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Independent pronouns in Fox¹

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Fox (Algonquian) is a generally head-marking language, in the sense of Nichols 1986: verbs are inflected for subject and object, possessed nouns for possessor. This inflection functions pronominally in the absence of lexical NP subjects, objects, or possessors, and is the means by which ordinary anaphoric or deictic reference is expressed.²

In addition to pronominal inflection, Fox has two series of independent personal pronouns. The emphatic pronouns indicate topic or focus, while pronouns from the other set, here called the *ni-yawi* series after the first person singular form, appear as arguments to a verb. The *ni-yawi* pronouns are in complementary distribution with the usual forms of pronominal inflection; they express verbal arguments other than subject and object, reflexive objects, and subjects of intransitive verbs. The use of *ni-yawi* pronouns as subject and object is especially interesting, and sheds light on the syntactic role of inflection in Fox.

Following some general remarks on Fox morphosyntax the emphatic pronouns will be discussed, along with the contexts favoring their use. The second section of the paper examines the various uses of the *ni-yawi* series. All examples are taken from narrative texts.³

Fox is a nonconfigurational language, with subject and object NPs occurring in all possible orders relative to the verb and to each other. Neither nouns nor pronouns are marked for case;⁴ instead, inflection on the verb for subject and object identifies the grammatical function of a given NP. Obviation, a grammatical opposition found in Algonquian languages, distinguishes subject from object when the verb has more than one third person argument. Obviation allows one third person to be singled out as *proximate* (referred to by unmarked third person forms), while all other third persons are referred to by marked *obviative* forms. There are certain syntactic environments in which the marking of obviation is obligatory: e.g., a noun possessed by a third person pos-

essor must be obviative. If two third person arguments are marked on a transitive verb, one must be obviative. The verb inflection indicates whether the subject is proximate and the object obviative, or vice versa:

(1) *i-na okima-wa otehkwe-mani e-h=kano-na-či*
 that chief his-sister-obv speak-to 3-obv
 'the chief [proximate] spoke to his sister [obviative]' AR40:184.9

(2) *oto-kima-mwa-wani e-h=kano-nekowa-či*
 their-chief-obv speak-to obv-3p
 'their chief [obviative] spoke to them [proximate]' AR40:146.21

In (1) the inflectional affix *-a-či* indicates third person proximate singular subject acting on an obviative object (either singular or plural). The ending *-ekowa-či* in (2) indicates obviative subject, either singular or plural, acting on a third person proximate plural object. The verbs in (1) and (2) are both inflected in the aorist conjunct paradigm.

In (1) both subject and object are expressed by lexical NPs. In such cases the verb inflection functions as agreement with the subject or object, indicating the NP's grammatical function. In the absence of lexical arguments, verb inflection is pronominal. For example, in (3) the verb inflection itself functions as subject and object; it is not 'agreeing' with null or deleted external arguments:

(3) *e-h=tapa-na-či* 'she [proximate] loved him [obviative]'
 love 3-obv (cf. (14))

Inflection for first or second person is always pronominal; third person inflection may function either pronominally or as agreement.

1. Emphatic series

Pronominal verb inflection is used for subjects and objects having ordinary anaphoric or deictic reference. (Pronominal possessors will be discussed separately below.) When a pronominal entity is to be focused

or topicalized, however, an independent pronoun from the emphatic series is used.

Table 1. Emphatic pronouns

<i>ni-na</i>	'I'
<i>ki-na</i>	'you'
<i>wi-na</i>	'he/she (proximate)'
<i>ni-na-na</i>	'we (exclusive)'
<i>ki-na-na</i>	'we (inclusive)'
<i>ki-nwa-wa</i>	'you (plural)'
<i>wi-nwa-wa</i>	'they (proximate)'

Of the glosses in the table only 'proximate' requires comment. The primary function of the grammatical opposition of obviation is to indicate the relative discourse status of third person participants; in certain contexts this distinction has the consequence of disambiguating reference. The proximate third person may be the discourse topic, the third person with whom the speaker is most sympathetic, or the character whose point of view is represented, while the obviative third persons are more peripheral (Dahlstrom 1986, chapter 4; Goddard 1984). With respect to the emphatic pronouns, the third person forms *wi-na* 'he/she' and *wi-nwa-wa* 'they' may refer only to proximate third persons. There is no obviative third person emphatic pronoun.

Phonologically, the emphatic pronouns may be either independent words or enclitics.⁵

(4) *ni-na=ča-h=meko nešihka taši-nenehke-nemiye-ka-ha*
 I so emph only be-thinking-of 1-3/pot
 'so only I would be thinking of her' AR40:324.13

(5) *i-ni=ča-h=meko=ne-h=wi-na e-na-čimoči*
 that so emph also he narrate-thus 3/part
 'that's the same thing that he said too' O:4

(4) shows the emphatic pronoun *ni-na* 'I' as an independent word in initial position within the clause. It itself serves as host for the enclitics *=ča-hi* and *=meko*. In (5), on the other hand, the emphatic

pronoun *wi·na* 'he' is an enclitic, appearing in the clitic string along with *=ča·hi*, *=meko*, and *=ne·hi*. With compound verbs containing one or more preverbs enclitics may occur after the first preverb:

- (6) *nekwaya·ši--ke·h=ni·na·na -anehka·ti·pena*
 already but we-exc be-acquainted-recip 1p/ind

'but we were already acquainted with each other' AR40:310.29

In (6) *kwaya·ši-anehka·ti-* 'be already acquainted with each other' is a compound verb stem, inflected with the affixes *ne-* *-pena*, the independent indicative inflection for first person exclusive plural. *ne-* precedes the preverb and *-pena* follows the verb stem. The enclitics *=ke·hi* and *=ni·na·na* follow the preverb *kwaya·ši-*.

Nonclitic emphatic pronouns most frequently appear in initial position, as in (4), but may show up in other positions as well. In the next example *ni·na* 'I' occurs after the verb:

- (7) "nešiyē·ka·ha," iwa=ma·hi='na, "ni·na mahkwa"
 kill 1-3/pot say 3 indeed that I bear

'*I* could kill the bear," that one said indeed' O:8

Here the emphatic pronoun cannot be enclitic to the preceding verb, since a quoting verb *iwa* 'he said' (and other material) has been inserted parenthetically between the verb and pronoun.

1.1. Focus

The emphatic independent pronouns are primarily used to express focus and new topics. For example, a focused pronoun may express contrast, along the lines of 'x did something, not y'. The next two examples illustrate this type of focus, first with an emphatic pronoun corresponding to the subject of the verb; then with emphatic pronouns corresponding to the object.

- (8) *a·kwi wi·h=amohkini, ki·h=amwa·wa=ki·na*
 not fut eat 3-2/neg fut eat 2-3/ind you

'he won't eat you, you will eat him' O:2

- (9) *šewe·na ni·na nemehči--meko -wi·tama·kwa,*
 but I plainly emph tell 3-1/ind
a·kwi ki·nwa·wa.
 not you pl

'but he has instructed me plainly, not you' AR40:136.6

The use of an emphatic pronoun does not supersede regular pronominal inflection on the verb. The first person singular inflection in (9), for example, functions as the pronominal object of the verb, while the coreferential emphatic pronoun *ni·na* bears the discourse function of focus. The emphatic pronoun in (8) is also in contrastive focus. The context here is that the addressee has dreamed that he will be eaten by a bear. The speaker denies this, asserting instead that it is the addressee who will eat the bear. Again, the enclitic *=ki·na* 'you', appearing in second position in the second clause, bears the discourse function of focus, while the coreferential pronominal inflection on the verb functions as subject.

The third person pronouns may also be used alongside a lexical NP subject or object:

- (10) *mani kene·ta·pwa wi·nwa·wa maneto·waki*
 this see 2p-inan/ind they manitou-pl
ki·šepye·hamowa·či. a·kwi=ni·na mani ki·šepye·hama·nini
 draw 3p-inan/part not I this draw 1-inan/neg

'you see this which the manitous themselves drew.

I didn't draw this' AR40:54:41-2

In (10) the pronoun *wi·nwa·wa* 'they' is used to contrast *maneto·waki* 'manitous' with *ni·na* 'I'.

The contrastive function of the emphatic pronouns may also be seen in their use with particles such as *mehteno·hi* 'only' or *=we·na* 'rather' (see also (4), with *nešihka* 'only; alone').

- (11) *ki·na=meko mehteno·hi i·ni ki·h=mi·nene*
 you emph only that fut give 1-2/ind

'I will give it only to you' B105:34.26

- (12) *ki·na=we·na ki·h=nepe*
 you rather fut die 2/ind
 'rather, you will die' J:68.16

- (13) *ni·h=a·hkohta·pena =ke·hi,*
 fut hear-plainly 1p-inan/ind and
ni·na=že=wi·na ni·h=a·hkohta
 I just contr fut hear-plainly 1-inan/ind
 'and we will hear it plainly,
 at least I will hear it plainly' AR40:72.30

(13) also contains the contrastive enclitic *=wi·na*, discussed below.

Another context in which pronouns are put in focus is with particles such as *=e·yi·ki*, 'also' (cf. (5) with *=ne·hi* 'also').

- (14) *pe·hki=mek e·h=tēpa·nekoči,*
 very emph love obv-3
wi·na=ke·h=e·yi·ki e·h=tēpa·na·či
 she and also love 3-obv
 'he [obviative] loved her [proximate] very much,
 and she also loved him' J:148.2

- (15) *wi·nwa·wa=ke·h=e·yi·ki na·katawe·nemeko·ki maneto·wani*
 they and also watch-over obv-3p/ind manitou-obv
 'and the manitou [obviative] watches over them [proximate] too'
 AR40:224.41

(14) describes a reciprocal state in which an obviative third person loves the proximate third person, and vice versa. The emphatic pronoun *wi·na* 'he/she' is used in the second clause, along with the enclitic *=e·yi·ki* 'also'. As mentioned earlier, this pronoun must be interpreted as referring to the proximate argument, not the obviative one. The structure in (15) is parallel to that of the second clause in (14), but here the emphatic pronoun corresponds to the object of the verb.

The particle *mo·hči* 'even' frequently occurs with emphatic pronouns with the reading 'also (contrary to expectation)':

- (16) *mo·hči=ni·na a·kwi nekoti aneškenači·ke·wēni*
 even I not one pipeful
aškonama·tisoya·nini ase·ma·wa
 save-for-self 1/neg tobacco
 'even I haven't saved a single pipeful of tobacco for myself'
 AR40:80.14

However, ordinary conjunction combining a third person NP with a nonthird person does not require an emphatic pronoun:

- (17) *o·ni mani e·h=išawiya·ke mana nekya: ...*
 and-then this do 1p this-anim my-mother
 'and then my mother and I did this:' AR40:136.26

The conjunction is signalled by the first person plural pronominal inflection on the verb in construction with the NP *mana nekya* 'this mother of mine'.

1.2. Nonpronominal *=wi·na*

The association of emphatic pronouns with contrastiveness is evident in the extension of the third person form *wi·na* to a nonpronominal use, as an enclitic marking contrastiveness in general.⁶ Although this enclitic does not function as a pronoun, it is discussed here because it clearly derives from an emphatic pronoun and because it appears in several examples cited in the paper. Nonpronominal *=wi·na* is invariably a second position enclitic, as opposed to the emphatic pronouns which are only optionally enclitic. Enclitic *=wi·na* may be used with a full NP:⁷

- (18) *mana=wī·na ki·či-mehtose·neniwa a·kwi i·ni*
 this contr your-fellow person not that
wi·h=kehke·netakini, ... ki·na=mekoho mehteno·hi
 fut know 3-inan/neg you emph only
 'but these fellow people of yours will not know about it, only you'
 B105:34.26

In (18) the NP containing *=wi-na* is contrasted with the emphatic pronoun *ki-na* 'you'.

Although the pronoun *wi-na* may refer only to proximate singular third persons, the enclitic *=wi-na* may accompany NPs of any type, including obviative plural:

- (19) *ma-hahi =ke-h =wi-na owi-teko-mahi*
 these-obv but contr his-owls-obv
e-h =pwa-wi =mekoho -ša-kwe-nemoniči
 not emph be-unwilling obv

'but these owls [obviative] of his were not unwilling at all'
 B105:24.19

The enclitic *=wi-na* may appear with emphatic pronouns, both non-third person (cf. (13)), and third person:

- (20) *wi-na =wi-na awita kaški-we-pa-totasa*
 he contr not able begin-tell-about 3-inan/pot

'he, on the other hand, could not begin to tell about it'
 AR40:92.31

Finally, enclitic *=wi-na* may be applied to an entire clause, with a reading of 'contrary to expectation'. In the following example, 'in winter' is expressed by an impersonal verb.

- (21) *e-h =pwa-wi-nahi-pesehkaki, e-h =pepo-niki =ke-h =wi-na*
 not habit wear-shoes 3 winter inan.obv and contr

'he wasn't in the habit of wearing shoes, even in winter' O:7

1.3. Topic

The emphatic pronouns may also be used to indicate topic, what the sentence is about. Emphatic pronouns or lexical NPs which are topics occur to the left of the sentence; the pronouns are always independent words rather than clitics. Such overt topics are used to signal a new discourse topic: once established, the topic is typically referred to by pronominal inflection alone.

- (22) *ni-na =ke-h =ma-haki awita nana-ši ša-kwe-nemowa-sa*
 I but these not ever be-unwilling 3p/pot
wi-teko-waki anohano-hka-nake
 owl pl redup order 1-3p/subj

'but as for me, these owls would never be unwilling
 if I order them to do things' B105:24.11

In (22) the topic is *ni-na* 'I'.⁸ Unlike the earlier examples, the pronoun in this sentence is not expressing contrastive focus: there is no implication that the owls would not obey some other person. This statement is instead explicitly about the speaker, as opposed to the previous sentences of the text, which concern an enemy Sioux. New topics may perhaps be considered contrastive within a larger domain of discourse, while the focused pronouns in sentences like (9) express contrast at a propositional level.

Sentences with overt topics often, but not always, contain pronominal reference back to the topic. For example, in (22) the subject of the subordinate verb *anohano-hka-nake* 'if I order them to do things' is coreferential with the topic. However, such reference back to the topic is not obligatory, as seen in the next two examples. The context for the following sentence is that the hero has provided the band with turkeys to eat. His rival, jealous of the hero's power, says to the people:

- (23) *šewe-wi-na ni-na mahkwaki ayo-hi tanamiye-ke-koha*
 but I bear-pl here eat-[there] 2p-3(p)/pot
 'but [with] me, you would eat bears here' AR40:140.38

Here the topic is *ni-na* 'I', followed by a clause with a second person plural subject and third person plural object.

The next example also has an overt topic which does not correspond to an argument of the following clause.

- (24) *ni-na =ke-hi a-kwi ke-ko-hi ašenokini*
 I and not something disappear inan/neg

'as for me, nothing is missing' AR40:146.10

The context here is that people are checking their possessions after a

flood. The topic is *ni-na* 'I'; the subject of the following verb is third person inanimate singular.

1.4. Possessed nouns

The discussion so far has illustrated ways in which emphatic pronouns may be used in conjunction with inflected verbs. Possessed nouns in Fox are also inflected, for features of their possessors. Like subject and object inflection third person possessor inflection may function as agreement; in the absence of a lexical NP possessor the inflection is pronominal.

For the most part, the behavior of emphatic pronouns with possessed NPs is identical to the patterns already illustrated. For example, an emphatic pronoun is used if a pronominal possessor is to be contrastively focused:

- (25) *kekimesi=ke-h=mani ki-na-na=meko kena-tawino-nena-ni,*
 all and this we-inc emph our-medicine
šewe-na=ki-na-na=meko mehteno-hi
 but we-inc emph only

'this medicine is *ours* in general, but *ours* only' AR40:160.15

In (25) *kekimesi* 'all' modifies the possessor: a better gloss might be 'this medicine belongs to all of us, but only to us'.

Pronominal possessors may be put into focus by the use of a particle like *=ne-hi* 'also':

- (26) *ki-nwa-wa=koh=ne-hi='ni kemi-ša-mwa-wi*
 you-pl you-know also that your-pl-sacred-pack

'for it is *your* sacred pack too' AR40:156.16

Focused pronouns corresponding to possessors seem to be always adjacent to the possessed noun.

Emphatic pronouns have a further, special use as possessors. In all examples seen so far, the emphatic pronoun functions exclusively as topic or focus, while coreferential pronominal inflection bears the grammatical relation of subject, object, or possessor. There are, however, a

few examples in which an emphatic pronoun must be analyzed as itself functioning as possessor, in addition to whatever discourse function it may bear. In these cases, the possessed head noun has been omitted completely, and the pronoun is used alone as possessor. Features of the possessed head are indicated by third person demonstratives or third person inflection, but there is no pronominal inflection for possessor. In such cases, the emphatic pronouns are read as 'ours', 'yours', etc.

- (27) *ni-na-na=wi-na='niye-ka wi-h=kaški-pye-či-penowaki*
 ours contr those-abs fut able come go-home 3p/ind
 'will those [relatives] of ours be able to come back?'
 AR40:398.28

Here the subject inflection, along with the absentative demonstrative *i-niye-ka*, reveals that the possessed entity is third person animate plural. Only the first person exclusive plural pronoun *ni-na-na*, however, indicates the possessor.

In the next example, there is no demonstrative or other external third person element available to function as the possessed head; the possessed entity is expressed only by subject inflection on the verb.

- (28) *ki-ši=ma-h=ki-na -pye-na-pi*
 perf indeed yours bring indf-3/ind

'yours [= your daughter] has been brought back' AR40:48.30

The emphatic pronoun *ki-na* 'you[rs]' is here enclitic to the preverb of a compound verb (cf. (6)). As in (27), the subject of the verb is third person, and the emphatic pronoun is understood as possessor.

1.5. Verbless constructions

With the exception of the possessive construction illustrated in (27) and (28), the function of the emphatic pronouns is to indicate discourse relations such as topic or focus. The emphatic pronouns are used in equational sentences, and other constructions lacking a verb; here too, their function may be analyzed as topic or focus.

- (29) *ni-na* *če-kipone-ha* 'I am Jack Bullard' AR40:491.16
 I J.B.
- (30) *we-ne-ha=ča-h=ki-na?* 'who are you?' W:705
 who so you
- (31) *wi-nwa-wa* *we-či-mehtose-neniwiyani*
 they why be-alive 2/part

'they are the reason why you are alive' B85:32.6

Unlike the pronouns in (27) and (28), the pronouns in equational sentences need not be analyzed as bearing a grammatical relation to a head: equational constructions have neither subject nor object. Instead, two entities are asserted to be identical. The role played by emphatic pronouns in equational sentences is consistent with their use as topic and focus.

Independent pronouns may also be employed in elliptical or fragmentary utterances:

- (32) *ni-na* *menehta!* 'me first!' J:194.9
 I first
- (33) *a-kwi* *ni-na* 'not me' J:114.4
 not I

In these examples, as in the equational constructions, there is no motivation for analyzing the pronouns as bearing a grammatical relation to some verb. The interpretation of these utterances depends upon the context: (32), for example, might be used instead of a verb with a first person singular subject (e.g. 'I'll go first!') or one with a first person singular object (e.g. 'take me first!'). But in terms of the actual syntax of (32), the pronoun is best analyzed as bearing the discourse function of focus.

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that emphatic pronouns express topic and focus. There are a few examples in which emphatic pronouns must be analyzed as also functioning as possessors, but no cases of emphatic pronouns used as subject, object, or any other type

of verbal argument. The next section presents the *ni-yawi* pronouns, which are specialised for expressing verbal arguments, but which are never used as focus or overt topics.

2. *ni-yawi* series

The primary function of the *ni-yawi* pronouns is to express arguments that cannot be indicated by pronominal inflection. They are most frequently used for reflexive objects, including objects partly coreferent to the subject. They are also used for nonreflexive second objects, obliques, and adjuncts to the verb.⁹ A second use of the *ni-yawi* pronouns is as subjects of intransitive verbs. Here they are in complementary distribution with the usual forms of subject inflection. Though the *ni-yawi* forms are functionally pronouns, they display many grammatical characteristics of inanimate nouns. This section will first discuss some general characteristics of these pronouns, and then examine their specific uses.

Table 2. *ni-yawi* pronouns

<i>ni-yawi</i>	'I'
<i>ki-yawi</i>	'you'
<i>owi-yawi</i>	'he/she'
<i>ni-ya-na-ni</i>	'we (exclusive)'
<i>ki-ya-na-ni</i>	'we (inclusive)'
<i>ki-ya-wa-wi</i>	'you (plural)'
<i>owi-ya-wa-wi</i>	'they (proximate)'
<i>owi-ya-ninawi</i>	'one'

The *ni-yawi* pronouns are phonologically independent words, not clitics. They may occur anywhere in the clause, but are usually found after the verb:

- (34) *ki-h=te-pihto* *ki-yawi*
 fut please 2-inan/ind yourself
 'you will make yourself happy' AR40:92.18

- (35) *ki-yawi*=meko e·hpi·hči-tépa-tamani
 yourself emph as-much-as love 2-inan/part
 'as much as you love yourself' AR40:66.37

Two differences may be noted between the *ni-yawi* series and the emphatic series of pronouns. The *ni-yawi* series contains an indefinite pronoun *owi-ya-ninawi* 'one', which has no counterpart in the emphatic series. Second, the third person form *owi-yawi* may refer either to a proximate third person or an obviative one, unlike the third person emphatic pronoun which is restricted to proximate third persons. The use of *owi-yawi* with proximate and obviative antecedents is illustrated below.

- (36) *ki-ši-wa-wi-ša-pene·hto-te owi-ye-ha owi-yawi*
 perf starve 3-inan/subj someone himself
 'when someone [proximate] has starved himself' W:570

- (37) *i-ni=ʔši-wa-wi-ša-pene·hto-nite owi-yawi*
 that thus starve obv-inan/subj himself
 'if he [obviative] starves himself in that way' AR40:440.35

In both (36) and (37) *owi-yawi* is reflexive, coreferential to the subject of the verb. The subject of (36), *owi-ye-ha* 'someone', is proximate, and the verb in (36) is inflected for a proximate singular subject. The reflexive object therefore has proximate reference in (36). In (37), on the other hand, the subject of the verb is obviative, indicated by the verb inflection: *-o-nite* in (37) rather than *-o-te* in (36). Consequently the reflexive object in (37) has obviative reference, matching the subject. There is, however, no difference in the forms of the reflexive objects in (36) and (37).

The stem *-i-yaw-*, upon which this pronominal series is based, is also an inanimate noun stem meaning 'body'. The pronouns are homophonous with possessed forms of 'body': *ni-yawi* 'my body', *ki-yawi* 'your body', and so on. (Jones 1911:854; Bloomfield 1927:185). Although the uses of the *ni-yawi* series are clearly pronominal, the pronouns display many characteristics of possessed inanimate nouns. For example, all the pronouns end in *-i*, the inanimate singular nominal

suffix. The form *owi-ya-ninawi* 'one' and the use of *owi-yawi* with both proximate and obviative referents also matches the pattern of possessed nouns: nouns in Fox may be inflected for an indefinite possessor,¹⁰ and the inflection for an obviative possessor is identical to that for proximate singular possessor.

If a pronoun from the *ni-yawi* series is used as a subject or object, the verb is inflected as if the subject or object were an inanimate noun. This may be seen in (34–37), where the verbs used with the reflexive objects are all inflected for a third person inanimate object. As mentioned above, nouns possessed by third person possessors are obligatorily obviative: consequently *owi-yawi* 'he/she' and *owi-ya-wa-wi* 'they' are treated grammatically as if they were obviative nouns, even when they refer to a proximate third person.¹¹

2.1. Reflexive objects

The *ni-yawi* pronouns are most frequently used as reflexive objects. Fox has two reflexive constructions, one involving a pronoun from the *ni-yawi* series, the other using a derived intransitive verb, with no independent pronoun at all. The two constructions are illustrated below.

- (38) *e·h=ne-wotisoči*
 see-self 3
 'he saw himself' B105:52.23
- (39) *e·h=ki-ši-ne-tamani ki-yawi*
 perf see 2-inan yourself
 'you have seen yourself' B105:52.24

(38) illustrates the verbal reflexive: a transitive stem *ne-w-* 'see' is suffixed by the reflexive *-tiso-*. The result is an intransitive stem *ne-wotiso-* 'see oneself', which is inflected for a third person singular subject. The pronominal reflexive is illustrated in (39), with the second person singular pronoun *ki-yawi* coreferential with the subject of the transitive verb.

(39) differs from (38) not only in using an object pronoun, but also in the shape of the verb stem. Algonquian languages have four classes

of verb stems, specialized for valence and the gender of one of the verb's arguments. Intransitive verb stems are either Animate Intransitive or Inanimate Intransitive, depending on the gender of the subject of the verb. For verbs subcategorized for a first object, the stem is either Transitive Animate, used with animate objects, or Transitive Inanimate, if the object is inanimate. *ne-w-* is the Transitive Animate form of 'see' and *ne-t-* is the Transitive Inanimate form. In the derivation of verbal reflexives, the reflexive suffix *-tiso* is added to a Transitive Animate stem, forming an Animate Intransitive stem. If, however, a reflexive object is expressed by an independent pronoun, the Transitive Inanimate form of the verb must be used, e.g. *ne-t-* in (39). The Transitive Inanimate stem is then inflected for a subject acting upon an inanimate object. Again, the *ni-yawi* pronouns exhibit many grammatical characteristics of possessed inanimate singular nouns; the use of Transitive Inanimate verb stems with object pronouns is another example of this.

Reflexive pronouns have already been illustrated in (34-37). The sentences below provide additional examples and demonstrate that a clause may contain both a reflexive object pronoun and an emphatic pronoun expressing topic or focus:

(40) *i-ni=ni-na e-ne-netama-ni ni-yawi*
 that I think-thus-of 1-inan/part myself
 'that is what I think about myself' W:448

(41) *wi-na=meko owi-yawi e-h=a-totaki*
 he emph himself tell-about 3-inan
 'he told about himself' AR40:206.33

(42) *wi-na=ma-h nehto-wa owi-yawi*
 he indeed kill 3-inan/ind himself
 'he killed himself' J:66.8

2.2. Partial coreference

Pronouns from the *ni-yawi* series are also used when there is partial coreference between the subject and object:

(43) *i-ni=meko e-ši-nešiwana-čihto-ye-kwe ki-ya-na-ni*
 that emph way destroy 2p-inan/part ourselves-inc

'the same way that you [plural] destroyed us [inclusive]' W:586

In (43) the object is first person inclusive plural; it includes the second person plural subject plus the speaker. The object is expressed by the independent pronoun *ki-ya-na-ni* 'we (inclusive)', and the verb is inflected for an inanimate object.

In the next example, the object is also first person inclusive plural, including the first person singular subject:

(44) *ni-na=meko newe-we-ne-neta mani ki-ya-na-ni*
 I emph control 1-inan/ind this ourselves-inc

'I control us [inclusive]' AR40:174.4

Again, the verb is inflected for an inanimate object.

Partial coreference between subject and object may also involve third persons:

(45) *wi-na=meko e-h=anemi-nana-hiweto-či owi-ya-wa-wi*
 he emph along take-charge 3-inan themselves

'he [proximate] took charge of them [proximate] as they went along'
 AR40:602.9

The object *owi-ya-wa-wi* 'themselves' includes the third person singular subject. This is clear not only from the context — the hero is leading a warparty — but also from the use of a proximate object pronoun. The opposition of obviation singles out one third person as proximate; a group which includes the proximate third person is proximate plural. Since in (45) the subject is proximate singular and the object is proximate plural, the subject must be a member of the group referred to by the object pronoun. Like all cases of partial coreference between subject and object, this cannot be expressed by pronominal inflection alone, but only by the use of a pronoun from the *ni-yawi* series as object.

2.3. Obliques, second objects, and adjuncts

The *ni-yawi* series of pronouns are also used for grammatical relations which cannot be expressed by verb inflection: obliques, second objects, and adjuncts. In this use, the pronoun may have either a reflexive or nonreflexive reading.

Verb stems containing the initial morpheme *in-* 'thus; thither' (variant *iš-*; preverb *iši-*) require an oblique argument expressing manner or goal. Likewise, verbs with the initial *ot-* or preverb *oči-* 'from; with; because of' require an oblique argument expressing source, instrument, or reason. There are several other initial morphemes associated with obliques, and also a few inherently locative verbs like *wi-ki-* 'dwell', which requires an oblique argument expressing location. Verbs cannot be inflected for oblique arguments; a verb subcategorized for an oblique requires a lexical NP or adverb expressing the appropriate semantic role.

To express (animate) pronominal oblique arguments, a pronoun from the *ni-yawi* series is used. In the example below, the stem *očim-* 'warn about' is composed of *ot-* 'from; with; because of' plus *-im* 'speak to'. *očim-* requires three arguments: subject, object, and oblique, where the oblique argument indicates the person or thing that the subject is warning the object about.

- (46) a·kwi ... owi·ye·ha wi·h=očimehkini *ni-yawi*
not someone fut warn-about 3-2/neg me

'no one will warn you about me' W:295

Here the oblique is first person singular, expressed by *ni-yawi*.

Another grammatical relation not expressed by pronominal inflection is second object. For example, with the ditransitive stem *mi-n-* 'give', the recipient is first object and the thing given is second object. In (47) *ki-yawi* is used to express a second person second object.

- (47) mana ni·hka·na ni·h=mi·na·wa *ki-yawi*
this my-friend fut give 1-3/ind you

'I will give you to this friend of mine' AR40:184.10

Besides the ditransitive verbs, there are other verbs which are subcategorized for a subject and second object, but no first object. They are inflected like intransitives, for subject only. The examples below show second person singular and plural pronouns used as second objects with such verbs.

- (48) i·ni=ya·pi wi·h=we·pa·hke·ya·ni *ki-yawi*
then at-last fut throw 1 you
'eventually I will throw you' B72:62.3

- (49) ahpe·nemowaki *ki-ya-wa-wi*
rely-on 3p/ind you pl
'they rely on you [plural]' W:249

The next example shows that emphatic pronouns and *ni-yawi* pronouns are used for distinct functions:

- (50) *ni-na* *ni-yawi* e·h=keko·mye·pahoči
I me run-carrying-on-back 3
'as for me, she ran carrying me on her back' AR40:130.38

The verb *keko-mye-paho-* 'run while carrying on one's back' here takes *ni-yawi* 'me' as second object. The topic of the clauses preceding (50) is the speaker's mother; in (50) the topic switches to the speaker. The new topic is expressed by the emphatic pronoun *ni-na* 'I': the pronoun *ni-yawi* by itself is apparently not sufficient to signal a new topic.

The pronouns *owi-yawi* and *owi-ya-wa-wi* may be used for third person second objects:

- (51) e·h= ahpe·nemoniči mehtose·neniwahi *owi-yawi*
rely-on obvperson-obv.pl him
'the people [obviative] depended on him' AR40:594.37

However, the use of an independent pronoun is not obligatory for third person second objects. It is much more common for there to be no overt marking of pronominal third person second objects at all:

- (52) i-ni=ča-hi ni-na-na we-či-ahpe-nemoya-ke i-noki
 that so we-exc why rely-on 1p/part today

'so that is why we depend on them today' B87:18.11

(In the context from which (52) is taken it is clear that the second object is plural.) Third person second objects are the only type of argument which need not be overtly indicated by either pronominal inflection or an external argument.

Reflexive second objects are also expressed by the *ni:yawi* series: here, no alternative verbal reflexive construction is available. There is no morphological difference between reflexive second objects and non-reflexive second object pronouns: the reflexive reading derives from the coreference of the pronoun and the subject.

- (53) i-noki=ča-hi='ni e-h=mi-nenako-we ni:yawi
 today so now give 1-2p myself

'so today I give myself to you' B72:44.6

- (54) o-ni ni-na=meko ni:yawi wi-h=a-totamo-nako-we
 now I emph myself fut tell-about-to 1-2p

'now I will tell you about myself' AR40:206.21

In (54) the verb stem is *a-totamaw-* 'tell about to', which takes the audience as first object and the thing told about as second object.

Verbs subcategorized for subject and second object, but no first object, may also take reflexive second objects:

- (55) e-h=ahpe-nemoki=meko=ye-toke owi:ya-ninawi
 rely-on indf emph I-guess oneself

'when one relies on oneself, no doubt' W:563

In this example the verb is inflected for an unspecified subject, and the second object is the indefinite pronoun *owi:ya-ninawi*, here 'oneself'.

The third person pronoun *owi:yawi*, when used as a second object, is ambiguous between a reflexive and a nonreflexive reading. Since *owi:yawi* may refer to either proximate or obviative third persons, the form itself does not reveal whether the second object is coreferential

to the subject. The correct interpretation is usually apparent from the context, however. For example, the context of (51) makes it clear that the people are relying on someone else, not on themselves. Conversely, in the next example *owi:yawi* must be read as a reflexive second object.

- (56) e-h=wa-pato-na-tehe owi:yawi kehčine-we
 show-to 3-obv/irr himself in-person

'he [proximate] apparently showed himself to them [obviative]
 in person' W:822

The verb *wa-pato-n-* 'show to' takes the thing shown as second object and the person it is shown to as first object. (56) describes a manitou revealing himself to humans; *owi:yawi* here must be interpreted as reflexive.

No examples have been found of first objects serving as antecedents for reflexive second objects. However, subjects of passive verbs may bind a second object reflexive:

- (57) e-h=a-totamawiki ni:yawi
 tell-about-to indf-1 myself

'I was told about myself' AR40:132.41

A small number of NPs appearing in construction with verbs cannot be classified as bearing any of the subcategorized grammatical relations such as subject, object, second object, or oblique; they will here be labelled adjuncts. Verbs are not inflected for adjuncts; to express a pronominal adjunct, a form from the *ni:yawi* series is used.

- (58) i-ni=ča-hi išikenike owi:ya-wa-wi
 that[-way] so be-thus inan.obv/subj them

'so if it works for them,' B72:50.39

- (59) a-kwi wi-h=menwikekini owi:ya-wa-wi
 not fut be-good inan/neg them

'it will not go well for them' W:463

2.4. Subjects of intransitives

Pronouns from the *ni-yawi* series are occasionally used as subjects of intransitive verbs. The verb stems involved are from the Inanimate Intransitive class, not from the Animate Intransitive class. Again this follows the pattern of treating *ni-yawi* pronouns as inanimate nouns.

- (60) we-pa-čimekwatesa owi-ya-ninawi
begin-to-be-told-about inan/pot one
'one would begin to be talked about' W:183

- (61) ni-ka-ni i-h=e-mikatwi ki-ya-wa-wi
ahead fut go inan/ind you-pl
'you [plural] should go ahead' W:824

The verbs in the above examples are inflected for third person inanimate singular subjects, even in (61) where the subject pronoun is second person plural.

If the subject is *owi-yawi* 'he/she' or *owi-ya-wa-wi* 'they', the verb is inflected for an obviative inanimate singular subject.

- (62) wi-h=mya-neteniwi owi-yawi
fut be-bad inan.obv/ind he
'he will get into trouble' W:833

As stated earlier, the obviative inflection on the verb reflects the general tendency for these pronouns to be treated as possessed inanimate nouns: nouns possessed by third person possessors are obligatorily obviative. Despite the obviative verb inflection, *owi-yawi* may in fact refer to either a proximate or an obviative third person.

It is not known what conditions the choice of a *ni-yawi* pronoun as subject over the more usual construction in which an Animate Intransitive verb stem is inflected for subject. The *ni-yawi* constructions are most often encountered in high-register speeches in descriptions of religious ceremonies; such speeches, however, also contain regularly inflected Animate Intransitive verbs. One thing that is clear, however, is that the *ni-yawi* subject pronouns are not reflexive. That is, they do

not require an antecedent in a higher clause. (61), for example, is itself the main clause of its sentence: the independent indicative paradigm is used only for main clauses. Syntactically there can be no clause dominating the pronoun in (61). Neither is there a possible antecedent of *ki-ya-wa-wi* in an earlier sentence: the four preceding clauses contain only third person arguments.

The examples above have illustrated the various functions of *ni-yawi* pronouns: as obliques, second objects, and adjuncts; as first objects wholly or partly coreferent to the subject; and as subjects of intransitive verbs. No examples have been found of *ni-yawi* pronouns used as subjects of transitives or as possessors. There seems to be no environment in which a reflexive reading of a *ni-yawi* pronoun would be blocked, but it is only when the pronouns are used as first objects that a reading of at least partial coreference is required.

2.5. Pronouns as nominal arguments

Several noun-like features of the *ni-yawi* pronouns have already been pointed out. The pronouns behave like inanimate nouns in requiring Transitive Inanimate verb stems when object, and Inanimate Intransitive stems when subject; these stems are then inflected for inanimate object or subject, respectively. The pronouns end in -i, the ending for inanimate singular nouns. Properties of possessed nouns are reflected in the existence of an indefinite pronoun, and the neutralization of contrast between proximate singular and obviative. Furthermore, the third person pronouns trigger obviative agreement when subject of intransitive verbs, another property of possessed nouns.

Given this list of properties and the fact that the *ni-yawi* forms are homophonous with possessed forms of 'body', it is perhaps necessary to defend labelling them as pronouns. Words for 'body' are a fairly common source for reflexive forms cross-linguistically (cf. Faltz 1977, chapter 4), and in Fox it is clear that many instances of the *ni-yawi* forms cannot be read literally as 'body'. In (41), for example, *owi-yawi e-h=a-totaki* must be 'he told a story about himself', not 'he told a story about his body'. Furthermore, the fact that all forms in this series take singular endings and agreement points to their grammaticization

as pronouns. If they were literally possessed forms of 'body' one would expect that the forms with plural 'possessors' would be treated as plural. *ki-ya-wa-wi*, for example, should be 'your bodies' rather than 'your body', taking the inanimate plural ending *-ani* and inanimate plural agreement (e.g. *-wani* instead of *-wi* on the verb in (61)). But instead, even the plural pronouns are grammatically singular.

The *ni-yawi* forms function as pronouns, but in terms of phrase structure they are nouns. Like other nouns, they may be preceded by a determiner: e.g. *mani ki-ya-na-ni* in (44). (Compare *mana nekya* 'this mother of mine' in (17).) The determiner accompanying the pronoun is invariably inanimate singular.

The *ni-yawi* pronouns also exhibit another, rather startling, syntactic property of nouns: they may serve as antecedents for later pronominal inflection. For example, the first clause in the example below contains a reflexive object pronoun. As usual, the verb is inflected for an inanimate object. The verb of the second clause is also inflected for an inanimate object, though here there is no reflexive object pronoun. Yet the reading of the second clause is also reflexive:

- (63) *i-ni e-h=pye-či-ni-se-netama-ni ni-yawi,*
 then come down think-of 1-inan myself

ayo-h=meko e-h=pye-te-we-netama-ni
 here emph come think-of 1-inan

'I imagined myself coming down,
 I imagined [myself] coming right here' AR40:134.12

The glosses on the verbs require some comment. Both verbs contain the morpheme *-e-net-* 'think of; consider'. (Transitive Inanimate; the Transitive Animate form is *-e-nem-*.) *-e-net-* or *-e-nem-* requires an initial morpheme preceding it: often, the initial is a secondary predicate predicated of the verb's object (see Goddard (in press) for more examples). In the first clause of (63), the speaker imagines himself coming down; the second clause, however, literally says 'I imagined *it* coming right here'. But the inanimate object inflection must be read as referring to the reflexive pronoun in the previous clause. In other words, the same inflectional ending required for agreement with an external

object may be used anaphorically, in the absence of that object.

Another example of anaphoric reference to a pronoun is given below:

- (64) *mani ki-wi-otahpene-hto-yani ki-yawi,*
 this around why-starve 2-inan/part yourself

e-h=ketema-ke-netamani...
 wretched think-of 2-inan

'this is why you went around starving yourself,
 thinking [yourself] wretched:...' AR40:76.15

The second verb also contains the morpheme *-e-net-*, discussed above; it is here preceded by the secondary predicate *ketema-k-* 'wretched, pitiful'. Again, the second clause is understood to have a reflexive object, but this is expressed only by the inanimate object inflection referring anaphorically to the pronoun *ki-yawi* 'yourself' in the previous clause. The two verb stems of (64) belong to different classes of Transitive Inanimate verbs: consequently the inflectional endings on these two verbs are different. The categories indicated by the inflection, however, are identical.

The *ni-yawi* pronouns are unusual in requiring 'agreement' morphology which does not match the semantic value of the pronoun. However, (63) and (64) show that this special inflectional morphology nevertheless follows the general pattern of third person verb inflection: inflectional endings which function as agreement with an NP subject or object may function pronominally in the absence of that argument. This pattern holds only for third person inflection; nonthird person inflection functions only pronominally, and never as agreement.

The *ni-yawi* pronouns demonstrate that NPs in Fox may indeed function as subjects and objects. That is, it is not the case that third person inflection functions only pronominally, as the nonthird person inflection does: some instances of third person inflection must be analyzed as agreement with an external NP. This can be seen clearly for the *ni-yawi* pronouns because of the discrepancy between the pronoun's semantic value and the agreement morphology it requires. For example in (61), it is the independent pronoun *ki-ya-wa-wi* that indicates that the subject is second person plural: this information is not marked on

the verb. Likewise in (41), it is the pronoun which indicates that the object of the verb is coreferential with the subject. For the special case of the *ni-yawi* pronouns, then, it is clear that information regarding subjects and objects is carried by external arguments, not by the verb. Since these pronouns are heads of NPs, the claim may be extended: NPs may function as subject and object in Fox; some instances of third person inflection function only as agreement.

Nonthird person inflection is never merely agreement: it is in complementary distribution with the *ni-yawi* pronouns. Nonthird person inflection may occur with a coreferential emphatic pronoun, but in all cases the emphatic pronoun functions as topic or focus, not as subject or object. The *ni-yawi* pronouns on the other hand, are not used as topic or focus, as seen in (50).

Conclusion

The two series of independent personal pronouns in Fox perform distinct functions: the emphatic pronouns are used almost exclusively for the discourse functions of topic and focus, while the *ni-yawi* pronouns bear clause-level syntactic relations to a verb.¹² The *ni-yawi* pronouns are heads of NPs, and require agreement morphology as if they were possessed inanimate singular nouns. These properties of the *ni-yawi* pronouns support more general claims regarding the syntactic role of inflection in Fox: third person inflection may function either pronominally or as agreement, while nonthird person inflection is always pronominal.

Notes

1. Research for this paper was carried out as part of a postdoctoral fellowship in the Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. I am grateful to Ives Goddard for extensive discussion of the issues addressed here, and for pointing out some of the best examples.
2. The details of the complicated system of inflection will not be presented here; see Bloomfield 1925–27, supplemented by Voorhis 1971. Symbols following the interlinear gloss of the verb stem indicate features of subject and object. 3 and 3p are third person proximate animate singular and third person proximate animate plural, respectively. *obv* is third person obviative, either singular or plural; unless otherwise specified, *obv* is animate. The two arguments of transitive verbs are separated by a hyphen: 1-2p is first person singular subject acting on second person plural object. A passive verb with, say, first person exclusive plural subject is glossed *indf-1p*. Abbreviations following a slash identify the inflectional paradigm: *ind* = independent indicative, *neg* = conjunct negative, *subj* = conjunct subjunctive, *irr* = conjunct irrealis, *pot* = potential, *part* = participle (used in relative clauses; cf. Goddard 1987). All unmarked verbs are conjunct aorist.
3. The sources for the examples are as follows. J = Jones 1907, AR40 = Michelson 1925, B72 = Michelson 1921, B85 = Michelson 1927, B87 = Michelson 1928, B105 = Michelson 1932. Michelson's texts are based on manuscripts written by native Fox speakers using the Fox syllabary. Some examples cited here have been altered to conform to the original manuscripts, now stored in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Examples have also been drawn from two other syllabic texts collected by Michelson but never published: O = Kiyana 1912 and W = Kiyana 1913. Citations from unpublished texts give the page number only.
4. Except for a locative case on nouns and demonstratives.
5. In manuscripts, clitics may be identified by sandhi effects and by the absence of word boundary symbols written by native authors using the Fox syllabary.
6. Cognate forms in several other Algonquian languages have undergone the same extension: Cree *wi-ya* is both a third person emphatic pronoun and a nonpronominal contrastive enclitic, as is Ojibwa *wi-(n)* (Rhodes 1979:113) and Menomini *wenah* (Bloomfield 1975:3).
7. This is distinct from the collocations of pronoun plus noun illustrated in (10): there the pronoun agrees with the noun in number, it need not be in second position, and it usually precedes the noun.

8. The NP *ma-haki wi-teko-waki* 'these owls' is discontinuous, with the determiner cliticized after *=ke-hi*. See Dahlstrom 1987.
9. The inventory of grammatical relations assumed here is that of Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan 1982); see Dahlstrom 1986 for a discussion of grammatical relations in Cree.
10. The indefinite pronoun, however, is formed by adding *ow-* *-eninawi* to the stem, rather than the regular indefinite possessor inflection of *ow-* *-inawi*.
11. Subject inflection on intransitive verbs is the only marking of obviation for inanimates.
12. Some morphemes requiring an oblique argument when part of a verb stem may also be used alone as postpositions. In the fieldnotes of James A. Geary, who worked with Fox speakers in the 1940's, there is one example of a pronoun used as object of a postposition: *ki-nwa-wa oči* 'because of you [pl], for your sake' (National Anthropological Archives ms. 4860, file slip for *ki-nwa-wa*). Note that the pronoun here is from the emphatic series, not the *ni-yawi* series. Postpositional phrases are relatively infrequent in Fox, and no textual examples of pronominal postpositional objects have been found to confirm Geary's elicited form. However, if this example is correct, it suggests that the *ni-yawi* pronouns are restricted to arguments of verbs only, with the emphatic series available for expressing the remaining grammatical relations: object of postposition, and possessor (i.e., the construction illustrated in (27) and (28)).

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Some Sahaptian-Klamath-Tsimshianic lexical sets

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The Sapirean version (and a fortiori all grander versions) of the Penutian hypothesis has fallen into fairly poor repute over time, primarily on the legitimate grounds that little if any significant comparative evidence has been adduced for it.¹ On the other hand, it must be pointed out that one reason for the lack of evidence—particularly with respect to the languages north of California—is that useful data for most of the languages has been scarce, and few people have looked in any detail at what is available.²

In any case, a conservative classification of the relevant languages such as that of Campbell and Mithun (1979) leaves, among the languages of Oregon, ten isolates or families consisting of two or three closely-related members. It is certainly not impossible in principle that this is in fact the situation, and entirely possible that, whatever the actual relationships among the languages in question, the evidentiary situation is such that no higher-order groupings can ever be convincingly established. However, given the relative lack of systematic comparative study of these languages, it remains equally possible that there are as yet undemonstrated relationships for which good evidence can be found. The present paper reports on some preliminary work in this direction. We have begun our investigation with Sahaptian and Klamath—selected primarily on geographical grounds, and in view of the evidence supporting a Sahaptian-Klamath relationship adduced by Aoki (1963)³—and Tsimshianic, included because of our considerable early success in finding Tsimshian members for our resemblant sets.⁴ We have also included Kathlamet Chinook forms in some of our sets, although we have not yet looked at Chinookan very systematically. While we present this paper with the conviction that it contains considerable evidence for some sort of relationship among all of the languages considered here,⁵ we make no suggestions here concerning relationships between these and any other languages⁶, which means most importantly that we do not claim that these four constitute a definable unit within any larger grouping.