

Connective Particles and Temporal Cohesion
in Plains Cree Narrative

by

Arden C. Ogg

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Presented to the University of Manitoba
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ARDEN C. OGG

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

Although Cree particles have been neglected in most modern studies of the language, recent work by Freda Ahenakew (*Cree Language Structures: A Cree Approach*, 1987) suggests that many complications presented by words of this class remain to be explored.

The present study defines a category of *connectives particles* whose purpose is to label various kinds of linkage or *cohesion* within narrative. Using Leonard Bloomfield's *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree* as a basis, it examines the use of connective particles which provide temporal cohesion within the texts.

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1: Introduction

Cree particles have withstood more than one attempt at analysis. As uninflected forms in a language known for its rich verbal morphology, they look innocuous, and although they often appear to have little effect on the meaning of a given sentence, many of them, in fact, perform a variety of contextually-dependent functions which are not easily unravelled.

Rather than become entangled in their complexities, some of the missionary grammarians give only lists. Howse and Lacombe, whose grammars are far more extensive than most, classify them intuitively, without offering explicit justification or arguments.

In two sections of his grammar, Howse (1844:33-35, 239-243) lists all manner of particles which he groups as adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and interjections. In a third section (1844:281-291), he elaborates somewhat, showing the particles in phrases. Unfortunately, a good number of the phrases appear to be back-translations from English intended to fill pre-existing classical categories. A typical example, from the class of adverbs “more and less repeated” (283) is given as follows:

A'che áppesis méeth-ut-è – áché-káy awoosittè ke sáke-h-ik
'The less thou give him – the more he loves thee'.

Examples of this kind appear to show usage which is anything but idiomatic.

Lacombe's grammar also devotes a chapter to forms which he calls adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections and particles, but he, too, has great difficulties in distinguishing the various categories. He throws up his hands in despair when he reaches

certaines mots adverbs dont la signification ne peut bien se comprendre que par quelques exemples (p. 180).

Of course, particles – especially discourse particles – are notoriously difficult in other languages as well. Only a teacher of elementary French or German courses would claim to have a clear and exhaustive understanding of the meaning and use of French *ainsi*, *donc*, or German *noch*. Although I have been unable to locate this work, rumours persist that the complexities of German *noch* have been recently been outlined in a treatise of six hundred pages. We should also remember that the grammars of languages like English, French and German have been studied intensively – and by fluent native speakers – for the last five hundred years.

Perhaps it is this sort of background that accounts for the scarcity of literature on particles among more recent studies of Cree. Where particles are mentioned at all in the work of Ellis (1983), Wolfart (1973) and Dahlstrom (1986), it is usually within the context of other grammatical or morphological points. The first modern departure from this neglect emerged in Freda Ahenakew's *Cree Language Structures: A Cree Approach* (1987), in a chapter entitled 'Syntactic particles: a first look'. This chapter is a lengthy discussion of the particle *ôma*, which clearly shows that there are still a great many mysteries – some impenetrable even to fluent native speakers – surrounding the use of

these words. As much as my knowledge of Cree has increased in the course of preparing this study, I cannot claim to be a speaker in any sense, let alone a fluent one. Any attempt of mine to introduce even a partial classification must therefore be regarded as a most preliminary attempt to find patterns in what appears to the outsider to be a complex and elusive area of Cree grammar.

One of the best places to look for patterns in Cree is within texts dictated by fluent native speakers. While the number of text editions is growing all the time (thanks largely to the efforts of Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart), the text collections recorded and translated by Leonard Bloomfield in the 1920s still set a standard by which all other work is measured. Bloomfield's texts, in the machine-readable version of the Cree Language Project, provided the major foundation for this study.

One large database includes Bloomfield's Cree texts: both the *Plains Cree Texts* (1934) and the *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree* (1930). Although the texts are transliterated into the standard orthography used by Wolfart and Ahenakew, all of the original peculiarities have been maintained (and are maintained here). For example, post-vocalic *h* which Bloomfield records before word and compound boundaries is preserved, and there are no silent corrections of original *mina* to *mîna*, etc.

As well as the Bloomfield texts, the Cree Language Project also provided access to machine-readable versions of Freda Ahenakew's *wâskahikaniwiyiniw-âcimowina / Stories of the House People* (1987), and *kiskinahamawâkan-âcimowinisa / Student Stories* (1989). For each set of texts there is also a preliminary concordance and lexicon. Finally, a preliminary edition of the Watkins-Faries dictionary in machine-readable

form was also provided. In it, the word classes had been standardised to the format commonly used by Wolfart and Ahenakew.

No matter how copious the machine-readable textual resources are, they cannot take the place of a fluent native speaker. Freda Ahenakew agreed to fill this role, acting as a Cree Language consultant for this project. Her judgments were essential from the earliest stages of this study.

The first stage was the creation of a list of Cree particles. To begin, 700 particles transliterated from the Watkins-Faries dictionary (which covers a number of dialects) were presented to Freda Ahenakew who judged them on the basis of her own Plains Cree dialect. While many of the forms were the same as those she uses, others were identified as belonging to other dialects or discarded outright. In some cases, she offered variants or back-translations. The list that resulted included about 550 particles (or particle compounds) of all types, including numerals, quantifiers, deictics and interjections.

The second stage in the study involved cross-referencing the list of particles with the text databases, creating a kind of particle concordance. Since it was necessary to limit the size of the resulting database so that it could be handled by an average microcomputer, I chose to rely primarily on the *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*. This collection has been used very little (most likely because the texts and translations do not appear on facing pages). After downloading the database from the mainframe to the microcomputer, the data had to be molded into workable form. The *Sacred Stories* were transferred into sentence-long

records in the microcomputer database, and Bloomfield's English translations were manually added to each record.

Since the mass of the resulting concordance still made it impossible to deal with the entire list, it was necessary to narrow the focus of the study even further. Eventually a small set of particles – defined by a number of shared syntactic tendencies and semantic functions – was chosen. In order to distinguish this group within the traditional, broad class of particles, I have labelled these particles *connectives*.¹

Connectives, in the sense used here, are particles whose purpose is to label various kinds of linkage or cohesion within narrative. They may function at the level of the phrase, the clause or the sentence. The most commonly occurring connectives with the *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree* are *êkwa* 'then' and *mîna* 'again', which provide cohesion at all three levels. Most other connectives, e.g., *kêyâpic* 'still' or *kêtahtawê* 'presently', function only at the level of the sentence and the clause. From the much larger collection of Cree particles, I have chosen for this study to examine *êkwa*, *mîna*, and a handful of other temporal connectives that behave similarly, marking cohesive relations in narrative.

Because there are ambiguities in the use of these particles, it would be misleading to provide more detailed statistics or exact counts of particles which behave in any particular way: genuine imprecision is certainly preferable to false precision. For this reason, most of the quantitative statements in this study are quite vague. A rudimentary

1. The term *connective* is used by Deborah James (1986:160) to refer to James Bay Cree *mâka* which is glossed "'and' (or sometimes 'but')". Its behaviour in her texts is in some ways typical of the forms that will be discussed here.

statistical survey may however be useful. There are approximately 180 printed pages of Cree narrative in the *Sacred Stories*. The total number of occurrences of each of the connectives discussed, however, may indicate how important or how common these connectives are within the *Sacred Stories*. They also show how frequent these connectives are in relation to one another. The following table shows the total number of occurrences (at all syntactic levels, and including various spellings) of each of the connectives discussed in this study:

êkwa	1508
mîna (including compounds)	728
anohc	12
kayâs	28
mayaw	69
sêmâk	38
kêtahtawê (including kîtahtawê)	288
kêyâpic	35
mêkwâc	11
pêskis	3
âsay (including sâsay)	321
piyis (including piyisk)	273
tâpwê	373

The rudimentary classification of connectives sketched here – sentential (initial and inverted), clausal and phrasal – should in no way be taken as an attempt at an exhaustive taxonomy. Nor does this study purport to exploit current syntactic theories, or those of discourse analysis. This is simply a first attempt to unearth some of the patterns in a system that appears to outsiders and novices as chaos. Although the categories indicate the way in which a majority of these connectives

function, they do not account for all cases – nor would we expect them to – since there is so much flexibility in Cree word order. What these descriptions represent is the clearest tendencies which can be observed within the *Sacred Stories*.

2: Phrase-level connectives

2.1 Introduction

Connective particles in Cree function at the level of the sentence, the clause and the phrase. Although the central theme of this study (to be taken up in section 3) is temporal connectives that mark cohesion at the higher levels, connection at the level of the phrase, usually referred to as coordination, will be discussed first.

For the purposes of this discussion, the phrase will be defined following Lyons (1968:171) as “Any group of words which is grammatically equivalent to a single word and which does not have its own subject and predicate...”

2.2 Coordination without operators

2.21 Coordination by juxtaposition

Although the presence of a connective particle makes it especially obvious that some kind of coordination is taking place, many sentences are not so marked. In the simplest cases of coordination, as in examples 1-3, mere juxtaposition of two noun phrases may be sufficient to indicate coordination.

1. “êha’! âskaw *ostikwânihk otêskanihk* nitwêhôwân. [...]”
“Yes! Sometimes I settle on his head and on his horns.
S324-10
2. *iskêkâniyah* osk-âyah astwâtohk *astotin ayôwinisah*, ‘awiyak âsiwâkâmê-ohpîcih nika-miyâw,’ itwêhk.
Without doubt a new hat has been put up as a prize, and new clothes, with the statement, ‘If anyone jumps across the water, I shall give him these.’
S21-25b
3. “âta wiya mâna *nikâwiy nôhtâwiy*, ‘okoskohiwêsîsak,’ kitisiyîhkâsonânaw, êkwa ‘pîhêwak;’ kinîsoyîhkâsonânaw, ntikonân [sic] mâna.”
“To be sure, my mother and father do say to us, ‘Little Startlers,’ we are called; and ‘Partridges’; we have two names.”
S20-12

2.22 Accompanitive coordination

Another type of coordination, not explicitly expressed by a particle, is called accompanitive by Nichols (1980:24). In cases of this sort, the coordination consists of a plural verb with only one subject mentioned explicitly. In the example 4, the verb *t-âpiyêk* ‘you (pl) will sit’ is followed only by the noun *kikosis* ‘your son’; the other argument, ‘you’, being supplied by the second person plural verb:

4. “êkwah kik-ôsîhtân wacistwan, itah *t-âpiyêk* kikosis,” itik;
“But first you will make a nest in which you and your son will sit,” she told her;
S179-36

Example 5 is more complex, combining accompanitive with a simple conjoined noun phrase: *ê-wîh-nipahâhkatosocik* ‘while they were starving’:

5. *piyis nîswâw êh-nipât*, êkoyikohk miskawêw mistanaskwah, mistah êh-ayâyit mîciwin, êkwah wiyah *ê-wîh-nipahâhkatosocik otawâsimisah owîkimâkanah*.
At last, after two nights on the road, he found Badger, found him in possession of much food, while he and his wife and children were starving.
S100-31

In this case, coordination takes the form of *wiya* (third-person plural) plus the plural verb *ê-wîh-nipahâhkatosocik*, then the two juxtaposed nouns.

2.3 Coordination using phrase-level connectives

In spite of the existence of simple coordinative strategies such as juxtaposition, or more complex accompanitive forms, coordination may also be explicitly expressed by the phrase-level connectives, *êkwa* ‘and’, *mîna* ‘also’.² Most often they conjoin two nouns of equal importance within a sentence. In example 6, the conjoined nouns form a phrase of their own, elaborating the noun *ahtayah* ‘furs’.

6. *kîtahtawê takosinwak wêmistikôsiwak, êh-papâ-atâwêcîc ahtayah, mahîhkanah êkwah mostoswayânah.*
Then at one time arrived some Frenchmen who were going about buying furs, wolf-pelts and buffalo-robies.
S29-03

Example 7 shows *mîna* conjoining two plural nouns.

2. *ahpô* seems to be the only other connective particle which can coordinate nouns at the phrase level. There are only two such examples in the *Sacred Stories*, both occurring within the same text. In both cases, the forms connected are locative nouns, *mônahipânîhk* ‘in the well’, and *okâminakasîskâhk* ‘in the brambles’. Since these are the only examples of their type, since they exactly parallel usage for *êkwa* or *mîna*, (and since *ahpô* is not otherwise temporal), I will not discuss them further.

1. “*mônahipânîhk ahpôh okâminakasîskâhk ka-pîhciwêpinânaw?*”
“Shall we throw him into a well or into the brambles?”
S280-8
2. “*tânitah kêy-isîwêpinitâhk, mônahipânîhk ahpôh okâminakasîskâhk?*”
“Where shall we throw you, into a well or into the brambles?”
S280-12

7. “ê-wîh-atoskahitân ka-papâ-ntomacik *mahîhkanak mîna mahkêsîsak*, kahkiyaw kâ-miyosicik mahkêsîsak.”
 “I want to give you the work of going round and summoning the wolves and foxes, all the good-looking foxes.”
 S30-30

2.31 Order of constituents

If we examine the position of the coordinating conjunctions *êkwa* and *mîna* relative to the verb, we discover three basic configurations, which are presented formulaically below:

- (1) Verb N {*êkwa/mîna*} N
 (or) N {*êkwa/mîna*} N Verb

In the most common of the three configurations, the noun complex is treated as a single unit which may follow the verb (as in examples 8 and 9):

8. “[...] êwakonik aniki kitôtêmak kîtahtawê mâna *ka-pîhtokêtisinahkik mînisâpoyah êkwah ayôwinisah*, êh-miyihcik kiwîkimâkan,” k-êtikot.
 “[...] It is they, your kinsfolk, who ever from time to time are sending into his lodge cookings of berries, and clothing, gifts which your husband and his family receive,” the other told her.
 S179-24
9. êkwah tâpwê awa mahîhkan sipwêhtêw, ê-nitomât mahîhkanah *mîna mahkêsîsah*.
 So that wolf went off to call the wolves and foxes.
 S30-33

In example 10, the noun complex appears preceding the verb:

10. iyikohk pêhkisimoyiki, êh-pîhtokêyit onâpêma, êkosi êh-asamât, *mistaskosîmina mîna mînisâpoy êh-mîcîcik*, nama kêkway pîtos êh-mîcîcik.
 At sunset, when her husband came into the lodge, she would give him food, and they would eat wild turnips and berry stew, nothing else.
 S178-36

Example 11 includes a string of three conjoined nouns, an extension of the configuration given above:

11. tâpwê miyâwak *kahkêwakwah mînah wiyinwah mînah otakisiya* ê-sakâpihkâtamoht, t-êsi-nayôhtahkik.
Accordingly, they were given pieces of dried meat and of fat meat and tripe, nicely wrapped into a bundle for them to carry on their backs.
S284-15

Example 11 shows yet another variation on this configuration, where the coordinating conjunction appears only between the second and third nouns to be conjoined: this parallels common English usage in lists, as in ‘flour, sugar and water’.

12. êkosi kêcikonam *omaskisina otâsa mînah oskotâkay*, ê-aspiskwêsimot.
Accordingly he took off his moccasins, his breeches, and his jacket; using them all for a pillow.
S28-18

(2) N Verb {êkwa/mîna} N.

In this second configuration the verb intrudes between the conjoined elements, splitting up the noun complex. For examples of this type, the argument might be made that *êkwa* or *mîna* mark the noun conjoined after the verb as an afterthought, as example 13 seems to show.

13. kîtahtawê êh-wâpaniyik, kîksêpâ sipwêhtêw, *cîkahikan* êh-otinahk *êkwah ocikâhkwâna*.
Presently, when day broke, early in the morning he set out, taking an ax and his darts.
S89-10

Especially for pairs as common as ‘father and mother’ (as in example 14) the hypothesis of afterthought seems unsatisfactory.

14. êkwah tâpwê mayaw ê-sipwêhtêyit awa, sêmâk itohtêw awa oskinîkiw, ôhtâwiyah
êh-ntawâpamât *mîna okâwiya*.
Then, as soon as she had departed, the young man came to see his father and
mother.
S63-19

Example 15 appears to be an extension of the second formula. Here,
three nouns are conjoined as the object of the verb *pêtâh* ‘give me’.

15. “mahtih *pahkêkinos pêtâh êkwah astis êkwah oskâcihk*.”
“Please give me a small piece of leather and a sinew and an awl.”
S258-29

(3) Verb N N {*mîna*}.³

A third configuration is apparently available only with *mîna*: there are no parallel examples with *êkwa* in the *Sacred Stories*, and Freda Ahenakew rejects phrases of the form *nimâmâ nipâpâ êkwa* (where the same phrase with *mîna* is acceptable). In this configuration, *mîna* follows the two conjoined elements, which always appear following the verb. Here again the possibility exists for interpretation of the final noun plus *mîna* as an afterthought, but again, in example 17 below, we see the very common semantic pair *osikosah* ‘mother-in-law’ and *osisah* ‘father-in-law’, which make that interpretation seem unlikely.

3. This last case parallels Latin coordination with the enclitic *que*, as in *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, abbreviated as S.P.Q.R. It also parallels the mathematical practice, known as “Polish notation” in which the addition symbol is placed to the right of the numbers to be added (e.g., “X Y +”, as opposed to “X + Y”).

16. *ncawâc akâmihk, akâmiskotêw anâskêw nîpisiyah maskosiyah mîna.*
He thought it better at the other side; at the other side of the fire he made his resting place of willow-boughs and grass.
S90-07
17. *kitimâkêyimêw mitoni, iyikohk êh-miyo-pamihât osikosah osisah mîna.*
She was very kind to them and took good care of her mother-in-law and of her father-in-law.
S130-40

This same configuration also occurs in sentences such as example 18 where there is no verb in Cree (since a copula is never used).

18. *nama kêkwayah ôh otôspwâkana wahpîhcisah minah.*
Gone was his tobacco-pouch, and his pipe as well.
S22-09

Examples 19 and 20 should suffice to establish beyond doubt that these alternate configurations for coordination are equally acceptable. Here Wisahketchahk gives the same command on two different occasions within a single narrative. *mîna* is used in both cases, appearing between the (locative) nouns in the first case, but following them in the second.

19. *“ôtah tawayâk iskwâhtêmihk mîna wiskwâhtêmihk,” itwêw.*
“Form two lines from the doorway to the opposite wall,” he ordered.
S69-26b
20. *êy-otâkosiniyik, “pîhtokêk kahkiyaw! tawâyâk iskwâhtêmihk wiskwâhtêmihk mina!”*
itwêw.
At nightfall, “Come inside, all of you! Form two lines from the door to the opposite wall!” he ordered.
S70-11

2.32 Coordination of other constituents

2.321 Noun phrases

Examples 21 and 22 show *êkwa* coordinating more complex noun phrases

In 21 the noun phrase is composed of a numeral plus a noun.

21. mâskôc nôhtâwiy wîh-miyikoyêkoh otawâsimisah nisto, *nîsw îskwêwa êkwah pêyak nâpêw*, wîh-miyisk nôhtâwiy,” itêw.
Perhaps my father will give you three of his children, two women and one man, if my father wishes to give them to you,” he told him.
S95-41

In example 22 the complex noun phrase is composed of a participial verb form plus noun, with the same elements appearing in the opposite order in 23.

22. “nîkân ta-pîhtokêwak *niskak êkwah kâ-misikiticik sîsîpak*,” itwêw; “cikêmâ êyôkonik êh-okimâwicik,” itwêw.
“First the geese and the big ducks will come in,” he said; “Especially those who are chiefs,” he said.
S35-24
23. êkos ê-ati-wâsakâmêt, tahk êh-nikamot, êh-ati-kîskikwêpitât *niskah ôhi mîna sîsîpah kâ-misikitiyit*.
In this way he kept on circling round, singing all the while, and, as he went, wringing the necks of the geese and of the big ducks.
S35-49

2.322 Verbs

Another type of example shows *êkwa* conjoining two verbs of equal importance. In example 24, *êkwa* connects two conjunct verbs which share the same subject.

24. êkosi êh-wiyinihtâkêt *êkwah êh-pakâsimât wâkayôsa*, kahkiyaw êyakonik êh-môwâcîk.
So then she cut up the bear and put it in the kettle, and they all ate of it.
S228-21

In 25, it connects two complex phrases consisting of an object noun plus conjunct verb. Both actions are performed by the same subject.

25. nama kêkway kotak atoskâtam, *nayêstaw êh-tâpakwêt êkwah mihtah êh-otinahk*, [...]
She worked at nothing but snaring rabbits and bringing wood, [...]
S143-24

There are no examples in the *Sacred Stories* of *mîna* in this situation.

2.33 Poetic Usage

Still another pattern that is found within the *Sacred Stories* is one in which two or more items are listed with coordinating connectives, with one of the items repeated at the end. Rather than being mere afterthoughts, these examples seem to display poetic elaboration.

26. nêo kêkway kîh-miyêw otawâsimisah awa nâpêw, ispîhk ê-sipwêtisahwât, sîpiy kit-ôsihtâyit, êkwah iskotêw, êkwah asinîwacyi, êkwah sakâw, okâminakasiwi-sakâw.
Four things that man had given his children, at the time when he started them off; that they might make a river, fire, a mountain of stone, and a forest; a forest of thorn-trees.
S8-46
27. kîtahtawê êh-pimohtêt wîsahkêcâhk, – nohtêhkatêw mâka mîna, – êh-pimohtêt, kâ-wâpamât sîsîpah, êkwah niskah mihcêt, sîsîpah.
Once upon a time, as Wisahketchahk was tramping along – as usual he was hungry – as he was tramping along, he saw some ducks and many geese, and ducks.
S34-02
28. mistahi sakâyiw, pisisik oski-mêtosah [sic] êkotôwahk, êkwah kayâsi-mistikwah, mâyi-mêtosah êkotôwahk.
It was a big grove, all of young poplars, and of old trees, of black poplars.
S90-01

3: Higher-level connectives

3.1 Clausal and sentential linkage: the function of cohesion

As defined here, the function of connective particles is to provide cohesion or linkage within narrative. Phrase-level connectives, discussed in section 2, provide coordination within a clause, representing the simplest usage of the connective particles *êkwa* and *mîna*. At the level of the clause⁴ and of the sentence, *êkwa*, *mîna*, and many other particles provide a different type of linkage. Especially when it occurs at the level of the sentence, this linkage will be referred to as *cohesion*. Cohesion, according to Grimes (1975:113), is a system which

relate[s] what is being said at the moment to what has already been said. Cohesion is cumulative and linear rather than hierarchical. It has to do with the means of introducing new information and of keeping track of old information, rather than with what the content of the new or old information actually is.

The connectives that will be discussed here can be seen to show explicitly the relationship between events, to identify new events, or to provide a logical link between new events and old. Connective particles provide the listener with an explicit key to the manner in which events in a narrative are connected to information provided previously or

4. The clause is defined here, following Lyons (1969:171), as “a group of words with its own subject and predicate, if it is included in a larger sentence...”

information that is yet to come. These connectives all presuppose some earlier action, which cannot, in most cases, be resolved without knowledge of earlier parts of the texts. In other words, sentences that contain these connectives are marked as elements of a larger entity.

In *Cohesion in English*, Halliday & Hasan call such particles “conjunctive elements” and devote a chapter to them:

Conjunctive elements are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings; they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse (1976:226).

3.2 Linkage without operators

As important as connectives are to the linkage of events in narrative, their presence is by no means obligatory. Just as juxtaposition of nouns is sufficient to indicate coordination (as shown in section 2), juxtaposition of events in narrative often provides an implicit link which relies simply upon the order of sentences to reflect the relation between events. As Haiman (1985:4) has observed,

Sentences, like events, occur in time, and the medium of language is structurally adapted to the iconic display of temporal succession.

... other things being equal, the order of clauses in a narrative will correspond to the order of events that they describe. There is no language known in which stories are regularly told “backwards”, with the narrative order being the reverse of the chronological order.

C1 and C2 represent the two main characters, while the line labelled *Narrative* represents the ongoing narrative time-line, with the starting point (\emptyset), and progression reported in (G). Events which continue are marked with an arrow, while punctual events are unmarked. (C) and (D) show partial simultaneity with overlap as (D) begins earlier at an unspecified time, and continues. (G), (H) and (I) begin simultaneously, but (H) and (I) continue after (G). Even here, the diagram and the particular events it portrays are quite simple compared to the relations that can occur within narrative.

3.3 Linkage with sentential and clausal connectives

The temporal connectives to be discussed in the remainder of this study help the listener to follow the twists and leaps of more complicated narrative by providing explicit temporal links between events such as those illustrated by the diagram. Connectives become more and more important as relationships within a text increase in complexity. They may indicate previous and future events, contiguous *vs* elapsed time, predictions and their fulfilment, foreground and background, doubt *vs* certainty. Some even distinguish narrative from dialogue. Some connectives appear infrequently, making it difficult to analyse their use; others are used hundreds of times within Bloomfield's *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*, and appear to serve a wide variety of contextually defined functions.

3.4 Order of constituents

3.41 Cree word order

Cree is a language in which a great deal of word order variation is permitted. In the introduction to her dissertation (1986:1-2), Dahlstrom presents six short, isolated, minimal sentences from Bloomfield's *Plains Cree Texts* which illustrate all six possible configurations of subject, verb and object. Compared to English, in which the rules of word order are very strict, in Cree, "word order is primarily a matter of style and emphasis" (Wolfart & Carroll 1981:29). By changing word order and, in particular, by placing words in sentence-initial position, it is possible to make such words more important, thus changing the emphasis of the entire sentence. Of course, this is an overly simplistic explanation: blind rearrangement of sentence components without allowing for inflectional adjustments is the easiest way to create ungrammatical, or at least, unidiomatic sentences in Cree, as Freda Ahenakew has pointed out on many occasions.

3.42 Sentential connectives

3.421 Sentence-initial position

In spite of the relative freedom of word order in Cree, connective particles show clear tendencies in terms of their placement within the sentence. Most often, they appear at the beginning. This is also true of English as described by Halliday & Hassan (1976:232):

A conjunctive adjunct normally has first position in the sentence ... and has as its domain the whole of the sentence in which it occurs: that is to say, its meaning extends over the entire sentence, unless it is repudiated. At the beginning of a sentence, connectives have emphasis or prominence derived from their position (Halliday & Hasan 1976:271).

As a result, the “cohesive relation” or the linkage itself is emphasized. Those connectives which appear at the beginning of a sentence provide cohesion within the narrative and therefore will be referred to as sentential connectives. Typical of this class of connective in English is *then*, as in

Then he drove away.

3.422 Inverted sentential connectives

Despite the prevalence of sentence-initial connectives, it is also a relatively common tendency for these same sentential connectives to appear non-initially, most often following another connective.⁵ To illustrate, we may perform inversion on the same English example:

He *then* drove away.

While inverted sentential connectives usually appear in Cree as the second word in the sentence, they may also occur as the third or fourth word in a cluster of particles. Less commonly, sentential connectives appear following a noun, verb or pronoun; rarely, they appear at the end

5. Some connective clusters occur with sufficient stability and frequency to be considered frozen phrases (such as *êkwa mîna* or *âsay mîna*). These will be treated as particle compounds, some of which will be dealt with in section 5.6.

of an entire complex noun-phrase. In each of these situations, the sentence-initial prominence usually given to these connectives is displaced by some other sentential element.

Where the sentential connective has been displaced, it may become almost parenthetical; yet, in spite of diminished emphasis, it still seems to serve the purpose of narrative-linking, just as it would sentence-initially. Sentential connectives in this position will be referred to as *inverted*, a label chosen to represent the most common situation, in which the sentential connective and some other sentential element appear optionally to trade places at the beginning of the sentence.

3.43 Clausal connectives

The same connectives which occur sentence-initially or inverted as sentential connectives also make frequent appearances at the beginning of a non-initial phrase. An illustration of this type is *so* in the following example:

The others had already left, *so* he drove away.

In this example, *so* introduces a non-initial clause. The use of *because* in the following example shows the same type of connective use at the head of a subordinate clause:

He drove away because the others had already left.

Connectives which head a non-initial phrase will be referred to as *clausal* connectives, since they provide structural links connecting clauses within

the sentence. While connectives that function at the level of the phase are coordinate, and those at the level of the sentence are cohesive, in many cases, the function of clausal connectives seems to fall somewhere in between. For a number of the connectives cited here, there are more clausal than sentential occurrences.

3.44 Ambiguities

When Bloomfield collected the *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree* in 1925, he was transcribing, with pencil and paper, the dictation of storytellers whose language was traditionally unwritten. His Cree punctuation, therefore, was obviously influenced by the English system with which he was most familiar. In fact, the semicolon, according to English convention, marks grammatically complete clauses juxtaposed to create a single sentence (Strunk & White 1979:16). For this reason, the interpretation of punctuation must also be considered in drawing clausal and sentential connectives from Bloomfield's text editions. Especially when following a colon or semicolon, connectives seem to provide sentential rather than clausal linkage. Again, Halliday & Hassan provide a parallel observation about English:

... as evidenced by the indeterminacy, or perhaps flexibility, of our punctuation system, the sentence itself is a very indeterminate category, and it is very common to find conjunctive adjuncts occurring in written English following a colon or semicolon. In terms of our definition of cohesion, if we take the orthographic sentence strictly as it stands, such instances would not be cohesive,

since cohesion is a relation between sentences, not a relation within the sentence (1976:232).

4: *êkwa*

4.1 *êkwa* and time

The most common relationship to be shown by connectives within narrative is that of time, since time is the primary axis along which any story develops.

The trees and buildings of a spatial setting remain constant throughout the scene for all practical purposes; but each tick of the clock changes the temporal setting whenever actions take place without mention being made of discontinuities in the temporal line. (Grimes 1975:102)

Temporal connectives such as *êkwa* provide the most important means of showing the passage of time, and of the temporal connectives, *êkwa* is the most common in the *Sacred Stories*. Frequently glossed ‘then’, *êkwa* implies a non-specific progression within the time frame, or a simple temporal link between chronological events.⁶ This in turn implies the occurrence of previous events. In all of the examples which follow, there

6. An interesting question that might be addressed is whether *êkwa* itself implies progression in time, or whether it is inherently neutral to time, with the implication of succession derived from the iconicity principle discussed earlier. One test might be to tell a story with the order of events reversed (In English, “They lived happily ever after, but before that...”). If *êkwa* itself were neutral to time, it should be able to link previous events as well as subsequent ones. Of course, such a test could only be performed by an extremely experienced Cree speaker and story teller, and is far outside the scope of the current study.

is a presupposition of some earlier action, which cannot be resolved without knowledge of earlier parts of the texts.

4.2 Sentential *êkwa*

4.21 Initial position

In each of the examples presented below, *êkwa* introduces new events in the narrative, marking them as part of the *foreground* while at the same time as linking them to earlier events.⁷ In some cases, the link may connect the current sentence with events in the previous sentence; in others, the events linked may have appeared several paragraphs earlier. To illustrate the linkage, several of the following examples consist of short excerpts from the texts, rather than isolated sentences, which show the earlier events to which *êkwa* refers.

4.211 *êkwa* in independent clauses

The role of initial *êkwa* is seen most easily in the simplest examples: those in which *êkwa* precedes an independent verb. In example 29, *êkwa* at the beginning of the third sentence links the following verb with what precedes.

7. A lengthy discussion of foreground vs background is presented in James 1986 (156-158). For the purposes of this paper, foreground will be defined as “the material which supplies the main points of the discourse ... the actual sequential events” (Hopper & Thompson 1980:280-281).

29. kîtahtawêh êh-apit mêkwâc wîsahkêcâhk, kahkiyaw kwâskwêpayihoyiwa mahîhkanah, êh-pahkisiniyit, êh-piscipoyit, kahkiyaw êh-nipiyit.
Presently, as Wisahketchahk sat there, all the wolves leaped up in the air and fell down, poisoned, and they all died.
S31-07

"maci-kakêpâtisak ôki! nik-ôh-ta-tipahikâkêwâ!" itêw ês ôhi mahîhkanah wîsahkêcâhk.

"These stupid fools! I surely did need something to pay my debts with!"
Wisahketchahk must have said to those wolves.

S31-09

êkwah wiyinihêw, êh-kîwêhtahât, êkwah mahkêsîsah mînah kahkiyaw.
Then he skinned them and took their skins home, and all the foxes' too.
S31-11

In the next excerpt (example 30), the independent verb is followed by a noun phrase, in the fourth and fifth sentences below. Here again, *ékwa* points to previous actions, providing continuity with earlier text:

30. "namoya," itwêw wîsahkêcâhk; "miyin piscipôwin."
"No," said Wisahketchahk; "Give me some poison."
S30-16

"tânisi kitôtan?"

"What do you want that for?"

S30-17

"âh, mahîhkanak nika-nipahâwak."

"Oh, I am going to kill wolves."

S30-18

êkwah miyik maskihkiy, piscipôwin.
So the other gave him some medicine, poison.
S30-19

êkwah kîwêw wîsahkêcâhk.

Then Wisahketchahk went home.

S30-19b

As we would expect of a language with free word-order, the subject noun phrase (proper noun, or demonstrative pronoun plus noun) may also precede an independent verb in the sentence, as in the fifth sentence of example 31.

31. môhkomân ômisi tahkamêw; ôma ospiton tahkahtam.
With his knife he stabbed him like this; he stabbed that arm of his.
S33-23
- kwêski miyisôw omisi môhkomân.
Across to the other side he handed himself the knife, like this.
S33-23b
- kotak mînah ospiton tahkahtam.
He stabbed his other arm, too.
S33-24
- êkosi êkwah⁸ pahkihtin môhkomân; nipahêw ospitonah.
And so then the knife fell down; he had killed his arms.
S33-24b
- êkwah* wîsahkêcâhk nîpawiw, ospitonah ômisi.
There stood Wisahketchahk, with his arms like this.
S33-26

In some cases, *êkwa* introduces quoted speech, sometimes with a verb of speaking included before the quoted utterance (as in 32), sometimes after (as in 33), and sometimes simply implied (as in 34):⁹

32. *êkwah* omis îtwêw: “mahtih” – sôhki pîkiskwêw – [...]
Then he spoke as follows: “Come” – and loudly he spoke – [...]
S21-04
33. *êkwah*, “tânêhki?” itik wiwa.
Then, “Why thus?” his wife asked him.
S11-28
34. *êkwah*, “âstam, nisîm; mistahi kitatamihin!”
Then, “Come here, little brother; you have greatly obliged me!”
S23-20

In example 35, a more literal English translation would include an existential verb: ‘Then all the snow [was] nothing’. Cree, however,

8. *êkwa* in non-initial position will be discussed below.

9. There are no examples in which *êkwa* immediately precedes a verb of speaking (including *îtwêw*, *atotêw*, *kitotêw*, *âcimow* and *kakêskimêw*). *îtwêw* and other verbs beginning with *it-* are usually preceded by an antecedent phrase.

rarely uses a verb of existence (and never a copula), and in this example there is no verb at all, implied or otherwise.

35. *êkwah kônah kahkiyaw nama kêkway.*
Then all the snow disappeared.
S52-14

4.212 *êkwa* in conjunct clauses

êkwa also appears in conjunct clauses, at least superficially. In examples 36 through 40, the conjunct verb, or the entire phrase in which it appears, seems to be an intrusion between the foreground-marking *êkwa* and the main events it introduces. In the following examples, the background information is enclosed in curly brackets:

36. “hah, nika-pîhtwân! kîh-pîhtwâyânih, êkoyikohk ta-pâstêwah ôhi nitayôwinisah,”
itwêw.
“Ha, I shall have a smoke! when I have smoked, these clothes of mine will be dry,”
he said.
S21-38

êkwah {*ê-ntonawât wahpîhcisah,*} nama miskawêw.
Then, when he looked for his tobacco-pouch, he could not find it.
S21-40

In example 37, the presence of the connective *kîtahtawê* ‘presently’, along with sentence-initial *êkwa* gives additional support to the interpretation of the second clause as foreground:

37. *êkwah* {*ê-paminawasot,*} *kîtahtawê* kê-miskahk maskisinah.
Then, as he went about his cooking, soon he found some moccasins.
S58-01b

Subject noun phrases and particle complexes may also appear between *êkwa* and the conjunct verb. In these cases, the whole subordinate clause (enclosed in curly brackets) is background information. In some cases,

(such as 38), another connective marks a resumption of the foreground information introduced by *êkwa*.

38. *êkosi êkwah nikamôw.*
Thereupon he began singing.
S35-42

[...] *êkos îtwêw, êh-nikamot.*
[...] were the words of his song.
S35-46

êkwah {*ôhi kahkiyaw êh-pasakwâpicik, êh-nîmihitocik,*} *kîtahtawâ*, “hweh hweh!”
itwêw wîsahkêcâhk, êh-otinât ê-misikitiyit niskah, êh-kîskikwêpitât.
[Then,] {when they all had closed their eyes and were dancing,} presently, “Hwe,
hwe!” went Wisahketchahk, taking hold of a big goose and wringing its neck.
S35-47

In example 39, certainly one of the more complicated examples, the foreground information which *êkwa* introduces does not actually appear until the final clause, *piyisk kahkiyaw kêkwayah kostik* ‘then at last all the creatures feared him’. What occurs in between is a long series of noun phrases and conjunct verbs, all background to the principal event. Here *piyisk* ‘finally’, appears to reiterate or reinforce the cohesive function of *êkwa*.

39. *êkwah* {*ômisi kahkiyaw kêkwayah nipîhk k-ôtaskiyit mac-âyisah ê-wîh-kakwê-nipahikot, iyâtah-pêy-itohtêyici êh-nipahât,*} *piyisk kahkiyaw kêkwayah kostik.*
Then, {when all the creatures that dwell in the water, the evil beings, tried to kill him, when in vain they came there, and he slew them,} then at last all creatures feared him.
S13-01

In example 40, *êkwa* is followed by two conjunct verbs giving background, then *êkwa* is itself reiterated, along with the demonstrative *ômisi*, introducing quoted speech:

40. *êkwah* {êh-pîhtokêt, ê-wîh-mîcisot}, ômisi *êkwah*: “nistês ta-pê-kîwâw.”
Then, as he went in and was about to eat, then, “Let my big brother come back here.”
S27-13

4.213 Other readings of *êkwa*

In the Moose dialect of Cree, *êkwa* only means ‘then’. *mâka*, glossed as ‘but’ in Plains Cree, is more commonly used as ‘and’ (cf. Ellis 1982, James 1986). Although Bloomfield alternates in his translation of *êkwa* between ‘then’ ‘and’, or ‘so’ (as in a number of the examples above) it seems likely that these glosses reflect more about Bloomfield’s English style more than they do about Plains Cree. In spite of the translation, examples 41 and 42 use *êkwa* in exactly the same way as the examples outlined above:¹⁰

41. “ê-wîh-atoskahitân ka-papâ-ntomacik mahîhkanak mîna mahkêsîsak, kahkiyaw
kâ-miyosicik mahkêsîsak.
“I want to give you the work of going round and summoning the wolves and foxes,
all the good-looking foxes.
S30-30

ôtah nik-âpin ispatinâhk, ê-wîh-kakêskimitakok, ê-miywâsihk âcimôwin
ka-wîhtamâtakok.”

I shall be sitting here on this knoll, ready to preach to you, to tell you good tidings.”
S30-31

êkwah tâpwê awa mahîhkan sipwêhtêw, ê-nitomât mahîhkanah mîna mahkêsîsah.
So that wolf went off to call the wolves and foxes.
S30-33

10. As noted previously, these interpretations also leave open the question of whether *êkwa* is truly temporal in content or simply a marker of cohesion that assumes temporal associations from the principles of iconicity. Bloomfield’s glosses, which alternate between the temporal and the neutral, offer no further insights.

42. *êkwah* awah iskwêw mistahi kahkiyaw kêkway kaskihtâw, ahpôh kahkiyaw kêkway êsah êh-pîkiskwâtahk, êkosi êsa ê-naskowasimikot.
And that woman, too, had great power for all things, and could talk even to every kind of thing and accordingly receive answer from it.
S8-26

In some cases (including several presented above), *êkwa* does not appear in the gloss at all. Its presence in the following examples indicates, nonetheless, that these sentences are linked to other events reported earlier in the text:

43. *êkwah* mistahi kisiwâsiw.
[then] He was very angry.
S12-19
44. *êkwah* kîtahtawê ksê-manitôwah [sic] kâ-pakicîtotâkot.
[then] Presently God descended to him.
S13-03

4.22 Inverted *êkwa*

As outlined in the introduction, the term *inverted connective* is used here to indicate sentential connectives which maintain their cohesive function even though they are not the first word in the sentence. It is quite common for *êkwa* to appear second in a sentence. In this position, the word which displaces it receives the emphasis usually associated with sentence-initial position. Although *êkwa* itself becomes almost parenthetical, somewhat like an enclitic, it performs the narrative linking function nevertheless. As an inverted connective, *êkwa* may follow a noun or a verb, a non-connective particle, or, as in a majority of these cases, another connective, sometimes creating a compound connective.

To test the role of inverted *êkwa*, several examples from the *Sacred Stories* were presented out of context to Freda Ahenakew with *êkwa* removed. In most cases, the removal of the connective did not require any change in the gloss: the sentences were equally acceptable, and were perceived to mean the same thing with or without the connective. The absence of *êkwa* is unnoticed when such sentences are taken out of context. Its presence in a sentence however, makes it absolutely clear that the sentence is not isolated, but part of a larger whole. Sentential *êkwa*, whether it appears in inverted position or at the beginning of a sentence, provides continuity within the narrative, explicitly linking actions within a chain of events.

4.221 Inverted *êkwa* following a noun or verb

Least common of the inverted occurrences are those in which the sentence begins with a verb or a noun. Here the insertion of *êkwa* seems to be almost parenthetical. Interestingly, Bloomfield's translations place the English equivalent at the beginning of the sentence regardless of its position in the Cree.

45. êh-kitôwit *êkwah* wâwâskêsiwah, êh-pâmpahtâyit, sîpâ pêmpahtâyici iskwêwah
 êh-pimi-kîhkâmikot.
 Then when the stag bellowed as he ran about, whenever he ran by below there, the
 woman taunted him as he went by.
 S311-45

46. ôhtâwiyah *ékwah* pêmotamiyit, “cîki nîsocihc, apisîs ayiwâkêsîs ta-pataham awa!” itêw ohtâwiya.
Then when his father shot, “Close to two fingers, by a tiny bit more, let this one miss it!” he said of his father.
S73-40

There are only two examples of inverted *ékwa* in the Vandall-Douquette texts, and both occur in what appears to be quoted speech, but which is, in fact, narrative quoted within another narrative. Here again they appear to be parenthetical:

47. ‘akwâminakasiyak,’ itwêw, ‘wâ, nitapin *ékwa* ê-mâh-manipitakik, konita ê-ma-mâcosiyân,’ itwêw, ‘nimâh-manipitâwak ôki,’ itwêw.
‘Thorns,’ he said, ‘well, I sat down *then* to pull them out, I was just crying a little,’ he said, ‘I was pulling them out,’ he said.
PV8-15
48. ‘êkosi ninîhtakosîn,’ itwêw, ‘kôna kâ-otinak, êy, nikâsîhkwân *ékwa*, misiwê nimôsîhtân ôma mihko,’ itwêw, ‘ê-âsiciwahk,’ itwêw.
‘So I got off [my sleigh],’ he said, ‘I took some snow, hey, and I washed my face [*then*] I felt the blood all over,’ he said, ‘it was running down,’ he said.
PV10-15

4.222 Inverted *ékwa* following other particles

Inverted *ékwa* most commonly follows some other particle, and appears to function in the same way as in the examples above. In examples 49 and 50, *ékwa* intervenes between a sentence-initial particle and the verb or noun which it modifies:

49. mistahi *ékwah* pakwâtam.
He was very much annoyed.
S41-47
50. wâhyaw *ékwah* ê-îhtâcik, kêtahawê nakiyiwah.
Then when they had gone a long ways, presently the women stopped.
S83-11

Both of the particle-plus-*êkwa* strings shown in 49 and 50 appear in examples 51 and 52 below with *êkwa* in initial position, confirming that the inversion of the sentential connective is indeed optional:

51. *êkwa* mistahi miyosiw êh-âhciyisot.
Then he was very handsome, when he had made himself over.
S10-22b
52. *êkwah wâhyaw êh-ayâcik, mistikwah nîso êh-cimasoyit, êkotah ê-sêkoyit, ostikwâniyihk pakamahwêw; nipahêw.*
Then, when they had gone quite a ways, as the other got between two trees that stood close, he hit him on the head and killed him.
S43-02

The same is true of *êkwa* when it follows two or more particles; there are, however, fewer instances. A few examples can be located with *êkwa* inverted to third position in a string of non-connective particles. The sentence-initial particles modify the following verb, with *êkwa* seemingly inserted parenthetically: only in example 55 does *êkwa* appear in the gloss at all:

53. *ispîh kisiwâk êkwah êh-ayâyit, pîsîsik pîwâpîsk isinâkosiyiwa.*
When he was near, he looked as though all of iron.
S184-28b
54. *kâkîkê kahkiyaw êkwah nisâkôcihâwak, êh-mâ-mitonêyimakîk anîkih kâ-wîw-ôhpîkîcîk.*
For all time now I have defeated them all, with the thought of those who are to come into life.
S67-15
55. *êkotah ohci êkwah mina nîka-kîwôtânân.*
Then we shall be off visiting again.
S237-04

In examples which are even more rare, *êkwa* appears to be dislocated from its usual sentence-initial position even further into the sentence. In

the next two sentences, *êkwa* moves to the right of everything but the verb.¹¹

56. *kîhtwâm êh-tipiskâyik âsa [sic] mînah ayiwâkês êkwah k[i]sinâyiw.*
The next night it grew even colder.
S84-13
57. *êkosi kahkiyaw pisiskiwah êkwah osîhêw.*
So in this wise he made all the animals.
S109-42

These examples suggest that inverted *êkwa* can move into any position in the sentence, and may follow units as small as a single particle, or as large as an entire subordinate clause.

4.3 Clausal *êkwa*

Clausal connectives appear at the head of a clause which is not the first in the sentence. As a clausal connective, *êkwa* provides a link between the clauses of the sentence, indicating – sometimes ambiguously – subsequent, or concurrent events.

Examples 58 and 59 show *êkwa* linking events which are concurrent. Except for the complexity of the elements conjoined (that is, clauses rather than phrases), the use of *êkwa* in these examples is indistinguishable from its use at the phrase-level where it marks coordination:

11. An alternative interpretation might be that these instances of *êkwa* are actually part of discontinuous particle phrases which include the sentence-initial particles *kîhtwam* and *êkosi* respectively. I am not aware of any means by which either interpretation could be unequivocally proven.

58. piyis nîswâw êh-nipât, êkoyikohk miskawêw mistanaskwah, mistah êh-ayâyit mîciwin, *êkwah* wiyah ê-wîh-nipahâhkatosocik otawâsimisah owîkimâkanah.
At last, after two nights on the road, he found Badger, found him in possession of much food, while he and his wife and children were starving.
S100-31
59. êkos îsi ê-sipwêhtêw, êh-otâpêt ôh ôcayânisah, tâpiskôc nipakitâpânâsk, êkos îsi êh-otâpêt, *êkwah* osîmisah êh-nayômât.
In this way she set out, dragging her belongings, dragging them as if on a flat sled, and carrying her little brother.
S142-21

A similar division in usage is noted for ‘and’ in English by Halliday & Hasan, who distinguish between ‘coordinate *and*’ (as in ‘fruit and vegetables’) and ‘conjunctive *and*’ (‘We arrived at the beach, and to our surprise...’) (1976:235).

Examples 60 and 61 show *êkwa* linking events which are subsequent within the sentence. Here as in the two previous examples, sentence-internal context and semantics suggest that the link is subsequent.

60. kâwih kôkiyiwa, *êkwah* ôtah itah kâ-kîh-ohci-kôkiyit, êkotah wêh-pê-pasikôyit ayîsiyiniwah.
Again it dived, and back here, whence it first had dived, he rose to his feet in human form.
S73-03
61. pâh-pôtâcîk: misiwê ocêpihtah misiwê itamoyiwa, aspin mâna itâmâskîhk, *êkwah* ê-mamâhcikwahpitikot ocêpihkak ohci.
He blew forth his breath more than once: on all sides roots clung fast, roots from way down under the ground, until he was firmly tied down by the roots.
S87-20

Since the interpretation of the examples above relies upon sentential context, it is not surprising to find examples in which it is impossible to tell whether the events described within the sentence are subsequent or concurrent. Example 62 shows two structural connections. The first, following the verb *êh-kîsihtât* ‘when she was finished’, is clearly a

subsequent connection. The second occurrence of *ékwa*, which is inverted, is entirely ambiguous as to concurrence or subsequence.

62. iyikohk êh-kísihtât, *ékwah* osíhtâw pahkêkinwa, ayôwinisa *ékwah* ê-wiw-osíhtowât osíma, tâpwê êh-kísihtât, êh-pâh-pîmikitahk.
When she had done, she prepared hides, intending to make clothes for her brother, and she finished them and ornamented them with quill-work.
S165-51

Examples 65 and 66 are also ambiguous:

63. êkosi sipwêhtêw, ê-kîh-kakêskimikot wíshkêcâhk ôhi cîpayah, *ékwah* okimâwa ê-wîh-ntawi-nipahât.
Then Wisahketchahk set out, as he had been directed by the dead man, to go and kill that chief.
S42-39
64. âsay mîna pêcimêw môswah, *ékwah* êyakonih mîna êh-nôcihât.
As before, he made moose come by the sound, for these he now sought.
S165-05

4.31 Sentential ambiguity

ékwa following a semicolon provides sentence-level connection, (cf. 3.44). In cases such as example 65 and 66, *ékwa* is interpreted as functioning cohesively (although it is not technically a sentence-initial occurrence).

65. wâpamêw awa omisimâw kâ-kîh-pakwâtât; *ékwah* miywêyimêw êh-miyosiyit, êh-wâpamât âsay osíma kâ-ta-kîhcêkosiyit, ê-wîh-miyâyit ôhi mênisah, “ nah ôhi otinah, ” êh-itâyit.
The elder sister, who had scorned him, saw him; now that he was handsome, she liked him, as she saw her younger sister climbing up to give him the berries, saying to him, “Here, take these.”
S108-21
66. êh-ocipitahk, namoya kaskihtâw; *ékwah* awa maskwayânêtâs kâ-pîhtokêpitât nîso môswah.
When she tugged at it, she could not manage it; then Bearskin-Breeches drew in two moose.
S126-30

4.4 *êkwa* in quoted speech

When quoted speech appears within narrative, specific changes occur. First, there is a shift from third-person narration of events to first- and second-person quoted speech. Concurrently, the time line shifts. Where events have been reported in the narrative as progressing chronologically from the opening moment, the introduction of dialogue re-sets the time line from a historical progression to the immediate present of the characters involved. As Grimes (1975:231) puts it, “when a speaker quotes somebody else in the course of utterance, the time reference within the quoted part takes that act of speaking as its base line”.

In English, this time displacement is reflected both through the use of different verb tenses and through a variety of connectives, such as ‘then’ and ‘now’.¹² Bloomfield’s translations painstakingly distinguish the alternation between ‘then’ in narrative and ‘now’ in quoted speech, but *êkwa* is used in Cree in both situations.¹³ Although the introduction of quoted speech implies a break in the narrative time line, *êkwa* here

12. As Schiffrin (1987:232ff) describes it, English *now* is used both as a temporal adverb and as a discourse marker which may introduce comparison or new ideas. Thus, occurrences of English *now* need not necessarily refer to time.

13. Sentence-initial interjections such as *hâw* and *hây hây* (as in examples 41 and 42) are very common markers of quoted speech. They are syntactically independent from the rest of the sentence, as are vocative nouns with which they frequently appear. *êkwa* following interjection(s) and/or a vocative noun is still considered to be sentence-initial.

appears still to mark cohesion, with the cohesion occurring along a different time line, within the quoted universe of discourse.

67. “hâw, nîstah, *êkwah* mâka niya!” itwêw.
 “Now then, brother-in-law, *now* is my turn!” he said.
 S203-28

In example 68, the inclusion of the preverb *-wîh-*, indicating future intention, shows that this sentence is clearly not a part of the narrative time line. It is, however, one link in a string of chronologically progressing events which are reported in quoted speech rather than in narrative.

68. “hây hây! *êkwah* ê-wîh-takosiniyahk kitaskiyinaw, nisîmis! mahtih nik-êtâpin!”
 “Splendid! *Now* we shall come back to our earth, little sister! Do let me look!”
 S316-24

Elsewhere, Grimes (1975:70) suggests that

in certain kinds of discourse there is a standing assumption that what is quoted is what happened. This DIALOGUE form of discourse can be considered a specialized version of narrative; it is sequentially oriented in accomplished time.

In the following extended excerpt from Text 2 (example 69,) the use of *êkwa* in narrative and discourse illustrates cohesion in two parallel time frames. Narrative sentences (shown indented) report the overall chain of events in an indefinite historical context. Sentential *êkwa* marks cohesion in the sentences numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, 15 and 17. The quoted speech (shown in boldface) is part of the narrative, yet clearly there is independent linkage within the timeframe of Wisahketchahk’s quoted statements, also marked with *êkwa* (at lines 12, 16, 21 and 23), as he prepares to jump across a river by backing up and running towards the

bank. As he stops short each of the first three times, he counts down his attempts with *êkwa*.

69. (*Sacred Stories* page 21, lines 4 to 27)

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| <i>êkwah</i> omis itwêw: “mahtih” - sôhki pîkiskwêw - “iskêkânih osk-âyah astotin astwâtohk, osk-âyah ayôwinisah, ‘awiyak âsiwakâmêohpîcih, kit-âyâw ôhih,’ itwêhk. | 1 | Then he spoke as follows: “Come” - and loudly he spoke - “I have a feeling that a new hat has been put up as a prize, and new clothes, and it has been announced, ‘If anyone jumps to the far shore, he shall have these.’ |
| nistwâw nika-nômiskên; êkotah nêwâw mwêhci nik-ohpin,” itwêw. | 2 | Three times I shall stop short; then, the fourth time, I shall jump,” he said. |
| nitohtâk ôhi pihêwah; mâka namoya wâpamêw. | 3 | The partridges listened to him; but he did not see them. |
| <i>êkwah</i> kospohtêw. | 4 | Then he walked back up the bank. |
| “aciyaw nika-wêpikâtân,” itwêw; âcimostawêw tânisi êh-wîh-tôtahk. | 5 | “For a short while I shall exercise my legs,” he said; he simply told them what he meant to do. |
| <i>êkwah</i> wâhyaw nîpawiw; otakohpah ôtah ahêw; tâpiskawêw. | 6 | Then he stood a ways off; he put his blanket-robe here, like this; he put it round his neck. |
| <i>êkwah</i> pê-wayacâwiw; sisonê sîpîsisihk naki-kwâskohti. | 7 | Then he came on a running start; at the bank of the creek he stopped with a jump. |
| “yôhah, nahpihcis nika-sâpopahâw, nôhtêpayiyânih,” itwêw; “akâmihk ntêsiwêpinâw.” | 8 | “Tut tut, I shall get my tobacco-pouch all wet, if I don’t make it,” he said; “I’ll throw it across.” |
| otinêw wahpihcisah; namoya kanawâpamêw, ômisi êh-isiwêpinât; akâmihk pahkisiniyiwa. | 9 | He took his tobacco-pouch; he did not keep his eye on it as he flung it; like this it feel somewhere on the other bank. |
| êh-wêpinât, pêyak pihêwa k-ohpahoyit. | 10 | When he threw it one of the partridges flew up. |
| “yôho, mâna tâpwê nka-koskowihikoh!” itwêw. | 11 | “Tut tut, really, he came very near startling me!” he said. |
| “êkwah piko nistwâw!” | 12 | “Now only three times more!” |
| min âsay nôhcimihk itohtêw. | 13 | Again he went away from the water. |
| namoya kiskêyihitam itêh wahpihcisah k-êsiwêpinât. | 14 | He did not know the exact spot to which he had tossed his tobacco-pouch. |

<i>ékwah</i> pê-wayatsâwîw; nakîw.	15	Then he came running with a start; he stopped.
“nîso! <i>ékwah</i> pîko nîswâw,” itwêw.	16	“Two! Now only twice more!” he said.
<i>ékwah</i> nîs ohpîhâyiwah.	17	Then two of them flew up.
“yôhoh, mânah nîka-sêkîhîkohtayîk ôkîh pîhêwak okoskôhiwêsîsak!”	18	“Tut tut, they came mighty near scaring me, these partridges, these little startlers!”
âsay mîna sipwêhtêw.	19	Again he went off.
âsay mîna pê-môskîstam oma sîpîsis.	20	Again he came running at that creek.
“nîsto! <i>ékwah</i> anohe <i>ékwah</i> nîk-ohpîn.	21	“Three! Now this time I shall jump.
iskêkâniyah osk-âyah astwâtohk astotin ayôwinisah, ‘awiyak âsiwâkâmê-ohpîch nîka-miyâw,’ itwêhk.	22	Without doubt a new hat has been put up as a prize, and new clothes, with the statement, ‘If anyone jumps across the water, I shall give him these.’
<i>ékwah</i> mâka niwîh-ohpîn,” itwêw.	23	But now I shall jump,” he said.

A number of other particles appear to be affected by the contrast between narrative and quoted speech. Some of these will be discussed in later sections.

5: *mîna*

5.1 *mîna* vs *êkwa*

mîna behaves like *êkwa* in some ways, but differs significantly in others. It is usually glossed ‘again’, ‘also’, or ‘too’ and signals the repetition of an action which occurred at some earlier point in the story. It may also mark the return of an action or topic discontinued earlier. In the sense that it suggests repetition or recurrence, it is necessarily cohesive, since repetition signifies a prior occurrence.

While *êkwa* usually appears sentence-initially, *mîna* does not. Instead, it seems the most normal position for *mîna* is non-initial; usually second in the sentence. The label ‘sentential *mîna*’ will therefore refer to *mîna* in its natural, non-initial position. For all of the other connectives discussed in this study, inversion means moving away from initial position in the sentence. For *mîna*, inversion may mean either moving into sentence-initial position (as outlined in 5.31), or moving further into the sentence (as in 5.313). In order to distinguish the inversion of *mîna* into sentence-initial position from ordinary inversion, I will use the label ‘left-inversion’.

5.2 Glossing *mîna*

The choice of ‘again’ vs ‘also’ or ‘too’ in Bloomfield’s English translation is not random. When *mîna* indicates the repetition of a specific action with the same subject (and object where the verb is

transitive), it is glossed ‘again’; when an action is repeated, but by or upon a different subject or object, it is usually glossed ‘also’ or ‘too’.

This distinction is evidently more significant in English than Cree. In English examples of this sort, the particles *again* and *too* may be used to index the relationship between a subject and the same or a different object. For example, *He hit him again* implies same subject and same object, whereas *He hit him too* may imply either the same subject and different object, or different subject and same object.

In Cree, the same particle serves both functions.¹⁴ Although the following examples do not show the most typical usage of *mîna*, they are ideal semantically for proving this point. In example 72 *mîna* is glossed ‘too’:

72. *mîna êwako nipahik.*
He killed her too.
S12-14

In this case, *mîna* indicates the repetition of an action by the same subject, but acting upon a different object: since killing someone is a unique action, a gloss of ‘he killed her again’ would make no sense.

By contrast, *mîna* in example 73 does not even appear in Bloomfield’s translation.

73. *kêkâc wâpaniyiw kotakah mîna.*
It was almost daybreak [again].
S91-05

14. It is also possible to find English examples where the words *too* and *again* can be read to mean about the same, e.g., *The next day he worked hard too* versus, *The next day he worked hard again*.

The only reasonable gloss in this example would be recurrence.¹⁵

5.3 Sentential (i.e., non-initial) *mîna*

Ordinary sentential *mîna* is non-initial, and usually follows some other particle (as does inverted *êkwa*). In examples 74 to 76, *mîna* occurs almost enclitically, between the initial particle and the balance of the sentence, and appears to have the preceding particle (rather than the following verb) as its domain.

74. iyikohk *mîna* êh-wiyinot, kîwêw.
When he had got fat again, he went home.
S71-22
75. kotak *mînah* ospiton tahkahtam.
He stabbed his other arm, too.
S33-24
76. wâhyaw *mîn* êh-ayât, âsay *mîna* ê-wîh-wâpaniyik, âsay *mîna* sêskisiw.
When again he had gone a great distance, and again dawn was near, again he went into the brush.
S54-35

A similar argument might be made for example 77; but, the issue is obscured somewhat by the redundancy created by the juxtaposition of *mîna* and the much more forceful *kîhtwâm*, both of which are often glossed ‘again’.

77. kîhtwâm *mîna* êh-tipiskâyik, âsay *mîna* kêyâpic namwâc nipâyiwa.
When another night came, again they did not sleep at all.
S41-15c

mîna follows the demonstrative pronoun *ôki* ‘those’ in example 78, and the personal pronouns *kiyawâw* ‘you (pl)’ and *niya* ‘I’ in 79 and 80.

15. The appearance of *mîna* at the end of this sentence is an inversion of the type discussed in 5.313.

In these cases, Bloomfield glosses *mîna* as ‘too’ or ‘also’, suggesting repetition of an action, but emphasising the new subject:

78. mêtatêw-awâsis pahkisin, ôki *mina* [sic] kâwiyak.
Pot-Belly Child fell to the ground, and so did those quills.
S204-38
79. “ôtah nisîmak kisiwâk pêy-âyâwak, kiyawâ[w] *mîna* êyakonik ta-wîwiyêk.”
“My younger sisters have come with me and are staying close by here, so you may marry them *in return*.”
S205-14
80. niya *mina*, êh-kitimâkêyimitâhk, êh-nôhtêhkatêyêk, k-ôh-pêy-itohtêyâhk kîkiwâhk,”
itêw;
And I, too; because we felt sorry for you when you were starving, is why we came to your dwelling,” he told her;
S283-41

mîna may also follow a verb at the beginning of a sentence, although examples are relatively rare. Going back several paragraphs in the narrative, context indicates that the repetition in 81 refers to the same subject grieving over a different dream spirit.

81. mawîhkâtêw *mîna* opawâkanah.
He grieved over this dream spirit, too.
S11-09

In example 82, *mîna* marks a return by a character to his earlier state. There is no mention in earlier text of the character being fat; in this case, it refers to his recovery of a normal state after a prolonged period of hunger:

82. iyikohk *mîna* êh-wiyinot, kîwêw.
When he had got fat again, he went home.
S71-22

Like *êkwa*, *mîna* may also appear within a longer string of particles. In example 83 the other particles are all locative. The cohesive function of *mîna* appears to be provided almost parenthetically.

83. nêtêh tâwakâm *mîna* êkotê êh-wayawît, êkotêh ohci pa-pêcâstamohtêw awa ayîsiyiniw kâ-kinosêwit.
Then, when it came forth yonder [again] at the centre of the expanse, from there came walking in human form that man who had been a fish.
S73-16

5.31 Left-inverted (i.e., sentence-initial) *mîna*

Compared to *êkwa*, which is very commonly inverted out of its normal sentence-initial position, left-inversion of *mîna* (moving it from its natural non-initial position to sentence-initial position) is quite rare, occurring only about 2% of the time. Although there are 728 occurrences of *mîna* in the *Sacred Stories*, there is not one example in which sentence-initial *mîna* immediately precedes an independent verb in narrative, nor are there any where *mîna* immediately precedes a noun.

In a few rare examples, *mîna* initiates a sentence with an independent verb where a pronoun or another particle intervenes. In example 84, the intervening *kapê-kîsik* ‘all day’ is an ordinary temporal particle:

84. “nika-kimotamawâw, nipâcih, otâpiskâkanêkinwah,” êy-itêyihthak êsah wîsahkêcâhk, êkwah âcimôw kapê-tipisk.
“When she goes to sleep, I shall steal her shawl from her,” thought Wisahketchahk, and told stories all night.
S41-13

mîna kapê-kîsik âcimôw.
All the next day he told stories.
S41-15b

In fact, example 84 (and other instances of sentence-initial *mîna* with an independent verb in the same clause), suggest that punctuation might be in need of reinterpretation. If, for example, the period after *kapê-tipisk* were read as a comma, *mîna* would serve as a clausal connective, a function which is much more common. While reinterpretation of the sentence boundaries appears to work for most such examples in narrative,

reinterpretation is not possible for quoted speech examples such as those in section 5.5.

5.311 *mîna* in conjunct clauses

Although *êkwa* in a similar position marks foreground in the subsequent clause (cf. 4.112), *mîna* in examples 85 and 86 marks simple repetition of the verb it precedes. In example 85, *êkwa* (at the head of the second clause) connects events within the sentence. In example 86, the foreground information presented in the main clause takes the form of quoted speech rather than narrative.

85. êkosi *mîna* pôâtâtam ôma sâkahikan: âpihtaw iskoh miskwamîwiyiw.
So then again he breathed on the lake: halfway across it was ice.
S324-44

mîna êh-pôâtâhik, *êkwah* akâmihk iskoh.
When he blew on it again, then all the way to the far shore.
S324-45

86. êyikohk êh-mêstâtahhik om âkohp, êkoyikohk *mîna* nawaswêwak ôki mostoswak.
Only when they had devoured the blanket did the buffalo resume the chase.
S325-05

mîna ê-wîh-atimikot, “hâ, nisîm, êkwah kanakwayak wêpin!”
When again they were close to overtaking them, “Oh, little sister, now throw away your sleeves!”
S325-07

5.312 *mîna* preceding other particles

There are no examples of sentence-initial *mîna* followed by another connective; however, *mîna* is followed fairly commonly by other non-connective particles, as in examples 87 and 88. Again, many of the same particle sequences also occur with the elements reversed, indicating

once more that the actual order of particles is flexible in spite of strong tendencies.

87. *mîna êkotêh ohci* pê-sipwêhtêyiwa.¹⁶
Again he started from the same place.
S184-25 5318

vs.

êkotah ohci mînah kotak spatinâw ka-têpâhtên.
From there [again] you will see the second hill.
S237-50

88. *mîna kîhtwâm* cikâhkewêw, *kotak mîna* kê-pimakotêyik.
Again he threw a dart, and it, too, flew through the air.
S281-13 5321

vs.

kîhtwâm mîna êh-tipiskâyik, *âsay mîna* kêyâpic namwâc nipâyiwa.
When another night came, again they did not sleep at all.
S41-15c

Since the particle *kîhtwâm* is also usually glossed ‘again’ or ‘once more’, both sentences in example 88 appear to have some redundancy in the initial particle phrase. As well, both have an additional particle phrase containing *mîna* (which marks resumption after a subordinate clause) at the beginning of the second clause. It is hard to imagine repetition more strongly marked.

There are only two examples of sentence-initial *mîna* in the Vandall-Douquette texts. They are glossed ‘too’, and ‘also’ rather than ‘again’, and although they have been included in the discussion here, it is important to note that neither example is actually narrative in the sense that that term has been used so far. Example 89 quotes the predictions of elders of long ago, and marks a resumption of the conversational topic of predicted innovations rather than the repetition of a specific action:

16. *êkotah ôhci* (and the alternate form *êkotê ôhci*) is a compound particle which may be glossed ‘from there’.

89. *mîna* ôhi ita pîwâpiskomêskanaw ôma, nîsopîwâpisk ka-pimamon, êkota kîka-pimakocin ana otâpânâsk” – kahkiyaw kîkway êkoni ê-kî-wîhtahkik. And also the railroad, two iron rails will run along, there that vehicle will travel” – all these things they had predicted.
PV4-18

Example 90 appears in an introduction which precedes a narrative text.

Again, it indicates a resumption of an earlier topic of discussion:

90. *mîna* êkoni ôhi, mâcika wiya konita wawiyatâcimowinisa – “ôta nâway ôma kâ-ispayik ôma, ê-kî-kisiwâhit pâyak kisêyiniw, nîci-kisêyiniw, mitoni oti,” nititâwak ôki awâsisak, ê-pâhpihakik ôma ê-âcimoyân ôma. And these, too, for instance these funny little stories – “Just this past week, one old man got me angry, an old man just like me, very angry,” I told these children, I was joking with them when I told this story.
PV6-2

5.313 *mîna* in other positions

Further examples suggest that *mîna* like *êkwa* can be moved, optionally, into almost any position.

91. kêkâc wâpaniyiw kotakah *mîna*.
It was almost daybreak [again].
S91-05
92. “tahtoh êkâ êh-pâpayihtâcik *mîna* êwakonik ohpimê ta-nîpawiwak,” itwêw.
“And as many as do not cast them up, let them too stand to one side,” he ordered.
S75-39

5.4 Clausal *mîna*

mîna occurs fairly commonly at the beginning of a non-initial clause.

Like *êkwa* in this position, *mîna* functions within the sentence as a clausal connective. Both examples 93 and 94 show a clausal linkage which indicates a repetition by the same subject and object.

93. êkotah êkwah nipâw, *mîna* êh-asitahpisot.
There he went to sleep, after again tying himself fast.
S54-45

94. mayaw ê-kîsi-mîcisocik, *mîna* miyâhkasamiyiwa kitohcikanis.
As soon as they had eaten, he again burned incense to his flute.
S165-23

Just as clausal examples with *êkwa* were shown to be either subsequent linkages or concurrent/coordinate ones, a similar division exists for *mîna* between repetitive and the concurrent linkages. While examples 93 and 94 show the repetitive reading, examples 95 and 96 appear to be coordinate.

95. êkotah tahto-kîsikâw mihtah êh-otinahk, *mîna* êh-tâpakwêt êh-mihcêtiyit wâposwah, tâpwê têpiskâyikih, kâh-nipâcih, wiyâpahk êh-nâtât wâposwah, mitoni miywêyih tam mâh-mihcêt êh-nipahât.
There every day she gathered firewood and snared many rabbits; and truly, after each night, when she had slept and in the morning fetched the rabbits, she was very glad that she continued to kill many of them.
S143-18
96. kîthatawê yâhkih pêyak nâpêw pêyakoyiwa otawâsimisah, êkwah mistah êsah êh-kitimâkêyimât, *mîna* êh-miyo-pamihât.
Once upon a time, long ago, a certain man had one child, and it seems that he dearly loved him and took care of him.
S253-08

Example 95 is ambiguous as to whether *mîna* should be glossed as ‘and’ or ‘again’. There is no evidence in the immediately preceding context that clarifies this issue, although there is a reference several paragraphs earlier to the character snaring her first rabbit. Thus a reading of ‘again’ is possible here, but seems to stretch the point unreasonably. Example 96 makes the argument for a concurrent/coordinate reading much more strongly: since this is the first narrative sentence in the text, the interpretation of repetition or recurrence is inappropriate.

The Vandall-Douquette texts contain only two sentences in which *mîna* might be interpreted as a clausal connective. In 97 there is no sense of repetition of a particular event, nor is there any particular earlier event in the text to which *mîna* could refer.

97. êkwa kîkisêpâ kâ-waniskâcîk, nikî-pêhtawâwak mâna kêhtê-ayak; tâpiskôc ôma piyêsîsak kâ-kitocîk kîkisêpâ k-âti-sâkâstêk ôma mistahi kâ-takahkihtâkosicîk, êkosi anima kêhtê-ayak misiwê ê-kî-pêhtâkosicîk ê-nikamocîk – ahpô owîkimâkaniwâwa ê-naskwahamawâcîk – iyikohk ê-kî-miywêyimocîk aniki, *mîna* mistahi ê-kî-miywâsinîyîk ita ê-kî-pimâcihocîk.

And in the morning, when they arise, I used to hear the elders; just as the singing of birds sounds beautiful in the morning, at day-break, so it was with the elders who could be heard all over as they sang – they would even sing in response with their wives – they took such pride in themselves, and their journey through life was very beautiful.

PV3-7

In example 98, clausal *mîna* appears twice in the third sentence with the verb *ê-osîhtamâsot* ‘that they made for themselves’ repeated exactly. This example appears to entail both repetition and coordination within the sentence.

98. tâpwê pîko ê-kî-isi-pimâtisî anima askîhk, okâwîmâwaskîhk; êkota ê-kî-ohci-pimâtisî. wiyâs opimâcihiwêwin, êkota anima ê-kî-ohci-pimâtisî.

They truly lived off the land, mother earth; that is where they got their livelihood and that was their source of life.

PV4-14

kahkiyaw kîkway ‘mînisa’ k-êsiyîhkâtêki, nanâtohk ê-kî-isi-osîhtât kîkway, wiyâs ê-osîhtât îwahikana ê-mowât.

All these that are called ‘berries’, they prepared them in various ways, they prepared the meat and ate pounded meat.

PV4-15

êkwa mîna ê-osîhtamâsot maskisîna, *mîna* ayiwînisî ê-kî-osîhtamâsot, *mîna* wîkiwâwa ê-kî-osîhtamâsocîk pahkêkinwa ohci.

They also made moccasins for themselves and clothing, and they also made their own homes with hides.

PV4-16

5.5 *mîna* in quoted speech

There are seven examples in the *Sacred Stories* in which *mîna* occurs sentence-initially in quoted speech. In three cases (all from the same text), the reference is to the return of characters who have been absent for some period:

99. “nî, *mînah* têkohtêt!”¹⁷ itwêw awa omisimâw.
 “Why, he really has come [back]!” said the elder sister.
 S123-42
100. “hîhîyî, *mînah* wâh-takohtêt!” itêw wîtimwa, êh-wînyimât.
 “Well, well, well, there he is again!” she said of her brother-in-law, for she abhorred
 him.
 S124-12
101. “yîh! *mîna* têkosihk!” itwêw aw ômisimâw, cikêmâ êh-wînyimât wîtimwa.
 “Faugh! He’s back!” exclaimed the elder sister, for truly she felt disgust at the
 thought of her sister’s husband.
 S126-01

Here (as in section 4.3) we see quoted speech marking events in a time frame which is parallel to that of narrative. What is more interesting about these examples is that each begins with an interjection which strongly marks the beginning of a quoted sentence, but which is otherwise independent from the syntax of the sentence.¹⁸ The presence of the interjection precludes the reinterpretation of sentence boundaries which was used in section 5.31 to account for the sentence-initial position of *mîna*. Examples 99 to 101 suggest that *mîna* in narrative and in quoted speech may behave differently at the beginning of a sentence.

5.6 *mîna* in particle compounds

mîna is second so often in certain particle phrases that the phrases can be considered compound connectives or frozen forms. These compounds include *âsay mîna* ‘again’, *êkwa mîna* ‘then again’ and *mâka mîna* ‘as usual’. These compound connectives appear to function as single sentential units, and *as units* can be seen to show linkage at the levels of

17. It is interesting to note that in all three of these examples, *mîna* appears before a changed conjunct verb.

18. cf. Note 13, p.39.

the sentence and the clause. These compounds appear with much greater frequency than *mîna* alone.

5.61 *âsay mîna*¹⁹

âsay mîna behaves much like *êkwa* alone. Typically, together with an independent verb, it may make an entire sentence, as in examples 102 and 103:

102. *âsay mina sipwêhtêw.*
Again he went off.
S21-24

103. *âsay minah nitomâw.*
This time, too, he was invited.
S28-04

While simple sentences such as these may also include a noun phrase after the verb, this is relatively uncommon. The narrative that surrounds example 104 might illuminate the reason for this. In this rather extended excerpt, the final sentence shows the repetition of an event (the old woman's weeping) which was introduced several paragraphs earlier. Here, the events of the story shift from the old woman to the son-in-law and back again, with a concurrent shift in obviation. In this context, the

19. It is important to note that the alternation between *âsay mîna* and *sâsay mîna* appears only in the narratives of Louis Moosomin, who uses both forms; only examples of *âsay mîna* will be discussed here. The nine occurrences of *sâsay mîna* collectively behave in the same manner as described here for *âsay mîna*: of the nine, one is sentence initial (preceding a conjunct verb), one appears at the beginning of a non-initial phrase, and the remaining seven are inverted into some other position in the sentence. Although Louis Moosomin is the only narrator to employ *sâsay mîna*, *Coming Day* uses the individual particles *âsay* and *sâsay*.

presence of the noun phrase *awa nôtokêsiw* ‘that old woman’ seems essential to specify which person’s actions are repeated.

104. *mâtôw awa nôtokêsiw, “nipawâkan!” êh-itwêt; “hêy, mêtewewanê ntw-âsamihkok ayîsiyiniwak! ôhi ta-mîciwak; anihi minah kê-nipahimiht ta-nâtêwak; ta-môwêwak!”*
The old woman wept, crying, “My dream guardian!” Hey, as it is destined, go feed them to mortal men! These things they will eat; and him who has been slain they will fetch; they will eat him!”
S89-18

tipiskâyiw âsay mina; kawisimôwak.
Again night fell; they went to bed.
S89-21

êkosi âsay mina kîskwêhkwasiw awa nôtokêsiw.
Then again that old woman walked in her sleep.
S89-21b

pôtiêh êh-pêkopayit, “iskah ninahâhkim ê-nipahât okwâskwêpayihôsa ê-misikitiyit, êwakoni ê-nipahât nnahâhkisîm [sic], êkoyikohk iskoh kê-pôni-kîskwêhkwasiyân, ê-mîciyân ostikwân,” itwêw.
There, when she awoke, “By my dream, if my son-in-law kills the giant jumping-deer, if my son-in-law kills him, that will be the end of my sleep-walking, if I eat its head,” she said.
S89-23

tâpwê kîkîsêpâ kontah kê-pêhtâkwaniyik, “êwakwâ!” êh-itwêyit ayîsiyiniwah.
Then really, in the morning, “there he goes!” the people’s cry was heard.
S89-26

ê-wayawî-kwâskohtit, pôti ôhi kê-pimi-kwâskwêkociniyiwa ôhi apsi-môsosah.
When he leaped out of the house, lo, that jumping-moose had bounded past.
S89-27

cikahkwâtêw; nipahêw; ostikwân pikoh otinam.
He threw a dart at it; he killed it; he took only its head.
S89-28

pîhtokêwêpinam.
He flung it into the house.
S89-29

“êwakô anih kê-wîh-mîcit kikâwiyiwâw!” itêw.
“Here is what your mother wants to eat!” he called to them.
S89-30

âsay mina mâtôw awa nôtokêsiw.
Again the old woman wept.
S89-31

In examples 102 and 103 less information may be required to resolve a reference when the repetition occurs closer to the initial event, where fewer third persons are involved, or where there is other redundancy between the sentences. In the absence of these factors (as in example 105), it seems essential to specify a human agent in the main clause.²⁰ Additionally, the repetition of the clause *mâtôw awa nôtokêsiw* ‘the old woman wept’ at the beginning and the end of this excerpt provides a frame for the entire episode.

Examples like 105, with a noun intervening between the compound connective and the verb, are equally uncommon. Additional subject or object information is probably only included where interpretation is potentially ambiguous. In the sentence that follows, the verb shows reduplication, indicating an action which is either repeated or ongoing (cf. Wolfart & Ahenakew 1983:370). Thus the repetition is marked in both the verb and in the presence of *mîna*:

105. *âsay mîna* âmôwah tah-tahkwamik.
 Again the bee [was] bit[ing] him.
 S303-25

5.611 *âsay mîna* in conjunct clauses

Although examples where sentence-initial *mîna* precedes a conjunct verb are extremely rare, examples with sentence-initial *âsay mîna* are fairly common. The behaviour of *âsay mîna* preceding a conjunct verb is the

20. Another factor that might be taken into account is the shift in obviation. Kevin Russell (1990) observes that the presence of an overt noun phrase is one of the most reliable marks of the beginning of a new obviation span.

opposite of *êkwa* (outlined in section 4.112). Whereas *êkwa* actually refers to a subsequent foreground clause, *mîna* and *âsay mîna* appear to be integral parts of the subordinate clause, marking repetition within the clause.

106. *âsay mîna êh-kitohtâyit, pêcimêyiwa mostoswah.*
 Again, when he blew the flute, he called a buffalo.
 S54-27

The reiteration of *âsay mîna* in example 107 is interesting, since it may be interpreted either as a reiteration of the cohesive function of sentential *âsay mîna*, or as a clausal, sentence-internal connective.

107. *âsay mîna êh-ati-wayawât, âsay mîna tahkiskawêw.*
 Again, on his way out of the lodge, he kicked the other.
 S125-30

Many of the sentence-initial examples have *âsay mîna* followed by a conjunct verb or by another particle which refers to the passage of time. *êh-wâpaniyik* in example 108 could be glossed ‘when it was dawn’, *ê-tipiskâyik* in 109, ‘when it became night’, and *kapê-kîsik* in 110, ‘all day’. Reference to lapsed time may be the most obvious type of background information available within narrative. On semantic grounds, all of these seem to suggest that *âsay mîna* is part of the subordinate clause.

108. *âsay mîna êh-wâpaniyik, âhci piko pêhtam.*
 When the next day broke, he still heard it.
 S41-24
109. *âsay mîna ê-tipiskâyik, aspin ât ê-kîwêyit, ati-miciminêw; êh-ati-pîhtokêyit wîkiyihk, êkotah ohci wanihêw.*
 When the next night came, when the other made off to go home, he held fast to him, but when he went into his dwelling, from that point he lost him.
 S41-39
110. *âsay mîna kapê-kîsik âta êh-kitotât, nama ki-kitotik.*
 Again, though he talked to him all day, he could not make the other address him.
 S41-46

5.612 Inverted *âsay mîna*

If we accept *âsay mîna* as a compound connective that behaves like *êkwa* in other contexts, we must also look for cases where it appears, as a unit, in inverted position. Examples 111 and 112 show it preceded by a verb, which in both cases refers to the passage of time. These appear to be clear examples of optional inversion, particularly in the light of examples 108 to 110.

111. tipiskâyiw *âsay mîna*; kawisimôwak.
Again night fell; they went to bed.
S89-21
112. êh-tipiskâyik *âsay mîna* kîskwêhkwasiw.
In the night again she walked in her sleep.
S199-33

Examples with *âsay mîna* following another sentential connective are quite common. What is interesting here, however, is that there are no examples with the particle strings in the opposite order in the *Sacred Stories*. That is, there are no examples of *âsay mîna êkosi*, *âsay mîna tâpwê*, or *âsay mîna êkwa*. Freda Ahenakew affirms, however, that these strings are equally acceptable in the examples below with no substantial changes to the translations. What this may suggest is that, at least for the narrators of the *Sacred Stories*, there is a preference for *âsay mîna* to follow other sentence-level connectives. In 113 to 115 the second sentence shows the inversion performed by Freda Ahenakew.

113. êkosi *âsay mîna* kîskwêhkwasiw awa nôtokêsiw.
vs. *âsay mîna* êkosi kîskwêhkwasiw awa nôtokêsiw.
Then again that old woman walked in her sleep.
S89-21b
114. tâpwê *âsay mîna* pimâcihêwak.
vs. *âsay mîna* tâpwê pimâcihêwak.
They succeeded in bringing him again to life.
S247-18

115. êkwah *âsay mîna* kîkisêpâ, “ntaw-asam kôhkominawak,” itwêw êsah awa nâpêw.
 vs. *âsay mîna* êkwah kîkisêpâ, “ntaw-asam kôhkominawak,” itwêw êsah awa nâpêw.
 Then again, in the morning, “Go feed our grandmothers,” said the man.
 S247-20

In a few other examples, such as 116, *âsay mîna*, like *êkwa*, is also inverted into various positions in the sentence. In the following case, for example, it comes after *êkwa* plus the pronominal phrase *awa kotak* ‘the other’. In this example, *âsay mîna* refers to the repetition of the shooting by a second subject:

116. êkwah awa kotak *âsay mîna* pimotoam; min êwako kékâc tâwaham.
 Then the second opponent shot at it; he too almost hit it.
 S73-42b

As in many of the other examples of this type it is possible here that there is a pause before *âsay mîna*.

5.613 Clausal *âsay mîna*

The compound *âsay mîna* at the head of a non-initial phrase functions as a clausal connective that marks the clause as foreground.

117. kîhtwâm mîna êh-tipiskâyik, *âsay mîna* kêyâpic namwâc nipâyiwa.
 When another night came, again they did not sleep at all.
 S41-15c
118. êh-kîsi-mîcisocik, *âsay mîna* wawêyîw, ê-wîh-mâcît awa kâ-miyosit oskinîkiw.
 When they had eaten, the handsome young man again made ready to go hunting.
 S124-36

Whether the initial phrase is foreground or background appears to depend upon the verb (conjunct in examples 117 and 118), and on the presence of other markers in the phrase. In examples 119 and 120, both clauses begin with connectives, so both might be regarded as foreground. Since each sentence is already marked with an initial sentential connective, *âsay mîna* in this context is clausal, connecting events within the sentence.

119. *êkwah* awah wâkayôs sipwêhtêw, *âsay mînah* ê-ntonawât wîstâwah.
Then Grizzly set out to look again for his brother-in-law.
S100-30
120. *kîtahtawê* êh-pa-pimipahtât, *âsay mîna* kisiwâk askôk.
Presently, as he ran on and on, again he was close upon his heels.
S168-35

5.614 *mîna âsay*

Even though *âsay mîna* appears to be a frozen phrase, it is still possible to find examples in which the order of elements is reversed. Example 121, from a narrative by Coming Day, is the only one I have located. Since examples of this type are so rare, it seems likely that this may be the result of a chance juxtaposition, in which the two individual particles function independently.

121. pôtîh ôsisimah *mîna âsay* misikitisiyiwa, êh-otinât, ê-wiy-ocêmât ôsisimah.
There he beheld also his grandson, who by now was quite a lad; he took him and kissed him again and again.
S129-51

Examples 122 and 123 are among the very few sentences from Louis Moosomin in which the particle string *mîna sâsay* occurs. Here again, chance juxtaposition of the individual elements seems likely:

122. tâpwê *mîna sâsay* osihtâwak ôma mâna itah kê-pimâcihâcik.
Accordingly, again they built that in which they always revived him.
S248-11
123. kayahtê piko *mîna sâsay* kê-wâpamât, êh-âpahkawisit ôhi oskinîkiwah kê-kîh-wâpamât.
Again she saw, when she came to, that youth whom she had seen.
S244-13

5.62 *êkwa mîna*

There are fewer than twenty examples of the phrase *êkwa mîna* ‘then again’ in the *Sacred Stories*. Since the phrase incorporates the particle *êkwa* whose overall tendency is to appear initially in the sentence or the phrase, and also includes *mîna*, which most commonly follows some other form; and, since the phrase functions in most of the same ways as *êkwa* on its own, it is impossible to judge whether this is truly a frozen compound or simply the juxtaposition of two very common elements. In Bloomfield’s translations, the phrase sometimes appears as ‘then’, and sometimes as ‘again’, though, as we have already noted, each of these particles individually disappears in translation with some regularity.

In examples 124 and 125, sentential *êkwa mîna* appears preceding another connective (*kîtahtawê* ‘presently’), before a noun (*sîpiy* ‘river’), before a locative particle (*ispimihk* ‘above’), and before a conjunct verb (*êh-wâpaniyik* ‘when it was morning’). In each of these examples, the clause enclosed in curly brackets seems to be background to events in the following main clause. This parallels the usage of *êkwa* outlined in section 4.112.

124. *êkwah minah* {*kîtahtawê êh-ay-itâpit ana kê-nayômiht awâsis,*} “namoya kikâwînaw, nistêsê! kiyâm sôhkih tapasîtân!” itêw.
Then presently when again that child looked about, who was being borne by the other, “It is not our mother, big brother! Let us flee with all our might!” he told him.
S9-16
125. *êkwah mîna* {*sîpiy kit-ôh-ôsihtât kê-kîh-miyikot ôhtâwiya*} ôtêh nîkân piscih isiwêpinam.
Then that which his father had given him that he might make a river, he threw it, by mistake, on ahead.
S9-30

In 126 and 127, the main clause (which follows the subordinate clause marked with curly brackets), begins with a clausal connective, and thus

may mark a resumption of the foreground suggested sentence-initially by *êkwa mîna*:

126. *êkwah mîna* {ispimihk êh-kipahahk wîkiwâw}, *âsay mîna* ôma wîhkway pôskosam, kontah kê-kitôyit ômîcaskosîsah, konta mîna kê-sâkôwât, êh-nôcihât.
Again he closed up their lodge at the top, and again he cut open a bladder, and the place was filled with the twittering of swallows, as he whooped and yelled and gave them chase.
S182-03
127. *êkwa mîna* {êh-wâpaniyik}, *êkwah* mihkwêkinos ôma êh-tâpiskahâcik kahkiyaw ôhi misatimwah, otêma ôhi nâpêstimwah pêyakotâs iyikohk êh-tâpiskahât.
Then, the next morning, they tied pieces of red cloth round the necks of all the horses, and he tied a garment's length round the neck of his own steed.
S266-34

5.621 Inverted *êkwa mîna*

êkwa mîna can also be found inverted away from sentence-initial position in particle strings. Presumably the absence of other inverted examples is the result of overall infrequency of the phrase in the texts. In example 128, the initial particle is the compound *êkotah ohci* 'therefore'; 129 includes the locative particle *êkotê* 'there', and the demonstrative pronoun *awa* 'that':

128. *êkotah ohci êkwah mîna* nika-kîwôtânân.
Then we shall be off visiting again.
S237-04
129. *êkotêh awah êkwah mînah* kâkikê pimiwitâw owâsaskotênikan; nama wîhkâc nakatam.
There he then always carried his lamp with him; he never left it.
S341-20

êkwa mîna also appears at the beginning of non-initial phrases as a clausal connective. In example 130 it provides a clausal connection between the two conjunct verbs (*ê-kîsi-mîcisocik* 'when they had eaten' and *êh-kaskikwâsot* 'when she sewed').

130. ê-kîsi-mîcisocik, *êkwah mîna* [êh-kaskikwâsot, mistahîs êh-tipiskâyik], kîsihtâw ayôwinisah, *êkwa mîn* âwa oskinîkiw êh-postayôwinisêt, awa wiy iskwêw êh-ay-atoskâtahk owiyâsima.
When they had eaten, and again she sewed, then, when it was quite dark, she finished the garments, and the youth put them on, while the woman went on preparing the stores of meat.
S165-41

In example 131, the sentence is already marked for cohesion with sentence-initial *êkwa*, and *êkwa mîna* might be either a clausal connective or a reiteration of the initial connective.

131. êkwah ê-kîh-nipahât, *êkwah mîna* nitonam itah êh-pimohtêyit osîma.
And when she had killed him, then again she looked for where her sister had gone.
S319-40

5.63 *mâka mîna*

In the sense that *mâka mîna* refers to repetition of previously established or habitual actions, we shall consider it to be cohesive; semantically, however, it seems in itself to indicate background rather than foreground information. *mâka mîna* seems an odd choice for the opening of a text, where it appears in examples 132 to 134. In each, it refers to Wisahketchahk and the general presupposition that he was always hungry. Here the context which permits the resolution of this phrase (in spite of its location at the beginning of a story) is a general knowledge of Wisahketchahk and his stories, a constant in the story-teller's universe. In these cases, alternative English glosses for the connective compound might be 'but of course', or 'as you all know'.

132. *mâka mîna* nôhtêhkatêw.
As usual, he was hungry.
S53-04
133. kêtahtawê pimohtêw wîsahkêcêhk; *mâka mînah* nôhtêhkatêw.
Once upon a time Wisahketchahk was walking along; as usual, he was hungry.
S32-02

134. kîtahtawê êh-pimohtêt wîsahkêcâhk, – nohtêhkatêw *mâka mîna*, – êh-pimohtêt,
kâ-wâpamât sîsîpah, êkwah niskah mihcêt, sîsîpah.
Once upon a time, as Wisahketchahk was tramping along – as usual he was hungry –
as he was tramping along, he saw some ducks and many geese, and ducks.
S34-02

Example 135 shows a similar occurrence in the Student Stories:

135. *mâka mîna* êsa pêyakwâw pa-pimohtêw, mitoni nôhtêhkatêw, ma kîkway êsa kî-
miskam, wahwâ, ahpô êsa nama kîkway mînisa.
Once again he was walking along, he was really hungry, he couldn't find anything [to
eat], oh my, not even any berries.
K7-4

Examples 132 to 134 show the phrase *mâka mîna* exemplifying the three major functional types. In 132 it appears as an initial sentential connective. In 134, where it appears as an inverted sentential connective, the phrase occurs within the narrator's apparent self-interruption.

Example 136, in which *mâka mîna* follows the quantitative particle *mistahi* 'much' is more typical:

136. *mistahi mâka mîna* môhcôhkâsôw.
Of course [as usual] he carried on in a crazy way.
S43-40

In 133, *mâka mîna* follows a semicolon, a situation which has been taken to be sentential. Example 137 is more clearly clausal:

137. mayaw êh-atih-pimipayit awa iskwêw, *mâka mîna* êh-kwêskimot, sêmâk
otâwîsitânihk kisisin.
As soon as the woman dashed along, changing, as always, her bodily form, at once
she ran a sliver into her sole.
S63-33

6: Other temporal connectives

6.1 Other temporal connectives

The sections which follow resemble the lists of Howse, Lacombe, *et al.*, but attempt to go beyond mere listing in two ways: first, each entry will be discussed in the context of the observations about *êkwa* and *mîna* outlined in sections 4 and 5. Second, all of the particles will be illustrated with textual examples from Bloomfield's *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*. The primary characteristic shared by the connectives discussed in this section is their rôle in narrative cohesion, providing explicit temporal links between narrative events.

6.2 Cohesion revisited

As we defined it in Section 3 (following Grimes) cohesion is a system which:

relate[s] what is being said at the moment to what has already been said. ... It has to do with the means of introducing new information and of keeping track of old information, rather than with what the content of the new and old information actually is. (1975:113)

While *êkwa* and *mîna* are by far the most common connectives marking cohesion in the *Sacred Stories*, subsequence and repetition are only two of the many different kinds of cohesion which are found in narrative. Many other particles provide different kinds of narrative linkage while behaving syntactically in much the same way as *êkwa* and

mîna. *ayis* ‘because’ and *âta* ‘although’, for example, provide logical links between actions in narrative. In order to limit the scope of this study, however, logical relations have been set aside for the present in favour of temporal ones.

6.3 Temporal connectives

Sections 7 to 12 will be limited to those connective particles whose function within narrative is to indicate temporal cohesion. For example, connectives like *kêtahtawê* ‘presently, one time’ may mark an interruption in the time line, and resumption after indefinite time lapse. *pêskis* ‘at the same time’ and *mêkwâc* ‘meanwhile’ mark events as concurrent. *âsay* ‘already’ may indicate events previously completed in the background. These connectives exemplify the diversity of temporal relations that exist between narrative events. As discussed in section 3.1, connectives are not essential, but when they are present they provide an explicit link, offering the reader or listener a key to the manner in which events in a narrative are connected.

The list of particles discussed here is far from exhaustive, even within the realm of temporal cohesion. I have chosen the particles whose function most closely resembles that of the prototypes, *êkwa* and *mîna*.

6.4 Adverbial vs conjunctive connectives

In the following sentences, connectives function as adverbials: isolated sentential components without which the sentence would still stand.

Other connectives function conjunctively, acting as a tightly integrated part of the clause. In some cases, as with *êkwa* and *mîna*, it appears that

individual connectives may serve both functions. The same is true of English, as we may illustrate with the following examples. In 139(a) and (b), the function of *yesterday* is adverbial regardless of its position in the sentence:

139. (a) I saw him yesterday.
 (b) Yesterday I saw him.

In example 140, *once* is adverbial in (a), but conjunctive in (b). The conjunctive connective, in English and in Cree, requires linkage with another clause.

140. (a) I saw him once.
 (b) Once I saw him, I was sure he was guilty.

One example (among many others) of a Cree connective whose function is typically adverbial is *kayâs*, 'long ago'.

141. *kayâs kîtahtawê – êkwah nitâtayôhkân – kîtahtawê yâhkih pêyak nâpêw
 pêyakokamikisiw, wîwa êkwah nîs ôtawâsimisah.*
 Once upon a time, long ago – I am now telling a sacred story – once upon a time, of
 old, a certain man dwelt in a lone lodge with his wife and his two children.
 S8-2

In contrast, a Cree connective whose function is typically conjunctive is *mayaw* 'as soon as'.

142. *mayaw ê-sipwêhtêyit wîwa, oskotâkayiw otinam, êh-postiskahk.*
 As soon as his wife had gone, he took her skirt and put it on.
 S8-20
143. *â, âsay mîna mayaw êh-wâpaniyik, sipwêhtêwak, ê-kîh-mîcisocik.*
 Again, as soon as day had dawned, they set out, having eaten.
 S244-36

Keeping these distinctions in mind, we will now turn to the individual temporal connectives. The groupings and the labels suggested are an attempt to deal with some of their semantic characteristics.

7: Punctual

7.1 *anohc* and *kayâs*

I have chosen the label *punctual* to describe the group of temporal connectives which includes *anohc* ‘now’, and *kayâs* ‘long ago’. Of all the categories, this is the one with the greatest potential number of members, since the number of punctual adverbials in Cree (as in English) is infinite, including everything from *yesterday* to *next week* to *the 11th of September three years from now*. Both *anohc* and *kayâs* are fairly common within the *Sacred Stories*, and fundamental to the study of temporal connectives.

7.2 *anohc*

All examples of *anohc* ‘today, now’ appear in quoted speech, reflecting the time frame of the speaker rather than that of the narrator. While *anohc* tends to re-set the time frame, it can be considered to mark cohesion within narrative in the sense of marking a time relation. It does not necessarily imply any other linkage, and seems to behave adverbially, like *kayâs* in section 6.4.

7.21 Sentential *anohc*

Examples 144 to 146 show examples of *anohc* functioning at the sentential level (both initially and in inverted position) and at the clausal level:

144. “*anohc* nama kêkway nimîcison nîsta,” itwêw wâkayôs.
“At present I too have nothing to eat,” said Grizzly.
S99-22
145. â, wîhtam: “kika-picinânaw *anohc*.”
Then he announced it: “We shall move camp today.”
S286-44
146. “pêyâhtik nitohtawin,” itêw; “kayâs kê-wanihat kikosis, *anohc* niwâpamâw. [...]”
“Listen carefully to me,” he told him; “Your son whom long ago you lost I have
seen but now. [...]”
S265-46

In examples 147 and 148, *anohc* and *êkwa* are juxtaposed, emphasizing the immediacy of the actions. Example 148 is the only occurrence in the *Sacred Stories* of *anohc* inverted to follow another connective. It, in turn, is followed by *êkwa*.

147. “*anohc êkwah* ôhcitaw kika-kitosin!” itêyihitam êsa mâka mîna wîsahkêcâhk.
“Now today I will see to it that you talk to me!” thought Wisahketchahk as before.
S41-44
148. “nisto! *êkwah anohc êkwah* nik-ohpîn.”
“Three! Now this time I shall jump.”
S21-25

7.22 *anohc* with other temporal expressions

In examples 149 to 152 *anohc* is qualified by another temporal expression. In each of these, *anohc* refers not to the present, but to a time frame in the immediate future:

‘this coming day’:²¹

149. “nimosô, kipê-nâtitin, êh-mêtawiyân *anohc kê-kîsikâk!*” itêw.
“Grandfather, I have come to fetch you, for I am engaging in a contest this day!” he
said to it.
S202-32

21. *anohc kê-kîsikâk* is a very common phrase, usually glossed ‘today’.

‘this coming night’:

150. ômis îtwêwak: “*anohc ôma k-ôtâkosik* ôtah ta-kapêsiw nôhtâwiyinân, êh-pêy-ispiciyâhk oma, mistah êh-nôhtêhkatêhk; mâka ê-kiskêyihahk nôhtâwiy ôm ôtah êh-ayâyin, nîstâh, k-ô-pêy-ispiciyâhk.
They spoke as follows: “Today, at nightfall, our father will camp here, for we are moving camp to this place, on account of great famine; because our father knew, after all, that you were here, brother-in-law, is why we are moving camp this way.
S129-28

‘this coming spring’:

151. “wîpac êkwa kitah-wayawîn,” itik êsah; “kôhtâwiy, *anohc kê-wîh-nîpihk*, kêkâc mêstihkasocih kônah, êkospih nika-nipahik,” itik êsah; “êkotah sêmâk wayawîhkan.”
“Soon now you will go outside,” he must have told him; “Your father, this coming spring, when the last of the snow is about to melt away, then your father will kill me,” he must have told him; “then at once do you go outside.”
S254-10

Another example, presented earlier, might similarly be interpreted as

‘this coming time, this next time’, since context indicates that

Wisahketchahk intends to jump on his fourth attempt:

152. “nisto! *êkwah anohc êkwah* nik-ohpîn.”
“Three! Now this [next] time I shall jump.”
S21-25

7.3 *kayâs*

kayâs ‘long ago’ commonly refers to an earlier time. It behaves adverbially, as an isolated non-essential element in the sentence. While it shares with *kêtahtawê* and *anohc* a sense of resetting the time frame (in this case, moving backwards along the line of time), it does not necessarily mark a linkage. It appears quite commonly at the beginning of texts, locating them in some indefinite point in the past. *kayâs* appears at the beginning both of sentences and of clauses, but appears more often clausally than sententially.

7.31 Sentential *kayâs*

Of the few sentence-initial occurrences, most refer to ‘long ago’ in the historical sense:

153. *kayâs* êsah nêhiyawak, misâw ôtênaw; wîkiwâwa întaw-mîkiwahpah.
Among the people of old there was a large town; their houses were ordinary lodges of skin.
S66-02
154. *kayâs* ayîsiyiniwak ômisi kîh-pakitinikôwisiwak: kahkiyaw kêkway kîh-kitimâkêyimikwak, tahtoh kêkway kâ-wâpahtamihk, mîna êkâ kâ-wâpahtamoht.
Of old men were placed here on earth by the Powers in this wise: they were pitied and befriended by every kind of thing, by as many things as are seen, and by the things that are invisible.
S253-02

7.32 Inverted sentential *kayâs*

Examples 155 and 156 show *kayâs* in inverted sentential position.

155. ayisk *kayâs* kih-ayîsiyiniwiwak; osâm kahkiyaw kêkwayih êh-wîcihikôwiscik, êyak ôhci k-ôh-îspayik.
For of old they had human form; because by all the Higher Powers they were aided is why it could happen so.
S246-18
156. âta *kayâs* êh-kîh-pimohtêyit, mâka miyo-mitihtêw.
Although it was a long time since they had passed, yet he trailed them with ease.
S323-16

7.4 *kayâs* in quoted speech

In quoted speech, sentence-initial *kayâs* usually refers to a more immediate time frame:

157. “*kayâs* kîksêp êsah kî-sipwêhtêw ninahâhkisîm, êh-nâtât mostoswah,” êh-itwêt awa kisêyiniw.
‘Early in the morning, I hear, my son-in-law went out to fetch buffalo,’ said the old man.
S108-08

It may also appear in inverted position in quoted speech, where it refers to the time frame of the speaker’s life:

158. “ôtah *kayâs* ê-kih-pahkwêkahamân nisit,” itik êsah.
 “It is because of old in this place I chopped off my foot,” the other told him.
 S42-09

7.5 Clausal *kayâs*

kayâs refers to historical time in the narrative example (159), and to the story’s time frame when used in quoted speech, (160).

159. pâyak ôtênaw êh-misâk, *kayâs* êsa êh-môtocik.
 There was a certain large town, of old, when, as we are told, they ate each other.
 S142-02
160. “êha’,” itwêw awoh [sic] oskinîkiw; omisi itwêw: “ayisk namoya kiyipah kitakohtân, *kayâs* êh-takohtêyin ta-kî-kisâtaman sêmâk,” itêw; “kontah kikîh-kâh-kîwân,” itêw.
 “Yes,” said the youth; “For indeed, not promptly have you come, seeing that you might have stayed at once, when long ago you arrived,” he told her; “Needlessly you have been going back and forth,” he told her.
 S223-11

8: Consecutive

8.1 *mayaw* and *sêmâk*

In spite of the semantic overlap, *mayaw* and *sêmâk* differ syntactically. While both mark consecutive events, *mayaw* ‘as soon as’ (as already identified in Chapter 6) is conjunctive, whereas *sêmâk* ‘right away’ is adverbial.

8.2 *mayaw*

8.21 Sentential *mayaw*

mayaw ‘as soon as’ behaves conjunctively at both the sentential and the clausal level. In sentence-initial position it creates a link with previous events, often marking the completion of actions reported outside the sentence (as in example 161). Since it is conjunctive, it demands the presence of an additional clause in the sentence, which usually presents foreground information. A typical outline for examples with sentential *mayaw* is ‘As soon as x, y.’ The information in the clause with *mayaw* is background.

161. “wâhyaw nik-isi-mâcîn,” itêw; “mâka kiya kika-nâtên wiyâsah,” itêw wîwa.
“I have been far off to hunt,” he told her; “But you, you are to fetch the meat,” he told his wife.

S8-17

...

mayaw ê-sipwêhtêyit wîwa, oskotâkayiw otinam, êh-postiskahk.
As soon as his wife had gone, he took her skirt and put it on.

S8-20

162. *mayaw êh-nipâyit*, awa oskinîkiw nîhtinam kahkiyaw otayôwinisah.
As soon as the other slept, the youth took down all of his own garments.
S11-43

8.22 Inverted *mayaw*

The appearance of *mayaw* in the place of an inverted sentential connective appears to be incidental, since *mayaw* maintains its connection within the clause always preceding a conjunct verb. It always marks the beginning of a subordinate phrase (indicated with italics) which intervenes between the preceding particles (which are foreground markers) and the remainder of the clause to which they refer.

163. êkwah *mayaw ê-wâpahtahk*, wâpamik kâhk-wâskwahikanah, kijiwa.
As soon as he saw it, he was seen by the creature which held together the tips of the tent-poles, an eagle.
S196-01
164. â, âsay mîna *mayaw êh-wâpaniyik*, sipwêhtêwak, ê-kîh-mîcisocik.
Again, as soon as day had dawned, they set out, having eaten.
S244-36
165. êyoko mîna *mayaw êh-otihahkik ôki mostoswak*, êyoko mîna otamiyiwak.
As soon as the buffalo came to it, over it, too, they delayed.
S325-24

8.23 Clausal *mayaw*

When it appears at the head of a non-initial clause, *mayaw* marks the completion of actions within the sentence:

166. êkosi ê-sipwêpahtât, *mayaw êh-âkawêwêt*, tapasiyiwa.
Then, when he ran off, as soon as he was round a bend, the other fled.
S168-25
167. êkwah kîtahtawê, *mayaw êh-at-îspi-kîsikâyik*, kâ-wâpahtahk.
Presently, just as the day had reached noon, she saw the place.
S239-04

8.24 Quoted *mayaw*

In examples 168 and 169, *mayaw* appears with delayed imperatives, indicating a condition to be met before the imperative is obeyed. Of course, imperatives in narrative must be part of quoted speech:

168. " hâw, ntêskan, wêpahwâhkan awa cacêmâpicis wâkayôs! wêpahwâhkan, *mayaw* waskawîcih ôtah ohci.
 "No, my Horn, be ready to toss this stubby-tooth bear! Toss him as soon as he stirs from this spot.
 S49-43
169. 'kiyah êcik ôma, nôhtâh! ' itâhkan, *mayaw* wâpamacih; ' nôhtâh, nêwo-tipiskâw namoya ayîsiyiniw nika-wâpamik, iskwêwak têpiyâk.
 'And so it is you, my father!' do you then say to him, as soon as you see him; 'My father, for four nights let people not see me, women at least.
 S254-13

mayaw may also mark a condition for the completion of future events:

170. "êkosi kika-nipahik, *mayaw* waskawiyani!"
 "So then, he will kill you, as soon as you budge!"
 S50-03

8.3 *sêmâk*

8.31 Sentential *sêmâk*

In sentence initial position in narrative, *sêmâk* 'at once, right away' marks an event as immediately contiguous to whatever was previously reported. Whereas *mayaw* always appears in a subordinate clause, providing background information and connecting clauses, *sêmâk* is adverbial, usually marking a main clause as foreground (as in 171), or a single clause sentence (as in 172).

171. *sêmâk* otinamiyiwah omaskisinah, ê-kêtaskisinênikot, kotakah ê-wîh-postaskisinahikot, êkwah ê-kâsîcihcênikot, êh-kâsîhkwênikot.
 Without delay she took off his moccasins and put others on his feet, and she washed his hands and face.
 S58-12b

172. *sêmâk* kont îtê itakociniyiwa.
At once it went speeding in every direction through the air.
S74-01

8.32 Inverted *sêmâk*

In inverted position, *sêmâk* seems to behave much like inverted *êkwa* relating the sentence to previous and following narrative. In example 173, it follows another connective; in 174 it follows the verb. In 175 it follows the noun phrase plus the verb. One might argue of example 173 that the cohesion is provided by *êkosi* ‘thus’, and that *sêmâk* here is really adverbial. In 174 and 175, however, it does not seem possible to judge whether the *sêmâk* is simply adverbial or whether it implies linkage.

173. *êkosi sêmâk* tit-ôtinam nistikwân, t-âti-wayawîhtatât.
Then at once he will take my head with him out of the lodge.
S147-22
174. kisiwâsiw *sêmâk*.
At once he grew angry.
S341-36
175. nîso nâpêsisah ayâwêw *sêmâk*, nîsôtêwa.
Even then and no later, she had two boys, twins.
S62-12

8.33 Clausal *sêmâk*

At the beginning of a non-initial clause, *sêmâk* provides a structural link between contiguous events within the sentence. In the following examples, the appearance of *sêmâk* marks the clause as foreground: the preceding clause, which frequently includes (or consists of) a conjunct verb, is usually background:

176. "heh! êkosi kê-kîh-îtitân: misawâc ki-waskawiyin [sic], *sêmâk* ka-kîh-nipahikoh awa nitêskan!"
 "Heh! That is what I told you: certainly, if you had budged, at once this Horn of mine would have killed you!"
 S50-08
177. êkwah kisiwâk wîkiwâhk kê-pih-nipahihtwâwi ôki maskosisak, *sêmâk* awa iskwêw kisiwâsiw êsah.
 Then when, close to the lodge those bear-cubs were killed, at once that woman grew angry.
 S62-26
178. êh-pîhtokêt, *sêmâk* wâpamêw ôh ôskinîkiskwêwa êh-omisimâwiyit; kiskêyih tam êh-pakwâtikot, êh-wînêyimikot êyôkonih.
 When he entered, at once he saw the elder of the young woman; he knew that she disliked him, that she thought him disgusting.
 S107-10
179. êh-takohtêcik, ê-pîhtokahât, *sêmâk* awa kisêyiniw ntomêw ôsisimah, êh-oy-ocêmât.
 When they arrived, and she took him into the house, at once the old man called his grandson, and kissed him repeatedly.
 S130-37

8.34 *sêmâk* and *mayaw*

The presence of *mayaw* in the first clause with *sêmâk* at the beginning of the main clause supports the notion of the two forms contrasting background and foreground. In examples 180 and 181, *sêmâk* balances *mayaw* (which is part of the subordinate clause), always appearing in the main clause:

180. êkwah tâpwê *mayaw* ê-sipwêhtêyit awa, *sêmâk* itohtêw awa oskinîkiw, ôhtâwiyah êh-ntawâpamât mîna okâwiya.
 Then, as soon as she had departed, the young man came to see his father and mother.
 S63-19
181. *mayaw* êh-atih-pimipayit awa iskwêw, mâka mîna êh-kwêskimot, *sêmâk* otâwisitânihk kisisin.
 As soon as the woman dashed along, changing, as always, her bodily form, at once she ran a sliver into her sole.
 S63-33

9: Interruptive

9.1 *kêtahtawê*

Bloomfield most often glosses *kêtahtawê*²² as ‘presently’, ‘all of a sudden’ and ‘once upon a time’, indicating that this connective serves to advance the time frame in narrative. One might even argue that *kêtahtawê* marks the opposite of cohesion, since it indicates an interruption in the time frame rather than a continuation. Since the most obvious place for setting a new time frame is at the beginning of a narrative, perhaps it is not surprising that in the *Sacred Stories*, twenty-two of the thirty-six texts have this form as the first word.²³

Examples 182 to 184 are typical story openings:

182. *kêtahtawê* pimohtêw wîsahkêcâhk; mâka mînah nôhtêhkatêw.
Once upon a time Wisahketchahk was walking along; as usual, he was hungry.
S32-02

22. Both *kêtahtawê* and the variant form *kîtahtawê* appear in the *Sacred Stories*, with *kîtahtawê* occurring almost six times as often as *kêtahtawê*. The appearance of both forms within a single text indicates that they vary freely. In the Vandall-Douquette texts, and in the *Student Stories*, only *kêtahtawê* appears (more likely an indication of editorial preference than the disappearance of the variant form). Examples of both forms will be used here, since there is no apparent difference in their use.

23. It must also be noted that some texts (for example, text 34), appear to be continuations of earlier narrations which may have been interrupted for whatever reasons either by the narrator, or by Bloomfield himself. It seems likely that he may have decided to reinterpret story boundaries (when he had more than one version), to coincide with the boundaries given by another narrator. As well, the table of contents suggests that effort was made to have duplicate stories placed side by side in the edition, and this may also have resulted in reinterpreted boundaries.

183. *kîtahtawê sipwêhtêw wîsahkêcâhk.*
Once upon a time Wisahketchahk set out.
S20-02
184. *kîtahtawê êh-pimohtêt wîsahkêcâhk, – nohtêhkatêw mâka mîna, – êh-pimohtêt,
kâ-wâpamât sîsîpah, êkwah niskah mihcêt, sîsîpah.*
Once upon a time, as Wisahketchahk was tramping along - as usual he was hungry -
as he was tramping along, he saw some ducks and many geese, and ducks.
S34-02

Eight of the remaining texts present some prefatory information, from one sentence to four paragraphs in length, before truly launching the narrative with *kêtahtawê*. In two cases, this involves presenting the cast of characters; in examples 185 and 186, *kêtahtawê* follows the narrator's statement that he or she intends to tell a story:

185. *êkwah kotak.*
Now another story.
S218-02

kîtahtawê êsah nôtokêsiw otânisah wîkimêw.
Once upon a time an old woman dwelt with her daughter.
S218-03

186. *êkwah nik-âtayôhkân.*
Now I shall tell a sacred story.
S253-06

*kîtahtawê yâhkih pêyak nâpêw pêyakoyiwa otawâsimisah, êkwah mistah êsah
êh-kitimâkêyimât, mîna êh-miyo-pamihât.*
Once upon a time, long ago, a certain man had one child, and it seems that he dearly
loved him and took care of him.
S253-08

9.2 Sentential *kêtahtawê*

The story openings described above account for only a small percentage of the occurrences of *kêtahtawê*. The vast majority of occurrences appear elsewhere in the narrative in sentence-initial position, and indicate an interruption in a steady state, or a sudden change to a new time frame within a text where new events are brought to the foreground. Examples

187 to 189 are typical:

187. *kêtahtawê* kâ-pah-pitihkohtiniyik kîkwa.
Presently some things were falling with a repeated thud.
S69-32
188. *kêtahtawê* êh-itâpit, kâ-pê-pâh-pahkisiniyit.
[Presently] When he looked in that direction, there came someone falling.
S90-09
189. *kîtahtawê* kinwêsk êkwah itah êh-ayâcik, *kîtahtawê* nama wiyah wîh-mâcîw aw
oskinîkiw, pêyakwanohk êh-apit.
Then at one time, when they had long dwelt there, then presently the youth did not
care to hunt, but sat still in one place.
S146-05

Depending upon the context, the amount of “actual” time elapsed is infinitely variable. In example 190, sufficient time has passed to allow a baby to grow up:

190. *kîtahtawê* êkwah, kinwêsk itah êh-ayât êkwah, osîmisah êkwah misikitiyiwa.
Then in time, when she had been there a long while, her brother grew larger.
S143-27

In example 191, which shows the elements *kêtahtawê* inverted to non-initial position after *êkwa*, the lapse represents the time between rocking a baby and its beginning to cry:

191. *êkwah kîtahtawê* kinwêsk êh-wâ-wêwêpitôt, *kîtahtawê* mah-mâtôyiwa.
Then presently, when for a long time he had rocked the babe, it began to cry.
S245-19

9.3 Inverted *kêtahtawê*

When it is inverted to non-initial position, *kêtahtawê* always follows another connective particle. Interestingly, while *kêtahtawê* and *êkwa* appear together in either order, no examples can be located in the *Sacred Stories* where the connective phrases shown in examples 192 to 193 appear in the opposite order.

192. *êkosi kêtawê* sâkahikan otihtamwak; namwâc askiy nôkwaniyw itêh
ka-wiy-itohtâyit pêyak wîmosah.
Thus presently they came to a lake; no land was visible there whither one of his
sweethearts was headed.
S88-01
193. *kayâs kêtawê* – êkwah nitâtayôhkân – kêtawê yâhkih pêyak nâpêw
pêyakokamikisiw, wîwa êkwah nîs ôtawâsimisah.
Once upon a time, long ago - I am now telling a sacred story - once upon a time, of
old, a certain man dwelt in a lone lodge with his wife and his two children.
S8-02
194. *piyisk kêtawê* êkwah âhkosiw aw îskwêw, ê-wîh-wâpamât awâsisah.
Then in time the woman fell ill, as she was about to see her child.
S148-38
195. *tâpwê kêtawê* êh-kîsikâyik, “nôsisê, niwîh-papâmohtân,” itêw, “êh-ntonamân mâna
ta-mîciyân,” itêw, “mîna âskaw êh-itohtâyân ôtê oskinîkiwak êh-wîkîcik wâhyawês,”
itik.
And really, when day came, “Grandson, I am going to walk about,” she told him, “to
look for things to eat,” she told him, “and to go, as I do from time to time, to where
some young men live, not very far from here,” she told him.
S181-07

9.4 Clausal *kêtawê*

At the beginning of a non-initial phrase, *kêtawê* functions as a clausal connective, indicating an interruption of the time frame and action of the earlier phrase or phrases. The evidence for this is not overt in all cases (cf. example 198 below), however, in examples 196 and 197, this interpretation is supported by the appearance of *êkwa* in the initial phrases:

196. wâhyaw *êkwah* ê-ihâtâcîk, *kêtawê* nakiyiwah.
Then when they had gone a long ways, presently the women stopped.
S83-11
197. *êkwah* awa iskwêw, *kêtawê* tôhkâpîmakan ômah pîsisik mistikwânîs.
And that woman, that severed head presently opened its eyes.
S8-41
198. *aspin* pikoh êh-nipât, *kêtawê* kâ-koskoskonîkot.
Hardly had he gone to sleep, when suddenly the other shook him awake.
S54-19b

Less commonly, *kêtawê* refers to some unspecified future time:

199. "mâskôc *kîtahtawê* namoya nka-takohtânân, êkotah ta-mîciyâhk," itwêw awa nâpêsis k-ôsamîcônîsit.
 "Perhaps some time we shall not get home; let us have food to eat off there," said the boy who was a prattler.
 S284-13

9.5 *kêtahtawê* in quoted speech

Clearly, *kêtahtawê* is linked semantically to the foreground of narrative, so the six occurrences in quoted speech are unexpected. In this context, they seem to indicate a sudden change in behaviour rather than a sudden change in time frame. Just as *kêtahtawê* in narrative brings new events to the foreground by marking a sudden change in the pre-existing scene, a pre-existing state or accustomed pattern of behaviour changes suddenly in the following examples from quoted discourse.

The contrast in usage between narrative and quoted speech is paralleled by several other particles, such as *tâpwê* 'truly', which confirms predicted events in narrative, but acts as a verbal modifier in quoted speech. Example 200 shows *kêtahtawê* inverted into fourth position in the sentence, following the noun phrase *êwakonik aniki kitôtêmak* 'those, your relatives'.

200. "hâh," ômis itwêw; "*kîtahtawê* wâ-wîpac kêkway niwâh-wani-kiskisin," itwêw.
 "Why," he said, "my memory has become very short, all of a sudden."
 S43-22
201. mistahi *kîtahtawê* kimôhcôwin!"
 You are acting very crazily, all of a sudden!"
 S43-11
202. êwakonik aniki kitôtêmak *kîtahtawê* mâna ka-pîhtokêtîsinahkik mînisâpoyah êkwah ayôwinisah, êh-miyihcik kiwîkimâkan," k-êtîkot.
 It is they, your kinsfolk, who ever from time to time are sending into his lodge cookings of berries, and clothing, gifts which your husband and his family receive," the other told her.
 S179-24

The situation in the Vandall-Douquette texts is somewhat less

obvious, since in a number of the texts what appears to be quoted speech is actually narrative within narrative. In these examples, *kêtahtawê* still shows a change in time frame:

203. “*kêtahtawê* kê-wâpamât kinêpikwa ê-ati-sipwêtâcimopahtâyit,” itwêw, “pôti awa ayîkisa k-âti-tahkwamât ana aya, kinêpik ana,” itwêw.
 “All at once he saw a snake slithering away,” he said, “and this snake had a frog in his mouth,” he said.
 PV5-11

In at least one example from the Vandall-Douquette texts, however, we see a change in state, as opposed to a change in time frame, in an example of quoted dialogue:

204. “nikiskêyihên *kêtahtawê* ê-wî-nôkosiyân,” itwêw.
 “I knew, suddenly, that I was going to be born,” he said.
 PV7-4

9.6 *kêtahtawê* vs *pêyawkwâw*

Although *kêtahtawê* is used in the sense of ‘suddenly’ to mark elapsed time throughout the Vandall-Douquette texts (as in the *Student Stories*), it seldom appears at the beginning of the texts. Instead, *pêyawkwâw* appears to have taken its place. In the *Sacred Stories*, *pêyawkwâw* ‘once’ is never used in the sense of ‘once upon a time’ – this function is performed entirely by *kêtahtawê*. In the *Sacred Stories*, *pêyawkwâw* is used strictly as a numeral, counting a single occurrence of an action:

205. “kiyâm êkos âna *pêyawkwâw* mîna nika-wîcêwâw,” itwêw awa nâpêw.
 “Never mind, I shall simply take him with me again,” said the man.
 S247-25
206. “*pêyawkwâw!*” itik.
 “Once more!” the other said to him.
 S122-39
207. *pêyawkwâw* pikoh kika-nipân.
 Only once will you sleep on the way.
 S265-07

208. âsay misikitiw aw âtim, *pêyakwâw* êh-mîcisot.
At once the dog grew big, when he had eaten that single meal.
S199-15
209. “mahti *pêyakwâw* âsay mîna!” itêyhtam awa kisêyiniw.
“Let me try once more!” thought the old man.
S11-35

By contrast, four of the *Student Stories* open either with *pêyakwâw* as the first word, or in the first truly narrative sentence – in these examples, it takes on the character of the English fairy-tale opening, ‘Once upon a time’. What this might suggest is that between 1925 (when Bloomfield collected the *Sacred Stories*) and 1985 (when the *Student Stories* were published), there has been some divergence in meaning of *pêyakwâw* which has broadened, and *kêtahtawê*, which may have narrowed, at least for the young, bilingual authors of the *Student Stories*.

210. *pêyakwâw* kayâs êsa pêyak awa nêhiyaw kî-ohpikihêw nîso nâpêsis.
One time long ago there was an Indian who had raised two sons.
K2-1
211. *pêyakwâw* êsa kî-ayâw apisimôsos, mistahi ê-katawasisisit, nawac piko ê-mihkwawêt.
Once there was a deer that was very beautiful, with a reddish coat.
K3-4
212. *pêyakwâw* êsa nâpêsis, ê-wîc-âyâmât ôhkoma.
Once there was a boy who was living with his grandmother.
K4-2
213. *pêyakwâw* êsa ôki nîso awâsisak, ê-papâmi-mêtawêcik sakâhk, iskwêsis êkwa nâpêsis.
Once there were two children playing about in the woods, a girl and a boy.
K5-1

In only one example does *pêyakwâw* appear further on in the narrative. Here it refers to a single indefinite point in time.

Unfortunately, there is no way of determining whether the narrators of the *Sacred Stories* could have used *kêtahtawê* here.

214. *pêyakwâw* ê-kî-tipêyihkik kânâta ôma misiwêskamik k-êspîhcâk nêhiyaw awa,...
At one time the Crees owned Canada, as far as this land extends,...
PV1-7

10: Continuative

10.1 *kêyâpic*, *mêkwâc* and *pêskis*

At least three connectives, *kêyâpic*, *mêkwâc*, and *pêskis*, all imply continuative actions. While *kêyâpic* implies simple continuation, both *mêkwâc* and *pêskis* have the added implication of simultaneity. Whereas *kêyâpic* may appear in a sentence with a single clause, behaving adverbially, the others behave as conjunctions, requiring that the sentence in which they appear have at least two clauses.

10.2 *kêyâpic*²⁴

10.21 Sentential *kêyâpic*

kêyâpic is usually glossed ‘still, yet’, and implies an action that is continued from an earlier narrative event. It appears quite commonly as an initial sentential connective, often in sentences of one clause.

215. êyâpic pêyakwaw kiwîh-mêtawân.
Again [once more] some time you will be engaging in a contest.
S204-39b
216. kêyâpic nama kîh-pihkohôw awa wîsahkêcâhk.
Even yet Wisahketchahk could not get himself free.
S23-12
217. kêyâpic paskwâyiw.
Again he came to open country. [Still the country was prairie.]
S70-22

24. In the *Sacred Stories*, Adam Sakewew uses the variant form *êyâpic* synonymously with *kêyâpic*. Both appear in the examples.

10.22 Inverted *kêyâpic*

kêyâpic also appears in inverted position, in quoted speech and in narrative. In example 218 it follows the particle *kiyâm* ‘oh well’. In 219 and 220, it is inverted to the end, following the verb. In example 220, Bloomfield places the connective ‘still’ at the beginning of his translation in spite of its position at the end of the Cree.

218. “*kiyâm kêyâpic pâyakwâw pimâcihâtân*,” *itwêwak*.
“Let us revive him once more,” they said.
S248-10
219. *pâyak ôhi êkotah apiyiwah kêyâpic*.
One of the others was still there.
S342-27
220. *nama kêh-kîsihêw êyâpic*.
Still she could not finish the hide.
S200-32b

10.23 Clausal *kêyâpic*

There are numerous examples of *kêyâpic* at the beginning of a non-initial clause. In these cases, *kêyâpic* seems to mark the clause as foreground.

221. *ê-wâpaniyik, kêyâpic mistahi mâyi-kîsikâyiw*.
The next morning it was still very stormy weather.
S69-16c
222. *kîksêpâ êh-waniskât awah wacôw-awâsis, kêyâpic nipâyiwah ôhkomah*.
In the morning, when Clotkin got up, his grandmother still slept.
S104-44b

As we have discussed elsewhere (4.212), sentence-initial *êkwa* preceding a conjunct verb may mark the subsequent main clause as foreground. In example 223, *kêyâpic* appears to mark a resumption of foreground, following an extended background description.

223. *êkwah* {êh-mîcisot, kahkiyaw mâna êh-otinahk, ê-saskamot, êtâpicih askihkosihk,}
kêyâpic nîso kiy-astêyiwa.
 [Then] As he ate, whenever he took up the whole contents and put it into his mouth,
 when he looked at the little pot, [still] there lay the two morsels again.
 S121-48b

Example 224 uses inverted *êkwa* along with the connective *êkosi*;
 again, *kêyâpic* appears to mark a resumption of foreground.

224. *êkosi êkwa* ôhi wâkayôsiwayâna ôm ôhci k-ôsâwâyik opîsâkanâpîm âtay ê-sîhkipitât,
 ê-kîsahpitât, *kêyâpic* askêkinôwiwiwa.
 But then, though she stretched that bearskin with he yellow thong, when she had got
 it all tied, it turned back into an undressed skin.
 S200-25

10.3 *mêkwâc*

Bloomfield usually glosses the particle *mêkwâc* as ‘while’ in narrative,
 and as ‘even now’ in quoted speech. It usually marks background.²⁵

10.31 Sentential *mêkwâc*

Sentential *mêkwâc* indicates simultaneity or overlap of an action begun in
 an earlier sentence with new foreground events.

225. *mêkwâc* êkos êh-tôtahk, kîtahtawê kê-takosihk aw oskinîkiw, wîpac kayahî
 kê-wâpamât okâwiya ê-nôcihimiht otihtkomiwiwa.
 While he was doing all this, in time that young man arrived, and at once saw to his
 surprise how his mother’s lice were being hunted down.
 S203-14

10.32 Inverted *mêkwâc*

There are no occurrences of *mêkwâc* as an inverted sentential connective.

25. Since this discussion focuses on free-standing particles, the preverb variant *mêkwa-* will not be considered here.

10.33 Clausal *mêkwâc*

In the majority of sentences with *mêkwâc*, typified by examples 226 to 228, *mêkwâc* appears as a clausal connective, marking events within the sentence as simultaneous.

226. mitoni kîksêpâw, wâhyaw êh-pê-wâpaniyik, *mêkwâc* êh-nipât awa wîsahkêcâhk, kêtawê sisikoc k-ôhpahoyit pihêwah.
Very early, at the first far-off sign of dawn, while that Wisahketchahk was yet asleep, suddenly up flew the partridges.
S28-19
227. “hâw, wêskinîkiyan, ôki nta-wâsimisak iskwêwak nam êskwa nihtâwikwâsiwak, ta-kîh-onâpêmicik, *mêkwâc* kaskikwâsôwin êh-nôcihtâcik.
“Well now, young man, these women children of mine have not yet learned to sew, so that they could take a man; in fact, they are even now engaged in learning to sew.
S196-21
228. “hâw, nanakwâtik, nikohtêk! nimis mêtwê-têpwâtikoyêko, ‘cêskwa!’ itihk; ‘*mêkwâc* ninikohtân,’ itihk.
If she says to you, ‘Hurry!’ then, ‘Wait a bit! I want to split a lot first, so that I can bring it without delay,’ do you tell her.”
S318-36

In example 229 it occurs inverted further into the sentence, and appears to refer to the verb.

229. kîtahtawêh êh-apit *mêkwâc* wîsahkêcâhk, kahkiyaw kwâskwêpayihoyiwa mahîhkanah, êh-pahkisiniyit, êh-piscipoyit, kahkiyaw êh-nipiyit.
Presently, as Wisahketchahk sat there, all the wolves leaped up in the air and fell down, poisoned, and they all died.
S31-07

10.4 *pêskis* ‘simultaneously’

Although there are only three occurrences of *pêskis* in the *Sacred Stories*, it is included here because of its apparent similarity to *mêkwâc*. *pêskis* ‘at the same time’ marks an action which occurs simultaneously with another, but which (according to Freda Ahenakew) is a secondary to the principal action in the sentence. Thus, this near synonym of *mêkwâc* can also be interpreted as a marker of background information. Of the three

examples in the *Sacred Stories*, one is sentential, and the other two are clausal connectives. In example 230, *pêskis* refers to an earlier event, external to the sentence.

230. “ha, nsîm, *pêskis* êkotêh ôhci ê-wih-kanawêyimitân,” itêw; “niyâ, nisîm, sipwêhtê!” itêw, wîst ê-sipwêhtê, nîsôyak êh-ntaw-ôtaskîcik.
 “My little sister, at the same time from there I shall guard you,” he told her; “Go, little sister, depart!” he said to her, as he too departed, and they went to dwell in two places.
 S326-02

In examples 231 and 232, where *pêskis* occurs at the beginning of a non-initial clause, the simultaneous events occur within the sentence.

231. omis itêw: “niwîkimâkan, êkos êcik âni kê-nipahâhkatosoyahk,” itwêw, *pêskis* êh-mâtot.
 She said, “Husband, and so we are to starve to death,” she said, weeping.
 S101-29
232. êh-kîsi-nahastât, êkwah pîhtokêw, *pêskis* mîna êh-paminawasot, âskaw êh-atoskâtât ôh âpisi-môsoswayâna.
 When she had arranged it all, she came in, and again attended to her cooking, even while working the hides of the dwarf-moose.
 S164-22

11: Completive

11.1 *âsay* and *piyisk*

The particles *âsay* and *piyisk* both imply completion of earlier events, but they contrast in one important respect. Whereas *âsay* marks the completion of background events, *piyisk* seems to mark completion in the foreground.

11.2 *âsay*²⁶

The most common gloss of *âsay* is ‘already’. It marks background passage of time, indicating the completion of events begun earlier in the narrative. Examples can be readily found in which it behaves both as a sentential and as a clausal connective. Although it is adverbial, it is not as isolated or non-specific as the punctual examples discussed in section 7, since completion implies linkage to earlier events.

11.21 Sentential *âsay*

In examples 233 and 234 the entire sentence presents only background information:

233. *âsay* tipiskâyiw.
It was already dark.
S28-04b

26. The alternation between *âsay* and *sâsay* is limited to two of the six narrators of the *Sacred Stories*. Freda Ahenakew uses only *âsay*.

234. *âsay* miskâkaniyiw itêh ê-wîh-ayowêpihk.
They had already found the place to stop to rest.
S28-15
235. *sâsay* êsah kâh-paminawasôyit.
It appeared that she had already done the cooking.
S58-12

Sentential *âsay* in examples 236 and 237 marks the initial clause as background; the following clause appears to be foreground.

236. *âsay* êkosi kîksêpâ, “tânisi êy-isi-mêtawêhk, nistêsê?” itêw.
Then, early in the morning, “What kind of contest is it, big brother,” he asked him.
S73-32
237. *âsay* wîsahkêcâhk sêkisiw; êkwah wayacâwiw.
By this time Wisahketchahk was thoroughly frightened; he ran with all his might.
S22-37

11.22 Inverted *âsay*

In a cluster of connectives at the beginning of a sentence, the background interpretation of *âsay* appears to be contradicted by other particles (e.g., *mîna* ‘again’, *tâpwê* ‘truly’, and *piyisk* ‘finally’) that are more commonly associated with the introduction of new material. In examples 238 to 239 it seems to imply foreground actions that have already begun outside the sentence.

238. *min âsay* [sic] nôhcimihk itohtêw.²⁷
Again he went away from the water.
S21-19
239. *tâpwê âsay* macihkiwis sâkowâtâwak.
Truly, already Silly-Fellow’s side were being whooped at.
S73-42
240. “*piyisk sâsay* kôkimâminawa sâkôcihêw!” itwêyiwa; “pônihhk!”
“He has now defeated our chieftain!” they cried; “Leave him alone!”
S325-39b

In example 241, where it follows a non-connective particle, there is

27. Note that the particle phrase *min âsay* is an inversion of the more common compound *âsay mîna*, discussed in section 5.614.

no such contradiction.

241. *mâka sâsay* mistahi nayawapiyiwa.
But by this time he was very tired.
S184-28

11.23 Clausal *âsay*

At the head of a non-initial clause, *âsay* creates a linkage within the sentence, at the same time showing the passage of time, or the development of background events.

242. *ôma kê-mahkâskwêyâyik êh-otihtahk, âsay otâkosiniyiw.*
When he reached that big wood, it was already evening.
S70-21
243. *mayaw ê-sipwêhtêt, âsay mâcih-kimiwaniyiw.*
As soon as he started off, at once it began to rain.
S88-33
244. *êyokô kîksêpê, ê-kih-mîcisocik, sâsay kê-têpwêwiht.*
Then, the next morning, when they had eaten, already he heard the announcing call.
S183-37

11.24 *âsay* in quoted speech

The interpretation of *âsay* appears to be unaffected by its appearance in quoted speech:

245. “*â, nisîm, kotawêci nîtim, âsay nka-waniskân,*” itêw osîma.
“Oh, little brother, when my sister-in-law kindles the fire, I shall get up all right,” he told his younger brother.
S28-17

11.3 *piyis*

11.31 Sentential *piyis*

Another connective which indicates completion is *piyis* ‘finally’.²⁸ In

28. Coming Day uses both *piyisk* and *piyis*. The other narrators use *piyisk*. Freda Ahenakew prefers *piyis*, and I will use that form here.

most cases it marks the completion of earlier actions; in others, it simply shows a shift in time frame, much like *kêtahtawê*. In examples 246 and 247, *piyis* indicates a completion of ongoing events, such as removing duck legs from the cooking fire, or the passage of the rolling head through fire.

246. *piyis kahkiyaw otinêw; kahkiyaw nama kêkway; ositiyiwah piko.*
At last he took them all out; every one was gone; only the feet were there.
S37-04

247. *tâpwêh mistahi makânikôw awa, wâhyaw ohcih iskotêw êy-isih-kwâh-kotêyik.*
And really that being was entirely brought to a stop, when far and wide the fire blazed.
S9-11

ayis pisisik ostikwân pimohtêmakaniyiw.
For it was but a severed head which went along.
S9-12

êwako pikoh nêhiyaw kâh-isiyîhkâsot êsah mac-âyisah ê-kîh-wîcihikot, pisisik ostikwân k-ô-tihtipipayiyik.
Because he, at any rate, who is called Indian was helped by evil beings, was why that severed head could roll along.
S9-12b

piyisk miyâskam iskotêw.
Finally it passed the fire.
S9-14

In examples 248 and 249, *piyis* behaves much like *kêtahtawê*, showing a resumption of action after the passage of time. In this context, it is quite common for *piyis* to be followed by another particle quantifying the time passed, for example, *kinwês* 'a long time' (as in 248), or *nîso-kîsikâw* 'two days' (as in 249):

248. *piyisk kinwêsk atoskâtam, ê-nahastât wiyâsah.*
She worked a long time at placing the meat.
S165-50

249. *piyisk* nîso-kîsikâw namoya nântaw itohtêw aw oskinîkiw, tahkih êh-kamwâtapit.
At last two days passed and the youth had not gone anywhere, but sat all the time inactive.
S146-10

piyis also appears in the presence of *kêtahtawê* at the beginning of a sentence. Here both connectives indicate the passage of time:

250. *piyisk kîtahtawê* êkwah âhkosiw aw îskwêw, ê-wîh-wâpamât awâsisah.
Then in time the woman fell ill, as she was about to see her child.
S148-38

11.32 Inverted *piyis*

Only one occurrence of *piyis* in inverted position occurs in the *Sacred*

Stories:

251. êkosi *piyis* kahkiyaw opawâmôwinihk nama kêkway.
At last he had gone to all his dream-guardians without avail.
S197-31b

11.33 Clausal *piyis*

As a clausal connective, *piyis* indicates the conclusion of events or actions outlined in the beginning of the sentence.

252. êh-âta-nanâtawihit, *piyisk* kinwêsk âhkosiw.
In spite of the curative treatment given him, for a long time, in the outcome, he was ill.
S258-11

In examples which show it following a semicolon (such as 253), however, it should be interpreted as sentential.

253. êkoyikohk êh-kîsihtât, êkwah acosisah osîhtâw; *piyis* mihcêt sâkaskinêyiwa opîhtatwâna.
He finished it, and then made arrows; at last he had many quivers all full.
S323-12

11.34 *piyis* in quoted speech

Examples 254 and 255 show the only two occurrences of *piyis* in quoted speech. In 254 it shows a shift in time frame, whereas in 255 it refers to a conclusion of earlier events.

254. “osâm ninêstosin, pêyakwanohk tahkih êh-apyân,” itêw; “*piyis* niskâtah niwîh-wîsakêyihên.
 “I am weary of always sitting in one place,” she said to it; “In the end I shall have pains in my legs.
 S324-34
255. “*piyisk* sâsay kôkimâminawa sâkôcihêw!” itwêyiwa; “pônihik!”
 “He has now defeated our chieftain!” they cried; “Leave him alone!”
 S325-39b

12: Consequential

12.1 *tâpwê*

When it appears in narrative *tâpwê* is most frequently glossed ‘really’ or ‘accordingly’. It is often associated with a confirmation of events proposed or foreshadowed earlier in a text. It implies actions which are not only subsequent to earlier events, but may also occur as a consequence of earlier actions. Taken independently it is not semantically temporal; however, in the context of narrative it gains this sense through its connection with earlier events.

12.2 Sentential *tâpwê*

In examples 256 and 257, sentential *tâpwê* shows simple confirmation of events proposed:

256. kîtahtawê êkwah, “kîwêtân!” *tâpwê* sipwêhtêwak.
Then at one time, “Let us go home!” So they set out.
S66-21

257. ômis itêw wîwa: “wâhyaw niwîh-isi-mâtsîn,” itêw wîwa.
He said to his wife: “I am going far away to hunt.”
S8-14

tâpwê mitoni wâhyaw isi mâcîw.
He really went far away to hunt.
S8-15

Examples 258 and 259 show actions which seem to result more as a consequence of earlier actions:

258. ntamêw, êh-ati-sipwêhtêt awa kisêyiniw kisinwah.
As the old man went away, he called the Cold.
S11-25a

tâpwê mistahi kisinâw.
And really, it grew very cold.
S11-25b

259. iskwâhtêmahokanihk êkotah niwîh-tahkopitên ôhi kê-miyitân, awa mîna kâhpihcis,”
itik omosôma; “êka wiya kitâpam awiyak, otitiskih.”
Here to the stick of the door-flap I shall tie these things which I give you, and also
your tobacco-pouch,” his grandfather told him; “Do not look at anyone that may
come to you.”
S87-24

...

tâpwê namoya kêkway wîh-kitâpahtam iskwâhtêm.
Accordingly not at all would he look at the door.
S87-28

12.3 Inverted *tâpwê*

When *tâpwê* appears in non-initial position, almost all examples show it following other sentential connectives, such as *êkwa* and *êkosi* (as in examples 260 and 261).

260. êkwah tâpwê awa mahîhkan sipwêhtêw, ê-nitomât mahîhkanah mîna mahkêsîsah.
So that wolf went off to call the wolves and foxes.
S30-33
261. êkosi tâpwê nama wîhkâc êsa tâpwêhtamwak ôki awâsisak, êkosi êtihtwâwi.
Accordingly, those boys never gave heed when they were called that way.
S62-20

There are also two examples in which *tâpwê* follows the particle *pôti*, an exclamation:

262. pôtih tâpwê êkoyikohk patahamiyiwa.
Really, by even that much the other missed the mark.
S73-39

There are no examples of inverted sentential *tâpwê* following a noun, verb, or even a non-connective particle.

It is interesting to note that while there are more than a dozen occurrences of *êkwa tâpwê* in the *Sacred Stories*, there are none of *tâpwê êkwa*. While either phrase might be glossed ‘sure enough’ or ‘then

accordingly', in fact, Ahenakew states a preference for the latter form, which appears in the *Student Stories* three times:

263. *tâpwê êkwa* awa ostêsimâw kakwêcimêw osîmisa.
Sure enough, the oldest asked his little brother.
K2-10
264. *tâpwê êkwâ* awa ostêsimâw wawêyîw ê-wî-itohtêt ôtênâhk, ...
Sure enough, the oldest got ready to go to town, ...
K2-13
265. *tâpwê êkwa* awa osîmimâw, kiskinahamawêw ostêsa, "No" kik-êtwêyit.
Sure enough, the youngest taught his older brother to say "No."
K2-21

Both alternatives appear within a single text in the Vandall-Douquette texts:

266. "wa *tâpwê êkwa* ê-pêyakwahpitak misatim, ninâtên mihta," itwêw.
So then, sure enough, I hitched up a horse and went for fire-wood, he said.
PV8-13
267. *êkwa tâpwê êkota*, pôti ôki wayawîtimihk kî-âpiwak kahkiyaw, itwêw, kâ-kî-pakwâsit awa iskewêw mîna, itwêw, êkota ôma, êkota awa nicâh-cahkacayênâsiw kîmôc awa, konita ê-kwâskwê-ocipitak," itwêw, "ê-nikamoyân", itwêw.
And so we did, here they were all sitting outside, he said, including the woman who had disliked me, he said, it was then that I secretly spurred my horse's belly a little and pulled the reins up to make him jump, he said, and I let out a whoop,
PV8-62

12.4 *tâpwê* in quoted speech

In examples from quoted speech, *tâpwê* is used as a simple emphatic in the sense of English 'really' or 'indeed'. In examples 268 and 269, there is no earlier comment to which *tâpwê* refers.

268. "î, *tâpwê* miyoyîhkâsôw kîtimosinaw!"
"Goodness me, really a beautiful name has our sweetheart!"
S83-27
269. "wahwâ, *tâpwê* nikîsinâcihik!" itêyihitam êsah; "êkwah êwakonih nika-kîh-ohci-kâkîcihâhtay nitihkwatim ka-pi-maskamikawiyân!" itêyihitam êsa.
"Alas, truly she brings me to grief!" he thought; "Now with this I could have consoled my nephew that has been taken from me!" he thought.
S245-40

In example 270, *tâpwê* is used in conjunction with a withdrawal of an earlier promise. Here it is inverted to follow the interrogative phrase *misawâ cî* ‘in any case’:

270. “pîhkohinân! ahpôh ici ka-wîkimitinân, êkâ êh-kêh-nihtinisoyâhk!”
 “Get us down from here! We will even marry you, if you like; we cannot get down!”
 S317-06

“yahô! namoya nnihtâ-kîhcêkosîn [sic]. îh wâpahtah nichihciyah: nama kêkway naskasiyak,” itwêyiwa.
 “Yoho! I am not a good climber. Look here at my paws: I haven’t any nails,” said he.
 S317-07

“ê ê êy, misawâ cî *tâpwê* ka-kîh-wîkimitâhk, êh-mâyâtisiyan, êh-pitikohkwêyin, êkwah êh-mâmâhkisitêyin, êkw ê-nâ-napakâskitoyêyin?”
 “Ho ho, do you suppose we would marry you in any case, you ugly fellow, with your crumpled-up snout and your big feet and your flat rump?”
 S317-09

13: Conclusion

The method by which this study was undertaken was largely experimental. The use of large computer databases permitted a much broader survey, and greater control of the data than would have been possible using conventional methods; yet, in many ways the results still resemble the conventional, inconclusive classifications for which I have faulted others. The present study, however, attempts to go beyond mere listing in three important ways. First, by examining *êkwa* and *mîna* in some detail, it provides a framework for the comparison of other particles that behave similarly. Second, by giving examples from authentic Cree narrative, it shows connectives as they are truly used by fluent native speakers. Third, by examining connectives at various syntactic levels, it moves the study of particles beyond mere word-by-word translation, into the realm of broader functional interpretation.

One of the most promising observations to emerge in this study is the difference in the behaviour of these connectives in narrative compared to their behaviour in quoted speech. This is suggestive of even greater differences between narrative and ordinary conversational usage.

Schiffrin's (1987) work with discourse particles in English provides an example of the direction that further study in Cree might take. The Lafond/Longneck text in the forthcoming anthology of women's life experiences, *kôhkominawak otâcimowiniwâwa / Our Grandmothers' Lives, as Told in Their Own Words* (edited and translated by Ahenakew

& Wolfart, in press) provides the first published data that might permit that type of examination.

There were about 550 particles and compounds in the list initially delimited by the Watkins-Faries dictionary and consultation with Freda Ahenakew. The small set examined here represents less than two percent of that list. Since, in fact, it does not even exhaust the set of temporal connectives, directions for future research are clear. Once a complete set of temporal connectives has been defined and exhaustively examined, the next obvious category to examine is that of logical connectives, such as *kîspin* 'if' or *ayisk* 'because'. There appear to be many other broad categories in the list as well, such as numerals, deictics and quantifiers. If the present study is any indication, we can expect that these particles too will show considerable complexity in their syntax and variety in their functions.

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