## Horrified realization: The Meskwaki enclitic phrase =wi·na=ne·hi

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In his paper "The Twenty-Nine Enclitics of Meskwaki", Ives Goddard notes that "In effect, each enclitic has a grammar of its own" (PAC 43:74) and that "Two enclitics are sometimes used together in a lexicalized phrase with a significance that is not simply a concatenation of their separate meanings" (PAC 43:97). Idiosyncratic grammar is a feature of enclitic phrases as well as of individual enclitics in Meskwaki. In the edited portion of Truman Michelson's collection of Meskwaki manuscripts there are sixty instances of the enclitic phrase =wi·na=ne·hi. Almost two-thirds of these carry the idiomatic meaning of horrified realization. Consider the following sentence, uttered by a man who comes home to find his wife unexpectedly and listlessly abed:

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"ki·wa·tesi+hkani =wi·nane·hi?" e·h=ina·či. [Kiyana 1914:71] be.lonely+2s/PROHIBITIVE =oh.no! AORIST=say{so}to+3s-3'/CONJUNCT "Oh no! Are you lonely?" he asked her.
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I propose to lay out the grammatical contexts in which  $=wi\cdot na=ne\cdot hi$  is an idiomatic enclitic phrase, as distinct from the grammatical contexts in which  $=wi\cdot na=ne\cdot hi$  is merely a sequence of  $=wi\cdot na$  in its ordinary meaning of 'but' followed by  $=ne\cdot hi$  in its ordinary meaning of 'too'. I will then compare idiomatic  $=wi\cdot na=ne\cdot hi$  with a few other Meskwaki idioms. And I will discuss some of the ramifications of how these idioms seem to propagate.

## **REFERENCES**

Goddard, Ives. (2011.) The Twenty-Nine Enclitics of Meskwaki. *Papers of the Forty-Third Algonquian Conference*, J. Randolph Valentine and Monica Macaulay, eds., 72-116. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kiyana, Alfred. (1914.) ki de gi . mi da mi| a te so ka ka ni . ma ni . me ke si wa ki . [The Sky Sacred Pack of the Eagle Clan.] Truman Michelson manuscript 2273, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.