THE ARTICLE SYSTEM OF UMO^{N}HO^{N} (OMAHA)

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent
AUX	auxiliary
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEC	declarative
DEF	definiteness
DEIC	deictic
EVID	evidential
EXC	exclamation
F	female
H	horizontal
IMP	imperative
INAN	inanimate
IRR	irrealis
JOD	John Owen Dorsey (refers to either his 1890 or 1891 text)
LOC	locative
M	male
MV	moving
O	obviative
OBJ	object

P	proximate
PAT	patient
PL	pl
R	round
REG	regularly (habitual)
RFL	reflexive
S	scattered
SG	singular
SI	sitting
ST	standing
SUB	subject
V	vertical
?	interrogative

Abstract

The definite article system of Omaha consists of eleven post-clitics (enclitics) which are each mono- or di-syllabic. This article system has been shown to encode shape, position, movement, and animacy (Dorsey m.s., Anonymous n.d., Koontz 1984). Animate definite articles in Omaha also encode another dimension. This feature has been posited to be agency (Dorsey m.s., Anonymous n.d., Koontz 1984) or obviation (Koontz 1989, Eschenberg 1999). These two alternatives are explored in this dissertation, using Deictic Centering Theory (Duchan et al. 1995) as a tool for explaining the discourse and cognitive based semantico-pragmatics of the system. RRG is used as the syntactic theory to describe and categorize the morpho-syntactic behavior of the articles and morphemes posited to be related to the articles.

The articles are homophonous with a set of verbal auxiliaries, copulas, evidentials, and clause linkage markers, all of which are post-clitics. Indeed, only context and syntax help to determine the function of these post-clitics in a given instance. These other post-clitics are posited to be related to the articles, and a grammaticalization pathway is given, explaining how such seemingly diverse functions could have developed through paradigmatic reanalyses. Through the exploration of the grammaticalization pathway, the functioning of the articles can be motivated, and this system within a system can be understood.

Chapter 1
Introduction

The definite article system of Omaha consists of eleven post-clitics (enclitics) which are each mono- or di-syllabic. This article system has been shown to encode shape, position and animacy (Dorsey m.s., Anonymous n.d., Koontz 1984). Compared with many other systems of definite articles, such as French which has two definite articles based on gender, Omaha has a large number of definite articles. However, other general systems of nominal classification can be found which possess greater numbers of classes. For example, Ngan'gityemerri, a southern Daly language spoken in Australia, has fifteen overtly marked noun classes and one zero-marked class (Reid 1997: 172).

Complex systems of nominal classification, such as those found in Aboriginal Australian languages tend to contain classes based on gender and animacy, and classes which mark nouns with specific (sometimes culturally based) uses for the speakers (i.e. edible vegetables, edible animals, tools).[1] While Omaha encodes animacy, its article system does not classify objects based on their uses but rather their shape, position, movement and number. At least one other article system exists which classifies based on similar parameters. Seri, a Hokan language, also contains a system of articles which code for shape, position, movement, and number (Moser 1977). Unlike Omaha, it also encodes distance and whether the motion is toward or away from the speaker.

Animate definite articles in Omaha also encode another dimension. This feature has been posited to be agency (Dorsey m.s., Anonymous n.d., Koontz 1984) or obviation (Koontz 1989, Eschenberg 1999). These two alternatives will be explored in this dissertation in Chapter 4 in

[1] For examples of such systems see Reid (1997) or Green (1997).

order to more completely describe the functioning of the article system. Deictic Centering Theory (Duchan et al. 1995) will be used as a tool for explaining the discourse and cognitive based semantico-pragmatics of the system. Chapter 3 discusses DCT the pragmatic theory used in this dissertation, as well as RRG, the syntactic theory used in this dissertation. These theories are found to be largely compatible, with DCT providing insight into the actual discourse functioning of the articles, which are morpho-syntactically categorized by RRG.

In addition to being an internally rich system, these articles are members of the more general class of post-clitics in Omaha. The post-clitics include post-positions, auxiliaries, evidentials, and illocutionary force particles. In fact, the articles are homophonous with a set of verbal auxiliaries, as well as a set of evidentials. Indeed, only context and syntax help to distinguish the function of these post-clitics in a given instance. Though the articles, auxiliaries and evidentials could currently be argued to be homophonous but separate lexemes, the overwhelming correspondence of these sets of clitics necessitates an investigation of their relatedness and development. Chapter 6 examines how the article, auxiliary, and evidential systems of Omaha have developed through a grammaticalization pathway. Role and Reference Grammar is used to explain the basic syntactic functioning of the clitic systems. Then, the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic relatedness of the clitic systems is explored. From this, an overall grammaticalization pathway can be pieced together. Analogy is shown to play an important role in this process. Through the exploration of the grammaticalization pathway(s), the functioning of the articles can be motivated, and this system within a system can be understood.

Chapter 2
The Omaha Language

2.0 Introduction

The Umo^{n}ho^{n}, or Omaha, language is a member of the Dhegiha branch of the Mississippi Valley branch of the Siouan language family. Ponka, a related dialect, is mutually intelligible with Omaha but spoken in a different geographic region. The other members of the Dhegiha group are Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw. The Mississippi Valley branch of Siouan languages also includes Dakhota and Winnebago (Hochunk)-Chiwere.

Omaha is spoken mainly on the Omaha Nation reservation in northeastern Nebraska. Currently, there are fewer than fifty speakers of Omaha, who reside mainly in Macy, Nebraska. A few speakers reside in Omaha, Nebraska and Lincoln, Nebraska. Omaha language classes are offered at the elementary and high school levels through the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation Public School in Macy, Nebraska. The Headstart program in Macy also incorporates Omaha language materials in its curriculum. College level courses are offered at the Nebraska Indian Community College's Macy, South Sioux City, and Omaha branches, as well as at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. The Umo^{n}ho^{n} Alcohol Program also incorporates Omaha language lessons. These educational programs all use a standard orthography which is based on Latinate characters.

The following chapter provides a brief overview of the basic linguistic facts of the Omaha language. First, previous work on the Omaha language is discussed. Then, the phonemic inventory and prevalent phonological processes are presented. Finally, basic morpho-syntactic characteristics are discussed.

2.1 Previous works on the Omaha language

The first linguistic work concerning the Omaha language is that of Hayden (1869). This provides some brief insights into the grammar of the Omaha language. John O. Dorsey, a linguist and missionary, was the first person to extensively document the Omaha language. He wrote collections of Omaha texts and songs (1891, 1890, 1888a, 1888b, 1881, 1879-80), as well as some anthropological materials (1896, 1884). His grammar (ms.) provides a detailed overview of the Omaha language, including phonetics, morphology and syntax. He gives the first description of the Omaha article system as well as the first discussion of the set of post-clitic auxiliaries. This manuscript was never published and is written in Dorsey's own penmanship. It approaches the language from a scientific standpoint, detailing conjugations and paradigms. However, as an early linguistic work, it is eurocentric. For example, Dorsey's analysis of the articles is based on the Latinate concept of case. Dorsey's collection of Omaha narratives and letters (1890) was used as a corpus to supplement the data elicited by the author for this study.

Other basic sketches of the Omaha (or Omaha-Ponka) language exist. None of these are published (yet). An anonymous (n.d.) grammar of the Omaha language was written in the first half of the twentieth century. It is attributed to Frida Hahn and is type-written. This document basically follows Dorsey's manuscript in both form and content, but with more modern analysis. For example, the Hahn grammar refrains from using Dorsey's eurocentric concept of case in explaining the article system, instead referring to agency. Koontz (1984) provides an in-depth sketch of Omaha-Ponca within a modern linguistic framework. He concentrates mainly on phonology and morphology, extensively discussing how various morphemes combine and what their phonological output is. With regard to the article system, he generally follows Hahn. He

also notes the existence of various post-clitics and their position in the morpho-syntactic phrase. Rudin and Koontz (forthcoming) also provides an overview of basic Omaha grammar.

Other publications concerning Omaha include a dictionary (Swetland 1977), which is currently being updated by the University of Nebraska at Lincoln Umo^{n}ho^{n} language classes. The dictionary currently does not discuss articles or auxiliaries. Holmer (1945) wrote on Omaha phonology. Rankin has discussed the phonology of the related dialect, Ponca (1988). Boas (1906) provides brief notes concerning the grammar of Ponka, but does not discuss the articles or auxiliaries. Boas and Swanton (1911) also provides some grammatical information on Omaha. Rudin (1993) considers the structure of the NP, with specific reference to the articles. Fletcher and LaFlesche wrote primarily anthropological materials, which also contained various word lists and songs (1911). They also collaborated on a collection of Omaha songs (1893). A volume of Omaha stories by LaFlesche also exists (1995).

Dealing specifically with historical change, Rankin (1977) outlines the grammaticalization pathway of three articles (sit, stand, lie) in various Siouan languages, including Omaha. He shows that grammaticalization from verb to auxiliary to article is a general Siouan phenomenon. Specifically, three Omaha articles are discussed, positing a development from Proto-Siouan positional verbs. This study is approached from a highly diachronic perspective. Rankin's paper proves foundational to this dissertation. However, here the language will be considered more synchronically.

Various unpublished manuscripts of conference papers exist in circulation within the Siouan linguistics circle. Koontz makes available a great number of papers, including those on historical linguistics (1993a, b), morphology (1989b, 1996), phonology (1988), semantics (1991), and historical Omaha figures (1992). His paper on obviation in Omaha (1989a) was the

first written work to posit a dimension other than agency or case to explain animate Omaha article use. Eschenberg (1999) built upon this paper providing a discourse analysis of a text which supported an obviation reading of the articles and positing rough parameters of this obviation. This dissertation builds on both these, refining the definition of obviation at work in Omaha and detailing the parameters of this obviation.

2.2 Phonemics

2.2.1 Consonantal inventory

The sound system of Omaha includes 27 phonemic consonants, five oral vowels and two nasal vowels. Bilabial, dental and velar stops occur as voiced, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated phonemes. A voiceless glottal stop is also present. Alveopalatal affricates occur as voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated. Voiced fricative phonemes occur at the interdental, dental, alveopalatal and velar places of articulations. Voiceless fricative phonemes occur at the dental, alveopalatal and velar places of articulation. Ejective phonemes of bilabial, dental and velar stops as well as dental and alveopalatal fricatives are present. In Omaha. Table 1 summarizes the consonant inventory of Omaha.

	Bilabial	Interdental	Dental	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	b p p^h		d t t^h			g k k^h	ʔ
Ejective	p’		t’ s’	ʃ’		k’	
Affricate				tʃ $tʃ^h$			
Fricative		ð	z s	ʒ ʃ		x ɤ	
Glide	w				(y)[2]		
Nasal	m		n				

Table 1. Consonant inventory of Omaha.

[2] [y] is not truly phonemic. It occurs only as an off-glide from a high vowel. It is included due to the fact that most Omahas use [y] when writing Omaha.

2.2.2 Vowel inventory

The vowels of Omaha included five plain vowels (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/) and two nasal vowels (/ɑ)/, /ɩ)/). Table 2 shows the relative positions of Omaha oral vowels.

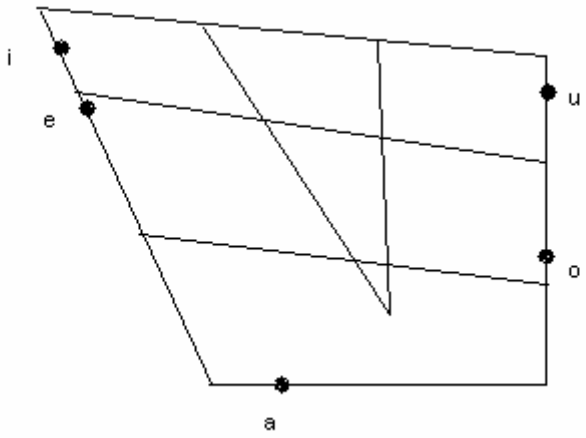


Table 2. Vowel chart of Omaha oral vowels.

The nasal vowel /ĩ/ occurs in a place similar to its non-nasal counterpart /i/. The nasal vowel /ã/ is further back and slightly higher than /a/, but not as high as /o/. It is rounded when stressed.

In addition to nasality and position, Omaha also distinguishes vowels based on length. Not only do morphological processes result in long vowels (1), but vowels can be long lexically as well (2).

1. /xtáðe/ /xtá-a-ðe/
   ‘like’ ‘I like’

2. /nã:de/ /nãde/
   ‘wall’ ‘heart’

Example (1) shows a vowel affix *a* ‘1.sg’ following a vowel of the base form of the verb and creating a morphologically derived long vowel. Example (2) provides a minimal pair which differs only by length. The pair in (2) is not morphologically derived.

The Omaha tribe utilizes a practical orthography which very adequately shows the phonemic contrasts of Omaha. A comparison of this orthography, the Fletcher-LaFleche orthography, to IPA is provided below (Table 3). Note that long vowels are shown by writing the vowel twice, e.g. /a:/ is written as *aa*.

Fletcher-LaFleche	IPA	Fletcher-LaFleche	IPA	Fletcher-LaFleche	IPA
a	/a/	e	/e/	i	/i/
o	/o/	u	/u/	o^n	/ã/
i^n	/ĩ/	b	/b/	d	/d/
g	/g/	p	/p/	t	/t/
k	/k/	’	/ʔ/	p^h	/p^h/
t^h	/t^h/	k^h	/k^h/	p'	/p'/
t'	/t'/	k'	/k'/	ch	/tʃ/
ch^h	/$tʃ^h$/	sh	/ʃ/	sh’	/ʃ’/
th	/ð/	zh	/ʒ/	x	/x/
gh	/ɤ/	s	/s/	s'	/s'/
z	/z/	y	/y/	w	/w/

Table 3. Comparison of Omaha orthography to IPA equivalents

Due to the fact that this practical orthography proves adequate and in order to make the material presented here more accessible to tribal members, the remaining portions of this dissertation utilize the practical orthography.

2.3 Phonological processes

2.3.1 Stress

In Omaha, stress, which correlates with a phonetic increase in intensity or loudness and, to a lesser extent, length is lexically determined. Various minimal pairs exist which differ only by stress (3, 4).

3. /nískithe/	/niskíthe/
‘juice, pop’	‘salt (also used for the city of Lincoln)’
4. /wáthat^{h}e /	/wathát^{h}e/
‘table’	‘food, eat’

In example (3), the words for ‘juice’ and ‘salt’ differ only by stress placement. Similarly, ‘table’ and ‘food’ differ only by stress as well (4). Thus, stress is assigned lexically.

As seen in (3, 4), primary stress occurs on the first or second syllable. Every other syllable after the primary syllable receive a secondary stress, which is reduced in quality (5).

5. /tibáxiàtha/
‘elephant’

In (5), the second syllable receives primary stress and the fourth syllable receives a weaker stress.

Long vowels are often but not always stressed (6).

6.a. /ápaaze/	b. /basnída-a/
1sg.drive	shuffle-F.IMP
‘I drive’	‘Shuffle (cards)!’

In example (6a), the second vowel is long, but the first vowel receives stress. The stressed vowel is shorter but more prominent than the first. In example (6b), the verb ‘shuffle’ ends in the vowel [a] and is followed by the female command ending [a]. This creates a morphologically lengthened vowel. However, the second syllable of ‘shuffle’ remains the only stressed syllable.

2.3.2 Canonical wordshape

Syllables in Omaha tend to be comprised of a consonant followed by a vowel (7). The following section will provide the IPA characters in the first line, the standard orthography in the second, and the gloss in the third line.

7. /wa.ðí.ba.ba/
   wa.thi.ba.ba
   'cards'

Here, the word 'cards' has a CV.CV.CV.CV shape.

Consonant clusters of two consonants (CC) do occur (8).

8. /bðo^{n}/
   btho^{n}
   'smell'

Vowels can occur together as diphthongs (9).

9. /pa^{j}/ /waã/
   pai wao^{n}
   'sharp' 'sing'

A diphthong can contain a non-nasal off-glide, as in 'sharp,' or a nasal off-glide as in 'sing.'

2.3.3 Devoicing

Devoicing in Omaha is evidenced phrase finally. All phrase final post-clitics are devoiced, but devoicing does not occur word-finally when within a phrase (10).

10. /webaxu wiwita- k^{h}e̥ xta:the/
    webaxu wiwita- k^{h}e xtaathe
    pencil my - the.H 1sg.like
    'I like my pencil.'

Here, the post-clitic / k^{h}e̥/ 'the' is devoiced but neither the noun 'pencil' or verb 'I like' is devoiced finally.

Like the article post-clitic above, phrase final verbal post-clitics are also usually devoiced (11).

11. /walthɪll ta bðe-tamĩk^{h}e$_{̥}$/
Walthill-ta bth-e-tami^{n}k^{h}e.
Walthill to 1sg-go I.will
'I am going to go to Walthill.'

Here, the last vowel of the post-clitic aspectual auxiliary *tami^{n}k^{h}e* 'I will' is devoiced.

Phrase final nouns and verbs can be devoiced, as can the final vowel of the first noun in a compound (12).

12a. /waxta ðiguʒe$_{̥}$/
waxta thiguzhe
vegetable crooked
'banana'

12.b. /nĩde$_{̥}$uthishi$_{̥}$ðiza/
ni^{n}deuthishi thiza-a.
pants get-F.IMP
'Get pants.'

In (12a), the last vowel of a citation form noun was devoiced. (This was an answer to 'how do you say banana?') In (12b), the noun but not the verb is devoiced. Both the final vowel of the compound noun, /i/, and the final vowel of the first noun in the compound, /e/, are devoiced. Example (12b) was said rapidly.

However, phrase final devoicing of nouns and verbs does not always occur, especially in slower speech (10, 13)

13. /webaxu o^{n}ʔiga$_{̥}$/
Webaxu o^{n}'i-ga.
Pencil 1sg.OBJ-give-M.IMP
'Give me a pencil.'

In example (13), the noun *webaxu* does not exhibit phrase final devoicing. Similarly, the verb in (10) did not have to be devoiced. Thus, phrase final elements tend to be devoiced in Omaha, especially in rapid speech, but content words are not necessarily devoiced.

2.4 Morphology

Omaha is neither highly poly-synthetic nor highly isolating. It is agglutinative (scale of technique), most components of meaning are expressed by their own morphemes, and mildly polysynthetic (scale of synthesis) (Sapir 1921). Prefixation frequently occurs in Omaha (13).

13.a. baso^{n}tha ‘turn over’ b. webaso^{n}tha ‘turner, spatula’

In (13a), the verb ‘turn over’ is given. Through the addition of the prefix *we*, the noun for turning utensil or ‘spatula’ is created (13b).

Reduplication is evident in Omaha, often implying repetitive motion (14).

14.a. Gachak^{h}i-a
clap-F.IMP
‘Clap!’

b. Gachachak^{h}i-a/ga
clap-F.IMP
‘Clap!’

In (14a), the command is to clap one time. Example (14b) contains the reduplicated syllable *cha* which indicates repetition. It is a command to clap more than once.

This reduplication also occurs in nouns (15).

15.a. ugaxe-shko^{n}shko^{n}
picture-moving
‘television’

b. nu basnusnu
potato mash
‘mashed potatoes’

The examples in (15) show two objects which are produced through repetitive movement; reduplication is evident.

Verbs in Omaha are marked for both subject and object (16).

16. o^{n}-tha-’i
1sg.OBJ-2sg.SUB-give
‘you gave me (it)’

In example (16), both the subject ‘you’ and the object ‘me’ are marked on the verb. Dative objects can also be marked, showing the beneficiary role (17).

17. i^{n}-gaxa
    1sg.DAT-do
    'he did it for me'

Example (17) shows the dative first person singular form marked on the verb. No example exists in which a subject, object, and dative object are all marked concurrently on the verb. Example (18) shows an attempt to elicit a verb with three person markers.

18. Shinudo^{n}-ama i^{n}-theshpaha-a?
    dog –the.P.pl 1sg.DAT-2sg.SUB.show-Q
    'Did you show me the dogs?'

The English translation of (18) contains a subject, direct object and dative object, which all potentially could be marked on the verb 'show.' The first singular dative object marker is *i*^{n}, and the third plural direct object marker is *wa* in Omaha. Neither of these need be zero-marked. However, the translation does not include the *wa* direct object marker. No attempts to elicit such a triple-marked verb have been successful.

Examples (16) and (18) show that the non-subject argument chosen to be marked on the verb in Omaha is not actually based on the distinction between direct and indirect object. In (16), the recipient is marked with a direct object marker on the verb and the theme/patient is not marked. In (18), the recipient is marked with an indirect object marker on the verb and the theme/patient is not marked. Omaha marks the more topical object on the verb; that is, it marks recipients which are more likely than the patient/themes to be animate and human. People tend to be given or shown things. Things don't tend to be given/shown people. Languages exhibiting this type of topic-sensitive marking have been termed 'secondary object languages' by Guerrero & Van Valin (2004), whose analysis builds on that of Dryer (1986).

Omaha, like other Siouan languages shows active/stative verbal morphology. That is, predicates expressing states mark their subjects with the same morphemes used to mark objects of actions (19).

19.a. o^{n}-wazhetho^{n} b. o^{n}-do^{n}ba
1sgSUB-tired 1sgOBJ-3sg.see
'I'm tired.' 'He sees me.'

In (19a), the first singular subject is marked by *o*^{n}. Similarly, (19b) marks the first singular object with *o*^{n}. The former is a stative verb; the latter is an active verb.

Not all states in Omaha are marked with stative morphology due to the existence of the copula *thi*^{n} 'be.' For example, the following states are not marked by stative (object) morphology on the predicate but rather by a (subject) person marked form of the copula (20, 21).

20. Nushiaha bth-i^{n}.
short 1sg-be
'I am short.'

21. Tha'ega bth-i^{n}.
ugly 1sg-be
'I am ugly.'

Both the states of being short (20) and being ugly (21) are not marked with the stative subject/active object marker *o*^{n}, but rather are juxtaposed with the copula verb which is marked for first singular subject in an active verbal paradigm.

The copula very rarely occurs in the third person form *thi*^{n}. Only non-third person forms tend to use the copula in Omaha. Third persons generally use the non-inflected predicate without the copula (22).

22. (Nu-ak^{h}a) nushiaha.
Man-the.P.sg short
'The man is short.'

Third singular subjects are zero-marked on the verb for both stative and active verbs. Here, the predicate which requires a copula in (20) occurs without the copula in (22).

Omaha verbs exhibit a number of conjugational patterns. The two most prevalent patterns for active verbs are the 'a pattern' and the 'bth pattern.' (Names of conjugational classes are those used by organizations the author has taught at in Macy. These include NICC,

UNPS, and The Umo^{n}ho^{n} Alcohol Program.) These patterns are given in Table 4, which also provides sample verbs.

Person	A Pattern verb Morpheme: sample verb	Bth Pattern Verb Morpheme: sample verb
1sg	*a:* ***a****shkade* 'I play'	*bth:* ***bth****at^{h}e* 'I eat'
2sg	*tha:* ***tha****shkade* 'You play'	*n:* ***n****at^{h}e* 'you eat'
3	*:* ***_****shkada* 'S/he plays'	*th:* ***th****at^{h}a* 's/he eats'
1pl	*o^{n}:* ***o^{n}****shkada* 'We play'	*o^{n}th :* ***o^{n}th****at^{h}a* 'we eat'
2pl	*tha…i:* ***tha****shkada****i*** 'You all play'	*n…i:* ***n****at^{h}a****i*** 'you all eat'
3pl	*:* ***_****shkada* 'They play'	*th:* ***th****at^{h}a* 'they eat'

Table 4. Two active verb subject conjugation patterns.

Table 5 gives the patient (stative subject/active object) pattern and the dative object pattern, along with sample verbs.

Person	Patient Pattern Morpheme: sample verb	Dative Pattern Morpheme: sample verb
1sg	*o^{n}:* ***o^{n}****'i* 'He gave me'	*i^{n}:* ***i^{n}****gaxa* 'He did it for me'
2sg	*thi:* ***tha****'i* 'He gave you'	*thi:* ***thi****gaxa* 'He did it for you'
3	*:* ***_****'i* 'He gave her'	*e:* ***e****gaxa* 'He did it for her'
1pl	*a:* ***a****'i* 'He gave us'	*we:* ***we****gaxa* 'He did it for us'
2pl	*Thi:* ***thi****'i* 'He gave you all'	*thi:* ***thi****gaxa* 'He did it for you all'
3pl	*wa :* ***wa****'i* 'He gave them'	*we:* ***we****gaxa* 'He did it for them'

Table 5. Patient and dative object conjugation patterns.

An additional person marker that occurs in Omaha is *wi* '1sg.SUBJECT.2sg.OBJECT.' This marker occurs regardless of what subject conjugation pattern a given verb follows and means that the first person is acting on the second person as in *wito^{n}be* 'I see you.'

As subject and object are marked on a given verb, independent pronouns are not mandatory markers of arguments in a given Omaha sentence (23).

23. o^{n}-thash-to^{n}ba-i-a?
1sgOBJ-2sgSUB-see-pl-Q
'Did you (all) see me?'

However, these do exist and are often used for emphasis (24).

24. Wi é bth-i^{n}.
1sg 3sg 1sg-be
'I am her.'

Example (24) contains both the first person singular pronoun *wi* and the third person singular pronoun *e*.

Adverbs also exist in Omaha, showing the concepts of manner, e.g. *o^{n}the* 'slowly,' and time, e.g. *sidadi* 'yesterday.' Example (25) shows the use of one such adverb.

25. Sidadi no^{n}t^{h}a.
Yesterday 3.kick
'He kicked it yesterday.'

Here, the adverb 'yesterday' indicates the time of the event and occurs sentence initially. Also, note that the verb kick contains the instrumental prefix *no^{n}* 'by foot.' Such instrumental prefixes are also quite common in Omaha. Other instrumental prefixes include *ga* 'by striking', as in *gasa* 'he cut/chopped it,' and *tha* 'by mouth' as in *that^{h}a* 'he ate it.' See Koontz (1984) for further details.

2.5 Syntax

2.5.1 General syntactic properties of Omaha

Omaha sentences typically are verb-final, SOV-ordered (26).

26. Nu-ak^{h}a sezini-t^{h}e th-at^{h}o^{n}.
man-the.P.sg orange juice-the.V 3sg-drink
'The man drank the orange juice.'

In (26), the subject, ‘the man,’ comes first, the object, ‘the orange juice,’ comes next, and the verb comes last. Note that the articles *ak^{h}a* and *t^{h}e* follow their host nouns. In general, modifiers follow what they modify in Omaha. The following provides an example of an expanded noun phrase in Omaha (27).

27. shinudo^{n} to^{n}ga no^{n}ba wiwita-ak^{h}a
dog big two my-the.P.sg
'my two big dogs'

Example (27) shows a noun followed by an adjective, a numeral quantifier, a possessive, and, finally, an article. One nominal modifier which precedes the head noun is that of ethnicity/race/tribe (28).

28. Umo^{n}ho^{n} wa’u-ak^{h}a
Omaha woman-the P.sg
‘The Omaha woman’

The tribal affiliation ‘Omaha’ precedes the noun it modifies, ‘woman’ in (28).

Verb related grammatical categories follow the verb (29).

29. Do^{n}ba-azhi-ga-ho.
See-not-IMP-M.DEC
‘Don’t look.’

In (29), the negative, imperative and declarative male sentence ending follow the verb ‘see/look.’ Auxiliaries similarly follow the verb (30).

30. Gaso^{n}thi wi-to^{n}be tami^{n}k^{h}e-ho.
Tomorrow 1sg.SUB.2sgOBJ-see 1sg.IRR-M.DEC
‘I’ll see you tomorrow.’

In (30), the aspect marker *tami^{n}k^{h}e* follows the verb and is followed by the male sentence ending. Thus, Omaha is head-marking, and heads occur phrase initially.

Although generally sentences are SOV-ordered in Omaha, OVS sentences also occur with some frequency in the texts (31).

31. Úh o^{n}-wó^{n}-tha mo^{n}gthí^{n}-ga, á-bi-ama **Mo^{n}chu-ak^{h}á**.
To come for meat 1sg.OBJ-tell go away-M.IMP say-P-EVID bear -the P.sg
'Begone and tell about me, that they may come after the meat, said the Grizzly Bear.'
(JOD 1890: 43.3)

Here, the subject occurs in sentence final position. The object of verb, that which is said, occurs first. While previous studies have not analyzed such non-canonical sentence orders, it seems the Omaha allows for a post-posed topic. This ordering is frequent after the verb *a* 'to say.' Note that another verb of saying *ga* 'to say as follows' occurs before quotations and has the subject in initial position. However, post-posed topics also occur with other verbs as well (32).

32. Gók^{h}i édi hí-amá **núzhi^{n}ga-thi^{n}**.
and there 3.arrive-EVID **boy-the.O.MV**
'And the boy arrived there.' (JOD 1890: 163.3)

Here, the post-posed subject occurs with the verb *hi* 'arrive.'[1] Such (O)VS ordered sentences only occur with subjects that have been previously introduced and might be expected to be the actors of a given verb. That is, they are highly topical or thematic.

Like many other OV languages (Greenberg 1963), Omaha contains post-positions. These post-positions are used to describe spatial and temporal concepts. Examples are given in (33), (34), and (35).

33. Uxpe to^{n}ga-tho^{n}-**di** uzhi-a.
dish big-the.R-in put-F.IMP
'Put it in the big bowl.'

34. Shao^{n} to^{n}wo^{n}gtho^{n}-**ta** bth-e-tami^{n}k^{h}e.
Sioux City -to 1sg-go 1sg.will
'I'm going to go to Sioux City.'

35. Ho^{n}-**di** i^{n}dado^{n} shk-axe?
Night-in what 2sg-do
'What did you do last night?'

In example (33), the post-position *–di* follows the NP consisting of a noun, adjective and article. It marks a spatial relationship 'in.' The post-position *–ta* in (34) similarly shows a spatial

relationship, the goal of the motion of going. It also follows a NP. In (35), *-di* marks a temporal relationship. Generally, *-di* is only used with events in the past.

These post-positions can also be used to modify clauses (36).

36. N-i^{n}shto^{n} t^{h}e-di, uha-gi-tha-a.
2sg-finish the.H-when give-RFL-give-F.IMP
'When you finish, give it to me!'

Here, the post-position *–di* follows a conjugated verb followed by an article. As in (35), it shows a temporal relationship. However, rather that following a NP, it follows the subordinate clause.

Not all clausal linkage markers are also post-positions (37).

37. O^{n}kazhi, ego^{n} tho^{n}zho^{n} e di.
No such but 3sg there
'No, because I knew where she was.' (A.Saunsoci 10-28-03, U.N.P.S.)

Two clauses can be linked with the contrastive marker *tho^{n}zho^{n}*, which is not a post-position. Other clause linkage markers also exist.

2.5.2 Clitics

Elements expressed by clitics in Omaha are generally closed-class. Clitics are bound morphemes which operate on a phrasal or clausal level but which bind phonologically to some other word, the host (Payne 1997: 22). Generally, in Omaha articles, adpositions, and auxiliaries all form a phonological unit with the preceding word. One exception to this is the adposition *ta* 'to' which tends to cliticize to the following word, although it is not part of the adpositional phrase (34, repeated below as 38).

38. Shao^{n} to^{n}wo^{n}gtho^{n}-**ta** bthe-tami^{n}k^{h}e.
Sioux City to I.go I will
'I'm going to go to Sioux City.'

The above is pronounced [ʃáõ t̃õwõgðõ tabðé tamı̃k^{h}e̥], where the adposition and the verb form a single phonological unit.

Other clitics include illocutionary force, the plural marker, and evidentials. Examples are provided below (39, 40).

39. Thash-to^{n}ba-i-a?
    2sg-see-pl-Q
    'Did you all see?'

40. Mo^{n}shte k^{h}e-ta tado^{n}he to^{n}ga-bi-ama.
    South the.H-at tornado big-pl-EVID
    'I guess there was a big tornado in Oklahoma.' O. Cayou, 10-10-01, ULC, UNPS

In (39), the plural and interrogative post-clitics *–i* and *a* adjoin the verb. In (40), the evidential which is called 'quotative' by Dorsey is placed phrase finally after the verb. It actually denotes that the information was not directly observed by the speaker (hearsay).

This section concludes the overall survey of the Omaha language. Basic concepts of Omaha phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax have been briefly discussed. The following sections will focus upon the main thrust of this dissertation, the articles. These will be introduced, situated within the overall language system of Omaha, and then their morpho-syntactic and pragmatic functions will be explored in detail.

Endnotes to Chapter 2

[1] Note that third person forms in Omaha are often zero-marked. Rather than inserting a phonologically null zero-marker, this paper marks such forms as '3.*verb*' or '3sg.*verb*,' depending on the presence of plural markers.

Chapter 3
Theoretical background

3.0 Introduction

This dissertation makes use of formal morphosyntactic and pragmatic theories in order to account for the article system in Omaha. For morphosyntactic analysis, the theory of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), as posited in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), is employed. Deictic Centering Theory (DCT) (Duchan et al. 1995) provides the tools for pragmatic analysis. The following section provides an overview of each theory.

3.1 Morphosyntactic Theory

The morphosyntactic theory assumed for this dissertation is that of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as posited in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). In RRG, the clause forms a basic syntactic unit, which can be further analyzed into smaller units. Clause structure in RRG is layered. One division is made between core and periphery. The core includes the predicate and its arguments. The periphery contains elements which are not arguments of the predicate, adjuncts. The syntactic unit containing the predicate is the nucleus. A formal representation of this clause structure is given in Figure 1.

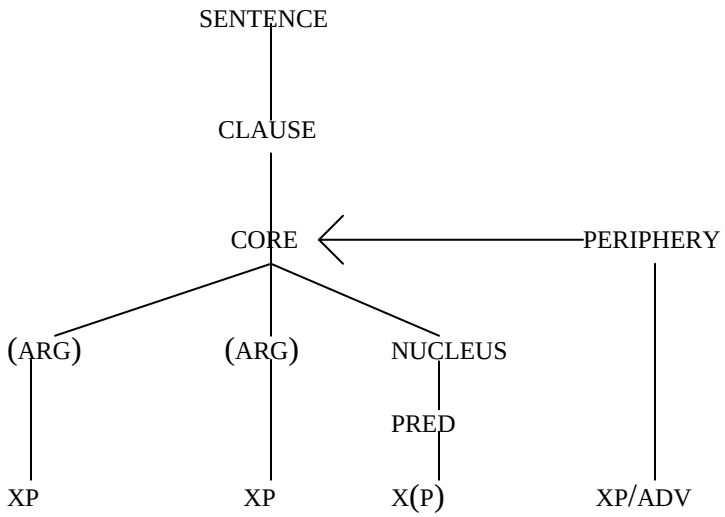


Figure 1. Formal representation of the layered structure of the clause (VV&LP 1997: 31)

As can be seen in Figure 1, the periphery modifies the core, which is composed of a nucleus and its argument(s). This diagram is not depicting a strict linear order. While elements in an actual language may be ordered as seen above, the theory does not entail this ordering.

Many grammatical categories exist which are neither predicate nor argument. For example, tense markers, evidentials, and the focus of this dissertation, definite articles, are neither predicate nor argument. These are operators. Operators are categories which modify the clause and its parts (VV & LP 40). Operators can modify either NP's or the clause and its layers. The operators in the clause are depicted in Figure 2.

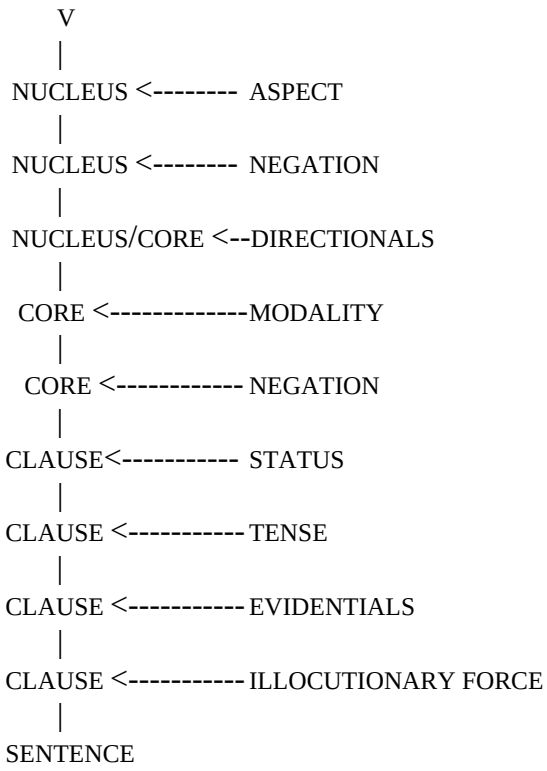


Figure 2. The operator projection for clauses.

Crucially these operators modify at different layers of the clause (nucleus, core, clause). For example, the operator category of directionals indicate direction. Some directionals are nuclear modifiers because 'they indicate the direction of the action without reference to the participants (VV& LP 45).' Other directionals are core modifiers as they indicate direction with reference to the participants, such as away from or toward the speakers (42). Evidentials refer to the source of the information conveyed. As such, they refer to the entire clause and are clausal operators.

The focus of this study, definite articles, similarly are not predicates nor arguments but operators. They are noun phrase operators. For noun phrases, the different operators include quality, number, markers of definiteness, and deictics. Just as

verbal operators modified at different levels of the clause, NP operators modify at different levels of the noun phrase. For example, quality operators, usually realized as adjectives, are nuclear operators, number is a core operator, and deictics are NP-level operators (Figure 3).

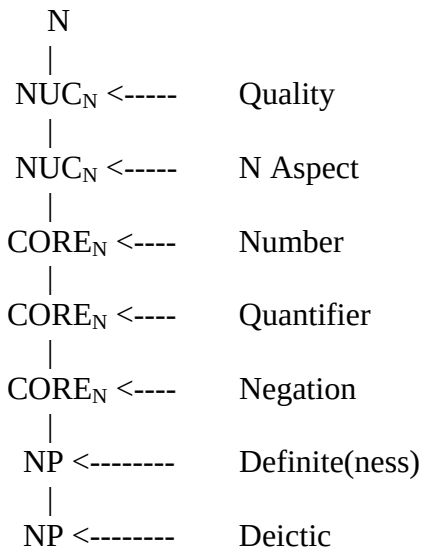


Figure 3. The operator projection for noun phrases.

The operator levels indicate scope relationships. For example, NP-level operators have scope over core operators which have scope over nuclear operators. Within a given layer, scope relations also exist. For example, among clausal operators, illocutionary force operators have scope over evidentials which have scope over tense/status. These scope relations are indicated by order within Figures 2 and 3. In many languages, the scope relationships coincide with ordering restrictions; nuclear operators occur closest to the noun while NP operators occur furthest from it and core operators are midway between the two.

In order to account for complex constructions, RRG provides a theory of juncture which describes the units involved in complex NP's (and complex sentences), and a theory of nexus which describes the relations between the units.

The units involved in sentential juncture are the same as the units of a basic clause: nucleus, clause and core. Nuclear junctures involve a singular core with multiple nuclei, such as the construction 'force open,' in which the single complex predicate is composed of two distinct simple predicates (VV & LP 442). A single clause containing multiple cores is a core juncture. Each core may have its own core argument(s) not shared with the other cores (448). For example, the sentence 'I ordered Maurice to eat his food,' contains the two cores 'I ordered Maurice' and 'Maurice to eat his food.' The predicate 'order' takes 'I' and 'Maurice' as arguments. The predicate 'eat' takes 'Maurice' and 'his food' as arguments. Each core contains an argument which is shared and an argument which is not shared with the other core. A single sentence made of multiple clauses contains one or more clausal junctures. For example, the clauses 'I like to talk' and 'he likes to listen' can be conjoined to form 'I like to talk, and he likes to listen,' which is an example of clausal juncture.

The units may combine in three ways. When the units are independent and equivalent, coordination is involved. This can be seen in the clausal conjunction 'I like to talk, and he likes to listen.' When the units are structurally dependent and cannot occur independently, subordination is involved. The sentence 'It's amazing that you can still eat' provides an example of subordination. 'That you can still eat' cannot occur independently. The third nexus type is cosubordination which involves operator dependence (for example, shared illocutionary force between clauses) between elements

which are not structurally dependent. For example, in the sentence 'Bill must try to wash the car,' the deontic operator 'must' has scope over both the core involving 'try' and the core containing 'wash' (example from VVLP 1997: 460). While the two cores are not structurally dependent, they do share operators. Thus, this is an example of core cosubordination. When analyzing a complex construction, the units involved as well as how they are combined must be specified.

Complex NP's involve somewhat different units than other complex constructions. Whereas the sentence has four layers – sentence, clause, core, and nucleus, the NP contains only three – NP, core and nucleus. Also, each level does not display all three nexus types. The NP level allows for coordination, subordination and cosubordination (492). Conjoined NP's are examples of NP coordination, and NP's which are linked but share a determiner exemplify NP level cosubordination. Restrictive relative clauses are subordinate modifiers at the NP level. Similar to an adverbial subordinate clause, a restrictive relative clause functions to help the interlocutor locate the referent in a temporal, spatial or other domain (493). Thus, like an adverbial subordinate clause, it is located in the periphery. The core level exhibits only subordination (e.g. *that* clause serving as $core_N$ arguments of nouns such as rumor, story, belief, opinion etc.) and cosubordination (e.g. infinitival complements to nouns such as attempt, order, request and promise) (494). The nuclear level shows no contrast between the various nexus types (497). Compound nouns are nuclear junctures between two nouns.

Obviation has been posited as a factor in the Omaha article system and is also discussed by RRG theory. The role of obviation in RRG is that of a reference tracking

device. In such a system, multiple distinctions are made among third person referring expressions, whereby "one referent is assigned more topical status than the others" and "marked as proximate."(288) Generally, "only one participant can be marked as proximate, all other participants will be marked as obviative."(288)

The layered structure of the clause and noun phrase, nexus, juncture, and the understanding of obviation as a reference tracking device form the core of the morpho-syntactic analysis of the Omaha article system to be presented in this dissertation.

3.2 Pragmatic Theory

While the syntactic theory discussed above does make reference to pragmatic concepts, such as evidentials in the operator projection, a more substantial theory of pragmatics and in particular text analysis is needed in order to elucidate the pragmatic phenomena occurring in Omaha. This dissertation uses Deictic Centering Theory (DCT) (Duchan et al. 1995) for this purpose.

Deictic Centering Theory follows the basic dynamics of deixis outlined by Bühler (1934), developed in narrative context by Fillmore (1974), and further developed as a theory of psychological perspective by Banfield (1982) and her antecedents. DCT posits deixis as a central property of language. Deixis, "a psycholinguistic term for those aspects of meaning associated with a self-world orientation (21)," …"governs such grammatical and epistemological categories such as topicalization," …and "narrativity." "The deictic field is constituted on a different basis in fictional narrative than it is in conversation and other language situations" (32).

In DCT, narrative is viewed as storyworld creation. The storyworld is a knowledge representation of a possible world which is distinct from knowledge representation of the real world. However, knowledge representation of the real world may inform understanding of the storyworld. The story world has its own "spacetime coordinates within which the story unfolds" (130). It is a mental construct of the reader/listener (130) and is viewed from a deictic center (131). In keeping with recent theory in discourse psychology (e.g. Zwaan & Madden 2004), the reader/listener engages in a mental simulation of narrated events in what they call a “situation model.” Thus, an origin of perspective for the reader/listener is a crucial component. The deictic center of the storyworld is viewed through a window with a focalizing perspective or origin and a focalized perspective or content. The origin establishes the point of view of the events in the story and is a "shifting localization in time, space, and person from which the story world is exposed to the reader/listener" (132). The content is the objective of this perspective and moves through the space/time/person coordinates of the story world as viewed by the reader/listener (132). The deictic origin of the perspectival frame/window thus represents the spatial/temporal/psychological point of view from which the audience/listeners experience the unfolding narrative, and may or may not coincide with the represented perspective of a storyworld character.

The content of the deictic window includes participants, objects, time and location. These components are tracked throughout the story. They "are subject to various operations, by which values can be introduced, maintained, shifted, or suspended…"(134). For participants, the deictic window contains the current

participant(s), but the listener also builds a global representation of all the participants introduced thus far (134).

Figure 4 provides a generalized schema of the story world and its deictic window. Note that the origin, as symbolized by the eye, can be located within the story world (a character's point of view) or from outside the story world (a narrator's point of view).

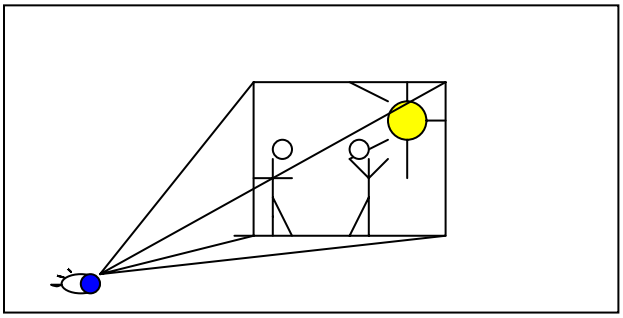


Figure 4. Deictic window on storyworld

In Figure 4, the “narrator,” as symbolized by the eye, is looking in a deictic window into the storyworld, relating events from this perspective. This “narrator” need not be particular character or person. Rather, it is a convenient term used to denote the origin of perspective when it is not occupied by a particular character. Whether the “voice” of the narrator manifests itself, or whether this is just a conceptual viewing point for the listener, is a theoretical issue not to be addressed in this dissertation. The contents being related by the narrator include the participants and their actions in their setting. These properties of deixis within the story world will be used to analyze the semantico-pragmatic underpinnings of the Omaha article system.

Chapter 4
The articles of Umo^{n}ho^{n}

4.1 Previous analyses of the article system

Omaha's system of articles was first discussed by Dorsey in his Omaha grammar (ms. 20-22, 148-52). He notes that the articles mark gender, number, and case (21) and that they follow the qualified noun (148). He claims that these articles show singular, dual and plural number, as well as that they 'aid in forming six cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental or ablative, and locative (21).' He also comments on their ability to follow possessives (149, 151) and to modify abstract nouns (151). While Dorsey does not specifically label these as 'definite articles,' he glosses them as 'the.' Dorsey discusses various indefinite pronouns but does not posit an indefinite article per se (39).

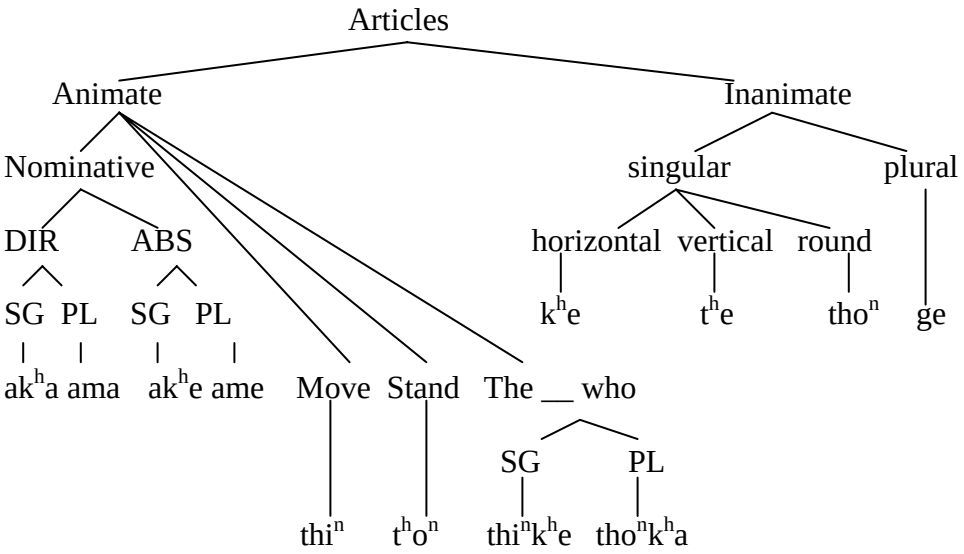


Figure 5. Dorsey's analysis of Omaha definite articles

Figure 5 provides a chart of Dorsey's analysis, which provides at least partial semantic distinctions among the articles (21-22). *T^{h}e* modifies inanimate, perpendicular objects as well as actions or an 'archilinear collection of horizontal objects (21).' *K^{h}e* modifies singular horizontal objects or archilinear collections of perpendicular objects. *Tho^{n}* modifies round or elliptical objects and curvilinear collections of perpendicular inanimate objects. *Ge* is the plural form of *t^{h}e, k^{h}e,* and *tho^{n}*. *Thi^{n}* modifies animate moving objects. *Thi^{n}k^{h}e* is glossed as 'the one (living) who (21).' This gloss is based on the frequent use of this definite article not only in simples NPs but also in relatives and for emphasis (*Wi mi^{n}k^{h}e* 'I myself,' 'As for me, I…'). *Tho^{n}k^{h}a* means 'they who (21).' *Ak^{h}a* signifies nominative direct singular. *Ama* is nominative direct plural. *Ak^{h}e* and *ame* are the nominative absolute singular and plural respectively. The contrast between direct and absolutive likely implies a contrast between primary argument of active versus stative verbs. The other cases they 'aid' in forming are not directly connected to the articles but rather roles of NP's in sentences. Dorsey gives dual forms of *t^{h}e, k^{h}e, tho^{n}, to^{n},* and *thi^{n}*.

Figure 6 delineates the distinctions of the articles as put forth in the Ponca grammar purported to be written by Frieda Hahn (anonymous n.d.: 38-46). Here, the articles are also divided between those which modify animates and those which modify inanimates. The inanimate articles further denote horizontal position, *k^{h}e,* vertical position, *t^{h}e,* round shape, *tho^{n}*, and plural scattered (distributive), *ge* (38). The animate articles are posited to be divided between those which modify subjects and those which modify objects. Among the animate subject articles, *ak^{h}a* denotes animate singular subjects which are at rest and also inanimate objects possessing supernatural powers. It is further noted to often 'underline a particular person out of many (41).' The other animate subject article, *ama,* serves two functions, denoting 'the animate singular subject in motion' and 'the plural subject in motion and at rest (42).' *Ak^{h}e* and

ame are not discussed in this Ponca grammar, nor are any of the dual forms given by Dorsey (ms.: 21). For the animate object articles, *ma* is noted to modify animate plural objects and subjects and possibly be a contraction of *ama* (43). In the table, this is denoted with a question mark to note that it is not necessarily verified. *T^{h}o^{n}* indicates a standing singular object, *thi^{n}* a moving singular object, *thi^{n}k^{h}e* a singular animate object sitting at rest or at home in the place where it 'habitually is used to stay (44),' and *tho^{n}k^{h}a* indicates a plural animate object at rest or at home or the place it 'habitually stays' (46). While these articles are never specifically called 'definite,' they are contrasted to the 'indefinite article' *wi^{n}* 'a' (46).

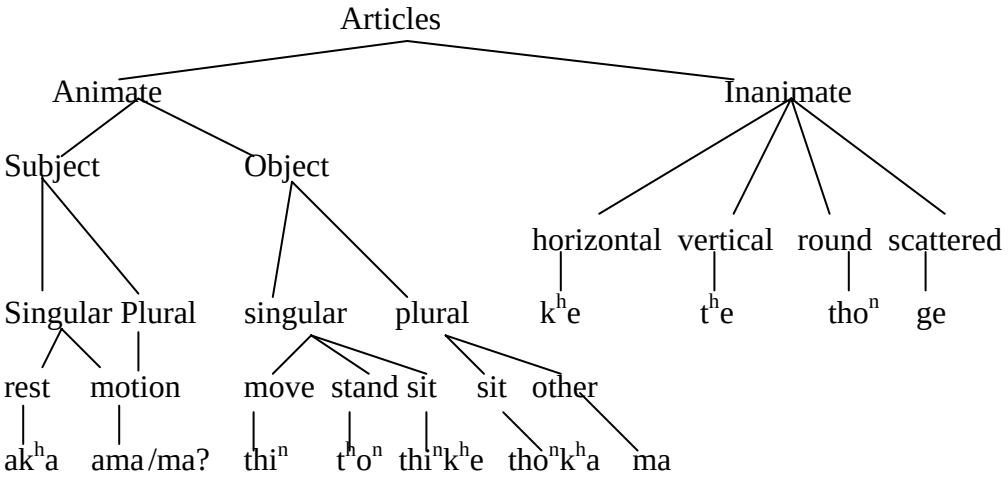


Figure 6. A later analysis of Omaha articles

Koontz (1984) provides an account of the articles which is close to that in Figure 6, with some modifications. He specifically considers these articles to be definite. They are treated separately from the indefinite articles *wi^{n}* 'a' and *duba* 'some' (163). Figure 7 provides Koontz's diagram of the definite articles (144). As in previous accounts, articles are divided between animates and inanimates. The inanimate articles are divided as in the above.

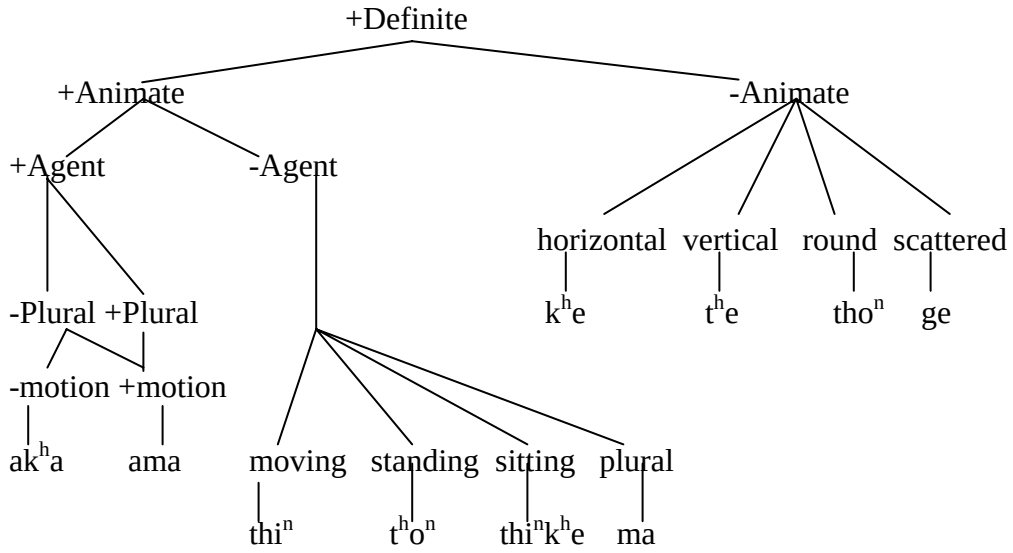


Figure 7. Koontz's (1984: 144) analysis of Omaha articles

However, the animate articles divide not between subject and object but rather between agent and non-agents. Thus, rather than the grammatical categories of subject and object, the semantic notion of agentivity is applied. This coincides with the fact that Omaha, like other Siouan languages, is considered to be an active-stative language which divides arguments between actors and undergoers, and it corrects an earlier euro-centric bias toward case descriptions of argument types. In this revised system, *ma* is not posited to be an alternate form of *ama* 'the animate agentive in motion or plural.' Animate non-agentive articles in this analysis also distinguish moving, standing and sitting positions, but only *ma* is analyzed as an independent plural form.

Unlike Figure 6, *thonkha* is not shown in Figure 7. This is not because it is not treated in Koontz's analysis. Rather, Koontz notes that the articles *thinkhe* and *thin* conjugate as active verbs for non-third persons. He suggests that 'the animate non-agentive and inanimate articles

may all be conjugated as active verbs (151).' Thus, although *tho$^{n}k^{h}a$* is an article, it is the third person plural form of *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$,* and as such is not given a separate entry. Similarly, all the forms of *thi^{n}* are not listed in the table.

Detailing the actual use of these articles, Koontz (155) notes that the [+/-agent] distinction is not as clear-cut as it appears. Summarizing notes on article use by Dorsey (1891: 29n26.9), Koontz characterizes seemingly anomalous uses of non-agentive forms with agents as showing a lack of volition by the agent or a lack of witnessing of the agent's act by the speaker. He also posits that the articles may reflect 'speaker's evaluation of the agent's effectiveness.' (155)

In a later presentation, Koontz (1989) explored the possibility that the agent/non-agent contrast was actually an obviation contrast. However, this is not the prototypical case of obviation. He notes that though "the terms proximate and obviative have been borrowed from Algonquian grammar,… their application within Omaha-Ponca (OP) is novel (6)." Koontz notes that OP does not mark objects for obviation status and has semantics of obviation unlike Algonquian (7). He posits that the actual interpretation and use of the OP obviation system are based on "centrality and point of view," and gives an example which illustrates how such an analysis may account for the phenomena.

Thus, understanding of the Omaha article system has progressed over the past century. The euro-centric notion of case is no longer posited to be a feature of this system. Also, articles which conjugate based on number (notably, *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$-tho$^{n}k^{h}a$*) are now grouped as one basic article with various forms, rather than contrastive articles. Obviation is now posited to affect article choice, but the parameters of such obviation are not defined. Rather, a suggestion has been

offered with one example consisting of seven sentences. Thus, the semantics and pragmatics of the article system are not fully described in any existing analysis.

Obviation-like factors have also been posited as a possible factor in the article system of the closely related language Osage (Quintero 2004: 349-356). Quintero does not call these articles but rather divides the system into subject markers (corresponding to *ama* and *ak^{h}a*) and positional articles (corresponding to Figure 3's non-agentive and inanimate articles, with the exception of *tho^n*, which is labeled a demonstrative in Osage). Crucially, Quintero posits that *ama* is used with subjects that are moving, out of sight, or, to a lesser extent, plural, and *ak^{h}a* is used for subjects in sight, non-moving, and singular. Quintero opts for an analysis where the markers are divided between 'subject' and 'object' markers, rather than proximate and obviative. However, it is of note that subjects of stative verbs can take either set of markers (369), and some (rare) examples can be found of the object markers, or 'positional articles,' occurring with the subjects of active verbs. She notes that this use of positional article with subjects of active verbs demotes the 'subject to a secondary status' (370). This functions to 'background' the subject or give them an 'out-of-focus status' (370). While Quintero ultimately analyzed these markers using subject and object, this phenomenon might also be considered a form of obviation.

While this Osage system of subject/object markers seems to possess many similar characteristics to the Omaha article system, it should be noted that systems are not identical. As mentioned above, Osage has one fewer article. Also, the 'positional' articles occur frequently with subject NP's in Omaha, especially as subjects of stative verbs, but also of active verbs as well. Thus, it is not readily apparent that these systems are completely equivalent.

All the above analyses of Omaha are based on data from Dorsey's fieldwork form the late 1800's, published as a large collection of texts and letters (Dorsey 1890). This fieldwork was

performed without mechanical recording devices, resulting in imprecise knowledge of the phonetics of the articles by current readers. Dorsey used a personalized phonetic alphabet which seems to contain redundancies and has been noted to be inaccurate for certain sounds, such as aspiration. None of the above analyses show how their posited article system works in extended text spans from this data. Nor has this article system been examined in a detailed manner utilizing current syntactic and pragmatic theories and applying the resulting analysis to large spans of text and/or narrative. Quintero's Osage analysis provides interesting connections to the Omaha system. However, it deals with a separate language and was based largely on speaker intuition and sentences elicited in isolation, rather than extended text. The following chapters seek to expand the analysis of the Omaha article system, following Koontz (1984), based on modern data collected by the author.

4.2 A similar article system: Seri

As noted in the introduction, at least one article system exists which seems classify nouns based on similar parameters. The definite articles of Seri (adapted from Moser 1977: 1-2) are listed below (Table 6).

Non-moving		
	Non-specified position:	k? (sg), koi (pl)
	Seated position:	kix (sg), koi (pl)
	Prone position:	kom (sg), koi (pl)
	Erect position:	kop/kap (sg), koi (pl)
Moving		
	Toward, close:	?ipmoka (sg), ?is&mokat (pl)
	Toward, distant:	timoka (sg), tamokat (pl)
	Away, close:	?ipintika (sg), ?is&intikat (pl)
	Away, distant:	?imintika (sg), ?imintikat (pl)
	Away, distant:	tintika (sg), tantikat (pl)
General		
	General:	?ak; ka?

Table 6. Seri definite articles

Similar to the analyses of Omaha given above, this analysis of the Seri article system crucially relies on position, motion, and number. The classification of position includes the notion of shape for inanimates. These articles do not encode agency/obviation but do incorporate motion of object in relation to the speaker for articles expressing movement.

These articles are related to position and motion verbs in Seri. Moser posits that these verbs grammaticized to articles through their use as nominalized verb forms in relative clauses. Though not identical to the Omaha article system, the Seri article system shows interesting semantic parallels.

4.3 Data collection

This dissertation utilizes both historical and modern Omaha data. Dorsey's 1890 collection of narratives and letters provides the historical data. Exploration of these texts was greatly facilitated through a computer-based version of the texts made by J. Koontz for the Native American Archive Project at the University of Colorado at Boulder, as well as through concordances created by M. Dryer based on Koontz's computerized versions of the text.

The modern data consists of the author's current fieldwork. The speakers for this work are all adult tribal members residing in Macy, Nebraska and working for the Omaha Nation Public School and/or Nebraska Indian Community College, where the author serves as linguist. All are bilingual in Omaha and English, and tend to use English more frequently in their daily activities. There are no monolingual Omaha speakers and no fluent Omaha speakers under the age of 50 on the reservation today. Both male and female speakers have been recorded. Six different speakers contributed to this project.

Two main varieties of speech were elicited: phrases in isolation and personal stories. Some dialogue has also been recorded, but this has proven difficult to elicit. Most speakers

currently engage in little dialogue in Omaha; English is the dominant language in all but religious contexts on the reservation today. Traditional stories such as in Dorsey have not been collected because most of the Elders have stated that they are unfamiliar with them, and also because these are considered sacred and not necessarily appropriate materials for scientific analysis.

Data collected between March 2000 and June 2001 was recorded on a professional tape recorder with a handheld stereo microphone onto 60 minute tapes. Data recorded after August 2001 was recorded using a headset microphone and a SONY minidisc digital recording device. Copies of all data were given to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation Public School Umo^{n}ho^{n} Language Center. The data was transcribed into Omaha and English through the collaboration of a native speaker and the author.

This fieldwork was supported by two grants, a Mark Diamond Research Fund Grant and a Jacobs grant, as well as a College of Arts and Sciences Dissertation Fellowship. Through these, speakers were paid $25 per hour of recording and $15 per hour of transcription. The University at Buffalo's Institutional Review Board approved this research.

4.4 Phonetics/phonology

The articles are almost completely devoiced when produced in context. Speakers themselves often seem unaware of producing them and will omit them if asked to repeat an utterance. Dorsey (1890, 1891) did not mark the articles as devoiced. Thus, it is either a modern innovation or an inadequacy of earlier transcription. A close phonetic transcription of the articles is provided below (Table 7).

Article	Phonetic transcription
Ak^{h}a	[ak^{h}ą̊]
Ama	[amą̊]
Thi^{n}k^{h}e	[ðĩk^{h}ę̊]
Tho^{n}k^{h}a	[ðõk^{h}ą̊]
T^{h}o^{n}	[t^{h}õ̥]
Thi^{n}	[ðį̊]
Ma	[mą̊]
T^{h}e	[t^{h}ę̊]
K^{h}e	[k^{h}ę̊]
Tho^{n}	[ðõ̥]
Ge	[gę̊]

Table 7. Phonetics of the Omaha articles

None of the monosyllabic articles receive stress. Those that are bi-syllabic may receive secondary stress on the first syllable when they cliticize to form a long vowel with the final vowel of the preceding word (41).

41. [núzhĩgà:mą̊]
nuzhi^{n}ga-ama
boy-the.P.pl
'the boys'

Here, the secondary stress carries onto the article as the *–a* ending of the noun combines with the first *a* in *–ama* to create a lengthened vowel.

4.5 Lexical status: morpheme vs. word

As mentioned in (4.3), the articles do not receive stress, making them similar to bound morphemes. However, unlike bound morphemes, they can attach to a variety of word types. In example (26), repeated below as (42), the articles both attach to nouns.

42. Nu-ak^{h}a sezini-t^{h}e that^{h}o^{n}.
man the orange juice-the.V 3sg.drink
'The man drank the orange juice.'

The first article *ak^{h}a* modifies 'man,' and the second article *t^{h}e* modifies orange juice.

In example (27), repeated below as (43), the article attaches to a possessor.

43. shinudo^{n} to^{n}ga no^{n}ba wiwita-ak^{h}a
dog big two my -the.P.sg
'my two big dogs'

Here, the article *ak^{h}a* attaches to 'my.' However, it is not modifying just 'my,' but rather the entire NP, 'my two big dogs.'

Thus, unlike bound morphemes, articles do not attach to a specific word type and modify phrases rather than words. Unlike words, the articles do not bear their own stress. They are clitics, bound morphemes which operate on a phrasal or clausal level but which bind phonologically to some other word, the host (Payne 1997: 22).

Zwicky (1977) posits three basic types of clitics, forming classes based on boundness (whether the morpheme ever occurs unbound), accentedness (ability to bear stress/accent), syntactic freedom (whether the morphemes can be associated with words of a number of morphosyntactic categories), and semantic attachment (whether the morpheme modifies a word, phrase or sentence). Simple clitics are unaccented and, possibly, phonologically reduced forms of a free morpheme. They are phonologically subordinated to a neighboring word (5). Special clitics are unaccented bound forms which act as variants of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning and with similar phonological makeup (3). However, these forms are not phonologically related by straightforward rules and often show special syntax (4). For example, although French is an SVO language, French clitic object pronouns occur pre-verbally. The final class of clitics proposed by Zwicky is that of bound words, which are morphemes that are always

bound and unaccented and show considerable syntactic freedom. Omaha articles fall into the last class, bound words.

4.6 Definiteness

A contrast has been posited in earlier literature between an indefinite article or set of articles (anonymous n.d.: 46, Koontz 1984: 163) and the focus of this dissertation, the definite articles. However, in the author's fieldwork, this contrast has not proven so straightforward. Most contexts which call for an indefinite article in English do not receive any article in Omaha (44).

44. Shinudo^{n} a-to^{n}be.
    Dog 1sg-see
    'I see a dog.'

In (44), the NP for 'a dog' in Omaha consists only of the noun and has no modifier or word for an indefinite article. This is the norm for modern Omaha in the author's five years of fieldwork.

Koontz's indefinite articles *duba* 'some' and *wi^{n}* 'a' function as quantifiers in Omaha (45).

45. I^{n}gtho^{n}ga duba, shinudo^{n} wi^{n} wa-abth-i^{n}.
    Cat some dog one 3pl.OBJ-1sg.SUB-have
    'I have some cats and a dog.'

In the above example, *duba* and *wi^{n}* are quantifying the nouns 'cat' and 'dog.'

Wi^{n} 'a' can be used as a type of an indefinite article in contexts where the NP is known to be a specific entity (46).

46. Nuzhi^{n}ga ithapaho^{n} wi^{n} xtathithe.
    Boy I know one like-2sg.OBJ-like
    'A certain boy I know likes you.' (A. Saunsoci 2-4-2005)

The above Omaha phrase was elicited by asking for a translation of the English sentence given as the gloss. In this situation, the 'boy' is specific; he is a 'certain' boy. However, he is not definite; the speaker is not positing that the hearer knows his identity. Thus, the indefinite

article *wi*^{n} is only used in [-definite, +specific] contexts. In [-definite, -specific] contexts, no article is used.

The definite articles are also used in contexts where a specific entity is being denoted (47).

47. Egíthe mo^{n}chú-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** mí^{n}zhi^{n}ga píthe ak^{h}á-(a)ma.
Behold bear –the.O.SI girl 3.love AUX-EVID
'Behold the girl was in love with a grizzly bear.' (JOD 1890: 287.4)

In (47), the girl loves a certain grizzly bear. However, he has not been introduced into the story yet and cannot be taken as definite in the minds of the characters/narrator/audience. This is evident in the English translation which uses 'a' to modify 'grizzly bear.' Thus, the 'definite' article here is being used to introduce a specific but not yet definite entity.

Other such examples can be found (48, 49).

48. Ki thizá-bi ki égithe mí^{n}zhi^{n}ga **k^{h}e**-ama.
And 3.take-P when behold girl the.H-EVID
'And when he got it, behold it was a girl.' (JOD 1890: 219.12)

49. …Kéto^{n}ga-**am(a)**-é-de bákiaho^{n} mo^{n}thí^{n}-ama.
Big Turtle-the.P.MV-3sg-and 3.push,raise 3.walk-EVID
'… the Big Turtle was walking, pushing it up.' (JOD 1890: 282.12)

In (48), the 'girl' cannot be definite as she was not known to be a girl by the brother doing the taking or his brothers who are watching. Her indefiniteness is reflected in the English translation as well. In (49), the Big Turtle is being introduced into the story for the first time, but is marked with 'the' and not 'a.' Potentially, this is due to the fact that Big Turtle is a recurrent Omaha character and, thus, defined to the narrator and audience. However, this cannot be ascertained at this time. It is of note though that prominent Omaha characters such as *Ishtinik^{h}e* 'the Trickster (monkey)' and *Mashti^{n}ge-i^{n1}* 'the Rabbit' are always introduced into stories with a 'definite' and not indefinite article. Similarly, people referred to with kin terms, such as 'the chief's son' are always introduced into the conversation with 'definite' articles. The former are definite due to

their prominence in Omaha oral culture, and the latter are definite due to their grounding by the character referred to by the kin term. Using Prince's (1981) taxonomy of referent types, referents introduced which are grounded by a kin term are 'brand new' referents but they are 'anchored,' linked by another NP, the kin term. Culturally salient Omaha narrative characters are 'new' referents when introduced in the story. However, they are not 'brand new,' but rather 'unused.' That is, the hearer of the utterance can be assumed to have a corresponding entity in his model (mind), but needs to bring it into the discourse model (current discourse understanding). Thus, both these types of referents may be situationally definite even when introduced into a narrative for the first time.

In most instances in the texts, specific but as of yet indefinite characters are introduced with *wi*^{n} 'a certain' (50).

50. Égithe níashi^{n}ga **wí^{n}** wa'ú zhú-gig-the gthí^{n}-bi-ama tígthe.
At length man 1 woman 3.with-RFL-with 3.sit-P-EVID 3.dwell
'Once there was a man who dwelt in a lodge with his woman.' (JOD 1890: 207.1)

Here, the man is being introduced into the story, and, as might be expected, the indefinite specific article *wi*^{n} is used.

In general the 'definite' articles are used with entities which are definite (51, 52).

51. Nu thithita-ak^{h}a u-thi-kiye go^{n}tha.
Man your -the PREFIX-2sg.OBJ-talk 3.want
'Your man wants to talk to you.'

52. Nikagahi-ama úhi.
Chief-the.P.pl 3.win
'The Chiefs won.'

In (51), the 'man' is very definite; he is the addressee's partner. In (52), the Chiefs are the local high school team and are definite to anyone living on the reservation. Thus, generally, the 'definite' articles are used in contexts where the NP is definite. Examples such as (47)-(49) are less common. However, they are not infelicitous. The 'definite' articles can be considered

'definite' not by definition but rather default. That is, they are unmarked for definiteness. This creates a division of article marking where zero marking is [-definite –specific], *wi*^{n} is [-definite +specific], and the other articles are [+/-definite +specific] or unmarked for definiteness and positive for specificity. Generally, because there exists an indefinite, specific article *wi*^{n}, 'definite' articles will be used to modify definite, specific NP's. This subject will be further considered in chapter 6.

4.7 The inanimate articles

4.7.0 Introduction, methods

This basic semantics of the articles, as discussed in section 3.1, were worked out by Dorsey (ms.) and refined by anonymous (n.d.) and Koontz (1984). The following section will consider the semantics of the inanimate articles in Omaha, expanding from Koontz's analysis.

In order to create a corpus for the discussion of each article, the first 25 different, simple NP's in the JOD text containing a given article were collected. Only one occurrence of a given noun with a given article was recorded. That is, if the article occurred with the same noun more than once, it was only recorded the first time. Thus, the set of 25 contains 25 unique noun-article combinations. Compound nouns which shared a component were still treated as separate nouns. That is, *zho*^{n} 'wood' and *zho*^{n}*ha* 'bark' both contain the noun *zho*^{n} 'wood' but are counted as two separate nouns. In order for an NP to be considered simple, it consisted of (N + Art) or (N + Stative + Art). (N + Active V + Art) combinations were not recorded for the set of 25 exemplars as the possibility of the article being an auxiliary could be considered a confounding factor in such cases. The first 50 pages (i.e. p. 9-59) of the text were examined manually by reading. Then, M. Dryer's concordance, based on J. Koontz's electronic version of the text was consulted

to obtain further examples until 25 were found.[2] Supplementing the 25 exemplars of each article from the text, other pertinent examples collected during the author's fieldwork are also discussed in order to best elucidate article usage.

4.7.1 Semantics

Generally, the original semantics proposed by Dorsey (ms.) hold true for the inanimate articles. Table 8 provides an overview of these articles.

Article	Meaning (as per Koontz 1984)
$k^{h}e$	horizontal, inanimate
tho^{n}	round, inanimate
$t^{h}e$	vertical, inanimate
ge	scattered, inanimate

Table 8. The inanimate articles.

The inanimate articles are selected for nouns based on position or shape of the object. An example of each of these articles used as per Table 8 is provided below (53-56).

53. Webaxu-k^{h}e zi.
Pencil-the.H yellow
'The pencil is yellow.'

54. Sezi-tho^{n} skithe.
Orange-the.R sweet
'The orange is sweet.'

55. Tizhebe-t^{h}e thishiba-a.
door -the.V open-F.IMP
'Open the door!'

56. Wathat^{h}e ge thishupa-a.
Table-the.S clean-F.IMP
'Clean the tables (scattered about the room).'

In (53), *k^{h}e* is modifying ‘pencil,’ which is long and inanimate. The ‘door’ in (54) is upright (vertical) and inanimate. Thus, *t^{h}e* modifies it. The round, inanimate ‘orange’ in (55) is modified with *tho^{n}*, as expected. Tables which are placed haphazardly around the room are modified with *ge* (56). Examples which fit the meanings proposed in Table 8 are easily found.

These articles are not overlapping categories but rather are in opposition to each other. The use of features, rather than non-opposing descriptions, to define these noun classifiers can help to make clear the oppositions. Whereas, *t^{h}e* and *k^{h}e* modify objects which extend one- or two-dimensionally along a particular axis, *tho^{n}* modifies objects which are not extended along a particular axis, but rather extend equally in all dimensions. *Ge* modifies objects which are plural and do not extend along any given axis equally or unequally. *Ge* entails non-symmetrical distribution in space. Using a feature type analysis, *k^{h}e* [+extended (1 or 2 dimensional), +horizontal], *t^{h}e* is [+extended (1 or 2 dimensional), -horizontal], *tho^{n}* is [-extended, +symmetrical], and *ge* is [-extended, -symmetrical]. ‘Extended’ here entails a salient dimensionally asymmetric extension. Articles which are asymmetrically extended, [+extended], can be extended either horizontally, [+horizontal], or non-horizontally, [-horizontally] (generally, vertically). Non-asymmetrically extended, [-extended], articles are either distributed symmetrically in all directions, [+symmetrical], or distributed unequally (but with no particular salient extension), [-symmetrical].

The same noun may be modified by a variety of articles, based on the shape/position categorization shown in Table 8 (57-60).

57. **Ni-k^{h}e** eto^{n}thi^{n} a-i no^{n}zhi^{n}-bi-ama.
Water-the.H he first 3.came-pl 3.stood-pl-EVID
‘He went and stood by the water in advance of the soldiers.’ (JOD 1890: 122.3)

58. Go^{n} wa’u-ama edi atha-bi-ama **ni-tho^{n}**-di.
And woman-the.P.MV there went-pl-EVID water-the.R-to
‘And the woman went thither to the water.’ (JOD 1890:122.5-6)

59. **Ni-t^{h}e** udo^{n}.
Water-the.V good
'The water is good.'

60. … ishtabthi e **ni-ge** e ama.
Tears it water-the.S it EVID
'His tears were the rivers.' (JOD 1890:227.13)

In (57-60), the same noun *ni* 'water' is modified by each of the four inanimate articles. In (57), water, which is long or horizontal because it is in the shape of a river, is modified by *k^{h}e*. The 'water' in (58) refers to the same entity as that in (57). The woman of (58) is meeting the boy of (57) where he is. In (58), however, *tho^{n}* is used to modify 'water.' Here, the concept underlying 'water' is a place along the river rather than the river in its entirety. Thus, the spot (which note is also a round concept in English) is modified by *tho^{n}* 'the.round.' The phrase in (59) can refer to a glass of water or the concept of water in general. A glass of water is vertically positioned. Concepts are also often marked by *t^{h}e*, as will be seen below. Finally, in (60), 'the rivers' in Omaha are *ni-ge* 'water-the.scattered.' Thus, one noun, *ni* 'water,' can be marked by a number of articles in Omaha depending on the shape it takes in a given instance. Therefore, this system is not a fixed noun gender/class system, where a given noun always takes one article, but rather allows for flexibility in article choice with a given noun. It is a noun classifier system (Aikhenvald 2000).

In general, the article is chosen which is appropriate to the canonical position of the object, not a novel position that it is taking at a given time. For example, even if one holds the pencil of (53) vertically, *k^{h}e* is still used to modify it. This suggests, in general, that article selection has to a certain extent become conventionalized for certain nouns and, in this specific example, that pencils are thought of as having a canonically horizontal position. This makes sense as pencils will lie vertically if not supported by outside means. The following section

explores each of the inanimate articles with a variety of nouns, focusing on less predictable and more variable usage of these articles.

4.7.1.1 *K^{h}e*

Table 9 provides 25 examples of the usage of *k^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.horizontal,' [+extended, +horizontal] from Dorsey (1890). The majority of these examples are inanimate, horizontal objects.

Omaha NP	English gloss	Pl?	Ref #	Notes
niashi^{n}ga-k^{h}e	**Persons** the	Pl	10.7	dead bodies, carried
te zhega-k^{h}e	**Buffalo thigh** the		20.1-2	
hi-k^{h}e	**Teeth** the	Pl	20.6	
te mo^{n}ge-k^{h}e	**Buffalo breast** the		20.7	
zhe-k^{h}e	**Penis** the		20.8	
to^{n}de-k^{h}e	**Ground** the		24.4	
mo^{n}de-k^{h}e	**Bow** the		24.5	(bow=hunting term)
mo^{n}xe-k^{h}e	**Sky** the		26.4	
wes'a-k^{h}e	**Snake** the		27.1	caught, likely dead
ugahanapaze uho^{n}ge-k^{h}e	**Darkness end** the		27.2	'at the beginning of the darkness (dusk)'
pahe-k^{h}e	**Hill** the		28.12	the hill (that devours) as it splits open of own accord
pahe-wathahuni uhna-k^{h}e-tho^n	**Hill**-devours you.told the-the past		28.17	
wahi-k^{h}e	**Bone** the		33.1	
sigthai-k^{h}e	**Trail** the		35.3	
si-k^{h}e	**Foot** the		35.3	
sigthe-k^{h}e	**Footprints** the	Pl	35.7	
mo^n-k^{h}e	**Arrow** the		36.4	
ma-k^{h}e	**Snow** the		36. 9	
wachishka-k^{h}e	**Creek** the		40.18	
te-k^{h}e	**Buffalo** the		43.5	meat
zho^n-k^{h}e	**Wood** the		51.11	(fallen from 51.7)
maxude ko^{n}ha-k^{h}e	Ash **edge** the		57.4	
uzhiha-k^{h}e	**Bag** the		58. 4	spotted fawn skin bag, c.f. 17.10
no^{n}de-k^{h}e	**Tentside** the		58.6	
zho^{n}zhi^{n}ga-k^{h}e	**Stick** the		62.11	

Table 9. Nouns modified by *k^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.long'

In Table 9, ‘bow,’ ‘(dead) snake,’ ‘bone,’ ‘arrow,’ ‘creek,’ ‘trail,’ ‘wood,’ and ‘stick’ are uncontroversially inanimate objects which generally extend along the horizontal plane. Note that when being used by humans, ‘bows’ tend to be held vertically, but without a human/object holding them upright, they will lie in a horizontal position. This example suggests therefore that it is the position which an object takes when not acted upon by forces other than gravity which governs article selection.

The body parts marked with *k^{h}e* such as ‘buffalo thigh,’ ‘penis,’ and ‘foot’ are generally long objects which will extend horizontally if separated from the body and placed on the ground. ‘Buffalo thighs’ are positioned vertically in living animals when they stand, but here it is referring to a butchered animal. Note, however, that even human thighs referred to when a person is standing still require the article *k^{h}e* (61).

61. Zhibe-k^{h}e abita-a.
Thigh-the.H touch-F.IMP
‘Touch your thigh(s).’ (A. Saunsoci, M. Cayou)

Thighs, such as in (61), lie when a person is at rest. Thus, body parts receive an article based on a resting state, just as inanimate objects like pencils receive an article based on their at-rest state.

The other body parts which receive *k^{h}e* in Table 9 are ‘teeth’ and ‘buffalo breast.’ When butchered, buffalo breasts are long objects. ‘Teeth’ refers to the teeth in a jaw, which extend horizontally. This is opposed to an individual tooth, which would receive the [+extended, -horizontal] classifier *t^{h}e*, i.e. *hi-t^{h}e* ‘the tooth.’ The other plural objects in the table, ‘persons’ and ‘footprints,’ are likely arranged so as to extend horizontally.

Some of the nouns in Table 9 are less obviously horizontal. The ‘ash edge’ or ‘tentside’ could be curved or straight but extend along the horizontal plane in any case. Similarly, ‘snow’ falls and lies on the ground, which could lead it to be considered horizontal. Also, the ‘ground’ follows a horizontal plane. Although ‘person’ and ‘buffalo’ tend to take animate articles, here

they are linked with the inanimate *k^{h}e* due to the fact that they are dead and dead bodies tend to lie horizontally. 'Darkness' does not have a readily identifiable shape and *k^{h}e* has been selected here.

Importantly, these objects are all viewed by scanning horizontally. The 'ground,' 'snow,' dead bodies, 'ash edge,' 'tentside,' and even 'darkness' are generally visually processed by scanning horizontally. Thus, one can see the cognitive basis for such a classifier. Furthermore, it is obvious that it is not an inherent property of the noun but rather a characteristic of how the speaker perceives these objects which controls classifier selection. For example, 'snow' covers a surface which extends in two directions equally. Thus, it could call for the article *tho^{n}* [-extended ,+symmetrical]. However, as it is not perceived by scanning two directions simultaneously, it receives *k^{h}e* instead.

Two nouns in Table 9 which are not obviously horizontal and can vary for article selection are 'hill' and 'bag.' *Pahe* 'hill' can also be marked with *tho^{n}* 'the.round' (e.g. JOD 81.18, 348.13, 464.8), as can *uzhiha* 'bag' (62).

62. Uzhiha-**tho^{n}** o^{n}-'i-a.
Bag-the.R 1OBJ-give-F.IMP
'Give me the bag.'

Objects such as hills and bags (62) can occur in different shapes. Thus, the article selected shows something about the shape. The bag in Table 9 must be longer while the bag in (62) is more round or square; (62) referred to a plastic grocery bag when uttered. Both these bags are empty when they are referred to. Similarly, a hill can be thought of from an aerial perspective as extending equally in all directions or when viewed from the ground as extending along the horizontal plane in front of someone.

Other seemingly anomalous uses of *k^{h}e* were noted during the author's fieldwork. For example, *k^{h}e* is also used for conceptually horizontal or long entities (63, 64).

63. Wako^{n}da izhi^{n}ge waho^{n}i eta-k^{h}e egip^{h}e.
God son prayer his-the.H 1sg.say
'I am praying the Lord's prayer.' (A. Saunsoci 11-2003)

64. Haska wao^{n}-k^{h}e amo^{n}.
flag song -the.H 1sg.use
'I am singing the flag song.'

Example (63) shows that prayers are conceptualized as horizontal, as are songs (64). Prayers could be thought of as one-dimensional extensions of words, and songs are one-dimensional extensions of notes. Alternatively, this could be a metaphorical extension due to the fact that songs and prayers unfold over time, which is often conceived of as horizontal (or long).

However, it is not the case that all intangible nouns which describe an event occurring over time are marked with *k^{h}e* (65).

65. Ho^{n}o^{n}-di ebe i^{n}'ut^{h}i^{n}-**t^{h}e** giáxa-i-a?
night on who handgame-**the.V** make for-pl-?
'Who was the Handgame for last night?' (A. Saunsoci 11-2003, NICC)

Handgame is an event which typically unfolds over a considerable amount of time. (It is a Native American game which involves hiding stones in the hand by one side while the other guesses which hands the hidden stones are in.) In spite of the fact that it unfolds over time, it receives the article *t^{h}e* (65). Thus, it is unlikely that unfolding over time necessitates the article *k^{h}e*.

Other events entailing extended use of words also call for *k^{h}e* (66, 67).

66. Ugaxeshko^{n}shko^{n} íutha-k^{h}e ápano^{n}.
television news-the.H 1sg.watch
'I watched the news.' (A. Saunsoci 2-16-04 ULC)

67. Josephine Baker iutha eta-k^{h}e ápano^{n}.
Josephine Baker story her-the.H 1sg.watch
'I watched the Josephine Baker story.' (A.Saunsoci 2-16-04 ULC)

Like songs and prayers, the news (66) and story (67) are marked by *k^{h}e*.

The following example using *k^{h}e* shows that a horizontal entity composed of animate beings can be marked by *k^{h}e* (68).

68. Thégithisho^{n}-**k^{h}e** i^{n}'e-tho^{n} éta.
Side -the.H stone-the.R POSS
'This side has the stone.' (M.W. Cayou 12-4-03)

The above was used during the traditional Handgame to designate the side of the building where one team sits. Example (68) contrasts with (69), which also refers to a side during Handgame.

69. Mi uwetho^{n}ba tathisho^{n}-**ama** uhi.
Sun rise toward -the.P.pl 3.win
'The East side won.' (M.W. Cayou 2-17-04, ULC)

Here, the side of the room is referred to by the direction and the animate article *ama* is used. In (68), the speaker uses the inanimate article *k^{h}e* to refer to the physical entity, the 'side of the room,' which then metonymically evokes the people sitting there. In (69), the speaker refers to those people sitting on that side and, hence, the animate article *ama* is used.

K^{h}e is also used to refer to babies before they are walking (70).

70. Shi^{n}gazhi^{n}ga-k^{h}e ubeto^{n}-a.
child -the.H wrap-f.IMP
'Wrap the baby (in a blanket).' (M.W. Cayou 10-8-2003, ULC)

In example (70), 'baby' is marked with *k^{h}e* although they are generally considered living beings. This is true even after the baby has been given their Omaha name. A common way to speak of infants is to refer to the cradle board (71).

71. U'o^{n}he-k^{h}e thiho^{n}-a
cradle board-the.H lift-F.IMP
'Pick up the infant (on the board).' (A. Saunsoci 11-5-04)

It is common for infants to be treated as inanimate in languages which mark for animacy. For example, *dziecko* 'child' in Polish receives neuter gender and does not trigger the masculine animate verb endings even if the child is a boy. Use of neuter gender for babies is common in European languages which mark for gender. Even in English, babies can be felicitously referred

to using 'it,' while adults generally cannot. The reasons for this use of inanimates with children is probably best left to anthropologists and semanticists to fully describe, but likely has to do with a lack of volition and independent motility.

Related to both this use and the use with dead bodies, *k^{h}e* is sometimes also used with almost dead living beings (72).

72. The-k^{h}e wak^{h}eg edego^{n} thathuha-xti i^{n}-t'e he, a-bi-ama.
This-the.H sick but nearly -very 1sg.DAT-dead f.DEC say-pl-EVID
'This one lies sick and he is nearly dead to me, (she said).' (JOD 1890: 57.3)

Example (72) refers to an almost dead person which is modified by the article *k^{h}e*. Likely, the inanimate article is added to emphasize that the character is almost dead as it is a ruse used to play a trick in this story.

Thus, *k^{h}e* generally refers to inanimate objects which canonically extend horizontally. They may be formerly animate (i.e. dead), almost inanimate (nearly dead), parts of animate beings (body parts), or animate but not yet mobile babies. Also, they may be conceptually long (stories, song, darkness).

4.7.1.2 *Tho^{n}*

The article *tho^{n}* has been described as modifying objects which are inanimate and round, in earlier analyses, or symmetrically extended along each plane, [-extended, +symmetrical], in this dissertation. Such objects may be two- or three-dimensional. Table 10 provides the first unique 25 simple NP's which contain *tho^{n}*.

Omaha NP	English gloss	Pl?	Ref #	Notes
pa-tho^{n}	**head** the		11.1	cut off
mo^{n}deko^{n}-tho^{n}	**bowstring** the		13.10	in shape of a noose
ukío^{n}the-tho^{n}	**Snare** the		13.12	noose shape
mi-tho^{n}	**Sun** the		13.12	object in trap c.f. Mi ak^{h}a 13.17 (talks to him)
ábaku hí^{n}-tho^{n}	space between shoulders **hair** the	mass	14.3	
wasabe tii -tho^{n}	Bear **village** the		15.1-2	
páhe shéhith-tho^{n}	**Hill** distant the		15.3	
shó^{n}de-tho^{n}	**Scrotum** the		17.1	
uxthúxaha-thó^{n}	**woman's bag** the		17.5	
uzhiha-tho^{n}	**Sack** the		17.10,11	
thie-tho^{n}	**Side** (of her body) the		20.4	cf. thie k^{h}e A.S.
áwa-tho^{n}	**To where** the		20.5	Wh-word
i^{n}zhe-tho^{n}	**Vagina** the		21.4	
ishta-xti-tho^{n}	**Eye**-very the		24.6	in the eye wounded
pi-tho^{n}	**Liver** the		28.7	
waii^{n}-tho^{n}	**Robe** the		39.11	
ábaku-tho^{n}	**Nape of neck** the		44.9	
tanuka-tho^{n}	**Fresh.meat** the	mass	46.3	
thie baho^{n}-xti-tho^{n}	**Side middle-very** the		57.10	very middle of rounded part of side of a deer
xade shkube siduhi shkube udo^{n}xti-tho^{n}	grass deep **siduhi** deep good very the	mass	58.13-14	'The very good and deep siduhi grass'
i^{n}be-tho^{n}	**Tail** the		61.8	Turkey tail, cf si^{n}de tho^{n}
nixa-tho^{n}	**Stomach** the		63.7	
he-tho^{n}	**Horn** the	?	65.11	PL in English trans.
ha-tho^{n}	**Skin** the		76.7	(of the rump)
washi^{n}-tho^{n}	**Fat** the		76.8	

Table 10. Nouns modified by *tho^{n}* 'the.inanimate.round.'

Many of the nouns modified by *tho^{n}* are easily construed as round and inanimate. 'Head,' 'sun,' 'village,' 'scrotum,' 'woman's bag,' 'sack,' 'eye,' 'liver,' 'fresh meat,' and 'stomach' can easily be considered roughly round and inanimate. 'Fat,' 'robe' (i.e. a buffalo hide robe) and 'skin' could be round in form. Due to the fact that they are described as 'noose-shaped,' 'bowstring'

and ‘snare’ also fit this definition. ‘Hill’ was discussed in the previous section. Note that these items extend equally in two-dimensions (e.g. snare, bowstring) or three-dimensions (e.g. head, sun, scrotum, meat).

Although prototypically tails are long and not round, the tail referred to in Table 10 is a turkey tail (fan) and, thus, is more round. A long tail would be referred with *k^{h}e* (73).

73. Sho^{n}ge si^{n}de-k^{h}e
horse tail-the.H
‘The horse tail’ (JOD 1890: 96.8)

In (73), the horse tail receives *k^{h}e*, showing that it extends horizontally. Again, this is how it would lie if not attached to the animal. It is in opposition to the turkey tail marked with *tho^{n}* in Table 10. Again, this shows that the articles are not in a fixed relationship with a given noun but can vary to highlight salient characteristics of the referent, as it is being perceived in a given instance by a speaker.

Similarly, ‘horn,’ can be marked with a variety of articles to highlight various characteristics. The elk horns referred to in Table 20 are marked by *tho^{n}*. Other examples of ‘horn’ are marked with other articles (74, 75).

74. He-t^{h}e izhahe-hno^{n}-bi-ama.
Horn-the.V 3sg.thrust at with-regularly-PL-EVID
‘He thrust repeatedly at the ground with his horns.’ (JOD 1890: 257.12)
=buffalo bull horns

75. Ahi-bi-ama ki he-k^{h}e thiza-bi Ishtinike-ak^{h}a, o^{n}tha thetha-bi-ama
Arrive-PL-EVID when horn the.H took- PL Ictinike-the.P-sg threw away suddenly-PL-EVID
‘When he arrived, he (Ishtinike) took the horns and threw them away.’
=wooden Elk horns (JOD 1890: 72.13)

Example (74) marks buffalo bull horns with *t^{h}e* [+extended, -horizontal] and example (75) marks faux Elk horns made of wood with *k^{h}e* [+extended, +horizontal]. Likely, the article choice is governed by the speaker’s conceptualization of how each of the various horns is configured. For

example, having sharp bull horns pointed up in the air near one would create a clear perception of non-horizontal orientation, calling for *t^{h}e*.

Body parts marked by *tho^{n}* in Table 10 include 'space-between-the-shoulders-hair,' 'side of the body,' 'nape of the neck,' 'middle of the side,' and 'vagina.' While the earlier definition of 'round' does not seem appropriate for describing these areas, they are not obviously horizontal like those marked with *k^{h}e* above, nor are they obviously vertical, which would call for *t^{h}e* [+extended, -horizontal]. Indeed, they identify spots or sites on the body rather than appendages or orifices, with the exception of 'vagina.' *Tho^{n}*'s use with these body parts may be a use similar to that of example (49) in which *tho^{n}* was used to mark location. Locations are perceived as extending equally along two-dimensions. This sense also relates to 'where' and 'deep grass' in Table 10. They are locations. Here, the advantage of using [-extended] rather than round to describe this article becomes apparent. While all of the objects which can be described as round can also be said to extend equally in each direction, these sites or locations, such as 'nape' are not obviously round but can be thought to not extend asymmetrically along any one axis. 'Vagina' may also be conceived of in this way by Omaha or this noun may simply refer to the opening of the vagina. This is a question for further research.

Though *tho^{n}* does generally refer to round, inanimate objects, anomalous examples were found in the author's fieldwork (76).

76. nuxebawegthi^{n}-tho^{n}
ice-cream-the.R
'the ice-cream'

Nuxebawegthi^{n} 'ice-cream' is marked by *tho^{n}* even when it is not a round ball, but rather, as in the case of soft ice-cream (frozen custard) more of a tall, vertically oriented object. This was true in the speech of at least five Elders (Mr. Oliver Cayou, Mrs. Marcella Cayou, Mrs. Alice Saunsoci, Mr. Rufus White, and Mrs. Wenona Caramony). It may show a certain amount of

convention entering the article system, in that the traditional shape of ice-cream was round (a scooped ball) and the article indicating round *tho*^{n} is now associated with the object regardless of its form. However, it may just be thought of as not particularly vertical or horizontal by speakers.

Another seeming exception to the use of *tho*^{n} when it is defined simply as 'round' is the fact that it occurs with square or rectangular objects (77-79)

77. wagthabaze-tho^{n}
paper/book-the.R
'the book'

78. Ubázo^{n}-tho^{n}-di baxu ihétha.
Corner-the.R-in write placed
'The writing is in the corner (of the board).'

79. wathat^{h}e-tho^{n}
table-the.R
'the table'

Individual sheets of paper, as well as individual books, which are not round but rather rectangular, are marked by *tho*^{n} (77). Corners, which are conceived in English as angular and not round are also marked by *tho*^{n} (78). Similarly, the actual 'table' referred to in (79) is square but is marked by *tho*^{n}. Note that the Omaha language does not contain words for geometric shapes such as square or rectangular. The more refined description of the usage of *tho*^{n} as marking objects which spread out both in height and width, not just on one axis, better accounts for these uses.

The example in (79) is often used not just for round or square tables but rather all tables, regardless of shape. Even long, rectangular tables tend to marked by *tho*^{n}. Upon further consideration, some Elders will also mark rectangular tables with *k*^{h}*e*, but the tendency is to use *tho*^{n}. This is a further example of the article system becoming less freely varying and more conventionalized.

The fact that *tho*^{n} marks objects roughly equal in width and height, and not objects which are of a given geometric shape, i.e. round, square, or rectangular, is reinforced by the fact that rectangular objects which are noticeably wider than they are tall are marked by *k*^{h}*e* (80).

80. zho^{n}bthaska-k^{h}e
black board-the.H
'the blackboard'

In (80), the rectangular object 'blackboard' which is oriented vertically but extends horizontally is marked by *k*^{h}*e*. Furthermore, information on a blackboard is scanned horizontally (in Omaha and English writing contexts).

A final anomalous use of the inanimate *tho*^{n} was found in the text and should be noted (81).

81. Egithe itaho^{n} -ak^{h}a **te-tho^{n}** no^{n}t'ewathe go^{n}tha-bi-ama.
At length his wife's brother-the.P.sg **buffalo-the.R** 3.trample to death 3.want-PL-EVID'
'At length the wife's brother wished the buffaloes to trample the husband to death.'
(JOD 1890: 350.18)

In (81), the inanimate article *tho*^{n} is used when referring to a herd of very animate buffalo. Such use is similar to that of (68) where the people on the side of the room were referred to using *k*^{h}*e* 'the.inanimate.horizontal.' In both, an inanimate article is used to refer to an animate group based on their shape.

Thus, *tho*^{n} is found to mark not just inanimate round objects but objects which extend roughly equally along two or three axes, including locations and herds of animals.

4.7.1.3 *T*^{h}*e*

Table 11 provides examples of the use of *t*^{h}*e*, earlier analyzed as 'the.inanimate.vertical' and currently as [+extended, -horizontal]. As with the other inanimate articles, some uses are easily understood from the Dorsey-Koontz definition. However, many concepts do not fit this

description, and closer examination provides a more refined view of the semantics involved in the selection of this article as well.

Omaha NP	English gloss	Pl?	Ref #	Notes
tanuka-t^{h}e	**Fresh.meat** the		10.9	refers to people in 10.7-10.8
umó^{n}e-t^{h}e	**provisions** the	mass	10.11	
ho^{n}-t^{h}e	**night** the		13.10	
t'éthe-t^{h}e	**killing** the		16. 8	
agudi-t^{h}e	**where** the		17.6	'(in) what place'
mido^{n}be no^{n}bá-t^{h}e-(di)	**hours 2** the-(in)	PL	21.2-3	
ti-t^{h}e	**lodge** the		21.7	
paho^{n}ga-t^{h}e	**first** the		25.1	'the former time'
masho^{n}-t^{h}e	**feathers** the	PL	26.19	Sg=mo^{n}sho^{n} k^{h}e
pahe i-t^{h}e	**hill mouth** the		32.11	that devours, note inanimate when part of an.
washi^{n}-t^{h}e	**fat** the		33.18	
wathátai-t^{h}e (hebe)	**they-ate** the		43.7	'part of what they ate'
ie-t^{h}e	**speech** the		45.16	'using such language'
mo^{n}-t^{h}e	**arrows** the	PL	46.1	Sg=mo^{n} k^{h}e
tizhebe-t^{h}e	**door** the		46.12	
wathaha-t^{h}e	**clothing** the		50.8	
xthabe-t^{h}e	**tree** the		50.9	
zho^{n}-t^{h}e	**tree** the		51.7	Literally 'the wood'
pede-t^{h}e	**fire** the		51.12	
wao^{n}-t^{h}e	**song** the		60.9	
no^{n}be-t^{h}e	**hand** the		62.4	
anaso^{n}de-t^{h}e	**closed on** the		62.10	'what closed on him' subject
maxude-t^{h}e	**ashes** the	PL	62.16	
mo^{n}-no^{n}-shude-t^{h}e	**ground-tread-dust** the	mass	80.9	
hu-t^{h}e	**voice** the		81.2	

Table 11. Nouns modified by *t^{h}e* 'the.tall.inanimate.'

‘Lodge,’ ‘door,’ and ‘tree’ most easily fit the definition of *t^{h}e* as inanimate and vertically oriented. Other objects in the chart are less easily classified as vertical. Two major categories of other objects in the table are plural objects and verbal actions.

The plural objects ‘feathers,’ ‘arrows,’ and ‘ashes’ all receive *t^{h}e*. Indeed, *t^{h}e* is often used to mark plurality of inanimate objects (82, 83).

82. a. Zho^{n}zhi^{n}ga-k^{h}e
stick-the.H.sg
‘The stick’
b. Zho^{n}zhi^{n}ga-t^{h}e
stick-the.V.pl
‘The sticks’

83. a. Waxja-tho^{n}
flower-the.R.sg
‘The flower’
b. Waxja-t^{h}e
flower-the.V.pl
‘The flowers’

In (82a), a single stick is marked with *k^{h}e* because it is long. When plural, sticks are marked with *t^{h}e* (82b). This may be to some extent due to the fact that plural objects can be piled up and, thus, become more vertical with increasing number. However, *t^{h}e* proved felicitous in (82b) even when the pile of sticks was still more long than tall, as well as when the sticks were layed out flat and formed a square. Similarly, in (83), one flower is marked by *tho^{n}* ‘the.round,’ and plural flowers are marked by *t^{h}e*. Again, the flowers are marked by *t^{h}e* when plural even when laid in a horizontal position (for example, a cut bouquet lying horizontally).

Although currently plural objects need not be piled up to be marked by *t^{h}e*, this is the likely source of this usage. In traditional give-aways, items are stacked on a table before being given away. The plurality and verticalness are very salient. Similarly, when saving items for a give-away, these items are often stacked (in trunks, closets, etc.). Thus, the stacking of items for

ceremonies, storage, display for trading, etc. could easily be a historical source for this polysemic development in the use of *t^{h}e*.

Whereas objects marked by the singular articles *k^{h}e* and *tho^{n}* are marked by *t^{h}e* when plural, objects normally marked by *t^{h}e* when singular are marked by *ge* when plural (84).

84. a. niuthat^{h}o^{n}-t^{h}e
cup-the.V.sg
'The cup'
b. niuthat^{h}o^{n}-ge
cup-the.S.pl
'The cups'

One cup is marked by *t^{h}e* (84a) and more than one cup is marked by the article *ge* (84b). Here, marking the noun with *t^{h}e* would not immediately elicit an understanding of plurality, as this is the article most often used with the singular. It is not the case that *t^{h}e* is inherently plural in meaning, but rather that it can be used to mark plurality through contrast with the article that an object takes in the singular. Thus, 'stick' in (82) typically is marked by *k^{h}e* as it is long. When it co-occurs with *t^{h}e* instead (82b), the unexpected article is interpreted as marking a contrast from a simple horizontal object, it is interpreted as a contrast in plurality.

This use of an article which contrasts with the singular article to mark a contrast in plurality creates complexity in this system. It was seen above that *t^{h}e* was used to mark plurals of *tho^{n}* and *k^{h}e* singular-marked objects, regardless of verticality (82, 83) and *ge* similarly marked plurals of *t^{h}e* marked singulars, even when not particularly scattered (84b). However, verticality [-horizontal] and scattered [-symmetrical] are still salient features of these articles. Indeed, a stack of paper cups has been observed to be modified by *t^{h}e* (e.g. *niuthato^{n}-t^{h}e* 'the cups). In this instance, the verticalness of the cups is being highlighted, even though the article does not contrast with the singular article (84a). Again, it is speaker perception of a given referent in a given instance that dictates article choice.

Like plural nouns, mass nouns often receive *t^{h}e*, unless an aspect of their shape, such as being in a long line, is being highlighted. In Table 11, the mass nouns 'fresh meat,' 'fat,' 'clothing,' and 'provisions' all receive *t^{h}e*. Also, the body parts 'mouth' and 'hand' receive *t^{h}e*, not necessarily because they have no shape but rather because, like mass nouns, they can take on many shapes. Other body parts, like 'head' and 'eye' in Table 10, are less flexibly shaped. Actions, such as 'killing,' 'speech,' 'they ate,' and 'closed on,' also generally receive *t^{h}e* for a marker. These deverbal nouns are not generally found with any other article. Other concepts assigned *t^{h}e* and found in Table 11 include 'night,' 'hours,' 'where,' 'first,' 'song,' 'voice,' and 'dust.' The concepts of weather and time also receive *t^{h}e* (85, 86).

85. O^{n}ba-t^{h}e udo^{n}.
day-the.V good
'The day (the weather) is good.'

86. O^{n}ba weno^{n}ba-t^{h}e-di o^{n}-shkada.
day second-the.V-on 1pl-play
'We played Tuesday.' (A. Saunsoci 11-03)

In (85), *t^{h}e* marks 'day' or 'weather' which has no concrete form. Similarly, 'Tuesday' is marked with *t^{h}e* in (86).

Likely, it is not the case that *t^{h}e* is chosen because Omaha speakers conceive of any of these concepts as vertical or tall, but rather because *t^{h}e* functions as a default article choice. Thus, it is chosen when an object is shapeless, when its shape changes, as well as for concepts, mass nouns, general plural collections, and actions. Objects with little prototypical shape are assigned *t^{h}e*.

Although 'where' in Table 11 received *t^{h}e*, location can actually vary for article choice. In Table 10, *awa-tho^{n}* 'to where-the' is marked with *tho^{n}*. In Table 11, 'where' is marked with *t^{h}e*, *agudi-t^{h}e*. *Agudi* is used for location, a point. *Awa* is used for direction, getting to the point.

However, it is not the difference in meaning governing article choice. The following provide further examples (87, 88).

87. Uzhu ti **awa-t^{h}e** a, a-biama.
chief lodge where-the.V ? 3.say-PL-EVID
'Where is the chief's lodge?,' he asked. (JOD 1890: 87.13)

88. Thigaxtho^{n} **awa-k^{h}e**, a-bi-ama.
Your wife where-the.H 3.say-PL-EVID
'Where is your wife lying?,' he said. (JOD 1890: 143.13)

In (87), 'where' is marked with *t^{h}e*, because the object being located is vertical, a tipi. In (88), the object is horizontal, a lying wife, and the article is thus *k^{h}e*, 'the.inanimate.horizontal.' *Awa-tho^{n}* is used in Table 10 as it asked for a general location or spot. This use of *tho^{n}* is similar to that of (58). No other examples for *agudi* with an article were found or elicited. Again, it is not that a given noun calls for a given article, but rather that speaker perception of a given referent dictates article choice.

Thus, the article *t^{h}e* serves to mark both objects which are inanimate and vertical and objects which lack a specified or defined shape. These shapeless objects include concepts, deverbal nouns, weather, mass nouns and plurals.

4.7.1.4 *Ge*

The article *ge* [-extended, -symmetrical] inherently refers to plurality as more than one object must exist in order to be scattered. That is, for an entity to be not extended in any given plane but to still be clearly assymetrical in its distribution, it must be in pieces. Randomly shaped blobs are [-extended] but they are [+symmetrical] as they are distributed roughly equally in direction. Table 12 provides examples of *ge*. None of the examples are singular. Whereas *t^{h}e* seems to refer to generally plural or mass nouns, *ge* in each case refers to conceptually scattered objects. This is noted in either the morphemic gloss or English translation of six of the 25

Omaha NP	English gloss	Pl?	Ref #	Notes
thishpashpai-ge	**pieces pulled apart** the	PL	17.7	'scattered' in English translation
teno^{n}de ga-ge those buffalo heart	**Buffalo.heart** those-the	PL	33.4	'unseen and scattered' in gloss
teno^{n}de washi^{n}-ge	**Buffalo.heart fat** the	PL	33.7	'scattered' pieces
waii^{n}-ge	**Robes** the	PL	40.15-16	Refers to all in village, 'one of the robes'
ta-ge	**Meat** the	PL	44.6	'cut and disjointed several times, causing pieces to come off'
xade pezhi p'a-ge	Grass-**weed** bitter the	PL	63.14	Not location but food
p'a-ge	**Bitter** the	PL	64.11	Refers to weeds (spits out constantly as he goes along)
dado^{n} p'a-ge	**What** bitter the	PL	70.15-16	Wh-word
zho^{n}xthu'a usne-ge	**Tree**-hollow-**split** the	PL	75.8	'cracks of the hollow tree'
zho^{n}tho^{n}ha-ge	**bark** the (scattered)	PL	84.14	
te-ma ha-ge	**Buffalo** the **hide** the	PL	86.9	'skin lodges of buffalo hides' (village)
umi^{n}zhe-ge	**bed** the	PL	86.17	Given to whole village
tako^{n}ha-ge	**deer-sinew** the	PL	86.17	Given to whole village
wa'ii-ge	**They-gave-them** the	PL	86.17	'the beds they gave them' Given to whole village
wat'o^{n}-ge	**goods** the	PL	100.20	Lit. owned things, goods from around village, collected
mo^{n}ze-ge	**iron** the	PL	107.12	Pieces of metal
waxaga pai-ge	**thorn** sharp the.scattered	PL	143.3	'Over surface of the whole land'
uto^{n}-ge	**leggings** the	PL	148.2	Deverbal noun
si^{n}de-ge	**Tails** the	PL	210.19	Snake tails removed by children
shege nexe-ge	Those **kettle** the	PL	211.14	Some of the kettles-part of partitive
ni-ge	**stream** the	PL	227.13	'many long streams' created by crying as walking
uto^{n}nadi hi^{n}-ge	**Space between the forehead hair** the	PL	237.2	'scattered over the forehead'
ti-ge	**lodge** the	PL	247.1	'every lodge' in village
keha-ge	**turtle shell** the	PL	249.10	Paws
wes'a k^{h}e pa-ge	**Snake** the **head** the	PL	249.11	'the heads of snakes in all places'

Table 12. Nouns modified by *ge* 'the.scattered.inanimate'

examples. Those not referred to as scattered often refer to objects located throughout a village (7 entries) or distributed all over the land (5 entries). These distributive uses over the land also often occur serially rather than being observed at once. For example, *p'a ge* 'the bitters (weeds)' are eaten over time as elk walk across the terrain. This is not incongruous with a scattered type of reading. The objects are perceived non-symmetrically in time and location. Most other entries in Table 22 can be conceived of as being either distributed widely or scattered.

Only one entry, *uto^{n}ge ge* 'the leggings,' does not seem to fit this description. Perhaps this is due to the fact that *uto^{n}ge* is based on the verb *uto^{n}* 'to put on.' Singular deverbal nouns have been found to select *t^{h}e* as an article. The plural variant of *t^{h}e* has been seen above (4.5.1.3) to be *ge*. Thus, deverbal nouns are likely to take *ge* when plural. Other paired objects, such as *hi^{n}be-t^{h}e* 'the shoes,' and bifurcated objects, such as *ni^{n}deuthisho^{n}-t^{h}e* 'the pants' and *ithabazhna-k^{h}e* 'the scissors,' do not take *ge* in the plural.

The following provides further examples of *ge* (89).

89. Ki ga-gé-go^{n}-ge wétexi -ge Itígo^{n}thaí na'o^{n3} í^{n}go^{n}thai
And this-the.S-like-the.S 3pl.DAT-hard-the.S Grandfather 3sg.hear we wish for him
'And as we desire for the President to hear of our troubles such as these…'
(JOD 1891: 27.5)

In (89), *ge* occurs a number of times. *Ga-ge* 'these' contains *ge*. The NP *ga-ge-go^{n}-ge* 'things such as these' is modified by *ge*. Finally, *wetexi-ge* 'our troubles' is modified by *ge*. The latter is better translated as a relative 'things that are hard for us.' Relative clauses will be further discussed in the following section. However, it is of note that the referents modified by *ge* in (89) are not scattered concrete entities but rather plural conceptual items. This supports that *ge* is used for marking plural definiteness with items that receive *t^{h}e* in the singular.

In general, *ge* refers to plural objects which are scattered or distributed, as well as plural objects not necessarily scattered but which receive *t^{h}e* when singular.

4.7.1.5 Conclusion

The inanimate articles have been found to largely correspond to the definitions Dorsey and later Koontz posited for them. However, in each case, it has been found that these definitions can be refined to create a more thorough depiction of article usage. The use of features to define the articles proved useful in showing how the inanimate articles function as separate rather than overlapping categories. That is, although one noun can receive a variety of articles, each article is chosen for distinct characteristics being perceived by the speaker of the referent in a given context. This understanding of the articles as being in opposition also helps account for uses of the articles for plurality. The article chosen to mark an entity as plural is one that will contrast with the article usually chosen to mark the given entity when it is singular.

The features also helped elucidate shortcomings of previous analyses. For example, *tho*^{n} [-extended, +symmetrical] is found to mark not just inanimate round objects but objects that are roughly equal in width and length (and possibly height), including locations and herds of animals. These entities can also be square (e.g. paper) or denote locations (e.g. village). While *k*^{h}*e* [+ extended, +horizontal] tends to mark horizontal inanimate objects, it can mark curvilinear objects (e.g. tentside), extended verbal orations (e.g. song, news), and other less prototypically 'long' referents. *T*^{h}*e* was found to mark not just vertically oriented referents, such as a tipi or cup, but also objects with no particular shape such as mass nouns, as well as deverbal nouns and concepts. The use of [-horizontal], rather than [+vertical], helps to show that *t*^{h}*e* is not used strictly for vertical objects but rather functions as a default for non-horizontal inanimate objects.

Note that the features do not specify animacy. The marking of animate collectives, such as 'herd,' with inanimate articles shows that these articles may not specifically denote 'inanimate,' but rather that in denoting shape they correlate with inanimates. Generally, other

aspects of animate entities will be more salient and the animate articles rather than shape articles will be chosen.

The marking of plural inanimate objects in Omaha can be achieved with either *t^{h}e* or *ge.* While *t^{h}e* frequently marks plurality, *ge* marks the plural of *t^{h}e* nouns. For this contrast to be evident, nouns must be prototypically associated with a given article. That is, a certain amount of convention must be present in the article system. Otherwise, a change in article such as from *k^{h}e* to *t^{h}e* with 'stick' could indicate a change in position of a given referent. However, as shown in (44), change in position with the inanimate articles does not promote a change in article. This association of article to a prototypical position of the object has been further extended to an association of article with a prototypical model of the object. For example, ice-cream may be conceived of in a prototypically round shape (67) and tables are prototypically round or square (69). Thus, although inanimate article choice is largely flexible in Omaha and reflects speaker conceptualization of a given object in a given context, some rigidity is evident in the system.

In all instances, speaker perception of a referent rather than inherent qualities of a given referent dictates article choice. That is, speakers can choose an article based on its form in a given instance, its prototypical form, or a characteristic salient to them in a given instance. Perceptual basis for the system can also be posited. For example, *k^{h}e* marked objects are perceived by scanning horizontally. *Ge* objects generally entail multiple focus points in a given set. *Tho^{n}* objects are perceived as a cohesive whole (one set foviation point). *T^{h}e* marked objects may be perceived by vertical scanning or may be considered an 'elsewhere' type of perceptual condition. That is, when an entity is not perceived through horizontal scanning, one foviation (focus) point, or multiple foviation points, it receives *t^{h}e*. Further research could help to elucidate the perceptual parameters of and basis for article choice by tracking eye movements.

4.8 Animate articles

4.8.0 Introduction

The following section explores the semantics of the animate articles. Table (13) provides an overview of these articles, using the definitions provided by Koontz (1984) with the addition of obviation, rather than agentivity, as per Koontz (1989).

Article	Meaning (as per Koontz 1989)
ak^{h}a	Animate, proximate, singular non-moving
ama	Animate, proximate, moving or plural
thi^{n}	Animate, obviative, moving
t^{h}o^{n}	Animate, obviative, standing
thi^{n}k^{h}e/tho^{n}k^{h}a	Animate, obviative, sitting sg/pl
ma	Animate, obviative, plural

Table 13. The animate articles.

Building upon these definitions, this chapter will begin by discussing the basic semantics of the articles. Animacy, position, movement and plurality will be discussed in section 4.8.1. Then, the pragmatic conditioning of these morphemes will be discussed in section 4.8.2. The parameters of obviation along with anomalous uses of plurality and motion will be explored.

4.8.1 Basic semantics

Disregarding for the time being the proximate/obviative characteristic of the animate articles, animacy, plurality, motion, and position form the primary contrasts in animate article usage. Basic examples for each of the articles which fit the definitions of Table 13 are easily found within texts and modern elicitations (90-96).

90. Wa'u-**ak^{h}a** teskamo^{n}zeni thato^{n}.
Woman-the.P.sg milk 3.drink
'The woman is drinking milk.'

91. Shenuzhi^{n}ga-**ama** tabe ugasno^{n} shkada.
Young men-the.P.pl ball dunk 3.play
'The young men are playing basketball.'

92. Gó^{n} té-**thi^{n}** t'éthe o^{n}-sh-í, ádo^{n} t'é-a-the go^{n} o^{n}p-ádai.
And buffalo-the.O.MV kill 1sg.OBJ-2sg.SUB-ask therefore kill-1sg and 1pl-butcher
'…And asked me to kill the buffalo. So I killed it and we cut it up.'
(JOD 1890: 428.19)

93. Wahó^{n}thishige-**t^{h}o^{n}** éto^{n}thi^{n} ugthá ágazhí-bi-amá.
Orphan-the.O.ST 3sg.first confess 3sg.command-P-EVID
'He commanded the Orphan to confess first.' (JOD 1890: 113.8)

94. Níkagahi itó^{n}de-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** té-amá no^{n}t'a-í, á-bi-amá.
Chief son-in-law-the.O.SI buffalo-the.P.pl trample to death-P say-P-EVID
'The buffaloes trampled the Chief's son-in-law to death.' (JOD 1890: 351.2)

95. Kuk<u>u</u>si-**tho^{n}k^{h}a** wá-p-ade.
Pig-the.O.SI.pl 3pl.OBJ-1sg.SUB-butcher
'I butchered the hogs.' (A. Saunsoci 5-04)

96. Té-**ma** uthá gthí-hno^{n}-i thó^{n}di…
buffalo-the.O.pl tell come back-REG-P when (in the past)
'When they came back and told about the buffaloes…' (JOD 1890: 469.1)

In (90), *wa'u-ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.singular.non-moving woman' is singular animate and not in motion. In (91), *shenuzhi^{n}ga-ama* 'the.animate.plural young men' are plural animate and may or may not be in motion. In (92), *té-thi^{n}* 'the.animate.singular.moving buffalo' is singular, animate and is in motion; he is being chased. *Wahó^{n}thishige-t^{h}o^{n}* 'the.animate.singular.standing Orphan' in (93) is singular, animate and could be standing. While *Níkagahi itó^{n}de-thi^{n}k^{h}e* 'the.animate.singular.sitting Chief's son-in-law' in (94) may have been sitting, he also may have been lying. There is no animate article denoting a lying animate entity, so *thi^{n}k^{h}e* may be used in this capacity. *Kuk<u>u</u>si-tho^{n}k^{h}a* 'the.animate.sitting.plural hogs' in (95) are animate, plural and could be sitting or, more likely, are lying. Due to the ambiguity between sitting and lying, perhaps 'reclining' would be a more adequate defining characteristic. In (96), *té-ma* 'the.animate.plural buffalo' are plural and animate. Thus, the parameters posited of animacy,

plurality, motion, and position can be found to correctly account for instances of the articles, with the modification that *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* may also be used for lying entities that are living.

The above account largely distinguishes between the articles (disregarding the distinction between obviative and proximate). However, a question remains as to the two 'obviative' plural articles, *tho$^{n}k^{h}a* and *ma*. Both are animate, obviative and plural. *Tho$^{n}k^{h}a* is glossed as sitting but *ma* is not marked for position. Also, above it was shown that *thi$^{n}k^{h}e* and *tho$^{n}k^{h}a* can be generalized to 'reclining.' The difference between *tho$^{n}k^{h}a* and *ma* thus is not obvious. What seems to be involved is not position but rather cohesiveness of group. To test this hypothesis, the following minimal pair was presented to an Elder speaker (97, 98).

97. **Shinudo^{n}-tho^{n}k^{h}a** a-wa-to^{n}be.
Dog-the.O.SI.pl 1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-see

98. **Shinudo^{n}-ma** a-wa-to^{n}be.[4]
Dog- theO.pl 1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-see
'I saw the dogs.'

The speaker stated that the first sentence, using *shinudo^{n}-tho$^{n}k^{h}a*, likely involved a pack of dogs seen at once. She stated that the second sentence likely referred to dogs scattered around. It could also refer to dogs seen one at a time over a period of time. Thus, *tho$^{n}k^{h}a* tends to be used with cohesive groups, while *ma* is used with groups which are spread out or more loosely defined.

Each of the above criteria of animacy, number, and position/number can be violated and still result in a felicitous utterance. For example, inanimate objects can occur with the animate articles (99-102).

99. Usni-**ak^{h}a** at^{h}i.
Cold-the.P.sg here
'Winter's here.' (A. Saunsoci 2-18-04, ULC)

100. Ma-**ak^{h}a** nasko^{n}. Paaze k^{h}i nuxe tak^{h}a.
Snow-the.P.sg melt evening when ice will
'The snow is melting. Tonight it'll freeze.' (A. Saunsoci 2-18-04, ULC)

101. Mi-**ak^{h}a** uwetho^{n}ba.
Sun-the.P.sg rise
'The sun is rising.'

102. Xthabe-**ak^{h}a** i^{n}sh'age.
Tree-the.P.sg old man
'The tree is old.' (A. Saunsoci 9-2004)

'Winter/cold' (99), 'snow' (100), 'sun' (101), and 'tree' (102) are not obviously animate objects, but in the above all receive the animate article *ak^{h}a*. It is not the case that these nouns are always considered animate (103-106).

103. Usní-**t^{h}e**-di, sh-o^{n}-gáthe tó^{n}gato^{n}.
Cold-the.V-when 1pl.go we will
'We will go to you in the cold weather.' (JOD 1890: 491.4)

104. Égasáni ki, má-**k^{h}e** shkúbe ha.
next day when, snow-the.H deep DEC
'The next day there was a very deep snow.' (JOD 1890: 442.19)

105. Mi-**tho^{n}** ketha.
Sun-the.R bright
'The sun is bright.'

106. Xthabé **thé-t^{h}e** snedé tígthe," á-bi-amá.
Tree this-the.V tall becomes say-P-EVID
'Ishtinike said in a whisper, 'Let this tree shoot up very high suddenly.'
(JOD 1890: 596.2)

In (103), 'winter/cold' is modified by *t^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.tall.' This is similar to other uses of *t^{h}e* with times such as *hithai-t^{h}e-di* 'on Saturday' and with weather such *o^{n}ba-t^{h}e* 'the weather.' In (104), 'snow' is modified by *k^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.lying.' In (105), 'sun' is modified by tho^{n} 'the.inanimate.round' and in (106), 'tree' is modified by *the-t^{h}e* 'this-the.inanimate.tall.' Thus, each of the nouns which received animate marking in (99-102) receives inanimate marking in (103-106).

Each of these nouns is an important natural event/object in Omaha life. Although not being used anthropomorphically in (99-102), such phenomena do occur as characters in Omaha tales. For example, the Winter/Cold is a character below (107).

107. Égithe Usní-**ak^{h}a** ‘ábae athé ítha-bi-amá.
It came to pass Cold-the.P.sg hunt go speak-P-EVID
‘At length the Winter spoke about going hunting.’ (JOD 1890: 9.7)

Here, ‘Winter’ is a character who Rabbit eventually kills. As a character, ‘winter’ receives the animate article *ak^{h}a*.

Omahas have great respect for natural entities such as ‘cold,’ ‘snow,’ ‘sun,’ and ‘trees.’ Each of these ‘inanimate’ entities has a great impact on the lives of people, especially in pre-contact times. While the people had little control over the winter, the snow and the sun, the severity or scarcity of these elements truly influenced the lives of traditional peoples. Thus, in a way, these entities had a will that was not controllable (except, perhaps, through prayer), and volition can be considered criterial for animacy. Furthermore, animacy can be used to signal respect, by placing natural phenomenon on a par with humans. This is likely the case in (102), in which tree receives both the animate article and the human state of old age *i^{n}sh’age*, not the inanimate *ito^{n}thadi* ‘old.’ Coupled with a sort of volitionality, these objects are also often moving, another criteria for animacy. In many of the contexts where animate articles modify natural objects, the object is in motion or the natural event is metaphorically moving. For example, the ‘cold’ in (99) is conceived metaphorically as arriving. The snow in (100) is melting which is a change of state; it is ‘going away,’ which as can be seen in this English metaphor, can be seen as a type of metaphorical movement. The sun in (101) is in motion; it is rising. Real or metaphorical motion of an inanimate increases the likelihood that it receives animate marking. Thus, inanimates which are potent and agentive, independently dynamic may receive animate marking in Omaha.

However, not all inanimate natural objects receive animate marking when they are in motion.

108. I^{n}'e-**ge** hide shue.
Rock-the.S down slide
'The rocks roll down.' (A. Saunsoci 10-14-04)

In (108), the inanimate 'rocks' do not receive animate marking, even though they are in motion. Thus, animate articles are used with inanimate referents not simply when they are in motion but rather when the inanimate object is being culturally respected. However, this animate marking is more likely when the inanimate referent is in motion or is metaphorically conceived of as being in motion.

Anomalous uses of singular animate articles with plural referents also frequently occur. For example, *ak^{h}a* 'the.inanimate.proximate.singular' can be used with plural referents (109-111).

109. Ki niashi^{n}ga piazhi-**ak^{h}a** zho^{n} wi^{n} snede-xti múza-bi-t^{h}e-ama sná-xchi.
And man bad-the.P.sg wood one long-very plant post-pl-AUX-EVID smooth-very
'And the bad men planted in the ground a very tall and smooth post.'
(JOD 1890: 162.5-6)

110. Égasáni k^{h}i, shi égithe thábthi^{n}-**ak^{h}á** ahí-bi-ama.
the morrow when again at length three-the.P.sg arrive-p-EVID
'On the morrow the three arrived.' (JOD 1890: 164. 14)

111. Nikagahi izho^{n}ge-**ak^{h}a** no^{n}ba ak^{h}-ama.
chief his daughter-the.P.sg two AUX-EVID
'The chief's daughters were two.' (JOD 1890: 166.18)

In (109), the sentence is translated as having a plural subject although the definite article used is *ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.**singular**.non-moving.' This could be a transcription error, but this is not noted. Koontz (1984: 145) notes that when number is marked with a numeral, the article may be the singular *ak^{h}a*. Example (110) supports this. *Ak^{h}a* is also used in (111), but here the number is not part of the noun phrase but rather is predicated of the NP. Coupled with the evidence of

(109), this shows that cohesive groups in Omaha may be marked as singular. This is further supported by examples of animate mass nouns (112).

112. Umo^{n}ho^{n} ti-ak^{h}a to^{n}ga atha.
Omaha home-the.P.sg big 3.go
'The tribe is getting larger.' (A. Saunsoci 11-8-04)

In (112), the mass noun *Umo^{n}ho^{n} ti* 'tribe' is marked with a singular animate article. Here, 'tribe' is actually composed of a number of individuals but as a group receives singular marking. This explains the seeming anomalous uses of singular articles with plural referents (109-111). However, it should be noted that, in general, plural subjects which are not modified by a number receive plural marking; (109) is an exception.

Another seemingly anomalous use of *ak^{h}a* is with subjects of verbs which denote motion. There are numerous examples of this; (113-119) give a few.

113. Gó^{n} núzhi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}á** édi **athá**-bi-ama.
And boy-the.P.sg there **went**-P-EVID
'And the boy went thither.' (JOD 1890: 162.2)

114. Égithe 'ábae **athá**-bi-ama níashi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}á.**
at length hunt **went**-P-EVID man-the.P.sg
'At length the man went hunting.' (JOD 1890: 167.6)

115. 'ábae thé ki ék^{h}ito^{n} shínudo^{n}-**ak^{h}a** áshi **athá**-bi-ama.
hunt go when at the same time dog-**the.P.sg** out **went**-P-QUO
'When he went hunting, the dog went out at the same time.'
(JOD 1890: 167.7)

116. Gó^{n} núzhi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}a agthá**-bi-ama.
and boy-**the.P.sg** **went homeward**-P-EVID
'The boy went homeward.' (JOD 1890: 164.11)

117. Égasáni k^{h}i, shi égithe thábthi^{n}-**ak^{h}á ahí**-bi-ama.
the morrow when again at length three-**the.P.sg** **arrive**-p-EVID
'On the morrow the three arrived.' (JOD 1890: 164.14)

118. Égithe 'ábae ak^{h}í-bi ki i^{n}gtho^{n}ga athí^{n} **ak^{h}í**-bi-ama níashi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}á.**
at length hunt reach home-P when wild cat 3.have **reach home**-P-EVID man-**the.P.sg**
'At length, when the man reached home from the hunt, he brought back a wild cat.' (JOD 1890: 167.7)

119. Gó^{n}k^{h}i shínudo^{n}-**ak^{h}a ak^{h}í**-bi ego^{n} mí^{n}zhi^{n}ga thi^{n}k^{h}é baspá-hno^{n}-bi-ama.
And dog-**the.P.sg reach home**-P having girl the.O.sg push against-REG-P-EVID
'And the dog, having come home from the hunt, pushed repeatedly against the girl to attract her attention.' (JOD 1890: 167.8)

Thus, the non-motion, singular article *ak^{h}a* is modifying the subject of verbs meaning 'to go' (113-115), 'to go homeward' (116), 'arrive' (117), and 'reach home' (118-119). It is not simply the case that these verbs do not imply motion in Omaha. Examples (120-123) show the same verbs using the article *ama* 'the.animate.plural/moving.'

120. Égithe **athá**-bi-ama wa'ú-**amá**.
at length **went**-P-EVID woman-**the.P.pl**
'At length the woman went.' (JOD 1890: 169.9)

121. Gó^{n} **agtha**-bi-ama shi núzhi^{n}ga-**amá**.
and **went homeward**-P-EVID again boy-**the.P.pl**
'And the boy went homeward.' (JOD 1890: 165.6)

122. K^{h}i gó^{n}k^{h}i tesó^{n} zhi^{n}ga-**amá** te-wa'úzhi^{n}ga edi **ahí**-bi …
and then buffalo-white young-**the.P.pl** buffalo-old-woman there **arrive**-P ...
'And then when the White buffalo calf reached the aged Buffalo woman...' (JOD 1890: 135.11)

123. Gó^{n} Hi^{n}xpéágthe-**amá ak^{h}í**-bi ego^{n} hi^{n}xpé-k^{h}e gígthiza-bi…
and Fine Feather-**the.P.pl reach home**-P having fine feather-the.H took back his own-P
'And Fine Feather having reached home, he took back his fine feather…'
(JOD 1890: 170.6)

Thus, *ama* 'the.animate.plural/moving' occurs with subjects of the same motion verbs *ak^{h}a* occurred with - 'go' (120), 'go homeward' (121), 'arrive' (122), and 'reach home' (123). In both (113-119) and (120-123), subjects perform actions which logically seem to entail motion but only in (120-123) is an article entailing motion used. The explanation for use of *ama* versus *ak^{h}a* only entails plurality and motion, and, thus, falls short of explaining the above phenomenon.

Other non-motion articles beside *ak^{h}a* are also used in motion contexts (124).

*. K^{h}í thé núzhi^{n}ga-**t^{h}o^{n} gthé** t^{h}e ki, no^{n}búthixtha wí^{n} 'í-bi-ama wa'ú-ak^{h}á.
and this boy-**the.O.ST 3.go.**home EVID when ring one 3.give-P-EVID woman-the.P.sg
'And when the youth went homeward, the woman gave him a ring.'
(JOD 1890: 190.10-11)

In (124), the article *t^{h}o^{n}* ‘the.animate.obviative.standing’ is used for the subject of the verb ‘go homeward.’ Thus, articles which do not include ‘moving’ in their definition are sometimes used in contexts involving movement.

Anomalous uses of the animate articles entailing motion, *ama* and *thi^{n}*, also occur (125-127).

125. Núzhi^{n}ga-**thí^{n} wak^{h}íde-pi** hégazhi ego^{n}
Boy-**the.O.MV** marksman-good very being
edado^{n} wanita shtewo^{n} thi’a thi^{n}k^{h}e-xtio^{n} ama.
what animal soever fail none at all EVID
‘As the boy was a very good marksman, he never failed to get any kind of animal which he desired.’ (JOD 1890: 163.17)

126. Gó^{n} hi^{n}xpé-k^{h}e é níashi^{n}ga píazhi **thi^{n}** é ágtha-bi-ama.
and finefeather-the.H it man bad **the.O.MV** it 3.stick in-P-EVID
‘And the bad man stuck the fine feather in his own hair.’
(JOD 1890: 166.14)

127. Mashtí^{n}ge-**amá** ikó^{n} étho^{n}ba **edí** ak^{h}-ama tígthe zhú-gig-the.
Rabbit –**the.P.MV** grandmother too there AUX-EVID 3.dwell together-RFL
‘There was a Rabbit and his Grandmother, too; he dwelt in a lodge with her.’
(JOD 1890: 15.1)

128. Thomas-**ama wasnide** tama.
Thomas-**the.P.MV 3.late** will
‘Thomas will be late.’ (A. Saunsoci 2-18-04 ULC)

129. Wik^{h}age-**ama-e**.
Friend-**the.P.MV**-he
‘That’s my friend.’ (A. Saunsoci NICC 3-1-04)

In (125), boy is marked by *thi^{n}* ‘the.animate.obviative.moving.’ However, the predicate is a stative verb meaning ‘be a good marksman,’ which does not entail motion. In (126), *thi^{n}* is again used in a non-motion context of ‘sticking a feather in his hair.’ In (127), ‘rabbit’ is marked with *ama* ‘the.animate.proximate.moving,’ but its predicate is *edi* ‘be there,’ which does not entail motion. Similarly, *ama* also can occur with stative verbs such as ‘be late’ (128) and ‘be he’

(129). Neither of these involve motion. Thus, both animate articles involving motion are used at times when the action predicated of the NPs does not entail motion.

While the defining characteristics of animacy, plurality, and position or movement do explain many of the occurrences of the animate articles, many exceptions to these can be found. Although animacy discrepancies can be explained through cultural reasons and plurality anomalies can be explained through used of cohesive groups versus individuals, movement anomalies cannot be as easily accounted for. The following section will address not only the concept of 'obviation,' but also the reasons for the movement anomalies.

4.8.2 Pragmatics

The division between the animate articles *ak^{h}a* and *ama* versus the other animate articles *thi^{n}*, *t^{h}o^{n}*, *thi^{n}k^{h}e*, and *ma* has been posited for well over a century, but the description of this division has changed over time. Originally, Dorsey (ms.) posited case as parameter. *Ak^{h}a* and *ama* marked 'nominative' case (see Figure 5 above). This would explain many examples such as those below (130, 131).

130. Nu-**ak^{h}a** nuzhi^{n}ga-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** do^{n}ba.
Man-**the.P.sg** boy-**the.O.sg** 3.see
'The man sees the boy.'

131. Shinudo^{n}-**ak^{h}a** saba.
Dog-**the.P.sg** black
'The dog is black.'

In (130), the subject of an active verb receives *ak^{h}a*. The object, which is generally marked with accusative and not nominative case in case-marking languages, receives *thi^{n}k^{h}e* and not *ak^{h}a* or *ama* in this example. Subjects of stative verbs, such as colors, also often receive *ak^{h}a*, which would be predicted by a case-marking account of these articles (131). Thus, examples such as (130) and (131) support a case analysis for the articles.

However, examples abound which contradict such an analysis (132-135).

132. Táxti duba-**ama** uzhó^{n}ge-k^{h}e ák^{h}aso^{n}de athá a-wá-to^{n}be.
Deer four-**the.P.MV** road-the.H across 3.go 1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-see
'I saw the four deer run across the road.' (A. Saunsoci 11-8-04)

133. Taxti-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** nishude go^{n}ha-k^{h}e-ta no^{n}zhi^{n} thash-to^{n}be-a?
Deer-**the.O.SI** river top-the.H-at 3.stand 2sg-see-?
'Did you see the deer standing by the river?' (A. Saunsoci 11-8-04)

134. Gó^{n} **nú-thi^{n}k^{h}é** thi-gtho^{n} tat^{h}é, á-bi-ama.
and man- **the.O.SI** 2sg.OBJ-marry shall say-P-EVID
'The man shall surely marry you.' (JOD 1890: 171.9)

135. Wazhi^{n}ga-nuga-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** to^{n}ga.
Chicken male-**the.O.SI** big
'The rooster is big.' (A. Saunsoci 11-3-04, NICC)

In (132), the 'deer' is the object of the matrix verb 'see,' but receives the supposed nominative marker *ama*. This cannot be due to the fact that case is determined by the non-matrix verb as 'deer' is the subject of the non-matrix verb but receives *thi^{n}k^{h}e* and not *ak^{h}a* in (133). Subjects of active verbs are also not consistently marked with 'nominative' articles, as can be seen in (134). Example (135) shows that subjects of stative verbs also are not consistently marked with *ak^{h}a*, which contrasts with (131). Thus, it cannot simply be case which selects for animate article choice in Omaha.

Due to such counter-examples, Koontz (1984) originally posited agentivity as determining animate article choice. This analysis was given above in Figure 7. It explains why subjects of active verbs often receive 'agentive' marking. It may also account for why 'going' deer in (130) are marked as 'agents' but 'standing' deer in (131) are not, depending on how agent is defined. However, it does not motivate why stative subjects sometimes are marked with *ak^{h}a* or why an active verb such as 'marry' may have a subject marked with *thi^{n}k^{h}e* (134). Other counter-examples to such an analysis are provided below (136, 137).

136. Gók^{h}i édi **hí**-amá núzhi^{n}ga-**thi^{n}**.
and there 3.arrive-EVID boy-**the.O.MV**
'And the boy arrived there. (JOD 1890: 163.3)

137. Go^{n}ki shi wa'u-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** shi shi^{n}gazhi^{n}ga **idathe-**ama
And again woman-**the.O.SI** again child 3.bear-EVID
'The woman bore a son again.' (JOD 1890: 162.9)

In (136), the boy is marked with a 'non-agentive' article, although he is the agent of 'arrive.' In (137), the mother is marked as non-agentive although she is the agent of bearing a child. Thus, agentivity does not suffice as a description of the distribution of the animate articles.

As stated earlier, Koontz (1989) posited obviation to explain the above phenomena. The agentive articles (as well as the verbal suffix *-i*) were reformulated as being proximate while non-agent articles (and lack of the suffix *-i*) were postulated to be obviative marking. Note that this system marks only third persons as other persons do not receive articles (or the verbal suffix *–i*).

Traditional notions of obviation entail a system which establishes referent tracking. The 'hero' of a given piece of discourse maintains a prominent discourse status through obviation and its semantico-syntactic means of maintaining discourse status. An obviation system makes 'multiple distinctions among third person referring expressions' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 286). For example, in Algonquian, third person NP's are marked as either proximate or obviative. One referent, the 'hero,' is assigned more topical status and receives proximate marking for a given span of discourse. Generally, all other characters are marked as obviative. Voicing alternations and inversion systems also frequently accompany this type of marking and are used to keep the proximate participant syntactically prominent, as well as discourse prominent. In RRG, a type of system which tracks one primary participant who is always realized as the syntactic pivot[5] is called a switch-function system (Foley & Van Valin 1984). Changes in voice indicate a change in semantic function. For example, passive voice may be

used to signal that the primary participant has become an undergoer rather than actor. Thus, obviation entails marking one primary participant as proximate for a given span of discourse. Furthermore, it is often accompanied by voicing alternations and/or a system of inversion.

At times, Omaha animate article choice can seem to be functioning as such a system (138).

138. Go^{n} **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** hi^{n}xpé g-th-íza-bi egó^{n} hi^{n}xpé á-gig-thá-bi-ama. 1
And **boy-the.P.sg** fine feather RFL-3-take-P so finefeather 1sg-RFL-stuck in-P-EVID
And the boy took his fine feather, and stuck it in his hair.

Gó^{n} zho^{n}-t^{h}e áne athá-bi egó^{n}, é pahó^{n}ga **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** ahí-bi-ama. 2
And wood-the.V climb 3.go-P so 3sg first **boy-the.P.sg** 3.arrive-P-EVID
And having gone climbing the pole, the boy arrived first at the top.

Shí agí-bi kí, shí é pahó^{n}ga hide ak^{h}í-bi-ama **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 3
Again 3.come-P again 3sg first below 3.got back-P-EVID **boy-the.P.sg**
And when they were coming back again, the boy was the first to get back below.

Gó^{n} ak^{h}í-bi ki, gaxthí-bi-ama **níashi^{n}ga píazhi-k^{h}e**, dúba e wí^{n} gaxthí-bi-ama.
And 3.gotback-P when 3.kill-P-EVID **man bad-the.H** four 3sg one 3.kill-P-EVID
And when he returned, he killed the bad man, he killed one of the four.

Gó^{n} **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}a** a-g-thá-bi-amá. 5
And **boy-the.P.sg** go-RFL-P-EVID
The boy went homeward.' (JOD 1890: 164.7-11)

In the above span of text, one hero 'the boy' is marked by the proximate article in four of the five sentences. In the remaining sentence, no character is marked as proximate. 'The boy' is the subject of the matrix clause in all five sentences. This seems quite like a system of obviation. One character is marked as prominent both in the syntax and discourse.

However, as noted by Koontz, the obviation system of Omaha does not seem to be equivalent to the prototypical obviation system. Omaha lacks voice and inversion which are so often associated with obviation. It is not a switch-function system; proximate-marked participants need not be syntactic pivots. For example, a proximate marked participant may function as the object of a clause (139-140).

139. k^{h}i édi **t'étha-bi-ama núzhi^{n}ga ícho^{n} mí^{n}gtho^{n}-ak^{h}á**.
and there 3.**kill-pl-EVID** **boy just married-the.P.sg**
'And the boy who was just married was killed there.' (JOD 1890: 200.19)

140. Shi núzhi^{n}ga thi^{n} gió^{n}tha-bi egó^{n} shi **núzhi^{n}ga-thi^{n} t'étha-bi-ama**.
again boy the left-pl having again **boy-the.O.MV 3.kill-pl-EVID**
'And having left the boy behind, they killed the boy.'(JOD 1890: 163.14)

In (139) the object of the killing is marked by the proximate article. Thus, the proximate 'hero' here does not function as subject. Example (140) shows that the object in such a sentence could as easily be filled by an obviative-marked NP. In both, verb morphology remains the same. Thus, a 'proximate' object is not treated as controlling verb marking.

In referent-tracking obviation systems, the proximate 'hero' may be the object of the sentence in which another obviative character is subject. However, the author has neither been able to elicit nor to find in 400 pages of text an example of an obviative marked subject co-occurring with a proximate marked object. The majority of transitive cases involved proximate NP's acting on obviative NP's or had only one overt NP (proximate or obviative). Given an explanation involving obviation where the articles are simply marking discourse status (tracking main characters), a situation involving an obviative subject and proximate object should occur. Main characters should be able to have actions performed upon them. Omaha does not exhibit obviation of this sort.

Furthermore, Omaha does not seem to be a referent-tracking type of system in that often multiple characters in a single stretch of discourse receive the proximate marking on both the verbs and articles. The text span given below in (141) provides an example.

141. Shi 'ábae athá-bi-ama **níashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 1
again hunt went-P-EVID **man-the.P.sg**
'The man went hunting again.

'ábae thé ki, shi ék^{h}it^{h}o^{n} **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}á** édi athá-bi-ama. 2
hunt go when again at the same time **dog-the.P.sg** there 3.go-P-EVID
When he went hunting, the dog went thither at the same time.

Égithe **níashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** shi miká wí^{n} ’í^{n} ak^{h}í-bi-ama. 3
at length **man-the.P.sg** again raccoon a carry 3.reach home-P-EVID
At length the man reached home again, carrying a racoon.

Shi **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}á** ak^{h}í-bi-ama. 4
again **dog-the.P.sg** reach home-P-EVID
The dog reached home again.’

(JOD 1890: 167.19-168.1)

In (141), line 1 has the man marked with the proximate article. Thus, in a prototypical obviation system, he could be expected to be the ‘hero’ of this discourse, to be the one being tracked. However, line 2 marks the dog with the proximate article. This could be a ‘hero-tracking’ shift at this point, but line 3 shows the man to be proximate again. Line 4 brings the dog back to proximate marking. Such line by line shifts are not expected in a referent-tracking system. When they do occur, they are expected to be less common than choosing one referent to track for spans of text. Indeed, having a referent tracking system to only track through one line spans seems utterly superfluous.

However, cases where the proximate-marked character change from line to line are not unusual in Omaha. Indeed, they might be considered the norm. (142) provides a further example of this.

142. Te wi^{n} shí^{n}-xti t’etha-bi-amá **Mashchí^{n}ge-ak^{h}a**. 1
buffalo one fat-very 3.kill-P-EVID **Rabbit-the.P.sg**
‘The Rabbit killed a very fat buffalo.

Úh o^{n-}wó$^{n-}$tha mo^{n}gthí^{n}-ga, á-bi-ama **Mo^{n}chu-ak^{h}á**. 2
To come for meat 1sg.OBJ-tell go away-M.IMP say-P-EVID **bear-the.P.sg**
Begone and tell about me, that they may come after the meat, said the Grizzly Bear.

Mo^{n}chú ishtá-zhide uíhe tithábi-ga ho, á-bi-amá **Mashchí^{n}ge-ak^{h}a**. 3
Bear eyes-red come for meat pass on-M.IMP DEC say-P-EVID **Rabbit-the.P.sg**
Pass ye on to the red-eyed Grizzly Bear, to help him pack the meat!, said the Rabbit.

Hi^{n}! wishi'é wi^{n}ó^{n}wa-ta á-bi-amá **Mo^{n}chú mí^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 4
Oh my husband's brother which-at say-P-EVID **Bear female-the.P.sg**
Oh! My husband's brother, in which direction?, said the female Grizzly Bear.' (JOD 1890: 43.2-43.5)

In the above, three characters are marked with proximate articles in four lines. There is a shift at each line. In the first line, Rabbit receives *ak^{h}a*. In the second, Bear receives this article. Then, Rabbit receives it again in the third line, and a new character, the female Grizzly, receives it in line 4. Thus, at best, this is a very schizophrenic reference-tracking system.

Obviation marking can often be used to disambiguate which character is acting in a situation where no overt reference (NP) to the character is provided. Omaha obviation also fails to track referents in this respect (143).

143. Égithe **wa'ú áma-ak^{h}á nó^{n}-ak^{h}á** gá-bi-ama wihé
at length **woman other-the.P.sg grown-the.P.sg** said as follows-P-EVID my younger sister

thitígo^{n} thikó^{n} edábe ishtá tho^{n} zé-a-wá-the ta
your husband's father your husband's mother she,too eye the heal-1sg-3pl will 1sg.

mi^{n}k^{h}é, ehé. 1
1sg.say
'At length the other woman, **the elder one**, said as follows: "My younger sister I say that I will heal the eyes of your husband's father and mother.

Thíigtho^{n}ge o^{n}-gthó^{n} te he, á-bi-ama. 2
your husband 1pl-marry will DEC said-P-EVID
Let him marry me."

K^{h}i **nú-ak^{h}á** ía-bazhi-bi-ama 3
and **man-the.P.sg** speak-not-P-EVID
And **the man** did not speak.

K^{h}i **wa'ú-ak^{h}á** gá-bi-ama zho^{n}théha, égo^{n}-a he. 4
and **woman-the.P.sg** 3sg.say as follows-P-EVID older sister so-F.IMP DEC
And **the woman** said as follows: "My elder sister, do so.

Waxpáthi^{n} báshe. 5
3.poor they-must
They must be poor.

Gó^{n} nú-thi^{n}k^{h}é thi-gtho^{n} tat^{h}é, á-bi-ama. 6
and man-the.O.SI 2sg.OBJ-marry shall say-P-EVID
The man shall surely marry you."

Gó^{n}k^{h}i **wa'ú-ak^{h}a** ishtá-tho^{n} wé-thitó^{n}-bi egó^{n}, ishtá-tho^{n} égigo^{n} waxá-bi-ama.7
and **woman-the.P.sg** eye-the.R 3pl.DAT-worked-P having eye-the.R as before make-P-EVID
And the woman having worked on their eyes restored their sight.
(JOD 1890: 171.6-11)

In line 1 of (143), the older sister (the grown woman) is marked by the proximate article as she is speaking. Line 2 continues her speech. In line 3, the man is marked proximate in the description of his silence. In line 4, the younger sister speaks and is marked as proximate. Although she is only called 'the woman,' the audience knows that it is the younger sister as she addresses the other woman as *zho^{n}théha* 'elder sister.' Note that the proximate marker does not help to disambiguate which sister is speaking; both the man and the elder sister were marked as proximate in recent lines, the younger sister was not. Lines 5 and 6 continue the speech of the younger sister. Then, in (7), 'the woman' is again marked as proximate. Here, reference is to the elder sister as it is she who can heal. She had promised to do so in line 1. Yet again, reference tracking cannot allow us to know which woman/sister it is. The last proximate marked sister was the youngest. If proximate marking served as referent tracking, the woman marked as proximate in line 7 would likely be the youngest, but in reality she is the oldest. Thus, proximate marking in this sample text does not serve to disambiguate referents.

This last example might seem to point to a system where each overt NP switches proximate tracking reference. However, the fact that overt NP's tend to show a new character as being proximate is not likely a part of this obviation system, but rather can be ascribed to larger discourse factors such as those posited by Givón (1995: 51) whereby full NP's are used to introduce new characters or characters who haven't been referred to recently, and zero anaphors and unstressed pronouns code referents that are currently activated. Indeed, objects also tend to

be full NP's when they are new or not recently referred to as well, without having any implications for proximatehood (objects tend to be obviative).

Thus, traditional obviation system mechanisms do not seem to be at work in OP. Indeed, proximate marking does not tend to be allotted to one 'hero' through any length of text, but often switches from clause to clause, sentence to sentence. Also, while in traditional obviation systems situations in which the choice of person performing an action is disambiguated by obviation, Omaha obviation marking does little to disambiguate which character is acting in ambiguous situations. Thus, the traditional notion of obviation truly fails as an explanation for this, as did agency.

Pragmatic research, such as Dubois (1987), shows that in so-called participant tracking systems the identity of the participant is presupposed, and the choice of referring expression (or other aspects of the participant tracking system specific to the particular langauge) is used to manipulate more global functions, such as the thematic structure of the story and/or the perspectival structure. For example, McDaniels (2000) demonstrates that the use of obviative marking in Comanche does not signal coreference with an obviative referent in the previous clause, but rather moves the proximate referent of the previous clause to the *origin* of perspective in a perspective shift. In these cases obviation marking does not help the listener to track the participant; rather, assuming that the listener knows who the intended referent is, it helps her to follow the perspective shift.

Koontz (1989) posited that the Omaha obviation system is based on "centrality and point of view," without elaborating the exact workings of this system. These terms coincide with a number of possible analyses. Deictic Centering Theory (DCT) (Duchan et al. 1995) provides a tool for elucidating the specific parameters of the 'obviation' system of Omaha. The 'proximate'

articles are posited to mark the character(s) who are central in the deictic window. As more than one character is likely to occur in this center stage of the story world, this hypothesis fits Omaha's use of proximate articles on multiple characters within a short span of text. An example of this is given below (144, repeated from 141).

144. Shi ’ábae athá-bi-ama **níashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 1
again hunt went-P-EVID **man-the.P.sg**
‘The man went hunting again.

’ábae thé ki, shi ék^{h}it^{h}o^{n} **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}á** édi athá-bi-ama. 2
hunt go when again at the same time **dog-the.P.sg** there 3.go-P-EVID
When he went hunting, the dog went thither at the same time.

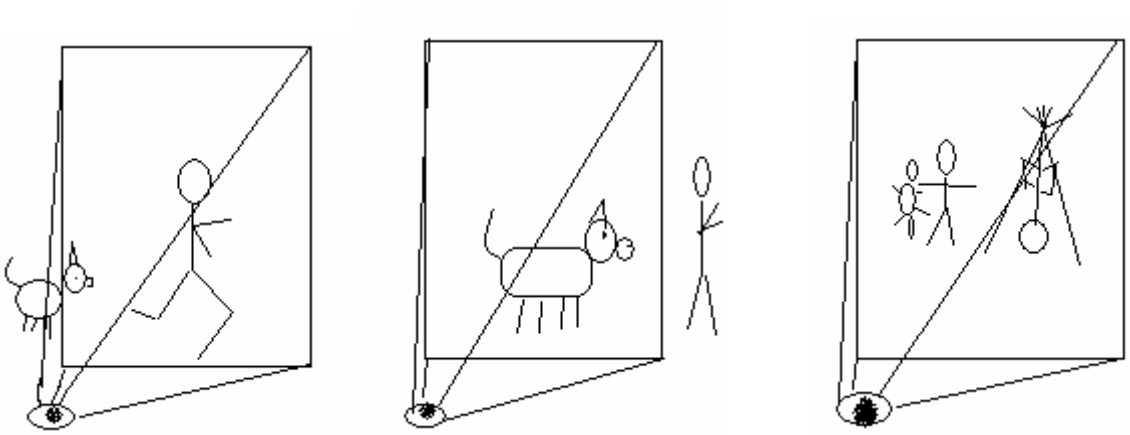
Égithe **níashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** shi miká wí^{n} ’í^{n} ak^{h}í-bi-ama. 3
at length **man-the.P.sg** again raccoon a carry 3.reach home-P-EVID
At length the man reached home again, carrying a racoon.

Shi **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}á** ak^{h}í-bi-ama. 4
again **dog-the.P.sg** reach home-P-EVID
The dog reached home again.’

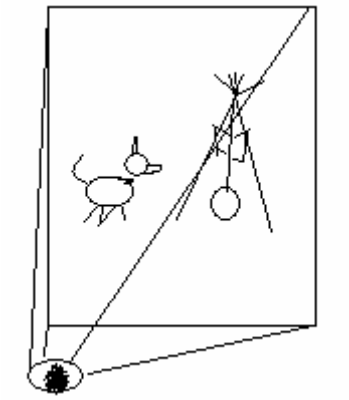
(JOD 1890: 167.19-168.1)

In this span of text the deictic window contains the man and the dog. In line (1), the man is central in the deictic window. Then, in (2), the dog moves in and is central. In line (3), the man is central again and then in (4), the dog is central. It is like the lens of the camera going between characters on a scene in a movie. This is depicted in Figure 8.

As seen in Figure 8, line 1 is depicted as having the man center stage and the dog just off-center, watching him. The man is marked as proximate. Then, the stage shifts to the dog as he follows the man in Line 2. Note that the man is still in the storyworld, he just isn’t proximate, central. Then, the stage shows the man return home in Line 3 and the dog return home in Line 4. Furthermore, the listener expects the focus to shift back and forth between man and dog at this point in the story as they are engaged in a competition of sorts. The man has turned the hero into



Line 1 Line 2 Line 3



Line 4

Figure 8. Center stage diagrams for lines in (144).

a dog and stolen his identity as hero. Thus, the dog must find a way to prove that he is really the hero vis-á-vis the imposter hero. The shifts in proximate track this 'competition,' showing the actions of one versus the other back and forth. Indeed it mimics the perspective of an onlooker at the village watching what is happening between the two: one leaves, the other leaves, one gets back with x, the other gets back (with y, which is expressed later). The obviation marking therefore makes sense not for reference tracking but for shifts in focus of attention, comparing and contrasting the actions of imposter versus hero.

Such a focal attention tracking system can also account for those instances where proximate reference is maintained by one character for a series of clauses (145, repeated from 138).

145. Go^{n} **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** hi^{n}xpé g-th-íza-bi egó^{n} hi^{n}xpé á-gig-thá-bi-ama. 1
And **boy-the.P.sg** fine feather RFL-3-take-P so finefeather 1sg-RFL-stuck in-P-EVID
And the boy took his fine feather, and stuck it in his hair.

Gó^{n} zho^{n}-t^{h}e áne athá-bi egó^{n}, é pahó^{n}ga **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á** ahí-bi-ama. 2
And wood-the.V climb 3.go-P so 3sg first **boy-the.P.sg** 3.arrive-P-EVID
And having gone climbing the pole, the boy arrived first at the top.

Shí agí-bi kí, shí é pahó^{n}ga hide ak^{h}í-bi-ama **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 3
Again 3.come-P again 3sg first below 3.got back-P-EVID **boy-the.P.sg**
And when they were coming back again, the boy was the first to get back below.

Gó^{n} ak^{h}í-bi ki, gaxthí-bi-ama **níashi^{n}ga píazhi-k^{h}e**, dúba e wí^{n} gaxthí-bi-ama.
And 3.gotback-P when 3.kill-P-EVID **man bad-the.H** four 3sg one 3.kill-P-EVID
And when he returned, he killed the bad man, he killed one of the four.

Gó^{n} **núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}a** a-g-thá-bi-amá. 5
And **boy-the.P.sg** go-RFL-P-EVID
The boy went homeward.' (JOD 1890: 164.7-11)

Here, what is of interest to the listener are the actions of the boy. The attention is focused on him to see if he can succeed. His three brothers have failed to beat the bad men, and this pole-climbing competition happened before with the result of the brother dying. Thus, the focus of attention is on the boy and the article choice reflects this. The mechanism producing this marking of the same character as proximate in successive clauses, or proximate chaining, is not co-reference or participant differentiation but rather the speaker's and listener's attention being focused on one character for an entire (or subpart of an) episode.

Examples such as (139), which seemed completely anomalous under an analysis using prototypical notions of obviation, become comprehensible using this analysis (146, repeated from 142).

146. Te wi^{n} shí^{n}-xti t'etha-bi-amá **Mashchí^{n}ge-ak^{h}a**. 1
buffalo one fat-very 3.kill-P-EVID **Rabbit-the.P.sg**
'The Rabbit killed a very fat buffalo.

Úh o^{n-}wó$^{n-}$tha mo^{n}gthí^{n}-ga, á-bi-ama **Mo^{n}chu-ak^{h}á**. 2
To come for meat 1sg.OBJ-tell go away-M.IMP say-P-EVID **bear-the.P.sg**
Begone and tell about me, that they may come after the meat, said the Grizzly Bear.

Mo^{n}chú ishtá-zhide uíhe tithábi-ga ho, á-bi-amá **Mashchí^{n}ge-ak^{h}a**. 3
Bear eyes-red come for meat pass on-M.IMP DEC say-P-EVID **Rabbit-the.P.sg**
Pass ye on to the red-eyed Grizzly Bear, to help him pack the meat!, said the Rabbit.

Hi^{n}! wishi'é wi^{n}ó^{n}wa-ta á-bi-amá **Mo^{n}chú mí^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 4
Oh my husband's brother which-at say-P-EVID **Bear female-the.P.sg**
Oh! My husband's brother, in which direction?, said the female Grizzly Bear.' (JOD 1890: 43.2-43.5)

It is not the case that referents are being tracked in a schizophrenic sort of manner back and forth in the above text. Rather, focus of attention is shifting from speaker to speaker. That is, in line 1, the Rabbit performs a crucial action. Then, the Bear speaks telling the Rabbit to do something. The attention then shifts to the Rabbit to see him do as the Bear has commanded, as he speaks to the next character. Then, attention turns to this character, the Female Grizzly Bear, to see her response. This is exactly how an observer would track the actions going on. First, an action is seen. Then, attention turns to see the response it provokes. This response calls for another action to occur, and attention turns to the character who must respond. Their response calls for another character to act, and attention then turns to this character to view their response. The proximate marking is not haphazard but rather in-line with audience expectations and the viewing of the action.

Example (146) provides a limited example of conversational turns being tracked. In a conversation, a person naturally looks back and forth between speakers as turns are being taken. Linguistic and paralinguistic cues are given by speakers to signal turn endings, and listeners anticipate who the next speaker will be using these and other cues. Thus, in conversation,

speakers have two receptive goals: content acquisition and turn boundary/intended new speaker prediction. A narrative which is structured like conversation, such as the above, will thus bounce back and forth between characters, mimicking actual focus of attention in conversation. Before each shift, the characters are anticipating the shift and who the next speaker will be; likewise, the Omaha audience, as listeners/overhearers, make the same anticipations. They anticipate the shifts slightly in advance of its occurrence. Thus, they are able to shift their attentional focus to the next contributor as the shift occurs in the attention to each speaker as they begin speaking. So examples such as the above exactly mimic how conversation is tracked in the real world.

In the above example, only three lines of conversation were given and all the characters were proximate. The following selection provides a more extended example of conversation in narrative and shows how obviative characters fit into this schema (147, part of which was presented earlier in 143).

147. **Wa'ú-ak^{h}a** ithádi-thi^{n}k^{h}é uítha-bi-ama, Dadihá, ithádi ihó^{n} 1
woman the.P.sg father-the.O.SI tell-P-EVID Father his father his mother
'The woman told it to her father, "O father, he spoke of seeing

edábe wa-gí-to^{n}be 'íthai egó^{n} agthe 'íthai he, á-bi-ama.2
Also 3pl.OBJ-RFL-see 3.speak of having 3.go homeward 3.speak of DEC say-P-EVID
his father and mother, he spoke of going homeward," said she.

Gó^{n}, ó^{n}ho^{n} nisíha, á-bi-amá **ithádi-ak^{h}á**. 3
And yes my child say-P-EVID **her father-the.P.sg**
And her father said, "Yes, my child,

Nisíha, nú wá-thixai ki wi-úhe-shnó^{n}i ha. 4
My child man 3pl.OBJ-marry when 3sg.DAT-follow-invariably DEC
when they marry men, they invariably follow them.

Uthúha-ga ha, á-bi-ama. 5
Follow-M.IMP DEC say-P-EVID
Follow him."

Gó^{n} **itígo^{n}-ak^{h}á** shó^{n}ge áhigi-xti itó^{n}de-thi^{n}k^{h}e
And **his wife's father-the.P.sg** horse many-very his daughter's husband-the.O.SI
gi'í-bi-ama. 6
RFL-give-P-EVID
And the wife's father gave to his daughter's husband a great many ponies.

Gó^{n}k^{h}i shó^{n} **wa'ú áma^{6}-ak^{h}a** shó^{n} wi-úha-bi-ama. 7
And anyway **woman other-the.P.sg** anyway 3pl.DAT-follow-P-EVID
And the other woman followed them at any rate.

Nú-ak^{h}a ukía-bazhi, k^{h}i **wa'ú-ak^{h}a** shti ukía-bazhi ki, shó^{n} 8
Man the.P.sg 3.talk-not and **woman-the.P.sg** also 3.talk-not when anyway
wi-úha-bi-ama,
3pl.DAT-follow-P-EVID
When neither the man nor the woman talked with her, still she followed them,

Xagé-hno^{n} sho^{n}sho^{n}-bi-amá. 9
3.cry-REG always-P-EVID
crying continually.

Égithe tí-t^{h}e-di ahí-bi-ama. 10
At length lodge-the.V-at 3.arrive-P-EVID
At length they reached the lodge.

Égithe **ithádi-thi^{n}k^{h}é ihó^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}é** shtewo^{n} waxpáni-xti-o^{n} tho^{n}k^{h}a-ama,
Behold **his father-the.O.SI his mother-the.O.SI** notwithstanding poor-very AUX-EVID
Behold his father, and even his mother, they were very poor,

Káxe ishtá wáduzhá-bi ego^{n}. 12
Crow eye 3pl.OBJ-pick-pl having
the crows having picked out their eyes.

Égithe **wa'ú áma-ak^{h}á nó^{n}-ak^{h}á** gá-bi-ama 13
at length **woman other-the.P.sg grown-the.P.sg** said as follows-P-EVID
At length the other woman, the elder one, said as follows:

wihé thitígo^{n} thikó^{n} edábe ishtá-tho^{n} 14
my younger sister your husband's father your husband's mother she,too eye-the.R
"My younger sister I say that I will heal

zé-a-wá-the ta mi^{n}k^{h}é, ehé. 15
heal-1sg-3pl will 1sg. 1sg.say
the eyes of your husband's father and mother.

Thíigtho^{n}ge o^{n}-gthó^{n} te he, á-bi-ama. 16
your husband 1pl-marry will DEC said-P-EVID
Let him marry me."

K^{h}i **nú-ak^{h}á** ía-bazhi-bi-ama 17
and **man-the.P.sg** speak-not-P-EVID
And the man did not speak.

K^{h}i **wa'ú-ak^{h}á** gá-bi-ama zho^{n}théha, égo^{n}-a he. 18
and **woman-the.P.sg** 3sg.say as follows-P-EVID older sister so-F.IMP DEC
And the woman said as follows: "My elder sister, do so.

Waxpáthi^{n} báshe. 19
3.poor they-must
They must be poor.

Gó^{n} **nú-thi^{n}k^{h}é** thi-gtho^{n} tat^{h}é, á-bi-ama. 20
and **man-the.O.SI** 2sg.OBJ-marry shall say-P-EVID
The man shall surely marry you."

Gó^{n}k^{h}i **wa'ú-ak^{h}a** ishtá-tho^{n} wé-thitó^{n}-bi egó^{n}, ishtá-tho^{n} égigo^{n} waxá-bi-ama.
and **woman-the.P.sg** eye-the.R 3pl.DAT-worked-P having eye-the.R as before make-P-EVID
And the woman having worked on their eyes restored their sight.

(JOD 1890: 171.6-11)

In Line 1-2, the woman is center stage, talking to her father; she is marked with *ak^{h}a*. She addresses her father who is marked with the obviative *thi^{n}k^{h}e*. The focus of attention is on her as she speaks. When her speech ends, the audience naturally turns to her addressee, her father, and he becomes proximate as he speaks. In line with this, Line 3 shows her father to also be center stage, as he is marked with *ak^{h}a*. He stays center stage as he talks to her and gives away horses, Lines 3-6. Then, in Line 7, *wa'ú áma^{7}-ak^{h}a* 'the other woman (the elder sister)' comes center stage as she follows her sister and brother-in-law. These two share center stage and are modified by *ak^{h}a* in Line 8. This group goes to the man's home and two new characters *ithádi-thi^{n}k^{h}é ihó^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}é* 'his mother and father' are introduced. However, the parents are marked as obviative with *thi^{n}k^{h}é* 'the.animate.sitting.obviative.' They are not center stage but rather off to the side, being observed by the sisters and husband. The parents have come on stage but the focus of the audience's attention, viewed from the perspective of the deictic origin, is still on the wife, husband and sister. The Elder sister, *wa'ú áma-ak^{h}á nó^{n}-ak^{h}á* 'the other older woman' is

proximate, center stage, as she speaks in lines 13-16. The focus of attention then turns toward the man, who might be expected to reply as the Elder sister spoke concerning both his hand in marriage and his parents' health. The use of the proximate article with the man shows him to be center stage in line 17. As he voices no disapproval, attention turns toward the younger sister to see her response as to whether she'll allow her sister to become her husband's second wife. Thus, the younger sister is marked proximate in line 18 when she talks to the younger sister. The man is moved off center stage, as can be seen by his marking in line 20, *nú-thi^{n}k^{h}é* 'the.animate.sitting.obviative man.' He is not expected to speak or act regarding this. His lack of objection allows his wife to make the decision. He does not need to speak further. This story ends with the elder sister center stage as she heals the parents, as seen by article choice *wa'ú-ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.singular.proximate woman' in line 21. Thus, the analysis informed by DCT is able to account for large spans of texts with various animate articles cohesively and without ad-hoc explanations. Proximate marks center stage, focus of attention. The audience is able to anticipate new proximate marking to a great extent in the same manner that one anticipates speech and actions in life.

It also can explain sentences such as (132), (133), and (135), repeated below as (148-150).

148. Táxti duba-**ama** uzhó^{n}ge-k^{h}e ák^{h}aso^{n}de athá a-wá-to^{n}be.
Deer four-**the.P.MV** road-the.H across 3.go 1sg-3pl-see
'I saw the four deer run across the road.' (A. Saunsoci 11-8-04)

149. Taxti-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** nishude go^{n}ha-k^{h}e-ta no^{n}zhi^{n} thash-to^{n}be-a?
Deer-**the.O.SI** river top-the.H at 3.stand 2sg-see-?
'Did you see the deer standing by the river?' (A. Saunsoci 11-8-04)

150. Wazhi^{n}ga-nuga-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** to^{n}ga.
Chicken male- **the.O.SI** big
'The rooster is big.' (A. Saunsoci 11-3-04, NICC)

In (148), the deer are center stage in the sense that they are running across the road right in front of the author and the speaker. In (149), the deer is off to the side of the road and not very visible. Thus, it is not center stage from the speaker's perspective and is marked with the obviative article *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$*. The rooster was similarly off to the side in (150).

The examples in (148-150) were taken from non-narrative speech. Thus, although DCT is specifically concerned with narrative, it proves helpful for explaining non-narrative contexts as well. In addition to explaining the non-narrative examples which proved anomalous under other analyses, DCT also proves useful for explaining the seeming anomalous examples of non-motion articles being used in motion contexts noted in Section 4.7.1. Examples of two different articles being used with the same motion verb are provided below (151, 152).

151. Go^{n} ti zhi^{n}ga-t^{h}e ti-mo^{n}the **atha-bi-ama shinudo^{n}-ak^{h}a**
and lodge small-the.V lodge-within **go-P-QUO dog-the.P.sg**
'And the dog went within the small lodge.' (in same general area)
(JOD 1890: 169.17)

152. Egithe **atha-bi-ama wa'u-ama**.
at length **go-P-EVID woman-the.P.MV**
'At length the woman went.' (from the camp to yonder cliff)
(JOD 1890: 169.9)

In (151), the dog, marked by *ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.sg.proximate,' goes into a sweat lodge which is on the premises of where the action is occurring. In (152), the woman, marked with *ama* 'the.animate.moving.proximate,' leaves the camp, going to a cliff. Eschenberg (1999) proposed that *ama* is used only when the number or movement is marked. *Ama* is used with movement involving a scene shift while *ak^{h}a* is used with movement in the same general area. In the above, (151), the example involving *ak^{h}a*, involves motion within the scene where the action takes place. The deictic origin does not shift to inside the lodge (the audience watches from the outside as the dog takes a sweat bath and asks for the cover to be removed); the action resumes when the character exits (no change of scene/space). In the second sentence, (152), the woman

goes from the camp to the cliff, and the narration describes what she does there. Thus, the locus of the action as well as the locus of the deictic origin/observer/point of view changes when *ama* is used but not when *ak^{h}a* is used.

Examination of other such examples supports this analysis (153, line 1 repeated from 113).

153. Gó^{n} núzhi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}á** édi **athá**-bi-ama. 1
And boy-**the.P.sg** there 3.**went**-P-EVID
'And the boy went thither.

Ithádi iho^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}é étho^{n}ba uthí'agá-bi thó^{n}zho^{n}, 2
his father his mother-the.O.SI she, too 3.unwilling-pl although

sho^{n} édi athá-bi-ama. 3
yet there 3.go-P-EVID
Though his father and mother were unwilling, yet he went thither.

Édi ahí-bi-ama ki, o^{n-}thó^{n}-thi-ko^{n} tó^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}, á-bi-ama. 4
There 3.arrive-P-EVID when 1pl-contest-2sg 2pl.will 3.say-pl-EVID
When he arrived there, they said, "We will contend with you."

Ó^{n}ho^{n}, ithánahi^{n}, á-bi-amá. 5
Yes 1sg.consent 3.say-P-EVID
"Yes, I consent.

Edádo^{n} o^{n}-gáxe ta-í a, á-bi-amá núzhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á. 6
What 3pl-play will-pl ? 3.say-P-EVID boy-the.P.sg
What shall we play?" said the boy.' (JOD 1890: 162.2-4)

In (153.1), the boy 'goes thither,' but *ak^{h}a* and not *ama* is used. The next line returns to the thoughts of his parents who have not left. Then, the next two sentences shift the scene by saying he went and he arrived. Thus, at the first mention of the boy going the deictic origin does not shift (153.1). Only after discussing the parents' reactions and using two more clauses with motion verbs, does the deictic origin move the perspective frame to a new location. Once the perspective frame is moved, the use of a motion article is no longer appropriate, as no movement

to a new scene is occurring. Thus, the next article used with the boy is *ak^{h}a* which does not entail motion (153.6).

Other examples of *ak^{h}a* being used with motion verbs can be explained in a similar manner. Another of these examples cited in 4.7.1 is provided below (154, repeated from 114).

154. Égithe ‘ábae **athá-**bi-ama níashi^{n}ga-**ak^{h}á.**
at length hunt **went-**P-EVID man-**the.P.sg**
‘At length the man went hunting.’ (JOD 1890: 167.6)

In (154), the subject ‘man’ is modified by *ak^{h}a* but the verb ‘go’ entails motion. The next clauses in this selection are provided below (155).

155. ’ábae thé ki ék^{h}ito^{n} **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}a** áshi **athá**-bi-ama. 1
hunt go when at the same time **dog-the.P.sg** out 3.**went**-P-QUO
‘When he went hunting, the dog went out at the same time.

Égithe ’ábae ak^{h}í-bi ki i^{n}gthó^{n}ga athí^{n} **ak^{h}í**-bi-amá **níashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}á**. 2
At length hunt 3.arrive-P when wildcat 3.have 3.**arrive**-P-EVID **man-the.P.sg**
At length when the man reached home from the hunt, he brought back a wildcat.

Gó^{n}k^{h}i **shínudo^{n}-ak^{h}á akhí-bi** egó^{n}, mí^{n}zhi^{n}ga-thi^{n}k^{h}é baspó^{n}-hno^{n}-bi-ama.
And **dog -the.P** 3.**arrive-**P having girl-the.O.SI push against-REG-P-EVID
And the dog, having come home from the hunt, pushed repeatedly against the girl to attract her attention.’ (JOD 1890: 167.7)

In the next line, the dog also goes to hunt and is also marked with *ak^{h}a*. Then, the man returns homes with a wildcat. ‘Arrive’ is also a verb of motion but again the subject takes the article *ak^{h}a* (line 2). Then, the dog arrives home and is again marked with *ak^{h}a*. All of these articles would seem anomalous if it was simply actor motion that selected for article. However, if as in (153), a shift in the perspective of the deictic origin is instead the criterial factor for article choice, the above make sense. The man and dog go off hunting but the deictic origin remains at the village. The man and dog then both come back and the deictic origin is still there. Thus, the articles of motion entail a scene shift where the deictic origin moves (with a character) to a location. Movement within a scene (151) or by a character to another scene (154-155) does not

necessarily select for a movement article. Only when the deictic origin, along with the character, moves to a new scene does the motion article *ama* occur (152). One further example is provided below (156).

156. Égasáni k^{h}i, shi égithe thábthi^{n}-**ak^{h}á ahí**-bi-ama.
the morrow when again at length three-**the.P.sg arrive**-P-EVID
'On the morrow the three arrived.' (JOD 1890: 164. 14)

Here, again, a motion verb co-occurs with an *ak^{h}a* marked subject. The three are arriving at the scene where the hero and his parents are. Thus, they are moving into the perspective of the deictic origin. The deictic origin or virtual observer doesn't need to shift scenes, and, thus, *ama* need not be used. Thus, *ama* entails a shift of scene in the narrative.

An example of a scene shift which entails use of *ama*, not *ak^{h}a*, is given below (157).

157. Gó^{n} **agtha**-bi-ama shi núzhi^{n}ga-**amá**. 1
and **went homeward**-P-EVID again boy-**the.P.MV**
'And the boy went homeward.

Ak^{h}í-bi egó^{n}, No^{n}há, I^{n}dádi étho^{n}ba… 2
3.arrive-P having Mother Father he, too
Having reached home, he said, O Mother and Father…'
(JOD 1890: 165.6-7)

In (157), the boy moves from the location of where he was in a contest toward home. This scene shift is accompanied by *ama*. Having reached home, in the next clause he speaks with his parent. The preposed clause in line 2 recycles the informational content of the last matrix clause. This recycling creates an informational pause in the story, iconically reflecting the shift. Thus, use of *ama* in narrative can be felicitously explained through the concept of scene shift.

Non-narrative use of *ama* is also at times seemingly anomalous (158, 159, repeated from 128, 129).

158. Thomas-**ama** **wasnide** tama.
Thomas-**the.P.MV** 3.late will
'Thomas will be late.' (A. Saunsoci 2-18-04, ULC)

159. Wik^{h}age-**ama-e**.
Friend- **the.P.MV-3sg**
'That's my friend.' (A. Saunsoci 3-1-04, NICC)

In (158), the student is not present in the discourse context. The speaker shows his removal from the scene using *ama*. Similarly, the person spoken of in (159) is not present when the sentence was uttered. It is not the case that the speaker knows that this person is moving, but rather their removal from the locus of the conversation is being underlined by the use of the movement article. Using the proximate article shows that they are central to the discourse conversation at that point. Using the article of motion shows them to be markedly removed. The speaker would have to shift to another scene to be with them. With this extension of the concept of scene shift, animate article use in Omaha can now be largely accounted for.

Earlier analyses failed to adequately account for many instances of article usage. Section 4.8.1 pointed out many seemingly anomalous uses of the articles, such as the use of singular articles with plural entities, articles that indicate motion with non-moving entities, and articles that do not entail motion with moving entities. These are no longer anomalous but rather are motivated by the parameters proposed in this analysis. Cohesive groups are marked with singular articles even though they contain multiple members. Articles which indicate motion are only used when there is a scene shift co-occurring with the motion or when the referent is being marked as removed from the locus of conversation. DCT was used as a theory to elucidate this concept of marked motion or scene-shift.

DCT also proved fundamental in outlining the parameters of the 'obviation' system at work in Omaha. While earlier analyses based on role or agentivity completely failed to account for Omaha animate article usage, traditional notions of obviation also did not seem to fit the Omaha system. Rather than tracking a single referent for a span of text, Omaha uses 'proximate' markers to show referents to be centerstage in the storyworld. The terms 'proximate' and

'obviative' have been maintained for this revised analysis. This follows Koontz (1989a) and also builds on the non-technical understanding of proximate as near and obviative as less important and distal.

4.9 Article morpho-syntax

4.9.0 Introduction

The following section provides a syntactic analysis of the uses of the articles in a variety of NP's, using the syntactic theory of RRG, as put forth in section 3.1. Simple NP's, possessive NP's, partitives, quantified NP's and coordinate NP's are all discussed. Relative NP's will be addressed in Chapter 5.

4.9.1 RRG analysis

Articles in Omaha occur NP finally and can follow a variety of modifiers (160).

160. shinudo^{n} to^{n}ga no^{n}ba wiwita-ama
dog big two my-the.P.pl
'my two big dogs'

Here, the article *ama* follows the head noun, an adjective, a numeral and a possessive. The article is always phrase final.

RRG predicts the above ordering of noun phrase modifiers through the scope relationships of the various modifiers or operators. The article which marks definiteness is an NP-level operator and therefore occurs farthest from the noun. The adjective as a nuclear operator occurs closest to the noun and the number, a core modifier, occurs between the adjective and article. The possessive, like the article, marks definiteness and thus occurs further from the noun. However, the article contains deictic (see section 4.7.1) as well as definite properties and thus occurs further from the noun. The structure of this NP is given in Figure (9).

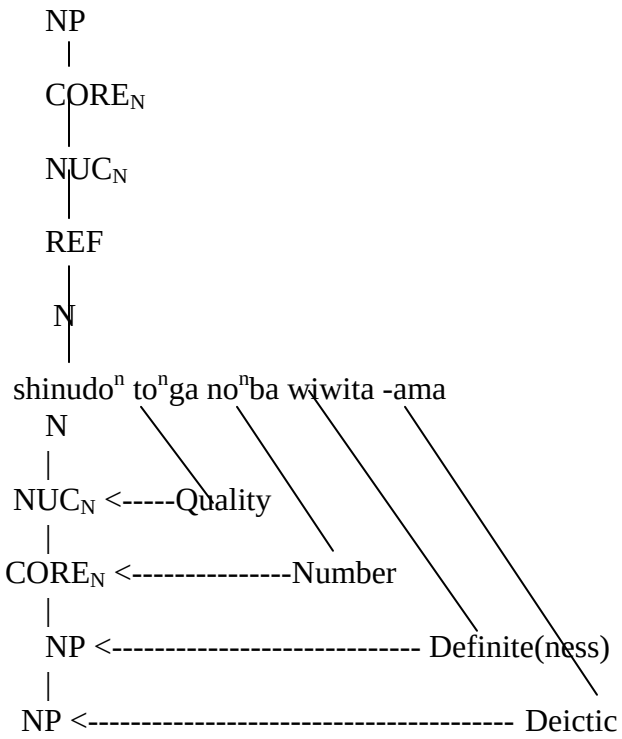


Figure 9. Structure of NP in Omaha.

As seen above, articles co-occur with possessors in Omaha. They also can co-occur with proper nouns (161), as well as (158) given earlier.

161. Kay-ak^{h}a uhi.
Kay-the 3sg.win
'Kay won.' (A.Saunsoci 10-2003)

In (161), the article modifies the proper noun 'Kay.' While this does not always occur with simple definite articles, the article in Omaha adds not only definiteness but also deictic information (section 4.7). Thus, this proves acceptable.

Similarly, the articles can combine with demonstrative modifiers (162) and demonstrative pronouns (163).

162. The-tho^{n}k^{h}a shinudo^n-tho^{n}k^{h}a í^n-washta-mazhi..
This –the.O.SI.pl dog-the.O.SI.pl 1sg.DAT-spare-1sg.not
'I cannot spare these dogs...' (JOD 1890: 110.1)

163. She-ak^{h}a zhoni go^{n}tha.
This-the.P.sg candy 3sg.want
'This one wants candy.'

In (162) the article *tho^{n}k^{h}a* 'the. animate.obviative.sitting.plural' combines with *the* 'this.distal' to mean 'these.' This demonstrative-article combination modifies 'dog.' In (163), the article *ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.proximate.singular' combines with *she* 'this.close' to mean 'this one here.' Due to the fact that the article adds deictic and position/shape information as well as definiteness, it can be combined with the demonstrative.

Omaha has a number of ways to express possession. These include a verb *athi^{n}* 'have', a possessive predicate, and the ability to juxtapose inherent possessor with possessum. The verb 'have' is presented below (164).

164. Shínudo^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e a-bth-i^{n}.
Dog-the.O.SI have-1sg-have
'I have the dog.'

Example (164) shows the possessed as object of the verb 'have,' which is conjugated for the first person (active paradigm). The verb agrees with the possessor.

The canonical Omaha possessive construction involves a possessive pronoun, such as in Figure 9. For third person possessors, the possessor may be modified by an article in a predicative expression (165).

165. Webaxu-k^{h}e zhi^{n}ga-ak^{h}a-eta.
Pencil-the.H child-the.P.sg-his
'The pencil is the child's.'

Such sentences are equational types of constructions. As such, each argument, possessor and possessed, is a complete NP and is modified by its own article. The possessive pronoun is a predicate. The structure is given in Figure 10.

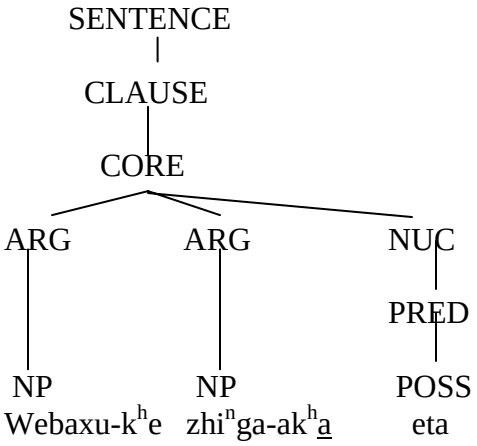


Figure 10. Predicative possessive constructions

The structure of a possessor modified possessum NP is different. The two nouns are not both independent NP's with their own articles (166).

166. Wa'u-ak^{h}a éthe eta-i-ama
Woman-the.P.sg relation 3sg.POSS-P-the.pl
'The woman's relations' (JOD 1890: 339.2)

Unlike the predicative expression, non-predicative possession does not permit articles on both possessor and possessum. Instead the possessor precedes the possessum, and the possessum is followed by the possessive marker *eta* (here also marked with a proximate verb ending) which is then followed by the article, which corresponds to the possessum. *Ama* modifies animate beings which are plural. Thus, it corresponds to the possessed 'relations,' rather than the singular possessor 'woman.' The possessor is allowed its own article which directly follows it. In (168), *ak^{h}a* 'the.animate.singular' follows the possessor. The possessum article appears after the entire phrase. The structure of this construction is given in Figure 11.

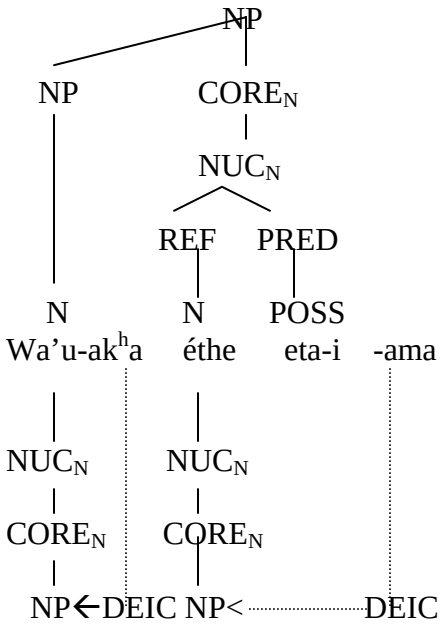


Figure 11. Possessive NP construction

Two NP's can also be juxtaposed without a possessive marker (167).

167. Shinudo^n wiwita-ak^{h}a si^{n}de-k^{h}e snedá.
dog my-the.P.sg tail-the.H long
'My dog's tail is long.' (A. Saunsoci 5-1-2005)

In (167), a case of inherent or inalienable possession, the possessor NP precedes the possessed noun, which is followed by an article *k^{h}e*. The structure would be similar to that of possession with *eta*. Figure 12 illustrates this construction.

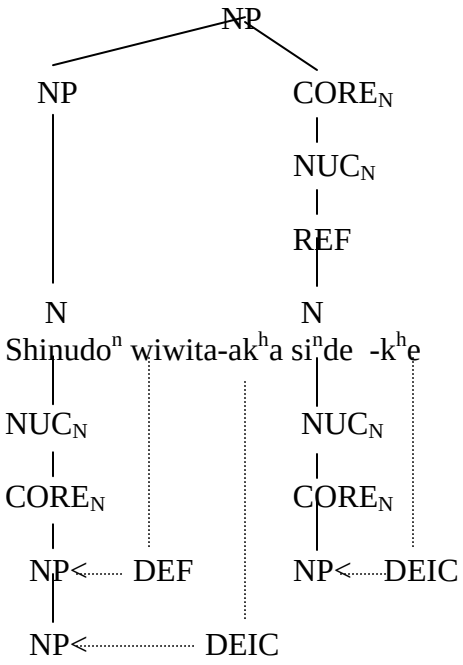


Figure 12. Possessive NP construction

This type of construction lacking a possessive marker is also used with kinship (168).

168. Alice itushpa-ak^{h}a wathip^{h}i.
Alice grandson-the.P.sg 3sg .know how
'Alice's grandson is smart.'

In (168), no possessive marker or verb 'have' is present. The relationship expressed by the possessive marker *'s* in English is expressed by juxtaposition in Omaha. Though generally it is the case that the possessive marker occurs with alienable possession and not with inalienable possession, this is not always the case. For example, in (166) the possessive marker occurs with a kinship term. More research needs to be done on this issue.

Articles figure prominently in a number of other constructions in Omaha, including partitives, clausal subjects and relative clauses. Each of these will be discussed below. An example of the partitive is provided in (169).

169. Nuzhi^{n}ga-ama thabthi^{n}
Boy-the.P.pl three
'Three of the boys'

In (169), the context provides that there are more than three boys in a group and this construction depicts a subset of three. It is a partitive construction. However, it is not one simple NP; there is an NP embedded within the larger NP. This is reflected by a pause between *nuzhi^{n}ga-ama* 'boy the' and *thabthi^{n}* 'three.' In it, the number follows the article. This contrasts with a non-partitive number construction (170).

170. Nuzhi^{n}ga thabthi^{n}-ak^{h}a
Boy three-the.P.sg
'The three boys'

Here, the article follows the number and the construction designates an entire set rather than a subset. In this latter case, the entire construction forms a single NP and there is no pause between its elements. Also, the use of the singular article *ak^{h}a*, versus the plural *ama* in (167), denotes a cohesive group being treated as a single entity.

In (169), 'the boys' is an NP unto itself. It introduces the entity to be quantified. A quantifier can function as an independent NP in Omaha (171, 172).

171. Ga-t^{h}e duba uzhi-a.
This-the.V some put in-F.IMP
'Add some of this.' (M.W.Cayou 12-5-03)

172. Duba uzhi-a.
some put in-F.IMP
'Add some.'

In (171), a partitive type construction, the NP introduces what is to be quantified and the quantifier then quantifies it. In (172), the quantifier alone serves as an NP. The first NP in (171) can be separated by an intonation pause from the quantifier.

Partitives can also occur sentence medially (173).

173. Arvene zhoni-t^{h}e . duba th-ize-a?
Arvene candy-the.V some 3-get-?
'Did Arvene get some of the candy?'

Here, 'some of the candy' occur after the subject and before the verb. There is again a slight pause between 'the candy' and 'some.' This leads to an analysis of the partitive construction which places the NP separate from the quantifier. The quantifier itself coreferences the pronominal argument of the verb (Figure 13).

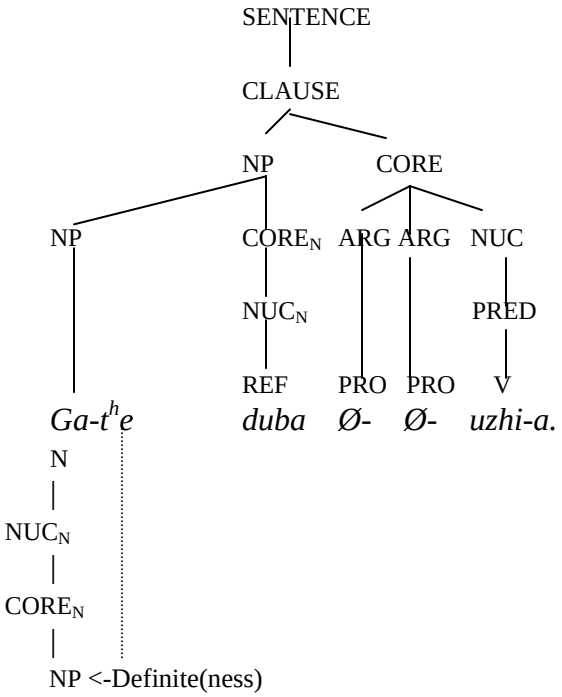


Figure 13. Partitive construction in Omaha.

Thus, the partitive construction introduces a quantifiable entity as an NP which is then quantified by the quantifier NP which directly follows it. A similar partitive type construction exists in Seri, where an indefinite article ('a' or 'some') following a definite NP "indicates one or some of the total (Moser 1977: 10)."

Coordinate NP's in Omaha often retain their articles (174).

174. Paaze the nuzhi^{n}ga-ama mizhi^{n}ga-ama shti tabe ugasno^{n} shkade-tama.
Evening this boy-the.P.pl girl-the.P.pl also ball dunk 3.play-3pl.will
'This evening the boys and the girls will play basketball.' (A.Saunsoci 12-2003)

In (174), both the NP's forming the coordinated NP subject are marked with an article, *ama*. *Shti* 'also' is used to mark the coordination, although the sentence is also grammatical without it. *Wo^{n}do^{n}* 'both' can also be added (175).

175. Paaze the nuzhi^{n}ga-ama mizhi^{n}ga-ama shti wo^{n}do^{n} tabe ugasno^{n}
Evening this boy-the.P.pl girl-the.P.pl also both ball dunk
shkade-tama.
3.play-3pl.will
'This evening both the boys and the girls will play basketball.'
(A.Saunsoci 12-2003)

The structure of the complex NP in (174) is given below (Figure 14). Figure 14 shows two NP's conjoined through coordination, as marked by the conjunction 'also.'

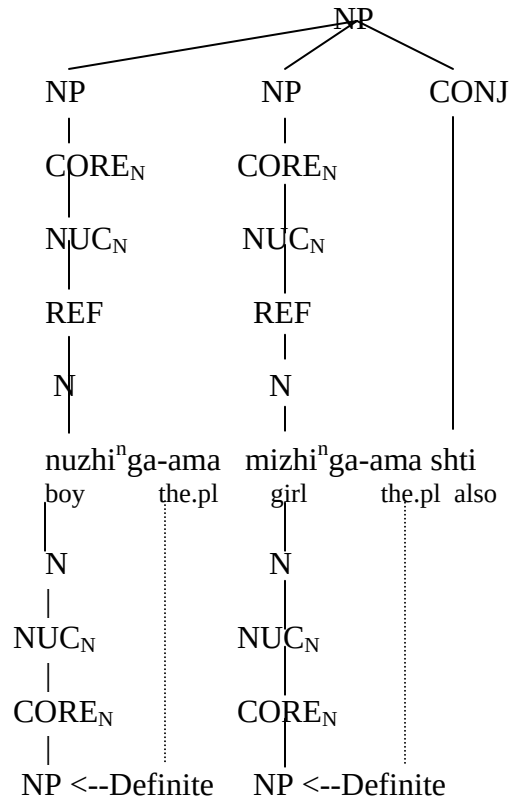


Figure 14. Structure of an Omaha coordinate NP.

Shti is a marker of coordination in general and does not carry the same semantics as the English 'and.' It can also be used in some of the contexts in which 'or' would be called for in English (176).

176. Mo^{n}ko^{n}sabe ni shti awi^{n}o^{n}wa sh-kona?
Coffee water also which 2sg-want
'Which do you want coffee or water?' (A. Saunsoci 10-6-04, NICC)

In (176), the choices offered are coordinated with *shti*. There is no other Umo^{n}ho^{n} equivalent to 'or.' Thus, *shti* functions to list a set which can be selected from or taken as a whole.

Another type of coordinate-like construction in Omaha is the comitative, which uses *etho^{n}ba* 'along with' or 'too.' An example is given in (177).

177. Ithadi iho^{n}-thi^{n}ke **etho^{n}ba** uthi'aga-bi tho^{n}zha, sho^{n} edi atha-bi-ama.
father mother-the.O.SI she too unwilling-pl though yet there went-3-pl-EVID
'Though his father and mother were unwilling, still he went there.' (JOD 1890:162.3)

Here, the conjunction *etho^{n}ba* 'too' follows the second NP, as did the conjunction *shti* 'also' in (174). Unlike (174), the second NP in (177) is pragmatically subordinate; it seems less important than the first NP. However, syntactically, it is not subordinate. It affects the argument structure of the verb (178).

178. Nuxebawegthi^{n} Doug etho^{n}ba o^{n}that^{h}e tao^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}.
ice cream Doug too 1pl-eat 1pl.FUT
'I'll eat the ice cream with Doug.' (A. Saunsoci 2-12-04, ULC)

In (178), the speaker does not use a first person singular marked verb but rather a plural because the additional argument 'Doug' affects verb marking. Thus, though the addition of the *etho^{n}ba* conjoined NP seems to be almost parenthetical or at least less important than that of the other argument pragmatically, syntactically it is equal. Thus, *etho^{n}ba* is another coordinate construction, similar to *shti* (Figure 14). Unlike *shti*'s template, the template for *etho^{n}ba* would

have a restriction in its pragmatics which notes that the NP which precedes *etho*^{n}*ba* carries less pragmatic weight.

This concludes the discussion of the basic semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic functions of the articles in Omaha. Due to their deictic information (obviation), they occur NP finally and can modify possessive NP's and proper nouns. They are used to create partitive constructions and can participate in coordination. The following chapter will expand upon this basic understanding by examining the use of the articles in relative clauses. Then, use of morphemes which are homonymous with the articles will be explored to determine whether these are indeed articles or whether they developed from them.

Endnotes to Chapter 4

[1] Currently, *mo^{n}shti^{n}ga* 'rabbit'

[2] The choice of 25 was not statistically based. Most of the articles occurred with different NP's approximately 20 times in the first fifty pages. This seemed to provide an adequate variety of NP's to coincide with the distinctions found by the author in her fieldwork.

[3] Currently *no^{n}'o^{n}*.

[4] However, the speaker stated that the article was actually *ama* and not *ma* when one said this very slowly. Catherine Rudin (p.c.) also stated that she was not sure that she had found unambiguous instances of *ma* in her field research with the Omahas. It is possible that *ma* has been reanalyzed as *ama* in modern speech. However, it still functions in a separate way than the proximate *ama* as can be seen by example (86)'s interpretation. While proximate *ama* can refer to a fairly cohesive group (80), obviative *ma/ama* refers specifically to scattered beings. Another example of proximate *ama* with a cohesive group is provided below. Here, the Eagles are next to each other, brothers in a nest. Thus, even with phonological changes, the two articles remain semantically separate.

Húto^{n}-hnó^{n}-bi-amá Xitha amá: T-t-t-t-t, éhno^{n}-bi-amá.
Cry-REG-pl-EVID Eagle the only-pl-EVID
'The Eagles were crying and saying T-t-t-t-t.' (JOD 1890:26.2)

[5] Pivot can be understood here as subject for this language and for the purposes of this dissertation.

[6] *Áma* is currently pronounced *ó^{n}ma*. The early spelling likely reflects an idiosyncracy of Dorsey's orthography and not pronunciation.

[7] *See note 5*.

Chapter 5
Other uses of the articles

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the basic semantics of the inanimate articles were delineated. Then, the structure of simple, possessive, and conjoined NP's was discussed. However, these are only the most basic instantiations of article use. Articles can be found in a variety of contexts in Omaha. For example, another type of NP involving the articles is the relative clause.

Identification of article usage in any given context is complicated by the fact that morphemes which are phonologically identical to the articles also function in a number of other ways. Auxiliaries, evidentials, existential verbs, and clause linkage markers in Omaha are all virtually indistinguishable from the articles phonologically. Dorsey (m.s. 21) notes that the "article-pronouns" serve as articles, pronouns, relatives, and copulas. Koontz (1984: 151) states that all of the articles possibly conjugate as auxiliaries. Rudin (1998) notes that three of the articles (*ama*, *k^{h}e*, *t^{h}e*) also occur as clause final particles and all ten potentially function as auxiliaries.

The following section discusses the role of the articles in relative clauses and also describes the uses of other morphemes which are homophonous with the inanimate articles and function as auxiliaries, evidentials, and clause linkage markers, among other functions. First, the distribution and semantics are discussed for each type of morpheme. Then, a syntactic analysis is offered. In each section, the morphemes will be introduced in the same order they were for the articles, beginning with those corresponding to the inanimate articles.

5.1 Relative clauses

5.1.0 Introduction

The relative clause consists of an NP modified by a clause. Commonly, relative clauses are referred to as being externally or internally headed. That is, the clause may modify a noun which is outside of the relative clause or the NP head may occur within the embedded clause and have a role (i.e. subject, object) in the modifying clause and the main clause.

Dorsey (ms: 30, 147) states the *ebe* 'who' and *dado*^{n} 'what' are used as relative pronouns. Koontz (1984: 170-179) discusses relative clauses at length and proposes two rules for relative clause formation (172):

1. Delete the nominal in the head NP in the matrix clause, and substitute for it the entire body of the modifying clause.
2. Delete the article following the head NP in the modifying clause.

He also posits two constraints (172):

1. The head NP must be initial in the modifying clause or must be zero.
2. The head NP must have an article in the matrix clause.

These rules account for structures such as the following (179).

179. **Niashi^{n}ga shinudo^{n} athi^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e** ebe-a?
man dog 3.have-the.O.SI who-?
'Who is that man who has a dog?' (A. Saunsoci 12-2003)

In the above, the sentence *Niashi^{n}ga shinudo^{n} athi^{n}* 'man has a dog' is placed before the article *thi^{n}k^{h}e*. This could be thought of along the lines of Koontz's rule 1. The sentence 'man has a dog' is placed where a NP such as 'man' might have been. There is no article following 'man' as per Koontz' rule 2. 'Man,' the head noun, is initial and the article *thi^{n}k^{h}e* follows the phrase in the matrix clause.

Rudin (1991) notes that relative clauses in Omaha-Ponca are internally headed, that is that the NP modified by the relative clause occurs within the clause itself. She notes that an adverb internal to the relative clause may precede the head noun, violating Koontz's constraint 1. Her data supports his rule 2 and constraint 2. She notes that the article used matches the function of the NP in the matrix clause and not that of the head noun in the relative clause.

This section provides examples of each of the articles in such relative clauses in context. The semantics involved with article selection for relative clauses is examined and then syntactic analysis of these phrases is provided. The presentation of the articles is the same as in the previous section, beginning with those corresponding to the inanimate articles.

5.1.1 *K^{h}e* relative clauses

The inanimate article *k^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.long' is used to modify relative clauses whose head contains the semantic elements which call for *k^{h}e*. For example, a feather can be the head noun of a relative clause modified by *k^{h}e* (180).

180. Masho^n ihe-tha-the -k^{h}e
feather put away-2sg-put away –the.H
'the feather you put away' (JOD 1890: 52.8)[1]

A feather, such as in example (180), is horizontal and inanimate. Thus, it would be modified by *k^{h}e* if it were the head of a simple NP. Similarly, as it is the head of a relative clause, the clause is marked by *k^{h}e*.

5.1.2 *Tho*^{n} relative clauses

The article *tho*^{n} also appears as the last element of a relative clause (181).

181. **Sezi o^{n}-tha-'i -tho^{n}** skithe.
Orange 1sg.OBJ-2sg.SUB-give the.R sweet
'The orange you gave me is sweet.' (A. Saunsoci 9-04)

In example (181), the relative clause 'the orange that you gave me' is modified by the article *tho*^{n} 'the.inanimate.round' because the head of the relative is the referent 'orange' which is inanimate and round.

Other referents which were less obviously round but were still found to select *tho*^{n} in section 4.6.1.2, also select *tho*^{n} as the article when they are the heads of relative clauses (182).

182. The-t^{h}e **wa-nanase -tho^{n}** pamú ámusta
3sg.go-the.V **3sg.OBJ-3.surround.REDUP the.R(where)** downhill right above
wito^{n}be azho^{n}-tami^{n}k^{h}e, a-bi-ama.
1sg.SUB.2sg.OBJ-see 1sg-lie -1sg.FUT say-P-EVID
'when he goes, I will lie looking at you, right above the descent of the hill where they have surrounded the herd from time to time.'
(JOD 1890: 45.9-10)

In example (182), the article *tho*^{n} 'the.inanimate.round' follows the conjugated verb *wananase* 'they surround them repeatedly' to create literally 'the they surround them repeatedly.' In Omaha, this use of *tho*^{n} with a conjugated verb means 'where the event took place.' Thus, it means 'the place where they surrounded them repeatedly.' This draws from the sense of *tho*^{n} when used as an article with general places or location, such as was seen in 4.6.1.2 and example (58), repeated below as (183).

183. Go^{n} wa'u-ama edi atha-bi-ama **ni-tho^{n}**-di.
And woman-the.P.MV there went-pl-EVID **water-the.R**-to
'And the woman went thither to the water.' (JOD 1890:122.5-6)

As was stated in 4.6.1.0, the water here is not round in shape; its shape would not call for the article *tho*^{n}. Rather *tho*^{n} is being used to denote that it is a location on the water. Similarly, *tho*^{n} is used with relative clauses which denote location (184).

184. Mo^{n}zho^{n} ushko^{n}-tho^{n} ak^{h}i-bi-ama …
Land deed-the.R 3. reach-P-EVID
'He got home to the land where the deed was done.' (JOD 1890: 104.6)

'The land where the deed was done' in (184) is translated using *tho*^{n}. Note that it is because place is being denoted in (184) that the article *tho*^{n} is selected. It is not due to the semantics of 'deed' (185).

185. ki nú-ak^{h}a **úshko^{n}-t^{h}e** íbaho^{n}-bi ego^{n},
And man-the.P.sg **deed-the.V** 3.know-P because,
'And as the man understood the matter, …' (JOD 1890:150.11)

Example (185) contains the noun *ushko*^{n}, similar to (184). However, here, *ushko*^{n} selects *t*^{h}*e* as its article and not *tho*^{n}. This is because in (185) the actual 'deed' is referred to, but in (184) the place where the deed took place is being denoted.

5.1.3 *T*^{h}*e* relative clauses

The article *t*^{h}*e* 'the.inanimate.tall' also functions as the final element in a relative clause (186).

186. **Niuthato^{n} tha-xíxe-t^{h}e** úmak^{h}a-acho^{n}-ama.
Cup 2sg-break-the.V cheap-very-AUX
'The cup that you broke was cheap.' (A. Saunsoci 9-04)

In (184), the final element of the relative clause 'the cup that you broke' is the article *t*^{h}*e* 'the.inanimate.tall,' which is the article usually selected by cup. Other nouns which are less obviously tall but which select for *t*^{h}*e* in simple NP's also select for *t*^{h}*e* in relative clauses (187).

187. Edado^{n2} ’itha-i -t^{h}e-di
What 3.speak of-pl the.V- in
‘when they speak of anything’ (JOD 1890: 38.10)

In (187), the event of people speaking is marked by *t^{h}e*. It could be paraphrased as ‘in the event that they speak of anything.’ In section 4.6.1.3, events and times were seen to be marked by *t^{h}e*. This relative clause is then marked by the post-position *–di* ‘in,’ which is often used to mark events which have occurred in the past.

Related to this marking of events with *t^{h}e* in relative clauses such as (187), *t^{h}e* alone, without the post-position *–di* ‘in/on,’ can mark subordinate clauses meaning ‘when’ (188-190).

188. The-**t^{h}e**…
3.go-**the.V**
‘when he goes…’ (JOD 1890: 45.9-10)

189. **Go^{n} wénaxithai-t^{h}e** te wi^{n} t’etha-bi-ama.
And 3pl.DAT-3.attack-the.V buffalo one 3.kill-P-EVID
‘And when he attacked them, he killed a buffalo.’ (JOD 1890: 45.11)

190. **Igaxtho^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e uhe uh-n-a-t^{h}e** edeshe-hno^{n} a,
Wife-the.O.SI come for tell-2sg-tell-the.V 2sg.say-REG ?

a-bi-ama Mashtshi^{n}ge izhi^{n}ge ithadi igtho^{n}xa-bi ego^{n}
say-P-EVID Rabbit son father -ask-RFL-ask-P having
‘What are you used to saying when you go to tell his wife to go and carry the meat?’ said the rabbit’s son questioning his father. (JOD 1890: 46.9)

In (188), *the-t^{h}e* ‘3sg.go the’ is translated as ‘when he goes,’ and not ‘the one who goes’ or ‘the he goes.’ It refers to the event of a person going. Similarly, in (189), the *t^{h}e* modifying the clause ‘and he attacked them’ creates a sense of referring to this act ‘his attack of them’ and relating the matrix clause to it. This results in a translation of ‘and when he attacked them.’ In (190), *t^{h}e* is again translated as ‘when’ in ‘when you tell the wife to come…’ *T^{h}e* does not mark a relative clause in the above ‘when’ sentences. For example, (190) cannot be translated as ‘the wife who you tell to come.’ Like relative

clauses however, *t^{h}e* follows a larger unit including a conjugated verb in such instances. These 'when' clauses will be discussed in 5.6.

5.1.4 *Ge* relative clauses

As with the other inanimate articles, *ge* can be found in relative clauses (191, 192).

191. **Wathat^{h}e n-isihi-ge** shi shnabe-ama.
Table 2sg-clean-the.S again dirty-AUX
'The tables you cleaned are dirty again.' (A. Saunsoci 9-2004)

192. **Niuthato^{n} xixathe-ge** édi-ama.
Cup broke-the.S there-AUX
'The cups lay there broken.' (A. Saunsoci 9-2004)

In (191) and (192), *ge* occurs in final position in a relative clause where the objects are plural and possibly scattered. This is to be expected given its use in simple NP's.

5.1.5 *Ak^{h}a* relative clauses

The animate articles also participate in relative clause formation. Examples of the singular proximate article *ak^{h}a* are given below (193, 194).

193. **I^{n}gtho^{n}ga-ak^{h}a wiuga-t^{h}e haziniego^{n}-ak^{h}a** a-to^{n}be.
Cat-the.P.sg color-the.V purple-the.P.sg 1sg-see
'I see the cat who is the color purple.'
(M. Cayou 1-13-04 as elicited by E. Morris for 'Brown Bear' story translation)

194. **Ik^{h}áge wiwita-ak^{h}a teska uhíwathe-no^{n}-ak^{h}a** tiup^{h}e at^{h}i.
friend my-the.P.sg cow 3.raise-REG-the.P.sg 3.visit 3.here
'My friend who raises cows came over last night.'
(A. Saunsoci 12-2003)

In (193), the object of 'see' is the relative clause 'the cat who is the color purple.' In (194), 'my friend who raises cows' is the subject of 'visit.' In both these relative clauses,

not only does the relative clause end in an article, but the same article also follows the noun about which the relative clause is predicated. This runs contrary to earlier analyses but occurs robustly in the data, both historical and modern. While the above examples where articles occur after both head noun and relative clause involve animate heads, inanimates can also receive such double-marking (195).

195. **Wako^{n}da wathaho^{n} ti-t^{h}e bth-e-no^{n}ma-t^{h}e** nathi^{n}ge.
God pray house-the.V 1sg-go-1sg.REG-the.V 3.burn
'The church I used to go to burned down.' (A. Saunsoci 12-2003)

In (195), the head noun *wako^{n}da wathaho^{n} ti* 'church' is followed by the article *t^{h}e*. The entire relative clause 'church I used to go to' is also followed by *t^{h}e*. Thus, in Omaha, relative clauses and their heads can each be marked with (matching) articles.

5.1.6 *Ama* relative clauses

Ama 'the.animate.plural/moving.proximate' can also be found in relative clauses. Two examples are provided below (196, 197).

196. Sho^{n} **niashi^{n}ga-ama shi^{n}gazhi^{n}ga í-gi-paho^{n}-amá** at^{h}i ti-bi ego^{n}…
and **person- the.P.pl children know-RFL-know-the.P.pl** here tent-P having
'And the people who knew there own children came and pitched there tents.'
(JOD 1890: 90.4-5)

197. wasísige-xti-o^{n}-i **thé Umó^{n}ho^{n}-hébe Pó^{n}ka-amá-di úthixe mo^{n}thí^{n}-amá**.
Active-very-REG-P **this Omaha-part Ponka-the.P.pl-in 3.refugee 3.walk-the.P.MV**
'And he who continued as a refugee among the Ponkas, this half-Omaha, was very active.' (JOD 1890: 400.14)

In example (196), 'the people who knew their own children' is a relative clause which contain *ama* modifying the head noun 'people' and also occurs clause finally at the end of the relative clause. *Ama* is used in (196) to denote plurality. In (197), it occurs with a moving, singular entity 'the half-Omaha.' Here, it occurs only clause finally.

5.1.7 *Thi*^{n} relative clauses

The other animate article which denotes motion, *thi*^{n} also occurs in relative clauses. It is used in situations where the referent is obviative, as delineated in 4.7.2. Examples are provided below (198-200).

198. Shé ní-to^{n}ga-xti-t^{h}e-di sht-ó^{n}be kethó^{n} **níkashi^{n}ga u-thá-ne-thi^{n}**
That water-big-very-the.V-in 2sg-see formerly **person** **seek-2sg-see-the.O.MV**
édi zhó^{n}-i.
there 3.lie-P
'The person whom you seek lies in that very large stream which you saw formerly.' (JOD 1890: 283.4)

199. Pahé wí^{n} edí-ak^{h}á **níkashi^{n}ga th-é sho^{n} íhe-thi^{n}**
Hill one there-the.P.sg **person** **3-go and 3.pass-the.O.MV**
thahúni-hno^{n}-i, á-bi-amá.
draws.into.mouth-REG-P say-P-EVID
'And she said as follows, "there is a hill that is accustomed to draw into its mouth the person going and passing that way." (JOD 1890: 28.1)

200. **É u-á-ne-thi^{n}** é, á-bi-amá.
He seek-1sg-the.O.MV 3sg say-P-EVID
'He is the one I seek.' (JOD 1890: 280.18)

In each of above relative clauses, *thi*^{n} occurs as the final element. In (198), the head *nikashi*^{n}*ga* 'person' serves as the object of the relative clause 'the person whom you seek' and the subject of the matrix verb 'lie.' It is unclear why *thi*^{n} would be used as 'lying' does not entail motion. However, as it turns out, the person has been transformed into moving water, an eddy. Hence, the article choice reflects this trait and relays it to the audience, even before the narrator states what has become of the person. In (198), the head of the relative 'person' serves as the subject of two subordinate verbs, 'go' and 'pass,' and the object of the matrix verb 'draws into its mouth.' *Thi*^{n} modifies this referent because s/he is in motion, going and passing. Finally in (200), *thi*^{n} modifies the relative clause 'the one I seek.' Apparently, he is in motion. The head of this relative clause is the pronoun *e* which is used for third person singulars. Thus, *thi*^{n} modifies

relative clauses whose head is animate and in motion. Also, the above examples fit well with the notion of 'obviative' developed in the past section. In (198) and (199), the referent of the head of the relative clause is located elsewhere. He is not center stage currently. In (200), the head referent is not a specific person and, therefore, cannot be any center stage character. Thus, further support can be seen for the analysis developed previously.

5.1.8 *T^{h}o^{n}* relative clauses

Relative clauses ending in *t^{h}o^{n}* 'the.animate.standing.proximate' are also frequent in the Omaha texts recorded by Dorsey (1890). The following provide examples (201-203).

201. **Mízhi^{n}ga nó^{n}-t^{h}ó^{n}** é á-wake.
Girl **grown-the.O.ST** 3sg 1sg-mean
'I mean the oldest daughter.' (JOD 1890: 775.5)

202. **Shó^{n}ge tha-gí-na-t^{h}ó^{n}** p-ási í^{n}-texi i-thá-kuhé ha.
Horse **2-RFL-ask for-the.O.ST** 1sg-drive 1sg.DAT-difficult 1sg-fear DEC
'You have begged for your horse, it is difficult for me to drive it along, and I am apprehensive on this account.' (JOD 1890: 755.4)

203. **Shó^{n}ge-t^{h}ó^{n} a-bth-í^{n} a-k^{h}í -t^{h}ó^{n}** áa-gthí^{n}.
Horse-the.O.ST **1sg-have 1sg-reach home-the.O.ST** 1sg-sit
'I rode the horse which I had brought home.' (JOD 1890: 445.3)

In (201), a grown daughter is mentioned in a letter and receives *t^{h}o^{n}* at the end of the relative clause which she is referred to in. *T^{h}o^{n}* may have especially been chosen in this circumstance to emphasize that the daughter was upright as she had fainted the day before and was ill. In (202), the 'horse' is the object of the verb in the relative clause and the verb in the matrix clause. It is the head of the relative clause it occurs in and is marked by *t^{h}o^{n}*. This is also true for the horse in (203). Examples (201) and (202) are taken from letters written by Omahas. Example (203) is from a personal narrative. Thus,

it can be seen that articles occur in various genres (fictional/sacred narrative, personal narrative, letters, and conversation) and in each context operate along similar semantic parameters. *T^{h}o^{n}* is used no differently in the above relative clauses than it was in the fictional narrative examples cited in section 4 (example 93).

5.1.9 *Thi^{n}k^{h}e/tho^{n}k^{h}a* relative clauses

The following provide examples of the use of *thi^{n}k^{h}e* 'the.animate.sitting.obviative' in relative clauses (204, 205).

204. Niashi^{n}ga-ak^{h}a **sho^{n}ge a-to^{n}be-thi^{n}k^{h}e** th-iwi^{n}.
Man-the.P.sg **horse** **I-see-the.O.SI** 3sg-buy
'The man bought the horse that I saw.' (A.Saunsoci 11-1-2003)

205. Niashi^{n}ga **shinudo^{n} athi^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e** ebe-a?
man **dog** **3.have-the.O.SI** who-?
'Who is that man who has a dog?' (A. Saunsoci 12-2003)

These sentences, elicited from an Elder, both show *thi^{n}k^{h}e* occurring finally in relative clauses modifying an animal. As such, the referent is definitely animate. The dog in (205) was sitting. It is unclear what position the horse in (204) was currently in. However, in each the animal was either not present (204) or not the main focus of the conversation (205). This supports the use of *thi^{n}k^{h}e* as an obviative article. Referents are not center stage as they are either not present (204) or not a main character in the conversation (205).

Tho^{n}k^{h}a 'the.animate.sitting.plural' also occurs in relative clause (206, 207).

206. **Thé gthí^{n}-tho^{n}k^{h}á**-ta a-wá-tape agthé.
This **3.sit-the.O.SI-to** 1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-near 1sg-go.back
'I went back to these who were sitting, having been very close to them.'
(JOD 1890: 441.13)

207. **Shó^{n}ge wá-bth-i^{n} -tho^{n}k^{h}á** sho^{n} shénawáthe…
Horse 3pl.OBJ-1sg.SUB-have -the.O.SI already 3.expended
'All the horses which I had have been expended…' (JOD 1890: 644.15)

In (206), the people referred to are animate, sitting, and plural. They are peripheral characters (obviative). This relative is actually a NP within a prepositional phrase. In (207), the entity modified by *tho^{n}k^{h}a* is 'horses' which are animate and plural. They are not center stage as they are all gone. It is unclear as to whether they are actually sitting. It seems that the articles *thi^{n}k^{h}e* and *tho^{n}k^{h}a* can be used with animate referents who are obviative when their actual position is either reclining or ambiguous.

5.1.10 *ma* relative clauses

The final animate article to be discussed with regard to relative clauses is *ma* 'the.animate.plural.obviative' (208, 209).

208. **Umó^{n}ho^{n} údo^{n} wá-bth-i^{n} -má** zaní thutha-í.
Omaha good 3pl.OBJ-1sg.SUB-have-the.O.pl all 3.go to-pl
'All those good Omahas whom I govern have gone to you.'
(JOD 1890: 667.2)

209. **Gó^{n} tahá-nuka uthúthi^{n}ge-ma** wa-'í-i -t^{h}e há shi. '
And hide-wet without-the.O.pl 3pl.OBJ-give-pl-EVID DEC again
'And they gave again to those who had been left without green hides.'
(JOD 1890: 86.3)

Just as it did with simple NP's, *ma* occurs with referent who are animate, plural, and obviative in relative clauses. In (208), the Omahas are not present where the author is writing the letter, they have gone. Thus, they are obviative. Also, they are animate and plural. Similarly, 'those without green hides' in (209) are animate and plural. They are background characters in the story, not center-stage, and, thus, are marked with the obviative article.

5.1.11 Syntactic analysis of relative clauses

In all the above relative clauses, a clause followed by an article functions in a manner similar to an NP. For example, the relative clause can serve as subject or object of a matrix verb.

In the above examples, the NP generally considered to be the head of the relative clause frequently receives an article within the relative clause (210, repeated from 203).

210. **Shó^{n}ge-t^{h}ó^{n} a-bth-í^{n} a-k^{h}í -t^{h}ó^{n}** áa-gthí^{n}.
Horse-the.O.ST 1sg-have 1sg-reach home-the.O.ST 1sg-sit
'I rode the horse which I had brought home.' (JOD 1890: 445.3)

In (210), an article follows the noun 'horse' which is coreferential with the head of the relative clause. There is also an article in final position in the relative clause. Again, this violates Koontz's rule 2.

In (210), the head of the relative is the object of the predicates in both the relative and matrix clauses. That is, the 'horse' is both 'had' and 'sat on.' Below is an example where the subject of the relative clause is also the subject of the matrix clause (211, repeated from 205).

211. **Niashi^{n}ga shinudo^{n} athi^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e** ebe-a?
man dog 3.have-the.O.SI who-?
'Who is that man who has a dog?' (A. Saunsoci 12-2003)

Here, the 'man' both 'has' the dog and has 'who' predicated of him.

In the following examples, the role of the head in the relative clause does not match its role in the matrix clause (212, repeated from 194 and 213, repeated from 198).

212. **I^{n}gtho^{n}ga-ak^{h}a wiuga-t^{h}e haziniego^{n}-ak^{h}a** a-to^{n}be.
Cat-the.P.sg color-the.V purple-the.P.sg 1sg-see
'I see the cat who is the color purple.'
(M. Cayou 1-13-04 as elicited by E. Morris for 'Brown Bear' story translation)

213. Shé ní-to^{n}ga-xti-t^{h}e-di sht-ó^{n}be kethó^{n} **níkashi^{n}ga u-thá-ne-thi^{n}**
That water-big-very-the.V-in 2sg-see formerly **person** **seek-2sg-see-the.O.MV**
édi zhó^{n}-i.
there 3.lie-P
'The person whom you seek lies in that very large stream which you saw formerly.' (JOD 1890: 283.4)

In example (212), the 'cat' is the subject of being 'purple' in the relative clause but is the object of the matrix verb 'see.' 'Person' in (213) is the object of being sought but the subject of lying. Thus, the role of the head of the relative clause need not be the same as its role in the matrix clause.

Related to this, Rudin (1991) notes that the article used matches the function of the NP in the matrix clause and not that of the head noun in the relative clause. One could find evidence both for (210) and against (212) this hypothesis in the above data. However, in Chapter 4, article choice was seen not to reflect role within a sentence but rather discourse-pragmatic factors, i.e. obviation. Thus, article choice does not match either function.

Describing headedness within an Omaha relative NP proves to be controversial. Rudin (1991) claimed Omaha relative clauses to be internally headed. In head-marking languages, such as Omaha, RRG posits that the verbal argument markers and not the NP's are the actual arguments of the verb. The NP's are coreferential with the headmarkers but appear outside the core. Extending this analysis to relative clauses, the argument markers could also be the actual heads of the relative clauses as well. Indeed, the NP's are completely optional in relative clauses (214).

214. Wi-tígo^{n} **u-á-wa-kie** **ta-i -ma** thé
My-grandfather **LOC-1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-talk** **should-P-the.O.pl** this
wá-wake t^{h}e-ana ethégo^{n}-bi-ama.
3pl.OBJ-3sg.SUB.mean EVID-(in thought) 3sg-thought-P-EVID
'My grandfather meant these when he said that I should talk to them.'
(JOD 1890:195.3)

In (214), the object of ‘talk’ does not receive an overt NP. Still, a relative clause exists where the object of the relative is the third plural person marked either *wa* on the verb in the non-matrix clause. Alternatively, one could posit a phonologically null NP as the head here, but this would create an empty unit and lacks cohesiveness with the treatment of argument markers in matrix clauses. The article provides another possible head to consider. The article appearing in final position in the relative clause could be argued to be an external head. This involves categorizing the article in this instance as a lexical item, a type of relativizer pronoun. However, in other cases it is an operator (definiteness and deixis marker). Both in relative clauses and regular NP’s, the article occurs finally. So, it likely that here it is not an external head but simply the article modifying the entity described by the relative clause. Therefore, the argument markers provide the best concept of ‘head’ for Omaha relative clauses. Due to this, it can be posited that all Omaha relative clauses are internally headed by nature of the fact that the argument markers occur on the verb(s) in the relative clause.

The NP’s coreferential with such heads generally occur in canonical order (SOV) in the relative clause (215, repeated from 196).

215. Sho^{n} **niashi^{n}ga-ama shi^{n}gazhi^{n}ga í-gi-paho^{n}-amá** at^{h}i ti-bi ego^{n}…
and **person- the.P.pl children know-RFL-know-the.P.pl** here tent-P having
‘And the people who knew there own children came and pitched there tents.’
(JOD 1890: 90.4-5)

In (215), the NP coreferential with the head of the relative clause, ‘person,’ occurs initially within the phrase and is an internal part of the phrase.

However, one example has been found of a non-SOV ordered relative clause in the Dorsey (1890) text (216).

216. **Shí^{n}gazhí^{n}ga wi-tó^{n}ge wá-th-i^{n} -tho^{n}k^{h}á** údo^{n}-i ki, u-á-na'o^{n}
Child my-elder sister 3pl.OBJ-3.SUB-have-the.O.SI good-pl if of-1sg-hear
ko^{n}-bth-a.
want-1sg
' If the children that my sister has are well, I wish to hear about it.'
(JOD 1890: 477.7)

In this example, the relative clause can be translated as 'the children that my sister has.' 'Children' occurs first in the phrase, although it is the object. This could be considered an external head in that it is occurring first, not in its canonical position. However, this would require a split analysis of relative clauses in Omaha, where those with no overt NP's are internally headed by person markers and those with overt NP's are externally headed.

The possibility for non-canonical ordering creates possibly ambiguity as to the referent for the head when both nouns are zero marked on the verb (217).

217. **I^{n}gtho^{n}ga shinudo^{n} th-axta-ak^{h}a** saba.
Cat dog 3-bite –the.P.sg black
'The cat who bit the dog is black.'
Or 'The cat was bitten by a black dog.' i.e. 'The dog who bit the cat was black.' (A. Saunsoci 2-15-2005)

Here, the first element in the relative clause may or may not be the head of the relative. In the first interpretation, 'cat' is taken to be the subject of the relative and the subject of the matrix verb. In the second interpretation, the cat is taken to be the topic of the sentence, as indicated by the passive translation offered by the Elder speaker. However, the dog is the subject of both the matrix verb and the verb in the relative clause. That is, the dog both bites and is black.

In relative clauses where the subordinate verb has two arguments, usually one or none of the arguments is given as an overt NP (218, repeated from 209, and 219, repeated from 214).

218. **Gó^{n} tahá-nuka uthúthi^{n}ge-ma** wa-'í-i -t^{h}e há shi. '
And hide-wet without-the.O.pl 3pl.OBJ-give-pl-EVID DEC again
'And they gave again to those who had been left without green hides.'
(JOD 1890: 86.3)

219. Wi-tígo^{n} **u-á-wa-kie ta-i -ma** thé
My-grandfather **LOC-1sg.SUB-3pl.OBJ-talk should-P-the.O.pl** this
wá-wake-t^{h}e-ana ethégo^{n}-bi-ama.
3pl.OBJ-3sg.SUB.mean-EVID-(in thought) 3sg-thought-P-EVID
'My grandfather meant these when he said that I should talk to them.'
(JOD 1890:195.3)

In (218), the relative clause 'those who had been left without green hides' has no overt NP for 'those.' Similarly, (219) lacks any overt NP's in the relative clause 'the ones I should talk to.' As the majority of relative clauses do not contain overt NP's for their heads, positing external heads for relative clauses in Omaha seems unnecessary. Rather, when overt NP's occur, their ordering is subject to pragmatic considerations wherein OSV order may occur when the object referent is particularly salient or important, as it was in example (216) and the second interpretation of (217).

In RRG, internally headed relative clauses are placed under an NP node corresponding to its role in the constituent projection. Figure (15) provides the structure of (204). In this figure, the head is indicated explicitly in both the constituent and operator projections. In the constituent projection, the head's headmarker is co-indexed with the corresponding matrix headmarker. In the operator projection, the clause final article modifies the head. The fact that the article is modifying the head and not the clause can be seen from the fact that different heads result in different article choice, as seen in all of the relative clause examples presented so far. Thus, it can be seen that Omaha relative clauses are internally headed and always end in an article, which is specified by the semantics and pragmatics associated with the referent of the head.

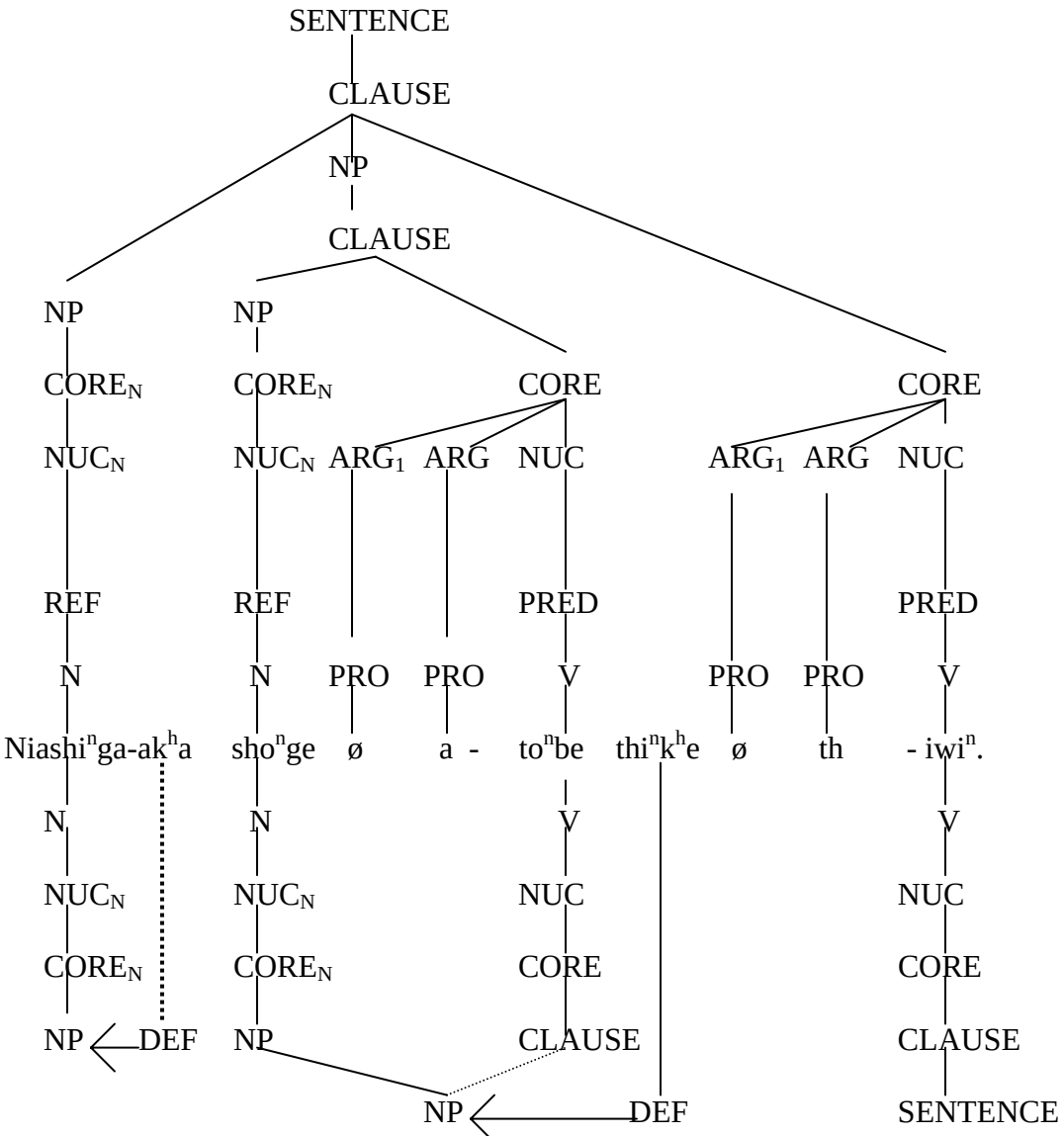


Figure 15. Internally headed relative clause functioning as object

5.2 Auxiliaries

5.2.0 Introduction

Morphemes homophonous with the articles function as auxiliaries in Omaha. Koontz (1984: 108) labels *thi^{n}k^{h}e* as the progressive auxiliary and later provides a conjugation pattern for it (151). He states that *thi^n* functions as an auxiliary which probably connotes

movement and that *t^{h}o^{n}* functions as a modal with unclear meaning (69). He also provides partial conjugation patterns for *thi^{n}* and *t^{h}o^{n}* (151). He notes that all of the articles could possibly conjugate given the correct context. Similarly, Rudin (1998) posits that all ten articles potentially function as auxiliaries.

The following section examines the use of 'articles' as auxiliaries in Omaha. First, the occurrence of each article as an auxiliary is provided, if there is evidence of such a use. Then, a syntactic analysis of the article-auxiliaries is offered.

5.2.1 Auxiliary *k^{h}e*

A morpheme *k^{h}e* occurs which follows a verb, rather than a noun, and serves an auxiliary function. In such instances, it usually denotes an extended action in a lying position (220).

220. Tháthuha-xchi t'e-k^{h}e, a-bi-ama.
Nearly-very dead-AUX say-P-EVID
'Nearly very dead he lies, she said, they say.' (JOD 1890: 57.7, 58.10)

In (220), the character is lying down pretending to be dead. The action is prolonged and in the process of happening. Thus, *k^{h}e* is showing the internal temporal semantics of the action. It is an aspect marker, yielding a progressive reading.

K^{h}e does not function as the matrix verb meaning 'lie.' The verb *zho^{n}* means to sleep or to lie (221).

221. Uhe athai uko^{n}ska ito^{n}shiata zho^{n}-bi-ama
Path 3sg.go straight line ahead 3sg.lay-P-EVID
'He lay ahead in a straight line with the path they went.' (JOD 1890: 35.6)

In (221), the character runs ahead and lies down. His lying down is denoted by *zho*^{n} '3sg.lie' and not *k*^{h}*e*. Thus, *k*^{h}*e* only serves as an operator, an auxiliary, and not a nucleus, a verb.

The form of the auxiliary chosen correlates with the article chosen for the subject of the sentence. For example, an overt subject in (220) would likely take *k*^{h}*e* as its article. Indeed this character is marked with *k*^{h}*e* when he is referred to in a previous utterance (222, repeated from 72).

222. The-k^{h}e wak^{h}eg edego^{n} thathuha-xti i^{n}-t'e he, a-bi-ama.
This-the.H sick but nearly -very 1sg.DAT-dead F.DEC say-pl-EVID
'This one lies sick and he is nearly dead to me, (she said).'
(JOD 1890: 57.3)

The subject 'this one' is marked with *k*^{h}*e* in (222). In subsequent sentences, the auxiliary chosen for the actions of this character are thus marked with *k*^{h}*e* (220).

5.2.2 Auxiliary *tho*^{n}

Tho^{n} also occurs as an auxiliary (223).

223. Waii^{n}-tho^{n} i^{n}gthe u-gi-no^{n}skabe-tho^{n} ama.
Robe-the.R feces LOC-RFL-stick to-AUX EVID
'He soiled the robe with the feces on his feet.' (JOD 1890: 39.12)

Here, the auxiliary *tho*^{n} follows the verb 'adhered to from his feet' showing that the action occurred over time. Note that both arguments of the verb 'stick' call for *tho*^{n} as an article. Both 'robe' and 'feces' are typically marked with *tho*^{n}. The auxiliary chosen matches in form to the article selected by the subject.

5.2.3 Auxiliary *t^{h}e*

One example was found in which *t^{h}e* seemed to function as an auxiliary (224).

224. K^{h}i níashi^{n}ga píazhi-ak^{h}a zhó^{n} wi^{n} snéde-xti múza-bi-t^{h}e-ama, shná-xchi.
And person bad –the.P.sg wood one long-very plant-P-AUX-EVID smooth-very
'And the bad men had planted in the ground a very tall and smooth post.'
(JOD 1890: 162.6)

In the above example, it is possible that *t^{h}e* is being used as an auxiliary signifying that the post stood planted upright over time. However, the example is not completely satisfactory as it could be an evidential use of *t^{h}e* similar to those to be presented section 5.5.3. Auxiliary uses of *t^{h}e* were not found in the author's fieldwork.

5.2.4 Auxiliary *ge*

No evidence has been found of *ge* being used as an auxiliary.

5.2.5 Auxiliary *ak^{h}a*

Ak^{h}a is used frequently as an auxiliary. Examples are provided below (225, 226).

225. Ke-to^{n}ga-ak^{h}a níta-ak^{h}á-bi-amá.
Turtle-big-the.P.sg alive-AUX-P-EVID
'The Big Turtle is he who is alive.' (JOD 1890: 265.14)

226. Mashchí^{n}ge-ak^{h}á iko^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}é zhú-gig-thé gthi^{n}-ak^{h}-ama.
Rabbit-the.P.sg grandmother-the.O.SI 3.together-RFL 3.sit AUX-EVID
'The rabbit was dwelling with his Grandmother.' (JOD 1890: 35.1)

In example (225), *ak^{h}a* modifies the verb 'be alive.' In (226), *ak^{h}a* follows the verb 'sit' and precedes the evidential *ama*. In this latter example, the final vowel of the auxiliary and the initial vowel of the evidential elide. In both sentences, the subject is also modified by the article *ak^{h}a*. In (225) and (226), the auxiliary can be interpreted as meaning that the event of the verb occurred over a period of time, similar to the auxiliary

readings obtained for the above inanimate article-auxiliaries. In (225), the turtle has been living while thought to be dead. In (226), the Rabbit has been dwelling there for some time. However, another reading is possible. In (225), the Turtle is being told of as existing when thought to be dead. Similarly, in (226), the Rabbit is being introduced in the beginning of a story. His existence is being given. This will be further discussed in the next section (5.3.5).

5.2.6 Auxiliary *ama*

Ama also functions as an auxiliary (227, 228).

227. Shege ego^{n} nuxe zho^{n}mo^{n}thi^{n} abaze go^{n}zhi^{n}ga-**ama**.
That such ice cars 3.drive 3.don't know how-**AUX**
'They don't know how to drive their cars in such icy conditions.'
(R. White 11-1-01, 7.1)

228. Ki shi júba mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí a-th-í^{n}-**am**-áma.
And again some *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí* have-3-have-**AUX**-EVID
'And again some were playing *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí* as they walked.'
(JOD 1890: 39.20)

In (227), there is no overt subject, but if it were overt, the subject NP would be marked by *ama*. The subject is plural people in motion, which is exactly the semantics *ama* calls for. In (228), the auxiliary *ama* (*am*) modifies a verb whose subject is in motion, plural, and center stage. In both, the event is occurring over a period of time.

5.2.7 Auxiliary *thi^{n}*

An auxiliary homophonous with the article *thi^{n}* also occurs in Omaha (229-231).

229. Thitó^{n}ge i -thí^{n}, á-bi-amá.
Your sister 3.come-AUX 3.say-P-EVID
'Your younger sister is coming, said one.' (JOD 1890: 290.3)

230. Gó^{n} mo^{n}thí^{n}-thí^{n}-t^{h}e, …
And 3.walk-AUX-when
'As he went…' (JOD 1890: 568.12)

231. Go^{n} edábe-xchi í^{n}-hi -thi^{n}, ehé -mi^{n}k^{h}e...
And nearly-very 1sg.DAT-3.reach-AUX 1sg.say-1sg.AUX
'I said he has nearly reached it for me.' (JOD 1890: 596.10)

The sister, who is moving and animate, is in the process of coming in (229) and this motion is marked by the auxiliary *thi*^{n}. Similarly, the motion of a person walking in (230) is marked by the auxiliary *thi*^{n}. In (231), a man is climbing a tree, hunting, and his action is marked with *thi*^{n}. Although none of the above contain an overt subject marked by *thi*^{n}, their subjects are all animate and moving. In (229) and (230), the subjects are also clearly obviative. In (229), the subject has not arrived on the scene yet. In (231), the narrator is focusing on the action of the speaker and his addressee is high above in the tree (not center stage). The obviation status of (230) is less obvious, but it can be assumed to be obviative as well. Thus, the auxiliary *thi*^{n} is used when the subject of the predicate has the semantic and pragmatic characteristics associated with the article *thi*^{n}. It is used with motion which is in process or occurring over time.

This article-auxiliary shows some evidence of conjugating (232).

232. Shemizhi^{n}ga tha-no^{n} **tha-thi^{n}-she** wa-thá-chigaxe ta-í atha+!
Maiden 2sg-grow **2sg-AUX-2sg** dance-2sg-dance IRR-pl indeed
'Ye grown maidens in motion, ye are to dance.' (JOD 1890: 192.10)

In (232), the auxiliary *thi*^{n} is prefixed by *tha-* which marks second person singular subjects in active conjugations. The subject is in motion, plural and not center stage. The speaker is talking to the crowd and he is center stage with the chief. Thus, *thi*^{n} is being used in a situation where the subject is not third person but otherwise has similar semantic and pragmatic characteristics to a third person subject which would be marked by the article *thi*^{n}.

5.2.8 Auxiliary *t^{h}o^{n}*

T^{h}o^{n} also occurs as an auxiliary (233, 234).

233. Go^{n} xagé nazhí^{n}-t^{h}o^{n}-amá.
And 3.cry 3.stand-AUX-EVID
'And he was standing crying.' (JOD 1890: 27.7)

234. Ki zhó^{n}-t'e -t^{h}ó^{n}-amá shí^{n}gazhí^{n}ga.
And sleep-dead-AUX -EVID child
'The child was sleeping soundly.' (JOD 1890: 560.8)

In (233), the character is animate and standing. Though the subject is not overt, if it were, it could be marked with *t^{h}o^{n}*. The verb is marked with *t^{h}o^{n}*. In (234), *t^{h}o^{n}* also serves as an auxiliary modifying the predicate 'sleep.' While *t^{h}o^{n}* may initially seem a wrong choice for a sleeping child as it calls for the person to be standing, it is appropriate in this case. The child is sleeping in a cradle board propped up against the wall. Thus, *t^{h}o^{n}* would be the appropriate article to modify 'child' in this context. In both examples, the action is in process and occurs over time.

This auxiliary can be seen to conjugate (235).

235. Umó^{n}ho^{n} **óga-t^{h}o^{n}** wa-wákega hégabázhi.
Omaha **2pl-AUX** 2pl-sick not a little.
'We Omahas have much sickness among us.' (JOD 1890: 650.5)

In (235), the auxiliary *t^{h}o^{n}* is prefixed by the second person plural marker *o^{n}ga*. Thus, at least one example can be found of person being marked on this article-auxiliary. While Dorsey sometimes glosses this use of *t^{h}o^{n}* as a verb meaning stand, this is misleading. The matrix verb 'to stand' in Omaha is *no^{n}zhi^{n}* which conjugates as an active verb. 'We stand' would be *o^{n}no^{n}zhi^{n}* and not *o^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}* if it were the matrix verb of an Omaha sentence. Thus, the above example shows the conjugation of an auxiliary verb.

5.2.9 Auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$/tho$^{n}k^{h}a$*

Both *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* and *tho$^{n}k^{h}a* occur as auxiliaries. Some examples of *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* are provided below (236-238).

236. Ki wá'u.zhi^{n}ga wi^{n} gaxá-ta-xti tí -thi^{n}k^{h}é-amá.
And old.woman one far-at-very 3.pitch.tent-AUX-EVID
'And there was an old woman who pitched her tent very far from the village.' (JOD 1890: 119.13)

237. túshpatho^{n}, edé -thi^{n}k^{h}e ehó^{n}.
my grandchild 3.what.says-AUX fem.EXC
'What is my grandchild saying as he sits?' (JOD 1890: 121.19)

238. Wuhú! Ní nó^{n}pe-thi^{n}k^{h}e ha, á-bi-amá.
Wonderful water 3.fear -AUX DEC 3.say-pl-EVID
'Wonderful! He is fearing the site of water,' they said. (JOD 1890: 265.2)

In example (236), the 'old woman' is marked with the indefinite article *wi^{n}* 'one,' which has no auxiliary counterpart. The action, 'pitching her tent' or 'dwelling' is modified by the auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$*. It could be interpreted as a presentational or existential type of auxiliary in this context (e.g. there was an old woman), or it could aspectual in that the woman was dwelling there over a period of time. In (237), there is no presentational reading possible. The grandchild is already there. Rather, his talking is happening over a period of time. It is not just one word. In (238), water is being feared over a period of time, and, thus, the auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is used. In none of the above sentences does the subject occur with a definite article. However, *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* would be appropriate if an article were to be used. The grandmother in (236) is animate, removed from the current scene of action, or obviative, and could be sitting. In (237), the grandchild is animate and sitting off to the side, not center stage. Thus, the auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is used when the subject could occur with the article *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$*.

The auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* conjugates based on person form (239, repeated from 231, 240, 241).

239. Go^{n} edábe-xchi í^{n}-hi -thi^{n}, ehé -mi^{n}k^{h}e...
And nearly-very 1sg.DAT-3.reach-AUX 1sg.say 1sg.AUX
'I said he has nearly reached it for me.' (JOD 1890: 596.10)

240. Itígo^{n}thaí zhí^{n}ga níkashí^{n}ga ukéthi^{n} wé-tha-gi-shnígtho^{n} -ni^{n}k^{h}é, shó^{n}…
Grandfather small person Indian 3pl.DAT-2pl.SUB-RFL-decide-AUX enough
'O Little Grandfather, you who govern the Indians.' (JOD 1891: 102.1)

241. Égithe wa'ú akítha zhó^{n}ki'ó^{n}he ihé-wa-thá-bi -tho^{n}k^{h}á-ama.
Behold woman both 3.recline 3.SUB-lay-3pl.OBJ-pl-AUX-EVID
'There were the two women, side by side, just as they had been laid there.' (JOD 1890: 627.3)

In (239), the auxiliary *mi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is used to show a singular first person 'I' who is in the process of performing the action of saying. In (240), *ni$^{n}k^{h}e$* indicates a second person who decides regularly and has been doing so for some time. In (241), the two women are dead, they are lying there, as they laid themselves. Again, the actions are all in process or over time. In the above examples, *mi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is the first person singular form, *ni$^{n}k^{h}e$* is the second person singular form, *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is used for third person singulars, and *tho$^{n}k^{h}a$* is used for third person plurals. No first person plural form has been observed.

While *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* and *tho$^{n}k^{h}a$* occur as articles, *mi$^{n}k^{h}e$* and *ni$^{n}k^{h}e$* do not. Generally, first and second persons do not receive articles. However, some examples could be provided which contradict this. In (240), Dorsey translates the phrase ending in *ni$^{n}k^{h}e$* as a relative clause 'you who govern..' It can however also be translated without the relative reading, i.e. 'Grandfather, you govern the Indians…' Another example of the article-auxiliary with a non-third person is provided below (242).

242. Wi mi^{n}k^{h}e….
I the? AUX?
'As for me…' (In my opinion) (A. Saunsoci 3-2000)

Here, the first person singular form of the article-auxiliary follows the first person pronoun. However, neither a relative reading 'I the one who' or auxiliary reading 'I am being' seem adequate. One characteristic which they do not share with articles in such a context is obviation. As the proximate article-auxiliaries do not conjugate for person form, the first and second person auxiliary forms cannot indicate a contrast in obviation status, only that the referents are first and second persons (animate). For the purposes of this dissertation, these instances will be considered part of the auxiliary system.

Tho$^{n}k^{h}a$ does however indicate discourse status, just as *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* did above. A further example illustrates this (243).

243. Gó^{n} xagé gthí^{n}-thó^{n}k^{h}a-t^{h}e, Ishtínike-amá ki'ó^{n}-bi ó^{n}
And 3.cry 3.sit -AUX -when Ishtinike-the.P.MV 3.paint face-P 3.use
'And while they sat crying, Ishtinike, who had painted his face with clay…' (JOD 1890: 561.3)

Here, the action has moved away from the women who are crying and now Ishtinike and his actions are center stage. Thus, the sitting women would be marked with the obviative article *tho$^{n}k^{h}a$* 'the.animate.sitting.obviative' if they received an overt NP. In accordance, the auxiliary chosen for their actions is homophonous with the article *tho$^{n}k^{h}a$*.

Probably due to the fact that this auxiliary conjugates, Dorsey sometimes glosses it forms as 'you who sit,' 'he who is sitting,' etc. However, it is not the matrix verb 'sit;' that is *gthi^{n}*. While the two may be historically related they are at this time completely separate. *Thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* acts as article and auxiliary. *Gthi^{n}* acts as a matrix verb.

5.2.10 Auxiliary *ma*

Ma also occurs as an auxiliary. Two examples are provided below (244, 245).

244. ...óp^{h}o^{n} hegashteó^{n}zhi edí-**má**-(a)ma.
Elk not.a.few.by.any.means there-**AUX**-EVID
'…there were a great many Elk.' (JOD 1890: 63.9)

245. Égithe núzhi^{n}ga júba mo^{n}thí^{n}bagi a-th-i^{n}-**má**-(a)ma.
It.came.to.pass boy some *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagi* have-3-**AUX**-EVID
'It came to pass that some boys were playing with *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagi* as they walked.' (JOD 1890: 39.14)

In example (244), elk are seen in the distance. The choice of auxiliary reflects that they are animate, in motion and obviative. Note that as occurred with *ak^{h}a* (226) and *ama* (228), the final vowel of the auxiliary and initial vowel of the evidential merge. The boys in (245) are plural, animate, and in motion. Their actions are not center stage. Rather, the main character Ishtinike is center stage, and he sees them off in the distance. He then goes to meet them. This can be compared to a previous example (227, repeated below as 246).

246. Ki shi júba mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí a-th-í^{n}-am-áma.
And again some *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí* have-3 -AUX-EVID
'And again some were playing *mo^{n}thí^{n}bagí* as they walked.'
(JOD 1890: 39.20)

This is Ishtinike's second meeting with boys playing and here they are brought directly to center stage, as can be see by the auxiliary *ama*.

5.2.11 Syntactic analysis of the article-auxiliaries

Each of the article-auxiliaries in this section followed the verb and modified its internal temporal semantics. It showed the event of the verb to be in process or occurring over a period of time. Only *t^{h}e* was not seen conclusively to function as an auxiliary. The auxiliary forms of *thi^{n}*, *t^{h}o^{n}*, and *thi^{n}k^{h}e* were noted to conjugate based on subject person form. Koontz (1984: 152) also noted that *thi^{n}* and *thi^{n}k^{h}e* conjugated, but listed the conjugation as part of their function as articles. He also stated that the other articles may also conjugate and gives an example using *o^{n}ga-t^{h}o^{n}* 'we-the.standing' (ibid). The

auxiliaries denote aspect, specifying the internal temporal structure of the event. In RRG, aspect is a nuclear operator.

5.3 Copula type uses

5.3.0 Introduction

A variety of the article-auxiliaries have also been noted to occur as existential markers or to serve copula-like functions. That is, they are used to present characters in narratives, posit their existence, or locate them in the story world. Koontz (1984:146) glosses the auxiliary use of *ama* and *ak^{h}a* as '**exist**.' Koontz states that these combine with an NP to form a sentence (222). The following section examines copula-like uses of the article-auxiliaries.

5.3.1 Copula *k^{h}e*

The use of *k^{h}e* in two constructions with no obvious matrix predicate are provided below (247, 248).

247. Webaxu-k^{h}e é.
Pencil -the.H 3sg
'That is the pencil!' or 'It is the pencil!' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

248. Webaxu-k^{h}e she (hi) k^{h}e .
Pencil -the.H that (there) COP
'There is the pencil!' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

In (247), *k^{h}e* modifies a noun, and the third singular pronoun *e* follows it. The sentence is a type of equational construction where 'the pencil' is predicated to be 'it.' However, here, *k^{h}e* seems to still be a definite article while the third singular pronoun *e* seems to act as the predicate. In (248), no predicate other than perhaps the second occurrence of *k^{h}e* exists. Here, the location of a pencil is being predicated. Note that this use of *k^{h}e* as a

predicate in a locative-type construction co-occurs with an NP subject which can be or is modified by *k^{h}e*.

5.3.2 Copula *tho^{n}*

Various examples have been found where *tho^{n}* serves a copula-like function as a locational predicate or in presentational type constructions (249-251).

249. Ahí-bi-amá ki tíi hégashtewo^{n}zhi edí-tho^{n}-amá.
3.arrive-pl-EVID when lodge a.great.many there-COP-EVID
'When they arrived, there was a populous village.' (JOD 1890: 177.10)

250. Tó^{n}wo^{n}gtho^{n} wí^{n} edí-tho^{n}-amá.
Village one there-COP-EVID
'There was a village.' (JOD 1890: 329.1)

251. Úshko^{n} ó^{n}gútai-k^{h}e ínitawáthe gátho^{n}ská shte edí-tho^{n}-ázhi,
Custom our -the.H life-sustaining that.size even there-COP-neg
wa-thí^{n}ge-xtió^{n}-i.
1pl.OBJ-nothing-very-pl
'Among our customs, there is none of any kind whatever which is life-sustaining, we are destitute of all.' (JOD 1890: 758.6)

In example (249), the characters come upon the scene of a populous village. *Tho^{n}* is the article which would be used to mark a 'village,' as teepees are placed in a circle. It follows *edi* 'there' in this sentence which presents the village in the story, giving its existence and location. Example (250) is the first line in a story; it introduces the setting. Again, *edi* is followed by *tho^{n}*, which is also the appropriate article for the subject. In (251), life-sustaining customs are noted to not exist, and this lack of existence is shown by the use of *edí-tho^{n}-ázhi* 'there-copula-negative.'

5.3.3 Copula *t^{h}e*

An example of *t^{h}e* in such a construction can also be found (252).

252. …égithe tí wi^{n} údo^{n}-xti ededí-t^{h}e-amá, tí só^{n}the.
Behold lodge one good-very there-COP-EVID lodge whitened
'Behold there was a very good lodge, a whitened lodge.'
(JOD 1890: 132.20)

In (252), the character is following someone and arrives upon this whitened lodge. *Ededí-t^{h}e* 'there copula' is used to introduce or present this structure on the scene. Note that lodges are upright, inanimate objects which are usually marked with the article *t^{h}e*. Thus, the choice of *t^{h}e* for the copula agrees with the semantics of the subject.

Below, two modern examples of such a use are provided (253, 254).

253. Tizhebe-t^{h}e edi -t^{h}e egithe.
Door-the.V there COP behold
'The door was there after all.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

254. Egithe tizhebe-t^{h}e edi -t^{h}e.
Behold door -the.V there-COP
'The door was there after all.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

In (253), the location of a door, which is modified with the article *t^{h}e*, is predicated with *t^{h}e*. Example (254) provides the same sentence with an alternate word order, showing that it is indeed *t^{h}e* and not *egithe* which functions as the predicate.

5.3.4 Copula *ge*

Ge has also been found to serve copula-like functions (255, 256).

255. Shó^{n} íe o^{n}gútai-t^{h}e níashi^{n}ga ukéthi^{n} íe etaií, ushté wágazú-xti wi^{n}ke-xti
And word our-the.V man Indian word their rest straight-very true-very
edí-ge ha.
there-COP DEC
'Though there are here and there among us Indians those who speak very true and honest words.' (JOD 1890: 679.10)

256. Shó^{n} Kansas edí-gé shteó^{n}.
And Kansas there-COP even
'They must be found in some places in Kansas.' (JOD 1891: 19.3)

In (255), the existence of honest speaking Indians is posited using the predicate *edi-ge* 'there-copula.' *Ge* describes things that are scattered here and there and is used for inanimate entities. Likely, it is referring to the honest and true words, not the people. In (256), the antecedent for 'they' is buffalo winter hides. These are posited to be located scattered throughout Kansas. Therefore, *ge* is chosen as predicate in this locational construction.

5.3.5 Copula *ak^{h}a*

Ak^{h}a also occurs as a copula (257, 258).

257. Ak^{h}í-bi kízhi ikó^{n} -ak^{h}a ededí-ak^{h}a-ama.
3.reach.home-P, when grandmother-the.P.sg there-COP-EVID
'When he reached home, his grandmother was there.' (JOD 1890: 24.8)

258. Táxti-gí-kidábi -ak^{h}á ededí-ak^{h}a-áma.
Deer-3.sg.DAT-shoot-the.P.sg there-COP-EVID
'There was (a giant called) Táxti-gí-kidábi.' (JOD 1890: 22.1)

In (257), the grandmother is introduced into the scene. The phrase *ededí-ak^{h}a* 'there-copula' is used. Similarly, (258) is the opening line in a story and it introduces a character. The same phrase is used. In (258), the subject is marked with *ak^{h}a*, exemplifying the agreement between subject article and copula.

5.3.6 Copula *ama*

Ama is also used in such constructions (259).

259. Zizika duba edi-**am**-ama hegashtewo^{n}zhi.
Turkey some there-**COP**-EVID by.no.means.a.few
'There were some turkeys, a great many.' (JOD 1890: 60.1)

In (259), the first *ama* (here occurring as *am-*) occurs with 'there' locating the turkeys on the scene. This is similar to the use of *ak^{h}a* in (258). In this example, the subject is plural, animate and center stage. Thus, agreement of the copula with the semantico-pragmatic characteristics of the subject referent can be seen in the above example.

5.3.7 Copula *thi^{n}*

Thi^{n} can also be found in such constructions (260).

260. Gó^{n} núzhi^{n}ga-thi^{n} édedí-**thi^{n}**-amá, tí-gaxe.
And boy-the.O.MV there-**COP**-EVID playing
'There was a boy there, he was playing.' (JOD 1890: 624.10)

In (260), a character comes upon a boy playing. *Édedí-thi^{n}* 'there-copula' is used to present and locate the boy onto the scene. The subject article and copula agree. Note that here *thi^{n}* is definitely a copula and not auxiliary as it does not follow the verb 'play.' Auxiliaries in Omaha directly follow the verb they modify.

5.3.8 Copula *t^{h}o^{n}*

Examples of *t^{h}o^{n}*'s use as a copula in sentences denoting presence, location, or existence can also be found (261, 262).

261. Ki gó^{n}ki Te-zhí^{n}ga ídathá-bi ki ská-xchi-**t^{h}ó^{n}**-amá.
And when Buffalo-calf 3.bear-P when white-very-**COP**-EVID
'And when the buffalo calf was born, he stood very white.'
(JOD 1890: 133.15)

262. Ki tó^{n}wo^{n}gthó^{n} ó^{n}ga-t^{h}o^{n} wawéthigtho^{n} wa-thí^{n}ga-i ki, …
And nation 2pl-stand ruler 2pl-none-pl if
'…if we should have not rulers in our nation…' (JOD 1890: 727.10)

The sentence in (261) presents the white buffalo calf into this story. The copula *t^{h}o^{n}* is used, denoting that he is animate, obviative and standing. He is being watched by the

main character who is center stage. In (262), 'nation' is modified by *o^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}*, a conjugated form of *t^{h}o^{n}*. It does not simply mean 'our;' this would be *o^{n}guta* 'our.' It is better translated as 'be' or 'stand,' e.g. 'if we stand as/are a nation (without rulers)…' Thus, it can be seen to function similarly to the English copula 'be' in (262).

5.3.9 Copula *thi^{n}k^{h}e*

Thi^{n}k^{h}e also functions as a copula (263, 264).

263. Égithe ké-tó^{n}ga ní kó^{n}ha-k^{h}e-di ededí-**thi^{n}k^{h}é**-amá.
Behold turtle-big water border-the.H-by there-**AUX**-EVID
'It happened that a big turtle was sitting there, by the shore of the lake.'
(JOD 1890: 62.13)

264. Ó^{n}po^{n}-wa-dó^{n}be-thi^{n}k^{h}é Ihó^{n}kto^{n}wí^{n}-amá-di edí-**thi^{n}k^{h}é**-i^{n}t^{h}é …
Elk -3pl.OBJ-see-the.O.SI Yankton-the.P.pl-at there-**AUX**-whether
'…whether He-who-sits-looking-at-the-Elk is with the Yanktons.'
(JOD 1890: 696.5)

In (263), the character finds a big turtle. This turtle is animate and not center stage yet. He is presented with the phrase *ededí-thi^{n}k^{h}é* 'there copula,' which gives his location. Example (264) questions the presence of an individual with the Yanktons and uses a similar phrase *edí thi^{n}k^{h}é* 'there copula.' Following the locational adverbs *edi* and *ededi* 'there,' *thi^{n}k^{h}e* is a copula-type predicate.

The conjugated forms of *thi^{n}k^{h}e* also can occur in such constructions (265).

265. Húto^{n}ga ithádithai-n-i^{n}k^{h}é, níkashi^{n}ga thithíta wí^{n} o^{n}-wó^{n}kie shugthé.
Winnebago agent -2sg-COP person your one 1sg.SUB-speak to 3.go.back
'You are the Winnebago agent, one of your Indians has gone back to you after talking with me.' (JOD 1890: 647.1)

Example (265) begins a letter, introducing the addressee. He is marked with the second person singular form of *thi^{n}k^{h}e*.

5.3.10 Copula *ma*

Ma also participates in these types of constructions (266, 267).

266. Tó^{n}wo^{n}gtho^{n} júba ededí-**ma** hégabazhí-xti.
Village some there-**COP** populous-very
'There were some villages which were very populous.' (JOD 1890: 345.1)

267. …Ni-xébe-k^{h}é-ta, wáxe pahó^{n}ga-xchi hi-má ededí-**ma** ha.
Water-shallow-the.H-at whiteman first-very 3.arrive-AUX there-**COP** DEC
'The place was… at Boyer Creek where the first white men were.'
(JOD 1890: 435.7)

Example (266) begins a story, presenting the setting to it. The phrase *ededí-ma* 'there copula' is used to give the location of the village in the storyworld. Example (267) presents the exact setting of the action taking place and uses the same phrase. The subject is animate, plural and not center stage.

5.3.11 Analysis and conclusion

All the articles have been seen to serve various copula-like functions. They occur in constructions which introduce an entity into the narrative (presentational constructions), posit that a given entity exists, or give the entity's location. Below, an example of each of these functions is given (268, repeated from 258, 270, repeated from 259, and 270, repeated from 267).

268. Táxti-gí-kidábi-ak^{h}á ededí-**ak^{h}a**-áma.
Deer-3.sg.DAT-shoot-the.P.sg there-**COP**-EVID
'There was (a giant called) Táxti-gí-kidábi.' (JOD 1890: 22.1)

269. Zizika duba edi-**am**-ama hegashtewo^{n}zhi.
Turkey some there-**COP**-EVID by.no.means.a.few
'There were some turkeys, a great many.' (JOD 1890: 60.1)

270. …Ni-xébe-k^{h}é-ta, wáxe pahó^{n}ga-xchi hi-má ededí-**ma** ha.
Water-shallow-the.H-at whiteman first-very 3.arrive-AUX there-**COP** DEC
'The place was… at Boyer Creek where the first white men were.'
(JOD 1890: 435.7)

In (268), the main character is presented in a story (presentational construction). In (269), the existence of turkeys is posited. In (270), the location of the first white men is given. These constructions lack an easily identifiable matrix predicate. Generally, they consist of a locative adverb such as *edi* 'there' and then the article-auxiliary. Here, the article-auxiliary can be seen to be functioning in a predicate-like role but it is semantically empty. It doesn't actually predicate an action or state but rather links the subject with the adverb. The article-auxiliary acts as a copula. The semantics required for article use of the given article-auxiliary also hold when used as a predicate. No new semantic information is introduced by its function in the predicate as a copula. The fact that a locative adverb occurs with the copula underscores that this is primarily a locative type of construction. The existential and presentational connotations are derived from this, much like 'there is' and 'there was' can be used in such types of constructions in English.

Whether such constructions are actually an instantiation of the auxiliary use of the articles remains to be determined. Examples exist in which the article-auxiliaries clearly function as auxiliaries and not copulas (271, 272).

271. …zho^{n}wéti^{n} athí^{n}-**ak^{h}**-áma édego^{n} íti^{n}-bi-amá to^{n}de k^{h}e.
striking-stick 3.have-**AUX**-EVID there-so 3.hit-P-EVID ground the.H
'He hit the ground with a club which he had been carrying.'
(JOD 1890: 81.11)

272. Go^{n} xage athe **am**-ama.
And cry go **AUX**-EVID
'And he was going along crying.' (JOD 1890: 27.6)

In (271), a main verb 'have' exists before the article auxiliary *ak^{h}a*, and it is doubtful that the article auxiliary would be analyzed as a predicate. Rather, it is aspectually modifying

'have.' Similarly, in (272), the action of crying is being modified as being in progress. Thus, the article-auxiliaries can be used in clearly progressive auxiliary contexts.

The copula-type examples of the article-auxiliaries presented in this section differ from the auxiliary uses in (271) and (272) in that they are not modifying a predicate. However, all the copula uses can be argued to be progressive. Two examples are provided below (273, repeated from 263, and 274, repeated from 264).

273. Égithe ké-tó^{n}ga ní kó^{n}ha-k^{h}e-di ededí-thi^{n}k^{h}é-amá.
Behold turtle-big water border-the.H-by there-COP-EVID
'It happened that a big turtle was sitting there, by the shore of the lake.'
(JOD 1890: 62.13)

274. Ó^{n}po^{n}-wa-dó^{n}be-thi^{n}k^{h}é Ihó^{n}kto^{n}wí^{n}-amá-di edí-thi^{n}k^{h}é-i^{n}t^{h}é …
Elk -3pl.OBJ-see-the.P.SI Yankton the.P.pl-at there-COP-whether
'…whether He-who-sits-looking-at-the-Elk is with the Yanktons.'
(JOD 1890: 696.5)

In example (273), 'a big turtle was sitting there…,' the Big Turtle is sitting there as the character approaches them. In (274), a letter asks if a certain person is with the Yanktons. His being there would be over time right now, a progressive context. Such examples point toward the fact that the copula use of the article-auxiliaries is semantically related to the progressive auxiliaries. It is a subset of this semantic usage with more independent syntax. This use of the articles as separate matrix verbs will be discussed further in chapter 6.

5.4 Co-occurrence of article-auxiliaries with irrealis marker

5.4.0 Introduction

Related to their function as aspect markers, the article-auxiliaries can follow the irrealis marker *ta* in Omaha. *Ta* denotes that an event has not yet occurred but may occur in the future (275, 276).

275. Ki, Edí-xti o^{n}-tí ta-i, á-bi-amá.
And there-very 3pl-camp IRR-pl say-P-EVID
'Let us camp just here.' (JOD 1890: 320.15)

276. …uthewi^{n}-xti akí-tha-zhó^{n} ta-í.
Assemble-very here-2sg.-sleep IRR-pl
'You shall assemble in full numbers and sleep.' (JOD 1890: 328.8)

In (275), the people propose to camp in a spot. In (276), the Moon is telling people what to do. In both examples, the event has not actually occurred but is possible or hypothetical. This is irrealis status. Many of the article-auxiliaries co-occur with this marker.

Dorsey (ms: 52) lists a sentence containing *tat^{h}e* as one way of expressing potential mode which denotes 'possibility, liberty, power, will or obligation. Dorsey states that the future perfect tense is *tathi^{n}* which is a combination of *ta* and *athi^{n}* 'have' (rather than *ta* and *thi^{n}*) (55). Anonymous (n.d.: 105) notes that *ta* occurs with *t^{h}e* to express an event and intention which is expected with absolute certainty. She notes that the future is expressed by a suffix consisting of *te* (*ta*) and an irregular verb, where *ta mi^{n}k^{h}e* means 'I am going to,' *ta ni^{n}k^{h}e* means 'You are going to,' *ta ak^{h}a* means 'he is going to,' and *tai t^{h}e* means 'we are going to.' Koontz (2001) lists *ta* as the future or irrealis marker which occurs with the progressive auxiliary. *Ta-t^{h}e* is the 'certainty future' (20). The following section explores this topic.

5.4.1 Occurrence of article-auxiliaries with the irrealis markers

Many of the article-auxiliaries occur after the operator *ta*. The inanimate article-auxiliary *k^{h}e* does (277-279).

277. …Edádo^{n} u-á-zhi ta-k^{h}e shti wo^{n}githe o^{n}-'í-i…
What LOC-1sg-plant will too all 1sg.OBJ-3.give-pl
'He has given…all things for me to plant.' (JOD 1890: 518.3)

278. Mo^{n}thí^{n}-chaki i^{n}sh'ágе t'é ta-k^{h}e.
Mo^{n}thí^{n}-chaki old.man 3.die will surely as he reclines
'The aged man, Mo^{n}thí^{n}-chaki, will surely die.' (JOD 1890: 765.8)

279. Thí-do^{n}be gó^{n}tha-xti éde á'o^{n}-zhi t'é ta-k^{h}e.
2sg.OBJ-see 3.want-very but 3.successful-not 3.die surely will as she reclines
'She has a strong desire to see you, but she will surely die (as she reclines) without having her wish gratified.' (JOD 1890: 775.6)

In (277), the action *uazhi* 'I plant' is modified by *ta-k^{h}e*. The gloss provided by Dorsey for *ta-k^{h}e* is 'will.' In (278), *t'e* '3.die' is modified by *ta-k^{h}e*, which is translated as 'will surely as he reclines.' In (279), *t'e* '3.die' is also modified by *ta-k^{h}e*, which is translated as 'will surely as she reclines.' While the *ta-* 'irrealis' contributes the sense of 'will,' – *k^{h}e* is likely to contribute the sense of 'as s/he reclines.' It denotes action in a horizontal plane. Note that even planting in (277) frequently occurs in rows. However, the actor in (277) is animate, as are those in (278) and (279). Thus, this use of *k^{h}e* does not have the same animacy restrictions that the article or article-auxiliary do. Also, unlike the article and auxiliary uses of *k^{h}e*, it occurs with a first person in (277).

The inanimate article-auxiliary *t^{h}e* also occurs after *ta* (280-282).

280. O^{n}ba-waxube-thishto^{n} k^{h}i wi-to^{n}be ta-i-t^{h}e.
Day-holy-finish when 1sg.SUB.2.OBJ-see shall
'I'll see you Monday.' (A. Saunsoci 10-7-04)

281. Égo^{n} ta-t^{h}e,
So it.shall.be,
'It shall surely be so…' (JOD 1890: 21.14)

282. U-thí-he ta-t^{h}e thó^{n}zha
LOC-2sg.OBJ-way shall though
'Though you shall have your way…' (JOD 1890: 63.16)

T^{h}e occurs after the irrealis marker *ta* and the proximate marker *i* in (280). The speaker translated this use as 'shall.' The subject of the verb is 'I' in this example. In (281), *t^{h}e*

follows the irrealis marker and is glossed as 'shall surely.' Its subject is a third person singular. In (282), the subject is a second person and the gloss is 'shall' for *ta-t^{h}e*. Like *ta-k^{h}e, ta-t^{h}e* is not restricted to third person subjects. It modifies verbs whose subjects are animate (280, 282) and is often glossed as 'shall surely.' Unlike *ta-k^{h}e*, *ta-t^{h}e* does not seem to imply motion along a particular path or plane.

No other inanimate articles were found to occur after the irrealis marker *ta*. An attempt to elicit *ta ge* 'IRR AUX.plural.inanimate.scattered' resulted in the following (283).

283. Waxtá-si gahíthe ta-ama.
Flower-seed 3.scatter IRR-AUX
'The seeds will scatter all around.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

It was noted above that the inanimate articles were not used as auxiliaries after the irrealis marker based on the semantics associated with their article uses. Example (283) was an attempt to elicit *ta ge* based on *ge*'s use in article contexts. The seeds were inanimate and scattered. However, *ta ge* was not used. Rather *ta ama* occurred in this context. The speaker noted that they did not think they had ever heard *ta ge* after a verb, unless it was the noun *tage* 'walnut.' Similar attempts to elicit *ta tho^{n}* were equally fruitless.

Most or all of the animate markers occur after the irrealis marker. Examples of *ama*, *ak^{h}a*, and *thi^{n}* are provided below (284-286).

284. Kay-ak^{h}a no^{n}zhi^{n} ta-ak^{h}a.
Kay-the.P.sg 3.stand IRR-3sg.AUX
'Kay will stand up.' (A. Saunsoci 4-14-04 NICC)

285. Ho^{n}-ki nuzhi^{n}ga-ama tabe buta shkade ta-ama.
Night-when boy-the.P.pl ball round 3.play IRR-3pl.AUX
'Tonight, the boys will play basketball.' (M. Cayou 2-20-02, ULC)

286. Gthí ta-thi^{n}, á-bi-amá.
3.come.back IRR-AUX 3.say-P-EVID
'He will be coming back,' said (the father). (JOD 1890: 306.13)

In (284), *ak^{h}a* combines with the irrealis marker. It is glossed simply 'will' and co-occurs with a subject marked with the article *ak^{h}a*. In (285), the subject is marked with the article *ama*, *ama* also occurs after the irrealis marker and it is translated as 'will.' The verb in (286) has no subject but does describe the actions of moving animate person who is located away from center stage; the person spoken of is away hunting. Thus, the occurrence of *thi^{n}* after the irrealis marker coincides with a context where the subject may be marked with the article *thi^{n}*. No evidence of *ma* occurring with the irrealis marker has been found in the Dorsey texts. Elicitation of *ta-ma* proved fruitless on two grounds. The largest is that *ta-ama* and *ta-ma* are not necessarily phonologically distinguishable in Modern Omaha. Speakers either tended to not want to place a break between *ta* and the article/auxiliary if asked to or would consistently break the two as *ta* and *ama*. As mentioned earlier, *ma* is particularly difficult to elicit in modern Omaha and may be disappearing.

In section 5.2.9, *thi^{n}k^{h}e* was noted to conjugate based on person form in its auxiliary use. This is also the case when it occurs with the irrealis marker (287-292).

287. A-gthe ta-mi^{n}k^{h}e.
1sg-go IRR-1sg.AUX
'I'm going.' (W. Caramony 4-2002, ULC)

288. Gaso^{n}thi i^{n}dado^{n} n-at^{h}e ta-ni^{n}kshe?
Tomorrow what 2-eat IRR-2sg.AUX
'What will you eat tomorrow?' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

289. She n-at^{h}e ta-ni^{n}k^{h}e.
Apple 2-eat IRR-2sg.AUX
'You are going to eat an apple.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

290. Ebe baxu ta-thi^{n}k^{h}e?
Who 3.write IRR-3.sg.AUX.O
'Who will write?' (A. Saunsoci 4-2003, NICC)

291. I^{n}dado^{n} o^{n}-thato^{n} ta-o^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}?
What 3pl-drink IRR-1pl.AUX
'What will we drink?' (A. Saunsoci 4-2003, NICC)

292. Awi^{n}o^{n}wa thabthi^{n} tho^{n}k^{h}a the ta-ma?
Which three the.pl.OBV 3.go IRR-3pl.AUX
'Which three will go?' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

In (287), *mi^{n}k^{h}e*, the first singular person form of *thi^{n}k^{h}e*, occurs with the irrealis marker. It modifies an action that has not yet occurred. In (288), *ni^{n}kshe*, the second person form of *thi^{n}k^{h}e*, occurs with the irrealis marker. *Ni^{n}k^{h}e* also occurs for this second form, as is seen in (289). *Ni^{n}kshe* is used with interrogatives, as in (288), and *ni^{n}k^{h}e* is used with declaratives (289). This was a consistent pattern in fieldwork elicitation, although not noted in previous analyses of Omaha. In (290), *thi^{n}k^{h}e* occurs as the third person auxiliary after the irrealis marker. The first person plural marker which occurs with the irrealis marker is not a form of *thi^{n}k^{h}e*, but rather *t^{h}o^{n}*. In (291), the irrealis marker co-occurs with *o^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}* which is *o^{n}ga* 'we' plus *t^{h}o^{n}*. Similarly, (292) does not contain *tho^{n}k^{h}a*, the third person plural form of *thi^{n}k^{h}e*, after the irrealis marker, but rather *ama* follows it. This is the case even though the subject is modified by the article *tho^{n}k^{h}a*.

As can be seen above, third person singular subjects can occur with a variety of irrealis-article/auxiliary combinations. In (284), *ta-ak^{h}a* modifies the verb. In (286), *ta-thi^{n}* is used. In (290), *ta-thi^{n}k^{h}e* occurs. *Ta-k^{h}e* and *ta-t^{h}e* also can occur. While the latter two indicate certainty of the event, as can be seen by the gloss 'surely,' the former three differ in less obvious ways. *Ta-thi^{n}* occurs with subjects in motion. Obviation status explains the difference between when *ta-ak^{h}a* and *ta-thi^{n}k^{h}e* occur. As it was with the articles, *ta-ak^{h}a* indicates a center stage subject. In (284), Kay was directly in front of the

speaker. In (290), the person to perform the action is as of yet unknown and, therefore, can't be center stage. Thus, *ta-thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* is used.

Thus, each of the animate article-auxiliaries, with the exception of *ma* can be seen to occur with the irrealis marker. The two inanimate article-auxiliary which occur with *ta* can be used with any person form. *K^{h}e* indicates certainty and motion/position along a horizontal plane. *T^{h}e* indicates certainty but not a particular type of action. The animate-article-auxiliaries do not seem to imply certainty but denote person form and, for third persons, obviation status and motion. The contrast between addition of the animate and inanimate auxiliaries can be seen in the following (293).

293. O^{n}ba-waxube-thishto^{n} k^{h}i wi-to^{n}be-**ta-i-t^{h}e**.
Day holy finish when 1sg.SUB.2.OBJ-see-**IRR-P-EVID**
'I'll see you Monday.' A. Saunsoci 10-7-04

In example (293), the speaker is committing to meeting on Monday. The speaker and the author had made plans and were meeting for a purpose. The use of a conjugated form of 'will' produced by the author was corrected (294).

294. O^{n}ba-waxube-thishto^{n} k^{h}i wi-to^{n}be-**ta-mi^{n}k^{h}e**.
Day holy finish when 1sg.SUB.2.OBJ-see-**IRR-1sg.AUX**
'I'll see you Monday.' A. Saunsoci 10-7-04

This sentence (294) is completely grammatical and felicitous in a situation such as saying farewell at the end of the day on Fridays at the school. Thus, the *t^{h}e* indicates a higher level of commitment. Rudin calls the usage of *t^{h}e* with *ta* the 'future of certainty' (p.c.).

The animate articles conjugate based on person form and also reflect obviation and motion for third persons. *Mi$^{n}k^{h}e$* occurs with first person singular subjects. *O$^{n}gat^{h}o^{n}$* is the first person plural subject marker which co-occurs with irrealis *ta*. *Ni$^{n}k^{h}e$* occurs with second person subjects in declarative sentences. *Ni$^{n}kshe$* occurs with second person subjects in interrogative sentences. *Ama* occurs with third person plural subjects. Third

person singular subjects are marked by *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e* when they are obviative and *ak*^{h}*a* when they are proximate. *Thi*^{n} is used for those subjects which are obviative, animate third persons in motion. Thus, the article-auxiliaries retain some of the semantics required by the articles but differ in usage.

5.4.2 Syntactic analysis

Ta as an irrealis marker is a status operator in RRG. The inanimate article-auxiliaries *k*^{h}*e* and *t*^{h}*e* modify this marker of hypothetical action to show that it is likely to take place. They act as evidentials, which are clausal operators.

The animate article-auxiliaries do not vouch for the likelihood of an action. Rather, they modify the temporal semantics of the event, just as they did when they occurred as auxiliaries without *ta*. For example, the following minimal pair was presented to a speaker (295, 296).

295. Ebe baxu ta?
Who 3.write IRR
'Who will write it?' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

296. Ebe baxu ta-thi^{n}k^{h}e?
Who 3.write IRR-3.sg.AUX.O
'Who will write?' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

The speaker stated that the first example, (295), could be more accurately translated as 'Who will write it?,' rather than 'who will write.' 'Who will write' was deemed more appropriate for the second sentence (296). The speaker noted that the second example would be more appropriate in an instance where the student would write for the entire class period. The addition of the auxiliary removes telicity from the event. This is a modification of verbal Aksionsart.

5.5 Evidentials

5.5.0 Introduction

Certain articles also occur sentence finally as evidentials, denoting the source or accuracy of the information conveyed. Anonymous (n.d.: 108) discusses various 'modes' where an assertion which repeats the subject's article denotes that the speaker witnessed the event, an assertion ending in *ak^{h}a* and *ama* denotes the experience of a third person as repeated by the speaker, and an assertion ending in *biama* denotes hearsay in a general way. *T^{h}e* is labeled a 'temporal suffix' which 'denotes action which is completed or done in the past (114). *K^{h}e* is listed as an emphatic or exclamatory interjection. Koontz (1984) stated that *t^{h}e* and *ama* could function as sentence terminators, a set of particles marking mood. *T^{h}e* was stated to mean 'personally experienced past.' *Ama* was the 'quotative,' marking quotes. Rudin (1998: 4) states that *t^{h}e* can be used in contexts other than personally experienced past and that its meaning seems more emphatic or confirmative. She also adds *k^{h}e* to the list of sentence terminators and labels this set as complementizers or clause-final particles. Koontz (2000) proposed *t^{h}e*, *k^{h}e*, and *tho^n* were evidentials, which were homophonous with the inanimate definite articles and signify 'that an action is not observed, but is clear from the evidence or context, or must be understood for a narrative to make sense (1).' He notes that they can occur with the quotative *ama* (4). *T^{h}e* is posited to occur with 'single upright things, often individuals (4).' *K^{h}e* occurs with horizontal things or things that are conceived of as being in a line (5), and *tho^n* occurs with 'a rounded thing.' The following section presents the evidentials in Omaha which are homophonous with articles.

5.5.1 Evidential *k^{h}e*

K^{h}e appears as a post-clitic in an evidential type of function (297).

297. Edi ahi-bi-ama ki, ko^{n}ha, the ede no^{n}te thishto^{n} a-ki-agthai-k^{h}e,
There arrive.3-pl-EVID when Grandmother this but dancing 3.finish go-RFL-go-P-EVID
a-bi-ama.
say-P-EVID
'When they arrived there he said, "Grandmother, this is it, but they have finished dancing and gone homeward.' (JOD 1890: 59.1)

In (297), the character looks around and sees that no one is there. It is unlikely to be an auxiliary use as the subject of going in this phrase would not likely be marked with *k^{h}e*; they are not inanimate or horizontal. It is also unlikely to be an auxiliary due to the fact that it does not receive a progressive reading. *K^{h}e* seems to indicate that the information was obtained by deduction from visual cues obtained by scanning the area. It is possible that it is this looking across an area in a horizontal path that leads to use of *k^{h}e* as an evidential. Note that it is not the action of the verb in the sentence 'dance' but rather the action of the character scanning for clues which calls for *k^{h}e* as an evidential.

The evidential *k^{h}e* can also co-occur with the evidential *ama* 'reportative' (298, 299).

298. Ushko^{n}-tho^{n}-di ahí-bi ki hi^{n}xpé wi^{n} uthíxpathá-bi-**k^{h}e-amá**.
deed -the.R-at 3.arrive-pl when light feather one 3sg.fall-P-**EVID-EVID**
'When they reached the place where it was killed a fine feather had fallen.' (JOD 1890: 52.17)

299. Thip^{h}í ihétha-bi-**k^{h}e-ama**.
3.know how 3.lay-pl-**EVID-EVID**
'They say that the arrow had been mounted on the wall skillfully.'

In (298), the evidential *k^{h}e* denotes that they deduce that the feather has fallen because they see it on the ground. The second evidential *ama* denotes that the narrator is speaking, reporting events in the storyworld to the audience. Thus, two evidentials can co-occur in one clause in Omaha. Example (299) again shows these two evidentials

occurring. *K^{h}e* refers to the fact that the character did not see the arrow being hung, but deduced it was done from seeing the result. Also, it is likely that the arrow is positioned horizontally, as *k^{h}e* denotes horizontal inanimate objects or information found by visually scanning horizontally.

5.5.2 Evidential *tho^{n}*

Tho^{n} is also used post-verbally in instances where the subject does not call for *tho^{n}* as its article (300).

300. Tí gá-amá naxíde-thi^{n}ga-i égo^{n} édi thá-zhi-a he, ehé-**tho^{n}**…[3]
lodge there-the.P.pl ear-none-pl such there go-not-IMP DEC 1sg.say-**EVID**
'I said those villagers are disobedient so do not go there.'
(JOD 1890: 17.9)

Here, the Grandmother is emphasizing that she told him before not to go there. She marks the sentence with *tho^{n}*. There is no reason that the first person would be marked with *tho^{n}* as an article. Also, neither the action of 'saying' or 'being disobedient' or the subject of her statement 'villagers' seem to be particularly round concepts. Thus, there is no article-auxiliary agreement as seen in the above sections on auxiliaries (5.2, 5.3).

Other such uses of *tho^{n}* which do not correlate with article usage can be found in the texts (301, 302).

301. Pahé-watháhuni uh-n-á[4]-k^{h}e **thó^{n}** t'é-a-the, á-bi-amá.
Hill-devour tell-2sg-tell-the.H **EVID** die-1sg-make 3.say-P-EVID
'I have killed the hill which draws them into its mouth, of which you've told of in the past.' (JOD 1890: 28.17)

302. Thé-amá wáthixe uxí^{n}a thé-ama-**thó^{n}** Mashchí^{n}ge izhí^{n}ge zhúgthe
This-the.P.MV marry.a.man sulky go-AUX-**EVID** Rabbit his son together
agthí[5] é-hno^{n}-bi-ama, tháhide-hno^{n}-bi-ama.
3. return say-REG-pl-EVID ridicule-REG-pl-EVID
"This one who was sulky about marrying a man, and went away, has come back with the son of the Rabbit," they were saying, ridiculing her. (JOD 1890: 51.14)

In example (301), *tho*^{n} is used to signify that the addressee has said this in the past. The article modifying the subject is *k*^{h}*e*. Thus, there is no agreement between this article and the subject. In (302), *tho*^{n} again modifies an action that took place in the past. *Ama-tho*^{n} is translated by Dorsey as 'who did they say.' Again, in (302), the subject does not appear with the article *tho*^{n}. It is marked with *ama*, e.g. *the-ama* 'this one.' As it does not agree with the subject, *tho*^{n} is not functioning as an auxiliary. Indeed, the auxiliary *ama* is present in (302). It functions to mark that the person conveying the information is emphasizing that this did take place in the past. It is a kind of evidential in which the information is vouched for.

5.5.3 Evidential *t*^{h}*e*

T^{h}*e* has been found to occur as an evidential in both the author's fieldwork (303, 304) and the historical texts (305).

303. Tabe-tho^{n} gashi-shti edi-t^{h}e.
Ball-the.R long time-also there-EVID
'The ball must have been lying there forever.' (A. Saunsoci 9-2004)

304. Wáno^{n}ko^{n}gthe nó^{n}xe-tho^{n} ná-thi^{n}ge-t^{h}e.
light(kerosene) glass-theR made-none-EVID
'The lightbulb must have burned out.' Or
'It seems that a lightbulb burned out.' (A. Saunsoci 5-2004)

305. Witígo^{n} u-á-wa-kie ta-i-ma thé wá-wake -t^{h}e-ana ethégo^{n}-bi-ama.
My grandfather 1sg-3pl-talk will-P-the these 3pl.OBJ-meant-EVID-EXCL 3sg-thought-P-EVID
'My grandfather meant these when he said that I should talk to them.'
(JOD 1890: 195.3)

Example (303) was elicited from the English sentence given in the gloss. It was used to connote 'must have.' In (304), the context leading to such a sentence might be that the speaker flipped a lightswitch and the light did not come on. In (305), the character figures out (deduces) that this must have been what his grandfather had meant. In each of

these sentences, the speaker is deducing the event/facts of the sentence from clues in his/her environment. Thus, *t^{h}e* is used in contexts to show deduction. In each of the above sentences the article modifying the subject is not *t^{h}e*. 'Ball' and 'lightbulb' are modified with *tho^{n}*. The people in (305) are modified by *ma*. Thus, *t^{h}e* does not occur as an evidential with upright things, but rather when information is deduced.

Like the evidential *k^{h}e* in (298) and (299), *t^{h}e* can also be used with the narrative evidential *ama* (306).

306. Ki Wés'a-wa'ú édi ahí-bi-t^{h}e-amá.
And Snake-woman there 3sg.arrive-P-EVID-EVID
'And the Snake-woman had arrived there.' (JOD 1890: 198.15)

In (306), the character is deducing that the Snake-woman has arrived due to her tracks which he followed. As a result, the evidential *t^{h}e* is affixed to the verb. The narrative evidential follows this.

5.5.4 Evidential *ge*

No evidence has been found of *ge* being used as an evidential.

5.5.5 Evidential *ak^{h}a*

No evidence has been found of *ak^{h}a* being used as an evidential.

5.5.6 Evidential *ama*

Ama also functions as an evidential (307, 308).

307. Mo^{n}shte-k^{h}e-ta tado^{n}he to^{n}ga-bi-ama.
South-the.H-at tornado big-pl-EVID
'I guess there was a big tornado in Oklahoma.'
(O. Cayou, 10-10-01, ULC)

308. Upade-ak^{h}a wani a-bi-ama.
Surgery-the.P.sg pain say-P-EVID
'They say the surgery is painful.' (M. Cayou 10-02, ULC)

In (307), the information conveyed is not the speaker's own; he doesn't know it personally but has heard it from someone else (on t.v.). Therefore, he marks the phrase with the evidential *ama.* Similarly, in (308), the speaker hasn't had the surgery (appendectomy) and is marking that knowledge of its pain is not personally attained through the use of *ama*.

Ama is also used as an evidential in narrative (309, 310).

309. Hi^{n}xpe-agthe a-bth-ixe bth-e, a-bi-**ama**.
Fine feather 1sg-marry 1sg-go say-P-**EVID**
'I go to take Fine Feather for my husband,' said she. (JOD 1890: 166.6)

310. Tena! Hi^{n}xpe–agthe wi e bthi^{n} ha.
Why Fine feather 1sg 3sg 1sg.be M.DEC
'Why, I am Fine Feather.' (JOD 1890: 166.7)

In (309), the narrator is speaking as himself, quoting the character. One knows the narrator is speaking through the marking of *ama* on the sentence. In (310), the narrator is speaking as if he were one of the characters. Thus, direct speech is given and no *ama* is marked on the sentence. As with the earlier examples, *ama* is used when other people's thoughts, ideas or speech are conveyed.

5.5.7 Evidential *thi^{n}*

No evidential usage noted.

5.5.8 Evidential *t^{h}o^{n}*

No evidence found of evidential reading.

5.5.9 Evidential *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$/tho$^{n}k^{h}a$*

No evidence found of evidential reading.

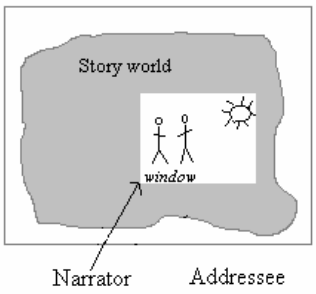
5.5.10 Evidential *ma*

No evidence found of evidential reading.

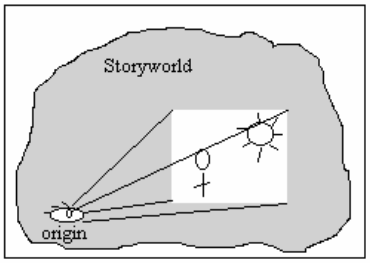
5.5.11 Analysis

K^{h}e, tho^{n}, t^{h}e, and *ama* have been seen to act as evidentials. Use of *k^{h}e* denotes that visual clues, especially scanning horizontally, and deduction led to the idea expressed. *Tho^{n}* is used by a speaker to vouch that the information conveyed has in fact occurred. *T^{h}e* expresses that the information conveyed must have occurred, that is has been deduced but is very likely. *Ama* notes that the information conveyed is not the ideas or thoughts of the speaker but that of another. The characteristics seen by anonymous (n.d.) did not hold true, and neither did Koontz' proposal that the evidentials agree in shape/gender with the subject or action of the verb does not hold true. It is not the subject or action which calls for a certain evidential but rather the type of source of the information.

Ama is used very frequently in narrative to show whether the narrator speaks as a narrator or as a character. DCT, with its emphasis on narrative, can help elucidate the functioning of *ama*. When the narrator reports on events in storyworld, such as in example (308), *ama* is used. This is called the reportive frame. When the narrator takes on the persona of a character and speaks through them or their thoughts, such as in (309), *ama* is not used. This is called the expressive frame. *Ama* is used to denote the reportive frame. Figure 16 depicts the two types of frames.



a. Reportive (objective) frame



b. Expressive (perspective) Frame

Figure16. Frames using *ama* (a) and where *ama* is not used by narrator (b).

Thus, speakers of Omaha indicate source of information through a variety of evidentials. However, use of an evidential is optional and not required to create a grammatical sentence. Each of the evidentials presented is homophonous with an article. No other evidentials have been found in Omaha. Evidentials are clause-level operators in RRG.

5.6 Clause linkage markers

5.6.0 Introduction

Clause linkage markers are elements which mark the linked units in complex constructions. Koontz discusses various topics related to CLM's. Koontz (1984: 180) discusses noun clauses (or subject clauses), which serve as the subject of a sentence. He states that such clauses are followed by the clause marker *ete* 'ref + topic.' Such types of phrases will be discussed below in the section on the CLM *t*^{h}*e*. He also notes that some complement clauses, embedded clauses used for patient arguments, end in *t*^{h}*e* (183). Koontz (2000) discusses use of *t*^{h}*e* and *k*^{h}*e* as 'when.' He classifies these uses of

evidentials as conjunctions (8). The following chapter discusses articles which are used to mark clausal units in Omaha.

5.6.1 Clause linkage marker *t^{h}e*

The use of *t^{h}e* with units larger than the NP is found frequently in Omaha (311).

311. **Wako^{n}da uthu-wa-no^{n}zhi^{n}-t^{h}e** e i^{n}-washko^{n} mo^{n}bthi^{n}.
God watch-1pl.OBJ-watch-the.V it 1sg.DAT-strong 1sg.walk
'The belief that God helps us makes me strong.' (A. Saunsoci 2-1-04)

Here, *t^{h}e* follows 'God watches over us.' It functions similarly to a that-clause in English, 'that God watches over us.' Another such use of *t^{h}e* is provided below (312).

312. **… he gi-'i^{n} -t^{h}e** ahushiga-bi ego^{n} Mashtshi^{n}ge ak^{h}a
… **piece RFL-carry-the.V** 3.insist-P as Rabbit the.P.sg
'… as the rabbit insisted on carrying his own piece.' (JOD 1890: 44.5-6)

Here, the clause 'he carried himself a piece' is followed by *t^{h}e*. Again, it could be translated by a that-clause in English: 'he insisted that he carry himself a piece.'

Thus, *t^{h}e* is used to modify clauses not only to create relative clauses (see section 5.1.3) but other non-matrix clauses such as the *that*-clause-like structure above and the 'when' phrases in section 5.1.3. (313-315, repeated from 188-190).

313. The-**t^{h}e**…
3.go-**the.V**
'when he goes…' (JOD 1890: 45.9-10)

314. **Go^{n} wénaxithai-t^{h}e** te wi^{n} t'etha-bi-ama.
And 3pl.DAT-3.attack-the.V buffalo one 3.kill-P-EVID
'And when he attacked them, he killed a buffalo.' (JOD 1890: 45.11)

315. **Igaxtho^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e uhe uh-n-a-t^{h}e** edeshe-hno^{n} a,
Wife-the.O.SI come for tell-2sg-tell-the.V 2sg.say-REG ?
a-bi-ama Mashtshi^{n}ge izhi^{n}ge ithadi igtho^{n}xa-bi ego^{n}
say-P-EVID Rabbit son father -ask-RFL-ask-P having
'What are you used to saying when you go to tell his wife to go and carry the meat?' said the rabbit's son questioning his father. (JOD 1890: 46.9)

In (313), *the-t^{h}e* '3sg.go the' means 'when he goes.' Similarly, in (314), the *t^{h}e* modifying the clause 'and he attacked them' creates a sense of referring to the time of this act, 'his attack of them,' and relating the matrix clause to it. This results in a translation of 'and when he attacked them.' In (315), *t^{h}e* is again translated as 'when' in 'when you tell the wife to come…' *T^{h}e* does not mark a relative clause in the above 'when' sentences. For example, (315) cannot be translated as 'the wife who you tell to come.' Rather, it marks a clause as subordinate to the main clause but occurring at the same time or directly before.

Subordinate *t^{h}e* clauses can provide background information or reasons for the events in the main clause (316, 317).

316. **A-at^{h}i -t^{h}e** i^{n}the.
1sg-here-the.V 1sgDAT-happy
'I'm happy to be here.' (A. Saunsoci, 3-1-04, NICC)

317. Go^{n}, **thi-adi ni e-tha-shki tha-nazhi^{n}-t^{h}e** titha-ga, a-bi-ama…
And **your-father water 3sg.DAT-2sg.SUB-go 2sg-stand -as** pass on-IMP, say-P-EVID
'Pass on (undisturbed) as you continue to fetch water for your father, he said.' (JOD 1890: 46.16)

In example (316), the clause marked by *t^{h}e* gives the reason that the speaker is happy. In (317), the clause marked by *t^{h}e* gives the reason that the speaker is allowing the addressee to pass.

A further use of *t^{h}e* with subordinate clauses yields a meaning of 'the way that' (318-319).

318. 'Ó^{n} mo^{n}-bth-í^{n}-t^{h}e o^{n}-thó^{n}-wo^{n}thahé mo^{n}h-n-i^{n6} ta-i…
How walk-1sg -the.V 1sg.OBJ-2sg.SUB-follow walk -2sg IRR-pl
'You must walk following me in the way that I walk.' (JOD 1890: 65.7)

319. Itigo^{n} hethushka no^{n}t^{h}e-t^{h}e ego^{n}.
grandfather War dance step-the.V like
'He danced like his grandpa.' (A. Saunsoci 2-16-04 ULC)

Example (318) means literally 'the how I walk' as such, *t^{h}e* is used to modify a phrase of manner of doing something. Example (319) does not contain an explicit word for 'how' or 'manner' but the use of *t^{h}e* implies this. This latter can be literally translated as 'It is like the way that his Grandfather danced the War Dance.'

5.6.2 Clause linkage marker *ge*

Ge also occurs at the end of certain subordinate clauses (320-322).

320. Shó^{n} **'iá-wa-the-no^{n}-i -ge** éskana
And **talk-1pl.OBJ-make-REG-pl-the.S** hope(oh that!)
'We hope that when they talk about us alone…' (JOD 1890: 740.1)

321. Shó^{n} **pahó^{n}ga o^{n}-wó^{n}-do^{n}ba-í -ge** égo^{n} sho^{n}shó^{n}xti gthí^{n}-amá-ha.
And **before 1pl.SUB-3p.OBJl-see-pl-the.S** so continually-very sit-AUX-DEC
'The Omahas continue just as they were when we saw them formerly.'
(JOD 1890: 705.10)

322. … **hó^{n} ó^{n} -ge** gó^{n} wa'ó^{n}-hno^{n}-i shénuzhí^{n}ga-i-t^{h}é-di.
Night 3sg.lay-the.S so 3sg.sing-REG-P young man-P-the.V-when.
'When he was a young man he was always singing when he lay down at night.'
(JOD 1890: 368.2)

In each sentence above (320-322), *ge* modifies a clause indicating an event which happened several times. This is similar to the use of *t^{h}e* with 'when' clauses in (313-315). In each, the clause involving the article can be paraphrased as 'the time(s) that X occurred.' Thus, these phrases function as temporal adverbial clauses where there is no actual noun 'time.' Whether the event occurs once (*t^{h}e*) or several times (*ge*) is implied by the article semantics.

Ge also functions in constructions which are not temporal but can only be labeled as subordinate clauses (323).

323. A-wá-kig-thíto^{n}-ge í^{n}udo^{n}-xti-mo^{n},…
1sg-work-RFL-work-the.S 1sg.DAT-good-very-1sg.REG
'I work for myself and it is very good for me.' (JOD 1890: 497.10)

In (323), *ge* follows the clause 'I work for myself' and seems to function as a CLM similar to *t^{h}e* in section 4.3.2. This was the only example of such a use found and thus it is difficult to elucidate the exact parameters of its usage vis à vis *t^{h}e*. Perhaps, in (323), the speaker works in different manners or at different jobs and thus a type of plurality is associated with this. However, this is a guess which only further data can clarify.

5.6.3 Syntactic analysis

All the clauses modified by *t^{h}e* and *ge* in the above sentences were non-matrix clauses. A further example of a *t^{h}e* clauses is provided below (324).

324. Wa'u-thi^{n}k^{h}e watezegtho^{n} t^{h}e ego^{n}-zhi-ama.
Woman-the.O.SI 3sg. pregnant the.V such-not-EVID
'It's not true that the woman is pregnant.' (A. Saunsoci 2-1-04)

The single argument of *ego^{n}* 'be such' in (324) is the clause *Wa'u thi^{n}k^{h}e watezegtho^{n} t^{h}e* 'that the woman is pregnant.' Omaha is a head-marking language, and, therefore, the pronominal affixes of the verb are the arguments and full NP's are attached at the clause level. As *Wa'u thi^{n}k^{h}e watezegtho^{n} t^{h}e* contains both a verb and full NP, it must be a clause. It cannot have a separate illocutionary force operator, and so cannot be a sentence. Therefore, it is a clause acting as an NP. Its structure is given in Figure 17.

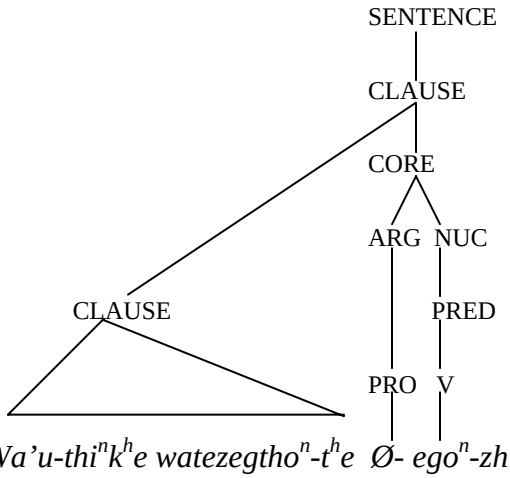


Figure 17. Structure of a clause acting as a NP argument

The *t^{h}e* clause in (324), as given in Figure 17, is an example of subordination. This is a symmetrical type of subordination in that the embedded clause is the daughter of the clause node. The article here serves as a clause linkage marker (CLM). Unlike the articles used in relative clauses, it is not marking properties of a given referent but rather is marking a clause as subordinate. Hence, rather than the entire array of articles being used, only two, *t^{h}e* and *ge*, are possible (325, repeated from 323, and 326)

325. A-wá-kig-thíto^{n} ge í^{n}udo^{n}-xti-mo^{n},…
1sg-work-RFL-work the 1sg.DAT-good-very-1sg.REG
'I work for myself and it is very good for me.' (JOD 1890: 497.10)

326. Wako^{n}da uthu-wa-no^{n}zhi^{n} t^{h}e e i^{n}-washko^{n} mo^{n}bthi^{n}.
God watch-1pl.OBJ-watch the it 1sg.DAT-strong 1sg.walk
'The belief that God helps us (it) makes me strong.' (A. Saunsoci 2-1-04)

Similar to (324), example (325) contains a *that*-clause subject. It could be translated better as 'that I work for myself is very good for me.' It has a structure similar to that of (324), which is illustrated in Figure 17. Example (326) shows another clausal subject marked with *t^{h}e*. Here the clausal NP is co-referenced with a pronoun *e* in the main

clause. A better translation of this sentence would be 'that God watches over us, it makes me strong.' Its structure is given in Figure 18.

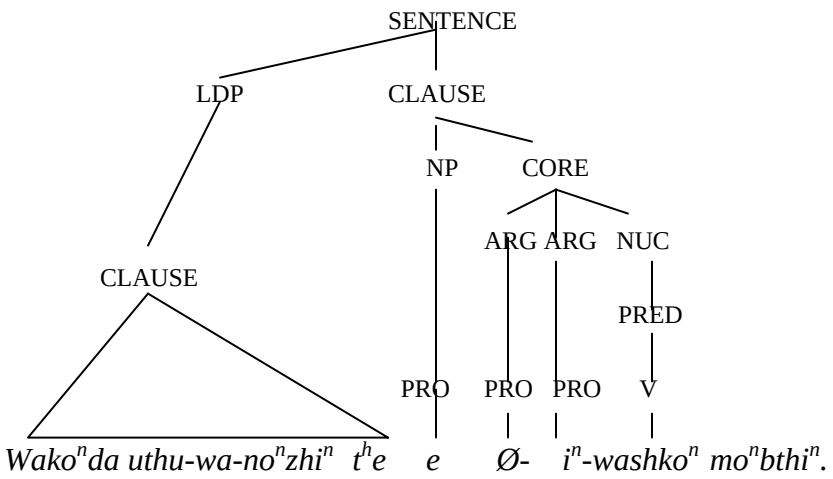


Figure 18. Structure of clausal NP which occurs in the LDP

In Figure 18, similar to Figure 17, the entire clause 'God watches over us' acts as a single unit. Here, however, it is in the left detached position (LDP). It cannot be a part of the matrix core as the headmarking affixes fill the argument position. The pronoun *e* links with the core at the clausal level and makes reference to the clause in the LDP. The final article *thᵑe* acts as a complementizer and prevents the clause 'God watches over us' from acting as an independent sentence. Thus, although the clause in (326) is in the LDP and not the matrix clause, it is a similar type of subordination.

5.7 Miscellaneous other uses

5.7.1 Emphatic *thiⁿhe*

An emphatic *thiⁿhe* also exists in Omaha and shows 'strong prohibition' (Dorsey 1890: 102, 104 etc.). It is also sometimes glossed as 'be sure' (Dorsey 1890: 207, 365 etc.)

This emphatic may consist of *thi*^{n} 'the.animate.obviative.moving' and *he* 'female declarative.' Examples are provided below (327-329).

327. Égithe nó^{n}zhi^{n} tha-ó^{n}he thi^{n}hé aú!
Beware a little 2sg-flee (sign of strong prohibition)
'Beware lest you make even the slightest attempt to flee.'
(JOD 1890: 104.13)

328. Dó^{n}ba-zhi thi^{n}hé, á-bi-amá nú-ak^{h}á.
See-neg be sure 3.say-P-EVID man-the.P.sg
'Be sure not to look at him, said the husband.' (JOD 1890: 207.14)

329. Xubé-ki-thá-bi thi^{n}hé, á-bi-amá.
Sacred-RFL-CAUS-P be sure 3.say-P-EVID
(JOD 1890: 368.5)

In the first example above, *thi*^{n}*he* expresses that the character is strongly warning his addressee. In (328), again the character is being strongly warned. In (329), the speaker is giving a strong suggestion or imperative. In all of the above *thi*^{n}*he* emphasizes the point of the speaker. The imperative marker *–a/ga* 'female/male imperative' are noticeably absent but the illocutionary force of a command is still evident. Thus, *thi*^{n}*he* is a type of illocutionary force marker expressing an imperative with additional emphasis.

5.7.2 Verbs of putting and placing

Koontz (1984: 241-242) lists positional verbs which include inanimate articles in their structure. ***It***^{h}***e****the* 'put an upright object down' contains the article *t*^{h}*e*. *I**he**the* 'put horizontal object down' contains *he*, which derives from *k*^{h}*e*. ***Itho***^{n}*the* 'put a round object down' contains *tho*^{n}. Rankin (2000: 221) shows that these are newer verbs of placing with a readily apparent causative morpheme, *the*. The articles 'by extension and compounding with the regular Siouan causative, provided replacement roots for the several innovated verbs of placing' (221). Thus, *it*^{h}*ethe* can be morphemically analyzed as *i* 'locative' + *t*^{h}*e* 'upright inanimate article' + *the* 'causative.'

The semantics of the articles are preserved in choice of what object the verb calls for (330-332).

330. Niuthato^{n}-**t^{h}e** ga-tho^{n}-di i**t^{h}e**tha-a.
Cup -the.V here-the.R-on put-F.IMP
'Put the cup here.'

331. Webaxu-**k^{h}e** ga-tho^{n}-di i**he**tha-a.
Pencil -the.H here-the.R-on put-F.IMP
'Put the pencil here.'

332. She **tho^{n}** ga-tho^{n}-di i**tho^{n}**tha-a.
Apple the.R here-the.R-on put-F.IMP
'Put the apple here.'

In the above examples, the form of the verb 'put' correlates with the article of the object NP. This proves different from earlier correlations of articles and elements of the predicate. Here, the verb shows agreement with the object article or the semantico-pragmatic parameters associated with the referent upon which article choice is based. However, with auxiliaries the auxiliary showed agreement with the subject article or semantico-pragmatic parameters.

There are many other objects which can be put that do not call for *t^{h}e*, *k^{h}e* or *tho^{n}*, but can occur with the verb 'put' (333-336).

333. I^{n}gthó^{n}ga-**thi^{n}k^{h}e** théthudi i**thó^{n}**tha-a.
Cat -the.O.SI here put-F.IMP
'Put the cat down here.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

334. I^{n}gthó^{n}ga zhi^{n}gá-**ama** théthudi i**t^{h}é**-wa-tha-a.
Cat little -the.P.pl here put-3pl.OBJ-put-F.IMP
'Put the kittens down here.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

335. Wathát^{h}e-**ge** wáthat^{h}e-tho^{n} gahá i**t^{h}é**tha-a.
Food -the.S table -the.R top put-F.IMP
'Put the food on the table.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

336. Niuthato^{n}, taniuzhi, tehe shti thethudi i**t^{h}e**tha-a.
Cup bowl spoon too here put-F.IMP
'Put the cups bowls and spoons here.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

In (333), the NP containing 'cat' is modified by the article *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* and the verb 'put' contains not *thi$^{n}k^{h}e* but *tho^{n}*. It is possible that a kitten is perceived as more round ('a ball of fur') than upright. The plural animate noun 'kittens' is modified by the article *ama* in (334), but the verb put contains *t^{h}e* and not *ama*. The verb for 'put' in (335) and (336) similarly contain *t^{h}e*. In (335), the inanimate plural subject is modified by *ge*, and in (336), the subject is a listing of inanimate objects. Thus, generally, *it^{h}etha* is used for 'put' when the subject is not round or horizontal and inanimate. However, animate singular objects seem to co-occur with *itho^{n}tha*.

An attempt was made to elicit a sentence using an animate singular subject with a different characteristic shape than a kitten (337).

337. Thi-to^{n}ge thethudi gthi^{n}-kitha-a.
2sg-sister here sit-make-F.IMP
'Put your sister down.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-2004)

Because children seem more upright than kittens, a sentence was elicited to see whether such animate beings would co-occur with the verb *it^{h}etha* or *itho^{n}tha* for 'put.' However, as can be seen above, neither of these verbs seemed appropriate to the speaker. Rather, 'make sit' seemed a better verb in such a situation. Until further research is conducted which proves otherwise, *itho^{n}tha* can assumed to be used with animate singular (non-human) objects for 'put.'

5.8 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, each article was seen to function as the final element in a relative clause. Their usage in relative clauses reflects the semantics posited for their usage in simple NP's. All of the articles were also seen to function as progressive auxiliaries. The auxiliary uses are semantically related to copula uses of these elements. The copula

usage is syntactically distinct in that no other overt matrix predicate occurs with the article-copula; auxiliaries co-occur with a matrix verb. The article-auxiliaries can also follow the irrealis marker *ta*. The inanimate article-auxiliaries yield an evidential type reading when occurring after the irrealis marker and have semantics distinct from their use as articles and auxiliaries. The animate auxiliaries *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e*, *t*^{h}*o*^{n}, and *thi*^{n} conjugated for person form both when occurring alone as an auxiliary and after the irrealis marker. In both cases, they modify aspect. Auxiliaries used for animate non-third persons did not show obviation status. In addition to occurring post-verbally as auxiliaries, *k*^{h}*e*, *tho*^{n}, *t*^{h}*e* and *ama* also were found to follow the verb as evidentials. *Tho*^{n} indicates events which are being vouched for having occurred. *K*^{h}*e*, and *t*^{h}*e* indicate events which have been deduced by the speaker to have occurred. *Ama* marks clauses which are not the original thoughts of the character, reporting the speech or ideas of others. While no evidence of *ge* functioning as auxiliary or evidential was found or elicited, this may be due to its relative rarity as compared to the other articles. In Chapter 3, it was seen that *ge* did not occur as often as the other articles.

Other functions of morphemes homonymous with the articles were also presented in this chapter. *T*^{h}*e* and *ge* function as CLM's linking subordinate clauses to main clauses. *Tho*^{n}, *k*^{h}*e* and *t*^{h}*e* are found in verbs meaning 'put.' *Thi*^{n} occurs in the operator *thi*^{n}*he* which functions to express a strong urging or imperative.

While the different uses of homonymous morphemes may seem completely unrelated, in the next chapter the relatedness of these morphemes to the articles is posited through a grammaticalization pathway which connects the various functions of a given

set of homophonous morphemes. Thus, the various functions found in this chapter will be shown to have evolved in the Omaha language one from another.

Endnotes to Chapter 5

[1] Masho^{n} ‘feather’ actually is pronounced mo^{n}sho^{n} in current Omaha. Dorsey typically did not note nasalization on a vowel following a nasal consonant.
[2] *I^{n}dado^{n}* currently.
[3] Naxide ‘ear’ actually is pronounced no^{n}xide in current Omaha.
[4] *Uhna* ‘you told’ is pronounced *una* currently.
[5] *Agthi^{n}* currently.
[6] *Mo^{n}ni^{n}* currently

Chapter 6
Grammaticalization

6.0 Introduction

The articles, or morphemes homonymous with the articles, function in a variety of roles in Omaha, as seen in chapter 5. Table 14 provides a sum of all the various functions of these morphemes.

Article	Auxiliary	Copula	Evidential	CLM	Emphatic
k^{h}e	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
tho^{n}	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
t^{h}e	?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
ge	Likely	Yes	No	Yes	No
ak^{h}a	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ama	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
thi^{n}	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
t^{h}o^{n}	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
thi^{n}k^{h}e	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
ma	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

Table 14. Functions of the various morphemes homonymous with the articles.

While it is possible that it is just a coincidence that morphemes that are phonologically identical serve these functions and that these morphemes are completely unrelated, it is improbable. Of the ten articles, eight to ten of them also function as auxiliaries. All ten function as copulas. All four evidentials which occur in Omaha are also articles. Furthermore, many of the semantic constraints on article use were seen to also occur with the auxiliary, copula, and clause linkage marker uses. All of this points toward paradigmatic shifts in the usage of these morphemes where previous functions were kept while new functions were added. The following section explores the possibility of the

relatedness of the various functions of these morphemes and posits a path through which one function led to another.

6.1 Grammaticalization theory

The study of grammaticalization has a long history. Although many earlier studies related to this topic (for examples, see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 15ff), the term 'grammaticalization' is attributed to Antoine Meillet who defined it as "the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word" (Meillet 1912: 131). He posited that new grammatical forms emerged from analogy, or resemblance to established paradigms, and grammaticalization, as defined above. The standard definition of grammaticalization is that of Kuryłowicz ([1965] 1975: 52), who posits that "grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one." This definition primarily concerns the morpho-syntactic status or classification of the grammaticalizing elements. Considering the semantic and pragmatic factors accompanying grammaticalization, Traugott (1986: 540) states that grammaticalization involves subjectification, in which "meanings tend to come to refer less to objective situations and more to subjective ones (including speaker point of view), less to the described situation and more to the discourse situation." Heine and Reh (1984: 15) use the term grammaticalization to refer to "an evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance, respectively." They describe a number of processes which are involved with grammaticalization including the phonetic processes of adaptation, erosion,

fusion and loss, the morpho-syntactic properties of permutation, compounding, cliticization, affixation, and fossilization, and the functional processes of desemanticization, expansion, simplification and merger (16-17). The phonetic processes affect the phonetic substance of the linguistic units undergoing grammaticalization, the morpho-syntactic processes affect the morpho-syntactic status of the units, and the functional processes affect the meaning or grammatical functions of the units (16). Examining a variety of authorities on grammaticalization leads to the understanding that grammaticalization involves regular morpho-syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic change.

Grammaticalization can be viewed from two standpoints – historical and synchronic. Historical work in grammaticalization investigates 'the sources of grammatical forms and the typical pathways of change that affect them' (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 2). The synchronic perspective 'sees grammaticalization as primarily a syntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use' (ibid).

The two major mechanisms which result in grammaticalization are reanalysis and analogy (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 32) or extension (Harris & Campbell 1995). Reanalysis is the modification of underlying representations which brings about rule change. Analogy, defined above as per Meillet, does not change underlying but rather surface manifestations and does not result in rule change. Analogy, or extension, is generalization of existing rules. Reanalysis has been related to metaphor, and analogy to metonymy (Fischer et al 2000: 14-15), showing grammaticalization to be largely driven by pragmatic and semantic factors. Heine et al (1991b: 50, 60) call the metaphors involved in grammaticalization 'emerging' or 'experiential' metaphors, contrasting them

to literary metaphors. Such experiential metaphors explain, for instance, how body parts come to refer to spatial positions. In metaphor, elements are related through a cognitive similarity. In metonymy, elements are related that are from the same semantic field or context. This context may be a syntactic context in which structural reanalysis leads to a metonymic shift (Fischer et al 2000: 17).

Examining African languages, Heine and Reh (1984) use slightly different but related terminology to discuss the processes involved in grammaticalization. The process by which a lexical item receives a non-lexical (i.e. grammatical) function is called 'desemanticization' by these authors (36) and often is referred to as semantic bleaching by others. 'Expansion' extends the function of a linguistic unit to other contexts, categories or syntactic slots (39). This can be related to the process of reanalysis as given above. They define simplification as the development of regularities for formerly irregular aspects of grammar, which is the process of analogy as related above. Lehmann (1962: 183) calls this analogic leveling. Heine and Reh state that both expansion and simplification are types of analogy. In the former, a syntagmatic analogy is made, and in the latter, a paradigmatic analogy is made (41).

The processes involved in grammaticalization can result in multiple uses of a given form. Hopper (1991) uses the term divergence to describe when some entity undergoes grammaticalization resulting in "pairs or multiples of forms having a common etymology but diverging functionally." These related forms may be maintained or older forms may be lost. Persistence (Hopper 1991) describes that when a grammaticalized B meaning develops, this does not necessarily mean that the earlier meaning A is lost: rather B is likely to reflect A – at least as long as B has not yet undergone

"morphologization." Depending on whether the researcher prefers to describe these often related functions of a given form as separate or not, this results in an analysis of one morpheme with multiple meanings (polysemy) or many separate morphemes which are phonologically the same (homonymy).

Various clines have been posited to describe the transitions involved in grammaticalization. These clines show that change occurs not abruptly but as part of a continuum. A cline of grammaticality has been posited:

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

This a continuum going from least to most bound, as well as from lexical to grammatical to morphological.

While viewing data synchronically, this dissertation uses the principles and mechanisms described in this section to help explain a diachronic development of the multiple uses of article-like morphemes in Omaha. Reanalysis, in particular, will be found to play an important role, while analogy will provide extra force for paradigmatic shifts of usage of the whole set or a given subset of the articles.

6.2 Previous accounts of grammaticalization in Omaha

While many previous authors note that the articles serve in many functions, only one previous account has posited an actual grammaticalization pathway. Dorsey (m.s. 21) notes that the "article-pronouns" serve as articles, pronouns, relatives, copulas; they sometimes mark the time of an action as well as the gender, number and case of nouns. Koontz, who lists *ama* as an article, also describes *ama* as a sentence terminator functioning to mark quotes (1984: 49). Other morphemes that he has listed as articles are

also shown to have different functions elsewhere in his sketch. For example, *thi*^{n} functions as an auxiliary which probably connotes movement, and *t*^{h}*o*^{n} functions as a modal with unclear meaning (69). Rudin (1998: 4) adds that *k*^{h}*e* and *t*^{h}*e* have evidential functions, while *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e* and *tho*^{n}, along with *thi*^{n}, are auxiliaries which show person marking (7). *Ge* is posited to act as an auxiliary as well (4). Thus, previous authors working on Omaha have shown different functions for morphemes which are homonymous with the articles.

Examining a subset of these articles in a number of Siouan languages, Rankin describes a grammaticalization pathway which can explain this homonymy/polysemy for article forms and auxiliaries (1977, 2004). He posits that "Siouan auxiliary and classificatory systems were verbal in origin but referred originally to position or location, not shape" (1977: 280). Therefore, the polysemy of the article forms (or alternatively the homonymy between the articles and auxiliaries) can be accounted for and even expected, as they grammaticalized from verbs.

Rankin's study is based primarily on phonological correspondences. Discussing definite articles, Rankin shows that *tho*^{n} 'the round inanimate' and *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e* 'the sitting animate' developed from the Proto-Siouan verb **ró*^{n}*ke* 'sit,' *t*^{h}*e* 'the standing inanimate' developed from **rahé* 'stand inanimate,' *t*^{h}*o*^{n} 'the standing animate' developed from **hó*^{n}*ke* 'stand animate' and *thi*^{n} 'the moving animate' developed from **ri*^{n} 'move.' He notes that the other articles' etymological sources are either 'less directly related to the above cognate sets or are unclear at present' (2004: 210).

'The positional verbs 'be sitting, be standing, be lying' are inherently continuative semantically and rather automatically lend themselves to aspectual function' (Rankin

2004: 203). These verbs doubled as aspectual markers even in Proto-Siouan. However, Rankin finds that the current aspectual markers in Dhegiha, including Omaha, are based not on the Proto-Siouan positional verbs but rather on the articles. He bases this finding on the older verb roots found among the definite articles, and the 'fossilized, conservative person-number affixes present on the conjugated sitting animate forms' (219). Thus, he posits a pathway from verb to auxiliary to noun classifier to definite article and back to auxiliary verb again.

In regard to evidentials, Rankin posits that the reportative evidential and Proto-Siouan 'stand inanimate' were homophones *ra-he*. Both become *t^{h}e* in Omaha. He posits that the evidential was mistakenly reanalyzed as the definite article *t^{h}e*, and that this led to the introduction of other articles in evidential contexts.

The following sections will examine each of the various uses of the articles in Omaha and posit a pathway for their grammaticalization based on present use, semantic correspondences, and syntactic structure.

6.3 Grammaticalization of *k^{h}e*

K^{h}e can be seen to act as a copula, which can be analyzed as a matrix verb (246, repeated as 338).

338. Webaxu-k^{h}e she (hi) -k^{h}e .
Pencil-the.H that (there)-COP
'There is the pencil!' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-04)

In (338), the only predicate is the second occurrence of *k^{h}e*. *K^{h}e* acts as a linking predicate in a locational construction. It modifies a pencil, which is a long object which lies horizontally.

This copula locative use is an extension of earlier functions of the article-auxiliaries as matrix position and location verbs (Rankin 2004). A matrix locational/positional verb could easily lead to an article use. Consider the following (339, 340).

339. Webaxu k^{h}e. Zi.
Pencil be-horizontal yellow
'The pencil is positioned horizontally (there). It is yellow.'

340. Webaxu-k^{h}e zi.
Pencil -the.H yellow
'The pencil is yellow.'

In (339), the position/location of a pencil is predicated and, then, so is its color. In (340), the position of a pencil is shown by the article. The article denotes the position of the object without predicating it. 'Yellow' functions as the sole predicate. If, in a construction such as (339), the speaker wanted to emphasize the color (or other predicate), more than its position, it is likely that the second predicate would become more pronounced while the positional predicate would receive less emphasis. Such an intonational pattern could eventually lead to a re-analysis where the positional predicate is treated as part of the subject NP and the second predicate, 'yellow,' is treated as the matrix predicate. That the positional predicate could be reinterpreted as an article which is by default definite would be unsurprising given the shared semantics of the article and positional. For an object to be located or positioned in a given way, it must exist. Thus, existence is presupposed. Similarly, the article does not assert that the object exists but by its default interpretation as 'definite,' it implies that it exists. The semantic characteristics of those subjects which can be predicated by *k^{h}e* carry over to the new definite article use. That is, both modify inanimate, horizontal or lying objects.

This positional verb then undergoes a second reanalysis, where it is interpreted not as modifying a noun but rather another predicate (341, 342).

341. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga zho^{n}] [k^{h}e]].
boy 3.lie be-positioned horizontally
'A lying boy was positioned horizontally.'

342. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga] [zho^{n}-k^{h}e]].
Boy 3.lie be-positioned horizontally
'A boy was lying in a horizontal position.'

Here, the positional verb is reinterpreted as modifying another predicate, rather than a nominal modifier. It is modifying the position of the predicate. As something is usually positioned/located over an extended period of time, and not instantaneously, the article-auxiliary can be also interpreted as an aspectual operator, denoting that the predicate occurred over time (progressive aspect). Note that the use of 'was' in the English glosses above, correlates with the use of *k^{h}e*. That is, 'was' can act as a copula and an aspectual modifier. Thus, such a reanalysis is not uncommon cross-linguistically.

This reanalysis of predicate to predicate modifier is facilitated by the occurrence of the definite article. The definite article is a nominal modifier, an operator. Thus, *k^{h}e* was already being treated as an operator in one type of construction in Omaha. This would lead to a natural reinterpretation of it as an operator in other instances.

Finally, *k^{h}e* also acts as an evidential. This could result from a further reanalysis where *k^{h}e* was reinterpreted as modifying the entire clause rather than just the predicate (343, 344).

343. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga] [zho^{n}-k^{h}e]].
Boy 3.lie be-positioned horizontally
'A boy was positioned lying.'

344. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga zho^{n}]-k^{h}e].
Boy 3.lie located
'A boy was (located by the speaker) lying.'

Here, *k^{h}e* goes from denoting location/position of a particular action lying to denoting the position/location of the information source of the entire clause, that it is was found through horizontal visual scanning.

This grammaticalization is further reinforced by the similarity between NP's and clauses in Omaha (345, 346).

345. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga zho^{n}]-k^{h}e]
Boy 3.lie the.H
'The lying boy'

346. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga zho^{n}]-k^{h}e].
Boy 3.lie EVID
'A boy was lying.'

As can be seen above, there is a congruence between the NP and the clause to such an extent that exactly identical wordings can be interpreted as either NP or clause. Context determines the reading. The syntactic symmetry between article and evidential facilitates its reinterpretation. The definite article is the nominal operator with the widest scope. Similarly, the evidential is a clausal operator, having wider scope than nuclear or core modifiers. The similarity of these two structures can be clearly seen in their RRG presentation (Figure 19).

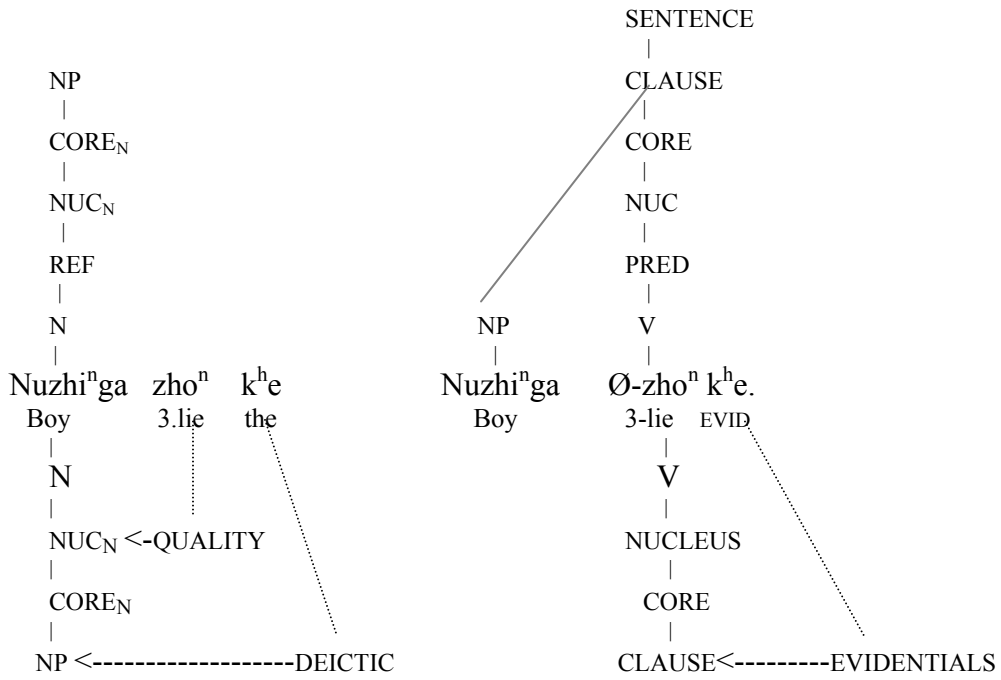


Figure 19. NP and clause structure in RRG.

Figure 19 shows the similarity between NP and clause structures in RRG. The articles and evidentials both modify at the level of widest scope within these constructions. Note that the article is analyzed as deictic and not simply definiteness marker due both to its use with indefinites (see section 4.6) and it obviation status marking which is a deictic-type function. The similarity of NP and VP facilitates grammaticalization from verbal modifier to nominal modifier to clausal modifier. It is this back and forth reinterpretation which creates the large number of related but separate uses of a given modifier in Omaha.

The use of *k^{h}e* as an article also creates semantic conditions conducive to reinterpretation as a clausal modifier. The article implies that a given entity exists; it is usually used in contexts where the object is defined to the hearer. Similarly, giving the information source for a sentence with an evidential implies that the information in it exists as it has been discovered by the speaker. That the use of the evidential *k^{h}e* was

restricted to contexts where the evidence was obtained from visual clues, especially those obtained by scanning in a horizontal manner, is related to the semantic restrictions imposed by *k^{h}e* in its article and auxiliary uses.

6.4 Grammaticalization of *tho^{n}*

Tho^{n} can be seen to grammaticalize in a similar way to *k^{h}e*. First, the locational use is reanalyzed as a definite article (347, 348).

347. Tabe tho^{n}. Zhide.
Ball be-located,round red
'There is a ball. It is red.'

348. Tabe-tho^{n} zhide.
Ball-the.R red
'The ball is red.'

As was posited for *k^{h}e*, two sentences, one denoting location/position and one predicating an action or quality (347), could be reanalyzed as one sentence where the location/position of an object is posited through use of a definite article and the other predicate is understood to be modifying a larger NP.

Then, the positional predicate could again be reanalyzed as modifying a preceding predicate (349, 350).

349. [[Tabe gasnu] tho^{n}].
ball 3.slide be.located,round
'A sliding ball is located and round.' Or 'There is the sliding ball.'
(bowling ball)

350. [[Tabe] [gasnu-tho^{n}]].
ball 3.slide be.located.round
'A ball is positioned sliding.' Or 'A ball is sliding.'

A sentence such as that in (349) could be reinterpreted as that in (350). That is the positional predicate could be understood as modifying something about the other predicate rather than the subject. This could lead to an aspectual reading.

Finally, *tho*^{n} can also be reanalyzed as modifying the entire clause (351-353).

351. [[Tabe] [gasnu-tho^{n}]].
ball 3.slide be.located.round
'A ball is positioned sliding.' Or 'A ball is sliding.'

352. Tabe gasnu-tho^{n}
Ball slide -the.R
'The sliding ball' or 'the bowling ball'

353. [[[Tabe] [gasnu]]-tho^{n}].
ball 3.slide be.located.round
'That a ball is sliding is located.' 'There was indeed a ball sliding.'

Here, the auxiliary and the definite article usage leads to a reinterpretation of *tho*^{n} as a clausal modifier showing something about the information of the entire clause. The similarity of syntactic structure between these constructions leads to the possibility of reinterpretation.

Developing from a positional predicate, it is unsurprising that the evidential posits that the information in the clause exists, that it is true. The information is located or positioned in the speaker's personal knowledge. *Tho*^{n} is used specifically as the evidential for events that have definitely occurred in the past. This could be result of a metaphorical extension of the use of *tho*^{n} to denote location in space. This could be extended to a notion of location in time. For example, in English 'place' is used in such a manner: 'the place of the event' and 'the event took place.' If the clause were given a location in time, it could be said to have definitely occurred. This semantic parameter developed with its reanalysis.

Note that as the evidential grammaticized, it no longer was necessarily used with round objects (354, repeated from 300).

354. Tí gá-amá naxíde-thi^{n}ga-i égo^{n} édi thá-zhi-a he, ehé-**tho^{n}**…[1]
lodge there-the.P.pl ear-none-pl such there go-not-IMP DEC 1sg.say-**EVID**
'I said those villagers are disobedient so do not go there.'
(JOD 1890: 17.9)

Here, the Grandmother is emphasizing that she told him before not to go there. She marks the sentence with *tho^{n}*. There is no reason that the first person would be marked with *tho^{n}* as an article. Also, neither the action of 'saying' or 'being disobedient' or the subject of her statement 'villagers' seem to be particularly round concepts. Thus, an extension of the notion of *tho^{n}* for 'place' from physical to temporal occurred and this, rather than the positional notion, is reflected in current usage.

6.5 Grammaticalization of *t^{h}e*

T^{h}e can be posited to have grammaticized in a manner largely congruous to that of *k^{h}e* and *tho^{n}*. First, the positional/locational predicate was reanalyzed as an article (355, 356).

355. Tizhebe t^{h}e. Uthido^{n}.
Door be.located.vertical 3.lock
'The door is positioned vertically. It is locked.'

356. Tizhebe-t^{h}e uthido^{n}.
Door -the.V 3.lock
'The door is locked.'

Thus, the two sentences 'the door is positioned vertically' and 'it is locked' can be reinterpreted as 'the.vertical door is locked' which predicates 'locked' and backgrounds its position.

Next, the positional predicate is reanalyzed as an auxiliary (357, 358).

357. [[Tizhebe uthido^{n}] t^{h}e].
Door 3.lock be.located.vertical
'The locked door is vertical.'

358. [[Tizhebe] [uthido^{n}-t^{h}e]].
Door 3.lock be.located.vertical
'The door is positioned locked.'

The positional predicate is reanalyzed as modifying the preceding predicate rather than a preceding NP. It is understood to be modifying not the position or the door but rather the temporal semantics of the predicate. As position/location inherently occur over time, it is unsurprising that the auxiliary use is understood to be modifying aspect.

Then, similar to the previous grammaticalization accounts, the auxiliary and/or article can be reinterpreted as an evidential (359-361).

359. [[Tizhebe] [uthido^{n}-t^{h}e]].
Door 3.lock -be.located.vertical
'The door is (existing) locked.'

360. Tizhebe uthido^{n}-t^{h}e
Door 3.lock -the.V
'The locked door'

361. [[[Tizhebe] [uthido^{n}]]-t^{h}e].
Door 3.lock -be.located.vertical
'The door must be locked (evidential).'

Here, the post-verbal modifier, the auxiliary, and/or the NP level NP operator, the definite article, is reinterpreted as a clausal modifier, an evidential. The information conveyed by the clause is posited to be located in the speaker's personal knowledge. *T^{h}e* as an evidential shows that information has been deduced.

Again, the semantics of evidential usage differs from the semantics of the article and auxiliary usage (362, repeated from 303).

362. Tabe-tho^{n} gashi-shti edi-t^{h}e.
Ball-the.R long time-also there-EVID
'The ball must have been lying there forever.' (A. Saunsoci 9-2004)

In example (362), the article modifying the subject is not *t^{h}e*. 'Ball' is modified with *tho^{n}*. *T^{h}e* does not occur as an evidential with upright things, but rather when information is deduced. It also does not occur as the reportative or narrative evidential as purported in Rankin (2004). While it is possible that it originally occurred as a narrative evidential, *ama* currently serves this function.

If the original reportative evidential, which is homonymous with but of a different origin than the article *t^{h}e*, was reanalyzed as related to the article *t^{h}e*, its use to show deduction rather than reportative or narrative evidence may have been reanalyzed due to this. The article *t^{h}e* marks concepts in Omaha. If it were posited to be marking the entire clause as a concept of the speaker, a deductive interpretation would be readily accessible. That is, it could show the speaker to have conceptualized (deduced) the information in the clause.

T^{h}e serves an additional function which the previous two inanimate articles did not serve. It is also a clause linkage marker (CLM) (363, repeated from 316).

363. **A-at^{h}i -t^{h}e** i^{n}the.
1sg-here-the.V 1sgDAT-happy
'I'm happy to be here.' (A. Saunsoci, 3-1-04, NICC)

T^{h}e is used to mark a clause as subordinate to the matrix clause. In the above, the clause 'I'm here' is a subordinate clause. *T^{h}e* marks a clause as subordinate clause in much the same way that a definite article determines a noun and its modifiers as noun phrase.

That *t^{h}e* of all the possible articles would be chosen to mark a clause as subordinate is unsurprising, given that *t^{h}e* is used to modify actions, concepts and shapeless entities (see section 4.1.5.3). This is similar in that a clause is an overall unit of

information with no determinable shape or animacy. The mechanism for reanalysis from definite article to CLM likely is based on this (364, 365).

364. Wachigaxe-t^{h}e udo^{n}.
Dancing -the.V good
'The dancing is good.'

365. Wachigaxe-t^{h}e udo^{n}.
3sg.dance -CLM good
'His dancing is good.' Or 'That he dances is good.'

The unmarked form of the verb in Omaha is the third person singular. It is used to create commands, for verbal nouns (364) and third person singular verbs (365), among other functions. As such, the constructions denoting 'the dance,' 'the dancing,' and 'his dancing' are all *wachigaxe t^{h}e*. 'His dancing' would be marked with the article *t^{h}e* even if the possessive pronoun occurred with it (see section 4.8.1).

A reanalysis of an action such as 'dancing' to a conjugated verb 'he dances' does not require a change in intonation or reinterpretation of constituency. The action is likely to be modified with *t^{h}e* as an article. The conjugated verb would not need an article. Thus, the article could be reinterpreted as a CLM. Such a construction could then be generalized to non-third person conjugated verbs.

6.6 Grammaticalization of *ge*

Ge was found to occur in locational constructions as a copula (5.3.4). Thus, the definite article use developed from the copula as seen with the above inanimate articles. However, *ge* was not found to occur as an aspect marking auxiliary. This is likely related to the fact that a situation which might call for an aspectual auxiliary reading of *ge* is rather unlikely. It would call for inanimate scattered objects to be performing an action over a period of time. One can assume that if such a situation did occur, this auxiliary

use could also occur and that it would have resulted from the same grammaticalization pathway that created auxiliaries from the other inanimate articles. *Ge* was also found not to occur as an evidential. Again, it is the least frequently occurring of the inanimate articles. It has been noted that forms which are characterized by "very frequent and general use" are most likely to undergo grammaticalization (Bybee & Pagliuca 1985: 72). Thus, infrequently used *ge* would be the least likely to grammaticize.

However, *ge* does occur as a CLM. Likely, it grammaticized in a manner similar to *t^{h}e*, from definite article to CLM. *Ge* was found to modify plural entities with unspecified shape, such as *wetexi ge* 'our troubles.' *We-texi* is actually a conjugated verb 'pl.DAT-difficult' or 'things that are difficult for us.' Thus, there is a precedent for using *ge* to modify conjugated verbs. Furthermore, the plurality denoted by *ge* necessitates that the action of the verb occurred several times. Things were difficult more than once in this instance. From such a base, the usage of *ge* was extended to modify clauses which occurred several times such as (366, repeated from 320).

366. Shó^n **'iá-wa-the-no^n-i -ge** éskana
And **talk-1pl.OBJ-make-REG-pl-the.S** hope(oh that!)
'We hope that when they talk about us alone…' (JOD 1890: 740.1)

In (366), *ge* modifies a clause indicating an event which may happen several times in the future, *'iá-wa-the-no^n-i-ge* 'when they talk about us.' The clause involving the article can be paraphrased as 'the time(s) that they talk about us.' This is similar to the use of *t^{h}e* after a conjugated verb. This clause is structurally subordinate to the rest of the clause, as can be seen through its translation as a 'when' clause. The article marks that it is not matrix but rather subordinate. Its semantics follow from its article usage, as does its structural position. Only now, it is modifying a clause rather than NP.

All the various uses of morphemes homonymous with the inanimate articles can be related through grammaticalization. The pathway resulting in the various uses begins with a matrix verb which becomes used to denote position or location. This verb grammaticizes into the article and the auxiliary. The auxiliary use provides the base for grammaticization into an evidential for three of the four articles. The use of the article leads to a further grammaticization to CLM for two of the definite articles. While semantic parameters regarding position, shape, and animacy are carried over from existential to article, existential to auxiliary, and article to CLM, these are generally not maintained for evidential usage. Rather, evidential use can be related to the article semantics, but only in a removed sort of way.

6.7 Grammaticalization of *ak^{h}a*

Ak^{h}a occurs as locational copula, aspectual auxiliary and article. A grammaticalization path similar to that proposed for these functions with the inanimate articles can be assumed. This entails first a change from positional main verb to locational copula. Assuming this step of grammaticalization, the copula then can be reinterpreted as definite article (367, 368).

367. Ke-to^{n}ga ak^{h}a. Nita.
Turtle-big be.located.proximate 3.alive
'There was Big Turtle. He was alive.'

368. Ke-to^{n}ga-ak^{h}a nita.
Turtle-big-the.P.sg 3.alive
'The Big Turtle was alive.'

Again, the sentence boundary shifts, and the location of the Big Turtle is posited by the article rather than a predicate. The semantic restrictions entailed by the predicate (animate, singular, proximate) remain with the article use.

Next, the locational is reanalyzed as auxiliary (369, 370).

369. [[Ke-to^{n}ga nita] [ak^{h}a]].
Turtle-big alive be.located.proximate
'A living big turtle is located proximately (center stage).'

370. [[Ke-to^{n}ga] [nita-ak^{h}a]].
Turtle-big alive -be.located.proximate
'Big Turtle is located alive.' 'Big Turtle was living.'

Again, a locational predicate is reinterpreted as modifying another predicate rather than acting as a matrix predicate. This results in an aspectual reading such as (370). Again, the semantic restrictions imposed by the predicate remain with the auxiliary.

The proposed forms would lead to an actually attested sentence such as (371, repeated from 225).

371. Ke-to^{n}ga-ak^{h}a níta-ak^{h}á-bi-amá.
Turtle-big-the.P.sg alive-AUX-P-EVID
'The Big Turtle is he who is alive.' (JOD 1890: 265.14)

In the above, *ak^{h}a* functions as article and auxiliary. Semantically, they are being used with a living, proximate, singular entity. No evidential, CLM, or other use of *ak^{h}a* has been noted.

6.8 Grammaticalization of *ama*

Ama functions as locational predicate, article, auxiliary, and evidential. Its use as an article is for both plural, proximate animates and moving, proximate animates, which may be singular or plural. It functions as both a narrative and hearsay evidential. Due to its dual usage as an article and as an evidential, the grammaticalization pattern proposed for *ama* is necessarily more complex than that of *ak^{h}a*.

Again, it can be assumed (following Rankin 1977), that *ama* began as a matrix predicate (372).[2]

372. The niashi^{n}ga gahithe-ame **ama**, ethego^{n}-bi-ama.
This people move-the.P.MV **3pl.be** 3.think-P-EVID
'These persons are the ones who are moving there, he thought.'(JOD 35.6)

In (372), *ama* functions as a copula and, as such, is a predicate. Following Rankin (2004), it can be assumed that this copula derives from a locational/positional type of matrix predicate.

This can be related to the article *ama*, the nominal operator of plural definiteness (373, 374).

373. Te ama. Wathat^{h}a.
buffalo 3pl.be.located eat.3pl
'There were buffaloes. They were eating.'

374. Te -ama wathat^{h}a.
Buffalo-the.P.pl eat.3pl
'The buffaloes were eating.'

The verb of location was reanalyzed as a nominal operator of definiteness and deixis, a concept which implies that the given noun is located somewhere as it is defined to the speaker/hearer.

Next, this verb of position/location moved from nucleus to nuclear modifier by combining with another verb (375, 376).

375. [[Mo^{n}shti^{n}ge-i^{n} ama th-e]-ama].
Rabbit the 3-go 3pl.be.located
'There were Rabbits going somewhere.'

376. [[Mo^{n}shti^{n}ge-i^{n}-ama] [th-e-ama]].
Rabbit -the.P.MV 3-go-3pl.be.located
'The Rabbit was going (+AUX) somewhere.'

Here, the locational is reinterpreted as modifying verb rather than subject. This leads to the aspectual reading of a progressive. In earlier instances of such a reinterpretation, it was seen that the semantic restrictions of the locational/positional predicate were maintained in the auxiliary. Thus, the auxiliary may be used with plural subjects.

However, when analyzed as modifying the verb rather than the subject, the auxiliary could select for a type of plurality of action, rather than plurality of actor. This plurality of action would entail multiple existences of the verb. This could result in a reading of a verb as occurring over time or space. (Note the habitual *hno*^{n} already blocks a habitual reading.) This would lead to the use of *ama* to mark movement to a new scene or location, with singular or plural subject, such as in (376).

This new auxiliary of marked motion could then be reanalyzed as a nominal modifier, creating a new reading of noun occurring over a space (377, 378).

377. Mo^{n}shti^{n}ge-i^{n} th-e-ama. No^{n}ga.
Rabbit 3-go AUX 3.run
'The rabbit was going. He ran.'

378. Mo^{n}shti^{n}ge-i^{n} th-e-ama no^{n}ga.
Rabbit 3-go-the.P.MV run
'The going(moving) rabbit ran.'

In (377-378), the auxiliary is reinterpreted as article through the loss of a sentence boundary. The resulting article retains the semantics of the auxiliary in that it selects for moving, animate, proximate beings. Note that the occasions for reanalysis such as in (378) would not be very frequent, as it requires both plural existence and an action to be predicated on the NP. Therefore, it is a marked situation. The markedness of this motion entails not just movement but motion to a new scene/location or far away.

Motion to a new scene creates a location at a new scene. This creates an extension of meaning such as in (379, repeated from 128) where *ama* is used to denote that the person is (markedly) removed.

379. Thomas-ama wasnide tama.
Thomas-the.P.MV 3.late IRR
'Thomas will be late.' (A. Saunsoci 2-18-04 ULC)

In (379), the subject's removal from the location of the speakers in being noted through the use of *ama*.

Finally, the location of an NP as outside one's vicinity can be extended to a clausal notion of the entire clause being located in another space (380, 381, repeated from 309).

380. Thomas-ama
Thomas-the.P.MV
'Thomas (located markedly removed)'

381. Hi^{n}xpe-agthe a-bth-ixe bth-e, a-bi-ama.
Fine feather 1sg-marry 1sg-go say-P-EVID
'I go to take Fine Feather for my husband,' said she. (JOD 1890: 166.6)

In (379), *ama* is used to mark a character as removed from the location of the speaker. In (381), *ama* marks the information in the clause as removed from the location of the speaker, who is the narrator. The clause is located in the storyworld, not the narrator's world. Thus, *ama* in narrative marks that the narrator is narrating events from outside the storyworld (reportive stance).

This notion can then be extended to conversation. When a speaker marks information to be markedly removed from themselves (and is not narrating about a storyworld), this creates sentences such as (382, repeated from 308) which are not personal knowledge.

382. Upade-ak^{h}a wani a-bi-ama.
Surgery-the.P.sg pain say-P-EVID
'They say the surgery is painful.' (M. Cayou 10-02, ULC)

Here, the speaker is showing that the information in the clause is not theirs, they have heard it from others.

Figure 20 provides a schematic of the entire pathway of grammaticalization for *ama*.

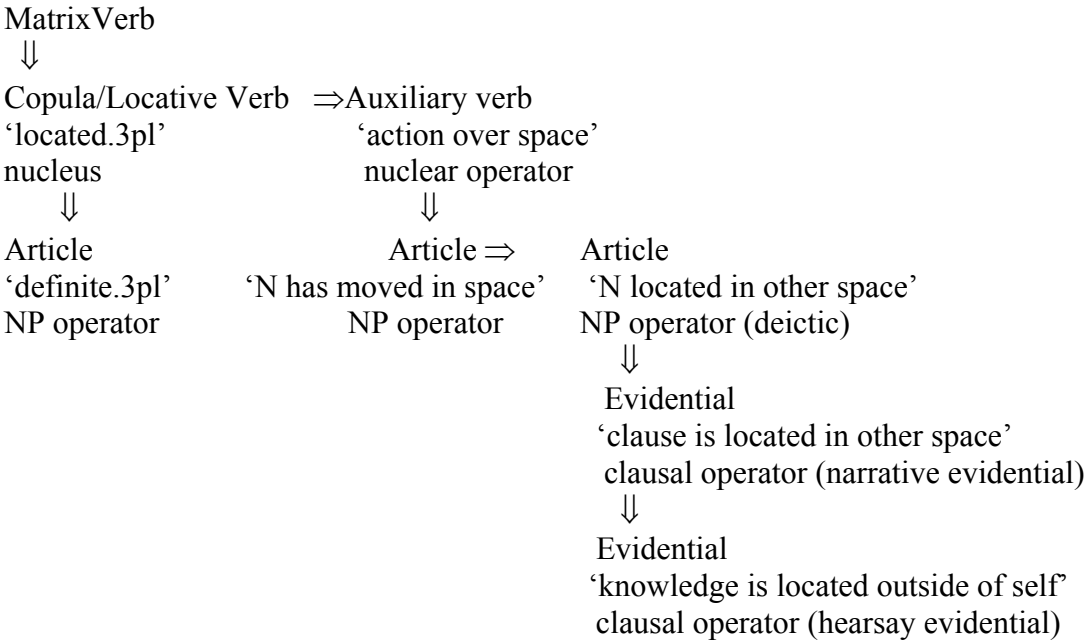


Figure 20. Grammaticalization pathway of *ama*.

In Figure 20, a main verb grammaticizes to a copula and then to an article and an auxiliary. The article extends in meaning and then grammaticizes to an evidential. This meaning of this evidential is then extended.

6.9 Grammaticalization of *thi*^{n}

Again, it can be assumed that a positional main verb grammaticized to a locative copula. Then, the definite article *thi*^{n} is likely to have developed from a locational type of construction (383, 384).

383. Nuzhi^{n}ga thi^{n}. Shkada.
Boy be.located.obv.moving 3.play
'There was a (moving) boy. He was playing.'

384. Nuzhi^{n}ga-thi^{n} shkada.
Boy-the.O.MV 3.play
'The boy was playing.'

A set of sentences such as in (383) could be reinterpreted as a single utterance as per (384), where the article rather than a predicate gives the positional/locational characteristics of the subject.

An auxiliary with a progressive or continuative meaning could result from the reanalysis of the positional predicate (385, 386).

385. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga shkada] [thi^{n}]].
Boy 3.play be.located.obv.moving
'There was a playing boy.'

386. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga] [shkada-thi^{n}]].
Boy 3.play -AUX
'A boy was playing.'

Here, the existential is reinterpreted as modifying a predicate (386), rather than functioning as a predicate (385).

This article-auxiliary shows some evidence of conjugating (387, repeated from 232).

387. Shemizhi^{n}ga tha-no^{n} **tha-thi^{n}-she** wa-thá-chigaxe ta-í atha+!
Maiden 2sg-grow **2sg-AUX-2sg** dance-2sg-dance IRR-pl indeed
'Ye grown maidens in motion, ye are to dance.' (JOD 1890: 192.10)

In (387), the auxiliary *thi^{n}* is prefixed by *tha-* which marks second person singular subjects in active conjugations and is suffixed by *–she*, which is also a second person marker. The subject is in motion, plural and not center stage. While the subject is not third person, it otherwise has similar semantic and pragmatic characteristics to a third person subject which would be marked by the article *thi^{n}*. The conjugation pattern used in the second person singular prefix, the 'A' active pattern, is a regular, productive modern conjugation. The suffix is also a modern conjugation pattern not found in all Siouan languages. As Rankin (2004) noted, this modern conjugation is evidence that such auxiliaries developed later and are not the same as Proto-Siouan aspectual markers.

Thi^{n} also occurs in an emphatic, *thi*^{n}*he* (388, repeated from 327).

388. Égithe nó^{n}zhi^{n} tha-ó^{n}he thi^{n}hé aú!
Beware a little 2sg-flee (sign of strong prohibition)
'Beware lest you make even the slightest attempt to flee.'
(JOD 1890: 104.13)

This emphatic *thi*^{n}*he* shows 'strong prohibition' (Dorsey 1890: 102, 104 etc.). Also sometimes glossed as 'be sure' (Dorsey 1890: 207, 365 etc.), *thi*^{n}*he* emphasizes the point of the speaker and gives the illocutionary force of a command with using an imperative marker. This emphatic may consist of *thi*^{n} 'the.animate.obviative.moving' and *he* 'female declarative.'[3]

This may be a result of a reanalysis from female speech (389).

389. Wizhi^{n}ge tha-o^{n}he-thi^{n} he.
My son 2sg-flee -AUX DEC
'My son you are not fleeing.'

Such a sentence may have been uttered when a mother was concerned about her son and does not want him to flee. Its illocutionary force is not that of a command but rather a statement. However, it is a statement of what she wants to be the case in this situation. It has the effect of a command. Such speech acts could logically result in *thi*^{n}*he* becoming a marker of emphasis with the effect of a command.

Female speech such as this may be particularly fruitful for reanalysis and extension over time as females took care of both sexes of children during their time of language acquisition. The moving auxiliary might have been particularly salient for such a type of construction due to the fact that children are constantly warned not to run away, go there etc. However, this is just speculation at this point. This construction needs to be examined further.

6.10 Grammaticalization of *t^{h}o^{n}*

T^{h}o^{n} occurs as a copula, definite article and auxiliary. The definite article use likely developed from the copula which developed from a positional predicate (390, 391).

390. Wa'u t^{h}o^{n}. Do^{n}ba.
Woman be.standing.OBV 3.look
'There was a woman. She was looking.'

391. Wa'u-t^{h}o^{n} do^{n}ba.
Woman-the.O.ST 3.look
'The woman was looking.'

As was postulated for all the other definite articles, *t^{h}o^{n}* developed from a reanalysis of the positional copula where a sentence boundary collapsed and *t^{h}o^{n}* was reinterpreted as modifier (operator) rather than predicate.

This positional was also reinterpreted as a predicate modifier (392, 393).

392. [[Wa'u do^{n}ba] [t^{h}o^{n}]].
Woman 3.look be.positioned.standing
'A looking woman stood.'

393. [[Wa'u] [do^{n}ba-t^{h}o^{n}]].
Woman 3.look-AUX
'A woman was standing.'

As was seen for all the other morphemes considered above, the positional predicate could be reanalyzed as an aspectual marker through a reinterpretation of constituency.

This auxiliary can be seen to conjugate (394).

394. … thí niashi^{n}ga uthú-thi-ko^{n}pí-xti **thá-to^{n}-shé**.
you man dress well-2sg-dress well-very **2sg-AUX- 2sg**
'…you who are a very fine-looking man.' (JOD 1890: 122.8)

In (394), the auxiliary *t^{h}o^{n}* is prefixed by the second person plural marker *tha* and suffixed by *–she*, another second person marker. Both the person prefix and the person suffix on the verb are, again, modern, regular conjugation patterns, suggesting a more modern formation of this auxiliary.

6.11 Grammaticalization of *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$*

Thi$^{n}k^{h}e$ occurs as copula, definite article and auxiliary. Again, the path of grammaticalization begins with a matrix verb grammaticizing to a copula which then becomes reanalyzed as a definite article (395, 396).

395. Nu thi^{n}k^{h}e. Wao^{n}.
Man be.positioned.sitting 3.sing
'A man was sitting. He was singing.'

396. Nu-thi^{n}k^{h}e wao^{n}.
Man-the.O.SI 3.sing
'The (sitting) man was singing.'

Again, the reinterpretation of a positional verb and a second predicate (395) as one sentence which backgrounds position and predicates an action results in the creation of a definite article (396).

This use of the morpheme as an operator, the definite article, helps lead to reinterpretation of the positional predicate as an operator in predicates as well (397, 398).

397. [[Nu wao^{n}] [thi^{n}k^{h}e]].
Man 3.sing be.positioned.sitting
'There was a singing man.'

398. [[Nu] [wao^{n}-thi^{n}k^{h}e]].
Man 3.sing -AUX
'A man was singing.'

The predicate in (397) is reinterpreted as an auxiliary which modifies aspect in (398).

The auxiliary *thi$^{n}k^{h}e$* has been seen to conjugate (399, repeated from 231, 400, repeated from 240, and 401, repeated from 241).

399. Go^{n} edábe-xchi í^{n}-hi -thi^{n}, ehé -mi^{n}k^{h}e...
And nearly-very 1sg.DAT-3.reach-AUX 1sg.say-1sg.AUX
'I said he has nearly reached it for me.' (JOD 1890: 596.10)

400. Itígo^{n}thaí zhí^{n}ga níkashí^{n}ga ukéthi^{n} wé-tha-gi-shnígtho^{n} -ni^{n}k^{h}é,
Grandfather small person Indian 3pl.DAT-2pl.SUB-RFL-decide-2sg.AUX
'O Little Grandfather, you who govern the Indians.' (JOD 1891: 102.1)

401. Égithe wa'ú akítha zhó^{n}ki'ó^{n}he ihé-wa-thá-bi -tho^{n}k^{h}á-ama.
Behold woman both 3.recline 3.SUB-lay-3pl.OBJ-pl-3.AUX-EVID
'There were the two women, side by side, just as they had been laid there.' (JOD 1890: 627.3)

In (399), the auxiliary *mi^{n}k^{h}e* is used to show a singular first person 'I' who is in the process of performing the action of saying. In (400), *ni^{n}k^{h}e* indicates a second person who decides regularly and has been doing so for some time. In (401), the two women are dead, they are lying there, as they laid themselves. Again, the actions are all in process.

Unlike the conjugation patterns for *t^{h}o^{n}* and *thi^{n}*, this is not a modern, regular conjugation pattern. This indicates that the use of *thi^{n}k^{h}e* pre-dates the use of other articles as auxiliaries. While the other auxiliaries developed from articles, *thi^{n}k^{h}e* did not. It is one of the original Siouan aspect markers. In general, articles are used with third person and are unlikely to conjugate. If it were the case that *thi^{n}k^{h}e* developed from an article, a modern regular conjugation would have been expected to be innovated for it in this new situation, as seems to be the case for *t^{h}o^{n}* and *thi^{n}*. Also, it might be expected that all the animate auxiliaries would conjugate for person form. However, no evidence has been found for *ak^{h}a*, *ama*, and *ma* conjugating.

Thi^{n}k^{h}e functioned as auxiliary historically in Omaha before the definite articles or other auxiliaries occurred. Then, as the other definite articles developed, *thi^{n}k^{h}e* too became an article, while already functioning as auxiliary. Then, the other articles developed auxiliary uses based on the reinterpretations posited above as well as the fact that *thi^{n}k^{h}e* the article already also occurred as auxiliary. *Thi^{n}k^{h}e* served as extra impetus for this reanalysis. Then, based on the fact that *thi^{n}k^{h}e* conjugated, conjugation of the other animate, singular, obviative article-auxiliaries *t^{h}o^{n}* and *thi^{n}* was innovated. The plural and proximate article-auxiliaries did not receive innovated conjugation patterns

due to the fact that they were used dissimilarly from *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e*. Thus, first and second persons, although always part of the deictic center in conversation, receive obviative marking because the obviative auxiliary was already conjugated for these persons before an obviation contrast was made in Omaha auxiliaries.

The lack of conjugation also allowed for *ama* to become an evidential, like the other non-conjugating auxiliaries that are used as evidentials. All the other auxiliary-evidentials are inanimate. *Ama* shares not animacy but lack of conjugation with these. It was brought into the evidential system to fill the reportative/narrative evidential role formerly filled by *t*^{h}*e* in Proto-Siouan, but changed in Omaha. *Ak*^{h}*a* may not have grammaticized into evidential because of its similarity phonologically to the evidential *k*^{h}*e*. That is after verbs which end in –a or –A, the initial *a* in *ak*^{h}*a* would be lost. The resulting –*k*^{h}*a* would be hard to differentiate from *k*^{h}*e* due to the fact that the final vowels are devoiced. This, however, is speculation and requires further study.

Due to the fact that obviation status is only being shown for third persons in Omaha, lack of conjugation for the proximate markers is not an issue. Third persons are generally zero-marked in Omaha. Thus, non-conjugating articles can easily function as proximate markers when this marking is limited to third persons.

6.12 Grammaticalization of *ma*

Ma also occurs as copula, definite article and auxiliary. The reanalysis from positional copula to article could occur as below (402, 403).

402. Nuzhi^{n}ga ma. Shkada.
Boy be.positioned.pl.OBV 3.play
'There were boys. They were playing.'

403. Nuzhi^{n}ga-ma shkada.
Boy -theO.pl 3.play
'The boy was playing.'

A set of sentences such as in (402) could be reinterpreted as a single utterance as per (403), where the article, rather than a positional predicate, denotes position/location.

An auxiliary with a progressive or continuative meaning could result from the reanalysis of the positional copula (404, 405).

404. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga shkada] [ma]].
Boy 3.play be.positioned.pl.OBV
'There were playing boys.'

405. [[Nuzhi^{n}ga] [shkada-ma]].
Boy 3.play-AUX
'Boys were playing.'

The predicate in (404) is reinterpreted as operator in (405), modifying aspect rather than predicating existence.

6.13 Verbs of putting and placing

In section 5.7.2 verbs of putting and placing were seen to incorporate the articles *t^{h}e*, *k^{h}e*, and *tho^{n}*. As noted by Rankin (2004), these are modern innovations incorporating article and causative morphemes. Note that only inanimate articles are used. This is due to the fact that generally one does not cause an animate object to be put or placed. For this reason, elicitation of these verbs with animate objects proved difficult. *Ge* did not occur in these verbs. This is probably because of the relative infrequency of *ge* in speech.

Note that for animate objects, a different kind of causative was elicited (406, repeated from 337).

406. Thi-to^{n}ge thethudi gthi^{n}-kitha-a.
2sg-sister here sit-make-F.IMP
'Put your sister down.' (A. Saunsoci 12-8-2004)

The verb chosen above is to 'make sit.' Note that this points to the fact that the articles indeed are positionals, which canonically remain consistent for an object. However, animate entities tend to change positions through their actions. Thus, the combination of an action with the causative is more acceptable for an animate entity than the combination of positional and causative.

6.14 Conclusion

The multiple functions of the article morphemes in Omaha can be seen to have resulted from multiple, paradigmatic reanalyses. Often, these reanalyses were facilitated by a given form which already functioned in such a capacity. A schematic of the steps in grammaticalization is provided below (Figure 21).

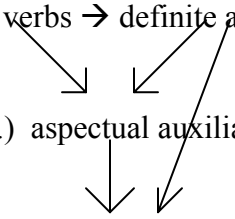


Figure 21. Schematic of grammaticalization in Omaha.

In Figure 21, this grammaticalization is posited to begin with an original set of ten morphemes homophonous with the articles. Rankin found original verbs for five of the ten article-auxiliaries and noted the others were obscure in origin. This paper has not posited others but rather assumes their existence. These verbs/morphemes developed into locational/positional predicates, which then developed into articles. One of these

locational/positional predicates, *thi*^{n}*k*^{h}*e* already acted as an auxiliary. This provides a foundation for the others to be potential candidates for this use. Syntactic environment proves conducive for such a reanalysis for the others. The use of these morphemes as operators in the NP lends further impetus for reanalyzing them as operators in the predicate. Semantically, location/position and continuative or progressive aspect can be related through the fact that location/position occur over a period of time. Thus, syntactic construction, semantic similarities, pragmatic factors, and existing forms all converge to create an environment ripe for the reanalysis of these morphemes as aspect markers. At this point, another sense of the definite article *ama* is created through an extension of its use as an auxiliary.

Then, these morphemes can again be reanalyzed, this time as evidentials. Here, a form unrelated to but homonymous with an article, *t*^{h}*e*, already functions as an evidential. This is reinterpreted as related semantically to the article, resulting in a shift from its use as narrative/reportative evidential to one of deduction. This use of an article as an evidential creates the impetus for others to be reanalyzed as such. As evidentials modify the clause and not a given subject/actor, they would not be expected to conjugate like the auxiliaries. This morphological trait allows only the non-conjugating inanimate and animate proximate article-auxiliaries to be candidates for such a reinterpretation. Hence, other frequently occurring, non-conjugating article-auxiliaries are then reanalyzed as evidentials. These are *k*^{h}*e*, *tho*^{n}, and *ama*. Their semantics as evidentials are related to their use as article-auxiliaries but quite separate. They are modifying the information in the clause rather than an actor/argument. Thus, they cannot be based on subject position, animacy, shape etc. Rather, the part of their semantics which relates to

conceptualization, time occurrence, or location is extended to an evidential sense where information is noted to be conceptualized (deduced) in general or from looking, located in time (has occurred), or located outside the speaker's knowledge or world (narrative, reportative). The grammaticalization of these morphemes into evidentials is supported by the similarity between NP and clause in Omaha. Both deictic articles and evidentials function as the operators with widest scope in their respective domains. That is, the use of articles in the NP supports a similar use of these morphemes in the clause. The fact that auxiliaries and evidentials tend to occur after the predicate also facilitates this reanalysis.

Thus, in each step of grammaticalization, syntactic environment, semantic characteristics, and, often, previously existing forms combine together to create a situation where reanalysis is easily achieved. In general, all of these morphemes are reanalyzed in a general paradigmatic reinterpretation at each step. However, this does not occur in the case of evidential reanalysis due to morpho-syntactic factors associated with evidentiality. In each step, semantics from the previous use are maintained at least to some extent. Thus, a holistic picture of the multiplicity of functions of these morphemes can at last be obtained through an analysis based on grammaticalization.

This analysis is largely congruent with that of Rankin (1977, 2004). While it differs in approach, scope, and focus of the study, the resulting relationships between forms are generally similar. For example, different semantic/pragmatic parameters were posited for evidential use. However, both posit similar sources for the grammaticalization of the evidentials. One difference in grammaticalization source that does occur concerns the aspectual auxiliaries. Rankin posits the aspectual auxiliaries to

grammaticize from the articles. In this dissertation, the aspectual auxiliaries were posited to grammaticize directly from the locational copulas with added impetus from the presence of the articles in the system. Both posit that the articles developed before the aspectual auxiliaries. In this grammaticalization step, Rankin claims that a suffix *–he* 'be in a place' combines with the articles to form an aspectual auxiliary. It is often true that this suffix can be found in aspectual auxiliary uses (387, repeated below as 407).

407. Shemizhi^{n}ga tha-no^{n} **tha-thi^{n}-she** wa-thá-chigaxe ta-í atha+!
Maiden 2sg-grow **2sg-AUX-2sg** dance-2sg-dance IRR-pl indeed
'Ye grown maidens in motion, ye are to dance.' (JOD 1890: 192.10)

Here, the suffix *–she* is the second person singular form of *–he*.

However, this suffix does not always occur in such aspectual uses (408, repeated from 400).

408. Itígo^{n}thaí zhí^{n}ga níkashí^{n}ga ukéthi^{n} wé-tha-gi-shnígtho^{n} -ni^{n}k^{h}é,
Grandfather small person Indian 3pl.DAT-2pl.SUB-RFL-decide-2sg.AUX
'O Little Grandfather, you who govern the Indians.' (JOD 1891: 102.1)

Here, the second person singular conjugated auxiliary is not suffixed by *–she*. This could be because it follows a consonant (Rankin 2004: 217). However, as seen in section 5.4.1, *ni^{n}kshe* is a possible form.

Rankin notes that this suffix only conjugates in the second person form and only if it does not follow a consonant (217). That is, only certain second person examples evidence this suffix (or secondary root in Rankin's terms). Other forms only evidence the 'A pattern' person marker prefix (235). Note that the inanimate articles and the non-conjugating animate articles never evidence the second person form. It is possible that combination of the article or positional copula with *–he* did occur in grammaticalization of the aspectual marker. However, it currently does not always occur and, when it does, its occurrence is limited to one person form. It is plausible that *–he* is occurring with this

form for pragmatic factors relating to face-to-face conversation. Hence, it is limited to use with second persons only. This also may have occurred after the article/copulas began to be used as aspectual markers, rather than occurring at the onset and creating such a use.

Many questions remain to be further researched. The origins of many of the original position/location verbs have yet to be posited. The point where obviation became a salient factor in this system also needs to be elucidated. In the above, obviation status was assumed to be marked at all stages. It is possible that this was to some extent present even in Proto-Siouan. The original notion may have simply been extended in Omaha as more morphemes served this function. However, this is an area which truly deserves more research.

In terms of general grammaticalization theory, the multiple morphemes related to the articles undergo divergence and their uses show persistence, as coined by Hopper (1991). Indeed, it is the persistence of the multiple related forms that allows us to posit grammaticalization when only examining synchronic material. In terms of Heine and Reh (1984), the first step of this grammaticalization pathway is desemanticization in which the original matrix verbs become grammatical units, articles. Syntagmatic analogy facilitated by the similarity of NP's and clauses in Omaha accounts for their reanalysis as articles, auxiliaries, evidentials and CLM's. Paradigmatic analogy can be said to account for why whole sets of these related morphemes underwent each step in the grammaticalization pathway posited. Traugott's (1986) idea of subjectification also applies throughout the grammaticalization pathway. For example, evidentials describe the discourse situation more than the described situation. Definite articles show the

speaker's conceptualization of the world more than a positional predicate. Thus, the grammaticalization pathway of the Omaha article-like morphemes is largely consistent with posited parameters of grammaticalization. The pathway posited is sound both from a language internal and a typological, external stance.

Endnotes to Chapter 6

[1] Naxide ‘ear’ actually is pronounced no^{n}xide in current Omaha.
[2] There is no clear etymology to establish *ama* as a Siouan verb. Rankin (p.c.) notes this and posits a hypothetical but not provable etymology. Thus, assuming its use as a verb is controversial.
[3] As Rankin (p.c.) noted the *–he* could also be a verbal ending as the *–she* in *tha-thi^{n}-she* (387) was. However, due to the complete lack of semantic relatedness between the marker of strong prohibition and the verbal aspect marker, this analysis was abandoned in favor of *he* being translated as a declarative marker.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

The Umo^{n}ho^{n} article system has proven to be complex but comprehensible when systematically analyzed. Building upon previous analyses, this dissertation refined the understanding of the parameters seen to condition article usage and delineated the various uses of morphemes homophonous with the articles. Furthermore, it has examined a possible grammaticalization pathway to relate these diverse uses, building on Rankin (1977, 2004).

While the definitions Dorsey (1890) and later Koontz (1984) posited for the inanimate articles *t^{h}e, k^{h}e, tho^{n}*, and *ge* have been found to generally account for their usage, these definitions were further refined to create a more thorough depiction of article usage. Although a given noun can receive a variety of articles in different contexts, each article is chosen for distinct characteristics of the referent being perceived by the speaker in a given context. The use of features proved useful both in separating and defining the functions of the articles. The features chosen, [+/- extended], [+/- symmetrical], [+/- horizontal], more adequately account for usage than previous analyses. For example, *tho^{n}* was defined as 'the.inanimate.round' by earlier analyses. However, square objects such as paper, animate referents such as herds of animals, and less obviously round referents such as locations are also marked by *tho^{n}*. These uses seem anomalous if this article modifies simply round, inanimate objects. The features [-extended, +symmetrical] define *tho^{n}* as marking not just inanimate round objects but objects that are roughly equal in width and length (and possibly height), which could include square objects, locations,

and herds of animals. As the features do not include [+/- animate], the marking of animate collectives, such as 'herd,' with inanimate articles proved possible. These 'inanimate' articles mainly specify shape. Therefore, generally, other aspects of animate entities will be more salient and the animate articles rather than shape articles will be chosen.

It was also found that the definitions of these articles had to be extended to conceptual referents as well. While *k^{h}e* [+ extended, +horizontal], previously defined as 'the.inanimate.horizontal,' does tend to mark horizontal inanimate objects, it can also mark conceptually extended referents, such as such extended verbal orations. *T^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.tall' was found to mark not just vertically oriented referents, such as a tipi or cup, but also objects with no particular shape such as mass nouns, as well as deverbal nouns and concepts. The use of [-horizontal], rather than [+vertical], helps to show that *t^{h}e* is not used strictly for vertical objects but rather functions as a default for non-horizontal inanimate objects.

The contrastive nature of the features also helped account for uses of the articles for plurality. The article chosen to mark an entity as plural is one that will contrast with the article usually chosen to mark the given entity when it is singular. The marking of plural inanimate objects in Omaha can be achieved with either *t^{h}e* 'the.inanimate.tall' or *ge* 'the.inanimate.scattered.' While *t^{h}e* frequently marks plurality, *ge* marks the plural of *t^{h}e* nouns. For this contrast to be evident, nouns must be prototypically or conventionally associated with a given article so that a change in article such as from *k^{h}e* to *t^{h}e* with 'stick' can indicate a change number and just shape or position. As shown in (44), change in position with the inanimate articles does not promote a change in article.

Thus, although inanimate article choice is largely flexible in Omaha and reflects speaker conceptualization of a given object in a given context, some rigidity is evident in the system.

Perception has been found to be a large factor in article selection. It is not inherent qualities of a given referent but rather the speaker's perception of its form or characteristics salient in a given instance or prototypically which dictates article choice. The article system itself displays a perceptual basis in vision. For example, *k^{h}e* marked objects are perceived by scanning horizontally. *Ge* objects generally entail multiple focus points in a given set. *Tho^{n}* objects are perceived as a cohesive whole (one set foviation point). *T^{h}e* marked objects may be perceived by vertical scanning or may be considered an 'elsewhere' type of perceptual condition. That is, when an entity is not perceived through horizontal scanning, one foviation (focus) point, or multiple foviation points, it receives *t^{h}e*.

As with the inanimate articles, earlier analyses failed to adequately account for many instances of animate article usage. Singular articles were found marking plural entities, plural articles were used with singular entities, motion articles marked non-moving entities, and non-motion articles marked moving entities. These apparent anomalies were resolved in this analysis. Singular articles were used with plural entities when a cohesive group consisted of multiple members. The plural article *ama* marked singular entities when they were in motion which involved a scene shift. Articles which indicated motion are only used when there is a scene shift co-occurring with the motion or when the referent is being marked as removed from the locus of conversation. Thus,

non-motion articles were used with referents in motion if the motion did not result in a scene-shift.

DCT was used to elucidate the concept of scene-shift and to outline the parameters of the 'obviation' system at work in Omaha. The earliest analyses of the Omaha animate articles divided articles based on case (Dorsey 1890), role (anonymous n.d.) or agentivity (Koontz 1984), but these largely failed to account for much of the actual usage of these articles. Koontz (1989a) proposed that obviation played a role but did not delineate the parameters of the system. Koontz also noted that the traditional notions of obviation did not seem to fit the Omaha system. Traditional obviation systems involve referent-tracking, but Omaha does not display characteristics of referent-tracking. Rather than tracking a proximate 'hero' for a span of text, Omaha marks multiple characters as 'proximate' in a given span of text. This dissertation proposed the Omaha uses 'proximate' markers to show referents to be centerstage in the storyworld. That is those characters focal to the activity going on are all marked as 'proximate.' Characters who are not centrally located (off-centerstage) are marked as 'obviative.' These characters may or may not be main characters in the overall text. However, at the time when they are marked as 'obviative,' they are not central in the view of the storyworld. The terms 'proximate' and 'obviative' have been maintained, following Koontz (1989a) and building on the non-technical understanding of these terms.

The narrative uses of articles as elucidated through DCT were also extended to non-narrative contexts. The use of the article *ama* to mark motion accompanying a scene shift was found to be extended to the use in conversation to mark a referent as removed from the locus of conversation.

Morpho-syntactically, the articles were found to be post-clitics. RRG was used to examine the morphosyntax of article usage. The articles were found to occur NP-finally and act as operators which contain definiteness and deictic information (obviation status). Thus, they modify at the NP level. As NP-level operators, they modify possessive NP's and proper nouns. They are used to create partitive constructions and can participate in coordination.

Articles also played a fundamental role in relative clause formation. They occur as the final element in a relative clause. Article selection for relative clauses was found to follow the same parameters as selection for simple NP's. Relative clauses in Omaha were found to be internally headed with the verbal argument markers serving as heads. The NP's occurring in a relative clause are coreferential with these argument markers. The possibility of variable word ordering within the relative clause also allowed for an ambiguity in interpretation of which NP was coreferential with the head (see example (217)).

Morphemes phonologically identical to the articles were also seen to function as auxiliaries, evidentials, existential verbs, and clause linkage markers in Omaha. The auxiliaries followed the verb and modified its internal temporal semantics, showing the event of the verb to be in process or occurring over a period of time. This is a modification of aspect, which in RRG, is a nuclear operator. Of the entire set of articles, only *t^{h}e* was not seen conclusively to function as an auxiliary. The auxiliary forms of *thi^{n}*, *t^{h}o^{n}*, and *thi^{n}k^{h}e* were noted to conjugate based on subject person form. Related to their auxiliary use, articles were also used as copulas in locative constructions. As

copulas, they do not modify a matrix predicate but rather act as a semantically empty main predicate.

While auxiliary and copula choice was found to be based on the same parameters as article choice, evidential use of the articles did not coincide with their use in NP context. Use of *k^{h}e* as an evidential denotes that visual clues, especially scanning horizontally, and deduction led to the idea expressed. *Tho^{n}* is used by a speaker to vouch that the information conveyed has in fact occurred. *T^{h}e* expresses that the information conveyed must have occurred, that is has been deduced but is very likely. *Ama* notes that the information conveyed is not the ideas or thoughts of the speaker but that of another. In each case, the evidential is acting as an operator at the clause level; it is modifying the information of the clause. The characteristics seen by anonymous (n.d.) did not hold true, and neither did Koontz' proposal that the evidentials agree in shape/gender with the subject or action of the verb does not hold true. It is not the subject or action which calls for a certain evidential but rather the type of source of the information.

For evidentials, DCT was again employed, elucidating the use of *ama* in narrative. *Ama* was found to be used when the "narrator" reports on events in storyworld, which is the reportive frame. In the expressive frame, when the narrator takes on the persona of a character and speaks through them or their thoughts *ama* is not used.

Subsets of the articles also appeared in other uses. *T^{h}e* and *ge* were found to function as clause linkage marker (CLM's). Here again, the morpheme was not marking properties of a given referent. The parameters delineating article choice did not hold for CLM usage. Rather, the CLM's marked a clause as subordinate. Article-like morphemes were also found to function in an emphatic and in verbs of putting and placing.

While the different uses of homonymous morphemes may seem completely unrelated, a grammaticalization pathway was posited in this dissertation which connected the various functions of a given set of homophonous morphemes. Multiple, paradigmatic reanalyses resulted in multiple functions of morphemes homophonous with the articles. Having a phonologically related form which functioned in a similar capacity often facilitated reanalysis. For example, an unrelated form *t^{h}e* already function as an evidential. It was reanalyzed as being the article *t^{h}e* functioning in a different capacity. This helped other articles to be reanalyzed and used in this new capacity.

These morphemes, the articles, have been posited to have begun as an original set of ten matrix verbs which developed into locational/positional predicates, which then developed into articles through a reanalysis of sentence boundaries. One of these locational/positional predicates, *thi^{n}k^{h}e* already acted as an auxiliary. This and a conducive syntactic environment led to reanalysis of the other articles as auxiliaries in given contexts. The fact that the articles acted as operators in the NP lent further impetus for reanalyzing them as operators in the predicate. Semantic relatedness of the new function as auxiliaries also played a role. Like continuative or progressive aspect, being located or positioned a given way occurs over a period of time. Thus, syntactic construction, semantic similarities, pragmatic factors, and existing forms all converge to create an environment ripe for the reanalysis of these morphemes as aspect markers. The close relatedness of these functions leads to the fact that the same semantico-pragmatic factors determine their selection.

Next in this pathway, another sense of the definite article *ama* is created through an extension of its use as an auxiliary. It becomes associated not just with plurality but also movement.

A form unrelated to but homonymous with an article, *t^{h}e*, functioned in Proto-Siouan as an evidential. This was reanalyzed as related to the article. The use of the article for concepts led to a shift in the use of the evidential to mark not narrative/reportative stance but rather deduction. This use of an article as an evidential creates the impetus for others to be reanalyzed as such. The fact that evidentials would not be expected to conjugate leads to only non-conjugating articles being reanalyzed as evidentials; only *k^{h}e*, *tho^{n}*, and *ama* undergo this reanalysis. Their semantics as evidentials are related to their use as article-auxiliaries but quite separate due to the fact that they are modifying the information in the clause rather than an actor/argument. The semantics of the articles as they relate to conceptualization, time occurrence, or location was extended to an evidential sense where information is noted to be conceptualized (deduced) in general or from looking, located in time (has occurred), or located outside the speaker's knowledge or world (narrative, reportative). As highlighted by RRG theory, the structure of the NP and clause are similar. Both deictic articles and evidentials function as the operators with widest scope in their respective domains. That is, the use of articles in the NP supports a similar use of these morphemes in the clause. The fact that auxiliaries and evidentials tend to occur after the predicate also facilitates this reanalysis.

Thus, in each step of grammaticalization, syntactic environment, semantic characteristics, and, often, previously existing forms combine together to create a

situation where reanalysis is easily achieved. In general, all of these morphemes are reanalyzed in a general paradigmatic reinterpretation at each step. However, this does not occur in the case of evidential reanalysis due to morpho-syntactic factors associated with evidentiality. In each step, semantics from the previous use are maintained at least to some extent. Thus, a holistic picture of the multiplicity of functions of these morphemes can at last be obtained through an analysis based on grammaticalization.

This dissertation has defined and explained the use not only of the definite articles but also other homophonous morphemes. Through a grammaticalization pathway, it became evident how these various uses evolved. Thus, the article system can be understood as a part of the general system of post-clitics in Omaha.

However, much work remains to be done on these morphemes. Further fieldwork will likely bring up further unexpected article uses to explain. Articles and other morphemes which occurred rarely, such as *ge*, need to be elicited in more ingenious ways. The origins of many of the original position/location verbs have yet to be posited. The point where obviation became a salient factor in this system also needs to be elucidated. Thus, much remains for future fieldwork and study.

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