Meskwaki, but fire is inanimate. The girls are proximate in (77); the stars are obviative. The stars shift from animate obviative in (77:1–3) to inanimate obviative in (77:4–5).

- (77:1) ki:ši- a:yaha:ya:čimoh+ekowa:či, e:h=na:kwa:+niči.
 finish RED.when.they.fully.informed.them/CC they.left/CONJ
- (77:2) ke:hena =meko ahpemeki e:h=a:+niči.
 sure.enough =EMPH up.aloft they.went.{that.way}/CONJ
- (77:3) ke:keya:h =meko e:h=anemi- aškote:wa:pam+a:wa:či.
 eventually =EMPH going.off they.saw.them.as.fire/CONJ
- (77:4) kapo:twe =meko e:h=aniwa:ška:+niki aškote:w+i.
 at.some.point =EMPH it.moved.fast/CONJ fire
- (77:5) i:ya:h =pye:ta:ška:+niki, e:h=nanamahkwe:+niki.
 up.there when.it.arrived.speeding/CC there.was.a.great.roar/CONJ

- (77:1) After *they* finished telling **them** that, *they* left.
 (77:2) Sure enough, *they* went up into the sky.
 (77:3) Eventually **they** saw *them* going off as fire.
 (77:4) At some point *the fire* was moving fast.
 (77:5) When *it* got up above, *there* was a great roar.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.44 3L-4D]

In (77) a single character is described first as animate, and then as inanimate. Animacy shifts, while identity and proximity remain constant.

A more complicated example is given in (78). In (78) inanimate ‘meat’ and an inanimate ‘buffalo robe’ become real live buffaloes again. The context is the aftermath of a successful buffalo hunt. Some boys are engaging in rough play with a surviving buffalo calf, and as they ride it around the hunting camp, it kicks over Wi:sahke:h’s drying racks. He calls it an opprobrious name, and it is so offended that it instantly leaves the camp. All of the drying buffalo meat and all of the drying buffalo hides jump up and follow right after it.

- (78:1) owi:ya:s+i =’niye e:h=anwe:we:nawi:mikah+ki,
meat that.former it.made.a.great.stir/CONJ
- (78:2) e:h=ne:ya:pi- ne:se:mikah+ki.
 back.to.former.state it.came.back.to.life/CONJ
- (78:3) e:h=papa:mipeno+wa:či nenoso:+ki, e:h=aya:pami- na:kwa:+wa:či.
 RED.**they**.sped.off/CONJ **buffalos** back **they**.went.home/CONJ
- (78:4) mana =wi:na mešihke:h+a na:hkači wi:sahke:h+a,
this =meanwhile **Turtle** and **Wi:sahke:h**
- (78:5) na:hina:hi =’pihi ča:ki:mikate+niki owi:ya:s+i,
 at.the.time =HRSY when.it.all.went/CC meat
- (78:6) o+nenoswa:+m+wa:w+i =’pi: =’nahi ki:ši- neneškapito:+waki =’pihi,
their.buffalo.robe =HRSY there finish **they**.tied.it.spread/IND =HRSY
- (78:7) e:h=we:pi- na:hina:hi -papahkisa:+niki.
 begin at.the.time it.broke.its.ties/CONJS

(78:8) i:nina:hi =’pi, “o:, n+i:hka:n+e, mani =wi:na =wa:wosa:hi
 at.that.time =HRSY well! O.my.friend this =but it.looks.like

ke+nenoswa:+m+ena:n+i k+i:h=kekye:nen+a:pena,”
our.(incl).buffalo.robe we.(incl).will.hold.it.fast/FUT.IND

e:h=iti:+wa:či.
they.said. {that} .to.each.other/CONJ

(78:9) e:h=mawinahkye:+wa:či, e:h=kekye:nen+amowa:či.
they.lunged.at.<it>/CONJ **they**.held.it.fast/CONJ

(78:10)e:h=anemi- nehkaho:n+ekwiwa:či =’pihi
 going.off it.dragged.**them**.out.of.sight/CONJ =HRSY

i:nahi: =’nahi a:šowa:hkiwe.
 there there over.the.hill

(78:11)i:ni =’pihi pe:hki e:h=a:non+a:wa:či.
 then =HRSY really **they**.were.unable.to.hold.it/CONJ

(78:12)natawa:či: =’nahi: =’ni e:h=pakisenama:hkwi:+wa:či =’pihi.
 nothing.for.it there then **they**.let.go/CONJ =HRSY

(78:1) All of **what had been meat** made a great stir

(78:2) and came alive again.

(78:3) **The buffaloes** ran away, heading back home.

(78:4) As for **Turtle and Wi:sahke:h**,

(78:5) at the time when *the meat* all took off,

(78:6) **they** had staked out *their buffalo robe*,

(78:7) at the time when *it* began to break loose.

(78:8) At that time **they** said to each other, “Well, friend, it looks like we have to hold

our buffalo robe fast!”

(78:9) And **they** flung themselves on *it* and held *it* fast.

(78:10)*It* dragged **them** off out of sight over the hill.

(78:11)Then **they** really could no longer hold *it*.

(78:12)There was nothing for it but for **them** to let go.

[Jack Bullard NAA 2082.3 51M-52I]

The passage in (78) contains three scenes and two sets of proximate and obviative assignments. The first scene, in (78:1–3), has a single participant which is marked as proximate. It appears first as an inanimate proximate and then as an animate proximate. The last two scenes have Turtle and Wi:sahke:h as a joint proximate, and the buffalo meat and buffalo robe as obviatives. The buffalo robe appears first as an inanimate obviative and then as an animate obviative.

The buffalo meat mentioned in (78:1–2) first moves, then comes alive, and then, one clause later, as it were, becomes animate buffaloes in (78:3). The buffalo robe mentioned in (78:6–11) first breaks loose, then surges over the hill, and then—presumably a buffalo, by now—switches over to animate in a purely pronominal shift in (78:11).

Twice in (78) a character is described first as inanimate, and then as animate. Animacy shifts, while identity and proximity remain constant.

A similar example of inanimates becoming animates is given in (79). The passage in (79) is a version of a common motif in which a hero brings the bones piled in a monster’s larder back to life. He does this by means of a magic herb, and by a four-times-repeated call to arms. It takes four shouts to restore the bones to full life.

(79:1) “kašina:kwa, ke+mawinan+eko:pena,”
 hey! X.attacks.us.(incl)/IND

e:h=it+aki: =’nini ahkan+ani.
he.told.them.{that}/CONJ those bones

(79:2) e:h=ma:wačikane:sa:+niki,
they.rushed.together.as.bones/CONJ

(79:3) e:ya:wi- ’ši- owi:hka:neti:mikate+nikini
 correspondingly {that.way} whenever.they.were.mates/ITER

e:h=iši- a:ya:nehko:sa:+niki.
 {that.way} they.joined.together.rapidly/CONJ

(79:4) na:hka =meko,
 again =EMPH

- “kašina:kwa, ke+mawinan+eko:pena,” e:h=it+aki.
hey! X.attacks.us.(incl)/IND **he**.told.them. {that}/CONJ
- (79:5) e:h=katawi- =meko -wana:ki:mikate+niki ahkan+ani.
nearly =EMPH they.arose.from.recumbent.position/CONJ bones
- (79:6) na:hka =meko,
and =EMPH
- “kašina:kwa, ke+mawinan+eko:pena,” e:h=it+aki.
hey! X.attacks.us.(incl)/IND **he**.told.them. {that}/CONJ
- (79:7) e:h=ki:ši- =meko -aka:wi- pasekwi:čisa:+niči.
finish =EMPH barely they.jumped.to.their.feet/CONJ
- (79:8) e:h=ki:ši- owi:ya:siwi+niči, na:hka e:h=ki:ši- onamaškayiw+niči.
finish they.had.flesh.on/CONJ and finish they.had.skin.on/CONJ
- (79:9) e:h=ča:ki- ne:ya:pi- ki:pisa:+niči.
all back.to.former.state they.fell.over/CONJ
- (79:10) kaho:ni =na:hka,
and.then again
- “kašina:kwa, ke+mawinan+eko:pena,” e:h=in+a:či.
hey! X.attacks.us.(incl)/IND **he**.told.them. {that}/CONJ
- (79:11) e:h=papa:mi- pasekwi:čisa:+niči.
in.sequence they.jumped.to.their.feet/CONJ
- (79:12) i:ni =ča:h =pe:hki e:h=ki:ši- ne:se:+niči.
then =so really finish they.came.back.to.life/CONJ
- (79:1) “Hey, we’re under attack!” **he** told those bones.
(79:2) And the bones rushed together,
(79:3) flying together with their mates.
(79:4) Once again **he** told them, “Hey, we’re under attack!”
(79:5) And the bones very nearly got up.
(79:6) Once again **he** told them, “Hey, we’re under attack!”
(79:7) And they just barely jumped upright.
(79:8) They had flesh on and had skin on.
(79:9) Then they all toppled over again, as before.
(79:10) And then once more **he** told them, “Hey, we’re under attack!”
(79:11) And one by one they jumped upright.

(79:12) So then *they* really had come back to life.

[Ša:poči:wa NAA 2664.8 58E-59F]

After the first shout, the bones reassemble themselves into skeletons. After the second shout, the skeletons try to stand up. After the third shout, the skeletons are clothed in flesh again, becoming real but inert human bodies. After the fourth shout, the bodies come to life.

Again the shift from inanimate to animate is accomplished pronominally. The inanimate object of (79:6) becomes an animate subject in (79:7). As soon as the skeletons are clothed in flesh and skin, in (79:7), they in effect become animate *či:pay+ahi*, ‘corpses’.

In (79), the shift from inanimate to animate takes place before the bones are really alive again, whereas in (78) the shift from inanimate to animate takes place after the meat and the hides are fully alive again.

Animacy shifts are not necessarily a one-way trip. Some of the most interesting shifts occur in passages where the character in question really is animate and inanimate at the same time. Four excerpts from a story of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s about Rolling Skull are given in (80)-(83). Rolling Skull is an ogre who has the dubious advantage of being both a skull (inanimate *owi:š+i*) and a kind of a person (animate *neniw+a*, *neniw+ani* ‘guy’). Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha has considerable fun with his animacy status:

(80:1) o:ni =’pi ki:ši- pasew+a:či =’pi: =’ni,
and.then =HRSY finish **she**.heated.*it*/CC =HRSY then

(80:2) i:ni =’pi: =’ni owi:š+i e:h=mawi- pi:čisahto:+či: =’nahi wi:kiya:pe:h+eki,
then =HRSY that head go.and **she**.threw.*it*/CONJ there wickiup.DIM/LOC

(80:3) e:h=kepa:hkohw+a:či.
she.locked.*him*.in/CONJ

- (80:1) And then after **she** heated (*the rock*)⁵⁹,
 (80:2) then **she** went and slung *that head* into that hut,
 (80:3) locking *him* in.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 16F-G]

In the sentence in (80:1–3), Rolling Skull’s wife is proximate and Rolling Skull is obviative. Rolling Skull shifts in mid-sentence from inanimate in line 2 to animate in line 3.

- (81:1) aškači =’pi: =’ni e:h=nowa:ška:+či: =’na neniw+a.
 after.a.while=HRSY then **he**.rushed.out/CONJ **that man**

- (81:2) anene:+k =oči
 smokehole/LOC {from.there}

e:h=oči- nowa:ška:+či =’pi i:ni owi:š+i.
 {from.there} **he**.rushed.out/CONJ =HRSY that head

- (81:1) Then after a while **that guy** rushed out.
 (81:2) Through the smokehole **that head** rushed out.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 18L-M]

In (81:1), Rolling Skull is an animate proximate singular demonstrative and noun coindexed with the animate proximate singular subject of an animate intransitive verb: perfectly ordinary agreement, in other words. In (81:2), Rolling Skull is an inanimate singular demonstrative and noun agreeing with the animate proximate singular subject of an animate intransitive verb! This would ordinarily be impossible, but Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha makes too many playful comments in this passage for it to be an accident.

⁵⁹ In Meskwaki stones are animate if they are sweatlodge stones. The point at which they shift from any old inanimate stone to a special sweatlodge stone varies from author to author and from story to story.

(82:1) ki:ši:seni+či =’pi,
after **he**.ate/CC=HRSY

na:hka e:h=we:pipaho:te:+ki: =’ni owi:š+i.
again **it**.started.running/CONJ **that head**

(82:2) pe:hki =’pi: =’ni e:h=aniwise:mikah+ki,
really =HRSY then **it**.ran.fast/CONJ

pem+i e:h=ki:ši- mi:či+či =ta:taki.
grease after **he**.ate.**it**/CONJ =as.it.were

(82:1) After **he** ate,
that head started running again.

(82:2) **It** really ran fast,
after **he** ate the grease, as it were.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 22D-E]

In (82:1), Rolling Skull shifts in mid-sentence from an animate proximate to an inanimate proximate. In (82:2), Rolling Skull shifts in mid-sentence from an inanimate proximate to an animate proximate.

(83:1) i:ni =’pi na:hka i:na e:h=wi:seni+či: =’na,
then=HRSY again **that he**.ate/CONJ **that**

(83:2) owi:š+i e:h=wi:seni:mikah+ki =’pihi.
head it.ate/CONJ =HRSY

(83:1) Then **that (guy)** ate again,

(83:2) **the head** ate.

[Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha NAA 2671.7A 26G-H]

In (83:1–2), Rolling Skull shifts in mid-sentence from an animate proximate to an inanimate proximate.

As the examples in (76)-(83) show, entities may change gender classes, or may be animate and inanimate at the same time. In such cases, animacy may change within a discourse span, while proximate status remains the same.

5.3.3. The separation of proximates

In broad-domain speech, animate proximates and inanimate proximates are normally kept well apart, unless there is a very strong impulse for recognizing two separate claims to proximity (as in example 34), or unless the animate and inanimate in question are coördinate or co-construed. When animates and inanimates are coördinate or co-construed, they always agree in proximity.

Given the preference in Meskwaki for having at most one proximate per discourse span, the separation of animate and inanimate proximates clearly indicates that proximity is a category that cross-cuts animacy in Meskwaki.

This can be seen even in narrow-domain discourse. Take a look at the separation of animate and inanimate proximates in the examples in (84a)-(84g):

(84a) ke:htena =meko nye:wokonakate+niki
 sure.enough =EMPH when.*it*.was.four.days/CC

e:nemi- na:wahkwe:hi+niki e:h=ne:w+a:či nekoti.
 going.off when.*it*.was.noon.DIM/CC **he**.saw.*him*/CONJ one

Sure enough, *in four days, as it was getting towards noon*, **he** saw *someone*.

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.75A 7J*]

(84b) nye:wokonakate+niki na:wahkwe:+niki e:h=na:kwa:+wa:či.
 when.*it*.was.four.days/CC when.*it*.was.noon/CC **they**.set.out/CONJ
In four days at noon they set out.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 18G]

The sentences in (84a) and (84b) have the expected pattern for extra-quote narrative: inanimates that share a discourse span with an animate are obviative. In (84a), one of the two animates is proximate, one is obviative, and the two inanimates are obviative. In (84b), the only animate is proximate, and the two inanimates are obviative.

- (84c) “nye:wokonakah+ke na:wahkwe:+ke
 when.it.is.four.days/SUBJ when.it.is.noon/SUBJ
- i:nina:h =wi:h=na:kwa:+yakwe,” e:h=in+eči.
 at.that.time we.(incl).will.set.out/FUT.CONJ X.told.**her**. {that}/CONJ

“**In four days at noon** is when we will set out,” **she** was told.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2671.1 18E]

The sentence in (84c) conforms to expectations for in-quote proximate and obviative assignment: there is no motivation for keeping the two expletive inanimates distinct. Since they are the only third persons of the quoted sentence, they are both proximate.

- (84d) “nye:wokonakah+ke, na:wahkwe:+ke =meko kwi:yena,
 when.it.is.four.days/SUBJ when.it.is.noon/SUBJ =EMPH exactly
- ahpemeki wi:h=oči- ni:sa:ška:+ki mahkway+i,”
 up aloft {thence} it.will.fall.down/FUT.CONJ bear.skin
- e:h=in+a:či.
he.told.*them*. {that}/CONJ

“**In four days, exactly at noon, a bear skin** will fall from above,” **he** told *them*.

[Alfred Kiyana NAA 2794.54C 9D*]

The quoted sentence in (84d) is well within expectations for in-quote proximate and obviative assignment: there is little motivation for keeping the three inanimates distinct, even though one is a salient and interesting new inanimate and the other two are expletive. All three are marked proximate.

(84e) “nye:wokonakah+ke =ča:hi na:wahkwe:+ke
 when.it.is.four.days/SUBJ =so when.it.is.noon/SUBJ
 i:nina:h =wi:h=ne:w+ači,” e:h=in+eči.
 at.that.time you.will.see.**him**/FUT.CONJ X.told.**him**.{that}/CONJ

“**In four days at noon** is when you’ll see **him**,” **he** was told.

[Jim Peters NAA 2794.75A 6H*]

The quoted sentence in (84e) is again well within tolerance for in-quote proximate and obviative assignment: even though there is a great disparity in the rank of the third persons mentioned—two are expletive inanimates and the third is a salient animate—and even though they share a sentence, recall that the distinction between proximate and obviative, in the vicinity of inclusive, first and second persons, typically dwindles to nearly nothing. The subject of the main clause verb in the quote (84e) is second person singular.

(84f) “nye:wokonakah+ke =ča:hi =’pi: =’ni na:wahkwe:+nike
 when.it.is.four.days/SUBJ =so =HRSY then when.it.is.noon/SUBJ
 wi:h=pya:+wa:či.
they.will.arrive/FUT.CONJ
 i:n =e:+či pašito:h+a,” e:h=i+či.
that {what}.**he**.said/CONJ.PPL **old.man** **he**.said.{that}/CONJ

“Then **in four days, at noon**, **they** will arrive.
That’s what the old man said,” **he** said.

[Sam Peters NAA 2024B.6 71D-E]

The first quoted sentence in (84f) is unlike any sentence we have seen so far. It contains no non-third persons, but two expletive inanimates and one salient animate. The animate is of course marked proximate; and the sole animate of the second sentence of the quote is also of course marked proximate, even though it differs from the preceding proximate, since this is narrow-domain discourse, in which every new sentence

constitutes a new domain for proximate and obviative marking. What startling about the quote in (84f) is that the expletive inanimates do not agree. The first is proximate, and the second is obviative.

What seems so strange at first glance is actually a consistent pattern in the Michelson corpus. In narrow-domain discourse, inanimates that occupy a different clause in the same sentence as an animate may be proximate or obviative, but there is a strong tendency to make them obviative if they immediately abut a verb with an animate proximate subject.

Compare (84f) with (84g), in which both expletive inanimates abut verbs with proximate subjects:

(84g) “pwa:wi- =ča:h =-pye:n+a:te nye:wokonakate+niki
not =so if.**he**.brings.*her*/SUBJ when.*it*.is.four.days/CC

na:wahkwe:+nike, wi:h=ki:škikwe:pišo+wa,”
when.*it*.is.noon/SUBJ **he**.will.be.hanged/FUT.IND

e:h=in+eči neniw+a.
X.told.**him**. {that}/CONJ **man**

“If **he** doesn’t bring *her* back four days from now at noon, **he**’ll be hanged,” was said about **the man**.

[Sam Peters NAA 2794.85E 56G-H*]

In (84g), by contrast with (84f), both expletive inanimates are obviative.

The proximate and obviative distribution exhibited in (84a)-(84g) reflects the fact that the proximate and obviative contrast is relatively insignificant in the immediate vicinity of inclusive, second, and first persons, but highly significant in the absence of inclusive, second, and first persons. Even in narrow-domain discourse, even when there is no possibility of confusing the various third persons, and even in light of the fact that inanimate proximates are slightly more likely to be “invisible” to animate proximates than animate proximates are to be to each other (see again the discussion of examples 34

and 49), it makes Meskwaki speakers uncomfortable to juxtapose a inanimate proximate clause and an animate proximate clause in the absence of a mediating non-third person. The result is such peculiar discourses as (84f), in which a proximate inanimate expletive is followed by an obviative inanimate expletive is followed by a proximate animate.

If we set aside the handful of cases where there is a very strong motivation for recognizing two separate claims to proximity (as in examples 34 and 49), the minimum buffer required between proximates, even in texts of the narrow-domain type, is a mediating non-third person or at least one non-proximate clause.

5.4. The meaning of proximate and obviative

It is not possible to adequately or completely characterize the distribution of proximate and obviative pronouns in discourse, in clausal syntax, or even in morphosyntax without taking as primitives the categories [prox] and [obv]. Moreover, it is not possible to adequately or completely characterize the distribution of proximate and obviative pronouns in discourse, in clausal syntax, or in morphosyntax without making reference to factors that go beyond mere agency. It is not possible, then, to come up with a viable account of these basic categories of Meskwaki inflection without studying discourse as well as morphosyntax.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. The existence of proximate and obviative

The Meskwaki categories I've been calling proximate, obviative, and secondary obviative exist because of the following conceptualization of the way the world works:

- (1) No two persons are equally interesting.
- (2) Persons can be strictly ranked relative to each other in terms of how interesting they are.

Algonquian inflection is structured on the basis of these two ideas. The beautiful simplicity of the concept immediately runs up against a practical difficulty—namely, that it is not possible, in spoken language, at least, to have as many pronouns as there are persons to talk about. Meskwaki comes closer than most languages to achieving this impossible goal: it distinguishes fifteen categories of pronoun that fall into five distinct ranks.

One consequence of the idea that persons can be strictly ranked relative to each other is the creation of ranked categories of third person. Due to another practical difficulty, which has to do with how a person's interest is defined (basically, there is a sharp cut between purely local considerations—who is dominant in the noun phrase? who is dominant in the verb?—and broader considerations), there are actually two partially overlapping schemes for ranking third persons in Meskwaki:

- (1) Animate proximate outranks animate obviative outranks animate secondary obviative and inanimate.
- (2) Proximate outranks obviative outranks secondary obviative.

The first scheme, which ranks $3 > 3' > 3''$, 0, turns on an entirely local definition of prominence, keyed to potential for agency. The second scheme, which ranks $3, 0 > 3' > 3''$, is keyed to a much broader definition of prominence.

Several aspects of Meskwaki grammar refer only to ranking scheme 1 (for instance, nominal possession and inverse marking). A few aspects of Meskwaki grammar refer only to scheme 2 (for instance, the cases of coördinate and co-construed animates and inanimates discussed in 5.3). Most aspects of Meskwaki grammar must reconcile both schemes.

One consequence of the idea that no two persons are equally interesting is a restriction on the inflection of verbs and nouns. There are two unbreakable morphosyntactic rules restricting the distribution of proximate and obviative in Meskwaki:

- (1) The inflected arguments of a verb must differ in rank.
- (2) Possessors must outrank the nouns they possess.

There are conventional ways of getting around both of these rules in Meskwaki, but they must operate at the level of clausal agreement, instead of at the level of inflection.

6.2. The interpretation of proximate and obviative

The categories proximate, obviative, and secondary obviative are defined in terms of how interesting (how “near”) they are to speaker and hearer.

There are four unbreakable principles of proximate, obviative, and secondary obviative interpretation:

- (1) A proximate always represents the speaker’s choice of most interesting third person at the current state of the discourse.
- (2) A proximate is a third person viewed in relation to inclusive, first, or second

- persons. The inclusive, first, or second persons that the proximate is related to may be internal or external to the discourse.
- (3) An obviative is a third person viewed in relation to a proximate. The proximate that the obviative is related to must be internal to the discourse. It may or may not be explicitly referenced in the discourse span.
 - (4) A secondary obviative is a third person viewed in relation to a primary obviative. The primary obviative that the secondary obviative is related to must be explicitly referenced in the discourse span, and in fact must be in direct contact with its primary obviative within a verb phrase or a noun phrase.

Lewis' "rule of accommodation for comparative salience" (Lewis 1979:349) comes into play here: if a third person gets proximate marking, we immediately generate a context that makes that person more interesting than any competitors it might have. If a third person gets obviative marking, we immediately generate a context that makes that person interesting chiefly in relation to a proximate.

6.3. The distribution of proximate and obviative

The concept with the most far-reaching consequences for proximate and obviative distribution stems directly from the ideas that no two persons are equally interesting, and that persons can be strictly ranked relative to each other. It is that there should only be one most interesting third person in the world at a time.

Again, this stricture inevitably runs into practical difficulties. In any extended conversation or narrative, both prominence and pronouns' referents shift about. Many of the texts in Michelson's corpus have a single overarching third person topic (hero tales, for instance, tend to revolve around a hero), but very few exploit the possibility of making a single character sole proximate throughout the text. In a greater number of cases—the segment in 4.2 taken from Anonymous 8's *Apaya:ši:hs* story is a good example—the hero is referenced only in the proximate, but is not the sole proximate of

the text; nesting of scenes-within-scenes gives lesser, local actors brief moments on the center stage. Establishing such tiers of prominence relations (as discussed for instance following example 33) is one of the main ways of accommodating the unfortunate fact that there are only two or three ranks of third person pronouns to be handed out.

Most narratives, even of the type that involve an elaborate cast of characters with an elaborate hierarchy of importance in the plot, involve some tiering, some deliberate reversals of established rank, and many frank shifts of focus.

Tiering flouts the one-proximate-per-world restriction in fact but not in spirit.

Deliberate reversals of established rank flout the one-proximate-per-world restriction in spirit and in fact.

Shifts of focus essentially introduce a new world for proximate and obviative assignment. Shifts of focus depend, then, on very small worlds.

The question in all these cases is, how much separation does there need to be between worlds?

The answer varies greatly from context to context and from speaker to speaker. However, it's easy to establish two basic paradigms for proximate and obviative assignment in Meskwaki, which all speakers shuttle between: narrow-domain and broad-domain.

6.3.1. Narrow-domain proximate and obviative assignment

The narrow-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment applies when the distance between third persons mentioned in the discourse is negligible. This tends to happen when the third persons mentioned are immediately juxtaposed to inclusive, first, or second persons, as in first-person narratives and in quoted speech within third-person narratives. It can also happen in generic descriptions, in which the different third person participants rarely differ much in importance or generate much emotional heat.

Narrow-domain discourse is characterized by many proximates, few obviatives, and no secondary obviatives. Obviatives are employed only when two third persons occur

within the same noun phrase or verb phrase, or when two third persons occur side-by-side without the benefit of a mediating non-third person.

When choices between third persons are necessary in narrow-domain discourse, local importance—actual agency—tends to dominate as a determiner of proximacy. In rare cases, a great disparity in the real-world rank or the emotional appeal of two third persons may serve to overturn local prominence relations. However, there is little scope for this in most narrow-domain discourse.

In narrow-domain discourse, the separate worlds—the discourse spans within which proximate and obviative assignment take place—tend to be the clause at minimum, and the sentence at maximum. In narrow-domain discourse, each clause is potentially a new world for proximate and obviative assignment.

6.3.2. Quotes and narrator's asides

Quotes and narrator's asides always constitute separate, enclosed, independent worlds for proximate and obviative assignment. They nearly always employ the narrow-domain paradigm of proximate and obviative assignment.

Since the flow of a discourse is linear, even if the structure of the discourse is not, quotes and narrator's asides always introduce at least a slight potential for speaker shift-of-course. The longer the quote, the greater the adjustment needed afterwards.

6.3.3. Broad-domain proximate and obviative assignment

The broad-domain paradigm for proximate and obviative assignment applies when the distance between third persons mentioned in the discourse looms large. This happens as a matter of course in third-person narrative.

In broad-domain discourse, the discourse spans within which proximate and obviative assignment take place tend to be the sentence at minimum, and the whole text at maximum. In broad-domain discourse, each scene is potentially a new world for

proximate and obviative assignment. Scenes are typically one-to-several sentences long. (But see the discussion of example 34.)

Broad-domain discourse is characterized by many proximates, many obviatives, and a few secondary obviatives. It employs fairly strict separation of proximates: one per scene, in the vast majority of cases, with scene shifts and proximate shifts both typically signaled by such devices as presence and placement of particles, presence and placement of overt noun phrases, presence or absence of demonstratives, and structural parallelism in the text.

Choices among third persons in broad-domain discourse are influenced by the whole battery of factors to be reviewed in section 6.4.

6.3.4. Generalizations about proximate and obviative distribution

Two important generalizations affect proximate and obviative distribution:

- (1) Proximate and obviative assignments typically hold throughout a discourse span, at minimum.
- (2) There is typically only one proximate per discourse span, at maximum.

The exceptions to these generalizations are as follows:

- (1) Proximate and obviative assignments typically hold throughout a discourse span.

This rule is occasionally broken by accident or design when two different third persons referenced in discourse span both have strong claims to proximacy. It is occasionally broken by accident or design when a speaker changes course in mid-clause, usually as the result of a quote embedded in the clause. Also, in a conventional trope, it is broken in cases where the narrator wishes to treat a third-person possessed noun as a proximate. All three of these exceptions to the rule are more likely to occur in narrow-

domain discourse, where the proximate and obviative division matters only mildly, than in broad-domain discourse, where the proximate and obviative division matters very much.

One final type of exception to this generalization occurs more often in broad-domain than in narrow-domain discourse: by another conventional trope, agreement within the discourse span can be sacrificed when a speaker wishes to anticipate or delay a proximate shift by the length of one scene-shifting changed conjunct clause.

(2) There is generally one proximate per discourse span, at maximum.

This rule is occasionally broken by accident or design when two different third persons referenced in discourse span both have strong claims to proximacy. It is occasionally broken by accident or design when a speaker changes course in mid-clause, usually as the result of a quote embedded in the clause. Also, in narrow-domain speech, it is occasionally broken when a verb and one of its satellites each contain a third person juxtaposed to a non-third person. Something similar happens in broad-domain narrative, in extremely rare instances, and without the benefit of mediating non-third persons. (See the highly unusual but well-motivated example in 60b.)

This rule is also broken, by conventional trope, when a speaker wishes to avoid using obviative-on-obviative possession: a possessor that plays no other part in the sentence may be marked as proximate even if the sentence contains another, more serious proximate.

Coördinate proximates, and cases of sub-superset or superset-subset shifts, are always excepted from this rule.

6.4. Choice of proximate or obviative

6.4.1. Basic parameters of choice

If there is only one third person (explicit or implicit) present in a discourse domain, that third person must be proximate.

Where there is more than one third person in a discourse domain, the choice of proximate reflects the narrator's choice of nearest or most interesting third person.

The nearest or most interesting third person among a set of alternatives is the third person who is:

- (1) Most important locally—typically the agent.
- (2) Most important globally—in some larger segment of the discourse, in the discourse as a whole, or externally to the discourse.
- (3) Most poignant—most affected by whatever is happening of the discourse.
- (4) The narrator's choice of locus of perspective on a scene.
- (5) All of the above.

Certain patterns of preferences emerge from the texts. In cases of competition,

- (1) Animates are more likely to be proximate than inanimates.
- (2) Humans are more likely to be proximate than nonhumans.
- (3) Subjects are more likely to be proximate than objects.
- (4) Characters with recurring or overarching importance in a discourse are more likely to be proximate than characters with a more fleeting importance in the discourse.
- (5) Characters present in a scene are more likely to be proximate than characters not present in a scene.
- (6) Characters awake, alive, and alert are more likely to be proximate than characters asleep, unconscious, or dead.

- (7) Characters whose thoughts or feelings are described are more likely to be proximate than characters whose thoughts or feelings we have no access to.
- (8) Characters whose emotions are strongly engaged are more likely to be proximate than characters whose emotions are disengaged.

All eight of these contrasts, including animate/inanimate (think of the “ornament” and “Rolling Skull” cases described in 5.3.2.1) and subject/object (think of the various uses of the indefinite, or of verb choice, including derived passive verb stems such as the one noted in passing in example 30b) are subject to manipulation by narrators.

However, even without much active manipulation by narrators, these eight preferences account for proximate choice in a majority of cases. They come into conflict relatively rarely. Even the most simpleminded choice—subject over object—is far more common than its alternative: in some 3,000 pages of broad-domain text, there are 10,464 instances of a proximate subject acting on an animate obviative object, and only 3,645 instances of an animate obviative subject acting on a proximate object—an incidence of nearly 3:1.

When these eight preferences naturally conflict, or are forced into conflict, they often lend great impetus to a speaker’s ingenuity and artistry. The choice of proximate in these cases can utterly change the cast of a story.

6.4.2. Sophisticated parameters of choice

As we saw in Chapter 4, in eight excerpts from a story which provided tremendous latitude for narrator choice, the narrator’s choice of proximates shaped strikingly different tellings of the same series of events. The narrators chose their proximates almost entirely by the characters’ importance, which resulted in a dry, detached narration; or almost entirely by the characters’ affect, which resulted in a vivid, engaged, appalled narration; or, most interestingly of all, in Kiyana’s version and in one of Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha’s, by importance punctuated at dramatic crises by a brief switch to affect, which greatly emphasized the dramatic peaks of the story.

Proximate marking can be used to bring a character nearer in an audience's attention and sympathy; obviative marking can be used to distance a character in an audience's attention and sympathy. Two other devices besides this most basic kind of marking can have a similar effect: proximate plurals can be used to promote an obviative or demote a proximate (see for instance examples 64 and 44); the indefinite pronoun can be used to skilful effect to promote or demote proximates or obviatives (or even non-third persons: see the discussion of 30j).

6.5. Implications of the proximate and obviative contrast

The most striking fact about the way proximate and obviative work in Meskwaki is the interaction of the morphosyntax of these categories with their actual usage. The metaphors underpinning the use of proximate and obviative in discourse greatly influence the morphosyntax of proximate and obviative in Meskwaki: they introduce an inanimate proximate/inanimate obviative distinction that has no clear function in the paradigm except to complicate it.

The metaphors underpinning the morphosyntax of proximate and obviative inflection in Meskwaki partly determine proximate and obviative usage in Meskwaki discourse: for instance, it is extremely rare to have an inanimate made proximate at an animate's expense. However, they far from define the limits of Meskwaki usage. There is even a convention of casual speech in Meskwaki that lets a formally obviative third-person possessed noun agree as if it were proximate.

Speakers can, and do, flout nearly every constraint introduced by proximate and obviative morphosyntax, if given sufficiently strong motivation. They even more readily flout the constraints introduced by the basic conventions of proximate and obviative use. But both of these sets of constraints set up strong preferences which it can take a very powerful impulse of art or accident to counteract. The result: in 3,000 pages of Meskwaki text, the ban on promoting inanimates at the expense of animates is violated once (example 33); the ban on two different salient animate proximates occupying the

same clause without intercession of a non-third person is violated once (example 60b); the preference for recognizing affect over importance is violated many hundreds of times (see half of the proximate choices described in Chapter 4).

In the first case (with one violation), the distinction is built into nearly every part of the morphosyntax; in the second case (also with one violation), the distinction is fundamental to the way proximate and obviative are used; in the third case (hundreds of violations) the distinction is a matter of preferring third-person ranking scheme 1 (informed by the agency metaphor that underpins the inflectional system) over third-person ranking scheme 2 (informed by the proximity metaphor that underpins proximate and obviative usage).

Note, by the way, that ranking scheme 1 probably does get somewhat more currency than ranking scheme 2, especially if narrow-domain discourse is taken into account.

What all this shows is that it is not possible to understand or explain how the proximate and obviative work in Meskwaki by looking at the morphosyntax minus the discourse—or, even worse, by looking at the discourse minus the morphosyntax. It is also not possible to fully understand the system by reasoning from single examples alone. It was necessary to sift huge quantities of data to arrive at even a preliminary grasp of which patterns of proximate and obviative use occurred in prolific, reasonable, or rare frequency.

This dissertation attempts to establish which patterns of proximate and obviative use in Meskwaki are core, which are accepted marked alternatives to the core patterns, and which push the boundaries of the system.

Bibliography

Ninety-four Meskwaki texts are cited in this dissertation. They are listed below alphabetically by author's name, and then alphabetically by manuscript number.

Texts cited as "earlier edition by Truman Michelson" were published by Truman Michelson in the Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, except in the case of Alfred Kiyana's "Green Bear" (ms. 2683, which was published in Bulletin 119 of the Bureau of American Ethnology).

The one text cited as "earlier translation by Truman Michelson" was published in English translation only in the Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Texts cited as "edited by Lucy Thomason" I transcribed from the manuscript, edited, and glossed. Texts cited as "edited and translated by Lucy Thomason" I transcribed from the manuscript, edited, glossed, and translated, and then, with eleven exceptions, reworked in consultation with Dr. Goddard.⁶⁰ Texts cited as "edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard" underwent this initial process, and then were retranslated line by line by Dr. Goddard and me. Texts cited as "partially edited" have not been fully entered or have not been fully edited.

Anonymous 1. "Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2999. Edited and translated by Ives Goddard. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.

Anonymous 4. "Turtle Races Antelope." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024A.5. Edited by Lucy Thomason.

Anonymous 4. "Turtle Fights Antelope." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024A.6. Edited by Lucy Thomason.

⁶⁰ The exceptions are Anonymous 9's 2640, Anonymous 13's 2024A.12, Alfred Kiyana's 2655.2, Alfred Kiyana's 2794.31, Alfred Kiyana's 2794.89, Bill Leaf's 2794.69C, Sam Peters' 2012.1, Sam Peters' 2024B.3, Sam Peters' 2024B.6, Sam Peters' 2794.59A, and Sam Peters' 2794.59C.

- Anonymous 5. "The One Whose Eye Was a Bear's Eye." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.21. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Anonymous 5. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2985. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Anonymous 6. "The Good Marksman." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.34. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Anonymous 6. "Stone Child." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.35. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Anonymous 6. "The Boy Who Was Impressed by a Warrior." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.82. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Anonymous 7 and Ša:poči:wa. "Turkey Owner." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.63. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Anonymous 8. "Apayashihaki." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2664.9C. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Anonymous 9. "The Man Blessed by a Manitou That Gave Him a Manitou Doll." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2640. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Anonymous 13. "Meskwakis Are Killed by the Sioux." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024A.12. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Bullard, Jack. "Feather." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2082.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Bullard, Jack. "Rainbow." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2432.3. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Bullard, Jack and Lucy Lasley. "Fetish Owner." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2655.6. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Bullard, Jack. "The Lesbian Lovers." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2673. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Kiyana, Alfred. "What People Do When a Release Ceremony Is Held." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1892.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason. Earlier translation by Truman Michelson.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Story of the One That Was Blessed by the White Buffalo." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2062. Edited by Ives Goddard. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Feather." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2082.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Flying-Around Sacred Bundle Dance." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2179. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Sky Sacred Pack of the Eagle Clan." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2273. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "When the Ghosts Cheated the Frenchmen." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2655.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Apayashihaki." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2671.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Green Bear." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2683. Edited by Ives Goddard. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "When Wisahkeha Killed the Cannibal Giant." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2688. Edited and translated by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Redstone Pipe." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2720.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2764.4. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Pichishaha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2775. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Old Woman Who Had Manitou Power." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2788. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Woman Who Had Two Husbands." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.31. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Kiyana, Alfred. "The Girls Who Were Friends." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.44. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Star-Bear Sacred Bundle." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.54C. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Wewemeteha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.68. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "People of Long Ago Who Were Blessed." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.86. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Wewipeha and His Wife." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.88. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Lynx." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.89. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "How the Fox Clan Was Blessed." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2957. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Wisahkeha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2958. Partially edited by Ives Goddard.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "Mother of All the Earth." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2959. Edited by Lucy Thomason.
- Kiyana, Alfred. "What People Do When Their Children Die." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 3111A.F. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.
- Leaf, Bill. "Wapasaya." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1879.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Bill. "When Wisahkeha Was Seen Last of All." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2764.17. Partially edited and Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Bill. "Red Leggings 2." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.56. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Bill. "Red Leggings 1." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.68A. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Leaf, Bill. "War Chief Gens Clan Feast." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.69C. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Bill. "Has an Elm." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.79. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Leaf, Pearl. "Golden Hide." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024D.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Pearl. "Meskwakis Surround a Sioux War Party." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024D.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Leaf, Pearl and Sam Peters. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024D.4. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Lincoln, Harry. "Feather." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1879.7. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Morgan, Maggie. "Cannibal Giants and Carp." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2725.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Morgan, Maggie. "Has a Cougar." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2725.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Morgan, Maggie. "Pichishaha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2725.4. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Morgan, Maggie. "The One Whose Father Was the Sun." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2790. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim. "The Sucking Doctor." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1831. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim. "Apayashihaki." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2674.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim. "Turkey Owner." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2724.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim. "The Old Man Who Was a Fast Runner." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2789.1. Partially edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Peters, Jim. "Apayashihaki." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.72B. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Peters, Jim. "The Meskwaki and the Whiteman." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.75A. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Peters, Jim and Sam Peters. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024C. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim and Sam Peters. "Apayashihaki." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2729.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Jim and Sam Peters. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.75B. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Joe. "When a Blessing Was First Brought to Them." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 3111A.H. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.
- Peters, Sam. "Feather." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1719. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "A Woman Who Was Captured by the Sioux." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1860.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1860.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Peters, Sam. "Daughters of Mesoswa." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2005.5. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Peters, Sam. "Meskwakis Defend the Osages against the Comanches." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2008.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "A Meskwaki Manitou Tricks the Sioux." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2008.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "A Meskwaki Man is Succored by the Sioux." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2008.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "A Man and a Wolf." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2008.4. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Peters, Sam. "Pichishaha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2008.6. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Wetonesiwa." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2012.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Daughters of Mesoswa." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2012.4. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Feather." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024B.1. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Ten Men." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024B.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "The Fast Runner." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2024B.6. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Pichishaha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2222. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Pichishaha." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2729.2. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Fox." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2792. Partially edited by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Meskwakis of Long Ago." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.59A. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "Meskwakis Hunt Buffalo." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.59C. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Peters, Sam. "The Boy Who Was Set Adrift in a Bucket." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.85E. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Peters, Sam. "The Story of When People's Dying First Began." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 3111A.B. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason. Earlier edition by Truman Michelson.
- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. "Red Leggings." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1861. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason and Ives Goddard.
- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. "Wisahkeha 1." National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1875.7. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.

- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. “Wisahkeha 2.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 1879.5. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. “Pitishaha.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2658.10. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. “Apayashihaki.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2671.5. Edited by Ives Goddard.
- Sa:kihtanohkwe:ha. “Apayashihaki.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2671.7A. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Ša:poči:wa. “Has an Elm.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2664.8. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Ša:poči:wa. “Apayashihaki.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2671.3. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Ša:poči:wa. “Buzzard.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2794.26. Edited and translated by Lucy Thomason.
- Tesson, Joe. “Wapasaya.” National Anthropological Archives, Truman Michelson ms. 2082.1. Partially edited by Lucy Thomason.
- Baker, C. L. 1995. “Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English.” *Language* 71:1: 63–101.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1925. “Notes on the Fox Language.” *International Journal of American Linguistics* 3: 219–232.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1925. “Notes on the Fox Language.” *International Journal of American Linguistics* 4: 181–219.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1962. *The Menomini Language*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Dahlstrom, Amy. 1987. Discontinuous constituents in Fox. *Native American Languages and Grammatical Typology*, edited by Paul D. Kroeber and Robert E. Moore. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington: 53–73.

- Dahlstrom, Amy. 1995. "Motivation vs. Predictability in Algonquian Gender." *Papers of the Twenty-Sixth Algonquian Conference*, edited by David H. Pentland. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg: 52–66.
- Dahlstrom, Amy. 1996a. "Affixes vs. Clitics in Fox." *Contemporary Linguistics* 2: 47–57.
- Dahlstrom, Amy. 1996b. "Narrative Structure of a Fox Text." *Studies in Honour of H.C. Wolfart*, edited by John D. Nichols and Arden C. Ogg. Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, Memoir 13: 113–161.
- Frantz, Donald G. 1966. "Person indexing in Blackfoot." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 32: 50–58.
- Goddard, Ives. 1984. "The Obviative in Fox Narrative Discourse." *Papers of the Fifteenth Algonquian Conference*, edited by William Cowan. Carleton University, Ottawa: 273–286.
- Goddard, Ives. 1990a. "Aspects of the Topic Structure of Fox Narratives: Proximate Shifts and the Use of Overt and Inflectional NPs." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56: 317–340.
- Goddard, Ives. 1990b. "Some Literary Devices in the Writings of Alfred Kiyana." *Papers of the Twenty-first Algonquian Conference*, edited by William Cowan. Carleton University, Ottawa: 159–171.
- Goddard, Ives. Forthcoming. "Meskwaki Stories by Sakihtanohkweha and Chuck." *Algonquian Reader*, edited by Brian Swann.
- Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz. 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection." *The View from Building 20: Essays in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, edited by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA: 111–176.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1939. "Potawatomi Syntax." *Language* 15: 235–248.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1966. "What Algonquian is really like." *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 32: 59–73.
- Jones, William. 1907. *Fox Texts*. E.J. Brill, Leyden.
- Jones, William. 1911. "Algonquian (Fox), an Illustrative Sketch." Revised by Truman Michelson. *Handbook of American Indian Languages Part I*. Washington, DC: 735–873.

- Lewis, David. 1979. "Scorekeeping in a Language Game." *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 8: 339–359.
- Michelson, Truman. 1918/1919. "The Mythical Origin of the White Buffalo Dance of the Fox Indians." *Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*: 23–289.
- Michelson, Truman. 1918/1919. "The Autobiography of a Fox Indian Woman." *Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*: 291–349.
- Michelson, Truman. 1918/1919. "Notes on Fox Mortuary Customs and Beliefs." *Fortieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*: 351–496.
- Reichard, Gladys A. 1921. "Literary Types and Dissemination of Myths." *Journal of American Folklore* 4: 269–307.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1976. "Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity." *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*, edited by R. M. W. Dixon. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra: 112–171.
- Thomason, Lucy. 1995. "The Assignment of Proximate and Obviative in Informal Fox Narrative." *Papers of the Twenty-Sixth Algonquian Conference*, edited by David H. Pentland. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg: 462–496.
- Thomason, Lucy. "Narrative Structure in Six Variants of Meskwaki 'Feather'." Presented at the 30th Algonquian Conference, Burlington, Massachusetts, October 1998.
- Thomason, Lucy. "Temporal Participles in Meskwaki." Presented at the 33rd Algonquian Conference, Berkeley, California, October 2001.
- Voorhis, Paul. 1971. "New Notes on the Mesquakie (Fox) language." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 37: 63–75.
- Walker, Marilyn, Aravind Joshi, and Ellen Prince, editors. 1998. *Centering Theory in Discourse*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Wolfart, H. Christoph. 1973. *Plains Cree: A Grammatical Study*. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

VITA

Lucy Grey Thomason was born in New Haven, Connecticut on December 29, 1968, the daughter of Sarah Grey Thomason and Richmond Hunt Thomason. After completing her work at Taylor Allderdice High School, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1986, she entered Harvard-Radcliffe University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Harvard-Radcliffe University in June of 1990. The following year she was employed as an analyst of speech spectrograms at Carnegie Mellon University. In September of 1991 she entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas. While at the University of Texas, she taught four classes in linguistics and assisted with the teaching of another five. From 1998 until 2003 she was employed by the Smithsonian Institution as an Anthropological Researcher in Algonquian linguistics.

Permanent address: 2733 Ordway St. NW #1, Washington, DC 20008.

This dissertation was typed by the author.