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Analysis of a Cayuga Particle: *ne:'* as a Focus Marker

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Abstract

A feature of the Northern Iroquoian languages is their especially rich inventory of particles. This paper is concerned with one particle in the Cayuga language which has a widespread distribution and performs a broad range of apparently unrelated functions. The particle ne:' is commonly translated as 'it is/that is', 'this' or 'that'. In other instances it is translated as predominant stress, or is simply omitted in the translation. The particle can occur in almost any syntactic or semantic environment, but it is not obligatory in any context. The various functions that have been suggested in the literature include indication of declarative mood and assertion, marking of emphasis, focus or contrast, and expression of predicative and deictic force.

I argue that the particle ne:' can be described successfully if its distribution is considered from a wider perspective, taking into account discourse structure and variation in scope. Its analysis as a focus marker can account for the variety of apparently unrelated functions. The analysis is based on a detailed study of the particle's distribution in spoken language using a database of five Cayuga texts by four different speakers, including three narratives, one procedural text and a children's version of a ceremonial text.

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Abbreviations

ALT	alternative
ART	article
ASS	assertion
COMP	complementiser
CONTR	contrastive
DECL	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic
EVID	evidential
f	feminine
m	masculine
n	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominaliser
PL	plural
PRO	pronoun
PROX	proximal
QU	question marker
REF	referential
SG	singular

Languages

C	Cayuga
M	Mohawk
O	Onondaga
Oe	Oneida
S	Seneca

Texts

A	Personal Anecdote
R	How to Hunt Rabbits
T	Thanksgiving Address
G	Ghost Story
Gr	Grandfather Story

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0 Introduction

The primary concern of this thesis is to contribute to the linguistic description of Cayuga, a language of the Northern Iroquoian family, which also includes Seneca, Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, and Tuscarora. Cayuga is still spoken at the Six Nation Reserve in Ontario, Canada, by approximately one hundred speakers. Cayuga is taught with some success in an emergent school program but in no case is it a child's first language. The remaining adult speakers vary in their degree of fluency.

A feature of the Northern Iroquoian languages is their especially rich inventory of particles. This study is concerned with a single Cayuga particle which has a widespread distribution and performs a broad range of apparently unrelated functions. The particle ne:' is commonly translated as 'it is/that is', 'this' or 'that'. In other instances it is translated as predominant stress, or it is simply omitted in the translation. The particle can occur in almost any syntactic or semantic environment, but it is not obligatory in any context. The range of functions that have been assigned to this element is highly heterogeneous, and it includes deixis, emphasis, focus, contrast, predication, declarative mood, assertion, introduction of nominal and pronominal phrases, marking of non-events, and clause linkage. The element thus has to be considered part of Cayuga grammar. Despite the extensive linguistic work that has been dedicated to the Northern Iroquoian language family, the research on the Cayuga particle ne:' and its cognates in the other languages has been very limited. There is no consensus about the range of functions the particle performs. With this project I intend to clarify the uses and functions of this prominent particle. The suggested analysis – describing ne:' as a focus marker – can account for the variety of its apparent functions.

In Chapter One I summarize the previous research on ne:' and the cognate particles in other Northern Iroquoian languages. Chapter Two describes the distribution of ne:' in certain units of speech and in the entire discourse. Section 2.1 defines and discusses the speech units which serve as a frame of reference for the further analysis. Section 2.2 focuses on ne:' when it is part of particle clusters, and section 2.3 provides a detailed description of the positions and environments in which the particle occurs. In section 2.4, the distribution of ne:' is considered from a wider perspective, looking at the particle's occurrence throughout entire texts and discussing the content and position of utterances introduced by ne:'. In Chapter Three, I argue for the particle's analysis as a focus marker. Evidence for the focus analysis is drawn from the previous research, discussed in Chapter One, as well as from a Cayuga text sample. Chapter Four contains the conclusions of the study.

The analysis is based on a five-text database. The texts originate from four different speakers, two female and two male. Three text types are represented in the sample: three narratives, one procedural text, and one hortatory text. The texts differ in the orthography in which they are presented. I have chosen not to unify the presentation, but to maintain the transcription provided by each author. Three orthographies can be distinguished: a phonological transcription, a phonetic transcription, and the Six Nations orthography developed by Reginald Henry. The main difference between the phonemic transcription and the Henry orthography used by Cayuga speakers at the Six Nations Reserve is the notation of obstruents. Voicing of obstruents is predictable before vowels and therefore not phonemic. In the Henry

orthography, however, voiced and voiceless obstruents are distinguished. The following key will allow comparison of the different notations (cf. Mithun 1980).

Henry:		*Phonemic:*
d	=	/t/ before vowels
t	=	/th/ before vowels, /t/ elsewhere
g	=	/k/ before vowels
k	=	/kh/ before vowels, /k/ elsewhere
j	=	/ʧ/

A further difference between a phonemic transcription on the one hand, and the Henry orthography and a phonetic transcription on the other is the recording of the fricative [f] which is a variant of /s/:

Phonemic:	*Phonetic/Henry:*
/s/ —>	[f] / h_r
	[s] / elsewhere

Finally one should note that a colon indicates vowel length and underlining of a vowel indicates voicelessness. Below, I provide some information about each text and its transcription.

(a) Personal Anecdote in Cayuga by Howard Sky, from Foster (1980b):

The text is an anecdote from the speaker's own life. It is published in a phonetic as well as in a phonemic transcription. I have chosen the phonetic one because it is closer to the Henry orthography used at Six Nations. For convenience, I have chosen the more lexical English glosses rather than the ones that label grammatical categories.[1]

(b) How to Hunt Rabbits, from Mithun and Henry (1980):

This procedural text describes methods of rabbit hunting as they were used when the speaker was young. The source is presented in the Six Nations orthography.

(c) Ghost Story, from Sasse and Doxtador (ms.), and Grandfather story by Alta Doxtador, from Sasse (1993b):

The 'Ghost Story' is a fictional narrative that takes place 'in the olden days', and the 'Grandfather Story' is a personal narrative about the speaker's grandfather. Sasse presents the texts in phonemic transcription. I do not indicate the morphemic breakdown he provides, and I have simplified his detailed glosses. In the version presented here, the glosses reflect the approximate lexical meaning of the words in the given context, rather than the word roots and grammatical labels provided by Sasse. Naturally, I am fully responsible for any possible

[1] In the case of the 'Personal Anecdote', this means that I have combined the transcription of text A and the gloss of text B.

inaccuracies. The free translation in both texts is a literal transcription of the speaker's oral English translation.

(d) Children's Version of the Thanksgiving Address, from my own work with Louise Hill in 1994:

This text is the simplified and condensed version of a ceremonial Longhouse speech. Foster (1980a) says about the Thanksgiving Address :

> ... [It] is probably the most familiar and frequently performed ritual event in Longhouse religious practice, being given in versions of varying length at the beginning . . . of all formal community activities. . . . Longer versions . . . last anywhere from 25 to 50 minutes, and would be given as part of the introductory ceremonial activities of Longhouse calendrical rituals ... at formal religious or political events. (1980a: 9)

The Thanksgiving Address stands in the tradition of being expanded and contracted to fit various occasions, and the version presented here needs to be understood in terms of its special context. This is probably the shortest and simplest version in this tradition and is learned by the youngest children in the Six Nations emergent school program. The text is transcribed in the Six Nations orthography. The glosses are mostly the ones provided by the speaker and only occasionally do I use grammatical labels, as in the case of the so-called 'article'. Through out the thesis, the source is indicated at the end of each example. I use the following abbreviations:

A = Personal Anecdote
R = How to Hunt Rabbits
G = Ghost Story
Gr = Grandfather Story
T = Thanksgiving Address

Numbers following these abbreviations indicate the unit numbers in the original text. For example, (R4) stands for unit number four in the text'How to Hunt Rabbits'.

Where examples from different Iroquoian languages are discussed (Chap. 1 and 3) the language is indicated following the example number. The languages are abbreviated as follows:

C = Cayuga
M = Mohawk
O = Onondaga
Oe = Oneida
S = Seneca

If no language is indicated the example is Cayuga.

1 Previous research

This chapter is an overview of the previous research on the Cayuga particle ne:' and its cognates in the other Northern Iroquoian languages. Three authors have worked on the particle in some detail. Their findings are presented here in no particular order, followed by a discussion of work by other authors who mention the particle in brief. The sources are summarized in Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Woodbury

Woodbury (1980) examines the use of the Onondaga cognate of the Cayuga form ne:'. The Onondaga particle is naye' and also occurs as the shortened form na'.[2] The author argues that the function of the particle cannot be described appropriately if all of its occurrences are analyzed as being the same. The uses of the particle have to be considered in relation to their environment, rather than assuming a single unique function in all its occurrences. She analyses the particle as "having several domains of application with different, though related, functions in each of the domains". Woodbury focuses on the particle's functions in each of several domains but neglects the assumed relatedness of the functions in her discussion. She distinguishes three relevant domains, which differ in what kind of element na' modifies: 1) a morpheme or word; 2) a sentence or clause; and 3) a discourse unit. According to her findings, na' normally precedes the element with which it interacts. Since the modified elements basically differ in size, the three domains can be defined as a difference in the particle's scope. The scope is most narrow when it modifies a word or morpheme, broader when it modifies a sentence or clause, and broadest when referring to a whole discourse unit.

Woodbury describes an interesting alternation between naye' and its shortened form, na', in two dialects of Onondaga. In the New York dialect, the short form na' occurs in all three domains. The use of the longer form naye' is allowable, but perceived as old fashioned. In the Canadian dialect, the two forms alternate according to the scope of the particle; while na' occurs when the modified element is a morpheme or word, naye' modifies clauses or sentences, and discourse units. In the following I will refer to the form na' according to the New York dialect, i.e. as occurring in all three domains.

1.1.1 Scope over a word or morpheme

In its narrowest scope, the particle adds contrastive meaning to the modified element. It is translated as phonologically predominant stress in English. Whenever na' has this narrow scope, and it precedes a morphologically complex word (i.e. a content word rather than a particle), it modifies a single morpheme, namely "a nominal constituent" of the word. Woodbury presents the following examples:

---

[2] A general phonological development has led to the deletion of Cayuga intervocalic glides. With this in mind, the Cayuga particle can be thought of as derived from a proto form similar to the Onondaga particle, via loss of the glide and vowel assimilation (naye' --> nae' --> nee').

(1a) O. né'tho nihatíyè:ha'
thus so.they.do.it
...how they do it.

(1b) né'tho **na'** nihatíyè:ha'
thus so.they.do.it
...how they do it. (p. 4)

The two utterances constitute a minimal pair; they differ only in the presence of the particle na'. The particle translates into English as predominant stress on "they". According to Woodbury's statement above the morpheme that is modified by na' in example (1) must be the pronominal prefix hati-, which refers to a third person plural masculine agent acting on a third person singular neuter patient. The only instance where na' modifies a whole word (as opposed to a morpheme) is when it occurs before another particle. The example below shows two instances of na'. The first modifies a particle, the second a content word (as in the example above).

(2) O. na' ó' na' hé:na' nękę
also his.wife PROX.DEM
This is also his wife. (p. 5)

In this example, na' precedes the particle o'. The translation shows predominant stress on 'also', its English equivalent. To summarize, in its narrowest scope, na' modifies either another particle or the pronominal prefix of a content word.

1.1.2. Scope over a clause or sentence

When the particle's domain is a clause or sentence na' indicates declarative mood. Woodbury presents the following examples, where the first utterance is a question and the second is a declarative statement.

(3a) O. eksa'koná khę katę' ehsé:hęh
pretty.girl QU ALT she.is.cross
Is she pretty or is she cross?

(3b) eksa'koná **na'** kí'shęh ehsé:hęh
pretty.girl ALT she.is.cross
(Either) she's pretty or she's cross. (p. 5)

The particles katę' and kí'shęh both express alternatives like English 'or'. They are in complementary distribution, with the former occurring in interrogative sentences and the latter in non-interrogative statements. Woodbury argues that na' marks the contrast between the two clauses and, thus, the declarative mood. [3]

[3]Note that the presence of na' is not the only difference between the examples. Example (3a) contains the question particle khę while example (3b) does not. It is, therefore, not necessarily the presence of na' that marks the distinction between the question and the declaration.

1.1.3. Scope over a discourse unit

In the third use, na' marks discourse units as non-events. Discourse units marked with na' do not express events but rather provide evaluation and contextual orientation for the story events. In this domain, na' contrasts with the particle onę 'now', which introduces event-expressing discourse units. When it has this broadest scope, na' typically occurs in a particle cluster preceding the modified unit. The occurrence of such clusters varies greatly from speaker to speaker. Apparently, their use is subject to stylistic variation. In example (4a) onę introduces an event. Example (4b), introduced by na', is said as an aside to the listener and comments on the event.[4]

(4a) O. **onę** tí' hya' nękę yákę' sahotótàhsyę́' ne' kwa'yę́'àh
they.say he.revealed.himself.again NOM rabbit
Then, they say, the rabbit appeared to him again.

(4b) **na'** kó:' hya' nękę onę tawatyéęhta' wa'honá'ka:k onę wa'hotótàhsyę'
it.is.first it.is.night.for.them he.revealed.himself.to.him
It was their first night and then he appeared to him (aside to the listener). (p. 11)

Woodbury notes that both na' and onę-initial clusters "have cohesive functions in relation to the text as a whole, rather than actual lexical meanings. . ." (p. 11).

To summarize, Woodbury suggests three domains of application in each of which the particle performs a different function. She assumes, however, that these functions are related. When na' modifies a morpheme or word, it expresses a contrast. When it modifies a clause or sentence it indicates declarative mood, and when it modifies a discourse unit na' marks this unit as a non-event.

1.2 Sasse

Sasse (1988) describes the Cayuga particle ne:' as a predicative deictic element. He glosses the particle 'that is' (in the 'Ghost Story') or 'assertive' (in the 'Grandfather Story'). Similar to Woodbury, he approaches the particle by looking at its use in different contexts. He distinguishes two environments: (1) "in isolation", i.e. without a content word but accompanied by other particles, and (2) with a content word. In isolation, ne:' has a confirming character and expresses something like 'that's it' or 'so it is'. An example is given in the greeting formula below.

(5) C. skę́:no' - - ęhę́, **ne:'** ki' áyę:'
peace yes that.is ASS it.seems
Peace! - - Yes, so it seems. (1988: 196)

Occurring with a content word, the particle indicates focus, by marking "highlighted material" (1993b: 3). Ne:' can focus anaphorically, or it can modify elements that follow. Sasse gives example (6) below, as instance of the anaphoric use.

---

[4]In (4b), the particle onę does not have scope over a discourse unit. It, thus, does not conflict with the event-introducing function of na'.

(6) C. sǫ: hne:' n'áht tho:kyęh?
who is that
Who is that?

ne:' ki' teyakyanǫhsané:kę:
that.is we are neighbors
That's my neighbor. (1988: 196)

According to Sasse's analysis, every content word in Cayuga, and Northern Iroquoian in general, is predicative. He claims that the assumed universal distinction between nouns and verbs – reference versus predication – is not manifested in these languages. This claim has implications for an analysis of the particle. Sasse (1993a: 213) presents the following examples.

(7a) C.	twę́:wę:t	*it is a duck*	
(7b)	**ne:'** twę́:wę:t	*that's a duck*	(weak contrast)
(7c)	twę́:wę:t **ne:'**	*what it is, is a duck*	(strong contrast)

Since according to Sasse, example (7a) by itself expresses the predication 'it is a duck', the occurrence of ne:' in (7b) and (7c) does not *make* the word twęwę:t predicative. Rather, the particle adds contrastive meaning to the predication.[5]

1.3 Bonvillain

Like its Cayuga and Onondaga cognates, the Mohawk form ne' occurs in a whole range of environments. Similar to the other authors, Bonvillain (1985, 1988) approaches the particle in terms of its distribution. She documents the range of environments that the particle can occur in and points out correlated changes in word order. The author distinguishes five environments which are defined by the syntactic or semantic function of the element that ne' precedes. In example (8) it introduces a noun agent.[6]

(8) M. khná:'a ki' **ne'** jitsu wahá:lu
then fox he.said
Then this fox said... (1985: 350)

If ne' precedes a noun patient, it is sometimes reduplicated, expressing emphasis and stylistic variation, as in (9).

(9) M.. khne éhlal yá:kʌ' wahóhsele' **ne'ne'** kwiskwis'
then dog they.say chased pig
Then the dog, they say, chased the pig. (p. 350)

---

[5]The analysis of all content words as predicative is controversial. Sasse (1993a: 213) cites e.g. Mithun as representing the counter position.

[6]Since Bonvillain does not gloss all examples, the glosses in (9) to (11) are mine following her discussion.

In various instances, ne' contracts phonologically with other elements. This is the case when it introduces the pronominal morphemes i:'i (1.pers) and e:'e (3.pers). Example (10) shows instances of both.

(10) M. kwah ki' **ní:'i** **né:'e** liya'tí:saks
that's.it I him I.am.looking.for.him
That's it, I'm that one, I'm looking for him. (p. 350)

The only syntactic environment where ne' occurs sentence-initially is when it precedes another particle, as in example (11).[7]

(11) M. **ne'**ki' yá:kʌ sahatilihwatá:se
they.say when.they.found.out.all.about.it
Now this, they say, when they found out all about it... (p. 350)

Before verbs, the particle "functions as a link between actions or between propositions and their explanation" (1985:351). The author provides the following example.

(12) M. toka'nú:wa yoánele' **ne'** yausayeteniya'tʌhawe'
maybe it's.nice we.take.her.back.with.us
Maybe it would be nice if we took her back with us. (p. 351)

Bonvillain (1988: 10) summarizes that ne' "serves to introduce and combine clauses, and to focus on important words in the sentence".

1.4 Other Sources

In this section I summarize several sources which are not devoted to the particle in detail but only briefly mention it in passing.

Lounsbury (1953:100) describes the Oneida form né: as "a particle with meaning similar to that of a generalized third person independent or demonstrative pronoun". He states "It is nearly always a predicative element in a sentence; . . . Such predication is then usually followed in turn by a descriptive phrase standing in apposition to né: and describing it". He refers to the following example.

(13) Oe. Náhte' **né:** thikʌ́s ʌnhoskwʌnhutátih?
what is.it which to.you.mouthful.protruding.in.cheek.going along.is
What is that mouthful of stuff that you're going along with? (p. 98)

Michelson (1985: 3) calls the Oneida particle né: a 'demonstrative'. It is listed twice in her description of the distribution of sentence-initial particle complexes. Occurring in the first position of such clusters, it belongs to the category 'emphatic' (subordinate to the category 'demonstrative'), and it is glossed 'this' or 'this is what'. When it occurs towards the end of a particle complex, the gloss is 'it, he, she, one'. In that position it is part of a paradigm with the demonstrative pronouns ka'ikʌ́ 'this' and thikʌ́ 'that'. Michelson (1981: 59) states that né: "indicates change of subject".

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[7] I summarize as ne' + particle what Bonvillain describes as ne' + demonstratives, adverbials, or locatives.

Mithun (1986:108) refers to the Cayuga particle as a "deictic". She states that the deictic particles in Northern Iroquoian have a secondary function: "They allow the speakers time to compose the utterance and permit an arrangement of information so that the hearer can process it most effectively."

In his list of Cayuga particles and particle combinations, Foster (ms.) labels the form ne:' as "declarative". The list also shows the particle in combination with the emphatic pronouns: i:' (1. pers), and i:s (2. pers). The sequences translate as 'just' plus pronoun: i:' ne:' 'just me/us', i:s ne:' 'just you'. The source does not indicate whether the stress in the English translation lies on the word 'just' or on the pronoun.

Wallace Chafe (p.c. 1993) suggests that ne:' and its cognates express assertion in all or most of their occurrences. A construction frequently attested in Seneca is one in which ne:' is followed by the particle ne, which has properties of an article or nominalizer. Various particles can occur between the two elements. Chafe interprets the meaning of these constructions as something like, "it is the case that ...", asserting the proposition that follows.

Ne:' _____ ne ... "It is the case that ..."
particle slot

Consider the example in (14) which is quoted from Chafe (1985)

(14) S. **ne:'** nę:kę: **ne** yatátehso:t wa:yate'nǫhtæ:h
this he.and.his.grandmother they.got.in
A boy and his grandmother got in. (p. 22)

Cliffort Abbott (p.c. 1993) has contributed an interesting example of the use of ne: in Oneida. In possessive constructions with the noun stem -awʌ- 'belonging/possession', ne: occurs as part of a paradigm with the free emphatic pronouns í: (1. pers) and i:sé (2. pers.), replacing the emphatic third person pronominal forms laulhá: (3.pers.sg.m.), akaulhá: (3.pers.sg.f), aulhá: (3.pers.sg.zoic) and their respective plural forms.

(15) Oe. í: akwa:wʌ́ *it is mine*
1.pers 1.sg.belonging

i:sé sa:wʌ́ *it is yours*
2.pers 2.sg.belonging

né: lao:wʌ́ *it is his*
3.sg.m.belonging

né: aka:wʌ́ *it is hers*
3.sg.f.belonging

Karin Michelson (p.c. 1993, from Mercy Doxtador of Oneida Settlement, Ontario) has provided a slightly different paradigm for the same Oneida possessive expressions:

(16) Oe

í:	**né:**	akwa:wʌ́	*it is mine*
1.pers		1.sg.belonging	
i:sé	**né:**	sa:wʌ́	*it is yours*
2.pers		2.sg.belonging	
laulhá:	**né:**	lao:wʌ́	*it is his*
3.pers.m		3.sg.m.belonging	
akaulhá:	**né:**	aka:wʌ́	*it is hers*
3.pers.f		3.sg.f.belonging	

This paradigm shows that the particle is not incompatible with the first and second person pronouns. Here, né: is an additional element in the possessive construction, intervening between pronoun and content word.

Some other evidence from Oneida shows the interaction of the particle né: with the pronominal paradigm. Consider the examples below from Michelson and Doxtador (1981: 9) in which the utterance of the names is contrastive. They appear in the context: "Is your (his, her) name X? No, my (his, her) name is not X. My (his, her) name is Susan (...)."

(17) Oe

Só:s	**ní**	yúkyats.
Susan	1.pers	1.sg.be.named

My name is Susan.

Á:kwilut	**né:**	luwa:áts.
Abraham		3.m.be.named

His name is Abraham.

Katlí:n	**né:**	yutátats.
Kathleen		3.f.be.named

Her name is Kathleen.

Instead of the emphatic first person pronoun i: which appeared in the paradigms given in (15) and (16), the example in (17) shows the n-initial form ní. In the third person, the particle né: occurs. This shows a situation equivalent to Abbott's paradigm where the particle appears as a member of the pronominal paradigm replacing the forms for the third person.

1.5 Overview

The functions that have been assigned to the particle in the Northern Iroquoian languages are quite heterogeneous. They include assertion, declaration, focus, emphasis, deixis, confirmation, the marking of non-events, connection and introduction of clausal and phrasal units, in addition to the efficient arrangement of information. It is also used as a stylistic element, and it displays properties of a third person pronoun. Table 1 briefly summarizes the sources in alphabetical order within each language.

Table 1

Cayuga	Seneca	Onondaga	Mohawk	Oneida
ne:'	**ne:'**	**naye'/na'**	**ne'**	**né:**
Foster:	**Chafe:**	**Woodbury:**	**Bonvillain:**	**Abbott:**
declarative	assertion	contrastive (scope: word or morpheme) declarative mood (scope: sentence or clause) non-events, cohesion stylistic variation (scope: discourse unit	introduces nominal/ pronominal phrases connective between nominal elements combines verbal constructions emphasis focus	replacing third person free emphatic pronouns in possessive constructions
Mithun:				**Lounsbury:**
deictic efficient arrangement of information				predicative similar to generalized third person pronoun
Sasse:				**Michelson:**
deictic predicative element contrastive, highlighting focus (with content word) confirming character (in isolation) assertion not obligatory				demonstrative emphatic occurs in possessive constructions change of subject

2 Distributional analysis

2.1 Definition of units

For a distributional analysis of the particle ne:', it is necessary to establish a frame of reference. One of the factors that seems most relevant in the particle's distribution is its position within certain speech units. Consequently, these units can serve as a frame of reference. The text sample on which this study is based is a challenge for the use of this criterion because not all sources are presented in the same format. That is, the individual sources do not give the same amount, or the same kind of information about the original spoken text. For example, some sources indicate pauses, while others do not; some refer to intonation contour, while others neglect it. All of the texts are presented in chunks, but these chunks have not been established on the same grounds. Foster (1980b) segmented the 'Personal anecdote' with regard to intonation contour and pauses. The units he indicates are 'lines' and 'tone units'. Lines are the numbered units in Foster's presentation of the text. He notes,

> ... the line cannot be defined strictly on syntactic grounds: sometimes it consists of particles alone . . . , of a segment of a sentence . . . , or even several sentences . . . Rather, the line is defined on intonational grounds by certain features of pitch, accent, and pause. (1980a: 10)

The lines in Foster's text are divided into tone units which are indicated by commas.[8] Mithun and Henry (1980) do not indicate her segmentation criteria for 'How to hunt rabbits', but their units resemble Foster's lines in length, and so I assume similar criteria for both sources. Shorter segments such as Foster's tone units are not indicated by Mithun and Henry. The units in 'How to Hunt Rabbits' and the larger segments presented by Foster match the units I am seeking to define. Intonation contour and pauses, thus, seem to be suitable defining criteria.

Sasse segmented the 'Ghost Story' (Sasse and Doxtador ms.) and the 'Grandfather Story' (Sasse 1993b) into pause units, i.e. the speech that is preceded and followed by a pause. I assume that these speech units are comparable to Foster's tone units. In Sasse's texts, no larger units are indicated, however. That means that these two texts, as well as the children's version of the Thanksgiving Address from my own field work, have to be segmented into units comparable to Foster's lines in order to compare the distribution of the particle ne:' in the five sources. The segmentation of the 'Thanksgiving Address' is unproblematic since the recorded text is available. In the case of the 'Ghost Story' and the 'Grandfather Story' the situation is different. Foster's defining criteria are intonation contour and pauses.

Pauses are indicated in Sasse's texts and certain intonational features are also available: Cayuga words vary their accent according to their position in an utterance. In utterance medial forms, the last syllable generally carries the stress. Therefore, the stress pattern can be used for the segmentation of the texts. It is not necessarily a sufficient feature, however, since some short words and most particles have no stress at all. If such elements occur in the final position of an utterance the stress pattern does not indicate the boundary. Therefore, it is necessary to use additional criteria for the segmentation of the texts. In both stories, Sasse distinguishes

[8]For better visibility I have replaced the commas by the symbol "|".

short and long pauses. Longer pauses typically occur after a set of several pause units which are separated by short pauses. These sets of pause units often constitute segments comparable to Foster's lines. A further criterion for unit boundaries is the change of time and place (e.g. "and the next day...") or change of participants. Combined these criteria allow one to segment the 'Ghost Story' and the 'Grandfather Story' into discourse units that are comparable to the segments in 'How to hunt rabbits' and the 'Personal anecdote'.

To summarize, the text units that will serve as grounds for the distributional analysis are primarily defined by pause length and intonation contour. Where necessary, text coherence (i.e. change of time, place, and participants is used in addition. The chunks of text defined by these criteria will be called 'discourse units' in what follows.

I have also attempted to define these discourse units in terms of syntactic or other structural criteria independent from intonational features. To avoid confusion, I mention at this point already that the attempt was not successful. As the following discussion will reveal, discourse units are similar to 'sentences' as defined by Chafe (1987), and thus *characterized* by the lack of defining syntactic criteria.

In my search for structural criteria, I have compared the discourse units described above with text segments posited by other scholars. Chafe (1987: 22) suggests 'extended clauses' as basic discourse segments. They are defined based on the concept of 'clause' and smaller structural units. These smaller unit are typically preceded and followed by pauses and can thus be considered equivalent to the previously mentioned tone units and pause units. Chafe (1987: 40) distinguishes different types of these units on the basis of their components. They can be 'clauses', 'pieces of clauses', 'orientation for clauses' (temporal, spatial, or epistemic), and 'clausal disfluencies' (false starts, afterthoughts).[9] 'Extended clauses' are defined as groups of the smaller units that are associated with one and the same clause. That means, extended clauses are defined as a clause, i.e. a subject-predicate construction, plus all information that modify it such as information about time and location etc. The notion of 'clause' is, therefore, the crucial unit for text segmentation. He states the following.

> Since every extended clause is built around a subject-predicate construction, we are led to suppose that construction . . . is crucial to language design. Clauses may have their satellite orientations and disfluencies, but such other intonation units remain just that: satellite to the basic subject-predicate construction. Language thus consists in a basic sense of a series of predications. (Chafe 1987: 42)

The question now is, whether the concept 'clause' can be used as a defining criterion for the discourse units found in the Cayuga texts. It turns out that a number of discourse units fit Chafe's definition of 'extended clause'. The utterance in (19), for example, is built around the clause tęhsátahahk 'you will walk'.

(19) **ne:'** ga:o' ni:yǫ: tęhsátahahk.
that less so.much you.will.walk
You have to walk a lot less. (R3)

[9]Chafe also lists 'expression of agreement or understanding'. These seem to be most relevant for dialogues and will be ignored here.

However, most discourse units include more than one clause. Consider the utterance in (20) which includes two predications: a:ké' 'she said' and ęsę:tá' 'you will sleep'.

(20) **ne:'** akę' a:ké'
that.is EVID she.said

ęsę:tá' ni:s ó:nęh
you.will.sleep you(CONTR) now
That's what she said: You will sleep now. (G19-20)

Apparently, the definition of 'extended clause' is too narrow to provide general defining criteria for discourse units.

Serzisko (1992) accounts for structures as in (20) with what he calls the 'complex clause' ("komplexe Prädikation"). Complex clauses are constructions that contain a propositional verb ("Propositionsverb") as a superordinate to a predicative complement. The category of propositional verbs includes verbs of cognition, knowledge, perception, belief, feeling, volition, and intent, as well as verbs that express statements.[10] In complex clauses, the predicates together build one predicative unit. Serzisko claims that in such constructions, the concepts of illocution and proposition are split so that the superordinate predicate carries the illocutionary force, and the complement verb represents the propositional part of the speech act. Following this, the superordinate verb 'say' in the complex clause in (20) expresses the illocution, while the complement predicate 'sleep' expresses the proposition.

It turns out, however, that even if the notion 'clause' is expanded to cover both Chafe's 'extended clause' and Serzisko's 'complex clauses' it is still not defined in such a way as to cover all instances of discourse units because most of them consist of several clauses. The discourse unit in (21), for example, includes four predications. The last two constitute a single complex clause, leaving three independent predications.

(21) **ne:'** ki' kyę:'
that.is DECL EMPH

aha:tkę́:h akę' tho:kyę́h aha'ahthraniyǫta:kó' aha:ktǫ́:' tę' í:wa:t
he.got.up EVID that he.basket.hang he.examine what it.be.in
That one (the boy) got up, took the basket down and examined what was in.
(G53-54)

Obviously, broader criteria than the clause are needed for a structural definition of discourse units, since they vary considerably in the number of clauses they contain. Besides the 'complex clause', Serzisko proposes the concept of the 'clause complex' ("Prädikationskomplex") which is defined as "any chain of clausal utterances that is intended as semantically coherent" ("jede als inhaltlich kohärent intendierte Satzäußerungsfolge". Pasch 1983: 16, cited in Serzisko 1992). A clause complex is assumed to signal a single illocution, i.e. it constitutes a single speech act. Together, the concepts of 'extended clause', 'complex clause', and 'clause complex' can account for the structure of a large number of discourse units. However, by Serzisko's definition (1992: 115-120), clause complexes necessarily contain at least one

[10]The class of propositional verbs is similar to Givon's (1973: 891 ff.) notion of M-verbs and C-verbs.

predication that constitutes a step on the text-internal timeline. By this condition, some discourse units are excluded. Consider example (22) from the beginning of the 'Ghost Story'.

(22) **ne:'** akę' nę:kyę́ skanǫhsá:t
that.is EVID this house

shę nhǫ:
COMP place

kae'trǫ' hǫwayatrę́:'ah
they.lived be.grandmother.and.grandchild
There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson. (G5-8)

In sum, neither Chafe's definition of 'extended clause' nor Serzisko's notions of 'complex clause' and 'clause complex' have been able to include all instances of discourse units, and I have been unable to find syntactic or structural criteria that could cover all instances of these units. Indeed, discourse units vary considerably in their structure and size. They share this feature with one of the intuitively most obvious units of language, the sentence, which has proved to be a serious challenge for linguistic definition. This is true for the sentence as a unit of written language, but even more so within the analysis of spoken language. Its problematic status has been widely discussed, and both Chafe (1980, 1987) and Serzisko (1992) have contributed to the discussion from a discourse analysis perspective. One way of defining the sentence in spoken language is by final intonation – one of the criteria that are used to define discourse units. For instance Chafe (1987: 46) considers sentences to be units "which result from passing decisions regarding coherence and rhetorical effect". He states furthermore that "the obvious property of spoken sentences, as defined by the falling pitch intonation, is their variability in length". As Chafe (1980, 1987) points out, sentences can consist of a single pause unit or comprise an entire paragraph. With this parallel to intonational sentences, the fact that no syntactic definition could account for all discourse units is not surprising. I will continue using the term 'discourse unit', but the notion of 'intonational sentence' can be thought of as equivalent. The distributional analysis of ne:' will make reference to these units.

2.2 Particle clusters

Based on its position within discourse units, and the nature of the element which follows ne:', two main environments can be distinguished: (a) ne:' as the first element of a cluster of particles that introduces a discourse unit (or a clause within a discourse unit) as in (23a), and (b) ne:' followed directly by a content word in medial position of a discourse unit as in (23b).

(23a) **ne:'** gih hę́' hne:' wagyés'ageh ne' a:hsadó:wa:t
this also also too it.is.easy the for.you.to.hunt
Also, it is an easy way to hunt, as well. (R77)

(23b) kahyatǫhsra'ké kyę:' nhǫ: aha:yá'k **ne:'** ętkatenyę́:tęhs
he.newspaper.on EMPH place he.cut ASS I.will.copy
he cut a piece on (=from) the newspaper; that's what I should copy. (Gr35-36)

While these environments are typical for the distribution of ne:', they are not the only ones possible. The particle can also occur at the beginning of a discourse unit directly followed by a content word as in example (24).

(24) **ne:'** tęhséhsage:t é:gwa:dih hęhsóda: ę:n n'aohahá:dih degyohǫ́:do:t
that you.will.bend.it other.side you.will.hook.it on.the.other.side.of.the.road another.whip

tohǫ: hęhsóda:
there you.will.hook.it
You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road. (R63)

Theoretically, the occurrence of ne:' in (24) can be considered a unit-initial particle cluster with a single member. In other words, it is unclear whether the described environments are in fact syntactically different.

Particle clusters with ne:' as their first element do not appear only in the initial position of discourse units, but several can also occur in medial position. So far, it seems that the initial clusters indicate or coincide with unit boundaries since they typically introduce intonational sentences. I will argue that the medial clusters also serve the function of introducing units of speech. They introduce smaller segments within a discourse unit. Often, these non-initial particle clusters are preceded by a short pause. Interestingly, the English translation of units with medial particle clusters often includes a subordinate clause. This does not necessarily have implications for the status of the Cayuga text segments, and I do not generally consider the medial clusters to be a subordination device since the same clusters are found at the beginning of discourse units and in medial position. It is beyond the scope of this project to address in detail whether clauses introduced by non-initial clusters have independent status or are subordinated.

The particle clusters which introduce discourse units or clauses within discourse units perform various discourse functions. I would like to clarify how I use the term 'discourse function' before continuing the discussion of the environment and functions of the particle ne:'.

Mithun (1984: 329) states that evidential particles in Iroquoian occur more often than is necessary for "specifying the degree of reliability of an utterance". Similarly, deictic particles occur "more frequently than is necessary to keep reference straight". This suggests that these elements perform a function beyond their inherent lexical or grammatical meaning. Mithun describes the properties of such particles as follows.

> . . . the particles seem . . . to have less salience to the speakers. If a speaker slows down for clarity or dictation . . . the particles tend to disappear. . . . Speakers are almost uniformly at a loss to translate them. . . . they tend to cluster around specific statements which speakers would like to hedge . . . . They tend to occur in very long strings particularly . . . around elements of high communicative value to the discourse. They allow the speaker to regulate the flow of information so as to be most easily understood by the hearer. If too many short, highly important units of information were to occur in rapid succession, a hearer might not be able to take them in all at once with their proper force. Strings of particles permit the speaker to arrange important information such that it arrives in proper intervals. In addition, . . . proper rhythm can affect the hearer's willingness to listen. (Mithun 1984: 329)

Given functions like marking elements of high communicative value, regulating the flow of information, and influencing the hearer's willingness to listen, it becomes clear that the primary function of discourse markers is not to *express* the content of communication, but to provide ways of successfully *transmitting* it. Another kind of discourse function has been suggested by Woodbury (1980). The functions she assigns to the Onondaga particles one and na' (Cayuga ne:') is that of marking events and non-events respectively. In this case, the discourse function consists of *classifying* the communicative content. The same is true for evidential markers which classify the reliability or the source of information.

Some particles are discourse markers in all of their occurrences. Speakers tend to comment that they "don't mean much of anything, really" (Woodbury 1980: 3). Others perform discourse functions only in certain environments, and speakers' ability to translate them varies from instance to instance. Still other elements which I will call 'lexical particles', never function as discourse markers, or they do so only to the extent that content words could. They have a definable lexical meaning and are normally translated without problems. It seems that the harder a particle is to translate, the more likely it is that it has discourse functions. However, certain lexical meanings are compatible with discourse functions while others are not. Translatability is, therefore, not a reliable criterion for deciding whether a particle performs discourse functions in a given context or is used for its lexical or grammatical content only.

In Table 2, I summarize the most common particle combinations that show ne:' in initial position. The clusters are presented with respect to positional slots. The listed particles are the most frequent, but further particles can intervene in various positions.

Table 2 *ne:'*-initial particle clusters

1	2	3	4			5	6
ne:'	gi'	hę'	gyę:'	gę:s	hne:'	hǫ:ni:'	thogyę
	agę'						nę:gyę
	di'						thǫ
	hni'						

The table is an abstraction of various particle clusters found in the text sample. It can be misleading to some extent because not all elements co-occur. Elements which occur in the same column are in complementary distribution. The positional slots have to be understood on a theoretical level. To illustrate, consider the particle gę:s, in the fourth position in the table. In a number of examples, this particle occurs directly after ne:', and thus, in the second position of a cluster. However, when it co-occurs with the particles gi' or agę' it always follows these elements. From its position with respect to these other particles, gę:s gets assigned to the fourth position. Where it does occur in the second position, directly following ne:', it is assumed to be preceded by unfilled slots. The positional slots of the table, thus, have to be distinguished from 'surface' positions.

2.2.1 Positional slots

2.2.1.1 First position

The clusters discussed in this section are introduced by the particle ne:'. There are similar clusters which show the particles onę:h or nę' ('then, now, when') in initial position. The relation between these and the ne:'-initial clusters will be discussed in section 2.4.

2.2.1.2 Second position

The second positional slot is occupied by the particles gi', di', or agę'. The form gi' is glossed as 'declarative' in the 'Ghost Story' and the 'Grandfather Story'. In 'How to hunt rabbits', it is labeled 'just'. Sasse (1988: 196) suggests that gi' is an 'assertive particle'. The particle di' occurs only twice in the data base. In both cases it follows ne:' directly. On the basis of these two occurrences alone, it is not clear whether the particle indeed occupies the second positional slot. However, two authors mention a relation between the forms gi' and di' which suggests that they occur in the same position. Sasse (1988: 197) mentions explicitly that gi' and di' occupy the "enclitic position after the first element in the sentence" ("enklitische Position nach dem ersten Wort des Satzes"). He claims that through their fixed position these particles mark sentence boundaries. Foster (ms.) notes an opposition between gi' and di' and suggests an association with 'topic change' (gi') and 'consequence' (di'). He glosses the latter particle 'so, thus'. The third element that occurs in this position is the evidential marker agę', which expresses hearsay. Its origin in the verb form a:gę:' 'she said' is still phonologically and semantically transparent.

2.2.1.3 Third position

In all its occurrences, the particle hni' immediately follows ne:'. Nevertheless, I am not convinced that hni' shares the second positional slot with the particles discussed above. In its functions it is similar to the particle hę', and the two forms are in complementary distribution. For these reasons I suspect that hni' and hę' share the third slot of particle clusters. Both particles are translated as 'also', but they differ in the units they modify and are not interchangeable. The examples in (25) show the difference in the particles' use. The form hę' introduces an completely new idea to the discourse which is generally expressed by the entire discourse unit introduced by the particle cluster.

(25a) **ne:' hę'** hne:' akahshá:'s tho:kyę hne:'
ASS also I.remember that ASS
Also I remember that one

tshikatatrihǫnyanihnhé's kę:s
I.learn usually
when I used to go to school

tho katǫkohthá' [shę hę'trǫ']
there I.pass
I used to pass there [how he lived] (mistake)

shę nhǫ: hę'trǫ́'
COMP place he.lived
where he lived. (Gr22-25)

In contrast, the form hni:' adds a concept to a 'list' that has been mentioned in the previous discourse, typically in the same discourse unit. The concept introduced by ne:' hni' is therefore normally a sub-segment of a discourse unit. It corresponds to English 'also' in the sense of 'as well as', or 'too', as illustrated in (25b) below.

(25b) hoyęti'ǫhné:' hne:'
he.knew ASS
he was good at whatever he was doing

haya'tahá'
he.paint
he was a painter

ne:' hni' hakyęn'athá' hni' kę:s
ASS also he.actor also usually
and he was also a performer. (Gr6-8)

One could say that the two particles perform the same function on different levels of the discourse, i.e. that they differ mainly in the kind of concept they introduce. With hni:', the 'headline' or superordinate category of the 'list' is expressed in the previous discourse, ('he was good at whatever he was doing' (25b)). In the case of hę', the superordinate category is the discourse itself. In example (25a) the particle introduces another memory to a narrative which consists of episodes about the speaker's grandfather. The concepts that are introduced by hę' are entire illocutions. This is especially clear in example (25a), where the illocutionary verb 'remember' is expressed overtly.

In one case, the particle sequence hę' ne:' occurs in the final position of a discourse unit. The speaker explained that the particles modify the preceding discourse. One can say that this cluster is a mirror image of the sequence ne:' hę' which only occurs at the beginning of a discourse unit. The example is given in (26).

(26) **ne:'** hni:' gwé:gǫh
also all

sǫgwadęna'trae:wíh nękę́h ohwęjagéh
the.food.that.he.has.given.us this on.earth

de:dwadęnǫhǫyohá' **hę' né:'**
we.all.give.thanks and.also
And we give thanks for all other foods that the creator has given us. (T7)

2.2.1.4 Fourth position

The fourth position in Table 2 is filled by the three particles gyę:', gę:s, and hne:' which can co-occur. The reason I do not distinguish positional slots for these forms is that they do not have fixed positions with respect to each other. The ordering given in the table is the most

frequent one, but the text sample includes examples of different orders as well. It is possible, though, that the order is more rigid than it appears and that cluster boundaries have to be investigated more thoroughly. Consider for example the utterance in (27).

(27) **ne:'** ki' hne:' |
ASS DECL ASS
That's what it is

kyę:' ka:tǫ́ hne:' hakhsotkęhę́:'
EMPH I.say ASS he.was.my.grandfather
What I say is about my grandfather. (Gr87-88)

The particle kye:' follows the form hne:', which contradicts their more common ordering. However, the two particles are separated by a pause. This suggests that kye:' possibly does not build a cluster with the preceding hne:', but rather should be grouped with the words that follow. An examination of pauses and discourse unit-internal intonation might reveal evidence for a more rigid ordering within the clusters under discussion, but since not all sources of the text sample indicate pauses, I will not investigate this further in the present study.

The particle gye:' is labeled as 'emphatic' in the 'Ghost Story' and 'Grandfather Story', as well as in Foster's Cayuga particle list (ms.). Its glosses in 'How to hunt rabbits' vary. They include 'then', 'is', and 'it is'. It is clear that these are not literal glosses for the particle, but only rough associations with parts of the English translation.[11] The particle ge:s marks information as customary and is translated as 'usually' or 'used to' in all sources. The third element, hne:', indicates 'emphasis' and 'contrast' according to Foster (ms.). Sasse (1993, p.c.) considers it a variant of the particle ne:'. He glosses both forms as 'that is' in the 'Ghost Story' and as 'assertive' in the 'Grandfather Story'. In 'How to hunt rabbits' the particle is glossed with an underlined proximal demonstrative (this). The author does not provide an explanation for this form of the gloss, but one can assume the underlining to express emphasis and/or contrast.

2.2.1.5 Fifth and sixth positions

It is unclear whether the fifth and sixth positions in Table 2 can really be distinguished. The particles of these slots co-occur in only two examples, and their ordering is different in each case. The particle hǫ:ni' expresses a causal or purposive relation. It is translated as 'why' or 'because'. The particles in the sixth position of the table are demonstratives.[12] Cayuga makes a two-way distinction in demonstrative words: tho(gyeh) refers to distal entities and ne:(gyeh) to proximal ones. The variants with the ending -gyeh are emphatic forms. They are probably fusions of the basic demonstratives tho and ne: with the emphatic particle gye:'. The status of the demonstrative particle, to:, with respect to the paradigm is unclear. The form is glossed as 'the one' throughout 'How to hunt rabbits'.

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[11] This is the case for many particle glosses in 'How to Hunt Rabbits'. In the following, I will only refer to those glosses that are consistent throughout the text.

[12] The sources vary in their transcription of the demonstratives. Besides the orthographic difference for stops ([t–] vs. [th–]), the transcriptions vary in the presence of a final [–h].

2.2.1.6 Further particles

The particle hwa' only occurs after the demonstratives thogyęh or nę:gyęh. Mithun and Henry (1982) translate it as 'this time', and the same gloss is used in the 'Ghost Story' and the 'Grandfather Story'. A further form which should be mentioned is the particle ayę:' 'it seems', which probably occupies a slot after the demonstratives.

2.2.2 Cluster boundaries

The discussed particles modify each other in such a way that the clusters behave like single entities. It is sometimes problematic to determine the final boundary of these particle sequences. The occurrence of a content word is a definite indication of the cluster boundary. It is not clear, however, whether all particles that occur between the beginning of an utterance and the first content word necessarily constitute a single cluster. Consider for example the two utterances in (28).

(28a) **ne:'** hne:' to:gyęh **ne'** agwaę'hó:ta' agwáyasta'
this this that this we.set.traps.with.bushes we.call.it
This is the one where we set traps. (R57)

(28b) **ne:'** ki' hne:' nę:kyę́ **ne'** i:' | Alta Doxtador ni: kyá:sǫh
ASS DECL ASS this REF 1SG.PRO 1SG.PRO I.am.named
So as to me, as far as I am concerned my name is Alta Doxtador. (Gr89-90)

Both utterances show clusters as presented in Table 2 followed by the particle ne' (with short vowel as opposed to ne:') which is traditionally considered a noun phrase marker (Foster 1989) or a nominalizer (Woodbury 1980). It shows some properties of an article and is in most cases translated as such. According to Sasse's analysis (1993a, 1993b), this particle has referentializing functions; it subsumes the predicative force of the element it modifies. For example, ne' can modify a text segment which is introduced by the temporal particle nęh 'when' "in which case a construction with a clearly subordinating character arises" (Sasse 1993b: 171). An example is presented in (29).

(29) ękyaǫtka:tǫ́ ne' nęh ęhsyǫ'
I.will.have.fun when you.will.come
I will have fun when you come (Sasse 1993b:172, ex. (34))

As presented in section 1.4, Chafe (1993 p.c.) suggests for Seneca that the particle sequence ne:' (...) ne, which is frequently expanded by intervening particles, has a meaning similar to "It is the case that ..." modifying the following proposition. This position suggests that the article-like particle ne' is part of the initial particle cluster. My stand on these examples is different: I posit the existence of a cluster boundary before the particle ne'. Given its referentializing and/or nominalizing function, I assume that ne' builds a constituent with the element(s) that follow(s) it. In (25a) it goes with the verb agwaę'hó:ta' 'we set traps with bushes'; in (25b) it refers to the first person pronoun i:'.

2.3 Distribution within discourse units

In this section I present all instances of ne:' that occur in the text sample. The data is organized in terms of the particle's context. Section 2.3.1 presents examples of ne:' as the initial particle of a cluster introducing a discourse unit or a clause within a discourse unit. Section 2.3.2 discusses occurrences of ne:' where it is not part of the clusters presented in Table 2. The data is ordered in groups according to the elements in the immediate environment.

2.3.1 *ne:'*-initial particle clusters

This section is concerned only with clusters of the type discussed in 2.2.1. The combinations of the particles which were presented in Table 2 are so multifarious that it is impossible to discuss each occurring cluster separately. It appears that not all particles of a cluster have the same 'weight', but that some contribute more to the character and function of the cluster than others. The data is presented in groups that are defined by the particles with more 'weight' (I will come back to this feature in Chapter 3). These are the elements which occupy the second, third, fifth, and sixth positional slot of Table 2. The particles of the fourth position seem to have the least restrictions and occur with almost all other particles presented in the table. Some examples are discussed in more than one group.

2.3.1.1 *ne:' gi' ...*

The particle gi' is one of the most common particles in ne:'-initial clusters. It is attested with almost every particle presented in Table 2. In some instances, clusters consist only of the sequence ne:' gi', as in (30) below.

(30) **ne:' gi'** | gaditshenę'shǫ:'áh | 'ǫgwanahsgwaędǫ' gę́:s |
they.are.tame.ones we.had.some.domestic.animals formerly

tshę (nhǫ:weh) gwę́'drǫ' .
what (place) (=where) we.were.living
Well, we used to have some domestic animals at home. (A1)

In most cases, however, further particles follow. The combination with the forms hne:' or kye:' from the fourth position is a recurrent pattern.

(31) **ne:' ki'** kyę:' nę:kyę́ hwa'
that.is DECL EMPH this this.time
This is what we are talking about now. (G1)

(32) **ne:' ki'** kyę:'
that.is DECL EMPH

aweht'akę́' hota'ǫh
pretending he.sleep
that's what it was, he was pretending to be asleep, (G26-27)

(33) **ne:' ki'** kyę:'
that.is DECL EMPH

aha:tkę́:h akę' tho:kyę́h aha'ahthraniyǫta:kó' aha:ktǫ́:' ę' í:wa:t
he.got.up EVID that he.basket.hang he.examine what be.in
That one got up, took the basket down and examined what was in. (G53-54)

(34) **né:' gi'** gyę' né' | 'aagyadríhwi̲hs'á:' | 'ęhihní:nǫ́' .
we.two.made.an.agreement I.will.buy.it.from.him
We agreed I'd buy it from him. (A11)

(35) **ne:' ki'** hne:'
ASS DECL ASS
That's what it is

kyę:' ka:tǫ́ hne:' hakhsotkęhę́:'
EMPH I.say ASS he.was.my.grandfather
what I say is about my grandfather. (Gr87-88)

(36) **ne:' ki'** hne:' nę:kyę́ ne' i:'
ASS DECL ASS this REF 1SG.PRO
so as to me, as far as I am concerned

Alta Doxtador ni: kyá:sǫh
1SG.PRO I.am.named
my name is Alta Doxtador. (Gr89-90)

Sometimes gi' is directly followed by a demonstrative, as in examples (37) to (39).

(37) **ne:' gi'** thǫ: ęhsyánhę:' o:nęh tó:gyęh.
that just that.one you.will.follow.its.tracks then that
That is the one whose tracks you will follow. (R17)

(38) **ne:' gi'** tǫ: ęhsyánhę:
that just the.one you.will.track
That is the one you will track. (R22)

(39) **ne:' gi'** tó:gyęh tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyana̲hséhdǫ awagyanahseht gę:s
this just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks it.hides.its.tracks usually

ne:' tǫ: hǫ:ni' a:yę:' ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh.
that the.one why one.could.say all.over it.has.hopped.there
They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks. (R32)

The cluster in the following examples contain a temporal particle.

(40) **ne:' gi'** o:nęh tohǫ́: tęhsda'
that.is just now there you.will.stop
That is where you will stop. (R34)

In one instance gi' occurs with the causal particle hǫ:ni'.

(41) **ne:' gi'** hǫ:ni' ahí:' gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa' a:gatró:wi' gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa'
that just why I.thought maybe perhaps I.would.tell if perhaps

sǫ:gá:'ah ęhodi'nikwáęda' nę:gyę́h hwá shęh niga:yę:.
someone they.will.understand this and how so.it.is.done
That is why I thought perhaps I might tell about it so that they might understand how it is done. (R5)

The text sample contains two examples with the form gih with final [h] instead of a glottal stop. I assume this to be a variant since it has the same distribution as gi'. Consider the examples in (42) and (43).

(42) **ne:' gih** hne:' kyohfréhtgǫh do: niyo:we' hęhse:'
that all depends on it.follows how so.it.is.far you.will.go
It all depends on how far you go. (R75)

(43) **ne:' gih** hę́' hne:' wagyés'ageh ne' a:hsadó:wa:t
this also also too it.is.easy the for.you.to.hunt
Also, it is an easy way to hunt, as well. (R77)

Three times, clusters containing ne:' gi' are found to introduce clauses within discourse units as in (44) and (45).

(44) gwáhs shęh nitgá:de' węni'kaha:ní:yǫ:t ne' ętgádakse' **ne:' gi'** ne'
just how so.it.stands the.hoop.will.hang that it.will.run that.is just that

hęwęnohwá:wi't shęh węni'kaha:ní:yǫ:t
it.will.stick.its.head where the.hoop.is.hanging.there
The hoop will hang just high enough so that when the rabbit comes running, it will stick its head right inside of it. (R67)

(45) ne:' kyę:' hne:' nę́'
that.is EMPH that.is and.then

a'ǫtehsrǫ:ní' aeyaké' ne' hohsó:t aweht'aké'
she.prepare.herself she.go.out ART grandmother pretending

ne:' ki' ahanihna:tó:k ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́h kyę:'
that.is DECL he.felt she.prepare.herself EMPH
He noticed that she was getting ready. (G23-25)

In example (46), however, the cluster introduces direct speech and therefore stands in the initial position of an utterance.

(46) nę' ki' kyę:' a:ké' **ne:' ki'** kyę:' asatkahtó'
and.then DECL EMPH she.said that.is DECL EMPH you.saw.it
So now she said: That's what it is. You saw it.

thę' kę:s t'aǫ a:satahǫhsi:yóhs tę' ho'té'
NEG usually NEG your.ear.good what kind

khó:wihs
I.tell
You wouldn't listen what I keep telling you. (G81-83)

2.3.1.2 *ne:' di' ...*

The cluster ne:' di' appears twice in the text sample. In both instances no further particles follow.

(47) **ne:' di'** | thę' gi' ne' d'eǫgwanahsgwáę' né' | gaędanéhgwi ne'
so not (=but) we.did.not.have.domestic animal horse

thohgé nhǫ: nę: hezwagathró:wí: .
back then this I.am.telling.about.it.back.then
But we didn't own any horses at the time I'talking about. (A2)

(48) **ne:' di'** ha'gyǫ' | kahsegwáa' | ne' thagá:wí nęgyénhwá' ne' tshę nigá:'
so I.arrived.there the.pitchfork he.has.given.me this
who (the.one)

hakhnahsgwanihahdá:ní: | 'ahátkahthó' né' | hakhnó'zę tshe nigahsegwáo'dęh|
he.lent.me.some.domestic.animals he.saw.it my.uncle
what what.kind.of.fork.it.is

'ahę' | ne:' ni:' do:gęs 'ǫgetsy'ǫtanǫwá:kdę' nę: nigahsegwáo'dęh .
he.said me really it.makes.me.hungry.for.fish this what.kind.of.fork.it.is
Well, when I got to my uncle's and he saw the old pitchfork I'd gotten from the guy who'd loaned me the horses, he said, "That fork really makes me hungry for fish!". (A13)

2.3.1.3 *ne:' agę' ...*

The sequence ne:' agę' occurs only in two sources by the same speaker. The presence of the cluster could be a feature of the speaker's personal style or dialect, or due to the nature of the texts. The 'Ghost Story' is the only fictional text in the collection, and in the 'Grandfather Story' the particle agę' appears precisely in that part which is introduced by 'when he was younger', which most likely treats events that the speaker does not remember herself (since she is talking about her grandfather). Given this, it seems that the text type is the relevant factor, rather than the speaker's style. Frequently the evidential is followed by the customary particle kę:s as in the examples below.

(49) **ne:' akę'** kę:s hne:'
ASS EVID usually ASS
So

ne:' kaękwa' nhǫ: ahęnanataę' tho:kęh
ASS somewhat place they.camp.set that
it seems whenever they stopped somewhere camping

nę' kę:s nę:kyę athę:ná:t hne:'
and.then usually this they.danced ASS
then these people danced. (Gr53-55)

(50) **ne:' akę'** kę:s tho:kyé hohtsakw'enǫ:ní: thę' hne:' t'eoyę:téht
ASS EVID usually that he.fist.made NEG ASS NEG.it.know.possible

tę' hahá:' kyę:'
what he.take EMPH
He's got his hands closed up, it doesn't show what he holds.

(51) **ne:' akę'** kę:s a:yę́:'
ASS EVID usually it.seems
And it seems

athǫwanǫháhk se' tho:kyę́ nę'
he.scalp.picked.up after.all that
he scalped him really that one (the man he danced with).(Gr64-65)

(52) **ne:' akę'** kę:s ne:' kę:s to:s ne' kaehnyǫ'ǫ́h
ASS EVID usually ASS usually certainly REF they(f).are.white
And the white women really

akonahtrǫ́hk
it.scared.them
they got frightened

akyakotíhe:ht akę' kę:s akonikǫhahtǫ́'trǫ:'
they.shouted EVID usually they.mind.lost
they screamed, they all fainted. (Gr70-72)

(53) **ne:' akę'** kę:s eya:kę's tkǫhaé sǫ:hé' ne:' nę' e:' ęhó:ta'
that.is EVID usually she.go.out at.times at.night that.is and.then again you.will.sleep
It happened that she used to go out at nighttime when he would sleep. (G9-10)

In two cases the evidential particle is followed by a demonstrative.

(54) **ne:' akę'** nę:kyé skanǫhsá:t
that.is EVID this house

shę nhǫ:
COMP place

kae'trǫ'
they.lived

hǫwayatrę́:'ah
be.grandmother.and.grandchild
There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson. (G5-G8)

(55) **ne:' akę'** tho:kyę́h
that.is EVID that

a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h niyo:wé'
it.seems he.get.scared too high far
But it seems he got scared, it is far too high.

ahę́' akę' ohta'kehshǫ́:' ne:' tshǫ: nęka:tǫ́:koht
he.said EVID low.spots that.is only I.will.pass
So he said: It is the low spots only that I will pass. (G64-66)

The data includes three examples where ne:' agę' introduces a clause within a discourse unit. They are given in (56) to (58).

(56) nę' akę' kę:s tho:kyę́ hne:'
and.then EVID usually that ASS
And that one (the grandfather)

nęh athę:ná:t
when they.danced
when they would dance

ne:' akę' kę:s tho:kyę́ hohtsakw'enǫ:ní:
ASS EVID usually that he.fist.made
he's got his hands closed up (like a fist). (Gr57-59)

Twice, agę' precedes the verb form a:gę́' 'she said', from which it originates. The two words are distinguished only by the length of their initial vowel. The examples below illustrate this sequence.

(57) nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:'
and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems

ęyéyakę́'
she.will.go.out
And again she started getting herself ready, it seems she will go out.

ne:' akę' a:kę́'
that.is EVID she.said

ęsę:tá' ni:s ó:nęh
you.will.sleep you(CONTR) now
That's what she said: You will sleep now. (G17-20)

(58) nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:'
and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems

ęyeyakę́'
she.will.go.out

ne:' akę' a:ké'
that.is EVID she.said

sętá' ni:s ó:nęh
you.sleep you(CONTR) now
And she said: You sleep now. (G46-49)

2.3.1.4 *ne:' hni:' ...*

The particle hni:' 'also' normally introduces segments that are smaller than discourse units. In 2.2.1.3, I have described its function as 'adding a concept to a list'. The nature of the 'list' or the relation of the listed concepts is typically expressed first within the same discourse unit. In example (59) the 'list' consists of elaborations of the statement "He was good at what ever he was doing".

(59) hoyęti'ǫhné:' hne:'
he.knew ASS
he was good at whatever he was doing

haya'tahá'
he.paint
he was a painter

ne:' hni' hakyęn'athá' hni' kę:s
ASS also he.actor also usually
and he was also a performer. (Gr6-8)

Example (60) below shows the same structure.

(60) ha'te:yǫ́: se' hni' ho'tę́' hawayęhǫ́'s kę:s
it.is.amount after.all also kind he.knew.how usually
All different kinds of things also he knew to make

ne:' hni' kę:s
ASS also usually
and also

eksaętahkhwá' kyę:' hni niyohtǫ́'s ne:' kę:s hahsrǫ:níh
cupboard EMPH also it.is.such ASS usually he.thing.make
cupboards, also that sort of things he made

ne:' **hni'** kę:s ne' hęnathnǫhsǫnyahnǫ:nyǫh hni' kę:s
ASS also usually REF they.house.make also usually
there were also those who build houses (carpenters), he also

shakoyenáw'aseh
he.help.them
used to help them. (Gr42-46)

The children's Thanksgiving Address is structured as a list of things for which thanks are given. It is the only source in which the cluster ne:' hni:' introduces discourse units instead of smaller segments. In some respects, the entire text can be seen as a single speech act, expressing the clause 'We give thanks for x'. This explains why ne:' hni:' introduces discourse units in this source.

(61) **ne:'** **hni'** gwé:gǫh
also all

jidęhsǫah (short for jidę'ęsǫah) awęhegó:wa' gǫwadigówanęh
birds.of.many.variety eagle is.their.leader
We give thanks for all the birds and the eagle is the leader of the birds. (T5)

(62) **ne:'** **hni:'** gwé:gǫh
also all

sǫgwdęna'trae:wíh nękęh ohwęjagéh
the.food.that.he.has.given.us this on.earth

de:dwadęnǫhǫyohá' hę' né:'
we.all.give.thanks and.also
And we give thanks for all other foods that the creator has given us. (T7)

(63) **ne:'** **hni'** deyo:wá:węnye'
also wind(the air is going around)
And give thanks for that we still have winds. (T9)

(64) **ne:'** **hni:'**
also

ęndeká: gá:hgwá:h sedwáhjah
day shape (= sun) our.big.brother

deshedwanǫhǫhkwa'
we.care.a.great.deal.for.him
We give thanks for our brother the sun.(T13)

(65) **ne:'** **hni:** atedwanǫhǫ:' sganyadaiyó' ne'
also we.give.thanks.to.him Handsome.Lake ART

nękę ohwęjagéh
this on.earth

gaehkwí:yó: hohká'węh
the.good.word that.he.left
And also to Handsome Lake who brought us the good word. (T15)

2.3.1.5 *ne:' (...) hę'...*

The text sample contains three ne:'-initial clusters that include the particle hę'. In all these cases, hę' is accompanied by the particle hne:'. Consider examples (66) to (68).

(66) **ne:' hę'** hne:' akahshá:'s tho:kyę hne:'
ASS also I.remember that ASS
Also I remember that one

tshikatatrihǫnyanihnhé's kę:s
I.learn usually
when I used to go to school

tho katǫkohthá' [shę hę'trǫ']
there I.pass
I used to pass there [how he lived] (mistake)

shę nhǫ: hę'trǫ'
COMP place he.lived
where he lived. (Gr22-25)

(67) **ne:' hę'** hne:' tǫ: shęnhó: onatadé:nyǫ' gwa'yǫ'
that where this the.one where their.roads.are rabbits
We do it where the rabbits' roads are. (R58)

(68) **ne:' gih** hę' hne:' wagyés'ageh ne' a:hsadó:wa:t
this also also too it.is.easy the for.you.to.hunt
Also, it is an easy way to hunt, as well. (R77)

The discourse unit in (69) below shows the particle ne:' in final position preceded by hę' 'also'. Without inquiry on my part, the speaker provided the information that the cluster refers back to the previous discourse.

(69) **ne:' hni:'** gwé:gǫh
also all

sǫgwdęna'trae:wíh nękęh ohwęjagéh
the.food.that.he.has.given.us this on.earth

de:dwadęnǫhǫyohá' hę' né:'
we.all.give.thanks and.also
And we give thanks for all other foods that the creator has given us. (T7)

2.3.1.6 *ne:' (...) hǫ:ni' ...*

As discussed earlier, the particle hǫ:ni' expresses a causal or purposive relation. The text sample includes five examples of the sequence ne:' hǫ:ni' which are given below.

(70) **ne:' hǫ:ni:'** to:gyęh onǫ'a:'geh ęhsí:'a:k
that.is why that on.its.head you.will.shoot
And that is because you will shoot at its head. (R47)

(71) **ne:'** gi' **hǫ:ni'** ahí:' gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa' a:gatró:wi' gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa'
that just why I.thought maybe perhaps I.would.tell if perhaps

sǫ:gá:'ah ęhodi'nikwáęda' nę:gyęh hwá shęh niga:yę:.
someone they.will.understand this and how so.it.is.done
That is why I thought perhaps I might tell about it so that they might understand how it is done. (R5)

In the examples below, the particle se' intervenes between ne:' and hǫ́:ni'. It is glossed with 'also' in Foster (ms.), and as 'after all' by Mithun and Henry (1982: 564). The glosses in examples (72) and (74) are not literal.

(72) **ne:'** se' **hǫ́:ni'** onǫ'a:'geh ęhsí:'a:k tę' tha:hsrétgęht o'wáhǫ'
this that why on.its.head you.will.shoot not for.you.to.ruin meat
You will shoot it in the head so that you will not ruin the meat. (R53)

(73) **ne:'** se' **hǫ:ni'** ogyanahséhdǫh
that is because it.has.hidden.its.tracks
That is because it has hidden its tracks there. (R37)

The form segę:s in the example below is glossed as 'usually'. It is possibly a fusion of the customary particle gę:s and the element se'.

(74) **ne:'** segę:s gyę:' **hǫ:ni:'** tga'de' ohǫ:dá:k'ah kraidá:k'ah gishęh hǫ: gętsgo:t
that usually it.is because it.is.much near.a.bush near.a.tree or there it.sits
That is how you have to do it because many times it happens that it will be sitting near a bush or a tree. (R43)

Only once does a cluster including ne:' and hǫ:ni:' occur in the medial position of a discourse unit. It introduces the clause ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh 'it has hopped there'. Note that the form a:ye:' 'it seems' is not a verb but an evidential particle.

(75) ne:' gi' tó:gyęh tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyanahséhdǫh awagyanahseht gę:s
this just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks it.hides.its.tracks usually

ne:' tǫ: **hǫ:ni'** a:yę:' ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh.
that the.one why one.could.say all.over it.has.hopped.there
They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks. (R32)

The data shows one more instance of the sequence ne:' hǫ:ni'. It is unclear whether example (76) should be considered a ne:'-initial cluster or an instance of a cluster that starts with the temporal particle o:nęh 'now, then, when'.

(76) ehsyánihsak se'gye:' wa'héh o:nęh **ne:'** **hǫ:ni'** heyohé: wagyés'ageh
you.will.look.for.tracks you.know before now this.is because more it.is.easy
You look for the tracks first, because it is easier. (R55)

2.3.1.7 *ne:' (...) to:gyęh ...*

The distal demonstrative to:gyęh 'that' occurs in a vast number of ne:'-initial particle clusters. In the text sample it co-occurs with particles of all but the third positional slot. Most examples show to:gyęh following particles of the second and/or fourth position.

(77) **ne:' to:gyęh** ne' ęhsrę'ho:dę' gayá:sǫh
that.is that is you.will.set.a.trap it.is.called
That is what you call setting a trap. (R64)

(78) **ne:'** gi' **tó:gyęh** tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyanahséhdǫh awagyanahseht
this just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks it.hides.its.tracks

gę:s ne:' tǫ: hǫ:ni' a:yę:' ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh.
usually that the.one why one.could.say all.over it.has.hopped.there
They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks. (R32)

(79) **ne:'** gi' gę:s **to:gyęh** ne' nę́h 'awatehfrǫ́nihs'a:' gaęgwa'nhǫ́:weh
this just usually that.is this when it.gets.ready somewhere

nęwátahseht
so.it.will.hide
This is when it is getting ready to hide somewhere. (R38)

(80) **ne:'** akę' **tho:kyę́h**
that.is EVID that

a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h niyo:wé'
it.seems he.get.scared too high far
But it seems he got scared, it is far too high.

ahę́' akę' ohta'kehshǫ́:' ne:' tshǫ: nęka:tǫ́:koht
he.said EVID low.spots that.is only I.will.pass
So he said: It is the low spots only that I will pass. (G64-66)

(81) **ne:'** akę' kę:s **tho:kyę́** hohtsakw'enǫ:ní: thę' hne:' t'eoyę:téht ę'
ASS EVID usually that he.fist.made NEG ASS NEG.it.know.possible what

hahá:' kyę:'
he.take EMPH
He's got his hands closed up, it doesn't show what he holds. (Gr63)

(82) **ne:'** gyę:' gę:s **to:gyę́h** hwa' ne' gyę́:gwa' sadó:wa:s ne:' nęh
this is usually that.is and this maybe you.hunt that when

o'grǫ́:gyǫhne:'.
it.has.snowed
Now maybe you are hunting when it has snowed. (R6)

(83) **ne:'** se'gyę:' gę:s **to:gyę̨h** hwa' nęh sǫheh nęh gadidaksénǫgye's
this you.know usually that is when night when they.run.around

shęnhǫ: ohádenyǫ'.
where roads.are
This is how it is, you know, at night, when they run around near their roads. (R21)

(84) **ne:'** gę:s **to:gyę̨h** hwa' dagá:gyę:ht tǫ: tóh ha'ge:' shęnhǫ: onatadé:nyǫ'.
that usually that is I.started.with the.one there I.went where their.roads.are
The first thing I would normally do would be to go where their roads are. (R10)

(85) **ne:'** gę:s **to:gyęh** a:yę:' daodo'kdá:gye' shę̨h n'adeganá'skwe:s.
that usually that one.could.say it.lessens how so.jumps.are.long
Then the jumps seem to lessen in length. (R24)

(86) **ne:'** hne:' **to:gyęh** ne' agwaę'hó:ta' agwáyasta'
this this that this we.set.traps.with.bushes we.call.it
This is the one where we set traps. (R57)

(87) **ne:'** e:' **to:gyę̨h** hwa' tohǫ: ęhsrę'hódę' shęnhǫ́: otǫ:dǫ́:ni:
that again that is there you.will.set.a.trap where there.are.many.bushes

ká:gǫ:h se'gyę:' nóne:' ohǫdagǫ́hshǫ'
in.the.woods because you.know in.the.bushes
That is where you will set a trap this time, somewhere in the woods, because there is a lot of brush there, you know. (R61)

I have expressed doubts as to whether the demonstratives and the causal particle <u>hǫ:ni:'</u> occupy different slots. In one instance, however, <u>hǫ:ni:'</u> and <u>to:gyęh</u> co-occur.

(88) **ne:'** hǫ:ni:' **to:gyęh** onǫ'a:'geh ęhsí:'a:k
that.is why that on.its.head you.will.shoot
And that is because you will shoot at its head. (R47)

Possibly, this example can be explained by a cluster boundary before the demonstrative element. The example is from 'How to hunt rabbits' where intermediate pauses are not indicated. Lastly, there is one instance of a cluster with <u>ne:'</u> and <u>tho:kyę́</u> in medial position of a discourse unit. It is given in example (89)

(89) nę' akę' kę:s tho:kyę́ hne:'
and.then EVID usually that ASS
And that one (the grandfather)

nęh athę:ná:t
when they.danced
when they would dance

ne:' akę' kę:s **tho:kyę́** hohtsakw'enǫ:ní:
ASS EVID usually that he.fist.made
he's got his hands closed up (like a fist), (Gr57-59)

2.3.1.8 *ne:' (...) nę:gyęh ...*

The proximal demonstrative nę:gyé 'this' occurs less often than the distal one. In most cases, further particles intervene between ne:' and nę:gyé. Consider the following examples.

(90) **ne:'** ki' hne:' **nę:kyé** ne' i:'
ASS DECL ASS this REF 1SG.PRO
so as to me, as far as I am concerned

Alta Doxtador ni: kyá:sǫh
1SG.PRO I.am.named
my name is Alta Doxtador. (Gr89-90)

(91) **ne:'** akę' **nę:kyé** skanǫhsá:t
that.is EVID this house

shę nhǫ:
COMP place

kae'trǫ'
they.lived

hǫwayatrę́:'ah
be.grandmother.and.grandchild
There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson. (G5-G8)

(92) **ne:'** kyę:' **nę:kyé** ne' hęska:thro:wí'
ASS EMPH this REF I.will tell.you
This is what I will tell you. (Gr1)

The next example is special in that nę:gyęh is both preceded and followed by particle ne'.

(93) **né:'** ne' **nę:gyęh** ne' gwa'yǫ́' gę:s agwa:dó:wa:s tshige:ksá:'ah.
this is how it rabbit used.to we.hunt when.I.was.a.child
This is how we used to hunt rabbits when I was a child. (R1)

The text sample shows one instance of the cluster ne:' nę:kye in medial position of a discourse unit.

(94) 'o:nę́ gyę' | 'agíhsakhá' gi' ne' osthǫ́:drá' | tho nhǫ:wé ha'gé:' |
I.went.to.look.for (some).hay that place (where) I.went.there

thę'drǫ́' nęgyę́nhwá' ganedagǫ́: gwa:díh | **ne:'** **nę:kyé** né' |
he.was.living.there this in.the.Lower.End direction this

khnohá' degaǫdęhnǫ́:dé:' ne:' í:' ne' khno'zę́ nę́:h | thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' |
my.mother's brother we my.uncle this I.was.related.to

khnó'zę́ thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' .
my.uncle I.was.related.to.him
So I went looking for some over where my uncle lived in the Lower End of the reserve -- my mother's brother, my uncle as I was related to him. (A4)

2.3.1.9 *ne:' (...) tǫ: ...*

The particle tǫ: appears in four ne:'-initial clusters, three of which introduce discourse units.

(95) **ne:'** gi' **thǫ:** ęhsyánhę:' o:nęh tó:gyęh.
that just that.one you.will.follow.its.tracks then that
That is the one whose tracks you will follow. (R17)

(96) **ne:'** gi' **tǫ:** ęhsyánhę:
that just the.one you.will.track
That is the one you will track. (R22)

(97) **ne:'** gę:s **tǫ:** degán'asgwe:s gaęgwa' nyo:' ha'deyoná'skwahgwęh toh nyo:'
that usually that it.has.long.hops it.is far it.has.jumped.away that far

tó:gyęh
that.is
That is usually when it has hopped quite a ways. (R39)

The fourth instance occurs within a discourse unit, where it introduces a clause. In this sequence ne:' tǫ: is followed by the particle hǫ:ni'.

(98) ne:' gi' tó:gyęh tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyanahséhdǫh awagyanahseht gę:s **ne:' tǫ:**
thi just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks it.hides.its.tracks usually that the.one

hǫ:ni' a:yę:' ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh.
why one.could.say all.over it.has.hopped.there
They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks. (R32)

2.3.1.10 *ne:' (...) o:nęh / nę' ...*

Examples that show ne:' followed by one of the temporal particles are in some cases translated by temporal subordinate clauses. Only once does the long form o:nęh occur in a ne:'-initial cluster.

(99) **ne:'** gi' **o:nęh** tohǫ́: tęhsda'
that.is just now there you.will.stop
That is where you will stop. (R34)

In most instances the shortened variant nęh or the form nę' appears.[13]

(100) **ne:'** **nęh** syanęhę́:wi' o:nę́gwa' a:yę:' to:gyę́h hwa' nę́:tshǫ:
this now you.track now one.could.say that is less

n'adesgana'skwé:sǫ's
so.jumps.are.long
As you follow the tracks, the hops seem to get shorter and shorter. (R29)

[13]For the distinction between nęh and nę' see section 2.4.

(101) **ne:'** **nęh** ęthsatwadá:se' o:nęh gao' n'adę́:thse:'
that then you.will.come.around now back you.will.come.back
If you can't see him, go one way or the other, making a track in a circle, then coming back. (R50)

(102) **ne:'** **nęh** toh nęyá:węh hęwátgatsha't shęnhǫ́: hesodá:hǫh
that.is when that so.it.will.happen it.will.come.off where you.have.hooked.it

né:gyęh hwa' gáęho:t
this here trap
And when that happens, the part of the trap that you hooked on will come right off. (R68)

(103) **ne:'** se'gyę:' gę:s to:gyę́h hwa' **nęh** sǫheh nęh gadidaksénǫgye's
this you.know usually that is when night when they.run.around

shęnhǫ: ohádenyǫ'.
where roads.are
This is how it is, you know, at night, when they run around near their roads. (R21)

(104) **ne:'** kyę:' hne:' **né'**
that.is EMPH that.is and.then

a'ǫtehsrǫ:ní' aeyaké' ne' hohsó:t
she.prepare.herself she.go.out ART grandmother

aweht'aké'
pretending

ne:' ki' ahanihna:tó:k ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́h kyę:'
that.is DECL he.felt she.prepare.herself EMPH
When she prepared herself to go out , the grandmother, he was pretending, he noticed that she was getting ready, (G22-25)

In examples (105) to (107), a cluster with nęh or nę' stands in medial position introducing a clause within a discourse unit.

(105) ne:' gyę:' gę:s to:gyę́h hwa' ne' gyę́:gwa' sadó:wa:s **ne:'** **nęh**
this is usually that.is and this maybe you.hunt that when

o'grǫ́:gyǫhne:'.
it.has.snowed
Now maybe you are hunting when it has snowed. (R6)

(106) Ó: a:yę:' gi' hne:' gę:s tę' gwahs di' i:nǫh **ne:'** **nęh**
Oh one.could.say just this usually not too far this when

ęhsyanhae:' tó:gyęh.
you.will.track that
It generally seems like it is not too far that you have to follow the tracks. (R25)

(107) ne:' akę' kę:s eya:kę's tkǫhaé sǫ:hé' **ne:'** **nę'** e:'
that.is EVID usually she.go.out at.times at.night that.is and.then again

ęhó:ta'
he.will.sleep
It happend that she used to go out at nighttime when he would sleep. (G9-10)

2.3.1.11 Other *ne:'*-initial clusters

The groups discussed above cover almost all ne:'-initial particle clusters in the data. The examples below show clusters with ne:' followed by the particle gę:s or gyé:' of the fourth position of Table 2. Such clusters appear only twice at the beginning of a discourse unit. I assume the form segę:s in example (108) to be a fusion of the particle se' (which also occurs in isolation) and the customary particle gę:s.

(108) **ne:'** **segę:s** ne' swe'gé:hah hęnatęhní:nǫh gę:s ne' gwa'yǫ' gyę:'
that usually that long.ago they.sell used.to this rabbit then
A long time ago, they used to sell rabbits. (R71)

(109) **ne:'** **gyé:'** e:' gado:gé: nęhsye:' ęhsa:dó:wa:t to:gyęh ne' i:só'
this then again certain.way how.you.will.do you.will.hunt that is much

wagyés'ageh.
it.is.easy
Now there is a certain way to hunt that is a lot easier. (R2)

Two examples show the sequence ne:' kę:s in medial position of a discourse unit. I interpret the medial sequence in (110) as a partial repetition of the initial cluster.

(110) **ne:'** akę' kę:s **ne:'** **kę:s** to:s ne' kaehnyǫ'ǫh
ASS EVID usually ASS usually certainly REF they(f).are.white
And the white women really

akonahtrǫhk
it.scared.them
they got frightened

akyakotíhe:ht akę' kę:s akonikǫhahtǫ'trǫ:'
they.shouted EVID usually they.mind.lost
they screamed, they all fainted. (Gr70-72)

(111) ha'te:yǫ: se' hni' ho'tę' hawayęhǫ's kę:s
it.is.amount after.all also kind he.knew.how usually
All different kinds of things also he knew to make

ne:' hni' kę:s
ASS also usually
and also

eksaętahkhwá' kyę:' hni niyohtǫ's **ne:'** **kę:s** hahsrǫ:níh
cupboard EMPH also it.is.such ASS usually he.thing.make
cupboards, also that sort of things he made

ne:' hni' kę:s ne' hęnathnǫhsǫnyahnǫ:nyǫ́h hni' kę:s
ASS also usually REF they.house.make also usually
there were also those who build houses (carpenters), he also

shakoyenáw'aseh
he.help.them
used to help them. (Gr42-46)

2.3.2 *ne:'* in other environments

The data presented in this section are grouped according to the type of elements ne:' occurs with and according to the particles' initial or medial position within discourse units.

2.3.2.1 Preceding content words

In a number of examples, the particle ne:' stands directly before a content word, in most cases before a verb. In this environment, it rarely occupies the initial position of a discourse unit. The text sample shows only one such instance which is presented in example (112). Ne:' precedes the verb tęhséhsage:t 'you will bend it'.

(112) **ne:'** **tęhséhsage:t** é:gwa:dih hęhsóda: ę:n n'aohahá:dih
that you.will.bend.it other.side you.will.hook.it on.the.other.side.of.the.road

degyohǫ́:do:t tohǫ: hęhsóda:
another.whip there you.will.hook.it
You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road. (R63)

All further examples show the particle in medial position. Consider the utterances in (113) to (116).

(113) Tót'i̱ǫ: ni:yǫ: **ne:'** **ahi:'** aeswatǫ́:dęh
that so.much that I.thought you.would.hear
And that is about as much as I thought you would like to hear. (R92)

(114) kahyatǫhsra'ké kyę:' nhǫ: aha:yá'k
he.newspaper.on EMPH place he.cut
he cut a piece on (=from) the newspaper

ne:' **ętkatenyę́:tęhs**
ASS I.will.copy
that's what I should copy. (Gr35-36)

(115) ahsǫ́h **ne:'** **tshike:ksá:'ah** thohke nhǫ́:
still ASS I.child there place
Still when I was a child at that time

akahshá:'s ki' kę:s
I.remember DECL usually
I remember

ahsǫh
still
still

kę:s shę nhǫ: hętskó:t shę nhǫ:
usually COMP place he.sat COMP place
where he sat

kwa' thoh hatrihotá:stha'
some there he.work
he was doing his work there. (Gr13-17)

(116) 'o:né gi' gyę' | 'ahé' | hao' dezá gi' gyę' **né:'** | **'ęgǫyadęhninǫ́'s** gí' .
then he.said Okay I.will.sell.it.to.you
Then he says, "Okay, I'll sell it to you." (A9)

Example (1117) includes two instances of ne:', one preceding the predicate hǫwatehni:nǫh 'they buy' and one following it. The next element is the word katiy'ata'ǫnyǫ' 'picture'. It is unclear whether the second ne:' modifies the preceding or the following content word.

(117) otka'té' kę:s hatihnyǫ'ǫh tho nęthę:né' shę nhǫ́:
it.is.many usually they.are.white there they.went COMP place
Often white men would come to the place where

kę:s hę'trǫ́'
usually he.lived
he lived

ne:' **hǫwatehni:nǫh** **ne:'**
ASS he/they(?).buy ASS
they used to buy

katiy'ata'ǫnyǫ' ne' hahsohs
they.pictures REF he.paint
the pictures he painted. (Gr9-12)

In two instances where ne:' is followed by a content word, it occurs as the final element in a cluster that starts with the temporal particle (o:)nęh 'now, then, when'.

(118) **nęh** kwa' **ne:'** **saeyó'** ne' hohsó:t
when some that.is she.enter ART grandmother
In the meantime his grandmother came back.

a'ǫnihna:tó:k kǫtakyé' thę' t'eska'ahthra:ní:yǫ:t
she.felt right.away NEG NEG.it.basket.hang
She noticed right away that the basket was not hanging anymore. (G73-74)

(119) 'o:nę́ gi' gyę' akí' | **'o:nę** she **ne:'** | **hǫ:gwé** nęgyę́nhwá'
then I.said now already a.man this.one

hakhnahsgwanihahdá:ní: | tsyǫhwę́'gá:t | wadę́'hahé:' ni nęgyę́nhwá' |
he.lent.me.some.domestic.animals a.team a.hayrack also this

ne' g'adréhdá' | 'ętgáhagyé' nę: ętgesthǫdr'akhwáe' .
a.wagon it. (the hayrack).will.be.on.it this I.will.go.after.the.hay.there
So I say, "This guy loaned me a team of horses with a hayrack and a wagon to go and get it with." (A8)

2.3.2.2 Between negation markers

Ne:' also occurs between the two parts of the Cayuga verbal negation construction consisting of the free negation particle thę' and the prefixed negation marker te'-. The data include three instances of this. In two cases, ne:' is followed by other particles, among these the form kę:s 'usually'.

(120) thohkéh tęnihsa'kéh kę:s
then wall.on usually

ka'ahthrani:yǫ́:t
it.basket.hang
There used to hang a basket on the wall.

tę' kwa' ho'tę́'
what some kind

thę' kę:s t'aǫ a:hǫwaho:wí' tę' ho'tę́' í:wa:t
NEG usually NEG she.would.tell.him what kind was.in
There was something in it but she wouldn't tell him what it was.

a:kę́' akę' kę:s
she.said EVID usually

thę' **ne:'** **t'**eo:węh ne' eks'ashǫ:'áh nęhna:yé:ye:'
NEG that.is NEG.belong ART children with.hands.do
She said all the time: It is not meant for children to touch. (G11-16)

(121) **thę'** **ne:'** kę:s **t'**ehahyatǫhsraętí: ne:' tshǫ: shęh
NEG ASS usually NEG.he.paper.knew ASS just COMP
It's true that he didn't know the paper (=didn't know how to read)

thohke kyę:' ni:yoht ne:' thohke nhǫ: kyę:'
there EMPH it.is.such ASS there place EMPH
that's how it used to be that time

ne' hatikęhtsihshǫ' **thę'**
REF they.are.old NEG
the old men didn't

ne:' kę:s ahsǫ **t'**ehatihyatǫhsraętí's
ASS usually still NEG.they.paper.know
yet know how to read. (Gr18-21)

2.3.2.3 Preceding pronouns

In one discourse unit, the particle immediately precedes the free emphatic first person pronoun í:', as in (122) below.

(122) 'o:nę́ gyę' | 'agíhsakhá' gi' ne'osthǫ́:drá' | tho nhǫ:wé ha'gé:' |
I.went.to.look.for (some).hay that place (where) I.went.there

thę'drǫ́' nęgyę́nhwá' ganedagǫ́: gwa:díh | ne:' nę:kyę́ né' |
he.was.living.there this in.the.Lower.End direction this

khnohá' degaǫdęhnǫ́:dé:' **ne:' í:'** ne' khno'zę́ nę́:h | thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' |
my.mother's brother we my.uncle this I.was.related.to

khnó'zę́ thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' .
my.uncle I.was.related.to.him
So I went looking for some over where my uncle lived in the Lower End of the reserve --my mother's brother, my uncle as I was related to him. (A4)

Three further instances show variants of the first and second person emphatic pronouns with initial n. As presented in section 1.3, Bonvillain (1985: 350) suggests for Mohawk that the n-initial pronoun forms originate in contraction with preceding ne' (Cayuga ne:'). It should be noted however, that the n-initial Cayuga pronoun forms are normally considered contractions with the article-like particle ne' (cf. Mithun and Henry 1982: 553). The two cases of n-initial pronoun forms from the text sample are given in (123) to (125).

(123) ne:' ki' hne:' nę:kyę́ ne' i:'
ASS DECL ASS this REF 1SG.PRO
so as to me, as far as I am concerned

Alta Doxtador **ni:** kyá:sǫh
1SG.PRO I.am.named
my name is Alta Doxtador. (Gr89-90)

(124) nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:'
and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems

ęyéyakę́'
she.will.go.out
And again she started getting herself ready, it seems she will go out.

ne:' akę' a:kę́'
that.is EVID she.said

ęsę:tá' **ni:s** ó:nęh
you.will.sleep you(CONTR) now
That's what she said: You will sleep now. (G17-20)

(125) nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:'
and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems

ęyeyakę́'
she.will.go.out

ne:' akę' a:ké'
that.is EVID she.said

sętá' **ni:s** ó:nęh
you.sleep you(CONTR) now
And again she prepared herself, it seems that she will go out, and she said: You sleep now. (G46-49)

2.3.2.4 Following temporal particles

In three instances ne:' occurs in a cluster that starts with the temporal particle o:nęh 'now, then, when', or its shortened variant nęh. The examples are presented in (126) to (128).

(126) 'o:né gi' gyę' akí' | **'o:nę** she **ne:'** | hǫ:gwé nęgyę́nhwá'
then I.said now already a.man this.one

hakhnahsgwanihahdá:ní: | tsyohwę́'gá:t | wadę́'hahé:' ni nęgyę́nhwá' |
he.lent.me.some.domestic.animals a.team a.hayrack also this

ne' g'adréhdá' | 'ętgáhagyé' nę: ętgesthǫdr'akhwáe' .
a.wagon it. (the hayrack).will.be.on.it this I.will.go.after.the.hay.there
So I say, "This guy loaned me a team of horses with a hayrack and a wagon to go and get it with." (A8)

(127) **nęh** kwa' **ne:'** saeyó' ne' hohsó:t
when some that.is she.enter ART grandmother
In the meantime his grandmother came back.

a'ǫnihna:tó:k kǫtakyé' thę' t'eska'ahthra:ní:yǫ:t
she.felt right.away NEG NEG.it.basket.hang
She noticed right away that the basket was not hanging anymore. (G73-74)

(128) **nęh** **ne:'** tho:kyę́h
when ASS that
and when it was that ,that one (the grandfather)

athatohá:k
he.pressed
squeezed it

akatiya:kę́' nę:kyę́ hne:'
they.went.out this ASS
this one came out

2.3.2.5 Preceding other particles

The following examples are different from the particle clusters discussed in section 2.3.1 in that the sequences below do not constitute recurring patterns. Each cluster occurs only once or twice. I would like to suggest that the elements following ne:' do not perform discourse functions but are used for their lexical content. Clusters of this type rarely occur at the beginning of a discourse unit. The text sample includes only two examples. In (129), ne:' is followed by the particle ga:o' 'less'. In example (130) the following particle is he:gę: 'necessary'.

(129) **ne:'** **ga:o'** ni:yǫ: tęhsátahahk.
that less so.much you.will.walk
You have to walk a lot less. (R3)

(130) **ne:'** **he:gę:** ęhsya'daniyǫdákwaǫ:'
that necessary you.will.unhang.bodies
All you have to do is take the bodies down. (R80)

Examples of this type are more frequent in the medial position of a discourse unit. In (131), the particle hé:gę:' 'necessary' occurs again, preceded by ne:' and the evidential particle 'ǫh 'it seems, it is likely'.

(131) a:yę:' gę:s wa'ne:' hę:ne:' **ne:'** 'ǫh **hé:gę:'**
one.could.say usually today they.think that it.seems necessary
It seems as if nowadays, they generally think that all you have to do to see them is to go into the bush. (R82)

In two cases, ne:' is followed by the particle tshǫ: 'just, only'. In example (132), tshǫ: modifies the preceding content word ohta'kehshǫ:' 'the low spots'.

(132) ne:' akę' tho:kyę́h
that.is EVID that

a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h niyo:wé'
it.seems he.got.scared too high far
But it seems he got scared, it is far too high.

ahę́' akę' ohta'kehshǫ́:' **ne:'** **tshǫ:** nęka:tǫ́:koht
he.said EVID foot.Locative that.is only I.will.pass
So he said: It is the low spots only that I will pass. (G64-66)

In (133) below, the sequence ne:' tshǫ: is followed by the particle shęh. Mithun and Henry (1982) translate this form as 'how'. Foster (ms.) assigns the label 'demonstrative' and mentions 'which' and 'how' as frequent glosses. Sasse (1993b) uses the label 'complementizer'. He suggests a function similar to that of the article-like particle ne', namely subsumption of predication. Shęh also occurs in lexicalized combinations such as shęh nhǫ:' 'what place = where'.

(133) thę' ne:' kę:s t'ehahyatǫhsraętí: **ne:'** **tshǫ:** shęh
NEG ASS usually NEG.he.paper.knew ASS just COMP
It's true that he didn't know the paper (=didn't know how to read)

thohke kyę:' ni:yoht ne:' thohke nhǫ: kyę:'
there EMPH it.is.such ASS there place EMPH
that's how it used to be that time

ne' hatikęhtsihshǫ' thę'
REF they.are.old NEG
the old men didn't

ne:' kę:s ahsǫ t'ehatihyatǫhsraętí's
ASS usually still NEG.they.paper.know
yet know how to read. (Gr18-21)

In the next examples, ne:' precedes the particle combinations é:t shǫ:' 'all about', gisheh (probably gi' + sheh) 'or', and se'gye:' (probably se' + gye:') which is glossed as 'you know'.

(134) skahsiyani:yǫ:tǫ́' tshǫ: ne' hothrǫ:ní:
string.hang just ART he.wears.it

ohǫtakǫhshǫ́:' kyę:' **ne:'** **é:t shǫ:'**
bush.in EMPH that.is all.about
His clothes were hanging in strings - through the bushes, all about. (G79-80)

(135) tę' hne:' skhao'dę́' ta'deyodohwędzóhǫh kao'da' **ne:'** **gisheh** ne' adóda:'
not this anything not.is.it.needed gun that or that bow

nę:gyęh
this
You don't need any equipment, no gun or bow or anything. (R78)

(136) tohgeh ne' **ne:'** **se'gyę:'** gwahs ęhsat'enyę́:dę' ne' tęsákahnra'k
then this that.is you.know most you.will.try that it.will.look.at.you
Then, you know, the hardest part is when it is looking at you. (R46)

Example (137) shows ne:' preceding the particles kaękwa' 'somewhat' and nhǫ: 'place' which are translated together as 'whenever'.

(137) ne:' akę' kę:s hne:'
ASS EVID usually ASS
So

ne:' **kaękwa'** **nhǫ:** ahęnanataę́' tho:kę́h
ASS somewhat place they.camp.set that
it seems whenever they stopped somewhere camping

nę' kę:s nę:kyę́ athę:ná:t hne:'
and.then usually this they.danceed ASS
then these people danced. (Gr53-55)

2.3.3 Summary

The examination of the particle's distribution with respect to the surrounding elements and its position within discourse units reveals a correlation between these two parameters. As the first element of specific particle clusters, ne:' most often occupies the initial position of discourse units. When it is not part of such clusters, the particle tends to appear in medial position. In the further analysis it will be considered whether these two environments correlate with differences in the function of the particle.

It appears that the ne:'-initial particle clusters modify the discourse units they introduce. In the following section I describe how discourse units that are introduced by ne:' are distributed throughout entire texts and what kind of information they express.

2.4 Distribution of *ne:'*-initial discourse units

Besides the position of ne' with respect to discourse units, its distribution throughout an entire text is of equal importance. Here, not only formal criteria such as the occurrence in certain positions in the text should be considered but also the text content. This section is concerned with the distribution and classification of discourse units which are introduced by the particle.

In the first position of particle clusters, ne:' stands in complementary distribution to the temporal particle o:nęh 'then, now, when' and its shortened form nęh. Sasse (ms. and 1993b) recorded two phonologically similar temporal particles and maintains that they are distinct. Besides o:nęh (and its short form nęh), which he assigns the gloss 'when', he lists the particle ne', which he glosses as 'and then'. Because not all authors make this distinction I discuss the two particles together. According to Woodbury's (1980) discussion of Onondaga, onę (Cayuga o:nęh) marks discourse units expressing events, while na' (Cayuga ne:') marks 'non-events'. In order to benefit from this observation, the meaning of event vs. non-event has to be clarified. An event can be defined as a time-consuming act that marks progression on a text-internal timeline (cf. Grimes 1975, Chap. 3). A timeline is the sequential structure of successive acts that constitutes the story. A non-event refers to information that does not advance the text's timeline or 'event line'. Non-events include information such as where, when, or how something happens, rather than *that* it happens.

The distinction between events and non-events is restricted to those text types which present information in a temporal order. Longacre (1976) presents a distinction of four text types: narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory texts. He bases the distinction on the features [± projected] and [± succession]. The feature 'projected' refers to whether something has happened or will/should happen. The feature 'succession' refers to temporal progression. Thus, only texts that are classified as [+ succession] allow the distinction between events and non-events. Following Longacre these are narrative and procedural texts. The classification is summarized in Table 3 (Longacre 1976: 200, cited in Serzisko 1992).

Table 3

	– PROJECTED	+ PROJECTED
+ SUCCESSIVE	narrative	procedural
– SUCCESSIVE	expository	hortatory

The text sample used in this study includes three narratives and one procedural text. The fifth source, the children's version of the Thanksgiving Address, will be classified as a hortatory text. This source is the only one where a distinction of events and non-events is not possible, and it is also the only source in the sample which does not show the opposition between ne:' and the temporal particles ne' or o:neh. Before I discuss the individual texts, it might be useful to clarify the meaning of the temporal particles in their function as discourse markers. The lexical meaning of these elements is somewhat like 'now, then, when', i.e. they mark a temporal relation. At the beginning of a discourse unit, the particles typically convey temporal succession from the previous context to the discourse unit they introduce, or they indicate a temporal ordering of information expressed within that unit. This means that the particles explicitly express the connection to a timeline, and therefore, by definition, introduce events.

In the following I will outline the structure of each text. The goal is to show (a) where discourse units occur which are introduced by ne:', (b) what kind of information they express, and (c) how they are distributed in comparison to discourse units that start with the temporal particles ne' or o:neh. Each source is outlined in a table that indicates the initial particle, the content of the discourse units, and a classification of the expressed information. I use the numbering of the original sources which means for the 'Grandfather Story' and the 'Ghost Story' I indicate the numbers of the pause units which constitute each discourse unit. There is no indication of pauses within discourse units, however. The particle column shows either the particle ne:', one of the temporal particles, or a dotted line (---) which means neither of the particles in question occur in the initial position of that unit. The tables only make reference to initial occurrences of the particles. Medial instances of ne:' and the temporal elements are not included in the discussion. Each unit is classified as expressing a specific type of information. The main distinction of information types is that between events and non-events. As defined above, events mark progression on a text-internal timeline while non-events do not. Grimes (1975) distinguishes four types of non-events. What he calls 'setting' covers the information of "where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place" (p. 51). The category of 'background' information includes "explanations and comments about what happens". Grimes states that, "certain events are told as background, not as part of the event sequence" and that 'background' information "is an attempt to explain" (p.56).[14] 'Evaluations' through which speakers tell how they feel about reported information are the third type of non-events. Grimes' last information type is called 'collateral' which "instead of telling what did happen, tells what did not happen" (p. 64). Besides these information types suggested by Grimes I apply the categories 'introduction' and 'closing' for utterances that comment on the text-telling

[14]In cases where habitual actions are described I find the classification difficult because they could be either 'background' or 'setting' in that they express under what circumstances actions take place.

itself. Discourse units of this kind are not restricted to the beginning or the end of a text but they are most common in this environment. The closing remark in (138) gives an example.

(138) Tót'i̲ǫ: ni:yǫ: **ne:'** ahi:' aeswatǫ́:dęh
that so.much that I.thought you.would.hear
And that is about as much as I thought you would like to hear. (R92)

2.4.1 Personal Anecdote

Unit	Particle	Content	Info Type
1	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' gaditshenę'shǫ́:'áh 'ǫgwana̲hsgwaędǫ́' they.are.tame.ones we.had.some.domestic.animals gę́:s tshę (nhǫ́:weh) :gwę́'drǫ́' . formerly what (place) (=where) we.were.living *Well, we used to have some domestic animals at home.*	setting
2	**ne:'**	**ne:'** di' thę' gi' ne' d'eǫgwanahsgwáę' so not (=but) we.did.not.have.domestic animal né' gaędanę́hgwi ne' thohgé nhǫ: horse back then nę: hezwagathró:wí: . this I.am.telling.about.it.back.then *But we didn't own any horses at the time I'm talking about.*	setting
3	--- [15]	nę: gi' gyę' gęgwíte̲hnéha gwadi o:nęh this early.spring direction then 'agęnadesthǫdro'kdę́' né' gyonhosgwaǫtshǫ́:'a they.ran.out.of.their.hay a.number.with.projecting.cuds (=cows) gadí'drǫ́' they.were.living *Early one spring the cattle back home ran out of hay.*	event

[15]The initial particle of this discourse unit is glossed as 'this' which is in accord with its transcription as proximal demonstrative. It is possible that the form is actually an instance of the temporal particle ne:' or ne:h. The entire text sample includes only a few instances of initial particle clusters with a demonstrative in the first position.

4	o:nę	'o:né gyę' 'agíhsakhá' gi' ne' osthǫ́:drá' tho nhǫ:wé I.went.to.look.for (some).hay that place (where) ha'gé:' thę'drǫ́' nęgyę́nhwá' ganedagǫ́: I.went.there he.was.living.there this in.the.Lower.End gwa:díh **ne:'** nę:kyę́ né' khnohá' degaǫdęhnǫ́:dé:' direction this my.mother's brother **ne:'** í:' ne' khno'zę́ né:h tehinǫ́hǫkhwá' we my.uncle this I.was.related.to khnó'zę́ tehinǫ́hǫkhwá' . my.uncle I.was.related.to.him *So I went looking for some over where my uncle lived in the Lower End of the reserve -- my mother's brother, my uncle as I was related to him.*	event
5	---	tho nhǫ:we ha'gé:' ahiya'áǫdǫ́:' thę' gę' that.place I.went.there I.asked.him NEG(=whether) QU dehó:yę́' ne' osthǫ́drá' aahadęhní:nǫ́' he.didn't.have hay that.he.would.sell *When I got there I asked him if he didn't have some hay he could sell me*	event
6	---	'ó:h ahę́' agyę́' tho **né:'** ne' 'aagadęhní:nǫ́' osthǫ́:drá' he.said I.have.it that I.would.sell.it hay 'ahę́' he.said *"Sure," he says, "I've got some to sell to you," he says.*	event
7	---	da: :hę́' dę' di ho'dę́' nęhsyé:' hętshá:' and he.said whatever will.you.do youwill.take.it.back.there nę́: zathahí:né' tho 'ajyǫ́' this you.are.walking that you.arrived *"But," he says, "how are you going to get it back with you when you came here walking?"*	event
8	o:nę	'o:né gi' gyę' akí' 'o:nę she **ne:'** hǫ:gwé nęgyę́nhwá' then I.said now already a.man this.one hakhnahsgwanihahdá:ní: tsyǫhwę́'gá:t wadę́'hahé:' ni he.lent.me.some.domestic.animals a.team a.hayrack also nęgyę́nhwá' ne' g'adréhdá' 'ętgáhagyé' nę: this a.wagon it. (the hayrack).will.be.on.it this ętgesthǫdr'akhwáe' . I.will.go.after.the.hay.there *So I say, "this guy loaned me a team of horses with a hayrack and a wagon to go and get it with."*	event

9	o:nę	'o:né gi' gyę' 'ahé' hao' dezá gi' gyę' **né:'** then he.said Okay 'ęgǫyadęhniné's gí' I.will.sell.it.to.you *Then he says, "Okay, I'll sell it to you."*	event
10	---	nę:gyę ne' ahagaadó:gés do nihó:ǫ' ahé' this he.fixed.a.price how how.much.he.made.it he.said degró :gę' nigahwihsdá:gé ne' skaháehná:t. eight in.all how.much.money.it.was for.one.load *So he set a price for it: he says, "It'll be eight dollars a load."*	event
11	**ne:'**	**né:'** gi' gyę' né' 'aagyadríhwihs'á:' 'ęhihní:né' . we.two.made.an.agreement I.will.buy.it.from.him *We agreed I'd buy it from him.*	event
12	---	a'ohé' né:h tho hǫza:gé:' né:h ha'ga:dó:wí' the.next.day this that I.went.back.there this I.drove.them.there tsyohwé'gá:t gaędanéhgwíh agád'idré:' nęgyęnhwá' a.team it.hauls.logs(=horse) they.dragg.it this g'adrehdowá:néh wadé'hahé:' dęgyakhnǫdáah a.large.wagon a.hayrack we.two.will.put.it.on.there. ne' osthǫ:drá'. hay *The next day I went back and hitched the team of horses up, and they hauled this large wagon with the hayrack for us to put the hay on.*	event
13	**ne:'**	**ne:'** di' ha'gyǫ' kahsegwáa' ne' thagá:wí nęgyénhwá' so I.arrived.there the.pitchfork he.has.given.me this ne' tshę nigá:' hakhnahsgwanihahdá:ní: 'ahátkahthó' who (the.one) he.lent.me.some.domestic.animals he.saw.it né' hakhnó'zé tshę nigahsegwáo'déh 'ahé' **ne:'** ni:' my.uncle what what.kind.of.fork.it.is he.said me do:gés 'ǫgetsy'ǫtanǫwá:kdé' nę: nigahsegwáo'déh. really it.makes.me.hungry.for.fish this what.kind.of.fork.it.is *Well, when I got to my uncle's and he saw the old pitchfork I'd gotten from the guy who'd loaned me the horses, he said, "That fork really makes me hungry for fish!".*	event

The 'Personal Anecdote' shows four discourse units that are introduced by ne:'. Two occur at the beginning of the text and express the setting of the story. The two ne:'-initial discourse units towards the end of the anecdote are classified as events. Both units express information of a special status. Discourse unit (11) ('we agreed I'd buy it from him') is the outcome of the

five preceding units in which the deal has been discussed. The final discourse unit has special status because it contains the punch line of the anecdote, a pun with the word for 'pitchfork'. The temporal particles introduce three discourse units in the middle of the text and all are classified as events.

2.4.2 Ghost Story

Unit	Particle	Content	Info Type
1	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ki' kyę:' nę:kyę́ hwa' that.is DECL EMPH this this.time *This is what we are talking about now.*	intro
2-4	**ne:'** [16]	**ne:'** swe'kéh i:só' kaha:to:tǫ́hk that.is long.time.ago many it.tree.stood shę nhǫ: kę:s enakrenyǫ́hk ne' ǫkwehǫ́:weh COMP place usually they.lived ART real.person *A long time ago, there was a lot of wood where the Indians used to live.*	setting
5-8	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' nę:kyę́ skanǫhsá:t shę nhǫ: that.is EVID this house.be.in COMP place kae'trǫ' hǫwayatrę́:'ah they.lived be.grandmother.and.grandson *There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson.*	setting
9-10	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' kę:s eya:kę's tkǫhaé sǫ:hé' **ne:'** nę' that.is EVID usually she.go.out at.times at.night that.is and.then e:' ęhó:ta' again he.will.sleep *It happened that she used to go out at nighttime when he would sleep.*	setting
11-12	---	thohkéh tęnihsa'kéh kę:s ka'ahthrani:yǫ́:t then wall.on usually it.basket.hang *There used to hang a basket on the wall.*	setting

[16] Sasse's transcription of this discourse unit starts with ne:'. However, the particle is followed by the form swe'kéh 'long time ago', which normally occurs following the so-called article ne' (with a short vowel). Besides that, the form is not accompanied by the other particles, as is typically the case for ne:' in introductory position. For these reasons, I consider this occurrence of ne:' in Sasse's transcription to be questionable and do not include it here.

13-16	---	tę' kwa' ho'tę' thę' kę:s t'aǫ a:hǫwaho:wí' tę' ho'tę' what some kind NEG usually NEG she.would.tell.him what kind í:wa:t a:ké' akę' kę:s thę' **ne:'** t'eo:węh ne' was.in she.said EVID usually NEG that.is NEG.it.belong ART eks'ashǫ:'áh children *There was something in it but she wouldn't tell him what it was.She said all the time: It is not meant for children to touch.*	setting
17-20	nę'	nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:' ęyéyakę́' and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems she.will.go.out **ne:'** akę' a:ké' ęsę:tá' ni:s ó:nęh that.is EVID she.said you.will.sleep you(CONTR) now *And again she started getting herself ready, it seems she will go out... That's what she said: You will sleep now.*	event
21	---	ayeyakę́' ki' tó:kęhs she.went.out DECL certainly *So she went out.*	event
22-25	**ne:'**	**ne:'** kyę:' hne:' nę́' a'ǫtehsrǫ:ní' aeyakę́' ne' that.is EMPH that.is and.then she.prepare.herself she.go.out ART hohsó:t aweht'akę́' **ne:'** ki' ahanihna:tó:k grandmother pretending that.is DECL he.felt ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́h kyę:' she.prepare.herself EMPH *When she prepared herself to go out , the grandmother, he was pretending, he noticed that she was getting ready.*	event
26-27	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ki' kyę:' aweht'akę́' hota'ǫ́h that.is DECL EMPH pretending he.sleep *That's what it was, he was pretending to be asleep,*	event
28-31	nę'	nę' shę **ne:'** teshakokahné: tę' ho'tę' tę' ho'tę' and.then COMP that.is he.watched.her what kind what kind niyǫkyeha' ne' hǫ:níh nęh ayeyakę́' nę' honǫhtǫ́' she.do ART reason when she.went.out and.then he.knows tę' nęhá:ye:' what he.will.do *and in reality he was watching her what she was doing, because when she went out he would know what he will do.*	event

32-34	---	a'ǫhthraniyǫta:kó' akę́' nę' a'etahkó' kwa' she.basket.hang EVID and.then she.took.out some(thing) owa:yá' thoh í:wa:t wings there it.is.in *She took the basket down and took out something. It was wings that was in there.*	event
35-38	nę'	nę' akę' a'ehę́' ska:t shǫkwa:tíh akyǫtwayáhę' and.then EVID she.put.on one on.each.side she.put.wings.on.herself *And then she put them on, one on each side, she put the wings on,*	event
39-40	nę'	nę' akę' tkahnokakę́:t ha'ę:' and.then EVID to.door she.went *went to the door,*	event
41-42	nę'	nę' akę' a:kę́' he'tkęhshǫ́:' nęka:tǫ́:koht and.then EVID she.said up I.will.pass *and said: It's high over that I will pass.*	event
43	nę'	nę' akę' a:yę́:' tę' kwa' takokyęhęthwáht and.then EVID it.seems what some hither.it.pulled.her *And then something jerked her*	event
44-45	---	kaǫkwatshǫ́:' ha'ę́:' akyé:tę' wherever hither.go she.flew.off *and she disappeared, she flew off.*	event
46-49	nę'	nę' e:' a'ǫtehsrǫnyahnǫ́:' a:yę́:' ęyeyakę́' and.then again she.prepared.herself it.seems she.will.go.out **ne:'** akę' a:kę́' sętá' ni:s ó:nęh that.is EVID she.said you.sleep you(CONTR) now *And again she prepared herself, it seems that she will go out, and she said: You sleep now.*	event
50-52	---	ayeyakę́' ki' to:kę́hs thę' nǫha' skaho'tę́' she.went.out DECL certainly NEG this.time be.kind.of t'eyakohsti:stǫ́h ne' ka'ahthraní:yǫ:t NEG.she.paied.attention ART it.basket.hang *Then she went out, this time she didn't pay at all attention to the hanging basket.*	event
53-54	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ki' kyę:' aha:tkę́:h akę' tho:kyę́h that.is DECL EMPH he.got.up EVID that aha'ahthraniyǫta:kó' aha:ktǫ́: tę' í:wa:t he.basket.hang he.examined what it.is.in *That one (the boy) got up, took the basket down and examined what was in.*	event

55-58	**ne:'** [17]	tsitę́:'ah akę' birds EVID **ne:'** akę' **ne:'** that.is EVID that.is **ne:'** akę' **ne:'** tsitę́:'ah that.is EVID that.is birds owa:yá' tho íwa:t wing there it.is.in *Birds, that's what it was, what it was was birds, their wings were in there.*	background
59	nę'	nę' **ne:'** ohę́hstǫh and.then that.is they.are.dried *And they were dried out.*	background
60-61	nę'	nę' akę' athatwayahę́' tkahnokahę́:t ha'hé:' and.then EVID he.wings.put.on.himself to.door he.went tho naha:yé:' shę ni:yóht asha:ko:kę́' ne' hohso:t there he.did COMP it.is.such he.saw.her ART grandmother *He put them on himself, went to the door, and he did what he saw his grandmother do.*	event
62-63	---	a:kę́' akę' kę:s he'tkęhshǫ́:' nęka:tǫ́:koht she.said EVID usually up I.will.pass *She used to always say: It is the high spot that I will pass.*	background
64-66	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' tho:kyę́h a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h that.is EVID that it.seems he.got.scared too high niyo:wé' ahę́' akę' ohta'kehshǫ́:' **ne:'** tshǫ: nęka:tǫ́:koht far he.said EVID low.spots that.is only I.will.pass *But it seems he got scared, it is far too high. So he said: It is the low spots only that I will pass.*	event
67-69	---	akę' tho tshǫ: he:yoht thoya'takyę́hę́thwáht EVID there just it.is.such hither.it.his.body.pulled tę' kwa' ho'tę́' nę' ohǫtakǫ́hshǫ́:' tshǫ: n'aka:yá:t what some kind and.then it.bushes.is.in just in.that.direction *All of a sudden something dragged his body, through the bushes in that direction.*	event

[17] I consider the first line of this unit a false start. It is followed by a long pause and a particle cluster which is then repeated after another long pause. Is seems like the speaker had to solve the problem how to get to the lexical item owa:yá' 'wing' after she started the utterance with the word tsitę́:'ah 'birds' which is not in fact what the boy found in the basket.

70-72	o:nęh	o:nęh nę' ahoya'ti'tré:' thoh kaha:kǫhshǫ́:' ę:tshǫ́:' now and.then it.his.body.dragged there it.wood.is.in all.over thoh there *Something dragged his body all through the woods, all over.*	event
73-74	nęh	nęh kwa' **ne:'** saeyó' ne' hohsó:t when some that.is she.entered ART grandmother a'ǫnihna:tó:k kǫtakyé' thę' t'eska'ahthra:ní:yǫ:t she.felt right.away NEG NEG.it.basket.hang *In the meantime his grandmother came back. She noticed right away that the basket was not hanging anymore.*	event
75-76	nę'	nę' akę' tkanhokahę́:t ha'ę́:' tho:kyę ha'ehthaę́' and.then EVID to door she.went that hither.spoke a:kę́' tǫtahehshá: thó:kyęh she.said hither.you.bring.him that *So she went to the door and spoke out, she said (to the spirit): Bring him back, that one.*	event
77-78	---	tatshi:háh kyę:' tshǫ: nę' tǫtakotka:é' tho:kye short.time Emp just and.then hither.sound.came.to.her that thoh thoh saka'ke'a:yę́ht shę nhǫ: i:yé:t there there rag.hit COMP place she.stood *In just a minute a sound came towards her and that one was dropped back like rags where she was standing.*	event
79-80	---	skahsiyani:yǫ:tǫ́' tshǫ: ne' hothrǫ:ní: ohǫtakǫhshǫ́:' kyę:' it.string.hang just ART he.wears.it it.bushes.is.in EMPH **ne:'** ę́:t shǫ:' that.is all.about *His clothes were hanging in strings - through the bushes, all about.*	background
81-83	nę'	nę' ki' kyę:' a:kę́' **ne:'** ki' kyę:' asatkahtó' and.then DECL EMPH she.said that.is DECL EMPH you.saw.it thę' kę:s t'aǫ a:satahǫhsi:yóhs tę' ho'tę́' khó:wihs NEG usually NEG your.ear.good what kind I.tell *So now she said: That's what it is. You saw it. You wouldn't listen what I keep telling you.*	event

The 'Ghost Story' contains eight discourse units that are introduced by ne:'. They include the introductory phrase and the three following units which express part of the temporal, spatial, and habitual setting for the story. The discourse unit (55-58) contains a description and is classified as background information. Four ne:'-initial discourse units express events. They describe the moments of highest tension and the key information for the understanding of this mystery story. Also, a number of discourse units introduced by ne:' express a change of the

subject or of the discourse topic. In discourse unit (22-25) the boy appears for the first time as the subject. In unit (53-54) he occurs as the subject again after it has been reported what his granny was doing. In (55-58) the wings are introduced as discourse topic for the next three units. The story includes ten discourse units with the particle ne' or o:neh in initial position. Nine are categorized as events, and in one case (unit (59)) ne' introduces a descriptive phrase which is classified as background. The ne:'-initial discourse units occur at the beginning and in the center of the text while the temporal particles appear in the center and towards the end of the 'Ghost Story'.

2.4.3 Grandfather Story[18]

Unit	Particle	Content	Info Type
1	**ne:'**	**ne:'** kyę:' nę:kyę́ ne' hęska:thro:wí' ASS EMPF this REF I.will tell.you *This is what I will tell you.*	intro
2-8	---	ne' swe'kéh ne' hakhsotkęhę́:' James Beaver hayasǫhné:' REF long.ago REF he.was.my.grandfather he.was.called hahsę:no:tá'k hoyęti'ǫhné:' hne:' haya'tahá' he.name.stood he.knew ASS he.paint **ne:'** hni' hakyęn'athá' hni' kę:s ASS also he.actor also usually *A long time ago my grandfather whose name was James Beaver, he had a standing name (=he was famous), he was good at whatever he was doing he was a painter and he was also a performer.*	setting
9-12	---	otka'té' kę:s hatihnyǫ'ǫ́h tho nęthę:né' shę nhǫ́: it.is.many usually they.are.white there they.went COMP place kę:s hę'trǫ́' **ne:'** hǫwatehni:nǫ́h ne:' katiy'ata'ǫnyǫ' usually he.lived ASS he.buy ASS they.pictures ne' hahsohs REF he.paint *Often white men would come to the place where he lived, they used to buy the pictures he painted.*	setting

[18]The punctuation of the English translation within discourse units is mostly mine.

13-17	---	ahsǫh **ne:'** tshike:ksá:'ah thohke nhǫ: akahshá:'s ki' still ASS I.child there place I.remember DECL kę:s ahsǫh kę:s shę nhǫ: hętskó:t shę nhǫ: kwa' usually still usually COMP place he.sat COMP place some thoh hatrihotá:stha' there he.work *Still when I was a child at that time I remember still where he sat, he was doing his work there.*	setting
18-21	---	thę' **ne:'** kę:s t'ehahyatǫhsraętí: **ne:'** tshǫ: shęh thohke NEG ASS usually NEG.he.paper.knew ASS just COMP there kyę:' ni:yoht **ne:'** thohke nhǫ: kyę:' ne' thę' EMPH it.is.such ASS there place EMPH REF NEG hatikęhtsihshǫ' **ne:'** kę:s ahsǫ t'ehatihyatǫhsraętí's they.are.old ASS usually still NEG.they.paper.know *It's true that he didn't know the paper (=didn't know how to read), that's how it used to be at that time, the old men didn't yet know how to read.*	background
22-25	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hę'hne:' akahshá:'s tho:kyę́ hne:' ASS also I.remember that ASS tshikatatrihǫnyanihnhé's kę:s tho katǫkohthá' I.learn usually there I.pass shę nhǫ: hę'trǫ́' COMP place he.lived *Also I remember that one when I used to go to school I used to pass where he lived.*	setting
26-28	nę'	nę' nę:ke ska:t tho:kyę sǫkahtękyǫhǫkyé' o: ahí:' and.then this one that I.left ? I.thought hękyǫ́' hya: hęhiyatkáhtho' I.will.enter for.now I.will.see.him *And at this one time there I was on my way home all of a sudden I thought I would stop in for a little while I will see him.*	event
29-31	---	kwahs wa'hé tshǫ: ahawayęnę:tá' [e]hahsóhs e:' really just.now just he.finished he.paint again tho:kyę́h kahǫwá' ne:'/ne' kayá'ta:' that.one it.boat ASS/REF it.picture *He just shortly finished his painting again, that one it was a boat, the picture.*	event

32-36	nę'	nę' ahakahǫ:tǫ́:' ahę́' tanhǫ́: syatǫ́: tę' and.then he.asked.me he.said here.place you.write.Imp what kaya:sǫ́ nę:kyę́ kahǫwá' kahyatǫhsra'ké kyę:' nhǫ: it.is.named this it.boat he.newspaper.on EMPH place aha:yá'k **ne:'** ętkatenyę́:tęhs he.cut ASS I.will.copy *Then he asked me he said write right here what this boat is called; he cut a piece of paper from the newspaper; that's what I should copy.*	event
37	---	to:kęhs ki' hne:' akhya:tǫ́:' kyę:' certainly DECL ASS I.wrote EMPH *It was really what I wrote.*	event
38-41	---	sǫ:kwa' kyę'ǫ thone:' n'oht wętǫ́kwa' káękwa' nhǫ́: who.some EMPH there ever at.some.time somewhere place hotihni:nǫ́' tho:kyę́h hwa' káękwa' nhǫ: niká:yę' they.bought.it that this.time somewhere place it.set *Someone, whoever it was at some time somewhere, they bought it that one somewhere it is.*	background
42-46	---	ha'te:yǫ́: se' hni' ho'tę́' hawayęhǫ́'s kę:s **ne:'** hni' it.is.amount after.all also kind he.knew.how usually ASS also kę:s eksaętahkhwá' kyę:' hni niyohtǫ́'s **ne:'** kę:s usually cupboard EMPH also it.is.such ASS usually hahsrǫ:níh **ne:'** hni' kę:s ne' hęnathnǫhsǫnyahnǫ:nyǫ́h he.thing.make ASS also usually REF they.house.make hni' kę:s shakoyenáw'aseh also usually he.help.them *All different kinds of things also he knew to make and also cupboards, also that sort of things he made, there were also those who build houses (carpenters), he also used to help them.*	background
47	---	heyohé: tshihǫkw'eta:sé:'ah more he.person.new *When he was younger.*	background
48-51	---	kyę'ǫ́h ahǫwati:nhá' nę:kyę́ hatihnyǫ'ǫ́h EMPH they.hired.them this they.are.white [a]thęnatawęnyéh honathnǫhkw'athrátkehǫ' they.stir they.medicin.sell *Really they were hired by these white men, they travel about, they sell medicine.*	setting

52	---	Ttohka: ki' nihę:nǫ́: hne:' ǫkwehǫ:wé ne' several DECL they.are.amount ASS real.person REF ahǫwatí:nha' they.hired.them *Several of them, Indians, they hired them.*	setting
53-55	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' kę:s hne:' **ne:'** kaękwa' nhǫ: ahęnanataę́' ASS EVID usually ASS ASS somewhat place they.camp.set tho:kę́h nę' kę:s nę:kyę́ athę:ná:t hne:' that and.then usually this they.danceed ASS *So it seems whenever they stopped somewhere camping then these people danced.*	setting
56	---	"War Dance" kayá:sǫh it.is.named *It was called the "War Dance".*	background
57-62	nę'	nę' akę' kę:s tho:kyę́ hne:' nęh athę:ná:t **ne:'** akę' and.then EVID usually that ASS when they.danced ASS EVID kę:s tho:kyę́ hohtsakw'enǫ:ní: kyę'ǫ tę' kwa' ho'tę́' usually that he.fist.made EMPH what some kind akę' tho:kyę́ hne:' hatihyatǫhkhwá' otkwęhts'iá: akę' EVID that ASS they.write it.is.red EVID ni:yóht "ink" hya: kayásǫh it.is.such for.now it.was.named *And that one (the grandfather), when they would dance he's got his hand closed up (like a fist), something, it was that one what they used to write with, the red one, it was called "ink".*	background
63	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' kę:s tho:kyę́ hohtsakw'enǫ:ní: thę' hne:' ASS EVID usually that he.fist.made NEG ASS t'eoyę:téht tę' hahá:' kyę:' NEG.it.know.possible what he.take EMPH *He got his hands closed up, it doesn't show what he holds*	background
64-65	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' kę:s a:yę́:' athǫwanǫháhk se' tho:kyę́ nę' ASS EVID usually it.seems he.scalp.picked.up after.all that and.then *And it seems he scalped him really that one (the man he danced with)*	event
66-69	nęh	nęh **ne:'** tho:kyę́h athatohá:k akatiya:kę́' nę:kyę́ hne:' when ASS that he.pressed they.went.out this ASS ne' otkwęhts'iá niyohsokó'tę: REF it.is.red it.color.kind *And when it was that that one (the grandfather) squeezed it the red color.*	event

70-72	**ne:'**	**ne:'** akę' kę:s **ne:'** kę:s to:s ne' kaehnyǫ'ǫh ASS EVID usually ASS usually certainly REF they(f).are.white akonahtrǫhk akyakotíhe:ht akę' kę:s akonikǫhahtǫ'trǫ:' it.scared.them they.shouted EVID usually they.mind.lost *And the white women, really they got frightened they screamed, they all fainted.*	event
73-76	---	thohké hne:' kyę:' niyóht o:nę́ hne:' ahatkęhtsíhs tho ki' there ASS EMPH it.is.such when ASS he.was.old then DECL kę:s tshǫ: kwahs ni:yǫ́: hne:' kyotkǫ́:t haya'táǫnyǫh usually only really it.is.amount ASS always he.picture kę:s tho:kyę́ nǫha' usually that merely *And then that's how it is when he became old, it's just mostly this what it was he was always painting, that one, merely.*	background
77-82	---	ahsǫ́ ki' hne:' wa'né:' hahsęnowa:nę́h ne' hatihnyǫ'ǫh still DECL ASS today he.name.is.big REF they.are.white hǫwati:howanahtǫ́ shęh threhs hoyęti'ǫhné:' ha'te:yǫ́: they-him.thing.is.big.make COMP too/very he.knew it.is.amount ho'tę' hne:' hni' hne:' haya'tahá' hni' kind ASS also ASS he.paint also *Still it is today he has a big name (is famous), white people hold him high because he was so very good at it, all kinds of things and his painting too.*	background
83-84	---	kaękwa' kyę'ǫ hne:' nhǫ́: nikakehǫ:' thone:' somewhere EMPH ASS place it.lie.around possibly hǫwatihninǫnyǫ' ahsǫ́ hoti:yę́:tǫ' they.bought.them till they.lay *Somewhere I guess they lie around, those who have bought them still have them.*	background
85-86	---	a:yę́:' ki' tho tshǫ́: ni:yǫ́: hne:' akahshá:'s it.seems DECL there just it.is.amount ASS I.remember tę' ho'tę́' á:ki' what kind I.said *It seems that's just all that I can remember, what I said.*	closing
87-88	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ki' hne:' kyę:' ka:tǫ́ hne:' hakhsotkęhę́:' ASS DECL ASS EMPH I.say ASS he.was.my.grandfather *That's what it is, what I say is about my grandfather.*	closing

89-90	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ki' hne:' nę:kyę ne' i:' Alta Doxtador ni: ASS DECL ASS this REF 1SG.PRO 1SG.PRO kyá:sǫh I.am.named *So as to me, as far as I am concerned my name is Alta Doxtador.*	closing

The 'Grandfather Story' consists of several more or less independent episodes in which the speaker tells about her late grandfather. Some of the episodes are small narratives with their own event line, others are descriptive and lack a successive structure. The text contains eight instances of initial ne:'. The particle starts the introductory phrase as well as two closing remarks at the end of the text. In two cases, ne:'-initial discourse units express the setting for an episode, and in one case a unit expresses background information. Two further units that are introduced by the particle are classified as events. They express the climax and punch line of an anecdote. Again, some units that start with ne:' express a change of subject or discourse topic. Unit (22-25) starts a new episode within the text and thus introduces a new discourse topic. In (70-72) the subject changes from the grandfather to the white women. The 'Grandfather Story' shows four discourse units with initial ne' or neh. Three of them express events and in one case the temporal particle introduces a description (unit (57-62)) and is classified as background information. The ne:'-initial discourse units are spread throughout the text while the temporal particles occur around the middle of the story.

2.4.4 How to hunt rabbits

This text consists of two smaller ones which describe different hunting methods. It belongs in the class of procedural texts. Sources of this category typically have a sequential structure that reflects the successive order of acts which compose the described procedure – rabbit hunting in this case. This sequential structure is the equivalent of event lines in narratives. The text is composed of two time lines which interact and eventually meet. One refers to the actions of the rabbit before the hunter appears at the scene (going here and there, leaving tracks, etc.), and one explains what the hunter is supposed to do (following the tracks, finding the rabbit, etc.). It is not easy to distinguish events from habitual background actions because the text as a whole describes a *habitual* procedure. The classification of discourse units by their information type turns out to be more difficult in this source than in the narratives. The entire text is presented in a descriptive style. The instructions to the prospective hunter are only seldom expressed as such, as in the case of unit (7) 'You will go into the bush'. More often they are implied in a comment as in (62) 'Maybe there will be a small bush'. This comment has to be understood as the instruction 'and then you look for a bush', since in the continuing instruction the bush is crucial for setting the trap and is therefore not to be considered as background information. Another example is unit (14) 'It is easy to notice where it has jumped away'. This comment describes the event 'and then you will notice where it has jumped away'. I classify all discourse units that express an implied or open indication of what the hunter is supposed to do as 'events'. This category also includes what the hunter will see or notice.

Unit	Particle	Content	Info Type
1	**ne:'**	**né:'** ne' nę:gyęh ne' gwa'yǫ' gę:s agwa:dó:wa:s this is how it rabbit used.to we.hunt tshige:ksá:'ah. when.I.was.a.child *This is how we used to hunt rabbits when I was a child.*	intro
2	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gyę́:' e:' gado:gę́: nęhsye:' ęhsa:dó:wa:t this then again certain.way how.you.will.do you.will.hunt to:gyę́h ne' i:só' wagyés'ageh. that is much it.is.easy *Now there is a certain way to hunt that is a lot easier.*	background
3	**ne:'**	**ne:'** ga:o' ni:yǫ: tęhsátahahk. that less so.much you.will.walk *You have to walk a lot less.*	background
4	---	Gwahs 'ǫ́: gíhní' wa'né:' gę:s a:yę:' toh ní:yoht just I.guess really today usually one.could.say that how.it.is tę' tęhshadiyę́:di: wa'né:' hęnǫ:gwe'dase'shǫ́:'ǫh. not do.they.know.any.more today they.young.men.are *The young men of today do not really seem to know how to do it.*	background
5	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' hǫ:ni' ahí:' gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa' a:gatró:wi' that just why I.thought maybe perhaps I.would.tell gyę́:gwa' hné:hwa' sǫ:gá:'ah ęhodi'nikwáędа' nę:gyę́h if perhaps someone they.will.understand this hwá shęh niga:yę:. and how so.it.is.done *That is why I thought perhaps I might tell about it so that they might understand how it is done.*	background
6	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gyę:' gę:s to:gyę́h hwa' ne' gyę́:gwa' sadó:wa:s this is usually that.is and this maybe you.hunt **ne:'** nęh o'grǫ́:gyǫhne:'. that when it.has.snowed *Now maybe you are hunting when it has snowed.*	setting
7	---	Ka:gǫ́:h hęhse:' in.the.bush you.will.go *You will go into the bush.*	event
8	---	Onatadényǫ' sé'gyę:' ne' gwa'yǫ'. they.have.roads you.know these rabbits *These rabbits have roads, you know.*	background

9	---	Onatadényǫ' shęnhǫ: deganadawęnyé'ta'. they.have.roads where they.travel *They have roads where they travel.*	background
10	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gę:s to:gyęh hwa' dagá:gyę:ht tǫ: tóh ha'ge:' that usually that is I.started.with the.one there I.went shęnhǫ: onatadé:nyǫ'. where their.roads.are *The first thing I would normally do would be to go where their roads are.*	event
11	---	ęhségyęh to:gyęh hwa' gyęgwa' onadǫgóhdǫh you.will.see that is maybe they.have.passed tę' gwáhs t'eswé'geh. not too it.is.long.ago *You will see whether they have passed not too long before.*	event
12	---	Tohǫ: ęhséhfre:' tó:gyęh. there you.will.follow that *That is where you will follow.*	event
13	o:nęh	O:nęh ęhsé:gę' gyę́:gwa' ska:t otahá:gwęh. then you.will.see if one it.has.left.the.road *Soon you will see if one has left the road.*	event
14	---	Oyę́:deht to:gyęh hwa' shęnhǫ: ha'deyona'skotá'ǫh. it.is.noticeable that is where it.has.jumped.away *It is easy to notice where it has jumped away.*	event
15	---	A:yę:' gę:s toh n'agá:ye:' ne' í:nǫh nyo:' one.could.say usually there it.does that far a.long.way ha'dwęn'asgwahk 'awatahá:go'. it.jumps.away it.leaves.the.road *One could say it would generally jump quite a way away from the road.*	event
16	---	Tkwęhǫ: gihne: gę́:s tę'. sometimes this usually not *Sometimes this is not the case.*	event
17	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' thǫ: ęhsyánhę:' o:nęh tó:gyęh. that just that.one you.will.follow.its.tracks then that *That is the one whose tracks you will follow.*	event
18	---	Ó: tohdzí:hah shęh n'adegana'skwé:sǫ's. oh quite.a.bit how so.its.jumps.are.long *Oh, it can jump quite a ways.*	event
19	---	Tǫ: nęh wa'héh ęwatahá:go'. that.one when until it.will.leave.the.road *Then the hops shorten up when it is going to leave the patch.*	event

20	---	Wihsa:s gaęnhǫ: nę́:gyęh ha:yó:da'. it.is.seeking when this it.sleeps.there *It is looking for a place to sleep.*	background
21	**ne:'**	**ne:'** se'gyę:' gę:s to:gyę́h hwa' nęh sǫheh nęh this you.know usually that is when night when gadidaksénǫgye's shęnhǫ: ohádenyǫ'. they.run.around where roads.are *This is how it is, you know, at night, when they run around near their roads.*	background
22	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' tǫ: ęhsyánhę: that just the.one you.will.track *That is the one you will track.*	event
23	---	Tǫ: gwahs tohdzí:hah shęh n'adeganá'skwe:s. the.one just quite.a.way how so.jumps.are.long *That is the one whose jumps are quite long for a ways.*	background
24	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gę:s to:gyęh a:yę:' daodo'kdá:gye' shę́h that usually that one.could.say it.lessens how n'adeganá'skwe:s. so.jumps.are.long *Then the jumps seem to lessen in length.*	background
25	---	Ó: a:yę:' gi' hne:' gę:s tę' gwahs di' i:nǫh **ne:'** Oh one.could.say just this usually not too far this nęh ęhsyanhae:' tó:gyęh. when you.will.track that *It generally seems like it is not too far that you have to follow the tracks.*	background
26	---	Daodo'kda:gye' shęh n'adeganá'skwe:s. it.lessens how so.jumps.are.long *Then the hops become shorter.*	event
27	o:nęh	O:nęh ęhsatkáǫ:'. now you.will.watch *Now you will watch.*	event
28	---	Sgę:nǫ́:'ǫh shęh nęhse:gwé:ni' tęhsátahahk. slow as so.you.will.be.able you.will.walk *Walk as slowly as you can.*	event
29	**ne:'**	**ne:'** nęh syanęhę́:wi' o:nę́gwa' a:yę:' to:gyę́h hwa' this now you.track now one.could.say that is nę́:tshǫ: n'adesgana'skwé:sǫ's less so.jumps.are.long *As you follow the tracks, the hops seem to get shorter and shorter.*	event

30	---	Heyohé:' ęhs'nikwá:k tó:gyęh. more you.will.walk.carefully that *Now you will walk more carefully.*	event
31	---	Nę:gwa' gę:s hne:' tó:gyęh né: tshǫnyó:' hesé:nǫ and.now usually this that then little.far you.have.gone o:nęh tó:gyęh a:yé:' oná:tk'ade' gadiyanáǫnyǫ' then that one.could.say they.are.may their.tracks tó:gyęh. that *After you have gone a little way, it will seem like they have left many tracks.*	event
32	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' tó:gyęh tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyanahséhdǫh this just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks awagyanahseht gę:s **ne:'** tǫ: hǫ:ni' a:yę:' it.hides.its.tracks usually that the.one why one.could.say ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh. all.over it.has.hopped.there *They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks.*	background
33	---	A:yę:' onatk'adé' 'ǫh netoh gadiyanáǫnyǫ'. one.could.say they.are.many it.seems there they.leave.tracks *It appears that a lot of rabbits have left tracks.*	background
34	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' o:nęh tohǫ́: tęhsda' that.is just now there you.will.stop *That is where you will stop.*	event
35	---	Tohǫ́: to:gyęh o:nęh tęhsatgahdǫ́:nyǫh. there that when you.will.look.around *That is where you will look around.*	event
36	---	Tohǫ́: iwá:k'ah tohǫ́: gętsko:t gaęgwa'nnhǫ́:. there near there it.sits somewhere *Near there somewhere is where it will be.*	background
37	**ne:'**	**ne:'** se' hǫ:ni' ogyanahséhdǫh that is because it.has.hidden.its.tracks *That is because it has hidden its tracks there.*	background
38	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' gę:s to:gyęh ne' néh 'awatęhfrǫ́nihs'a:' this just usually that.is this when it.gets.ready gaęgwa'nhǫ́:weh nęwátahseht somewhere so.it.will.hide *This is when it is getting ready to hide somewhere.*	background

39	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gę:s tǫ: degán'asgwe:s gaęgwa' nyo:' that usually that it.has.long.hops it.is far ha'deyoná'skwa̲hgwęh toh nyo:' tó:gyęh it.has.jumped.away that far that.is *That is usually when it has hopped quite a ways.*	background
40	o:nęh	O:nęh di' ĩhse:t gyę:' nóne:' tę̲hsatka̲hǫ́:nyǫhs. now then you.stand there you.look.around *And now you will stand there looking.*	event
41	---	Gyę:gwa' tę' k'atoh o:nęh ęthsatwadá:se' sgę:nǫ:'ǫh. if not nowhere now you.will.come.around easy *If it's nowhere around, you will circle around carefully.*	event
42	---	ęthsatwadá:se' gaęgwa' gwae hęhse:' tę̲hsatka̲htǫ́:nyǫ' you.will.come.around whichever way you.will.go you.will.look *Whichever way you go, look around.*	event
43	**ne:'**	**ne:'** segę:s gyę:' hǫ:ni:' tga'de' ohǫ:dá:k'ah kraidá:k'ah that usually it.is because it.is.much near.a.bush near.a.tree gishęh hǫ: gętsgo:t or there it.sits *That is how you have to do it because many times it happens that it will be sitting near a bush or a tree.*	background
44	---	ęthsatwadá:se' sgę:nǫ́:'ǫh. you.will.come.around easy *You should come around carefully.*	event
45	---	ęhsatka:iyohs tó:gyęh. you.will.make.your.eye.good then *You should peel your eyes.*	event
46	---	tohgeh ne' **ne:'** se'gyę:' gwahs ęhsat'enyę́:dę' ne' then this that.is you.know most you.will.try that tęsáka̲hnra'k it.will.look.at.you *Then, you know, the hardest part is when it is looking at you.*	event
47	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hǫ:ni:' to:gyęh onǫ'a:'geh ęhsí:'a:k that.is why that on.its.head you.will.shoot *And that is because you will shoot at its head.*	event
48	---	I:nǫ́h di' nyo:' hęhse:' ęthsatwadá:se'. far then away you.will.go you.will.come.around *You will go a long ways around.*	event

49	---	Tęhsékahnra'k di' shęnǫ: ęhse:' toh 'ǫ: you.will.look then where you.will.think there it.seems hǫ: nigędrǫ'. where it.stays *You will look where you think it might be.*	event
50	**ne:'**	**ne:'** nęh ęthsatwadá:se' o:nęh gao' n'adę́:thse:' that then you.will.come.around now back you.will.come.back *If you can't see him, go one way or the other, making a track in a circle, then coming back.*	event
51	o:nęh	O:nęh dó:gęhs tǫnhǫ́: tga'de' ęhse:gę' o:nęh hne:' when in.fact that.time it.is.much you.will.see now this desákahne:' it.is.looking.at.you *Often that is when you will see it looking at you.*	event
52	o:nęh	O:nęh ęhsat'edrǫ́:ni'. now you.will.aim *Now you will aim.*	event
53	**ne:'**	**ne:'** se' hǫ́:ni' onǫ'a:'geh ęhsí:'a:k tę' tha:hsrétgęht this that why on.its.head you.will.shoot not for.you.to.ruin o'wáhǫ' meat *You will shoot it in the head so that you will not ruin the meat.*	event
54	---	Toh nigá:yę: nę́:gyęh ne' a:hsyaníhsa:k. there so.it.is.done this this for.you.to.track *That is how tracking is done.*	background
55	---	ehsyánihsak se'gye:' wa'héh o:nęh **ne:'** hǫ:ni' you.will.look.for.tracks you.know before now this.is because heyohé: wagyés'ageh more it.is.easy *You look for the tracks first, because it is easier.*	background
56	---	Tohgeh o:ya' hni' gę:s niyagwayé:ha'. then other also used.to so.we.did.it *There is another way we used to do it.*	background
57	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hne:' to:gyęh ne' agwaę'hó:ta' agwáyasta' this this that this we.set.traps.with.bushes we.call.it *This is the one where we set traps.*	background
58	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hę' hne:' tǫ: shęnhó: onatadé:nyǫ' gwa'yǫ' that where this the.one where their.roads.are rabbits *We do it where the rabbits' roads are.*	setting

59	---	Sǫhęh gyę:' nóne:' gá:dǫh deyonadáwęnye'. at.night you.know I.say they.walk.around *As I said, at night, they walk around.*	background
60	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gi' ne' nęh o'gá:s'ah toh hęhse:' to:gyęh this just that when it.is.evening there you.will.go that shęnhǫ́: onatadé:nyǫ' where they.have.roads *And in the evening, you will go to the place where they have their roads.*	event
61	**ne:'**	**ne:'** e:' to:gyę́h hwa' tohǫ: ęhsrę'hódę' shęnhǫ́: that again that is there you.will.set.a.trap where otǫ:dǫ́:ni: ká:gǫ:h se'gyę:' nóne:' there.are.many.bushes in.the.woods because you.know ohǫdagǫ́hshǫ' in.the.bushes *That is where you will set a trap this time, somewhere in the woods, because there is a lot of brush there, you know.*	event
62	---	Gyę:gwa' ohǫ́:do:t né:tshǫ: niyohǫ́:da'. if small.bush.stand a.little small.sapling *Maybe there will be a small bush there.*	event
63	**ne:'**	**ne:'** tęhséhsage:t é:gwa:dih hęhsóda: that you.will.bend.it other.side you.will.hook.it ę:n n'aohahá:dih degyohǫ́:do:t tohǫ: hęhsóda: on.the.other.side.of.the.road another.whip there you.will.hook.it *You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road.*	event
64	**ne:'**	**ne:'** to:gyęh ne' ęhsrę'ho:dę' gayá:sǫh that.is that is you.will.set.a.trap it.is.called *That is what you call setting a trap.*	background
65	o:nęh	O:nęh hęhsóda: nétoh hęhsni:yǫ́:dę' then you.will.hook there you.will.hang.it.there *Then you will hook the hoop on there so it hangs down.*	event
66	---	ęhsę'nigahani:yǫ́:dę' né'toh. you.will.hang.the.hoop there *You will hang the hoop there.*	event

67	---	gwáhs shęh nitgá:de' węni'kaha:ní:yǫ:t ne' ętgádakse' just how so.it.stands the.hoop.will.hang that it.will.run **ne:'** gi' ne' hęwęnǫhwá:wi't shęh that.is just that it.will.stick.its.head where węni'kaha:ní:yǫ:t the.hoop.is.hanging.there *The hoop will hang just high enough so that when the rabbit comes running, it will stick its head right inside of it.*	event
68	**ne:'**	**ne:'** nęh toh nęyá:węh hęwátgatsha't shęnhǫ́: that.is when that so.it.will.happen it.will.come.off where hesodá:hǫh nę́:gyęh hwa' gáęho:t you.have.hooked.it this here trap *And when that happens, the part of the trap that you hooked on will come right off.*	event
69	o:nęh	O:nęh gę:s hne:' tóh gaya'daní:yǫ:t settsí:hah then usually this there the.body.is.hanging very.early tó:gyęh. that.is *Then, usually,the body will be hanging there in the morning.*	event
70	o:nęh	O:nęh hne:' í:s sęnǫ́hdǫ do: ní:yǫ: ęhse:' now this you it.is.up.to.you how many you.will.think ęhsę'nikahani:yǫ́:dę' you.will.hang.hoops *Now, then, it is up to you how many hoops you think you will hang.*	background
71	**ne:'**	**ne:'** segę:s ne' swe'gé:hah hęnatęhní:nǫh gę:s ne' that usually that long.ago they.sell used.to this gwa'yǫ' gyę:' rabbit then *A long time ago, they used to sell rabbits.*	background
72	---	Ó: otgá'de' gi' ni: gę:s ne' wahshę: Oh it.is.much that I used.to that ten niwak'ęnikaha:ní:yo:t ne' swahsǫ́:da:t. so.hoops.were.hanging the one.night *I would often have as many as ten hoops hanging each night.*	background
73	---	Ó: otgá'de' hne:' gę:s ne' tgwáhaǫ:' hye:i', ó: Oh it.is.much this used.to that sometimes six oh tgwáhaǫ:' dzá:gahk sometimes seven *Oh, sometimes I used to catch as many as six or seven.*	background

74	---	I:nǫh gi' gaǫ: ne' gwé:gǫh hęyodiyénaha:k. far but not that all they.will.be.caught *But I wouldn't very often catch all of them.*	background
75	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gih hne:' kyǫhfréhtgǫh do: niyo:we' hęhse:' that all depends on it.follows how so.it.is.far you.will.go *It all depends on how far you go.*	background
76	---	ęga:gwe:ni' gishęh hne:' dó:gęhs ne' gwé:gǫh it.will.be.possible perhaps that in.fact that all hǫyodiyénaha:k. they.will.be.caught *Perhaps all of them will catch something there.*	background
77	**ne:'**	**ne:'** gih hę' hne:' wagyés'ageh ne' a:hsadó:wa:t this also also too it.is.easy the for.you.to.hunt *Also, it is an easy way to hunt, as well.*	evaluation
78	---	tę' hne:' skhao'dę' ta'deyodohwędzóhǫh kao'da' **ne:'** not this anything not.is.it.needed gun that gishęh ne' adóda:' nę:gyęh or that bow this *You don't need any equipment, no gun or bow or anything.*	background
79	---	Tę' skhao'dę' ta'deyodohwędz'ohǫh. not anything not.is.needed *Nothing is needed.*	background
80	**ne:'**	**ne:'** he:gę: ęhsya'daniyǫdákwaǫ:' that necessary you.will.unhang.bodies *All you have to do is take the bodies down.*	background
81	---	Toh a:yę:' nigá:yę: a:hadó:wa:t ne' i:so' there one.could.say so.it.is.done for.him.to.hunt the much wagyés'ageh. it.is.easy *I seems a lot easier to hunt this way.*	evaluation
82	---	a:yę:' gę:s wa'ne:' hę:ne:' **ne:'** 'ǫh hé:gę:' one.could.say usually today they.think that it.seems necessary *It seems as if nowadays, they generally think that all you have to do to see them is to go into the bush.*	background

82[19]	---	Tę' gi' ó:nęh, wę:do: gyę:' nę:gyęh not just now it.is.difficult to.be this daesadawęnyéha:k tę'd'áǫ: a:hse:gę' tó:gyęh for.you.to.walk.around not.is.possible for.you.to.see that *That is just not true anymore; it's difficult to see them while just out walking around.*	background
83	---	Tóh gi' e:' ni:yǫ:' ahi:' nę:gyéh hwa' there just again so.many I.thought this and gyę:gwa' sǫgá:'ah hadewayę́:sta' a:hadó:wa:t if someone he.is.learning.how for.him.to.hunt gwa'yǫ' tgwahǫ́:'ǫh a:hsade'nyę:dę' toh na:hsye:'. rabbit sometime you.might.try there so.you.would.do *Again, I just thought if anyone is learning to hunt rabbits, you might try to do this sometimes.*	background
84	---	I:so' tóne:' wagyés'ageh much there it.is.easy *Mind you, it is a lot easier this way.*	evaluation
85	---	Heyohé:' gi' wa'ne:' trehs tę' t'esgadiná:gre' more just today because not not.are.animals.may gwa'yǫ' rabbits *That is even more true today because there are not so many rabbits.*	background
86	---	I:so' t'aodo'kda:gye' shęh niyóhtǫhne:' tshige:ksá'ah much it.is.lessening how so.it.used.to.be since.I.was.a.child *There are a lot fewer than there were when I was a kid.*	background
87	---	Ó: i:so' gyó:do'k wa'ne:' shęnǫhgeh ne' odzǫ́'da' oh much it.is.lessend today even the fish gá:dǫh gyę:' wa'tsih I.say it.is a.while.ago *There is a lot less of everything nowadays, even fish, as I was saying just a while ago.*	background
88	---	i:so' gyó:do'k **ne:'** ne' hwis niwáhshę: niyóhfrage: much it.is.lessened that only five tens so.years.number *It has diminished a lot in only fifty years.*	background
89	nęh	Nęh hwa' wa'ne:' tę' t'esgánagre' and now today not they.no.longer.live *And nowadays, there aren't very many around anymore.*	background

[19]The mistake in the numbering appears in the original text.

90	---	To:gyęh 'ǫh hné' hę:yohtǫ́:gye' toh there it.seems that so.it.will.be there hęyogwadó'ktas it.will.run.out.for.us.there *I guess it will keep on this way until everything has run out.*	background
91	---	Ha'de:yǫ: deyodenyǫ́hǫgye' o:nęh a:yę:' many different.things.change now it.seems *It seems like a lot of things are changing.*	background
92	---	Tót'iǫ: ni:yǫ: **ne:'** ahi:' aeswatǫ́:dęh that so.much that I.thought you.would.hear *And that is about as much as I thought you would like to hear.*	closing

Thirty discourse units start with the particle ne:', among them the introductory phrase of the text. Fifteen ne:'-initial units express background information, two express settings and one contains an evaluation. Twelve discourse units are classified as events. The ne:'-initial units are spread throughout the entire text except for the last part where the procedural description ends and the speaker comments more generally on the change of the world. The text shows nine occurrences of o:nęh in initial position. Seven of them introduce events, and two introduce background information.

2.4.5 Children's version of the Thanksgiving Address

Unit	Particle	Content	Info Type
1	---	í: ská:t dędwhadatnǫ́hǫnyǫ:' me/myself one we give thanks among our selves ohwęjagéh e:tyin(o)'whá' deyetinǫ́hǫhkwa' on.earth our.mother we.all.care.for.her *We bring our minds together and we give thanks as one. We have a great caring for our mother the earth.*	
2	---	odehadǫ́:ni: ohwahta' gǫwadigówanęh trees maple is.the.leader.of.them *We give thanks for the trees, and the maple is the lead tree,*	
3	---	gwé:gǫh ohnegáonyǫ' all water.lying.there *and for all the waters that we have.*	
4	---	gwé:gǫh gadi:nyó: dewahǫhdé:s gǫwadigówanęh all wild.animals deer is.their.leader *And we give thanks for all the wild animals and the deer is the lead animal.*	

5	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hni' gwé:gǫh also all jidęhsǫah (short for jidę'ęsǫah) awęhegó:wa' birds.of.many.variety eagle gǫwadigówanęh is.their.leader *We give thanks for all the birds and the eagle is the leader of the birds.*	
6	---	gwé:gǫh ne' gahyani:yǫthá' jihsǫ:dáhk gǫwadigówanęh all ART fruits strawbwerry is.their.leader *And we give thanks for all the fruits and the lead of those is the strawberry.*	
7	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hni:' gwé:gǫh sǫgwadęna'trae:wíh nęgęh also all the.food.that.he.has.given.us this ohwęjagéh de:dwadęnǫhǫyohá' hę' **né:'** on.earth we.all.give.thanks and.also *And we give thanks for all other foods that the creator has given us.*	
8	---	atedwanǫhǫnyǫ:' hni' ne' hadiwęnodagyé:'s we.thank.him also ART thunders (they sing around) ohneganóhs hadihá:wi's water they.carrie *We give thanks for the thunders for bringing all the water.*	
9	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hni' deyo:wá:węnye' also wind(the air is going around) *And we give thanks for that we still have winds.*	
10	---	atedwanǫhǫnyǫ:' ne' sǫhe:hká: gá:hgwa:h we.give.thanks.to.him ART night shape (?) (= the moon) etihsó:t deyetinǫhǫhkwa' our.grandmother we.have.great.care deyohsǫdahshá:' hni:' (crowed of).stars also *We give thanks for the moon our grandmother we have great care for her and also for the stars.*	
11	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hni:' ęndeká: gá:hgwá:h sedwáhjah also day shape (= sun) our.big.brother deshedwanǫhǫhkwa' we.care.a.great.deal.for.him *[We] give thanks for our brother the sun,*	

12	---	gé: nihę́:nǫ́: hadihya'kyó:nǫ' deyokinyę́'nyadǫ' four of.men the.guardians who.protect.us *And also to the four guardians of our minds.*	
13	**ne:'**	**ne:'** hni: atedwanǫhǫ́:' sganyadaiyó' ne(:)' also we.give.thanks.to.him Handsome.Lake ART(?) nękę́ ohwęjagéh gaehkwí:yó: hohká'węh this on.earth the.good.word that.he.left *[We] give thanks to Handsome Lake who brought us Gaehkwí:yo:.*	
14	--- (?)	ne(:)' heska:gǫ́:t ętedwanǫhǫnyǫ́:' ne' ? for.the.last we.will.give.thanks.to.him ART sǫgwayadíhsǫh gwe:gǫh hohká'węh ohwęjageh ne' creator all he.put.here on.earth ? í:' ęyagwanikwi:yohá:k also that.we.will.have.a.satisfied.good.mind *And the last we thank the creator for every thing that he has put on this earth so that we are satisfied.*	
15		dá:net(h)óh that's.all	closing

This source shows five discourse units that are introduced by ne:'.[20] All of them express an item or concept that is given thanks for. In some sense, each ne:'-initial unit introduces a new discourse topic that is talked about for a short time. Not all Cayuga discourse units include an overt expression of 'we give thanks' (the translation does, however), but in all cases ne:' is followed by the particle hni:' 'also', which establishes the relation to the last mention of the main verb. The Thanksgiving Address is the only source in which the cluster ne:' hni:' introduces discourse units instead of smaller segments. It was mentioned in section 2.3 that the entire text can be considered the single speech act 'we give thanks for x'. I have classified this source as 'hortatory' and thus as [– succession] following Longacre (1976). Of course, through the text-telling itself there is a successive structure, and since the expression 'to give thanks' is not the description of an act, but an action itself one could classify the expressed information as 'events'. However, these 'events' do not contrast with 'non-events' as in the other sources, and I therefore find the use of the term misleading in this context.

2.4.6 Summary

Discourse units that are introduced by the particle ne:' are found to express events (in about one third of the cases) as well as non-events (in about two thirds), while the temporal particles o:nęh, nęh, and ne' introduce events in almost all instances (with only four exceptions). These findings confirm Woodbury's Onondaga-based claim that the temporal particles are discourse markers that introduce events. The assumption, however, that the

[20] I assume that the initial particle in discourse unit (14) is the article-like element ne', however, I could not determine with certainty whether the particle has a long or a short vowel.

particle ne:' (Onondaga na') marks non-events is not supported by the Cayuga data. It appears that the discourse function of ne:' is not the *opposite* of event marking but it is *independent* of the marking of events or non-events. In this respect, the apparent opposition between ne:' and the temporal particles is based more on their complementary distribution than on their meaning or function.

Tomlin (1985: 90, cited in Serzisko 1992) suggests a distinction between 'pivotal information', "which describe[s] the most important events in the narrative" and 'foreground information', "which describe[s] successive events in the narrative". The ne:'-initial events in the narrative texts generally fit Tomlin's description of 'pivotal information'. They contain key information for the understanding of the story, describe moments of highest tension, and express the punch line or climax of the texts. I would like to argue that non-events can also be pivotal or non-pivotal. Settings and background information that provide the set-up for the story typically introduce the time frame and location, as well as the participants. In that sense they provide key information before the event line even started. Also, they can only consist of new information, as in the case of presentational utterances. Introductory and closing remarks have special status in that they comment on the text-telling itself. In many cases, ne:'-initial discourse units were found to express changes of the subject or discourse topic.

The procedural and the hortatory text do not show the same distributional pattern of the particles as the narrative sources. In 'How to Hunt Rabbits', ne:'-initial discourse units are in the overwhelming majority compared to those introduced by o:neh, and the children's Thanksgiving Address does not include any unit-initial temporal particles. In both sources, a distinction between pivotal and non-pivotal information is not easy to establish.

3 Analysis as a focus marker

In this chapter I explore the view that ne:' is an indicator of focus, as has been suggested by several authors as summarized in Chapter One. Sasse (1988, 1993a) considers focus marking to be the basic function of ne:' and Bonvillain (1988) lists focus as one meaning among others expressed by the particle. Woodbury (1980) makes a similar assertion in stating that the particle marks contrast, a notion strongly related to the one of focus. Michelson's (1985) description of the particle as emphatic element provides further support for the interpretation of ne:' as a marker of focus. Other functions that the particle has been claimed to have seem less compatible with of focus marking. I discuss various of these functions and their possible link to the concept of focus in the course of this chapter.

The question that has to be posed is whether the assumption of focus marking can account for the variety of uses the particle has and its apparently different functions in different contexts. Before I try to answer this question, an understanding of the term 'focus' is necessary. In section 3.1 I give a brief (and incomplete) overview of how the term 'focus' is used in the literature and what its position is with respect to related terms.

3.1 Focus

In the linguistic literature, the term 'focus' has been used differently by different authors. Taking a more or less theory-independent approach, one can say that 'focus' refers to elements that are highlighted in comparison to other parts of an utterance. Bussmann (1983: 144) defines it as the "information center of a sentence" ("Informationszentrum des Satzes"), and Crystal (1985: 123) describes 'focus' as the "center of communicative interest". In another view, focus is "the part that is asserted in a declarative utterance or questioned in an interrogative utterance" (Van Valin, 1993: 16). Similarly, König (1991: 11) says "the focus of a sentence can be defined as that part that corresponds to the WH-phrase in an interrogative, to which it provides an appropriate answer".

Vallduví (1992) summarizes different approaches to 'information packaging' in sentences. Depending on the approach, 'focus' is considered to be the complement of 'topic', 'presupposition', or 'open-proposition', which are accessible from the previous discourse or the extra-linguistic situation. 'Topic' for example is considered to be "accessible in the hearer's memory" (Hajičová 1984: 193, cited in Vallduví 1992). Jackendoff (1972: 230, cited in Vallduví 1992) defines 'presupposition' as denoting "the information that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer". For her definition of 'open-proposition', Prince (1985: 65, cited in Vallduví 1992) alters this idea of 'shared knowledge' to "what the speaker assumes about the hearer's beliefs". In Chafe's (1976) terms, 'presupposition' refers to 'background knowledge'. The 'information packaging' of focus vs. topic, presupposition, or open-proposition, respectively, bears a relation to the Prague School notions of 'theme' and 'rheme', where 'theme' is the anchoring or vehicular part of an utterance and 'rheme' denotes the informative part. In contrast to the notions of focus and presupposition etc., 'theme' and 'rheme' refer to the endpoints of a continuum. One can, thus, speak of a *degree* of thematicity or rhematicity for each element of an utterance. Firbas (1964: 272, cited in Vallduví 1992) states that "the theme is constituted by the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest

degree(s) of communicative dynamism within the sentence". The rheme is, therefore, the part of the sentence which carries the highest degree of communicative dynamism. Finally, 'focus' is related to the notion of 'comment', where 'comment' is one side of a bi-partite sentence, opposed 'topic'. In this distinction 'topic' is what the sentence is 'about', and 'comment' is what is said about the topic. The notions of 'focus' and 'comment' are not equivalent but they overlap, as illustrated by Dahl (1974) with the example in (140).

(140) What does John drink? –

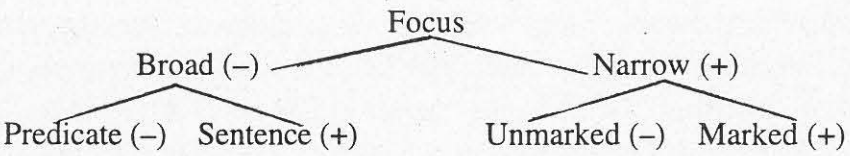
topic	*comment*	
John	drinks	beer
background		*focus*

(1974, e.g. 3, cf. Vallduví p.44)

3.1.1 Types of focus

Lambrecht (1987, in press) posits different types of focus in his theory of information structure. He distinguishes between broad and narrow focus, and divides these categories in turn into two subtypes. Broad focus covers the concepts of 'predicate focus' and 'sentence focus', while the subtypes of 'narrow focus' are labeled 'marked and unmarked narrow focus'. Figure 1 shows Lambrecht's taxonomy of focus types as summarized by Van Valin (1990: 181).

Figure 1



The symbol (–) indicates the unmarked member of an opposition, and (+) indicates the marked member. The most common and therefore least marked type is predicate focus. Constructions of this kind normally show the opposition of 'topic' and 'focus'. The topic is typically the subject, while the focus of the utterance is the predicate. English normally shows pronominal subjects in such constructions (an indication of its presupposed status) and primary stress on the predicate as indicated by the accent mark in the following examples (the examples are adapted from Lambrecht 1987).

(141) (What happened to your car?) It broke dówn.

Sentence focus is the marked type of broad focus. In this kind of construction no part is presupposed or accessible from the previous discourse. The utterance consists entirely of new information, and so there is no bi-partition into topic and focus. The utterance as a whole is the center of communicative interest, and thus focused. In English, utterances with sentence focus typically show primary stress on the subject, which is presented as a lexical NP.[21]

(142) (What happened?) My cár broke down.

[21]The notion of predicate focus vs. sentence focus is related to the distinction between categorical vs. thetic statements. For discussion of these, see Kuroda (1972, 1984), Lambrecht (1987), and Sasse (1987).

In the case of narrow focus, a single concept is picked out and highlighted. This can result in contrast, if one concept is highlighted as opposed to another one from the same paradigm. Narrow focus can fall on basically any element of an utterance. In English the focused element carries primary stress.

(143a) (What broke down?) The cár broke down. (Not the vacuum cleaner.)

(143b (Whose car broke down?) My´ car broke down. (Not hers.)

(143c) (Is your car still running well?) No, it broke dówn.

An utterance in isolation can be ambiguous with respect to its information structure. Example (143c) with narrow focus on the verb can only be distinguished from the predicate focus construction in (141) when the context (e.g. the question) is known. Lambrecht's focus types differ in which parts of a sentence are highlighted – in what is marked as the 'center of communicative interest'. In most utterances it is the predicate, but in special cases it can be other constituents or the entire sentence.

In the following, I will make use of Lambrecht's terminology. It should be pointed out, however, that the concepts of 'predicate focus', 'sentence focus', and 'narrow focus' have been established primarily on the basis of languages such as English, German, French and Italian, as well as Japanese. A polysynthetic language like Cayuga does not necessarily allow the same distinctions. In theory, one can assume the same focus types for any given language; the problem is to identify them in practice, especially in Iroquoian languages, in which verbs cannot be distinguished from clauses or sentences in that a single verb constitutes a clause because of the obligatory pronominal prefixes.

To avoid confusion I see the need to contrast my use of the term 'focus particle' to other elements that have been referred to by this label in the literature. König (1991) discusses scalar (or quantificational) particles such as 'only', 'also', 'even', etc. as 'focus particles'. These elements are categorized in two main groups: inclusive (or additive) particles and exclusive (or restrictive) particles. The lexical meaning of 'also' or 'only' for example can be described as, respectively, including or excluding an alternative. König states the hypothesis that, "Focus particles contribute quantificational force to the meaning of a sentence, i.e. they quantify over the set of alternatives . . . brought into play by the focusing itself" (p. 33). In contrast to that, there are particles which König (p. 3) refers to as 'pure' or 'lexically empty' focus markers. Such particles only mark the 'focusing itself' and do not express additive or exclusive meaning. In using the term 'focus particle', I refer to this latter group of elements. Their function is primarily the indication of focus, while the particles discussed by König express primarily lexical meaning. The assumption that scalar particles are focus markers is controversial. For example, Dryer (1994) suggests that the English particle 'only' interacts with focus structure but does not mark focus itself. He argues "that there is no grammatical link between focal accent and the constituent which is associated semantically with *only*" but that "focal accent in clauses with *only* is determined by the same pragmatic principles that determine focal accent in general" (p.2). Vallduví (1992: 150) expresses similar claims in suggesting "that the tendency – not requirement – to associate *only* with focus is due to factors

which are clearly nonlinguistic. . . . due to the pragmatic unlikelihood of nonfocal exhaustiveness, we only accept *only's* partner as nonfocal in presence of compelling contextual pressure". The distinction between 'pure' focus markers and scalar particles is important for the discussion of the Cayuga particle. If ne:' is a focus marker, it can only belong to the class of 'pure' or 'lexically empty' focus particles. It is, however, found to interact with particles like 'also' and 'only'.[22]

3.2 *ne:'* as a focus particle

3.2.1 Evidence from previous research

Several of the Iroquoian examples presented in Chapter One are found to support the claim that ne:' and its cognate forms are expressions of focus, under the notion of focus described above. Sasse (1993a: 213) presents examples of contrastive function which, in Lambrecht's terms, constitute instances of narrow focus. The examples are repeated with new numbering.

(144a)	twę́:wę:t	*it is a duck*	
(144b)	**ne:'** twé:wę:t	*that's a duck*	(weak contrast)
(144c)	twę́:wę:t **ne:'**	*what it is, is a duck*	(strong contrast)

In comparison to (144a), the examples in (144b) and (144c) are contrastive, they show narrow focus on twęwę:t 'duck'. Following Sasse, ne:' preceding the focused word expresses weak contrast, while following ne:' marks strong contrast in this example. Woodbury (1980: 4) gives a pair of Onondaga examples in which, again, the particle triggers contrastive meaning.

(145a)O né'tho nihatíyè:ha'
thus so.they.do.it
...how they do it.

(145b) né'tho **na'** nihatíyè:ha'
thus so.they.do.it
...how they do it.?

The particle seem to express narrow focus on the pronominal prefix hati- 'they'. It is unclear to me whether this is the only possible reading. It might also be the previous context of the utterance that indicates what part of the verb nihatíyè:ha' is focused, i.e. one must ask whether the sequence na' nihatíyè:ha' can also mean '... how they do it' in a suitable context. In other words, I suggest that it might be pragmatically determined which part of a word is highlighted by ne:'.

It has been said that "the focus of a sentence can be defined as that part that corresponds to the wh-phrase in an interrogative to which it provides an appropriate answer" (König 1991: 11). That allows the interpretation of ne:' as marking focus in the answer phrase of the following example quoted by Sasse (1988: 195).

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[22]The cooccurrence of a pure focus marker and scalar particles can be considered evidence against the focus function of the scalar particles if both the pure focus marker and the scalar particle modify the same element.

(146) sǫ: hne:' n'áht tho:kyęh?
who is that
Who is that?

ne:' ki' teyakyanǫhsané:kę:
that.is we are neighbors
That's my neighbor.

The content word teyakyanǫhsané:kę: 'we are neighbors' constitutes the answer to the question 'who is that'. In the English equivalent, a distinction between focus and non-focus is possible. Only the underlined part in 'That is my neighbor' constitutes the answer to the question. Due to the different conceptualization such a split is not present or possible for the Cayuga answer. The complete content word teyakyanǫhsané:kę: 'we are neighbors' constitutes the focus and is introduced by the particle cluster ne:' ki'. Note that the question word sǫ: 'who' is followed by the particle hne:' which, as mentioned in section 2.2.1.1, is described as an expression of contrast and emphasis. Sasse considers this form to be a variant of ne:'. The presence of hne:' in this position is noteworthy given the fact that question words constitute the focus of content questions. Furthermore, if hne:' is indeed a variant of ne:' example (146) shows a clear parallel to the Oneida question discussed by Lounsbury (1953: 98).

(147) Oe Náhte' **né:** thikʌ́ sʌnhoskwʌnhutátih?
what is.it that to.you.mouthful.protruding.in.cheek.going along.is
What is that mouthful of stuff that you're going along with?

Lounsbury (p. 100) interprets the first two elements náhte' né: as the predication "what is it?", which is followed by a descriptive phrase elaborating it. In this construction, né: can be interpreted as focus marker that modifies the question word náhte' 'what'.

Woodbury (1980: 5) presents an example to demonstrate the declarative function of the Onondaga particle na' (Cayuga ne:'). The utterance in (148a) is a question and the one in (149b) is a declarative statement. It appears that this difference in illocutionary force is marked by the particles khé and na'.

(148a)O eksa'koná **khę** katę' ehsé:hęh
pretty.girl QU ALT she.is.cross
Is she pretty or is she cross?

(148b) eksa'koná **na'** kí'shęh ehsé:hęh
pretty.girl ALT she.is.cross
(Either) she's pretty or she's cross.

In my thinking these examples demonstrate the focus function of na' rather than its expression of declarative mood. First, the example pair does not contrast *a* question with *a* declaration. The sentence in (148a) is an alternative question and, thus, belongs to a special class of questions. Alternative questions lie somewhere between content questions and yes-no questions. Neither do they contain a content question word nor can they be answered with 'yes' or 'no'. In addition, the Onondaga question particle khé (Cayuga kę) obligatorily marks yes-no questions. To demonstrate that na' has declarative function it would be necessary to show that it cannot occur in either content questions or yes-no questions or imperatives.

Although not testified in the avaliable data, my assumption is that Onondaga na' as well as Cayuga ne:' *can* occur in interrogative and imperative statements. In that case they cannot be indicators of declarative mood. Still, the parallel positions of khę́ and na' in Woodbury's example is curious and seems to express some kind of an opposition. König (1991: 13) notes about question particles like khę́: "In languages in which yes–no interrogatives are distinguished from declaratives not through word order, but through the addition of certain particles, these particles are often added to the focus constituent". This explains the parallel structure of Woodbury's example: In the declarative statement in (148b) the focus lies equally on both alternatives. This is marked by the focus particle occurring between the alternatives together with the particle kí'shęh 'or'. In the interrogative statement the question marker takes this position, expressing the focus and the interrogative mood. In other words, the sentence in (148a) is marked for interrogative mood and shows an overt indication of the focus structure by the position of the question particle.[23] The statement in (148b) on the other hand is unmarked for illocutionary force and is by default declarative. The particle na' is an indication of the special focus structure.

Also other scholars have looked at the particle in relation to illocutionary force. Foster (1989, ms.) claims that the particle performs declarative function, and Sasse (1993b) glosses the particle as 'assertion' in the 'Grandfather Story'. Wallace Chafe (1993, p.c. cf. Chap. one) suggests that certain ne:'-initial particle clusters mark assertions in expressing a meaning close to English 'it is the case that...'. I interpret this statement as the suggestion that these particle clusters express a certain type of illocution, namely that they mark declarative sentences (as opposed to questions and commands). I do not adopt the approach that ne:' is an indication of declaration since not all declarative utterances are marked with the particle. If ne:' does have declarative meaning at all, it must either be an optional marker with random occurrence, or indicate *special instances* of declaration. In the latter case the 'special instances' have to be specified. Considering the terms 'declaration' and 'assertion' from a more colloquial perspective reveals some connotations that might be relevant in this context. Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (1991: 330) defines the verb 'declare' as e.g. 'to make clear', 'to make known formally or explicitly', and also as 'to state emphatically'. The verb 'assert' is defined as 'to state or declare positively and often forcefully or aggressive' (p.109). In this more colloquial use, the labels 'declarative' and 'assertive' do not refer to a type of illocutionary force. They have to be understood as marking not declaration in general but only certain instances of declaration, namely those of special importance. In this use the relation to discourse focus as described above is obvious and the terms 'declarative' and 'assertive' are highly misleading.

The literature also reports interactions between the Oneida form of the particle, né:, and the pronominal paradigms (see section 1.4). In the paradigm provided by Karin Michelson (1993, p.c.), the particle stands between the pronouns and the possessive expressions.

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[23] I assume that the Onondaga question particle normally appears in final position as in Cayuga.

(149)Oe	í:	**né:**	akwa:wʌ́	*it is mine*
	1.pers		1.sg.belonging	
	i:sé	**né:**	sa:wʌ́	*it is yours*
	2.pers		2.sg.belonging	
	laulhá:	**né:**	lao:wʌ́	*it is his*
	3.pers.m		3.sg.m.belonging	
	akaulhá:	**né:**	aka:wʌ́	*it is hers*
	3.pers.f		3.sg.f.belonging	

The occurrence of ne: in these possessive constructions seems compatible with the function of focus marking. The focus function of ne: in the paradigm presented by Clifford Abbott is less obvious because the particle seems to replace the third person pronouns.

(150)Oe	í:	akwa:wʌ́	*it is mine*
	1.pers	1.sg.belonging	
	i:sé	sa:wʌ́	*it is yours*
	2.pers	2.sg.belonging	
	né:	lao:wʌ́	*it is his*
		3.sg.m.belonging	
	né:	aka:wʌ́	*it is hers*
		3.sg.f.belonging	

The occurrence of the particle can be understood in relation to principles of typological markedness. The omission of third person pronouns is crosslinguistically common because the third person is taken to be the typologically unmarked member of a person paradigm, it is likely to be formally unmarked as well. But besides that, Abbott's paradigm shows the particle né: only in the third person possessive expressions. It does not occur in the constructions with the first and second person. Thus né: appears as an exclusive feature of the third person possessors and can be reinterpreted as the emphatic third person pronouns. A possible explanation is that the use of ne:' results in a more coherent paradigm with the pronouns í: (1. pers) and i:sé (2. pers), since the third person pronouns laulhá: (3.pers.sg.m.), akaulhá: (3.pers.sg.f), aulhá: (3.pers.sg.zoic) are much longer and more complex in their phonological shape. At this point it is unclear whether speakers stick to one paradigm or vary in what constructions they use.

3.2.2 Evidence from the text sample

The question I address in this section is how the data from the text sample supports the claim that ne:' is a focus marker. Furthermore, I examine whether focus types à la Lambrecht can be distinguished and possibly be identified in correlation to the distribution of the particle.

The material in the previous section was largely presented in minimal pairs or sets of questions and answers. The identification of the focus of an utterance in real discourse is more difficult, especially when working with written versions of spoken texts. In the data used in

this project the intonation and accent pattern is available for neither the Cayuga material nor for the English translation. In the following I present examples from the text sample in which ne:' appears in constructions of different focus types. It has to be noted that given that the English stress pattern is unknown, my interpretation of the focus structure of some examples might not be the only one possible.

3.2.2.1 Narrow focus

In several cases the particle occurs in narrow focus constructions. It is in some cases found to interact with elements like 'only' and 'also' that are sometimes considered to be focus markers themselves (cf. König 1991). Whether one considers these elements to be actual focus particles or to be correlated with focus structure through pragmatics (Dryer 1994, Vallduví 1992), their cooccurrence with ne:' confirms its involvement in focus marking. Consider e.g. the following example where ne:' is followed by the particle hni' 'also'.

(151) hoyęti'ǫhné:' hne:'
he.knew ASS
he was good at whatever he was doing

haya'tahá'
he.paint
he was a painter

ne:' **hni'** hakyęn'athá' hni' kę:s
ASS also he.actor also usually
and he was also a performer. (Gr6-8)

The particle ne:' indicates the focus on the word hakyęn'athá' 'actor', which is modified by the additive particle hni' 'also'. Both particles precede the content word. The data contain six further examples of the same structure (cf. section 2.3.1.4). Similarly, in example (152) below, ne:' indicates narrow focus on the word ohta'kehshǫ́:' 'the low spots' which is modified by the exclusive particle tshǫ: 'only'.

(152) ne:' akę' tho:kyę́h
that.is EVID that

a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h niyo:wé'
it.seems he.got.scared too high far
But it seems he got scared, it is far too high.

ahę́' akę' ohta'kehshǫ́:' **ne:'** **tshǫ:** nęka:tǫ́:koht
he.said EVID foot.Locative that.is only I.will.pass
So he said: It is the low spots only that I will pass. (G64-66)

The English translation of the example shows narrow focus on 'the low spots', indicated in the gloss by a cleft construction. The concept of 'the low spots' stands in contrast to 'the high spots' which were mentioned earlier in the discourse (see section 2.4 for context). Unlike the previous example, both the particles ne:' and tshǫ: follow the focused content word. Sasse (1993a, cf. section 1.2) states that ne:' preceding the focused constituent expresses weak

contrast and ne:' following the focus indicates strong contrast. This might also be a factor for the word order difference in (151) and (152). The next example shows a further variation of the position of ne:' with respect to the focus of the utterance. In (154) the particle ne:' and the form gishęh 'or' which signals alternatives stand between the focused elements of this utterance, the two listed alternatives kao'da' 'gun' and adóda:' 'bow'. The utterance is parallel to the Onondaga example in (148) quoted by Woodbury.

(154) tę' hne:' skhao'dę́' ta'deyodohwędzóhǫh kao'da' **ne:'** **gishęh** ne'
not this anything not.is.it.needed gun that or that

adóda:' nę:gyęh
bow this
You don't need any equipment, no gun or bow or anything. (R78)

The following set of utterances allows two different interpretations. Either ne:' modifies only a following particle, in which case that element constitutes the focus of the sentence, or the focus lies on the particle following ne:' *and* the domain of that particle's scope. Consider the example in (155).

(155) skahsiyani:yǫ:tǫ́' tshǫ: ne' hothrǫ:ní:
string.hang just ART he.wears.it

ohǫtakǫhshǫ́:' kyę:' **ne:'** **ę́:t shǫ:'**
bush.in EMPH that.is all.about
His clothes were hanging in strings – through the bushes, all about. (G79-80)

The focus of the utterance lies either only on the particle ę́:t shǫ:' 'all about', or it covers also the expression skahsiyani:yǫ:tǫ́' 'through the bushes'. I consider the latter interpretation more powerful because it is parallel to the examples in (151) to (154) where both ne:' and a following particle modify the focused constituent. Since it allows a more general description I am in favor of this analysis. The same focus structure is found in the examples below.

(156) **ne:'** he:gę: ęhsya'daniyǫdákwaǫ:'
that necessary you.will.unhang.bodies
All you have to do is take the bodies down. (R80)

(157) a:yę:' gę:s wa'ne:' hę:ne:' **ne:'** 'ǫh hé:gę:'
one.could.say usually today they.think that it.seems necessary
It seems as if nowadays, they generally think that all you have to do to see them is to go into the bush. (R82)

Both ne:' and hé:gę:' 'necessary' modify the predicate (which follows in the first case and precedes in the second). This interpretation is similar to the instances where ne:' interacts with elements like 'only' and 'also'. I suggest a similar interpretation for the example in (158), with narrow focus on the particle ga:o' 'less'.

(158) **ne:'** ga:o' ni:yǫ: tęhsátahahk.
that less so.much you.will.walk
You have to walk a lot less. (R3)

The next example shows narrow focus on the verb. I do not consider this an instance of predicate focus because the verb has contrastive meaning, as becomes clear through the preceding context ('he was pretending to be asleep', cf. section 2.4.2) and through the translation 'and in reality...' which overtly signals a contrast.

(159) nę' shę **ne:'** teshakokahn´e: tę' ho'tę'
and.then COMP that.is he.watched.her what kind

tę' ho'tę' niyǫkyeha'
what kind she.do
And in reality he was watching her what she was doing, (G28-29)

A further instance of narrow focus is where ne:' modifies an independent pronoun. The text sample includes one example where ne:' precedes the free emphatic pronoun of the first person.

(160) 'o:nę́ gyę' | 'agíhsakhá' gi' ne' osthǫ́:drá' | tho nhǫ:wé ha'gé:' |
I.went.to.look.for (some).hay that place (where) I.went.there

thę'drǫ́' nęgyę́nhwá' ganedagǫ́: gwa:díh | ne:' nę:kyę́ né' |
he.was.living.there this in.the.Lower.End direction this

khnohá' degaǫdęhnǫ́:dé:' **ne:'** í:' ne' khno'zę́ nę́:h | thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' |
my.mother's brother we my.uncle this I.was.related.to

khnó'zę́ thiinǫ́hǫkhwá' .
my.uncle I.was.related.to.him
So I went looking for some over where my uncle lived in the Lower End of the reserve -- my mother's brother, my uncle as I was related to him. (A4)

Three examples in the text sample show variants of the first and second person emphatic pronouns with initial n. One is repeated in (161).

(161) ne:' ki' hne:' nę:kyę́ ne' i:'
ASS DECL ASS this REF 1s.PRO
So as to me, as far as I am concerned

Alta Doxtador **ni:** kyásǫh
1s.PRO I.am.named
my name is Alta Doxtador. (Gr89-90)

Since Bonvillain (1985) reports a contraction between the particle under discussion and a following free pronoun, this possibility has to be considered for Cayuga. The n-initial pronoun forms are normally described as 'contrastive', implying narrow focus on the pronoun and, thus, supporting this hypothesis.

In a number of cases, ne:'-initial particle clusters that include a demonstrative show a specific pattern in the English translation. A scheme that appears frequently is 'that is' or 'this is' followed by a headless relative clause. Consider the example in (162).

(162) **ne:'** gi' thǫ: ęhsyánhę:' o:nęh tó:gyęh.
that just that.one you.will.follow.its.tracks then that
That is the one whose tracks you will follow. (R17)

Prince (1978: 905) refers to constructions like that in the English translation of (162) as 'inverted WH-clefts'. Like *it* -clefts and regular WH-clefts, inverted WH-clefts are a structural means of identifying the focus domain of a proposition. The information in the WH-clause is marked as known, given, or accessible; it expresses the presupposition. In the text sample, constructions of this kind are especially frequent in the procedural text 'How to hunt rabbits'. It has been shown in section 2.4 that the distribution and classification of ne:'-initial discourse units in the procedural text is quite different from the narratives. The utterance-internal information structure in texts of this type can be expected to be different for an obvious reason: procedural texts have a built-in reference frame of presuppositions through the subject that they describe. This is similar to the 'restaurant script' described by Schank and Abelson (1977), where '*the* wine' or '*the* waiter' can be mentioned without being introduced first (e.g. 'there was a waiter') because these concepts are implied in the frame of a restaurant visit. In a procedural text like the recipe for a tomato sauce, the tomatoes are obviously presupposed. A procedural text such as instructions how to set a table in a restaurant presupposes a whole range of things such as silverware, china, glasses, etc. The same is true for 'How to hunt rabbits'. Instructions for rabbit hunting presuppose that one is looking for a rabbit, that one will track it down, and lots of other things. The utterance in example (162) occurs as discourse unit (17) in the following context.

13	O:nęh ęhsé:gę' gyę́:gwa' ska:t otahá:gwęh. then you.will.see if one it.has.left.the.road *Soon you will see if one has left the road.*
14	Oyę́:deht to:gyę́h hwa' shęnhǫ: ha'deyona'skotá'ǫh. it.is.noticeable that is where it.has.jumped.away *It is easy to notice where it has jumped away.*
15	A:yę:' gę:s toh n'agá:ye:' ne' í:nǫh nyo:' one.could.say usually there it.does that far a.long.way ha'dwę́n'asgwahk 'awatahá:go'. it.jumps.away it.leaves.the.road *One could say it would generally jump quite a way away from the road.*
16	Tkwęhǫ: gihne: gę́:s tę'. sometimes this usually not *Sometimes this is not the case.*
17	**ne:'** gi' thǫ: ęhsyánhę:' o:nęh tó:gyęh. that just that.one you.will.follow.its.tracks then that *That is the one whose tracks you will follow.*

The demonstrative thǫ: 'that one' in example (162) (= unit 17) refers back to an entity that has been identified in the previous discourse, i.e. it refers to 'the rabbit which did not jump quite a way away from the road'. The information 'whose tracks you will follow' is presupposed through the theme of the procedural text. The focus domain of the English sentence is the demonstrative 'that'. In order to draw conclusions for the Cayuga utterance, one must be willing to assume that the speaker chose this translation because it approximates most closely the information that was expressed in Cayuga. The discourse unit contains the demonstrative

thǫ: 'that one' which is preceded by the particle sequence ne:' gi'. One analysis seems, thus, to be that ne:' indicates narrow focus on the demonstrative. The following examples show a similar structure.

(163) **ne:'** gi' tǫ: ęhsyánhę:
that just the.one you.will.track
That is the one you will track. (R22)

(164) **ne:'** gę:s tǫ: degán'asgwe:s gaęgwa' nyo:' ha'deyoná'skwahgwęh
that usually that it.has.long.hops it.is fa it.has.jumped.away

toh nyo:' tó:gyęh
that far that.is
That is usually when it has hopped quite a ways.(R39)

(165) **ne:'** to:gyęh ne' ęhsrę'ho:dę' gayá:sǫh
that.is that is you.will.set.a.trap it.is.called
That is what you call setting a trap. (R64)

(166) **ne:'** hne:' to:gyęh ne' agwaę'hó:ta' agwáyasta'
this this that this we.set.traps.with.bushes we.call.it
This is the one where we set traps. (R57)

(167) **ne:'** gi' gę:s to:gyęh ne' nęh 'awatehfrǫnihs'a:' gaęgwa'nhǫ:weh nęwátahseht
this just usually that.is this when it.gets.ready somewhere so.it.will.hide
This is when it is getting ready to hide somewhere. (R38)

(168) **ne:'** se'gyę:' gę:s to:gyęh hwa' nęh sǫheh nęh gadidaksénǫgye's
this you.know usually that is when night when they.run.around

shęnhǫ: ohádenyǫ'.
where roads.are
This is how it is, you know, at night, when they run around near their roads. (R21)

In all examples above, the focused demonstrative refers back to something that is identified in the previous discourse (see section 2.4.4 for context). As opposed to the anaphorical reference in these examples, the demonstrative in the introductory phrase below refers to the entire following text.[24]

(169) **né:'** ne' nę:gyęh ne' gwa'yǫ' gę:s agwa:dó:wa:s tshige:ksá:'ah.
this is how it rabbit used.to we.hunt when.I.was.a.child
This is how we used to hunt rabbits when I was a child. (R1)

Examples of this type do not only occur in 'How to hunt rabbits'. The introduction of the 'Grandfather Story' and the 'Ghost Story' show the same structure.

(170) **ne:'** kyę:' nę:kyę́ ne' hęska:thro:wí'
ASS EMPH this REF I.will tell.you
This is what I will tell you. (Gr1)

[24]Note that in (169) 'how' is not to be understood as a literal gloss of the proximal demonstrative ne:gyęh 'this'.

(171) **ne:'** ki' kyę:' nę:kyé hwa'
that.is DECL EMPH this this.time
This is what we are talking about now. (G1)

Although the cleft constructions are a feature of the English translation and not of the Iroquoian examples, their structure is noteworthy. The inverted WH-clefts in the English sentences above are composed of a demonstrative and a predicative element (the copula 'be'), followed by a headless relative clause. The Cayuga particle ne:' (and its cognate forms in other Northern Iroquoian languages) has been called deictic-predicative, copular-like element, as well as demonstrative. The possibility has to be considered that these labels go back to the particle's translation by deictic and/or predicative elements into English. Its translation as such concepts, however, does not necessarily mean that the particle *is* deictic or predicative, or that it has the function to express these concepts. It has been discussed above that the function of English cleft constructions is the indication of focus. They fulfill this function by *means* of predicative and deictic elements. I would like to argue that the particle's frequent translation by predicative and deictic elements is a way to paraphrase its focus-marking function by English elements that perform similar functions.

3.2.2.2 Predicate focus

It has been stated that predicate focus is the typologically unmarked, default type of focus. Overt marking of predicate focus constructions is thus redundant and as one might expect cross-linguistically not very common. Nevertheless the particle ne:' does occur in utterances with predicate focus constructions. For example the particle is found between the two parts of the discontinuous Cayuga negation construction. Parallel to examples of the previous section ne:' modifies another particle and its domain of scope, namely the negation marker and the predicate it modifies. The focus of the examples in (172) and (173) is thus the negated predicate.

(172) thohkéh tęnihsa'kéh kę:s
then wall.on usually

ka'ahthrani:yǫ́:t
it.basket.hang
There used to hang a basket on the wall.

tę' kwa' ho'tę́'
what some kind

thę' kę:s t'aǫ a:hǫwaho:wí' tę' ho'tę́' í:wa:t
NEG usually NEG she.would.tell.him what kind was.in
There was something in it but she wouldn't tell him what it was.

a:ké' akę' kę:s
she.said EVID usually

thę' ne:' **t'**eo:węh ne' eks'ashǫ:'áh nęhna:yé:ye:'
NEG that.is Neg.belong ART children with.hands.do
She said all the time: It is not meant for children to touch. (G11-16)

(173) **thę' ne:'** kę:s **t'**ehahyatǫhsraętí: ne:' tshǫ: shęh
NEG ASS usually Neg.he.paper.knew ASS just COMP
It's true that he didn't know the paper (=didn't know how to read)

thohke kyę:' ni:yoht ne:' thohke nhǫ: kyę:'
there EMPH it.is.such ASS there place EMPH
that's how it used to be that time

ne' hatikęhtsihshǫ' **thę'**
REF they.are.old Neg
the old men didn't

ne:' kę:s ahsǫ **t'**ehatihyatǫhsraętí's
ASS usually still Neg.they.paper.know
yet know how to read. (Gr18-21)

The presence of the focus marker in these predicate focus constructions can be explained by the relatively marked status of negated predicates.[25]

3.2.2.3 Sentence focus

Some examples of the text sample allow an interpretation as sentence focus based on their context and the English translation. Consider for instance the utterances in (174) to (176).

(174) nęh kwa' **ne:'** saeyó' ne' hohsó:t
when some that.is she.enter ART grandmother
In the meantime his grandmother came back. (G73)

This utterance reintroduces the grandmother to the discourse. This suggests a reading of the English sentence with primary stress on 'grandmother' rather than on 'came back' and thus a reading as sentence focus rather than as predicate focus. The next two examples are presentational and thus sentence focus constructions.

(175) **ne:'** swe'kéh
that.is long.time.ago

i:só' kaha:to:tǫhk
many it.tree.stood

shę nhǫ: kę:s enakrenyǫhk ne' ǫkwehǫ:weh
COMP place usually they.lived ART real.person
A long time ago, there was a lot of wood where the Indians used to live. (G2-4)

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[25] An alternative interpretation would be that ne:' modifies the negation marker itself. The translation and the context of the utterances, however, does not suggest a reading with special emphasis on the negation.

(176) **ne:'** akę' nę:kyę́ skanǫhsá:t
that.is EVID this house

shę nhǫ:
COMP place

kae'trǫ'
they.lived

hǫwayatrę́:'ah
be.grandmother.and.grandchild
There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson. (G5-G8)

However, the particle cannot be considered a general marker of sentence focus. As the preceding discussion has shown, many examples do not allow such an interpretation. Neither do all instances of ne:' sentence focus express, nor are all instances of sentence focus marked with the particle. According to the English translation, the example below shows a presentational construction and thus an instance of sentence focus. The Cayuga utterance does not include the particle ne:'.

(177) thohkéh tęnihsa'kéh kę:s
then wall.on usually

ka'ahthrani:yǫ́:t
it.basket.hang
There used to hang a basket on the wall. (G11-12)

So far, the unit-initial instances of the particle could not be assigned to any special type of focus. It remains unclear how initial ne:' is related to focus marking and when it does appear. The following section suggests an analysis.

3.3 Discourse Focus

The question is whether the examples with ne:'-initial particle clusters that modify entire utterances can be interpreted as focus constructions. I will argue that they can. For this approach, it is necessary to broaden the notion of focus. In the following section I introduce an idea of focus which is distinct but closely related to focus as defined earlier.

Based on the definition of focus as the 'information center of a sentence' and the 'center of communicative interest' mentioned in section 3.1, a broader notion of 'focus' can be established. I will argue that the concept which I will call 'discourse focus' differs from the focus idea used so far primarily in its domain of application. The domain of focus as discussed in 3.1 is the utterance or sentence. It refers to the utterance-internal structure – the information structure or information packaging. In the following I will call this notion 'structural focus'. The domain of the broader notion of focus is the discourse. Again, focus is the center of communicative interest, and parallel to Bussmann's (1983) definition above, it can be considered the 'information center of the *discourse* '. Criteria for discourse focus are concepts such as importance and unexpectedness of information. The examples in (181) shall clarify

this use of 'focus'. The utterances in (181a) and (181b) show exactly the same internal information structure. However, on a broader level the utterance in (181b) can be considered focused.

(181a) I heard a noise outside and so I looked out the window.
There was a dog in my back yard.

(181b) I heard a noise outside and so I looked out the window.
THERE WAS A GIRAFFE IN MY BACK YARD.[26]

That there was a giraffe in my backyard is unexpected and quite noteworthy in the given context. The information is thus likely to be considered 'more important' than the same statement about a dog. In terms of the structure of the sentence, the giraffe in (181b) is not 'more focused' than the dog in example (181a). The giraffe is the 'locus' of the unexpectedness and importance, but the entire statement is marked as focal. Importance and unexpectedness are flexible notions that cannot be defined on formal grounds. They depend to some extent on the interpretation by the hearer and the intentions of the speaker. A precise formal definition of focus in this domain is thus difficult if not impossible. In section 3.1 the relation of focus and the Prague School term 'rheme' was mentioned. The idea of discourse focus is closely linked to the gradual notion of rhematicity. Adapting Firbas' (1964) description, discourse focus falls on utterances or elements with the highest degree of communicative dynamism within the *discourse*. Therefore, discourse focus stands in relation to the discourse function of 'classifying the communicative content of an utterance' as discussed in 2.2.2. The indication of discourse focus classifies the content of an utterance as important, noteworthy and/or unexpected.

A further concept that is clearly related to the idea of discourse focus is Mithun's (1987) 'newsworthy-first principle'. Using this pragmatic principle, she describes the word order of three polysynthetic languages – among them Cayuga. The author states: "An element may be newsworthy because it represents significant new information, because it introduces a new topic, or because it points out a significant contrast " (p. 304). The relation to focus as defined in 3.1 becomes even clearer through the test Mithun suggests for newsworthiness: "Presumably in normal conversation, the most important constituent of an answer is that which corresponds to the interrogative word of the question" (p. 304). Mithun applies the idea of newsworthiness to elements of the utterance. Adapting it to the level of discourse, one can say that an *utterance* may be newsworthy because it represents significant new information, because it introduces a new topic, or because it points out a significant contrast. In section 2.4, I have shown that discourse units which are introduced by ne:' typically express pivotal information, contain a discourse topic or subject change, and introduce new paragraphs.

Discourse focus has to be distinguished from the notion of sentence focus. In both cases it is an entire utterance which is focused. Sentence focus, however, refers to the internal structure of the utterance (i.e. there is no bi-partition of focus and topic). Discourse focus, on the other hand, refers to the status of the utterance in comparison to other statements in the discourse. It can fall on utterances with any internal structure. Discourse focus and sentence focus can

[26]Special thanks to Matthew Dryer for the lovely example.

overlap, and I will argue that this is normally the case. Since utterances with sentence focus contain all new information, their content is likely to be perceived as unexpected and important. Nevertheless, the notions of sentence focus and discourse focus are distinct, and they characterize an utterance from different perspectives.

3.4 Scope

Woodbury (1980) posits three levels of scope for the particle, over a discourse unit, over a sentence or clause, or over a word or morpheme (cf. section 1.1). In section 2.2.3 I have argued that there is no hierarchical distinction between the scope over a discourse unit and the scope over a clause. That suggests a binary distinction of broad scope (modifying clauses or larger units) and narrow scope (modifying single lexical items or morphemes). Since in Cayuga single lexical items can be complete clauses, however, this binary distinction is far from being clear-cut.

The question of scope is crucial for an analysis of the focus marker. If the scope of ne:' can be determined for any given instance it should be possible to identify the focus of an utterance. It has become clear, however, that the scope can not be predicted by the particle's position since it can precede or follow the focus or stand between focused elements. Neither the distinction of whether ne:' is part of a cluster or stands as a single particle showed clear correlation to broad or narrow scope. My interpretation of the scope of ne:' is that it can modify elements of various size which it can precede or follow (or stand within). The particle's scope is basically open but is normally specified by other particles in its environment. When ne:' occurs as a single particle (as opposed to part of a cluster) its scope is, thus, most ambiguous. It can modify an entire discourse unit or a single lexical item. While the position of the particle does not predict its scope but it can give clues. In medial position of a discourse unit it is more likely to modify parts of the utterance – a single word or clause – rather than the entire discourse unit. At the beginning of an utterance it is more likely to modify the complete utterance. However, the initial position is not a sufficient condition for broad scope. In the examples below, ne:' appears as a single particle at the beginning of the discourse unit. It is unclear, whether it modifies the following word only or the entire utterance.

(182) **ne:'** ga:o' ni:yǫ: tę̨hsátahahk.
that less so.much you.will.walk
You have to walk a lot less. (R3)

(183) **ne:'** tę̨hséhsage:t é:gwa:dih hę̨hsóda: ę:n n'aohahá:dih degyohǫ́:do:t
that you.will.bend.it other.side you.will.hook.it on.the.other.side.of.the.road another.whip

tohǫ: hę̨hsóda:
there you.will.hook.it
You will bend it and hook it onto another whip on the other side of the road. (R63)

Nothing in the written version of these sentences can disambiguate the scope of the particle. Possibly intonation or speech rhythm of the spoken utterances clarifies what is focused. But maybe the focus structure of these utterances is simply not clearly specified. Most often, however, the particle is accompanied by elements that disambiguate its scope. When ne:'

modifies entire discourse units it is normally accompanied by particles that indicate this broad scope. Because this is not the case in example (182) and (183) above I consider it more likely that the focus lies on the following elements and not on the discourse unit (but nothing in the examples proofs this assumption). The pattern seems to be that ne:' modifies certain elements plus their domain of scope. Thus, it modifies the negation particles plus the predicate over which their have scope, it modifies the particles tshǫ: 'only', hni:' 'also', gisheh 'or' plus the concepts modified by them. In section 2.2.1 I have argued that certain particles of ne:'-initial clusters have more 'weight' and determine the character of the cluster more than others. This is so because certain particles are relatively rigid in their scope and, therefore, determine the scope of the entire cluster. I have discussed the distinction between the hę' and hni' which are both translated as 'also'. While hę' modifies entire utterances, hni' has a more narrow scope, similar to the particle tshǫ: 'only'. Other elements seem to be as variable and open in what they modify as the focus particle itself. This seems to be the case for the emphatic particle gyę:', the customary element gę:s, and the contrastive particle hne:' (which is claimed to be a variant of ne:'). It can be expected that further research will reveal a hierarchy of scope-bearing elements that cooccur.

In the section on narrow focus I have discussed examples of ne:'-initial particle clusters that indicate narrow focus on a demonstrative. The English translations of the examples showed inverted WH-clefts. Not all utterances that contain initial particle sequences with ne:' and a demonstrative show cleft constructions in their translation. Consider for example the following utterances.

(184) **ne:'** gę:s to:gyę́h hwa' dagá:gyę:ht tǫ: tóh ha'ge:' shęnhǫ: onatadé:nyǫ'.
that usually that is I.started.with the.one there I.went where their.roads.are
The first thing I would normally do would be to go where their roads are. (R10)

(185) **ne:'** gi' tó:gyę́h tsha'gáy'ada:t ogyanahséhdǫh awagyanahseht gę:s
this just that the.same.body it.has.hidden.its.tracks it.hides.its.tracks usually

ne:' tǫ: hǫ:ni' a:yę:' ę́:tshǫ: ha'dedzona'skodá'ǫh.
that the.one why one.could.say all.over it.has.hopped.there
They all belong to the same one who has hopped all over to hide its tracks. (R32)

(186) **ne:'** akę' tho:kyę́h
that.is EVID that

a:yę́' ahatshahní'k thrę́hs he'tkę́h niyo:wé'
it.seems he.got.scared too high far
But it seems he got scared, it is far too high. (G65)

The question is whether these utterances differ from the ones with the cleft construction only in the structure of the translation or as well in Cayuga. I would like to suggest that the examples differ in the orientation of the demonstratives. The demonstratives in the narrow focus constructions (i.e. the ones with the cleft translation) refer to something outside the utterance. In most cases they are anaphoric referential expressions, in some cases they refer to the following text as a whole. The demonstratives in the examples above (without cleft translation) refer to something within the same discourse unit. This is also the case in (187)

where according to the translation the demonstrative nę:kyé 'this' modifies the content word skanǫhsá:t 'house'.

(187) **ne:'** akę' nę:kyé skanǫhsá:t
that.is EVID this house

shę nhǫ:
COMP place

kae'trǫ'
they.lived

hǫwayatrę́:'ah
be.grandmother.and.grandchild
There was this house, where a grandmother lived with her small grandson. (G5-G8)

Thus, the demonstrative elements play a special role in the ne:'-initial clusters. Apparently, they can refer to the following clause, modify a following content word, or refer to entities outside the utterance in which they occur. In most cases, however, the status of the demonstratives remains unclear. Often they are neglected in the translation and obviously, they have a wider distribution than the demonstrative elements in English.

4 Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to describe and to analyze the Cayuga particle ne:'. A challenge for accomplishing this task has been the fact that it occurs in almost any syntactic and semantic environment but is not obligatory in any context. Also, it has been said to perform a broad range of apparently unrelated functions. Finally, the particle's scope does not seem to be generally predictable.

The distributional analysis of the particle has revealed that its position within discourse units largely correlates with the nature of the neighboring elements. As the first element of specific particle clusters, ne:' most often occupies the initial position of a discourse unit. When it is not part of such clusters, the particle tends to appear in medial position.

The scope of the particle is flexible: It can cover single lexical elements, clauses, or entire utterances. When ne:' is not accompanied by certain particles, its scope is ambiguous. In the majority of cases, however, it occurs with scope-determining elements such as negation markers, scalar particles, or others. It is the presence of these elements which disambiguate what the particle ne:' modifies in a given context.

An analysis as focus marker allows a coherent description of ne:', accounting for the variety of its occurrences. For this analysis to be viable, the notion of focus – traditionally restricted to the level of the sentence – has to be broadened and applied to the domain of discourse. On this basis, ne:' can be described as having the same basic function in all contexts, varying mainly in which types of elements it modifies. As a focus marker, the particle highlights certain information. When ne:' modifies a single word, this word receives focus within the utterance. When ne:' modifies an entire utterance, the utterance as a whole receives focus in the larger discourse. The modified elements are alike in that they have pivotal status in the context of their occurrence.

Thus, a particle that appears to perform a set of unrelated functions and to occur randomly in almost any syntactic and semantic environment can be described parsimoniously if its distribution is considered from a wider perspective, taking into account discourse structure and variation in scope.

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