A Meskwaki Construction in Narrative Texts

Independent Pronoun + Full NP

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This paper investigates the discourse functions of a construction found in Meskwaki narrative texts in which an independent third-person pronoun co-occurs with a coreferential full NP.[1] An example may be seen in the underlined portions of (1)[2]:

(1) wi·nake·hwi·sahke·ha ayemeko e·hki·ši–nepe·hka·noči.

wi·na=ke·hi=wi·sahke·h-a   aye=meko   e·h-ki·ši–nepe·hka·no·či

he=moreover=W-SG   early=EMPH   AOR-PERF–pretend.to.sleep-3/AOR

'Wisahkeha himself was already pretending to sleep.' W1210

The corpus for this article is drawn mostly from the first half of a long (1,110-page) text written in 1913 by Alfred Kiyana, consisting of 550 manuscript pages, with approximately 10 clauses per page. In this corpus 52 tokens of the pronoun + NP construction are found, so it occurs roughly once every 100 clauses. The construction is therefore clearly a marked one. It is, however, found elsewhere in Meskwaki texts from the early 20th century and is a construction with cognate forms in sister languages:

(2) a. Menominee   *we·nah oke·ma·w*   'the chief himself'

     (Bloomfield 1962:465)

   b. Potawatomi   *win gé o nene*   'that man also'

     (Lewis (in prep.))

   c. Miami   *neehi wiila amehkwa* . . .   'and then Beaver . . .'

     (David J. Costa, personal communication)

   d. Plains Cree   êwako *wiyawâw ocipwêwak* . . .   'it was the Ojibwa . . .'

     (H. C. Wolfart, personal communication)

   e. Nishnaabemwin   *wiinwaa go eta nishnaabeg*   'only they, the Indians'

     (Valentine 2001:612)

Given the range of sister languages exhibiting cognates to this construction, it appears to be part of the stylistic repertoire of Algonquian narrative discourse.

The independent pronoun in the construction under investigation is part of a series of emphatic independent personal pronouns, primarily used on their own for expressing topic or focus:

(3) a. ni·na   'I'
   b. ki·na   'you (singular)'
   c. wi·na   'he/she (proximate)'
   d. ni·na·na   'we (exclusive)'
   e. ki·na·na   'we (inclusive)'
   f. ki·nwa·wa   'you (plural)'
   g. wi·nwa·wa   'they (proximate)'

For the definitions of topic and focus, see Lambrecht (1994) and Dahlstrom (1993, 1995, 2003, 2017).[3] The topic relation expresses aboutness: the material following an overt topic is a comment about the topic. Example (4) illustrates the use of an independent pronoun to announce a new topic:

(4) ni·na a·kwi ke·ko·hi tepe·netama·nini

   ni·na   a·kwi   ke·ko·hi   tepe·net·ama·nini

   I   not   something   own-1>0/NEG

   'Me, I don't own anything' W502H

In (4), notice that the first-person topic precedes the negative *a·kwi* 'not'; this is the typical word order for topics in relation to negative elements in Meskwaki (Dahlstrom 1993, 1995).

The term 'focus' as used here corresponds to Lambrecht's sense of argument focus: It expresses the unpredictable element that fills the variable of a presupposed open proposition. For example, consider the independent pronoun in (5), where the third-person object of the verb refers to the culture hero Wisahkeha as a baby and the second-person addressee is Wisahkeha's grandmother:

(5) ki·nameko ki·hka·kike·wi–pemena·wa,

   ki·na=meko   ke·i·h·ka·kike·wi–pemen·a·wa,

   you=EMPH   2-FUT-forever–take.care.of-2>3/IND

   'You [are the one who] will take care of him forever' W22E

The presupposition in (5) is that someone will take care of Wisahkeha forever; the unpredictable information, which is expressed by the pronoun in focus position, is that the addressee is that person. If a focused element is used in a clause containing a negative element, the negative precedes the focused element (Dahlstrom 1993, 1995).

The question investigated in this article is: What is the function of using an independent pronoun in conjunction with a coreferential full NP? In the discussion that follows I first describe the distribution and form of the pronoun + NP construction, and then illustrate some of the construction's functions within narrative texts. Although a single discourse function that accounts for all collected instances of the pronoun + NP cannot be identified, it will be shown that this construction may be employed for expressing something unexpected, for indicating reciprocal action, or for marking episode boundaries within a narrative.

Distribution and Form of the Pronoun + NP Construction

To begin with, it must be emphasized that the independent pronoun seen in the construction under investigation here is not the contrastive enclitic =wi·na. In Meskwaki (as in other Algonquian languages) the third-person singular independent pronoun wi·na 'he/she (proximate)' has been grammaticalized as an enclitic expressing something like 'but; however.' The form of the enclitic is invariable—always =wi·na—and in texts written in the Meskwaki syllabary, which indicates phonological word boundaries, there is never a word boundary symbol written before the contrastive enclitic.

(6)   ni·nake·hwi·na ana·kowe neki·ši–owi·wi,

      ni·na=ke·hi=wi·na   ana·kowe ne-ki·ši–owi·wi-Ø,

      I=moreover=CONTR   yesterday 1-PERF–have.a.wife-1/IND

      'As for me, I got married yesterday' W99N

(7)   wi·nawi·na e·hki·wi–kečihka·hke·piči.

      wi·na=wi·na   e·h-ki·wi–kečihka·hke·pi-či.

      he=CONTR   AOR-around–sit.with.chest.out-3/AOR

      'But he, on the other hand, was just sitting with his chest out.' W365R

Example (6) shows that the enclitic =wi·na may be used in a clause where there is no third-person participant at all, here attaching to an independent first-person pronoun. (7) shows that the enclitic =wi·na may even attach to the homophonous independent third-person pronoun. The enclitic =wi·na is clearly performing a different function from that of the independent pronoun that is its host in (7).

Example (8) shows that the contrastive enclitic can also be used with the pronoun + NP construction under investigation here:

(8)   wi·nawi·na no·hkomesa pa·pekwa·nahi e·htaši–mayake·nemiči

      wi·na=wi·na   ne-o·hkomes-a

      she=CONTR   1-grandmother-SG

      pa·pekwa=i·nahi   e·h-taši–mayake·nem-iči

      immediately=after.that AOR-be.engaged.in–think.O.strange-3>1/AOR

      'But my grandmother, on the other hand, immediately thinks I'm strange . . .' W517D

The initial portion of the Meskwaki pronoun + NP construction is clearly not the contrastive enclitic =wi·na.

Turning now to the pronoun + NP construction itself, we may make a number of observations regarding the way in which it appears in texts. First, this construction is obviously only possible with third-person referents, since it involves a lexical NP. Less obvious is the fact that the construction is only found with PROXIMATE third-person referents: This follows from the nature of the emphatic series of independent pronouns, which lacks an obviative third person form. In most of the examples in the corpus the pronoun + NP construction expresses a syntactic subject; this is not surprising, since subjects are frequently proximate.[4] Moreover, all examples collected of this constuction involve a third person who is human, a spirit, or an anthropomorphized animal—in every case, a fairly significant character in the narrative text. We may also note that the NP in this construction is never the first mention of a new character.

The pronoun always precedes the NP, as seen in (1) and (8); (1) and (8) also demonstrate that this construction is available both in the narrative portion of texts and in the representation of quotes by the text's characters. A final observation is that the pronoun + NP phrase may be either singular or plural; (9) is an example of a plural pronoun followed by a plural NP.

(9)   wi·nwa·wa kemehtose·neni·me·hena·naki mešemeko wi·hki·wi–inose·wa·či,

      wi·nwa·wa   ke-mehtose·neni·me·h-ena·n-aki

      they   2-person.DIM-21-PL

      meše=meko   wi·h-ki·wi–inose·-wa·či,

      freely=EMPH   FUT-around–walk.thither-3P/AOR

      'Our (inclusive) people will walk around just anywhere,' W442

The majority of the examples in the corpus appear at the very beginning of the sentence, or preceded only by a conjunction such as o·ni 'and then':

(10) o·ni <u>wi·nameko</u> <u>kehči–maneto·wa</u> e·hašiha·či wi·hanohka·na·čihi neniwahi.

   o·ni   <u>wi·na</u>=meko   <u>kehči–maneto·w-a</u>   e·h-aših-a·či
   and.then   <u>he</u>=EMPH   <u>great–spirit-SG</u>   AOR-make-3>3'/AOR

   IC-wi·h-anohka·n-a·čihi   neniw-ahi.
   IC-FUT-commission-3>3'/PART/3'P   man-OBV.PL
   'And then <u>the Great Spirit himself</u> made men to send on errands.' W319A

The left edge of the clause is the typical position for new/shifted topics or focused elements. (11) is a clear example of a shifted topic that exhibits the pronoun + NP construction:

(11) <u>wi·nake·hi</u> <u>kehči–maneto·wa</u>, kapo·twe ahki·ki e·hina·piči, kotakimeko e·hina·piči.

   <u>wi·na</u>=ke·hi   <u>kehči–maneto·w-a</u>,
   <u>he</u>=moreover   <u>great–spirit-SG</u>

   kapo·twe   ahky-eki   e·h-ina·pi-či,
   at.some.point   earth-LOC   AOR-look.thither-3/AOR

   kotaki=meko   e·h-ina·pi-či.
   other=EMPH   AOR-look.thus-3/AOR
   'As for <u>the Great Spirit</u>, pretty soon when he looked down at the earth, he saw that it looked different.' W312CD

Similarly, the pronoun + NP phrase in (12) functions as focus:

(12) <u>wi·nača·hmeko</u> <u>no·hkomese·hena·na</u> neketema·kihekwa,

   <u>wi·na</u>=ča·hi=meko   <u>ne-o·hkomese·h-ena·n-a</u>   ne-ketema·kih-ekwa,
   <u>she</u>=SO=EMPH   <u>1-grandmother.DIM-1P-SG</u>   1-bring.ruin.upon-3>1/IND
   'So <u>our grandmother herself</u> is the one bringing ruin upon me,' W284C

It is not the case, however, that all NPs appearing as topic or focus are accompanied by a coreferential independent pronoun, as the following examples demonstrate:

(13) i·niye·kake·hi mehtose·neniwaki, i·ya·hmekoni e·hpya·wa·či e·ši–ki·hkapiwa·či.

   i·niye·ka=ke·hi   mehtose·neniw-aki,   i·ya·hi=meko=i·ni
   those.ABSENT.ANIM=moreover   person-PL   yonder=EMPH=now

   e·h-pya·-wa·či   IC-iši–ki·hkapi-wa·či.
   AOR-come-3P/AOR   IC-thither–move.seat.closer-3P/PART/OBL
   'As for those other people, they arrived at the place for their new village.' W117G

(14) o·ni še·škimeko kehkeše·wi i·nahi ahte·wi.

   o·ni   še·ški=meko   kehkeše·w-i   i·nahi   ahte·-wi.
   and.then   only=EMPH   charcoal-SG   there   be.there-0/IND
   'And then only charcoal remained there.' W62F

The pronoun appearing in examples like (11) and (12) must therefore be performing some other function, not simply marking that the NP is functioning as topic or focus. A variety of functions are explored in the following section.

The pronoun + NP construction nearly always occurs in the matrix clause in my corpus of examples. (15), however, shows that the combination of pronoun + NP may occur in an embedded context as well, here within a relative clause:

(15) mani kene·ta·pwa <u>wi·nwa·wa maneto·waki</u> ki·šepye·hamowa·či.

   mani ke-ne·t-a·pwa   [<u>wi·nwa·wa</u>   <u>maneto·w-aki</u>
   this 2-see-2P>0/IND   <u>they</u>   <u>spirit-PL</u>

   IC-ki·šepye·h-amowa·či].
   IC-PERF.draw-3P>0/PART/0
   'You see this [map] which <u>the spirits themselves</u> drew.' (Michelson 1925:54:41)

Additionally, (16) appears to be an example of the pronoun + NP construction in an embedded complement clause.

(16)   we·nahi e·ne·nemiya·ke!

wi·nameko ne·ške·nemiyameta maneto·wa wi·hnešiyamečimeko ketene·nemipena.

we·nahi   IC-ine·nem-iya·ke!

this.is.it   IC-think.thus.of-2>1P/PART/OBL

[wi·na=meko   IC-neške·nem-iyameta   maneto·wa

he=EMPH   IC-hate-3>1P/PART/3   spirit-SG

wi·h-nes-iyameči=meko]   ke-ene·nem-ipena.

FUT-kill-3>1P/AOR=EMPH   2-think.thus.of-2>1P/IND

'Now I see what you think about us!

You want the spirit who hates us to kill us.' W549HI

[lit. 'you want (with respect to us) for him to kill us']

(16) requires some explication. The first line is included for context. The matrix verb of the second sentence is in final position: *ketene·nemipena* 'you think thus of us' (here translated as 'you want . . . '). What the second-person subject wants is 'for the spirit who hates us to kill us.' The subject of the complement clause is what is expressed with the pronoun + NP construction of interest here.

All possible forms of NPs may appear in the noun phrase portion of this construction. We have already seen that a personal name may appear (1), as may a common noun (15), a possessed kinship term (12), other possessed nouns (9), or a noun modified by a relative clause (16). The NP may also consist of a demonstrative alone:

(17)   "mečihwe·na·na apeno·hiwa!

wi·nama·hi·na owi·yawi we·we·ne·netamwa,"

"meči=ihi=we·na=i·na   apeno·hi-wa!

quite=not=in.fact=that.ANIM   be.child-3/IND

wi·na=ma·hi=i·na   owi·yawi   we·we·ne·net-amwa,"

she=as.you.know=that.ANIM   herself   have.control.over-3>0/IND

"'Well, she is hardly a child!

She herself has the say over what she does,'" W129NO

Discontinuous NPs are also found in the pronoun + NP construction:

(18)   wi·nakoči·na ki·wiki·wi·hkamwa wi·kiya·pye·ni kemešo·hwa·wa

wi·na=koči=i·na   ki·wi-ki·wi·hk-amwa

he=you.know=that.ANIM   REDUP-go.around.dealing.with-3>0/IND

wi·kiya·py-ani   ke-mešo·h-wa·w-a

house-PL   2-grandfather-2P-SG

'That grandfather of yours (pl.) has always been going around visiting the houses.' W250

The next question to ask is, what material may intervene between the pronoun and NP? We have seen numerous examples in which a single enclitic particle appears between the pronoun and the full NP (e.g., [18]). It is also possible to have more than one enclitic in that position:

(19)   e·ha·šowa·ška·niči.

e·h-a·šowa·ška·-niči.

AOR-speed.across-3'/AOR

'[W's younger brother] leapt across [the river].'

wi·nake·he·yi·kimeko wi·sahke·ha e·ha·šowa·ška·či.

wi·na=ke·hi=e·yi·ki=meko   wi·sahke·h-a   e·h-a·šowa·ška·-či.

he=moreover=also=EMPH   W-SG   AOR-speed.across-3/AOR

'Wisahkeha himself also leapt across it.' W79IJ

In (19), three enclitic particles follow the independent pronoun *wi·na*. In all examples in which only enclitics appear between the two halves of the construction, I would argue that the pronoun and NP are not separated syntactically. In other words, in my view the pronoun + NP form a unified syntactic constituent, with the placement of the enclitics sensitive to the right edge of the first phonological word.

In other cases, however, the NP coreferential to the independent pronoun may be separated from the pronoun by syntactic material, such as by the object and verb in (20)[5]:

(20) ašewe·na mana nesi·me·ha nemi·na·wa,

  wi·nača·hi ma·hani tepe·netamwa <u>manaha a·ya·pa·hte·ha</u>,"

  e·hina·či osi·me·hani wi·sahke·ha.

aše=we·na	mana	ne-si·me·h-a	ne-mi·n-a·wa,
merely=in.fact	this.ANIM	1-younger.sibling-SG	1-give-1>3/IND

wi·na=ča·hi	ma·hani	tepe·net-amwa	<u>manaha</u>	<u>a·ya·pa·hte·h-a</u>,"
<u>he</u>=so	these	own-3>0/IND	<u>this.ANIM</u>	<u>A-SG</u>

e·h-in-a·či	o-si·me·h-ani	wi·sahke·h-a.
AOR-say.thus.about-3>3'/AOR	3-younger.sibling-OBV	W-SG

  'But actually I have just given them to my younger brother here, so <u>Ayapahteha</u> owns these things <u>himself</u>,' Wisahkeha said about his younger brother.' W259DE

I think it is possible that the discontinuous pronoun and NP construction in (20) may be performing a different function than the syntactically unified examples seen earlier, but I will leave that an open question for now.[6]

A single example in the corpus has both the pronoun and the NP appearing at the end of a clause:

(21) i·ni wi·hiši–ašihtawaki," e·hina·či <u>wi·na</u>meko <u>keše·–maneto·wa</u>.

i·ni	IC-wi·h-iši–ašihtaw-aki,"
that	IC-FUT-thus–make.O2.for.O-1>3/PART/OBL

e·h-in-a·či	<u>wi·na</u>=meko	<u>keše·–maneto·w-a</u>.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3'/AOR	<u>he</u>=EMPH	<u>gentle–spirit-SG</u>

  "'That's how many [future people] I will make for him," <u>the Great Spirit</u> said about him.' W383B

I do not know what the function of postposing the pronoun + NP construction may be in this example. Note that the pronoun + NP in (21) cannot be analyzed as beginning a new clause here; it is immediately followed by *o·ni wi·sahke·ha, ". . ."* 'And then Wisahkeha [said], ". . .", which is the beginning of a new sentence.

Some Functions of the Meskwaki Pronoun + NP Construction

Unexpectedness

Several instances of the Meskwaki pronoun + NP construction seem to indicate that the reported event is unexpected or surprising.[7] The context for (22) is that a young man sees his aunt sitting under a tree in which a mountain lion is perched. Surprisingly, the old woman is unaware of the mountain lion above her.

(22) wi·nake·hi·na metemo·he·ha i·nini e·hpwa·wi–kehke·nema·či.

wi·na=ke·hi=i·na	metemo·he·h-a	i·nini
she=moreover=that.ANIM	old.woman.DIM-SG	that.OBV

e·h-pwa·wi–kehke·nem-a·či.
AOR-not–know-3>3'/AOR

  'But <u>that old woman</u> didn't know about that [mountain lion] <u>herself</u>.' W16B

(23) provides another example where the pronoun + NP construction seems to indicate something surprising. The context here is that Wisahkeha's brother and nearly all the other children have been murdered at a dance. Wisahkeha's grandmother comes from the dance, weeping, but Wisahkeha asks her casually, "You're not going over to dance?"

(23) wi·nake·hi·na wi·sahke·ha wa·natohkameko,

  "ano·hko, a·kwimeko mawi–ni·miyanini?" e·hina·či.

wi·na=ke·hi=i·na	wi·sahke·h-a	wa·natohka=meko,
he=moreover=that.ANIM	W-SG	unconcernedly=EMPH

"ano·hko,	a·kwi=meko	mawi–ni·mi-yanini?"	e·h-in-a·či.
g.m.VOC	not=EMPH	go.and–dance-2/NEG	AOR-say.thus.to-3>3'/AOR

  'But <u>Wisahkeha</u> asked her casually, "Grandma, you're not going over to dance?"' W164H

Parallel/Reciprocal Action

Several examples in the corpus lend themselves to a gloss of 'in turn', describing either parallel action (as in (19) in the preceding, when both brothers leap across a river) or reciprocal action, as in (24)[8]:

(24) e·hnenohtawa·či osi·me·hani,

wi·nana·hkači e·hnenohta·koči wi·sahke·ha osi·me·hani.

e·h-nenohtaw-a·či   o-si·me·h-ani,

AOR-understand-3>3'/AOR   3-younger.sibling.DIM-OBV

wi·na=na·hkači   e·h-nenohtaw-ekoči   wi·sahke·h-a   o-si·me·h-ani.

he=again   AOR-understand-3'>3/AOR   W-SG   3-y.sib.DIM-OBV

'He understood his younger brother, and in turn his younger brother also understood

Wisahkeha.' W35IJ

(25) is perhaps another example of the pronoun + NP construction used in the second of two parallel clauses, contrasting Wisahkeha's more wicked nature to that of his brother.

(25) a·kwipi wa·waneška·hiničini osi·me·hani.

wi·napi wi·sahke·ha wa·waneška·ha·tesiwa,

a·kwi=ipi   wa·waneška·hi-ničini   o-si·me·h-ani.

not=HRSY   be.wicked-3'/NEG   3-younger.sibling.DIM-OBV

wi·na=ipi   wi·sahke·h-a   wa·waneška·ha·tesi-wa,

he=HRSY   W-SG   be.constitutionally.wicked-3/IND

'His younger brother wasn't a rascal, it's said. Wisahkeha, on the other hand, had a wicked character, it's said.' W34IJ

New Episode

Yet another function of the pronoun + NP construction seems to be to signal the beginning of a significant episode in the text. Consider (26), in which the previous context is included before the appearance of the construction in question. (See (10) and (11) in the preceding for other clear examples of this function.)

(26) e·hča·ki–pi·tike·wa·či maneto·waki, mo·hčimeko keše·–maneto·wa.

i·nina·hpi·tike·či e·hawiči, na·hkači okwise·hani e·hpi·tikana·či.

wi·na keše·–maneto·wa, "nahi, nekwi·hi, wi·sahke·ha osi·me·hani ki·howi·hka·ni,"

e·hina·či okwisani.

e·h-ča·ki–pi·tike·-wa·či   maneto·w-aki,   mo·hči=meko   keše·–maneto·w-a.

AOR-all–enter-3P/AOR   spirit-PL   even=EMPH   gentle–spirit-SG

i·nina·hi=IC-pi·tike·-či   e·h-awi-či,

at.that.time=IC-enter-3/CH.C   AOR-be.there-3/PART/LOC

na·hkači   o-kwise·h-ani   e·h-pi·tikan-a·či.

again   3-son.DIM-OBV   AOR-bring.in-3>3'/AOR

wi·na   keše·–maneto·w-a,   "nahi,   nekwi·hi,   wi·sahke·h-a   o-si·me·h-ani

he   gentle–spirit-SG   well,   son.VOC   W-SG   3-y.sib.DIM-OBV

ke-i·h-owi·hka·ni-Ø,"   e·h-in-a·či   o-kwis-ani.

2-FUT-have.O2.as.friend-2/IND   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3'/AOR   3-son-OBV

'All the spirits went into their homes, even the Great Spirit.
At the time he went into his place, he also brought his son inside.
The Great Spirit said to his son, "Listen, son, you will have Wisahkeha's little brother as your friend."' W73M-74B

The quote in (26) marks the start of a new episode. This is the first instance of the Great Spirit's words being quoted in the story, and indeed, the content of what the Great Spirit says is quite significant for the remainder of the text.

Note that use of the pronoun + NP construction in (26) does not fit the description of the functions illustrated previously. It is not unexpected that the Great Spirit would speak to his son, nor is there parallel or reciprocal action that would accommodate a reading of 'in turn'. There is in fact no shift of topic (or subject) occurring at the point where the pronoun + NP construction is used. Instead, attention is drawn to the beginning of a new, significant episode of the text.

Conclusion

This article has shown that the Meskwaki pronoun + NP construction is primarily found with overt topics and focused phrases in matrix clauses; it occurs both in the narrative portions of texts and within direct quotes. No single function unifying all the instances of the pronoun + NP construction has been found. Instead, there seem to be several contexts in which this construction may be employed, including marking something unexpected, parallel or reciprocal action, or the beginning of a significant episode in the text.

NOTES

1. Thanks to Lucy Thomason, H. C. Wolfart, David J. Costa, and the audience at the 50th Algonquian Conference for helpful comments.
2. Abbreviations: 1P = first person exclusive plural, 21 = first person inclusive plural, 3' = obviative, 0 = inanimate, ABSENT = absentative demonstrative, ANIM = animate, AOR = aorist prefix; aorist conjunct inflection, CH.C = changed conjunct, CONTR = contrastive, DIM = diminutive, EMPH = emphatic, FUT = future, HRSY = hearsay evidential, IC = initial change (ablaut rule), IND = independent indicative, LOC = locative, NEG= negative inflection, O = (first) object, O2 = second object, OBL = oblique head of relative clause, OBV = obviative, PART = conjunct participle, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, REDUP = reduplication, SG = singular, VOC = vocative, X = unspecified subject. Subject and object features in verb inflection are separated by > and are followed by identification of the verbal paradigm. The head of a relative clause is identified following the label PART (participle). Vowel length is marked by a raised dot. Examples cited as W are from Kiyana 1913.
3. For other approaches to information structure in Algonquian languages, see Bliss (2005), Junker (2004), Rhodes (2017), and Wolvengrey (2011), inter alia.
4. See (24) in the following for an example of the pronoun + NP construction expressing a proximate object.
5. See Thomason (2003:200) for a similar discontinuous example.
6. Compare the difference word order can make for English intensifier -*self* forms, which are formally similar to the Meskwaki construction under investigation in pairing an emphatic pronoun with a full NP:

> The queen herself opened the exhibit.
> The queen opened the exhibit herself.

Item (i) presupposes that the queen ranks high on some sort of scale; what is unexpected or remarkable is the fact that the queen made an appearance to open the exhibit. In (ii) the *self* form is contrastive, implying that the queen acted alone, without help.

7. See Edmondson and Plank (1978) and Kemmer (1995), inter alia, for discussion of English intensifier -*self* constructions indicating unexpectedness or remarkability. For Meskwaki, it should be noted that the language also has more grammaticalized methods for indicating surprise or mirativity, including a second position enclitic =či·hi 'it was discovered' and a construction combining a particle *keye·hapa* 'in fact, as it turns out' plus the changed unreal mode of the conjunct order.
8. Compare Edmondson and Plank's identification of a particular subtype of English intensifier -*self*, which can be glossed as 'in turn', often involving the reversal of semantic roles:

> (i) Lucrezia poisoned Lorenzo, and was herself poisoned by Cesare (Edmondson and Plank 1978:386).

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The Syntax of (IR)REALIS in Innu

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This article explores the syntax of (IR)REALIS in Innu, where REALIS is zero-marked, and IRREALIS is marked by *ka* or its allomorphs *tshika* or *tshê*.[1] Allomorph selection is conditioned by person and clause-type; we call these "PERSON-splits" and "C-splits." The person-split is found with the independent order: *ka* with first/second person (1); *tshika* with third person (2). The C-split occurs in the conjunct order: Irrealis is possible with the subordinating C for which the exponent is initial change *ka* > *kê* > *tshê* (3), but not with other subordinating Cs such as ê (4).[2]

(1) a. ni uâpamânanat
     ni [uâpamâ]-nân-at
     1 see.TA=1PL=3PL(IND)
     'We see them' [D530]

   b. nika uâpamânanat
     ni-ka [uâpamâ]-nân-at
     1-IRR see.TA-1PL-3PL(IND)
     'We will see them' [D534]

(2) a. uâpamêu
     [uâpamê]-u
     see.TA-3SG(IND)
     'S/he sees them' [D531]

   b. tshika uâpamêu
     tshika [uâpamê]-u
     IR see.TA=3SG(IND)
     'S/he will see them' [D535]