

Chapter 7

Valence changing processes

With the background presented in the previous chapter on the internal structure of stems we are now able to consider the various lexical processes that alter the valence of a verb. Transitive verbs may be made intransitive through processes such as passive, antipassive, reciprocal, reflexive, and middle reflexive. Other lexical processes create transitive stems from intransitive ones (or ditransitive stems from transitive stems); these include causative, various applicatives, and possessor raising. All the lexical processes mentioned alter the shape of the verb stem by suffixing a secondary final (6.1) of a particular sort to the stem. 7.1. describes the secondary final or finals associated with each of the lexical processes which create an intransitive stem from a transitive one; 7.2. does the same for the transitivizing processes. 7.2. also describes the phenomenon of ‘relational’ verbs, a rare construction in Meskwaki, in which the first object of the verb functions something like an ethical dative.

The addition of an oblique argument to the subcategorization frame of a verb is described in 7.3. Here a different morphological strategy is employed from that seen with the transitivizing and detransitivizing processes: the verb stem is compounded with a morpheme which indexes the particular semantic role associated with the oblique. This morpheme is realized either in the stem-initial position or as a preverb, depending on the lexical resources of the stem it combines with, as explained in 6.2. The same morphological strategy is also used to add a second object to the argument structure of a verb, described in 7.4.

7.1. Suppressing a first object

We begin our investigation of valence-changing processes by looking at five processes which create intransitive stems from transitive ones. They are reciprocal, reflexive, middle reflexive, antipassive, and passive; each involves the suffixation of a secondary final to a transitive stem and will be described in a separate section below. Special attention will be paid to the interaction of these lexical processes with noun incorporation (6.3.1).

7.1.1. Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix *-(e)ti-* attaches to a Transitive Animate stem to create an Animate Intransitive stem. The suppressed first object is understood to be reciprocally bound by the subject.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | nawih- | ‘visit’ TA |
| | b. | nawiheti- | ‘visit each other’ AI |
| (2) | a. | mawinan- | ‘attack, run up to’ TA |
| | b. | mawinaneti- | ‘attack each other’ AI |
| (3) | a. | mi·n- | ‘give’ TA |
| | b. | mi·neti- | ‘give O2 to each other’ AI |

As we have seen previously in chapters 3 and 4, a number of morphophonological processes are associated with the combination of stem-final *w* and suffix-initial short *e*. For example, if *-eti-* is attached to a stem ending in *V·w*, the *e* becomes *o*.

- (4) a. *ne·w-* 'see' TA
 b. *ne·woti·-* 'see each other' AI

If *-eti-* is attached to a stem ending in *Cw*, the *w* and the *e* coalesce to *o*.

- (5) a. *pemw-* 'shoot at' TA
 b. *pemoti·-* 'shoot at each other' AI
- (6) a. *nawasw-* 'outrun' TA
 b. *na·nawasoti·-* 'have a race' AI (with reduplication)

Sequences of *Vw + e* are contracted to long *V·*:

- (7) a. *kya·tamaw-* 'keep O2 a secret from O' TA
 b. *kya·tama·ti·-* 'keep O2 a secret from each other' AI
- (8) a. *takeškaw-* 'kick' TA
 b. *takeška·ti·-* 'kick each other' AI
- (9) a. *wi·čawiw-* 'be married to' TA
 b. *wi·čawi·ti·-* 'be married to each other' AI

Stems ending in *m* or *n* show variation regarding the form of the reciprocal suffix. Some take the *-ti-* allomorph, with deletion of the stem-final nasal before the *t*. Others are suffixed with the *-eti-* form, with no alteration of the stem; some stems allow either form of the reciprocal suffix.

- (10) a. *mehkwe·nem-* 'remember' TA
 b. *mehkwe·neti·-* 'remember each other' AI
- (11) a. *nahkom-* 'answer' TA
 b. *nahkoti·-* 'answer each other' AI
- (12) a. *wa·pam-* 'look at' TA
 b. *wa·pati·-* 'look at each other' AI
- (13) a. *a·šim-* 'coax, tempt' TA
 b. *a·šimeti·-* 'coax each other' AI
- (14) a. *in-* 'say thus to' TA
 b. *iti·-* 'say thus to each other' AI

- (15) a. tepa·n- 'love' TA
 b. tepa·neti·- 'love each other' AI
- (16) a. ašam- 'feed' TA
 b. ašati·- 'feed each other' AI
 c. ašameti·- 'feed each other' AI

The argument suppressed by the reciprocal suffix is always the first object of the verb. Second objects cannot be reciprocally bound by either the subject or the first object. The valence-increasing processes to be described in 7.2. which introduce new first objects thus feed reciprocal formation. For example, the first object of the stem in (7a) was introduced by the applicative suffix *-aw* (7.2.1); when the reciprocal suffix is added in (7b), it is the new first object which is suppressed. Likewise, a new first object introduced by possessor raising (7.2.2.) may be suppressed by the reciprocal suffix. Consider the following textual example:

- (17) mehto·či=meko·=‘ni wi·hwe·wenihta·ti·ye·kwe
 like=emph=then fut=beautify.each.other’s.O2 2p/aor
- keno·ke·nawa·waki
 your.pl.souls

‘It is as if you will be beautifying each other’s souls then.’ R412.6

The derivation of the stem in (17) includes the following steps:

- (18) a. we·weniht- 'beautify' TI2
 b. we·wenihtaw- 'beautify O’s O2' TA
 c. we·wenihta·ti- 'beautify each other’s O2' AI

The possessor raising form in (18b) is formed by adding *-aw* to the TI stem in (18a), resulting in a ditransitive stem where the first object is understood as the possessor of the second object. The reciprocal suffix *-eti·-* may then be added in (18c) (with contraction of *aw + e* to *a·*), suppressing the first object.

The reciprocal suffix may be added to a verb stem containing an incorporated body part (6.3.1), as in the next example:

- (19) či·pi·kwe·htaw- 'wink at' TA
 /či·p + i·kw + e· + htaw/
 quick.movement + eye + do_{AI}+ applic.TA
- (20) či·pi·kwe·hta·ti·- 'wink at each other' AI
 /či·p + i·kw + e· + htaw + eti·/
 quick.movement + eye + do_{AI} + applic.TA + recip_{AI}

See 7.2.1. for discussion of the applicative secondary final seen in (19) and (20).

Not all instances of the morpheme *-(e)ti-* function as a true reciprocal. In some cases the morpheme has been lexicalized as part of the stem: for example, *kakano·neti-* ‘converse’, which obviously derives from the reciprocal of the reduplicated form of *kano·n-* ‘speak to’, may be used with a singular subject:

- (21) e·hkakano·neti·či, kakikapo·twe nekoti aša·hani e·hpemokoči.
 converse 3/aor suddenly one Sioux.obv shoot 3’–3/aor
 ‘While he (prox) was conversing, suddenly one of the Sioux (obv) shot him (prox).’ J218.13

Another example of a stem in which the reciprocal has been lexicalized is *na·nawasoti-* ‘have a race’ AI in (6b), from the reduplicated form of *nawasw-* ‘outrun’ TA. (Two people having a race cannot literally outrun each other.)

Another function of the suffix *-(e)ti-* is to express a collective passive, especially when the verb is inflected for an unspecified subject, as in the following example:

- (22) a·šitami mi·neti·pi ke·ko·hi
 in.return give.recip X/ind.ind something
 ‘People are given something in return’ A63C

The stem *mi·n-* ‘give’ has been suffixed with the reciprocal *-eti-*, but the reading here is a passive one, ‘be given’, rather than ‘give each other’.

7.1.2. Reflexive

The reflexive secondary final *-(e)tiso-* attaches to a Transitive Animate stem to form an Animate Intransitive stem. The suppressed object is understood to be bound by the subject.

- (23) a. pemen- ‘take care of’ TA
 b. pemenetiso- ‘take care of oneself’ AI
- (24) a. tepa·n- ‘love’ TA
 b. tepa·netiso- ‘love oneself’ AI
- (25) a. wača·h- ‘cook for’ TA
 b. wača·hetiso- ‘cook for oneself’ AI

The morphological effects described in 7.1.1. for the reciprocal suffix *-(e)ti-* are also found with the reflexive *-(e)tiso-*. For example, a sequence of *Vw + e* contracts to long *V·*.

- (26) a. na·taw- ‘go after O2 for O’ TA
 b. na·ta·tiso- ‘go after O2 for oneself’ AI

Stems ending in *V·w* cause the initial *e* of the reflexive suffix to become *o*.

- (27) a. ne·w- 'see' TA
 b. ne·wotiso- 'see oneself' AI

Many stems ending in *m* take the *-tiso-* allomorph of the reflexive; the nasal consonant is deleted before the *t*. Other *m*-final stems allow either form of the reflexive suffix.

- (28) a. mi·nawe·nem- 'think seriously about' TA
 b. mi·nawe·netiso- 'think seriously about oneself' AI
- (29) a. mawim- 'bewail' TA
 b. mawitiso- 'bewail oneself' AI
- (30) a. wa·pam- 'look at' TA
 b. wa·patiso- 'look at oneself' AI
 c. wa·pametiso- 'look at oneself' AI
- (31) a. a·čim- 'tell about' TA
 b. a·čitiso- 'tell about oneself' AI
 c. a·čimetiso- 'tell about oneself' AI

The reflexive stem in (30b) contains the *-tiso* form of the suffix; the final *m* of *wa·pam-* 'look at' is deleted before the *t*. (30c) shows, however, that *wa·pam-* may also take the *-etiso-* form of the reflexive suffix. (31) shows that *a·čim-* 'tell about' exhibits the same sort of variation.

The reflexive verb stems derived by suffixation of *-(e)tiso-* are not the only means available in Meskwaki for expressing reflexives. As discussed in 3.7.2, the independent pronouns derived from possessed forms of the inanimate dependent noun stem *-i·yaw-* 'body' may function as independent reflexive pronouns. Consider the following pairs of sentences, where the (a) sentence contains a verbal reflexive and the (b) sentence contains an independent reflexive pronoun. (The inflectional affixes in each example are underlined.)

- (32) a. wa·patisowa
 look.at.self 3/ind.ind
 'He looked at himself.'
- b. wa·patamwa owi·yaw*i*
 look.at 3-0/ind.ind himself
 'He looked at himself.'
- (33) a. kehčine·netisowa
 consider.self.great 3/ind.ind
 'He is proud of himself.'
- b. kehčine·netamwa owi·yaw*i*
 consider.O.great 3-0/ind.ind himself
 'He is proud of himself.'

- (34) a. te·pihetisowa
 please.self 3/ind.ind
 ‘He benefits himself.’
- b. te·pihto·wa owi·yawī
 please 3–0/ind.ind himself
 ‘He benefits himself.’

The verb stems in the (a) sentences contain the reflexive suffix *-(e)tiso-* and belong to the Animate Intransitive stem class. They are inflected for only a third person subject; this subject is understood to bind the argument that would have been realized as first object of the transitive stem. In the (b) examples, the pronominal reflexive strategy has been used. The verb stem in each sentence is a Transitive Inanimate stem (since the body pronouns are inanimate in gender); the verb is inflected for a third person subject and an inanimate object. Notice that the two types of reflexive morphology are in complementary distribution: if the verbal suffix *-(e)tiso-* is used, there is no independent reflexive pronoun, and vice versa.

In contexts which allow either the verbal reflexive or the pronominal reflexive, it is not clear what conditions the choice between them. For example, my consultant reports that the (a) and (b) sentences both mean the same, for (32)–(34). There are, however, at least three contexts in which only the pronominal strategy is available for expressing reflexives. If one wants to express a reflexive second object, an independent reflexive pronoun must be used; the verbal reflexive may only express coreference between subject and first object. Examples of reflexive second objects were given in 3.7.2; some further examples are listed below:

- (35) i·noki=ča·hi·=‘ni e·hmi·nenako·we ni·yawī
 today=so=then give 1–2p/aor myself
 ‘So today I give you (pl) myself.’ B72:44.6
- (36) e·ha·totamawiki ni·yawī
 tell.about.to X–1/aor myself
 ‘They (unspec) told me about myself.’ R132.41
- (37) e·hahpe·nemoki=meko=ye·toke owi·ya·ninawī
 rely.on X/aor=emph=I.guess oneself
 ‘When one relies on oneself, no doubt.’ W563

(35) is an example of a second object coreferential with the subject of the verb, while (36) has a second object coreferential with the first object of the verb. (37) contains a verb subcategorized for only a subject and a second object; the second object is bound by the subject.

The second context in which independent reflexive pronouns must be used is to express overlapping reference (i.e. partial coreference) between a subject and object. An example of this function was given in 3.7.2; additional examples are provided below.

- (38) *i·ni=meko e·ši-nešiwana·čih-to·ye·kwe ki·ya·na·ni*
 that=emph thus-destroy 2p-0/part/obl our.(incl).selves
 ‘the same way that you (pl) destroyed us (incl)’ W586
- (39) *ni·na=meko newe·we·ne·neta mani ki·ya·na·ni*
 I=emph have.say.over 1-0/ind.ind this our.(incl).selves
 ‘I have the say over us (incl).’ R174.4

In (38) the object is first person inclusive plural; it includes the second person plural subject plus the speaker. In (39), the object is also first person inclusive plural, including the first person singular subject. In both examples, the object is expressed by the independent pronoun *ki·ya·na·ni* ‘we (inclusive)’.

Third, if the reflexive object is contrastively focused, it must be expressed by an independent pronoun:

- (40) *a·kwi owiye·hani wi·hte·piha·čini,*
 not anyone.obv fut.please 3-3’/neg
- wi·na=meko ke·sipi owi·yawī wi·hte·pihto·wa*
 he=emph only himself fut.please 3-0/ind.ind
- ‘He (prox) will not benefit anyone [else] (obv),
 he (prox) will benefit only himself.’ W826
- (41) *a·kwi owiye·hani wi·hketema·kiha·čini,*
 not anyone.obv fut.ill.treat 3-3’/neg
- wi·na=meko ke·sipi owi·yawī wi·hmya·šipenato·wa*
 he=emph only himself fut.do.harm.to 3-0/ind.ind
- ‘He (prox) will not ill-treat anyone [else] (obv),
 he (prox) will do harm only to himself.’ W827

The sentences in (40) and (41) have parallel structure; the first clause is negated, with *owiye·hani* ‘someone/anyone (obv)’ in the focus position; the second clause is positive, with *owi·yawī* ‘himself’ in focus position. The contrastive focus between ‘anyone’ and ‘himself’ is possible since the reflexive is expressed with an independent pronoun, which may appear in the focus position. See 8.4. for discussion of the discourse function of focus and the focus position in constituent structure.

7.1.3. Middle reflexive

The middle reflexive suffix *-o-* attaches to Transitive Animate stems to form Animate Intransitive stems. Semantically, it usually indicates that the single argument of the derived intransitive is both

the initiator of the action and the one affected by the action, similar to the semantics of a regular reflexive. Some examples of the middle reflexive are given below:

- (42) a. mehčínawe·n- 'undress' TA
 b. mehčínawe·no- 'undress' AI
- (43) a. kahkin- 'hide' TA
 b. kahkiso- 'hide' AI
- (44) a. čapo·kisah- 'fling O into the water' TA
 b. čapo·kisaho- 'jump into the water' AI
- (45) a. ki·ših- 'complete, make' TA
 b. ki·šiho- 'make oneself (the way one is)' AI

The *n* of the primary final *-en-* 'by hand TA/TI' does not mutate when *-o* follows it ((42)), but other stem-final *n*'s mutate to *s* ((43)).

As can be seen from the examples above, the action of the middle reflexive forms is not always the same as that of the transitive forms. For example, 'jump into the water' in (44b) is an action of a different sort from flinging something into the water: the similarity lies in the quick movement into the water.

The middle suffix frequently occurs with verb stems containing incorporated body parts, to indicate action by the subject on his own body.

- (46) me·ša·nehkwe·no- 'touch one's hair' AI
 /me·š + a·nehkwe· + (e)n + o/
 touch + hair + by.hand_{TA} + middle_{AI}
- (47) ko·kitepe·no- 'wash one's head' AI
 /ko·k + itepe· + en + o/
 wash + head + by.hand_{TA} + middle_{AI}
- (48) kehkiteče·pisowa 'tie something around one's waist'
 /kehkit + eče· + pin + o/ AI
 around + belly + tie_{TA} + middle_{AI}

Many Transitive Animate stems may undergo derivation with either the regular reflexive *-(e)tiso* or the middle reflexive *-o*. There is often a semantic difference between the two derived intransitive stems:

- (49) a. wa·pam- 'look at' TA
 b. wa·patiso- 'look at oneself' AI
 c. wa·pamo- 'look in the mirror' AI

- (50) a. wača·h- 'cook for' TA
 b. wača·hetiso- 'cook for (only) oneself' AI
 c. wača·ho- 'cook' AI
- (51) a. a·čim- 'talk about' TA
 b. a·čimetiso- 'talk about oneself' AI
 c. a·čimo- 'tell a story, report' AI

In (49b) the reflexive *wa·patiso-* indicates that the subject's gaze is directed at his own body, while the middle reflexive *wa·pamo-* in (49c) indicates that the subject's gaze is directed at a mirror, which typically results in the subject seeing himself. In (50b) the reflexive *wača·hetiso-* is used for situations in which the subject is cooking only for herself: for example, if she is observing the menstrual taboos by living apart during her period, cooking and eating her meals separately. The middle reflexive *wača·ho-* in (50c) is used for the less marked situation, where the subject is preparing a meal for the whole family, including herself. In (51), the reflexive in (b) is used when the subject is reporting something about himself (not necessarily telling a story); the middle reflexive in (c) is the ordinary verb stem for telling a story, which typically involves the subject's own experiences or history.¹

In the examples seen so far of the middle reflexive, the single argument of the verb both initiates and undergoes the action. However, some stems containing the suffix *-o-* indicate merely that the subject undergoes the action or change of state of the verb, without specifying the identity of the agent of the action, if any. In such stems the middle reflexive resembles a passive more than a reflexive.

- (52) a. ča·kesw- 'burn O up' TA
 b. ča·keso- 'burn up' AI
- (53) a. sakapin- 'tie O fast' TA
 b. sakapiso- 'be tied fast' AI

Note that the stem-final *w* coalesces with the *o* of the middle suffix in (52) and that the stem-final *n* of (53) mutates to *s*.

7.1.4. Antipassive

The antipassive suffixes attach to a transitive stem to form an Animate Intransitive stem. (A more standard Algonquianist term for these suffixes is 'general goal'; cf. Wolfart 1973:72.) In some cases the derived intransitive denotes a general activity or quality; in other cases the patient, theme, or goal of the action is clear from the context but specific mention of the referent is avoided by using the antipassive form. The antipassive may also be used to indicate an unspecified object which is coreferential to the inflectional category of unspecified subject, as will be seen in a textual example below.

¹ There is a separate verb stem used for telling sacred stories: *a·teso·hke-* AI.

There are several allomorphs of the antipassive found with Transitive Animate stems: *-iwe·-*, *-kye·*, *-ehkye·-*, *-(e)ke·-*, *-ke·mo-*.² With Transitive Inanimate stems, only a single antipassive form is found: *-ike·-*. In general, antipassives formed from TA stems are understood to have an unspecified animate (and usually human) object and those formed from TI stems to have an unspecified inanimate object, but we will see below that some instances of antipassives formed from TI stems are used for understood animate objects as well. The antipassive suffixes which attach to TA stems will be described first.

The suffix *-iwe·-* is found attached to a wide range of Transitive Animate stems:

- | | | | |
|------|----|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| (54) | a. | otamih- | ‘bother, inconvenience’ TA |
| | b. | otamihiwe·- | ‘bother people, be a nuisance’ AI |
| (55) | a. | ni·mih- | ‘make O dance’ TA |
| | b. | ni·mihiwe·- | ‘give a dance for people’ AI |
| (56) | a. | in- | ‘say thus to’ TA |
| | b. | išiwe·- | ‘state thus’ AI |
| (57) | a. | tepa·n- | ‘love’ TA |
| | b. | tepa·šiwe·- | ‘love people’ AI |
| (58) | a. | ne·w- | ‘see’ TA |
| | b. | ne·wowe·- | ‘see people’ AI |
| (59) | a. | pemw- | ‘shoot at’ TA |
| | b. | pemowe·- | ‘shoot’ AI |

The suffix-initial short *i* causes mutation of stem-final *n* (except the primary final *-en* ‘by hand’) to *š*, as seen in (56) and (57). When suffixed to a stem ending in *w* the suffix-initial *i* becomes *o* ((58), (59)).

Some TA stems ending in *n* form antipassives with the suffix *-kye·-*. The stem-final *n* becomes *h* before *k*.

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------|------------------------|
| (60) | a. | kano·n- | ‘speak to’ TA |
| | b. | kano·hkye·- | ‘speak’ AI |
| (61) | a. | matan- | ‘overtake’ TA |
| | b. | matahkye·- | ‘catch up’ AI |
| (62) | a. | mawinan- | ‘attack, run up to’ TA |
| | b. | mawinahkye·- | ‘go to the attack’ AI |

² There are also some irregular forms found only with single verb stems: e.g. *wača·note·-* ‘cook for people’ from *wača·h-* ‘cook for’.

There seems also to be a variant *-ehkye·-*, forming antipassives of stems ending in *s* and *sw*.

- (63) a. kos- 'fear' TA
 b. kosehkye·- 'get frightened' AI
- (64) a. nawasw- 'outrun' TA
 b. nawasohkye·- 'win the race' AI (i.e., 'outrun people')

Some stems ending in *m* form antipassives by adding *-ke·-*; the stem-final *m* is deleted before the *k*.

- (65) a. wa·pam- 'look at' TA
 b. wa·pake·- 'look on' AI
- (66) a. wi·hpom- 'eat with' TA
 b. wi·hpoke·- 'eat with people' AI

Other stems ending in *m* take *-ke·mo-* as the antipassive suffix. Again, the stem-final *m* is deleted.

- (67) a. ašam- 'feed' TA
 b. ašake·mo- 'feed people' AI
- (68) a. ki·watom- 'go about inviting O' TA
 b. ki·watoke·mo- 'go about inviting' AI

The suffix *-eke·-* is used with TA stems ending in *aw*, and always triggers contraction:

- (69) a. mo·hki·htaw- 'rush out to attack O' TA
 b. mo·hki·hta·ke·- 'attack' AI
- (70) a. no·taw- 'hear O' TA
 b. no·ta·ke·- 'hear (what people say)' AI

In contrast to the various allomorphs of the antipassive suffix found with Transitive Animate stems, Transitive Inanimate stems form the antipassive with a single suffix, *-ike·*. This suffix is found with all three classes of TI stems, and attaches to the stem, not to a theme.

- (71) a. na·katawe·net- 'keep track of O' TI
 b. na·katawe·nečike·- 'keep track of things' AI
- (72) a. so·kiht- 'tie, bind' TI2
 b. so·kihčike·- 'tie things' AI
- (73) a. na·t- 'go after' TI3
 b. na·čike·- 'go after things' AI

As can be seen in the above examples, the suffix-initial *i* palatalizes a preceding *t* to *č*.

Antipassives formed with *-ike-* are often lexicalized with unpredictable meanings:

- (74) a. aht- 'place' TI2
 b. ahčike- 'plant' AI
- (75) a. ni·miht- 'dance with' TI2
 b. ni·mihčike- 'hold a dance' AI

Some antipassives formed from TI stems denote a general activity involving humans, as pointed out by Goddard 1990c:475:

- (76) a. wi·swiht- 'name' TI2
 b. wi·swihčike- 'do the naming (of children)' AI

In (76a) the TI2 stem is used for naming inanimate objects, but the antipassive form in (b) is used for the activity of naming children.³

More examples of antipassives in *-ike-* used for unspecified human objects are given below. With the following forms, though it is clear that they are formally derived from TI stems, the semantics of the verbs are such that no TI stem is ever used.

- (77) no·še·hčike- 'be a midwife' AI
 (cf. no·še·h- 'cause O to give birth' TA)
- (78) nawanone·hčike- 'follow along, follow others' AI
 (cf. nawanone·hw- 'follow' TA)
- (79) na·twe·we·kahike- 'summon people by drumming' AI
 (cf. na·twe·we·kahw- 'summon O by drumming' TA)

For example, in (77) the antipassive is formally derived from **no·še·ht-* 'cause [inan. object] to give birth' TI, though clearly there is no context in which this stem could be used.

If an antipassive suffix is added to a verb stem containing an incorporated body part noun, in which the object is understood as possessor of the incorporated noun, then in the derived antipassive stem the body part is understood to be possessed by the unspecified object:

- (80) ki·škikwe·šike- 'cut off heads (of slain enemies)'⁴
 /ki·šk + ikwe· + eš + ike·/
 severed + neck + by.cutting_{TI} + antipass_{AI}

³ The Indian name for a Meskwaki child is suggested by an elder of the child's clan soon after birth; the meaning of the name is an allusion to one of the myths associated with the clan's totem animal.

⁴ From Goddard 1990c:475.n.61.

- (86) a. pye·t- ‘bring’ TI2
 b. pye·čike·- ‘bring something’ AI (e.g. in a bucket)
- (87) a. awat- ‘take’ TI
 b. awačike·- ‘take something’ AI (e.g. in a bucket)

The antipassive stems in (86b) and (87b) could be used when the subject of the verb is observed bringing or taking something which the speaker cannot see (e.g. the object is hidden in a bucket or other container). Here the antipassive is not used to denote a general activity, but rather than the object of the verb cannot be identified.

7.1.5. Passive

Besides the TA and TI verb forms inflected for unspecified subject, which are functionally similar to passive verbs, Meskwaki has a number of derivational passive suffixes which attach to transitive stems to form an intransitive stem. The thematic argument that had been linked to subject is suppressed, and the argument formerly linked to object is linked to the subject of the derived intransitive. For example, the pair of suffixes *-ekosi-/ekwat-* may attach to the TA stem *a·čim-* ‘tell, talk about’, or to stems containing *a·čim-* as a derived final. If *-ekosi-* is used the resulting passive stem is AI; if *-ekwat-* is used the resulting passive stem is II.

- (88) a. a·čimekosi- ‘be told about’ AI
 b. ina·čimekosi- ‘be told about thus’ AI
 c. ina·čimekwat- ‘be told about thus’ II
 d. neniwa·čimekosi- ‘be talked of as being a (brave) man’ AI

(88b–c) contain the initial *in-* ‘thus’, which adds a requirement for an oblique argument of manner (7.3); (88d) contains the initial *neniw-* ‘man’.

Another pair of suffixes is *-a·kosi-AI/-a·kwat-II*, which attach to TI stems to form passive stems. The examples below are all derived from TI stems ending in the final *-e·net-* ‘think, consider’ TI.

- (89) a. nenehke·net- ‘think of’ TI
 b. nenehke·neta·kosi- ‘be thought of’ AI
- (90) a. ine·net- ‘think thus of’ TI
 b. ine·neta·kosi- ‘be thought of thus’ AI
- (91) a. kehke·net- ‘know’ TI
 b. kehke·neta·kosi- ‘be known’ AI
 c. kehke·neta·kwat- ‘be known’ II

The pair of suffixes *-a·kosi-/a·kwat-* is formally similar to *-ekosi-/ekwat-*, and must be the result of reanalysis of passive forms like the following:

- (92) a. menohtaw- ‘hear O as good’ TA [i.e, like the sound of O]
 /menw + ehtaw/
 good + by.hearing_{TA}
- b. menoht- ‘hear O as good’ TI
- c. menohta·kosi- ‘sound good’ AI
- d. menohta·kwat- ‘sound good’ II

Suppose that originally the form of the passive suffixes was *-ekosi/-ekwat-*, attaching to a TA stem like (92a). Since the TA stem ends in *-aw*, the sequence of /aw + e/ contracts to *a·* in (92c–d). However, the TI counterpart of (92a) lacks *-aw*. The passives in (c–d) were then reanalyzed as having suffixes of the form *-a·kosi/-a·kwat-*, attaching to a TI stem. (The forms in (89)–(91) show that this reanalysis has taken place, since the TA final for ‘think, consider’ is *-e·nem-*; the passives in (89)–(91) can only be analyzed as *-a·kosi/-a·kwat-* attaching to the TI stem.)

Additional examples of passives which could be analyzed as either *-ekosi/-ekwat-* suffixed to a TA stem or *-a·kosi/-a·kwat-* suffixed to a TI stem are listed below:

- (93) a. neni·te·wina·kwat- ‘look like a person’ II
- b. ahpi·hčina·kosi- ‘look like one is so old’ AI
- c. neniwina·kosi- ‘look like a (brave) man’ AI
- d. nešiwina·kosi- ‘look terrifying’ AI
- e. nešiwina·kwat- ‘look terrifying’ II
- f. nenihta·kwat- ‘be understood’ II
- g. ahkohta·kwat- ‘be heard so far’ II

Another pair of passive suffixes is *-a·so/-a·te·-*. *-a·so-* attaches to TA stems to form AI passives; *-a·te·-* attaches to TI stems to form II passives

- (94) a. mi·n- ‘give’ TA
- b. mi·na·so- ‘be given O2’ AI
- (95) a. mehkwe·nem- ‘remember’ TA
- b. mehkwe·nema·so- ‘be remembered’ AI
- (96) a. oten- ‘get O from [there]’ TI
- b. otena·te·- ‘be gotten from [there]’ II
- (97) a. pano·ka·hkoh- ‘peel bark off O’ TI
- b. pano·ka·hkoha·te·- ‘have its bark peeled off’ II

Two other passive suffixes are derived from nominalizing suffixes plus the denominal secondary final *-iwi-* ‘be’ AI (6.3.1): *-a·kaniwi-*, which attaches to a TI stem to form an AI passive,

and *-e·weniwi-*, which attaches to a TA stem to form an AI passive.⁵ (Compare the nominalizers *-(a·)kan*, *-wen* (chapter 3, (11)).) These passive suffixes have no II counterparts.

- (98) a. *pešeke·net-* 'think O cute' TI
 b. *pešeke·neta·kaniwi-* 'be thought cute, be a favorite' AI
- (99) a. *koset-* 'fear' TI
 b. *koseta·kaniwi-* 'be feared' AI
- (100) a. *ine·nem-* 'think of O thus' TA
 b. *ine·neme·weniwi-* 'be thought of thus' AI
- (101) a. *ina·čim-* 'tell of O thus' TA
 b. *ina·čime·weniwi-* 'be told of thus' AI

7.2. Adding a subject or first object

The previous section described secondary finals which decrease the valence of the verb stem they attach to. There are also a number of secondary finals which increase valence, attaching to an intransitive stem to create a transitive stem, or attaching to a transitive stem to create a ditransitive TA stem. The valence-increasing processes discussed in this section are applicatives of various types, possessor raising, causative, and 'relational' verbs.

7.2.1. Applicative

Applicative secondary finals add a new first object to an intransitive or transitive stem. Examples of the applicative final *-aw* adding a first object associated with the thematic role of beneficiary were given in 6.1; additional examples are provided below.

- (102) a. *ašike·-* 'build a house' AI
 b. *ašikaw-* 'build a house for O' TA
- (103) a. *mešen-* 'catch' TI
 b. *mešenamaw-* 'catch O2 for O' TA
- (104) a. *pi·tikat-* 'bring O inside' TI2
 b. *pi·tikataw-* 'bring O2 inside for O' TA
- (105) a. *na·t-* 'go after O' TI3
 b. *na·taw-* 'go after O2 for O' TA

The final *-aw* attaches to AI, TI2, and TI3 stems; with TI class I verbs the applicative attaches to a THEME, composed of the verb stem plus the TI class I theme sign *-am-* ((103)). Notice that when the applicative combines with a transitive verb the first object of the input verb is demoted to second

⁵ See Goddard 1990c:476 for the presence of the direct and inverse theme signs in the passive suffixes.

object; the new argument introduced by the applicative is the first object. The stems derived with *-aw* are always Transitive Animate; there is no Transitive Inanimate counterpart to the applicative *-aw*, unlike the other applicative finals discussed later in this section.

If the applicative is added to a transitive stem or theme, the input stem or theme is formally Transitive Inanimate, even if the (demoted) object of the verb is clearly animate in gender:

- (106) a. nes- 'kill' TA
 b. neht- 'kill' TI
 c. nehtamaw- 'kill O2 for O' TA

The source for the applicative stem in (106c) is the TI stem in (b), not the TA stem in (a).

The thematic role of the object added by *-aw* is most frequently beneficiary, but other thematic roles, such as source and goal, are also possible.

- (107) a. natot- 'ask for' TI
 b. natotamaw- 'ask for O2 from O' TA
- (108) a. nowen- 'hand O out' TI
 b. nowenamaw- 'hand O2 out to O' TA
- (109) a. kya·t- 'keep O a secret' TI
 b. kya·tamaw- 'keep O2 a secret from O' TA

The thematic role of the new first object in (107b) is source, and that of (108b) is goal. The new first object in (109b) is difficult to classify thematically ('avoidee'?) but seems different from the thematic roles of beneficiary, source, and goal seen in previous examples.

Although the final *-aw* is the most productive applicative final in Meskwaki, it is not the only means available for adding an object to the subcategorizational frame of the verb. For example, the secondary finals *-htaw_{TA}*/*-ht_{TI}* attach to AI stems and produce TA or TI stems, respectively. The thematic role of the object introduced by this pair of applicative finals is nearly always goal:

- (110) a. a·hkwe·- 'be angry' AI
 b. a·hkwe·htaw- 'be angry at' TA
 c. a·hkwe·ht- 'be angry at' TI
- (111) a. ako·si·- 'climb up' AI
 b. ako·si·htaw- 'climb up after' TA [i.e. in order to get]
 c. ako·si·ht- 'climb up after' TI

In the following example, however, the thematic role of the new object is the same 'avoidee' role seen in (109):

- (112) a. kahkiso- 'hide' AI (middle reflexive)
 b. kahkiso·htaw- 'hide from O' TA

(112b) also shows that the applicative *-htaw-* lengthens a preceding short vowel.

Another pair of applicative finals is *-h_{TA}/-h_{TI}*, associated with a range of thematic roles:

- (113) a. a·čimo- 'tell a story' AI
 b. a·čimoh- 'tell a story to' TA

- (114) a. mi·ka·ti- 'fight' AI
 b. mi·ka·ti·h- 'fight' TA

- (115) a. pi·čipaho- 'run inside' AI
 b. pi·čipahoht- 'run inside with' TI2

In (113b), for example, the thematic role of the object is goal, while in (115b) the thematic role of the object is theme.

Another pair of applicative finals is *-notaw_{TA}/-not_{TI}*:

- (116) a. po·ni- 'camp' AI
 b. po·ni·notaw- 'camp with' TA

- (117) a. te·pesi- 'be pleased' AI
 b. te·pesinotaw- 'be pleased with' TA
 c. te·pesinot- 'be pleased with' TI

Again, there is no single thematic role associated with the new object introduced by this pair of applicative finals. In (116b) the object refers to the person(s) camping together with the subject, while the objects in (117b,c) are the source of the subject's pleasure.

The finals *-hkataw_{TA}/-hkat_{TI}* also function to add a new object to the subcategorization frame of a verb:

- (118) a. mayo- 'weep' AI
 b. mayo·hkat- 'bewail' TI

- (119) a. natopani- 'go on the warpath' AI
 b. natopanihkataw- 'go to war against' TA

- (120) a. mi·ša·te·nemo- 'be glad' AI
 b. mi·ša·te·nemohkataw- 'be glad to see O' TA

The final type of applicative construction to be described is formed in an unusual way. It combines an initial *wi·t-* (or preverb *wi·čī-*) with a final *-m*. These morphemes surround an

intransitive verb final or verb stem to add a comitative object to the verb's subcategorizational frame. As explained in 6.2, if the verb in question has a derived or suppletive final form, that will be used in combination with the initial form of *wi·t-*; otherwise the full verb stem combines with the the preverb form *wi·či-*.⁶

- (121) a. ni·mi- 'dance' AI (stem)
 b. -eka·- 'dance' AI (final)
 c. wi·teke·m- 'dance with' TA
- (122) a. te·pesi- 'be pleased' AI
 b. wi·či-te·pesi·m- 'be happy together with' TA
- (123) a. mehtose·neniwi- 'be a human being' AI
 b. wi·či-mehtose·neni·m- 'be a fellow-human to' TA

The final of this applicative construction lengthens a preceding vowel ((122b), (123b)) and triggers umlaut on a preceding long *a* ((121b)).

Finally, let us consider some examples of applicative suffixes attached to verb stems containing incorporated body part nouns. As we saw in 6.3.1, an intransitive stem containing an incorporated body part will have the subject of the verb understood as the possessor of the body part, as in the example below:

- (124) sa·kinaniwe·- 'stick one's tongue out'
 /sa·k + inaniw + e·/
 partly.visible + tongue + be_{AI}

If the goal applicative *-htaw* is added to such a stem, the interpretation of possession is not altered: it is the subject of the derived applicative stem which is the possessor of the incorporated noun:

- (125) sa·kinaniwe·htaw- 'stick one's tongue out at O'
 /sa·k + inaniw + e· + htaw/
 partly.visible + tongue + be_{AI} + applic._{TA}

More examples of the goal applicative added to intransitive stems containing incorporated body parts are provided below:

- (126) we·we·pinehke·htaw- 'wave one's hand at O'
 /we·we·p + inehk + e· + htaw/
 swing + hand + do_{AI} + applic._{TA}

⁶ The preverb/initial *wi·či-/wi·t-* is related to the dependent prenoun *-i·či-* 'fellow'. This prenoun also functions to increase valence, combining with a noun stem which is a zero-place predicate to form a noun stem which is subcategorized for a <POSS>. For example, *kwi·yese·h-*, N_{stem}, PRED = 'boy'; *-i·či-kwi·yese·h-*, N_{stem}, PRED = 'fellow boy <POSS>', as in *ki·či-kwi·yese·haki* 'your fellow boys'. (See 3.4. for possessive inflection.)

The following pair of verb stems illustrates the difference between a simple stem and one in which possessor raising has applied:

- (130) a. nes- 'kill' TA
 b. nehtamaw- 'kill O's O2' TA

The stem in (130b) is derived from the TI stem *neht-* 'kill', just as we saw in the applicative form of (106). The simple TA stem in (130a) is used if no possessor raising takes place; the form in (130b) indicates that the first object is the possessor of the second object, the victim of the killing. A textual example of the stem in (130b) may be seen in the following clause:

- (131) o·šisemani nehtamawakwe
 her.grandchild.obv kill.O's.O2 21–3/subjunct
 'if we (incl) kill her (prox) grandson (obv),' W1023

The verb in (131) contains the stem *nehtamaw-*, inflected for a third person singular proximate first object. The first object is the possessor of the second object *o·šisemani* 'her grandchild'.

Another textual example of possessor raising was given in 6.3.1, illustrating the optionality of noun incorporation; it is repeated below. Here the verb stem is *ketešamaw-* 'cut O's O2 out' TA; if possessor raising had not taken place the verb stem would be the simple stem *keteš-* 'cut O out' TI, to agree with the inanimate noun 'hearts'.

- (132) ote·hwa·wani ki·hanemi–ketešamawa·waki ki·či·škwe·haki
 their.hearts fut.future–cut.O's.O2.out 2–3p/ind.ind your.enemies
 'You will cut out your enemies' hearts.' N10P

The possessor raising stem in (132) is inflected for a second person singular subject and a third person plural first object; the object inflection agrees with 'your enemies', the possessor of 'hearts'.

In many instances of possessor raising, there is a lexical possessed NP in the same clause as the verb which undergoes possessor raising, as in (131) and (132). The following example, however, shows that a lexical NP need not be present. If a possessed NP has been mentioned previously in the discourse, then the possessor and possessum may serve as antecedents for later anaphoric reference by the first and second objects of verbs which have undergone possessor raising:

function of subject. The argument which was previously linked to subject is realized as the object of the causative verb; the previous object (if any) is demoted to second object.

The most productive causative is the TA secondary final *-(i)h*. Examples of this final attaching to AI stems to form TA stems are given below:

- (136) a. ne·se·- 'get well, recover' AI
 b. ne·se·h- 'cure' TA
- (137) a. menwinawe·- 'feel happy' AI
 b. menwinawe·h- 'make O feel happy' TA
- (138) a. mayo·- 'weep' AI
 b. mayo·h- 'make O weep' TA
- (139) a. či·tapi- 'sit upright' AI
 b. či·tapih- 'make O sit upright' TA
- (140) a. a·hkwe·- 'be angry' AI
 b. a·hkwe·h- 'make O angry' TA

Umlauting long *a·* is changed to *e·* before the causative *-(i)h*:

- (141) a. na·kwa·- 'leave' AI
 b. na·kwe·h- 'cause O to leave' TA
- (142) a. atama·- 'smoke' AI
 b. atame·h- 'give O a smoke' TA

Stems with the final *-ose·* 'walk' AI change the *e·* to short *a* when the causative is added:

- (143) a. pemose·- 'walk (by)' AI
 b. pemosah- 'make O walk' TA

The causative *-(i)h* may also be attached to transitive stems to form ditransitives, with the object of the input stem becoming second object of the derived causative stem. As we have seen already with applicatives and possessor raising, the input stem is formally Transitive Inanimate. With stems of TI class 1 the causative morpheme attaches to a theme, rather than to the bare stem, consisting of the TI class 1 stem suffixed with the theme sign *-am* plus *-w*.

- (144) a. kehke·net- 'know' TI
 b. kehke·netamwih- 'make O know O2' TA
- (145) a. we·pi·hk- 'start using' TI
 b. we·pi·hkamwih- 'get O started on O2' TA

The TA causative final *-(i)h* has a TI2 counterpart, *-(i)ht*. Causatives formed with this secondary final often display idiosyncratic changes to the input stem:

- (146) a. menwina·kwat- 'look good' II
 b. menwina·kwiht- 'make O look good' TI2
- (147) a. ašeno- 'be missing' II
 b. ašenowiht- 'let O be absent' TI2
- (148) a. kemiya·- 'rain' II
 b. kemiya·nwiht- 'make it rain' TI2

In (146), for example, the II stem is truncated before the causative final. In (147) a *-w* is added to the stem before the causative final, while in (148) *-nw* intervenes between the stem and the causative.

In the following example (repeated from 6.2), however, the TI causative is added directly to the stem, with no truncation or addition:

- (149) e·hpo·ni–mehtose·neniwihto·ye·kwe ki·ya·wa·wi
 cease–be.alive.caus 2p–0/aor yourselves
 'when you make yourselves stop living' W1016

The causative in (149) is derived as follows:

- (150) a. po·ni–mehtose·neniwi- 'stop living' II
 b. po·ni–mehtose·neniwiht- 'make O stop living' TI2

The TI form of the causative final is required in (149) because the reflexive pronoun is inanimate in gender (3.7.2).

Besides the very productive *-(i)h* causative in Meskwaki, another, less productive, TA causative final is *-n*:

- (151) a. mahkate·wi- 'fast' AI
 b. mahkate·wi·n- 'make O fast' TA
- (152) a. wa·pat- 'look at' TI
 b. wa·pato·n- 'show O O2' TA
- (153) a. ina·hpene·- 'be ill in such a way' AI
 b. ina·hpenan- 'ill-treat O in such a way' TA
- (154) a. aškepye·- 'drown' AI
 b. aškypyan- 'drown' TA

In (153) and (154), the causative *-n-* shortens the preceding vowel and changes it to *a*. Note also the *o* added to the stem in (152).

7.2.4. Relational verbs

A final type of valence-increasing process is the phenomenon of relational verbs, though it is not clear whether this involves the same type of secondary stem derivation that we have seen in the previous sections of this chapter. The term ‘relational’ is originally from Bloomfield 1928, on Plains Cree; see Wolfart 1973:60–61 for a description of the Plains Cree phenomenon.⁹ Relational verbs contain a suffix *-w* and are inflected as Transitive Animate verbs in which the object is somehow affected by the action of the verb, comparable to ethical dative constructions in Indo-European languages, or to the adversative passives of Japanese and Korean.

The relational forms in Meskwaki are most frequently found with unspecified subject inflection. Consider the following textual examples in which the *-w* suffix marking the relational construction is in boldface.¹⁰

(155) mehto·či wa·patama·ke·waki
like look.at.O2.for.people 3p/ind.ind

e·na·hpawa·weči
dream.thus.‘on’.O X–3(p)/part/obl

‘It is as if they [the old people] look into what is dreamed (in relation to them).’
AR40:550.8

(156) mani e·ši–pakatamoweči i·ni mehtekwi,
this thus–hit.O2.‘on’.O X–3/ch.conj that tree

wi·sahke·ha ...

W

‘As soon as that tree was hit (in relation to him),
Wisahkeha ...’ W1003

(The context for the sentence in (156) is that Wisahkeha is hiding inside the tree.)

(157) menehta ši·ši·kwani e·hpemi–ata·hpenamoweči,
first rattle along–take.hold.of.O2.‘on’.O X–3/aor
‘First the rattle was taken hold of (in relation to him),’ W508

⁹ Relational forms are encountered much more frequently in Cree than in Meskwaki, with the Cree relational forms often used to indicate possessor raising (Dahlstrom 1991:149). In Meskwaki, on the other hand, possessor raising is expressed by a separate construction (7.2.2).

¹⁰ In the interlinear gloss of the relational verbs I have tried to indicate that the first object is somehow affected by the action with the gloss ‘on O’, evoking the English malefactive construction (e.g., *My car broke down on me*).

- (158) e·hki·ši–anwe·we·htamoweči
 perf–blow.O2.‘on’.O X–3/aor
 ‘When [the flute] had been sounded (in relation to him),’ W508

The use of relational forms is not restricted to unspecified subject inflection, however:

- (159) ni·hkehke·nemekwa e·hkatawi–nepo·hiwaki ni·hka·na
 fut.know 3–1/ind.ind almost–die.‘on’.O 1–3/aor my.friend
 ‘My friend should know that I am about to die on him’ R50.20

The matrix verb of (159) has undergone copying to object; cf. 10.1.

At first glance it appears that the *-w* suffix characteristic of the relational forms is a secondary final comparable to the finals marking applicatives, possessor raising, and causatives discussed above. That is, the verb stem in the complement clause of (159) would be taken to be *nepo·hiw-* ‘die on’ TA, formed by suffixing *-w* to the AI stem *nepo·hi-* ‘die’. The valence of the verb stem would be increased by adding an object to the verb’s subcategorizational frame. Similarly, a TI class 1 stem such as *pakat-* ‘hit’ in (156) would form a derived relational stem *pakatamow-* ‘hit O2 in relation to O’ TA by adding *-w* to the theme formed from the TI stem, comparable to the processes described for applicatives, possessor raising, and causatives. The resulting ditransitive stem has the old first object demoted to second object and the affected participant as the new first object.

Goddard 1995, however, argues that the *-w* of the relational forms is actually part of a special inflectional paradigm, rather than a derivational suffix. His argument is based on the position of *-w* relative to the verbal diminutive suffix. The diminutive always precedes the relational *-w*; if the *-w* were part of the stem we would expect to find the diminutive attaching to the right of the relational suffix:

- (160) e·hawi·hiwaki
 be.there.dim.‘on’.O 1–3/part/loc
 ‘where I live (in relation to him)’ K131H [example from Goddard 1995]

The verb in (160) contains *awi-* ‘be.[there]’ AI plus the diminutive *-hi*, followed by the relational suffix *-w* and the conjunct suffix *-ak*, first singular subject acting on third singular object. The combination of the aorist prefix *e·h* and the final suffix *-i* indicate that the head of the relative clause in (160) corresponds to the locative oblique argument of the lower verb (5.3). Under Goddard’s analysis, the stem would be taken to be *awi·hi-* ‘be [there] (dim)’ AI, inflected with special relational inflectional suffixes *-waki*, which indicate not only the subject of the intransitive verb but also features of the affected object.

Additional support for analyzing the relational suffix *-w* as part of inflection comes from relational forms of TA stems. First of all, the fact that the relational suffix appears with TA stems at all sets it apart from the applicative, possessor raising, and causative constructions; in the latter constructions the relevant secondary final may attach to a TI stem or theme, but not to a TA stem or theme. The second point of interest is the relative position of the relational suffix *-w* in the TA

forms: it appears to the right of the theme sign and to the left of the person/number suffix. For example, in the TA relational form below (in which the inflectional suffixes have been underlined), the relational *-w* follows the theme sign *-i*, indicating first person object, and precedes *-et*, indicating unspecified subject acting on third person object. (The final suffix *-i* indicates that the head of the relative clause is coreferential to the oblique argument of the lower verb.) If the relational *-w* is taken to be an inflectional suffix which appears to the right of the theme sign, then the position of *-w* in the TI forms of (156)–(158) is not surprising: here too it appears to the right of the theme sign *-am*.

(161) *i·ni=ye·toke no·sa a·mi–’ši–=mekoho*
 that=it.seems my.father would–thus–=emph

–menwito·tawiweči
 –treat.well.‘on’.O X–3/part/obl

‘I suppose that for my father that would be kind treatment for me.’ FC349
 [example from Goddard 1995]

The syntax of (161) is far from clear, however. The theme sign *-i* ordinarily indicates that the first object of the verb is first person; however, the following inflectional affixes indicate a third person first object. Perhaps the first person argument has been demoted to second object (parallel to the effect seen when applicatives, possessor raising, or causative apply to a transitive stem). If that were the case, however, we might expect a first person pronoun from the body series to appear with this verb.

Nevertheless, whether the relational suffix *-w* is best analyzed as part of the inflectional paradigm, or as a derivational suffix, it is clear that the valence of the relational verbs is greater by one than that of the nonrelational forms; it is also clear that it is the presence of the suffix *-w* which marks this increase in valence. This justifies treating the relational verbs together with the valence-increasing processes of applicative, possessor raising, and causative.

7.3. Adding an oblique argument

An oblique argument may be added to a verb’s subcategorizational frame by compounding the verb with a preverb or initial form of the RELATIVE ROOT (1.3.3) associated with the oblique in question. For example, obliques of manner and goal are associated with the preverb *iši–* and initial *in–*.¹¹ If the verb has a derived or suppletive final form, the final is combined with the initial *in–*, in the way described in 6.2:

¹¹ The preverb *iši–* may also be associated with a temporal argument:

(i) *i·ni=meko neteši–me·nešite·he.*
 then=emph thus–feel.shame 1/ind.ind
 ‘Right then I felt ashamed.’ N17A

See also the discussion of the *mani ... iši* construction in temporal adverbial clauses, 5.7.1.

- (162) a. mehpo- 'snow' II
 b. inehpo- 'snow [thus]' II
 /in + ehpo/
 thus + snow_{II}
- (163) a. nakamo- 'sing' AI
 b. išina·ke·- 'sing [thus]'
 /in + ina·ke·/
 thus + sing_{AI}
- (164) a. a·mi·- 'move camp' AI
 b. inote·- 'move camp [thither]' AI
 /in + ote·/
 thither + move.camp_{AI}
- (165) a. awan- 'take' TA
 b. išiwen- 'take [thither]' TA
 /in + iwen/
 thither + take_{TA}

In (162)–(165) the (a) stems are not subcategorized for an oblique argument; the stems in (b) show how *in-* is compounded with a derived or suppletive final form of the verb stem. The final in (162b) is derived from *mehpo-* 'snow' II by deletion of the initial consonant. The finals in (163b)–(165b) are suppletive finals.

If the verb in question does not have an associated final form, the ordinary form of the verb stem is compounded with the preverb *iši-* to add a requirement for a manner or goal oblique.¹²

- (166) a. mya·net- 'be bad' II
 b. iši–mya·net- 'be bad [in such a way]' II
- (167) a. kanawi- 'speak' AI
 b. iši–kanawi- 'speak [thus]' AI
- (168) a. anawi- 'go hunting' AI
 b. iši–anawi- 'go hunting [thither]' AI
- (169) a. a·tapi- 'live in a new place' AI
 b. iši–a·tapi- 'move [thither] to a new place' AI

¹² If the preverb *iši-* is added to a verb subcategorized for a Comp clausal argument, the clausal argument becomes oblique:

- (i) a. kehke·net- 'know <SUBJ COMP> OBJ'
 b. iši–kehke·net- 'know <SUBJ OBL> OBJ'

In the same way, an oblique argument expressing source may be added to a verb's subcategorizational frame by compounding the verb with the initial *ot-* or the preverb *oči-*. The following examples show the initial *ot-* combined with derived or suppletive verb finals:

- (170) a. wa·pam- 'look at' TA
 b. osa·pam- 'look at O from [there]' TA
 /ot + a·pam/
 from + look.at_{TA}
- (171) a. akiso- 'get lost' AI
 b. otakiso- 'get lost from [there]' AI
 /ot + akiso/
 from + get.lost_{AI}
- (172) a. nepo·hi- 'die' AI
 b. ota·hpene·- 'die for [such a reason]' AI
 /ot + a·hpene·/
 from + die_{AI}

If a verb stem has no derived or suppletive final form, then the preverb *oči-* combines with the regular form of the stem. (See 9.1.3. for a construction in which the preverb *oči-* separates from its verb.)

- (173) a. pya·- 'come' AI
 b. oči-pya·- 'come from [there]' AI
- (174) a. kos- 'fear' TA
 b. oči-kos- 'fear O for [such a reason]' TA

(172b) and (174b) show that the oblique associated with *ot-* may express source in an abstract sense: the reason for an event or state.

Besides expressing source of motion and causes, *ot-/oči-* has two other functions. First, it may be used to express the path of motion:

- (175) a. pi·čihtan- 'flow inside' II
 b. oči-pi·čihtan- 'flow inside through [there]' II
- (176) a. čapo·kisaho- 'jump into the water' AI
 b. oči-čapo·kisaho- 'jump into the water through [there]' AI

The use of *ot-/oči-* to express path of motion is a straightforward extension from its primary function of expressing source. If the location of the goal of motion is taken to be the deictic center, then any point on the path of motion toward the goal may be viewed as the source of the object's motion.

Second, *ot-/oči-* may be used to express the orientation of an object or activity, especially relative to the cardinal points of the compass:

- (177) a. as- 'place' TA
 b. očišim- 'place O [in such a direction]' TA
 /ot + išim/
 from + place_{TA}
- (178) očiškwa·tawe·- 'have one's door facing [such a direction]' AI
 /ot + iškwa·taw + e·/
 from + door + have_{AI}

Verbs such as (177b), for example, are frequently encountered in descriptions of religious ceremonies, where certain items are placed to the north, to the east, etc. The medial *-iškwa·taw-* 'door' in (178) is an incorporated noun; see 6.3.1.

The names of the cardinal points of the compass further illustrate this function of the relative root *ot-/oči-*. They are participles (5.3) in which the head of the relative clause is coreferential to the oblique argument expressing direction in the lower clause.¹³

- (179) a. we·ta·paki 'east' (lit. 'the direction in which it is dawn')
 b. we·či·na·wahkwe·ki 'south' (lit. 'the direction in which it is noon')
 c. we·či·pakišimoki 'west' (lit. 'the direction in which it is sunset')
 d. we·či·kesi·ya·ki 'north' (lit. 'the direction in which it is cold weather')

The participles in (179) are formed from the following stems:

- (180) a. ota·pan- 'be dawn [in such a direction]' II
 /ot + a·pan/
 from + be.dawn_{II}
- b. oči·na·wahkwe·- 'be noon [in such a direction]' II
 from-be.noon
- c. oči·pakišimo- 'be sunset [in such a direction]' II
 from-be.sunset
- d. oči·kesi·ya·- 'be cold weather [in such a direction]' II
 from-be.cold.weather

The final in (180a) is derived from *wa·pan-* 'be dawn' II. The initial *ot-* adds a requirement for an oblique argument expressing direction; the preverb *oči-* in (180b–d) functions in the same way. The participle forms of (179) are then inflected for a head of the relative clause coreferential to the oblique expressing direction.

¹³ Another word for 'in the south' is *ša·wanoki*. 'East' and 'west' may also be expressed (at the Meskwaki Settlement on the Iowa River) by *anemya·ka* 'downstream' and *a·sami* 'upstream', respectively.

The semantic extension between the basic function of *ot-/oči-* to express source of motion and its use to express orientation as seen in (177–180) is more difficult to trace than that seen with the path of motion examples in (175) and (176). It undoubtedly occurred via the names for cardinal directions in (179), since these are high frequency words. Notice that each verb stem or verb final which is compounded with the relative root in (180) names a phenomenon which originates in the direction in question and then emanates out towards the deictic center of the speakers: the light of dawn in the east; the light of sunset in the west; the light and heat of noon in the south; the cold winds and storms of the north. It seems plausible that the participles of (179) could have originated to name these phenomena which seem to travel from a particular direction toward where the people live, with a later semantic shift to denote the directions more neutrally. The relative root *ot-/oči-* would then be associated with the directions of the compass, and could be used in verbs such as (177) and (178) to indicate location relative to the compass directions.

Turning now to a relative root which is semantically less complex, the initial *tan-* or preverb *taši-* may be compounded with verb finals or stems, respectively, to add an oblique expressing stationary location to the verb's subcategorizational frame. The examples below illustrate the initial *tan-* combining with derived or suppletive verb finals:

- (181) a. ni·mi- 'dance' AI
 b. taneka·- 'dance [there]' AI
 /tan + eka·/
 there + dance_{AI}/
- (182) a. akiht- 'lose' TI2
 b. tanakiht- 'lose O [there]' TI2
 /tan + akiht/
 there + lose_{TI2}/
- (183) a. wi·seni- 'eat' AI
 b. tašisenye·- 'eat [there]' AI
 /tan + isenye·/
 there + eat_{AI}/
- (184) a. no·še·- 'give birth' AI
 b. tano·še·- 'give birth [there]' AI
 /tan + o·še·/
 there + give.birth_{AI}/

If a verb does not have a derived or suppletive final form, the relative root is realized as a preverb, compounded with the regular form of the verb stem:

- (185) a. komisah- 'swallow O up' TA
 b. taši–komisah- 'swallow O up [there]' TA

- (186) a. kahkitaw- 'hide O2 from O' TA
 b. taši–kahkitaw- 'hide O2 from O [there]' TA
- (187) a. kemiya·- 'rain' II
 b. taši–kemiya·- 'rain [there]' II

The oblique argument added by the relative root *tan-/taši-* always expresses stationary location. There is, however, a homophonous initial/preverb which does not function as a relative root but rather indicates progressive aspect. For example, *taneka·-* in (181b) could also be glossed 'be engaged in dancing', with no subcategorizational requirement for an oblique of stationary location.

We have now examined in detail the three most important relative roots in Meskwaki: *in-/iši-* for obliques of goal or manner, *ot-/oči-* for obliques of source, and *tan-/taši-* for obliques of stationary location. The remaining relative roots will be listed below; for each relative root, examples will be provided of verb stems containing the relative root as an initial or as a preverb.

The relative root *ahpi·ht-/ahpi·hči-* is used with scalar predicates to mean 'to such an extent'. Below are examples of verb stems containing the initial *ahpi·ht-*.

- (188) a. ahpi·hčiki- 'be so old' AI
 b. ahpi·hčina·ke·- 'sing so much' AI
 c. ahpi·htamat- 'have so much pain' TI
 d. ahpi·hta·ške·- 'go so fast' AI
 e. ahpi·hte·nem- 'think so much of O' TA
 f. ahpi·hčiwankesi- 'weigh so much' AI

If no final form of the verb is available to combine with the initial *ahpi·ht-*, the verb stem combines with the preverb *ahpi·hči-*:

- (189) a. ahpi·hči–kehkya·- 'be an old person of such age' AI
 b. ahpi·hči–tepa·t- 'love O so much' TI

The relative root *ahkw-/ahkwi-* adds a requirement for an oblique expressing length or distance. The examples below illustrate, first, stems containing *ahkw-* as an initial and, second, stems containing *ahkwi-* as a preverb.

- (190) a. ahkošamaw- 'cut O2 so long for O' TA
 b. ahkwa·čimo- 'narrate so far' AI
 c. ahkwa·pi- 'see so far' AI
 d. ahkwiken- 'grow so long' II
- (191) a. ahkwi–mehkwe·nem- 'remember O so far' TA
 b. ahkwi–mehtose·neniwi- 'live so long' AI

Notice that the oblique argument associated with *ahkw-/ahkwi-* typically expresses spatial length or distance, but with certain verbs it may express temporal length (e.g. (191b) *ahkwi-mehtose·neniwi-* ‘live so long’).

We now come to a set of three relative roots which must have originated as compounds of the relative root *in-* ‘thus’ plus an additional morpheme, but which now function as separate relative roots with specialized meanings. The first of this set of relative roots is *inehp-/inehpi-*, which adds a requirement for an oblique expressing height or depth.

- (192) a. *inehpaškat-* ‘[grass] be so high’ II
 b. *inehpapi-* ‘sit so high’ AI
 c. *inehpya-* ‘be so high’ II
 d. *inehpaten-* ‘[ice] freezes so deep’ II

Most examples of this relative root are realized as initials, as in the stems above, but it is also possible to have a preverb *inehpi-*:

- (193) *inehpi-makwi·kwe-* ‘have one’s face swell up so much’ AI
 [after being stung by bees]

Another relative root which derives from a compound with the initial *in-* ‘thus’ is *išive·p-/išive·pi-* ‘meaning thus, signifying thus’:

- (194) a. *išive·piken-* ‘signify [thus]’ II
 b. *išive·pim-* ‘speak to O meaning [thus]’ TA
 c. *išive·pawi-* ‘be, act with such significance’ AI
- (195) a. *išive·pi-nepo·hi-* ‘die for such a reason’ AI
 b. *išive·pi-kečičiken-* ‘sprout out for such a reason’ II

The third relative root which includes the initial *in-* ‘thus’ is *inekihkw-/inekihkw-*. This relative root adds a requirement for an oblique expressing size: ‘so big; so many’.

- (196) a. *inekihkwa-* ‘be so big’ II
 b. *inekihkwa·pe·wesi-* ‘be so big in bodily build’ AI
 c. *inekihkwe·nem-* ‘think of such a number of O’ TA
 d. *inekihkwišimo-* ‘make one’s voice so big’ AI
 e. *inekihkwa·hkwat-* ‘[tree] be so big’ II
- (197) a. *inekihkw-wi·čike·m-* ‘live with such a number of O’
 b. *inekihkw-ahkawa·pam-* ‘watch over such a number of O’

The stem in (196e) contains the classificatory medial *-a·hkw-* ‘wood’; this stem is used to refer to the diameter of a tree’s trunk, not the height of the tree.

A final initial/preverb pair that should be mentioned here is a special use of *pem-/pemi-*. The basic function of this morpheme is to express ‘along, by’ with verbs of motion (see, for example, *pemose-* ‘walk by’, *pemipaho-* ‘run by’, *pemaho-* ‘paddle by’, discussed in 6.1). However, *pem-/pemi-* may also be used with units of temporal measure to mean ‘in succession, in a row’. In this latter use, I suggest that *pem-/pemi-* is functioning as a relative root, taking the measure phrase as an oblique argument.

- (198) a. mi·či- ‘eat’ TI3
 b. pemat- ‘eat O [so many days/etc.] in a row’ TI
 /pem + at/
 in.succession + eat_{TI}/
- (199) a. natone·hw- ‘look for’ TA
 b. pemi–natone·hw- ‘look for O [so many days/etc.] in a row’ TA
- (200) a. anenwi·- ‘swim’ AI
 b. pemi–anenwi·- ‘swim [so many days/etc.] in a row’ AI

Textual examples of the above verb stems are provided below. Notice that the measure phrases appear immediately to the left of the verb, the canonical position for oblique arguments (8.5).

- (201) meše·=‘nah=meko=‘pi nye·wokoni pematamo·ki
 pretty.much=quot four.days eat.O.in.succession 3p-0/ind.ind
- i·ni wi·seniweni.
 that food

‘They were eating that food for about four days in a row, it’s said.’ W302A

- (202) meta·sokoni e·hpemi–na·natone·hwa·wa·či neno·te·waki
 ten.days in.succession–redup.look.for 3p-3’/aor Indians
 ‘The Indians continued looking for him for ten days in a row.’ W46M

- (203) nye·wokoni e·hpemi–anenwi·či
 four.days in.succession–swim 3/aor
 ‘He would swim for four days in a row.’ N3J

Another piece of evidence that the measure phrase associated with *pem-/pemi-* in this use is an oblique comes from participle formation. A participle of a verb containing *pem-/pemi-* may be formed in which the head of the relative clause is coreferential to the measure phrase required by the verb, parallel to other types of oblique arguments:

(204) [šwa·šika=‘pi taswipopo·nwe]
 eight=quot so.many.years

[i·ni pe·mi-’ši-anehanenwi·či]
 that in.succession–thus–redup.swim 3/part/obl

‘Eight years, it’s said, is the length of time
 he swam in succession in that way.’ N4P

(204) is an equational sentence; the brackets delimit the two halves of the equation. The second half of the equation contains a participle whose head is coreferential to the oblique argument associated with the preverb *pemi-* ‘in succession’.

The examples seen so far of processes adding an oblique argument to the subcategorizational frame of a verb have all involved either compounds of initials and finals, or compounds of preverbs and verb stems. The last type of process we will consider involves compounds of independent particles and verb stems. That is, the independent particles *taswi* ‘so many, so much’ and *nehki* ‘so long’ may be combined with a verb stem, adding a requirement for an oblique argument expressing quantity or length of time, respectively.

(205) a. kehke·net- ‘know’ TI
 b. taswi kehke·net- ‘know [so much] of O’ TI

(206) a. awi- ‘be [there]’ AI
 b. taswi awi- ‘[so many] of S be [there]’ AI

(207) a. ahkiwi- ‘be an earth’ II
 b. nehki ahkiwi- ‘be an earth for [so long]’ II

In (205b) the verb is subcategorized for an argument expressing the amount of the object; in (206b) the verb requires an oblique expressing the number of the subject. In (207b) the verb requires an argument expressing the length of time the earth will continue to exist.

The syntactic effect of compounding *taswi* or *nehki* with a verb stem is thus identical to the compounds of relative root preverbs and verb stems that we have seen earlier in this section. However, there is a morphological difference between preverb-verb compounds and the particle-verb compounds illustrated in (205–207). The particles stand completely outside of the verb stem complex: they are never preceded by inflectional prefixes, or by an aorist or future prefix, and they are never the locus of initial change. Consider, for example, the following participles formed upon the compounds of (205–207). The output of initial change has been underlined in the following examples; note that it applies to the first syllable of the verb, not of the particle *taswi* or *nehki*.

(208) taswi ke·hke·netama·ni
 so.much know 1–0/part/obl
 ‘as much as I know’ W218I

(209) *taswi*=meko *i·nahi e·winiči*
 so.many=emph there be.there 3'/part/obl
 'as many as were there' W190N

(210) *nehki* *e·nemi–ahkiwikwe·ni*
 so.long future–be.earth 0/interr.part/obl
 'as long as there may continue to be an earth' N13L

The preverb in (210) is *anemi–*, used for motion away from the deictic center or for states/activities extending into the future.

The particle *taswi* has a corresponding initial *tasw-* 'so many, so much' which combines with derived or suppletive final forms:¹⁴

(211) a. *taswih-* 'have, make so many of O; kill so many of O' TA
 b. *taswipewo·nwe·-* 'be so many years old' AI
 c. *tasoke·-* 'dwell in such a number' AI
 d. *tasokonakat-* 'be so many days' II

nehki, however, does not have a corresponding initial form.

Verb stems containing *tasw-* 'so many' as an initial also allow the stem of the question word *ke·swi* 'how many?' to appear in initial position:

(212) a. *ke·swipewo·nwe·-* 'be how many years old?' AI
 b. *ke·so·če·naw-* 'hit how many of O by shooting?' TA
 c. *ke·sokoneška·-* 'go how many days?' AI [in fasting]

7.4. Adding a second object

The previous section described initials and preverbs that add an oblique argument to a verb's subcategorizational frame when compounded with the verb. There are also three initial/preverb pairs which function to add a second object to a verb's subcategorizational frame. The selection of the initial form or the preverb form operates in the same way as we have seen in 6.2. and 7.3: the initial form is used if the verb has an associated derived or suppletive final; otherwise the preverb form is compounded with the regular verb stem.

The initial *kek-* (preverb *keki–*) is glossed 'with, having'; the item which is held or possessed becomes the second object of the verb:

¹⁴ The verbs with *tasw-* as an initial are used with numbers higher than four; the lower numbers may be expressed in the verb as an initial or a preverb. For example:

- (i) *nekoth-* 'have/make/kill one of O' TA
- (ii) *ni·šwih-* 'have, etc. two of O' TA
- (iii) *neswih-* 'have, etc. three of O' TA
- (iv) *nye·wih-* 'have, etc. four of O' TA

- (213) a. kekeka·- 'dance having O2' AI
 b. kekapi·- 'sit having O2' AI
 c. keko·mye·paho·- 'run having O2 on one's back' AI
 d. kekineče·wosah·- 'make O walk with O2 in O's hand' TA
 e. kekišin·- 'lie having O2; be buried with O2' AI
- (214) a. keki–kotawi·- 'go underwater holding O2' AI
 b. keki–nowi·- 'go out holding O2' AI

The initial *takw-* (preverb *takwi-*) is glossed 'along with, together with, joining', and also adds a second object to the verb's subcategorizational frame. The second object added by *takw-/takwi-* tends to be involved in the verb's action as the equal of the subject or first object of the verb; in contrast, the second object associated with verbs containing *kek-/keki-* is more peripheral.

- (215) a. takwi·- 'join O2' AI
 b. takwiset·- 'place O together with O2' TI2
- (216) takwi–natom·- 'summon O together with O2' TA

The initial *ahp-* 'on' is also associated with second objects:

- (217) a. ahpe·nemo·- 'depend on O2' AI
 b. ahpapi·- 'sit on O2' AI
 c. ahpeka·- 'dance on O2' AI

Presumably a preverb form *ahpi-* could also be used to add a second object to verbs lacking derived or suppletive finals, but no example of this preverb has been found.

It is clear from the above examples that the formation of verbs containing *kek-/keki-*, *takw-/takwi-*, or *ahp-* is identical to the processes described in 7.3. which add an oblique argument to the subcategorizational frame of the verb. The syntactic effect of the three morphemes described in this section is slightly different, however: the grammatical function associated with the new argument is second object, rather than oblique. The syntactic difference between second objects and obliques may be seen, first of all, in word order. As explained in chapter 8, the unmarked position for obliques is immediately to the left of the verb, while the unmarked position for second objects is to the right of the verb:

- (218) we·či– ahpene·či=meko –keki–kotawi·či ase·ma·wani
 from– always=emph –with–go.under 3/part/obl tobacco.obv
 'why he always went underwater with tobacco' N4A
- (219) netahpe·nemo ki·yawī
 depend.on 1/ind.ind you
 'I depend on you.' J190.15

The verb in (218) contains the preverb *keki* ‘with’; the second object associated with this preverb is *ase·ma·wani* ‘tobacco’, which immediately follows the verb. The verb stem of (219) is *ahpe·nemo-* ‘depend on’, which contains the initial *ahp-* ‘on’. The second object in (219) is expressed by a pronoun from the body series, immediately following the verb.

Another difference between second objects and obliques can be seen in the formation of participles. As explained in 5.3, participles in which the head of the relative clause is coreferential to an oblique argument of the lower clause take *-i* as the final suffix in the participle inflection. However, if a participle is formed in which the head is coreferential to the second object of the lower verb, the final suffix agrees with the head in gender, number, and obviation. For example, the final suffix *-a* indicates that the head is animate, proximate, and singular. This suffix may appear on a participle formed from *ahpe·nemo-* ‘depend on’:

- (220) e·hpe·nemoya·na
 depend.on 1/part/3
 ‘the one whom I depend on’

In the next example, the head of the relative clause is ‘tobacco’, coreferential to the second object associated with the preverb *keki-* ‘having’. The final suffix on the participle is *-ini*, indicating that the head is (grammatically) animate and obviative singular.

- (221) nese·ma·wani wi·hkeki–nowi·wa·čini
 tobacco.obv fut.having.O2–go.out 3p/part/3’
 ‘tobacco for them to take out with them’ O7I (Goddard 1987:110)

In contrast, the suffix *-i* is always used to indicate that the head of a relative clause is coreferential to an oblique argument of the lower verb, even when the head refers to an animate third person:

- (222) wi·nwa·wa we·či–mehtose·neniwiyani
 they from–be.alive 2/part/obl
 ‘They [your parents] are the reason why you are alive.’ B85:32.5–6

There is another difference worth mentioning between the initial/preverb pairs which add a second object and those discussed in the previous section which add an oblique argument. Some of these morphemes have associated adpositions which are homophonous with the preverb form. As discussed in 3.5, adpositions of any sort are rare in Meskwaki. However, the adpositions which are associated with the three most common preverb/initial pairs which add an oblique are always postpositions:

- (223) a. owi·hka·neki oči ‘from his friend’s place’
 b. aškwa·te·meki iši ‘toward the doorway’
 c. wi·kiya·peki taši ‘at the house’

The adposition *keki* ‘with, having, including’, on the other hand, is always a preposition:

- (224) keki či·ma·ne ‘with the canoe’

The adposition *takwi* ‘together with’ may be used as either a preposition or postposition; see examples (79) and (80) in 3.5.1. (There is no adposition **ahpi* ‘on’, as far as I know.) This difference in word order within adpositional phrases must be related to the word order pattern of clauses, in which obliques precede the verb and second objects follow the verb.