

Situational Demonstratives in Blackfoot

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Abstract

Previous analyses of Blackfoot's demonstrative system by Uhlenbeck (1938), Taylor (1969), and Frantz (1971, 2009) share the same tendency to conflate the meanings of different functions of demonstratives into one overly broad meaning. I address this problem by analyzing only the situational uses of demonstratives in 25 stories from Uhlenbeck (1912) and additional data from Uhlenbeck (1938). My solution is built upon the framework outlined in Imai's (2003) cross-linguistic study of spatial deixis and informed by the typological demonstrative studies of Dixon (2003) and Diessel (1999). I argue that Blackfoot's demonstrative system encodes features of Imai's four parameters: anchor, spatial demarcation, referent/region configuration and function.

1 Introduction & Outline

The four most recent descriptions of the Blackfoot¹ demonstrative system are those of Uhlenbeck (1938), Taylor (1969) and Frantz (1971, 2009). Each of these proposed systems reflects the complexity inherent in the system and the need for further in-depth analysis. In this paper, I provide an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of these previous analyses and offer a new solution by focusing on the spatial deictic uses of Blackfoot demonstratives found in transcribed oral stories and conversations recorded by Uhlenbeck (1912).

¹ Blackfoot is an endangered Algonquian language spoken by less than 4,500 speakers in Alberta and Montana (Lewis 2009).

The questions I address are threefold: (1) what spatial deictic features do the basic stems *am*, *ann* and *om* encode; (2) what function does the suffix *-o* perform with respect to the anchor and spatial demarcation parameters of the stems; (3) is there a unifying principle to link the four mutually exclusive suffixes *-ma*, *-ka*, *-ya* and *-hka*, and if so, what is it?

In order to address these questions, I identify and analyze situational demonstratives found in 25 different stories from Uhlenbeck (1912) in addition to the situational demonstratives that appear in the body of data provided in Uhlenbeck's (1938) Blackfoot grammar. I begin by providing an overview of terms and concepts related to spatial deixis (§2). I then survey the work of my predecessors (§3) and provide my own contribution toward solving the problem (§4). Next I offer data collected from the aforementioned sources and argumentation in support of my analysis (§5). Finally, I provide a few concluding remarks (§6).

2 Deixis Overview

In this paper, the term deictic (or situational) demonstratives refers to the use of demonstratives that may be accompanied by the physical act of pointing and that encodes aspects of the spatial configuration of the referents (i.e. the entities to which the demonstratives refer).² In English this is most often accomplished with the demonstrative pronouns *this*, *that*, *these* and *those* or the deictic adverbs *here* and *there*. In Blackfoot, both spatial deixis (*this*, *that*) and locational deixis (*here*, *there*) use the same demonstrative stems. These spatial deictic uses of demonstratives may be contrasted with similar yet distinct types of use: discourse deixis, anaphoric, and recognitional uses; all of which use the same demonstrative stems in Blackfoot, but with significant difference in meaning.³

In the discussion of demonstratives that follows, I will make use of the four semantic parameters outlined by Imai (2003) which are: anchor, spatial demarcation, referent/region configuration, and function.⁴ Anchor is used to identify the relative point of reference of the deictic word. Often this is the speaker and/or the addressee, but it may also be entities external to the speech act such as a third persons or prominent objects such as a major geographical landmarks.⁵ Spatial demarcation refers to aspects of: distance from the anchor (proximal, medial, distal); geometric configuration relative to the anchor (level, below, beside); location relative to both a prominent geographic feature and the anchor (uphill, upriver, inland); and cardinal direction. Referent/region configuration (RRC) may encode various states of the referent, such as quality (precise or vague, restricted or extended), movement (toward speaker, away from speaker, stationary, without specific direction),

² The latter part of this definition is based on a distinction made by Dixon (2003).

³ For example, in English discourse deixis is expressed by the same set of demonstratives that are used in spatial deixis. However in these instances they function anaphorically or cataphorically, i.e., they refer back to a previously mentioned entity, or forward to a soon to be mentioned entity. English has separate words for temporal deixis (*now* and *then*), however many languages, Blackfoot included, use the same demonstrative stems to refer to spatial, temporal, locational, anaphoric, and textual deictic referents.

⁴ Imai defines ‘parameter’ as a “semantic component of deictics” that “may be morphologically overt or covert” (2003, 11).

⁵ Cf. Berez (2011) in which she describes Ahtna’s use of the local river as anchor.

posture (lying, sitting, facing) and invisibility (occlusion, peripheral). Finally, the function parameter covers spatial deictic uses that may involve some gesture other than simple pointing. This parameter may include features of contrast (“not this one, that one”), presentation (directive, offerative) or psychological distance (e.g. saying “that smells disgusting” of something being held in one’s hand; using the distal demonstrative to distance oneself from the offender). Of these parameters and their features, I have found that Blackfoot spatial deictic uses of demonstratives encode anchor, distance, geometric configuration, motion with and without direction, invisibility and presentation.

3 Previous Analyses

An early analysis of the demonstrative system of Blackfoot is Uhlenbeck (1938), which provides an immense collection of examples organized by stem, but offers little analysis of the forms aside from English translations provided by bilingual speakers (discussed further in §3.1). Taylor (1969) contains a brief look at the demonstrative system, identifying the individual forms that make up the system, but still lacking a detailed analysis of their functions (§3.2). Frantz (1971) offers a more detailed accounting of the anchor and spatial demarcation parameters, but fails to provide any accompanying data or to address the suffixes that may attach to the demonstrative stems. Frantz (2009) is a significant contribution and provides an analysis of the affixes and a broader range of meanings for the stems; however, in trying to account for more of the data, it (necessarily) moves away from the simplicity of his earlier solution (§3.3).

3.1 Uhlenbeck’s (1938) Analysis

Uhlenbeck sorts his demonstrative data into six different stem groups as follows:

Stem	<i>amo</i>	<i>amisto</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>omista</i>	<i>anno</i>	<i>anna</i>
Meaning	‘this’ near speaker	emphatic form of <i>amo</i>	‘that’ far from speaker	emphatic form of <i>oma</i>	‘this one right here’ near speaker	‘that one right there’ near speaker

Table 1: Uhlenbeck's Basic Stems

Although Uhlenbeck found occurrences of *annista*, he chose to include them under the heading of *anna* rather than make them their own category as he did with *amisto* and *omista*. The forms ending in *-isto/-ista* are extremely rare, and since they all refer to children, babies, small things, or pitiable characters, Taylor (1969) and Frantz (2009) both call them diminutive suffixes. For the remaining stems, Uhlenbeck identifies the speaker as the anchor; however, the relative distance distinctions indicated by the stems is not described. It seems that Uhlenbeck could have meant *anno* to refer to something closer than *amo*, or they may have overlapping distribution and *anno* may be simply more emphatic. He does not go into great detail about the nuances of meaning between the sets {*amo*, *amisto*, *anno*} and {*oma*, *omista*, *anna*} although given the way he organizes them and glosses them, it appears that he sees at the very least a two-way distinction, and possibly a three-way distinction of distance based on proximity to the speaker. I understand Uhlenbeck's analysis of anchor to look something like Figure 1, where *amo* is most easily understood as proximal, *anna* is medial and *oma* is distal.

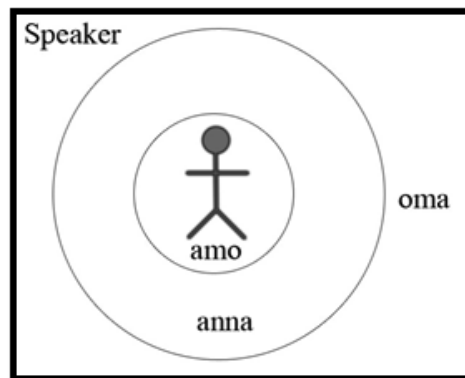


Figure 1: Uhlenbeck's Speaker-Anchored System

The distance of *anno* in relation to *amo* and *anna* is unclear, which is not necessarily a problem. Diessel (1999) states that although distance is a feature present in the demonstrative systems of all languages, “individual elements of the system may lack a distance feature.” It could be that *anno* is distance neutral. However, I do not believe this to be the case, as I show below.

Uhlenbeck identifies three “restrictive demonstrative endings” that are found on both nouns and demonstrative stems but that occur more frequently on the demonstrative stems.⁶ The suffixes Uhlenbeck suggests are *-i(a)*, *-m(a)* and *-k(a)*. Unfortunately, he offers no explanation for their meanings. I present my analysis of these suffixes in §5.5 through §5.8 below.

3.2 Taylor’s (1969) Analysis

As already mentioned, one of Taylor’s primary adjustments to Uhlenbeck’s system is his analysis of the *-ist* portion of the *-ista*, *-isto* ending as diminutives (which Taylor and Frantz spell: *-sst*). Taylor also proposes that *-o* seems to have its own meaning and separates it from the stem as an affix. This leaves only *am*, *ann* and *om* as the demonstrative stems. Taylor, apparently unable to find consistent differences in meaning between *am* and *ann*, glosses them both as ‘this.’ *Om* he glosses as ‘that.’ It is unclear from his analysis whether *ann* and *am* were truly indistinguishable in the speech of his language consultants.

Aside from recognizing that *-sst* and *-o* are analyzable suffixes, Taylor also attempts to provide an organizing principle for Uhlenbeck’s set of “restrictive demonstrative endings.” In addition to the three that Uhlenbeck uncovered (which Taylor and Frantz spell *-ya*, *-ma*, *-ka*), Taylor adds *-hka*, an affix he believes Uhlenbeck overlooked because it is homophonous with a relativizing suffix. Taylor proposes that these four suffixes which never occur together in the same word encode the degree of distance from the speaker. He orders them: *-ma*, *-ka*, *-ya*, *-hka* with *-ma* being nearest to the speaker and *-hka* the furthest.⁷

3.3 Frantz’s Analyses

Frantz (1971) identifies four basic stems: *amo*, *anno*, *oma*, *anna*. His analysis of these stems includes a dual-anchor and spatial demarcation which encodes proximity to one or both

⁶ The set of endings described here may occur on both nouns and demonstratives, however their presence on nouns is primarily one of agreement with the preceding demonstrative.

⁷ Dr. Taylor has done a more thorough analysis of these affixes and presented his findings at the 83rd annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1978, however he no longer has a copy of this paper nor does he know of any extant copies.

anchors. He offers the binary feature description in Figure 2 in which [+1 prox] is near speaker and [+2 prox] is near addressee.

amo	anno
$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \text{ prox} \\ -2 \text{ prox} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \text{ prox} \\ +2 \text{ prox} \end{bmatrix}$
om	ann
$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \text{ prox} \\ -2 \text{ prox} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -1 \text{ prox} \\ +2 \text{ prox} \end{bmatrix}$

Figure 2: Frantz's (1971) Dual-Anchor System

While it seems to me, based on this feature matrix, that it is *-o* that encodes [+1 prox] and *ann* that encodes [+2 prox], Frantz is not willing to separate *-o* from the stems as Taylor does. This is partly because he is not yet sure if there is an *am* stem to which *-o* may be affixed. By the time his second grammar is published (2009 [1995]), he is convinced that there is a fifth basic stem *am* but is still unwilling to separate the *-o* from *amo* and *anno*. His reluctance this time is due to “difficulty in assigning a consistent meaning or function to the suffix” (2009, 64). In both grammars he modifies his definition of proximity by explaining that in some contexts the spatial demarcation information refers to familiarity (or “mental proximity”) rather than physical proximity.⁸ In these instances, however, the demonstratives are no longer spatial deictics but are functioning in an anaphoric or recognitional capacity and so this usage will not be addressed in this paper.⁹

Frantz (2009) identifies the same set of four affixes that Taylor does: *-ma*, *-ya*, *-ka*, *-hka*. However, he states that these “post-inflectional suffixes”¹⁰ encode more than just distance from the speaker. His glosses are as follows:

⁸ In the 2009 grammar, he explains that this is most often the case when the suffix *-hka* ‘invisible/not present’ is used.

⁹ The exception to this generalization is when family members are the referent of the demonstrative. Family is considered to be “never too far away” (Inge Genée, p.c.) and so a Blackfoot speaker would never use the distal stem *om* to refer to an immediate family member. This may be one of the exceptional uses that led Frantz to conclude that familiarity factors prominently into stem meaning.

¹⁰ This is his term for this group of suffixes, because they occur after the person/number/obviation suffix.

Suffix	Gloss
- <i>ma</i>	‘stationary’
- <i>ka</i>	‘deictic information is applicable at a time other than the speech act’
- <i>ya</i>	‘moving, but not toward speaker’
- <i>hka</i>	‘invisible’

Table 2: Frantz's Post-inflectional Suffixes

Aside from his gloss for *-ka*, the meanings of these suffixes are features of the RRC parameter identified by Imai (2003); however, his gloss for *-ka* does not fit into this parameter. Because these four affixes never co-occur in any given word, it stands to reason that their meanings should be closely related, at least more so than the meaning Frantz provides for *-ka* is to the other three. Since Imai finds nothing like this “other time” marker in the over 400 languages that he surveyed, I propose that Frantz’s gloss for *-ka* is unusual enough to warrant further investigation. From this point forward, I refer to this group of suffixes as referent/region configuration (RRC) suffixes and I provide evidence for assigning a meaning to *-ka* that fits this pattern in §5.6 below.

4 A New Solution

Here I offer my own proposal for a speaker-anchored system with a three-way spatial demarcation, an interior geometric configuration suffix and four referent-region configuration suffixes based on an examination of around 400 demonstrative occurrences found in Uhlenbeck (1912, 1938) and Frantz (2009).

4.1 Stems

In order to identify the anchor and spatial demarcation parameters, I sought out demonstratives within direct quotations which I analyzed as being used as spatial deictic demonstratives by the speakers. Based on these occurrences, I argue that Blackfoot spatial demonstratives have a single anchor: the speaker (Figure 6). Uhlenbeck’s explicit speaker-

anchored system (Figure 3) and Taylor's use of the English 'this' for both *am* and *ann* (Figure 4) support a speaker-anchored analysis. Only Frantz's analysis provides a dual-anchor solution (Figure 5).

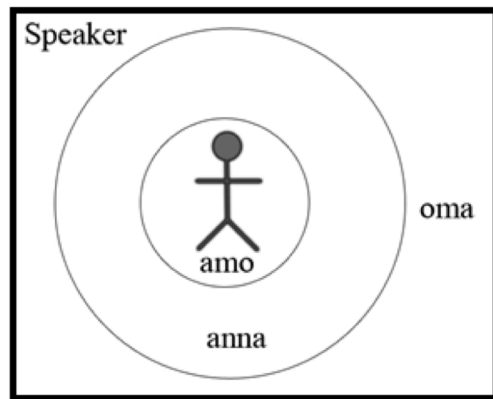


Figure 3: Uhlenbeck's Stems

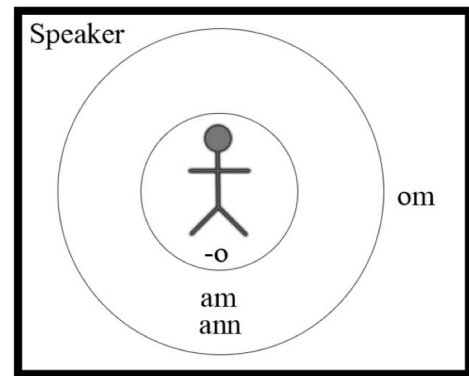


Figure 4: Taylor's Stems

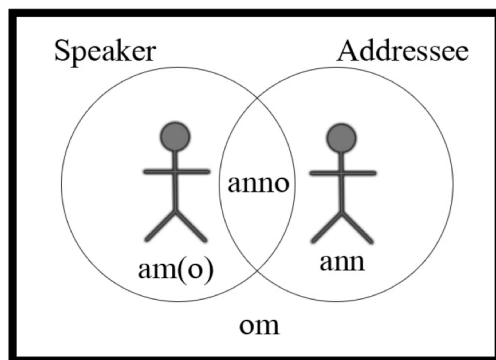


Figure 5: Frantz's Stems

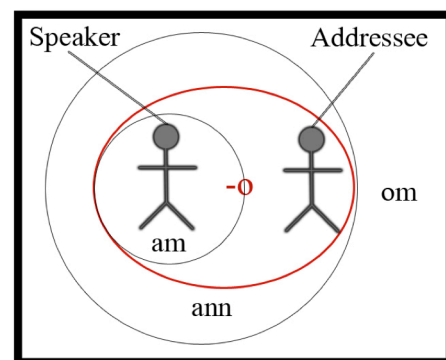


Figure 6: My Proposal

4.2 Suffixes

As illustrated in Figure 6 above, I account for the differences in meaning between *amo*, *anna* and *anno* by proposing that the suffix *-o* covers a physical space shared by the speaker and addressee.¹¹ This marker can be understood in terms of Imai's (2003) parameters as a

¹¹ Because my analysis is based on textual data, much of which lacks a complete description of the physical context, I am unable to state conclusively whether the area defined by *-o* encompasses all of the area defined by *am* (as in Figure 6 above) or whether a portion of *am* may fall outside the scope of *-o*.

geometric configuration feature of the spatial demarcation parameter, namely one that indicates that the referent is in the interior of a boundary that includes the speaker and addressee. It remains to be seen if the referent must be physically between the two speech act participants, or whether it may simply be within the proximal or medial range of both participants. If it must be between the speaker and addressee, then the field indicated by *-o* may be smaller than that indicated in Figure 6. I gloss this morpheme as IGC or “interior geometric configuration.”

Three of the RRC suffixes encode degrees of motion and the fourth encodes invisibility (or lack of physical presence). I gloss them as follows:

Suffix	Gloss
<i>-ma</i>	‘stationary’
<i>-ka</i>	‘motion: toward or back (along a path)’
<i>-ya</i>	‘motion: away, forward; offerative’
<i>-hka</i>	‘invisibility’

Table 3 – My Analysis of RRC Suffixes

This analysis coincides with the findings of Imai(2003), that motion and invisibility are both RRC features and are therefore logically grouped together and that only one at a time is overtly marked.

5 Data and Analysis

In this section I provide evidence in support of the above analysis. In the first three subsections I provide data supporting my analysis of the stems. In §5.4-§5.8, I address *-o* and the RRC suffixes.¹²

¹² In the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses below, AI = animate intransitive verb stem, AN = animate noun inflection, DCT = preverb, DIST = distal, DUR = durative/imperfective marker, DV = demonstrative verbalizer, EMPH = emphatic, IC = initial change, IGC = interior geometric configuration, IN = inanimate noun stem, INV = inverse, IMPV = imperative, MA = motion away from anchor, MED = medial, MT = motion toward anchor, OBV = obviate, PL = plural, PROX = proximal (spatial demarcation), PRX = proximate (obviation), SG = singular,

5.1 *am*: Proximal

Am is used in spatial deixis to refer to things proximal to the anchor, i.e. the speaker.

According to Frantz and Taylor, *am* may occur without *-o*; however, such occurrences are quite rare and in spatial deixis contexts, even more so. I was unable to find any examples of this in the data I analyzed.¹³

- (1) **Ámomaie** piksíu (káhkitsammàuu tsáhtauanistapsiuahtauts.)

am-o-ma-ayi piksi-wa

PROX-IGC-STAT-DV bird-3.SG.AN

“Here is a bird, (that you may see what [kind] it is.)” Uhlenbeck (1912:65)

In (1) the referent and the anchor are close enough for direct physical contact. In this scene a foreign-looking bird has been brought into the medicine-lodge by an old man named Four-bears. Many chiefs have gathered together to see it. Four-bears uses the demonstrative pronoun *ámomayi* [*piksíwa*] ‘this is a [bird]’ to refer to the bird, and soon after speaking the words in (1), he pushes the bird without any indication that he had to move closer to it to do so.

- (2) **Amóia** kámihtàu.

am-o-ya kaamihtan-wa

PROX-IGC-MA dried.dung-3.AN

“Here is a buffalo-chip.” (Context: said as it was handed from speaker to addressee) Uhlenbeck (1938:79)

In (2) the context provided in parentheses by Uhlenbeck makes the proximity to the speaker clearer. Without witnessing the transfer and noting the exact point at which the statement was uttered, I cannot be certain that the buffalo-chip was still in the speaker’s

STAT = stationary, TA = transitive animate verb stem, TI = transitive inanimate verb stem. All morphemes and glosses are based on Frantz & Russell (1995).

¹³ Proulx (1988) reports (based on personal communication with Frantz) that *amo*, *ama*, *ami* all occur in speech, but that speakers are unable to provide a difference in meaning between *amo* and the *o*-less variants and that, when pressed, they claim that *amo* is “really correct.”

hand. But since Uhlenbeck's contextual note indicates the simultaneity of the speech act with the transfer of the referent, it is reasonable to assume that the referent is still very near (or in the hand of) the speaker at the time of utterance.

- (3) **Amóistsi** nitsinánists. (Annohtótakitàu.)

am-o-istsi nit-inaan-istsi

PROX-IGC-IN.PL 1-belonging-IN.PL

"**These** [are] my things. (Now take from them.)"

Uhlenbeck (1912:77)

In (3) a beaver-chief is speaking to a young man whom he has trained during the winter. On the day that the young man is to leave, the beaver-chief tells him that he may take with him any one of his possessions. This instance is not an unambiguous instance of spatial deixis, but it seems most likely that the beaver-chief's use of *amóistsi* indicates that the things being offered are immediately before him.¹⁴

- (4) **Amó** piskan istokínisit.

am-o pisskan-yi isttókinssi-t

PROX-IGC buffalo.corral.IN make.a.blazing.fire.TI-IMPV

"Burn up **this** buffalo corral!"

Uhlenbeck (1912:57)

In (4) a man has fallen asleep next to a buffalo corral. While he is sleeping, a buffalo appears to him in a dream and tells him that the method of buffalo-hunting his tribe has been using is not a good one. The buffalo tells him that he should burn up the very buffalo corral that the conversation takes place beside, using *amo* to refer to the buffalo corral.¹⁵

¹⁴ The demonstrative may be functioning as an anaphoric deictic, but based on the young man's response (he asks for something that is not being offered and uses the distal demonstrative *oma*), I believe this use can be classified as spatial deixis.

¹⁵ Like (3), I cannot be certain that this instance is truly one of spatial deixis. However if it is not, it may again indicate that the corral is the most prominent feature in this part of the story.

5.2 *ann*: Medial

Of the three demonstrative stems, *ann* occurs with the least frequency in spatial deixis (though it is more frequent in anaphoric uses). Nonetheless, a few invaluable examples did emerge during my research. Since Uhlenbeck and Taylor seem to share the intuition to one degree or another that *ann* has as its anchor the speaker, and since Frantz alone proposes the addressee as the anchor for *ann*, this is the most vague of the stems. There are two occurrences, both from Uhlenbeck (1938) that help to clarify the usage of *ann*:

(5) Otánikaie: **ánnamauk**.

ot-waani-k-ayi **ann-wa-ma-o'ka**

4-say.AI-INV-3 **MED-3.AN-STAT-DV**

“She [OBV] said to her [PRX]: **There he is.**”

Uhlenbeck (1938:92)

In (5) two women are talking. The first woman (who is marked as proximate throughout the interchange) asks the second woman (marked as obviative) where the second woman's son is because she (proximate) wants to marry him. The second woman responds *ánnamauk* “there he is.” In this situation, it would be very odd if the man was near the addressee (the first woman) as Frantz claims *ann* should indicate, because she was the one looking for him in the first place. Rather, it makes more sense that the son is nearby, but not particularly close to either speaker or addressee, yet not far enough away to warrant *oma*.

(6) **Ánnoiaie** stsístsinit.

ann-o-ya-ayi it-iistsini-t

MED-IGC-MA-DV DCT-cut.TI-IMPV

“Cut it **right here.**”

Uhlenbeck (1938:88)

In (6) the addressee is holding something, preparing to cut it when the speaker offers instruction as to the exact place where the cutting should occur. If there were not data like (5), this occurrence of *ann* could be interpreted as being nearer the addressee. But in light of (5) it is better to understand *ann* as encoding a medial distance from the speaker with the understanding that the natural result of face-to-face communication is that an addressee will often occupy the space which *ann* encodes.

(7) **Ánnak** nóma otá'pastotaksinists.

ann-wa-ka n-om-wa ot-á'pistotaki-nii-istsi

MED-AN-MT 1-husband-3.AN 3-make.AI-?-3.PL

"**That one**, my husband, he made them."

Uhlenbeck (1938:90)

(7) is another example, similar to (5), where two people are discussing a nearby individual. If the woman's husband in (7) were close enough to the speaker or the addressee for the proximal stem to be used, we might expect him to respond instead. Additionally, the English translation "that one" indicates that, at least in this situation, the speaker was not near enough to the speaker to warrant the proximal English demonstrative "this." Generally, the *ann* stem is translated as "this" when it has the IGC suffix *-o*, but it is translated as "that" when it does not. While this fact alone does not support a speaker-anchor system over a dual-anchor system, it does help to support my analysis of *-o* (discussed in more detail below in §4.4) and serve to highlight a particular distinction that will need specific investigation when eliciting data, namely whether *anna* is able to describe a referent which is behind the speaker, and so closer to the speaker than the addressee, but not near enough to warrant *amo*.

5.3 *om*: Distal

One noteworthy distributional fact about *om* is that it never takes the *-o* suffix. This fact, together with the fact that the spatial and locational uses of *om* are always translated as "that" or "there" in English would seem to indicate that there is something about *om* and *-o* that makes them mutually exclusive. This adds support to the argument that *-o* encodes some space that the speaker is a part of and that *om* encodes the spatial demarcation parameter's 'distal' feature for which the speaker is the anchor.

(8) Anétakik, **ómakaie** ksiitàpiu, áistàumahkau.

oni'taki-k **om-wa-ka-ayi** ksii-tapi-wa áist-a-omaahkaa-wa

hurry-IMPV.PL **DIST-3.AN-MT-DV** foot?-person-3.AN here-DUR-run-3

"Hurry, **here comes** a person on foot, he is running this way."

Uhlenbeck (1912:66)

In the story “The chinook and the blizzard” from which (8) is taken, a chief is out hunting buffalo and looks toward the north. Off in the distance he sees a man running toward him, so he tells his people *ómakaie ksitápiu* “there is a person on foot (coming).” It is very clear in this story that the running man is far off because the hunters proceed to finish their skinning and then gather in a group. The runner then makes numerous zig-zags toward (or perhaps laps around) the group, but it is not until the last pass that he is described as “running too close” to the group.

- (9) Sotámipik, nókosaki, **ómi** istópik.
 sotam-ipi-k n-oko’s-aki **om-yi** ist-opi-k
 just-come.AI-IMPV.PL 1-offspring-EMPH **DIST-3** there-sit.AI-IMPV.PL
 “Come right in, my children. Sit down **over there**.” Uhlenbeck (1938:37)

- (10) Nokósaki **ómamàuk** kiksistoaua.
 n-oko’s-aki **om-wa-ma-o’ka** k-iksísst-oawa
 1-offspring-EMPH **DIST-AN.SG-STAT-DV** 2-mother-?
 “My children, **there is** your mother.” Uhlenbeck (1938:37)

In (9) and (10) an adult is talking to children and giving them instructions. In (9), they are instructed where to sit and *om* is used. Then in (10), *om* is used later when pointing out the children’s mother at the door. This indicates to me that the actual distances from the anchor that *am*, *ann* and *om* define may be relative to the environment, so that *om* may be used even within a room, but that the distance that *om* defines indoors may not be the same as when it is used outside. This is an issue for further investigation.

5.4 -o: Interior Geometric Configuration

As I mentioned previously in §4.1 and §4.3, -o is almost always present when *am* is used but never occurs with *om*. Of the occurrences of *ann* that I encountered in Uhlenbeck 1912, about 15% of them had the suffix -o. Of all the deictic occurrences of -o, the referent was always between or very close to the speaker and the addressee.¹⁶

¹⁶ There were two exceptions to this generalization and both seem to be cases of hyperbole. In the first, a man approaches a group of his friends and yells: *ámokaie nitápakok* “**here comes** the one chasing me.” Here, the -o

(11) **Ánnoiaie** stsístsinit.

(=6) **ann-o-yi-ayi** it-iistsini-t

MED-IGC-IN.SG-DV DCT-cut.TI-IMPV

“Cut it **right here**.”

Uhlenbeck (1938:88)

In (11), the speaker is instructing the addressee as to the precise location where he should cut an item that is in his hand. In this context, both parties must be close to the object, and -o is used to indicate this shared space. Imai’s observations about the geometric parameters “interior/exterior” are that they encode conceptual space inside or outside a boundary. This boundary may be an imaginary boundary (though imaginary boundaries often correlate with some real entity, such as the edge of a porch or the perimeter of a hammock) or it may be a “ground” object, such as a container or some other type of enclosure. In Blackfoot, there appears to be a conceptual perimeter around speaker and addressee (or perhaps between them; cf. §3.2). When the referent is within this imaginary boundary, the -o suffix is added to the appropriate stem (either *am* or *ann*, since *om* by virtue of being ‘distal’ from the speaker can never be within the space shared by speaker and addressee).

5.5 -ma: Stationary

As mentioned previously, Uhlenbeck’s (1938) grammar does not offer an analysis of what he calls the “restrictive demonstrative endings,” however he does provide extensive lists of examples, organized first by demonstrative stem, and second by demonstrative suffix. In the lists of sentences containing the suffix, all of the referents marked with this suffix are stationary, most of them permanently so. It is often used when the referent is an immovable geographic feature such as a mountain, large rock, lake, island, or as in (12) a tree.

may be exaggerating the closeness of the pursuer or it may be suggesting that the pursuer will soon be in the speaker-addressee shared space indicated by -o. The second exception occurs when a man sees a ghost outside of the lodge and someone asks him “What’s wrong with you?” His response is: **Ámo** *saáhts matápiu nitsítsinoâu* “I have seen a person **right here** outside [of the lodge]” either exaggerating the closeness of the unwanted visitor or indicating that the sighting occurred where the speech act participants are now standing.

- (12) **Ámoma** omahkáuktokama, ánnamaie ákitsikahtsopa.
am-o-ma omahk-aotoka-ma ann-wa-ma-ayi yaak-it-ikahtsi-o'pa
 PROX-IGC-STAT big-pine-STAT MED-AN-STAT-DV FUT-DCT-gamble.AI-1&2
 “We will gamble about **this** big pine-tree here.” Uhlenbeck (1912:97)

- (13) Stámitotò **omím** ikúnaiim.
 sotam-it-oto **om-yi-ma** okonnaayi-yi-ma
 just-DCT-come.AI DIST-4-STAT camp.IC-4-STAT
 “He then got to **the** people that were camping.”
 (Lit.: “then he just came to those camping-ones”) Uhlenbeck (1938:38)

In (12), an elk is attempting to win back his wife from a younger elk who stole her. He confronts the younger elk who then proposes a challenge that involves knocking down a big tree. The tree is quite stationary (as are all wild trees). But *-ma* does not have to refer to permanently stationary things. In (13) its referent is a group of people who are temporarily camping in a certain location. Camps are mobile, but while they are set up, they are stationary.¹⁷

5.6. *-ka*: Motion Toward Anchor; Back

The clearest examples of this suffix often involve people in motion. In the story “The Chinook and the Blizzard,” a chief on a hunt looks north and sees a man running toward him.

- (14) Anétakik, **ómakaie** ksiitàpiu, áistàumahkau.
 oni'taki-k **om-wa-ka-ayi** ksii-tapi-wa áist-a-omaahkaa-wa
 hurry-IMPV.PL DIST-3.AN-MT-DV foot?-person-3.AN here-DUR(?)—run-3
 “Hurry, **there comes** a person on foot, he is running this way.”
 (Lit.: “Hurry, **that** person on foot **that is moving toward me** is running here.”)
 Uhlenbeck (1912:66)

¹⁷ This suffix is rarely used of individual people in spatial deixis, but it is frequently used of people in textual deictic contexts and may be functioning very differently.

The English translation given by Uhlenbeck's consultant indicates directionality ("this way") which is partially provided by the verbal prefix *aist-* 'here,' but also by the RRC suffix on the demonstrative.

(15) **Amók** mohsokúyik áutsapòmahkau.

am-o-ka mohsokó-yi-ka á-ohtssap-omahkaa-wa

PROX-IGC-MT road-IN-MT DUR-along.route-travel.by.foot(animal)-3

"It (animate) was going **back** on **the** same trail." Uhlenbeck (1938:39)

-ka can sometimes mean "motion back" when referring to travel back the same way someone came, or when the speaker is referring to someone behind himself on the trail. In (15), the discussion is about an animal that is being tracked. The tracks indicate that the same animal came one way and then returned in the opposite direction. In this case, the road is the referent of the demonstrative, and it is the path that is being marked for directionality as moving toward the speaker, or moving back along the path.

Based on example (14), it seems problematic to call the suffix *-ka* an "other time" marker as Frantz has done. It is much more likely that the meaning of *-ka* is related to motion or visibility as the other three affixes in this group are. It appears that Frantz's definition arose from a textual deictic use of this suffix where it can mean 'past time.' However, in spatial deictic contexts, it seems to refer only to spatial motion back, not temporal motion back.

5.7 **-ya: Motion Away From Anchor; Forward; Offerative**

Blackfoot uses *-ya* to indicate movement in the opposite direction than that of *-ka*, i.e., away from the deictic center. When used with *amo*, this suffix may naturally provide an offerative meaning as in (16).

(16) **Amóia** kámihtàu.

(= 2) **am-o-ya** kaamihtan-wa

PROX-IGC-MA dried.dung-3.AN

"**Here** is a buffalo-chip."

Uhlenbeck (1938:79)

(17) **Amói** einíuai itsistokipiksiu.

Am-o-ya iiníí-wa-ya it-isttok-ipikssi-wa

PROX-IGC-MA buffalo-AN-MA then-rhythmic.noise-flee.AI-3

“**Those** buffalo fled noisily.”

Uhlenbeck (1938:38)

In (17), the verb meaning to “flee” provides the movement away from the speaker, and both the demonstrative stem and the noun are marked with the RRC suffix *-ya* to denote motion away from the deictic center.¹⁸

5.8 *-hka*: Invisible

This suffix was not included by Uhlenbeck in his analysis, but for Taylor it indicated that the referent was extremely far from the speaker. Frantz took this morpheme to represent invisible entities, and while these concepts are non-deictic, spatially speaking, they serve a function related to spatial deixis by pointing out a referent that is knowable to the addressee.

(18) Aiskótos **omíksisk** pokáiksk...

á-sskoo-hsi? **om-iksi-hka** pookáá-iksi-hka

DUR-return.AI-CONJ **DIST-AN.PL-INVS** child-AN.PL-INVS

“When **those** children come back...”

Uhlenbeck (1938:42)

In (18), the children are known, but are not present during the conversation.

(19) Ánnamaie nitúkskam nánoyiu **amóisk** Áisopumstà-yisk.

ann-wa-ma-ayi ni'tókskaa-ma nano-yii-wa **am-o-yi-hka** Ásopomstà-yi-hka

MED-AN-STAT-DV be.the.one-STAT see?-DIR-3 **PROX-IGC-4-INV** wind.maker-4-INV

“That [chief] was the only one who saw **the** Wind-maker.” Uhlenbeck (1912:64)

(19) shows that *-hka* (here an allomorph: *-ska*) may be used with mythic entities, especially those that are not typically seen, such as the Wind-maker. The same ending is often found

¹⁸ In this case, the demonstrative is most likely not functioning as a spatial deictic, unless we are to understand the speech act participants to be standing in a field where a herd of buffalo were just standing among them. However, even if the usage here is textual and *amo* is signaling something other than physical proximity (perhaps discourse salience), the movement expressed by the suffix is still spatial.

when ghosts are mentioned providing support for the meaning of “invisible” when the ghosts are described as acting and therefore present, just not seen by all those around them.

6 Conclusions, Implications, and Further Research

When the Blackfoot demonstrative system is investigated using primarily spatial deictic contexts as I have done here, the two most complex parts of the system (anchor and RRC suffixes) become more transparent. A speaker-anchored stem analysis with the addition of the IGC suffix *-o* makes the most sense of the data (including data that Frantz provides in support of his dual-anchor model). By using Imai (2003) as a model for assigning meaning, I have shown both that Blackfoot conforms to the typological norms of the languages included in that study and the predictions made by it, and that in order to address spatial characteristics of demonstratives it is necessary to first distinguish situational uses from other pragmatic uses. The next step in this study is to include those other pragmatic uses that were set aside. Since reference grammars commonly treat only the most straightforward situational uses, with little more than a footnote in reference to non-situational uses (Himmelmann 1996), is it important that more researchers focus on the other pragmatic uses of demonstratives in their analyses in order to provide a more complete picture. This will allow for the expansion of typological works such as Diessel (1999) providing a more complete picture of cross-linguistic demonstrative forms and functions.

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