Possessive noun incorporation and the left-edge requirement in Oji-Cree

Oji-Cree (a dialect of Ojibwe spoken in Northern Ontario and Manitoba) makes wide use of the possessive construction exemplified in (1), that involves the incorporation of a possessed noun into the verb stem:

(1) a. takininte
takhi-sit-e
cold-foot-AI
'S/he has cold feet.' / 'Her/his feet are cold.'

b. nitoshkitappane
niit-oshki-tapanaan-e
1-new-car-AI
'I have a new car.' / 'My car is new.'

This construction necessarily consists of three morphemes: the verbal suffix -e, which forms intransitive verbs with animate subjects (AI), the incorporated noun, and an additional lexical morpheme to the left of the incorporated nominal.

The goal of this paper is to examine the morphosyntactic make up of this construction within the larger emerging debate on the internal structure of the verb stem in Algonquian languages (e.g. Wolfart 1971, Rhodes 2010, Slavin 2012). I examine the relation between components of the stem, focusing on the status of the obligatory left-edge modifier (takhi- ‘cold’ in (1a), oshki- ‘new’ in (1b)). I argue that these stems have a more dynamic structure than previously assumed. Specifically, I propose that the suffix -e selects for a small clause complement and relates the proposition in the small clause to the animate argument in its specifier. The two lexical elements in these stems (the noun and the left-edge modifier) correspond to the subject and the predicate of the small clause.

The analysis furthers our understanding of the relation between stem components in Algonquian languages, suggesting that it can be more nuanced than previously assumed. In addition, it brings the construction at hand in line with possessive constructions in other languages, for which a small clause analysis has been proposed.

References


On Menominee verb stems and the non-complexity of verb finals

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1. This paper examines the structure of Menominee verb stems. Previous analyses of Algonquian verb stems argue that so-called concrete finals consist of two pieces: a pre-final and an abstract final (Bloomfield 1962, Goddard 1990, Slavin 2012). We argue that concrete finals are not synchronically decomposable, and propose that all finals are v’s.

2. Piggott and Newell (P&N; 2006) and Slavin argue that pre-finals are Roots and that abstract finals are v’s. The structure of a concrete final is equivalent to the structure of an initial plus an abstract final: they both contain a Root and v. Initials that combine with concrete finals are phrasal elements.

3. Our first argument comes from the productivity of elements in the verb stem. In Menominee, pre-finals have a limited distribution: they only combine with one of each final type (AI/II/TA/TI). In contrast, initials can combine with multiple concrete and abstract finals. This lack of productivity is unexpected under both descriptive and theoretical accounts. Because P&N and Slavin propose that pre-finals and (some) initials are Roots, they would predict that pre-finals and initials should have similar productivity.

4. The placement of medials is also problematic for previous generative accounts. Brittain (2003) analyzes medials as NP arguments that move between the verb Root and v. Since P&N and Slavin argue that concrete finals and verb stems consisting of an initial plus an abstract final are both composed of a Root and v, we might expect medials to intervene between these two elements in both cases. However, medials in Menominee consistently appear between initials and abstract/concrete finals.

5. Since we conclude that concrete finals are not synchronically decomposable, we instead propose that in Menominee both concrete and abstract finals are v. We discuss this analysis in relation to cross-linguistic studies of light verb inventories.

References:


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Phonetic patterns of Arapaho vowels

The vowel system of Arapaho is typologically striking not only for its rare three-way contrast in vowel length, but also for its complex pitch accent system. Previous descriptions of vowel length in Arapaho find that high short vowels are lower than long ones, e.g. [i, u] vs. [i, u] (Saltzman 1956, Cowell & Moss 2008). These authors also describe an asymmetrical pitch accent system where certain patterns are permitted on long and extra long vowels, e.g. /õõ/, ōō, ōō, ōōō/, while others are excluded, e.g. /õõ, *õō, *ōō, etc/.

In this paper we investigate the acoustic phonetic properties of Arapaho vowels using original field recordings from two speakers. Examining formant values across the vocalic segments, we find that not only do short high vowels lower, but there is a more general pattern where short vowels are more centralized than long ones. Each extra long vowels are also retracted when compared to other vowel lengths, a previously undescribed phenomenon. These findings are couched within a general theory of vowel reduction (Lindblom 1963, Johnson & Martin 2001) and compared with other ternary vowel length systems (Remijsen & Gilley 2008).

Examining F0 (pitch) on vowels with different pitch accents, we find two notable patterns. First, a high pitch accent has distinct realizations on different vowel lengths. Accents on short vowels are relatively level, while those on long and extra long vowels have a rising contour. Second, the rising and falling pitch accents on long and extra long vowels have comparable trajectories, suggesting that pitch accent is assigned to a larger vocalic unit, rather than to individual vowel segments. The implications of these findings and the exceptional nature of the /õō/ pitch accent are discussed. The vowel formant and pitch accent data demonstrate the utility of careful phonetic research for understanding Arapaho phonology.

References:
Phonetic observations on glottal stop in Arapaho

Abstract.
The glottal stop in Arapaho is a fully functioning consonant, occurring not only initially (in interjections), finally or intervocally, but in clusters as well. The realization of glottal stops varies greatly within and across languages and it is often quite difficult to quantify their phonetic realizations. Here, we present some phonetic characteristics based on four speakers from the corpus data of Conathan (2004-2007). In many cases, there is glottalization throughout region in which the glottal stop is perceived, and those closures are approximately 80% of the duration of true (silent) glottal stops. Preliminary results indicate, however, that if we include an extent of glottalized vocalic segments in the duration of the stop, both stop and glottalized realizations are fairly equivalent in duration.

Word-final glottal stops are, at least historically, largely the result of epenthesis after a short vowel. These final glottal stops are approximately 50% longer in duration than those that are word-internal (and presumably phonologically underlying). Word-final lengthening is probably the cause of this difference; the glottal stops appear to be true consonants.

We examined whether they might fail to close the preceding vowel by looking for the absence (or presence) of Close syllable Vowel Shortening (CSVS; Maddieson, 1985). The number of tokens was necessarily mismatched, given that very few short vowels occur finally, and very few long vowels are followed by glottal stops. Still, the amount of CSVS was comparable for the short vowels before glottals vs. other Cs, and for long vs. short vowels before non-glottal Cs.

When word-final glottal stops occur prepausally, speakers often (over 80%) had a brief, voiceless vowel afterward; Kroeber (1916:83) calls these "echo" vowels. The glottal stop was variably realized as a stop or glottalization. These measurements broaden our view of the complex nature of glottalization in Arapaho.

Variation and change in conjunct third-person plural marking in Innu

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In this paper, I present a variationist analysis of verbal morphology in Innu in the community of Pessamit. In a dialectological study, MacKenzie & Clarke (1981) noted regional and community-based variation in conjunct third-person plural marking (3PL), but the frequency of variants, their social distribution, and the directionality of possible change were left unexplained. My data are drawn from a corpus of recordings collected between 1974 and 1991 by Drapeau (described in Drapeau 1991 and Oudin & Drapeau 1992), from which a sub-sample of 18 informants stratified by age and sex was selected. Data were subjected to multivariate analysis using Rbrul (Johnson 2008).

The analysis reveals two robust variants, –ht and –tau, used at rates of 44% and 56% respectively. Age is the most significant factor conditioning variant selection: older speakers favor –ht, indicating a change towards –tau. However, apparent time effects suggest two different patterns. Until 1960, –tau is favored by women, indicating a new and vigorous change towards this variant. Because –ht corresponds to the external norm later codified in modern written Innu, and because a separate analysis confirms that –ht is also the form favored by the interviewers, who generally adopt a more formal style than the participants, I conclude that this constitutes a change from below. After 1960, the change does not appear to progress, and the gender effect is reversed, suggesting either a stabilization of the variation or a reversal of the direction of change via change from above. I argue that major societal changes in the 1950s, notably in terms of access to formal education, have led to increased consciousness of the “standard” among Innu speakers, and formal recognition of –ht as the prestige form seems to have arrested further progression of the –tau form, henceforth associated with localness and assigned covert prestige.

The Relational Inflection: Definition and Modern Use in Swampy Cree

The verb, which is at the core of the understanding of the Cree language, contains valuable information, namely on the relationships between the participants or people involved in the action. One of these relationships is expressed through an inflectional morpheme called the relational form: it refers specifically to an agent acting in relation to an additional animate third person, without the latter being the direct patient or the benefactor. It applies only to AI (animate intransitive) and TI (transitive inanimate) verbs and is unique to Cree among all Algonquian languages and seemingly all languages of the world.

The form has been previously documented and/or studied, namely by Junker (2003), Ellis (1971, 2000, 2004), Bloomfield (1928) and Wolfart (1973). It has been established that it occurs in specific contexts predominantly with independent and conjunct forms. The relational form can also occur with TI verbs specifically when the agent is acting on a third person’s possession, as well as with AI and TI verbs in complex clauses where the subject of the embedded clause triggers the appearance of the relational in the main clause (or vice versa). Furthermore, it can also be used simply to acknowledge the presence, spiritual or physical, of a third person.

For this paper, I propose to discuss and exemplify the relational form in light of previous aforementioned research as well as preliminary findings of interviews I’ve done over the summer as part of my Master’s research, with Swampy Cree speakers in Norway House, Manitoba. I also hope to compare the inflection to the nonrelational and benefactive paradigms, as the relational seems to have an intermediate status between the two; it does not quite make an intransitive verb transitive or a transitive verb ditransitive, although it marks the presence of an additional participant. I will present these conclusions and open the discussion on the present day use of this very unique, complex and fascinating form.
“I speak, therefore I am” – Perceptions of the role of language in the construction of Algonquian cultural identities

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The belief in an essential bond between traditional language and cultural identity is prominent in discourses promoting Indigenous languages. It is not always clear, however, to what extent this view corresponds to Indigenous individuals’ actual attitudes regarding their languages.

The goal of this presentation is to present the results of a qualitative study, consisting of semi-structured interviews with Algonquian individuals (Anishinaabe and Cree) with different levels of proficiency in their respective Algonquian languages. The interview data is further supported by the results of a focus group discussion and my own participatory observation. A bottom-up qualitative approach, discourse analysis (DA), is employed to identify major emergent themes and specific discursive features revealing participants’ language attitudes. Key themes include social mobility and cultural continuity, pride and shame, names and naming practices, and land.

Findings illustrate that although there are other modes of identification, language remains a prominent manifestation of identity for most participants. One particularly interesting finding is the significance of tattoos as symbols of linguistic pride.

An awareness of individual perceptions of the presumed language/identity link may have implications for conceptualising Aboriginality, for understanding the role of language in identity negotiation, and for undertaking language maintenance efforts.

Keywords: language attitudes, cultural identity, discourse analysis
Ojibwe/English Code-switching on Facebook
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(H) Ron IM: Today was such an awesome day! Waasa nigaan-inaabi’yaan!
I am looking ahead into the future!

Code-switching is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is found whenever two or more languages are in contact and used together in language production. In recent years, more research has been done on code-switching and attitudes have shifted from viewing code-switching as a negative aspect of language ability, to the idea that code-switching is a reflection of the bilingual speaker’s mastery in each language (Myers-Scotton, 1997).

Social network sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, Twitter and Flckr.com provide a unique linguistic medium where languages interact in a world where bilingualism and multilingualism are becoming more prevalent. SNSs have had a profound effect on the way people communicate in today’s society and they require their users to develop and adapt new strategies of communication (Seargeant et al., 2012).

This study analyses the use of and motivations behind Ojibwe and English code-switching on Facebook by six bilingual speakers in Ontario. Five of the six participants in the study are L2 Ojibwe speakers while the other acquired English at age five. It was found that the participants mainly used code-switching as a means to encourage language revitalization. Other motivations were for humour and to assert their identity as Anishinaabe (Ojibwe). Outside of Facebook, the L1 Ojibwe speaker reported that he used code-switching with his mother to create an in-group/out-group effect with other non-Ojibwe speakers. The study also compares code-switching on Facebook to spoken code-switching, by comparing results from the current study to the results in Valentine (1994).

References


Wh-scope marking in Menominee

This both describes and analyzes the wh-scope marking construction (SMC) in Menominee. The Menominee SMC was first described by Johnson and Macaulay (2013), and SMCs have been analyzed in Blackfoot by Barrie (2010) and in Passamaquoddy by Bruening (2004, 2006). Throughout, I compare and contrast the Menominee data with Blackfoot and Passamaquoddy.

As noted by Johnson and Macaulay, Menominee has an SMC in which an embedded wh-word with matrix scope moves only to the specifier of the embedded CP (1). The wh-word tāq sits in the matrix Spec, CP, and marks the scope of the embedded wh-word. I follow Shields (2008), who analyzes tāq as the bare wh-operator.

(1) Tāq kenah eeañeh tam an awaëiq ‘s aw-māciat?
   WH you think TI.2-0CONJ who AOR IRR-leave AL.3CONJ
   ‘Who do you think will leave?’

I argue that the Menominee SMC is best analyzed as a direct dependency. Under the direct dependency approach, the SMC involves the same movement as regular long-distance wh-questions (e.g., Cheng 2000, Bruening 2006). In contrast, under the indirect dependency approach (Dayal 1994, 2000), the embedded wh-word does not actually take matrix scope. Instead, there are two separate wh-questions: the wh-word in the matrix clause questions the propositional content of the matrix verb, and the embedded question restricts the range of matrix wh-word. However, the indirect dependency approach predicts that the “scope marker” is the same wh-word that is used to question propositions. This is not the case in Menominee: the scope marker is the wh-operator. Instead, the Menominee data are compatible with an analysis of scope marking in which only the wh-feature moves to the matrix Spec, CP (Cheng 2000) or a wh-copy analysis in which a distinct copy of the wh-word is pronounced in the matrix Spec, CP (Bruening 2006). This paper thus contributes to the study of SMCs cross-linguistically and within the Algonquian family.

References

Long-distance agreement in Mi’gmaq and Ojibwe: towards a comparative study

Long-distance agreement (LDA), or cross-clausal agreement, is a phenomenon where a matrix verb shows agreement with an argument of its sentential complement, as in (1). In those constructions, the agreed-with embedded argument is interpreted as a topic.

(1) gi-giken-im-in  gil-bashkizw-aa-d
   2-know-TR-1<2(IND)  PAST-shoot-3OBJ-2(CONJ)
   ‘I know that you shot him.’ (Mathieu and Lohbühler 2013:43; Ojibwe)

These constructions are particularly interesting from a theoretical perspective, since agreement is usually considered to be a strictly local syntactic phenomenon but in LDA constructions, agreement appears to occur across a clausal boundary.

While it is established that LDA is a defining characteristic of Algonquian languages, little attention has been given to the cross-linguistic variation of this phenomenon inside the Algonquian language family. This paper compares two patterns of LDA: one in which it is (generally) restricted to subjects, as in Mi’gmaq, Plains Cree (Dahêstrom 1991), and the Ottawa Ojibwe dialect (Rhodes 1994), and another where it can occur with subjects or objects, as in the Cape Croker Ojibwe (CCO) dialect (Mathieu and Lohbühler 2013), Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001), and Innu-aimmûn (Branigan and MacKenzie 2002). Based on primary data from Mi’gmaq and CCO, we propose a theoretical account which attributes the differing patterns of LDA to the different ways in which each language expresses topics.

Specifically, we propose that whereas topics must (covertly) move to the left-periphery of the embedded clause in CCO, a common analysis for languages that share this pattern, they must remain in their base-generated positions in Mi’gmaq. Since agreement is constrained by locality such that the verb must agree with the argument structurally closest to it, and since subjects are always base-generated in a position above the base position of the object, LDA with the object is correctly ruled out for Mi’gmaq. Since topics must move to the left periphery in Ojibwe, it is correctly predicted that subjects and objects may participate in LDA.

References


1Blackfoot may form a third pattern, i.e., Bliss (2008)
In this presentation, I show that it is possible to link together several properties of Algonquian syntax: Initial Change, lack of prefixes in the conjunct in contrast with the independent and long-distance agreement. These constructions are argued to be possible in Algonquian languages because C has special properties. In other languages, where these constructions do not cluster, C has other functions, distinct from that of Algonquian C. I conclude that features do not necessarily bundle together on the same head cross-linguistically.
The use of Innu Intransitive posture verbs in static localization

In this presentation I will consider posture verbs in Innu and show how they grammaticalize into locative verbs.

The function of localization that posture verbs can display across languages is a well documented phenomenon (Newman 2002; Grinevald 2006). A typology based on the type of verb used in the so-called Basic locative Construction (e.g. an unmarked locative) has been proposed by the Max Planck Institute (Ameka et Levinson, 2007; Kelly et Melinger, 2001). According to this typology, languages can be divided into four types: Type 0 corresponds to languages that don’t use a verb in their Basic Locative Construction; languages of Type I use a single locative verb such as a copula; languages of Type II use a small set of contrastive verb, whereas those of Type III have a larger set of dispositional verbs.

Based on data from native speakers of Innu and from Drapeau’s Innu lexical database (2012), I will demonstrate that a small set of verbs formed with an initial or a final encoding posture is used in the localization of a definite entity that can be animate or inanimate (1).

(1)  àkù mícwápit aštew têtapwákan
     ákaw mícwáp -it aštè -w têtapwákan
     behind house -loc sit.:0 chair

     ‘the chair is behind the house’

I will also present evidence that this construction with a posture verb is competing with a general locative predicate used in the localization of an indefinite entity (2).

(2)  àkù mícwápit takuan têtapwákan
     ákaw mícwáp -it takuan têtapwákan
     behind house -loc is.:0 chair

     ‘there is a chair is behind the house’

In conclusion, I will argue that Innu undergoes a shift from Type II to Type I due to contact with French.
Relational verbs in Montagnais (Innu)

The study of applicative constructions in Algonquian languages has, for the most part, been limited to applicative ditransitive constructions in which the applied object is the Beneficiary/Recipient/Affectee (Brittain 1993; Rhodes 2010). However, the Montagnais language (a.k.a. Innu), also evidences, as other dialects of Cree do, another derived verbal construction labelled “relational” (Ellis 1971; Weldon 1973; Junker 2003; Junker 2008). The latter has never been recognized as an applicative, but has mostly been depicted as a distinct verbal paradigm.

(1) ni-nilánê-s ñè akup
    1-like.TI-1 DEM dress.I
    ‘I like this dress’

(2) ni-nilánam-w-än ñè akup
    1-like.TI-REL-1:3A 3-dress.I
    ‘I like her dress’

(3) ni-čtípam-ikw ñè étúam-w-ak
    1-to_look_at.TA-3:I DEM-LOC CT-to_do.TI-REL-1:3:CJ
    ‘she looks at me as I do it’

This presentation investigates the morphosyntactic and the semantic properties of the so-called “relational” forms on the basis of text data gathered in Innu communities from Northeastern Québec. A relational verb form is obligatory with third Animate possessors. It is also common in the case of other ‘involved’ Animate third person participants.

The main highlights of the presentation are the following. First, aside from the AI, TI and TA paradigms already present in Ellis, Weldon and Junker, I present a hereto unreported relational paradigm based on TA (inanimate actor) forms. Second, I argue (contra Junker 2003) that the relational verbs are of a type of non-canonical applicative; they bring into the core, as direct argument of the verb, a participant which is not a semantic argument, but one only indirectly involved in the situation depicted by the predicate, namely third person possessors, as well as other indirectly involved third person participants. I link up relational to other instances in the language in which referential properties override semantic roles in access to agreement slots in the language.
EAST CREE NOMINALIZATIONS: NEGOTIATING CATEGORY

BACKGROUND Last year, Bliss, Ritter & Wilschko (BRW, 2012) proposed a typology of Algonquian nominalizations based on Blackfoot data. Following their call to verify the typology across Algonquian, we provide evidence that East Cree poses a challenge.

BRW (2012) propose four nominalization types: Abstract, Instrument, Bare and Conject. They posit the following ingredients for nominalization: (i) a nominalizer (i.e., an element in the nominalization, overt or not, that serves to mark the nominalization as nominal); (ii) a referent (the ‘R’ argument, in the sense of Williams, 1981); (iii) a verbal category from which the nominalization is derived. The diagnostics they use are: Nominal Number marking; Demonstratives (the ones that cannot be used pronominally); Possessive.

PROBLEM In East Cree, Blackfoot-based diagnostics for nominals do not work. Number is not a reliable diagnostic; all demonstratives can be used pronominally; possessives and diminutive suffixes are attested across verb and noun categories. Moreover, bare nominalization type is not attested. Some nominalization patterns do not pan out as expected. Finally, some Cree forms are consistently ambiguous between verb and noun. We also provide new data showing that speakers’ preferred choices seem to be in favour of sentences without nominalizations, except for literal translations from English (cf. Jacobson 1959 on speaker needs).

PROPOSAL Comparing the East Cree data with neighbouring languages Innu (Drapeau, 1979) and Naskapi (Jancewicz, 1996), we show that nominalization in Algonquian is subject to cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal variation. We study the categorical nature of East Cree Conject nominalizations / participial forms, and evaluate what the best account is: noun-like, verb-like or category neutral?

REFERENCE
Southern Unami Texts: Editing Variation

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Southern Unami texts written or recorded from 1837 until the end of the last century exhibit a variety of transcriptions and attest variation in both phonology and morphology. Editing these texts for linguistic use necessarily involves transcription into a phonemic spelling based on relatively recent fieldwork. This paper illustrates the problems involved in editing or re-editing these texts. Special attention is given to using the texts to document features of phonology and morphology that are variable or not present in the speech of the last competent speakers. It is argued that even though phonemicization may require normalization, the imposition of a standardized uniformity is counterproductive and undesirable and should be minimized.

The texts used are from Ira D. Blanchard (Harmony of the Gospels, 1837), Truman Michelson (mss., 1912), F.G. Speck (on the Big House, 1931), C.F. Voegelin (recorded 1939), fieldwork (1966), and the Lenape Talking Dictionary (online).
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An Epistemological Framework for Indigenous Knowledge

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In this paper, we examine the opposition between scientific knowledge (SK) and indigenous knowledge (IK) from both an epistemological point of view (Weinberg et al. 2001) and an anthropological point of view (Sillitoe 2006, Pierotti 2011, Mato 2011, Hwang 2005). The problem of the links between these two kinds of knowledge in the broad context of sustainable development is a "central issue" according to Rist and Deloulou-Guebas (2006). Although, anthropologically speaking, the notion of IK appears at first glance to be well enough delineated, from an epistemological point of view, it still conceals an important definitional difficulty. In particular, if one wants to compare IK with SK, one needs a precise concept that do justice to both IK and SK. The difficulty is to define knowledge in a way that is, a priori, neutral so that both IK and SK can be equally captured by the definition. In the first part of the paper, we provide a framework that satisfies this requisite. The epistemological framework put at work, which is indexical contextualism (Cohen 1987, DeRose 2009), enables us to center the analysis on the meaning components of the knowledge predicate. In the second part, we apply the framework to the specific case of Algonquian knowledge. We make explicit the underlying epistemic standards at play by identifying the conditions under which particular propositional attitudes are qualified as knowledge in the Algonquian context. In general terms, Algonquian knowledge may be characterized as holistic in outlook and adaptive by nature (Berkes et al. 2000), and knowledge is derived from direct engagement with the elements (Sefa Dei 2000), but more precisely contextual efficiency and holistic coherence constitute the two main epistemic standards.

REFERENCES


Two Cree Renditions of a pre-Victorian Kunstmärchen: Variants or Parallel Texts?

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A close examination of two literary performances recorded in Plains Cree and their context leaves little doubt, despite the lack of an explicit identification, that they are reflexions of a European Kunstmärchen (or literary fairy-tale) of the pre-Victorian period. At the same time, their formal structure shows them to be classical Cree texts.

The most intriguing question they raise is that of filiation: are they two manifestations of a single text (or ur-text, “which, perhaps, no longer exists”), or are the differences between them so profound that they ought to be analysed as two distinct texts? While some of the motifs, cultural elements, calques and stylistic traits seem to suggest the latter, their status as variants of a single text is supported equally by their overall literary form and by textual and linguistic structures.
The semantics of Blackfoot internal arguments

Overview
This paper presents evidence that Blackfoot verbal stem morphology reflects semantic composition with the complement. We show that each type of transitive verb stem combines with complements of either type e or type (e,t), but not both. We argue that these complements combine via Saturate and Restrict (Chung and Ladasaw 2004), respectively.

Types of complements occurring with each stem type
Semantically transitive verbs occur in three morphological types: TA (transitive on animate), TI (transitive on inanimate), and AI (animate intransitive) (Bloomfield 1946; Frantz 2009). TA and TI stems license (pro-)DP complements, while AI stems license NP or null complements (Ritter and Rosen 2009). We found that NPs modified by numerals can occur with all three types of stems. Our analysis predicts that these NPs are type e with TA/TI verbs and type (e,t) with AI verbs, despite having the same surface structure in both cases.

Predictions of a semantic compositional analysis
Our proposal that the AI vs. TA/TI split reflects a difference between composition via Restrict vs. Saturate predicts that complements to AI verbs will always take narrow scope with respect to quantifiers and other operators (Chung and Ladasaw 2004). We show that complements to AI verbs can take narrow scope with respect to quantifiers and negative operators, while complements to TA/TI verbs cannot. This is true even for NPs modified by numerals, which occur with all three stem types.

Supporting evidence
The behavior of verbal complements in semantic islands supports an analysis of TA/TI complements as type e and AI complements as type (e,t). For instance, complements to TA/TI verbs “escape” semantic islands like other referential arguments, while complements to AI verbs cannot scope outside of semantic islands (Fodor and Sag 1982).

References
A Look at Manner-of-motion Verbs in Ojibwe

1. This paper provides a preliminary analysis of manner-of-motion constructions in Ojibwe. Manner-of-motion verbs are formed by combining an initial that denotes a direction and a final that expresses a manner of motion (1).

(1) Nin-gii-[dago-batoo _stem_] waakas'igan-ing. 
1-PAST-to-run VAI house-LOC
'I ran to the house.'

Bliss et al. (2013) argue that locatives like waakas'iganung are PPs that attach at the IP level in Blackfoot and at the CP level in Plains Cree. Locatives are licensed by P, which is realized as the verbal prefix *it- (Blackfoot) or as the nominal suffix -ihk (Plains Cree). In addition, Slavin (2012; Oji-Cree) argues that initials sit in Spec,vP.

I argue that PPs have a multi-layered structure (Koopman 1997). I further propose that higher/directional Ps in manner-of-motion constructions correspond to the initial of the verb stem, and that prepositions are complements of V in Ojibwe.

2. Directional PPs consist of a locative P embedded under a directional P (2) (Koopman). Initials such as *dago- 'to' and in- 'toward', realize the higher the P head (Pa). The lower preposition (PLOC) spells out the locative suffix -ing, which takes a locative-NP complement. I argue that PLOC undergoes head movement into the verb stem, realizing an initial. This results in stranding its PLOC complement.

(2) [PP Pa [PP PLOC NP]]

PPLOC can give rise to a bounded or unbounded event. Using *bebangi 'bit by bit', I show that *dago- is a closed-scale Pa, producing a telic interpretation, while in- is an open-scale Pa, producing an atelic event. Since the event can have telic interpretation, this indicates that the preposition is a V-complement. These elements may also be preverbs, but they only produce an atelic or locational reading.

3. In sum, manner-of-motion verbs help us better understand the structure of PPs in Ojibwe and Ojibwe verb stem structure.

References

The role of -ew in Mi’gmaq

In this paper I examine the morpheme -ew in Mi’gmaq, an Eastern Algonquian language. I propose an analysis drawing on Barker’s (1995) notion of Extrinsic Possession.

In previous literature -ew has been described as a marker indicating change in grammatical status, used when deriving a noun from a verb or locative (ex. (1)-(3)), or a possessive pronoun from a subject/object pronoun as in example (4) (e.g. Inglis 1988):

1. a. engatm ‘I measure (VTI)’
   b. eng-eng ‘the act of measuring’ (derived N)
   c. [[eng-eng] -ew] -ei ‘object/tool used for measuring’
3. [[matnaa] -ew] -imu \( \sqrt{fight} + ew + “person” = ‘fighter’
4. a. ni’n ‘I/me’
   b. ni’n-ew-ei ‘mine’

However, this does not capture its full range of distribution. -ew is also found on the possessor in alienable possession constructions, as in example (5), and attaches to bare nouns, as in example (6):

5. Piel-ew-ei wi’gatign
   Piel-?obj book
   “Piel’s book” or “The book belongs to Piel” (McClay 2012: 26)
6. a. plamu ‘salmon (an.)’
   b. plam-ew-ei ‘salmon meat (inan.)’

Here I argue that -ew’s role in nominalization is connected to the concept of Extrinsic Possession—a vague relation that encompasses ownership, creation, adjacency, and other relationships that express ‘proximity’ between a possessor and a possessee. Such possession involves non-relational nouns, or nouns that denote sets of things as opposed to nouns that denote kinship.

For instance, the noun ‘salmon meat’ in example (6-b) is not a possessed noun. Rather, the morpheme -ew expresses an intimate tie to the base noun ‘salmon’. The fact that -ew-ei is used in alienable possession may also explain the change of animacy in example (6). Moreover, it is impossible to use -ew-ei with inalienable possession, which falls out directly from this analysis.
Syntagmatic axis and the internal structure of Northern East Cree verbal ‘paradigms’

Vincent Collette
Université Laval

In linguistics, many analytical concepts or dichotomies were inherited from Saussure’s Course, published in 1922 (i.e. langue/parole, synchronie/diachronie, syntagmatique/paradigmatique). The last two pairs are of central importance in the description of grammatical morphology. Paradigmatic axis refers to the possibility of substitution of two units (phoneme, morpheme or word) in the same slot, while the syntagmatic axis relates to the combination of units in the stream of speech. The description of grammatical morphology, and of verbal and nominal paradigms, is intimately linked with two ideas underlying the paradigmatic axis: a) mutual exclusivity between two morphemes of the same grammatical category; and b) opposition between the meanings of these morphemes (i.e. 1\textsuperscript{st} person/2\textsuperscript{nd} person; singular/plural, etc.). However, the preponderance of the paradigmatic axis seems to better fit the grammatical morphology of Latin or Greek, than that of an agglutinative languages such as Turkish (Van Marle, 2000: 228-229). In my presentation, I will highlight the force of the syntagmatic axis in the internal structuration of some verbal ‘paradigms’ in Northern East Cree. More precisely, I will describe some idiosyncratic phenomenon such as suffix permutation, replacive morphemes and split morphology (Plank, 1999), in order to show that the syntagmatic axis is, to some extent, independent of the paradigmatic axis.

References

Michif discontinuous elements

Kathleen Strader
University of Manitoba

Recent work on discontinuity in Algonquian syntax has focused on the DP (e.g. Lochbihler, 2009, Johnson and Rosen, 2011). In this paper, I explore the limitations of the existing analyses of Algonquian discontinuous constituents as applied to Michif. Michif is a mixed language consisting of Cree verb phrases (VP) and French determiner phrases (DPs). Though French, a configurational language, contributes some syntactic elements, the underlying syntactic structure is closer to Cree. Similar to its Algonquian relatives, Michif can be characterised as a non-configurational language because of properties such as free word order, discontinuous elements, and null anaphora.

Although the Michif DP permits the integration of Cree nominal elements, the structure of the Michif DP primarily follows that of French. As a configurational language, French does not permit discontinuous elements, but this is not the case in Michif where dislocation from the head noun is possible not only for Cree quantifiers, but also for French quantifiers and numerals. The parallel with Cree syntax is not absolute, Michif patterns with Cree in allowing quantifiers to dislocate, it patterns with French with respect to demonstratives, which cannot be separated from the nominal head (Rosen, 2003).

I present data that illustrates the Michif pattern and illustrate the extent it patterns with Cree and French. I consider the existing analyses of Algonquian discontinuous constituents in relation to the Michif data.

References


This paper seeks to document and classify a range of interjections in Plains Cree. Interjections, as a class, are a very mixed bag leaving them difficult to fully define. As a result their description is commonly underrepresented in grammars and linguistic theory alike. This will be an attempt to document Plains Cree interjections in terms of the pragmatically-oriented classification of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008). A first, basic division to be made amongst interjections and related expressions is between the two distinct classes of expressives and interactives.

Expressives are used to give voice to a speaker’s feelings, without any necessary attempt at communication with an addressee. Following Ekman et al (1972), expressives are divided into six basic emotions: anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise. Although expressions indicating pain are not included in Ekman’s basic emotions, they are mentioned in this context and are implicitly included in Hengeveld and Mackenzie’s (2008:76-77) classification. Plains Cree has examples of most if not all of these categories, though some types are more robustly exemplified than others.

Even more complex are the range of Interactive interjections. Interactives are used as single-word or holophrastic messages in communication between a speaker and an addressee (cf. Mackenzie 1998). As such, they more closely resemble the main communicative function of most linguistic utterances, but packaged into single words outside the syntax of a clause. The Plains Cree data will provide numerous subtypes of Interactives, including the following: Greeting (opening and response), Parting, Asking, Thanking, Acknowledgement, Agreement, Disagreement, Directive, and Warning. Although many Cree interactives are invariant in form, some share certain inflectional features with other parts of speech, including Vocative nouns which will therefore also be considered within this survey.

References

Montagnais & Southern New England Religion, A Brief Overview:

David A. Ezzo
Erie Community College

This paper will discuss a brief overview of Montagnais and Southern New England Religion. Topics that will be discussed will include:
- Early accounts of Montagnais Religion
- Montagnais Religion
- Missionary Influence upon Montagnais Religion
- Early accounts of Southern New England Religion
- Cosmology
- Missionary influence upon Southern New England Religion

References:


Christopher Roy

Temple University

This paper examines the lives of two Abenaki missionaries: Rev. Peter Paul Osunkherhine (1799-?), and Rev. Edwin Benedict (1842-1901). Rev. Osunkherhine was born in the Adirondacks and educated at Dartmouth. He founded the Congregationalist Church at Odanak, eventually leaving for postings in the Great Lakes, including mission work among the Ojibwe and Seneca. Rev. Benedict, Osunkherhine’s nephew, was born in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and educated in Quebec and Minnesota, where he served as a missionary to the Leech Lake Ojibwe. He later returned to an earlier career as a basket trader in New York and spent his final years as a school master at Odanak.

Both men’s life histories offer considerable insight into 19th century Abenaki history, including topics such as citizenship, transformations in religious life, community leadership, residence, kinship, class, and race. The stories of Rev. Osunkherhine and Rev. Benedict also have much to tell us about Abenaki struggles for respect within the American and Canadian settler colonies.
**Title:** The Best Laid Schemes: F.W. Waugh's Labrador Innu Fieldwork, 1921-22

**Abstract:** Ontario-born Frederck Wilkerson Waugh (1874-1924) was a self-taught ethnologist and natural historian who joined the Geological Survey of Canada's Anthropological Division in 1913 and remained on staff until his death eleven years later. Best known for pre-war work on Iroquoian material culture, in 1916 Waugh began researching northern Algonkians, starting with three field trips into the Lake Superior hinterlands. These were followed by two more to the coasts of Quebec-Labrador, the earlier of which, undertaken in 1921-22, was planned as a systematic, year-long investigation of the Mushua Innu, hunters who maintained their nomadic existence in a territory stretching to the north and west of Voisey's Bay. Taking this trip as its focus, this paper begins by situating Waugh's fieldwork within the context of the day's Anthropological Division research agenda. Drawing on his unpublished notebooks and journals, it then takes up the conditions he met with in the field that shaped his approach to the work itself, and limited what he eventually accomplished. Despite being the first ethnologist to winter on Labrador's Atlantic coast, the results of Waugh's fieldwork proved anything but ground-breaking. Credit for that rightly belongs to William Duncan Strong, who followed him to the region in 1927. Instead, Waugh's experience offers an object lesson in how on-the-ground realities can, and often do, defeat disciplinary research priorities.
The prosody and syntax of the Plains Cree verbal complex

Kevin Russell (U Manitoba) and Tanya Slavin (McGill)

The verbal complex of Plains Cree is clearly not a single phonological word, but the position and nature of the prosodic boundaries within the verbal complex has remained unclear. This paper combines Slavin’s (2006a, 2006b, 2012) syntactic analysis of the positions of preverbs in Oji-Cree with Russell’s (2008) proposal that patterns of hiatus resolution is related to the strength of prosodic boundary: partial devoicing, as in /ê-isi/ → [ê-hisi-], is more likely at a strong boundary; truncation or coalescence, as in /isi-aski/ → [i-si-ne], more likely at weak boundaries.

We look at Bloomfield’s (1930; 1934) narrow transcription of the 18,800 preverb-preverb and preverb-stem boundaries in his Plains Cree texts from the 1920s to estimate statistically the prosodic boundary strengths between the different syntactic positions of preverbs.

We find evidence for three “zones” of preverbs within the Plains Cree verbal complex.

- Zone 0: the complementizer kê, the future markers (ka-, ta-, ci-, etc.), and the initial change morpheme are all phonologically irregular.
- Zone 1: the apparent complementizer ê, past ki-, modal future wi-, ki- ‘can’, and irrealis kî-
- Zone 2: all other preverbs and the verb stem.

Within Zone 1 and Zone 2, vowel-vowel preverb boundaries undergo partial devoicing at a rate of about 20%. Across the strong boundary between Zone 1 and Zone 2, preverbs undergo devoicing at a rate of about 80%. The mirror image of these patterns holds for truncation. Zone 0 clitics truncate at an even higher rate and devoice at an even lower rate than Zone 2 preverbs. On all measures, complementizer kê-patterns with the future markers and apparent complementizer ê-with the Zone 1 preverbs.

Implications for the syntactic structure of verbal complex are discussed, including support for Wolfart’s (1973) analysis of ê-as an empty vehicle for the initial change morpheme.

References


Building a thematic dictionary for East Cree

The goal of this talk is to present the process of creating East Cree thematic dictionaries. Too often, the building of such resources imposes an English taxonomy on the language being documented. We adopted a Participatory Action Research approach, with close collaboration with East Cree speakers and elders, to carefully research Cree categorisation or folk taxonomy.

We paid attention to the richness and lexical elaboration of certain semantic domains, as well as to the way they are structured in the morphological components. For example: the natural domains of the landscape, linked to the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Cree, or the classification of animals reflecting people's knowledge and uses of different animals in a hunter-gatherer society.

In the categorization of certain groups of words that do not correspond precisely across languages (i.e. the domain of feelings or bodily sensations), we opted to research these topics based on proposed universal tendencies (Wierzbicka, 1999; Junker & Blacksmith, 2006).

We also asked ourselves if the morphology could guide us in uncovering conceptual domains. We grouped words according to morphological components that exposed natural semantic classes, which we then tested with speakers conducting online surveys. We will discuss some components that we discovered still actively represent Cree conceptualization.

This research resulted in the creation of print and online dictionaries telling the story of a people and a culture embodied in a language, and allows for the discovery of how the Eastern James Bay Cree created their way of being in the world. It also proposes a methodology and an outline of themes that could apply across Algonquian languages.

References


Toward a Semantic Dictionary of Algonquian

Most work on comparative Algonquian focuses on formal similarities between languages. But we know enough about Proto-Algonquian to know that formal differences can mask underlying categorical similarities (cf. Buck 1949). For example, most Algonquian languages have a clear six-way distinction in stages of life, most sex differentiated: ‘baby’, ‘child’, ‘boy/girl’, ‘young man/young woman’, ‘man-woman’, ‘old man-old woman’. However, the forms expressing these distinctions are not all cognate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shawnee</th>
<th>Fox</th>
<th>Ojibwe</th>
<th>Menominee</th>
<th>Plains Cree</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘baby’</td>
<td>kavetolah</td>
<td>anahdeh</td>
<td>algoquim</td>
<td>oshenan</td>
<td>ekwatsi</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>kawelusin</td>
<td>amahsah</td>
<td>algoquim</td>
<td>oshenan</td>
<td>ekwatsi</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>skawelusin</td>
<td>hawetah</td>
<td>muekwa</td>
<td>oshenwa</td>
<td>ndepik</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘girl’</td>
<td>skwelusin</td>
<td>akwetah</td>
<td>mwekwa</td>
<td>oshenwa</td>
<td>naden</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young man’</td>
<td>masyamishen</td>
<td>shakimniweh</td>
<td>oskowateh</td>
<td>oshenwah</td>
<td>oskowateh</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young woman’</td>
<td>masyamishen</td>
<td>shakimniweh</td>
<td>oskowateh</td>
<td>oshenwah</td>
<td>oskowateh</td>
<td>mato’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>keshi</td>
<td>lbsin</td>
<td>mmenah</td>
<td>oshenwa</td>
<td>ndepik</td>
<td>hawine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>kawetah</td>
<td>lbsin</td>
<td>mmenah</td>
<td>oshenwa</td>
<td>naden</td>
<td>hawine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘old man’</td>
<td>pakimbo</td>
<td>parhiski</td>
<td>mkwekwa</td>
<td>kwa-enway</td>
<td>kadynwe</td>
<td>ma-to’owina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘old woman’</td>
<td>pakimbo</td>
<td>parhiski</td>
<td>mkwekwa</td>
<td>kwa-enway</td>
<td>kadynwe</td>
<td>ma-to’owina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I

Any reconstruction of Proto-Algonquian needs to recognize that this system is old, even if the forms do not unambiguously reconstruct for all categories. Similarly, the basic verbs for eating are suppletive, or semi-suppletive in all languages, but not all forms are cognate, and in some cases obviously cognate forms nonetheless present reconstruction problems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shawnee</th>
<th>Fox</th>
<th>Ojibwe</th>
<th>Menominee</th>
<th>Plains Cree</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘est’ AI</td>
<td>wiwitamwe</td>
<td>wiwi</td>
<td>wiwami</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘est’ II</td>
<td>wiwitami</td>
<td>wiwi</td>
<td>wiwamne</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘est’ TA</td>
<td>witiwamne</td>
<td>wiwi</td>
<td>wiwamne</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
<td>mwona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II

I will argue that there is significant value in reconstructing the category systems of the Algonquian family independent of formal considerations. I will limit myself to three areas: stages of life, food, and the head. Each of these areas highlights different problems in reconstruction and sheds some light on current concerns about the derivation of complex stems.

Reference

Brent Delaine
McGill University

As urbanization and globalization continue to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin and other Indigenous languages, innovative approaches to language revitalization are increasingly necessary. (Re)establishing Ojibwe as a home language is an important part of this process; however, the needs of adult learners with no access to traditional classrooms must also be met. One way is to harness the power of user-friendly digital media tools and their potential to disseminate information across vast distances using the Internet. By combining some aspects of traditional Anishinaabe pedagogy with contemporary videographic techniques, a dramatic mini-series called Bamitaagewin was created. The goal of Bamitaagewin is to entertain adult viewers while exposing them to target language chosen for its potential use at home with children.

This Master’s thesis study was designed to assess the efficacy and feasibility of a narrative video-based approach to Indigenous language revitalization. The process of designing and producing a series of Ojibwe-teaching videos as a non-fluent, non-Indigenous researcher presented unique challenges. Twenty participants viewed the entire series and completed a language test. Two weeks later, they returned and underwent a “cold” test to assess how much of the target language they had retained. After viewing a review episode, participants completed a third round of testing. Next, they were interviewed to discover how they felt about learning Ojibwe from a narrative video series.

Results indicate that viewing the video series fostered the retention of Ojibwe imperative verbs, even after only a single viewing. During the interviews, participants overwhelmingly reported a positive and entertaining learning experience. These results suggest that narrative language-teaching videos may fill an important but oft-neglected niche, and thereby contribute to Indigenous language revitalization.

An analysis of the lexical development of Innu preschoolers
Lori Morris
The proposed paper explores the extent and nature of the expressive and receptive lexical gains made by 32 junior and 37 senior Kindergarteners (respectively JK and SK) over the course of school year in which they were schooled either 100% (JK) or 50% (SK) in Innu. The data collected from the JK cohort within the first month of their arrival in school provide an indication of the words being acquired in the home environment. Results at the second test time for both cohorts, after 7 months in the classroom for the JK children and 9 months after Time 1 for the SK children, offer insight into what words are being added in the school environment. Individual tracking allows for measurement of lexical gains both by child and by primary form of exposure (home vs. school). Since the children were assessed in both Innu and French, the majority language of the community, the relative strength of each language by child is also investigated.

The results obtained at the school entry point indicate that although Innu is an important language of adult communication in the community, the majority of children are acquiring limited lexical resources in the home environment. For virtually all of the children assessed, French is clearly the dominant language and knowledge of Innu is well below what would be expected in a mother-tongue context. On a more positive note, the statistically significant gains made on all assessment tasks in both Innu and French – even in the JK cohort being schooled exclusively in Innu – suggest that using Innu as a language of instruction can improve the Aboriginal language skills of children without compromising lexical development in the majority language. Significant positive correlations found between abilities in the two languages further support this postulate.
Multiple locative adjunction sites in Blackfoot

Goal
We argue that locative modifiers in Blackfoot adjoin to multiple projections within a clause. Event-external locatives adjoin to a higher projection than event-internal locatives (Maienborn 2001), despite the fact that both types of locatives are expressed by the same set of verbal prefixes (Franz 2009). The different adjunction sites leads to distinct syntactic properties for sentences containing event-external vs. event-internal locatives.

Data
Event-external and event-internal locatives are expressed by a verbal prefix which licenses a locative DP (Franz 2009). The ordering possibilities for the nominal expression linked to the locative prefix differ depending on whether the locative adjunct is event-external or event-internal. The locative in (1) is event-external, because the entire event of eating occurs in the car. The order LOCative--GOAL is allowed, but *GOAL--LOC is prohibited.

(1) a. ḫisatópooyí ḫimí ḫisókistóomatómahka ḫnaśeyín
   ḫi-isápooyí-wa ḫom-γí ḫisókistóomatómahka--γí ḫnaśeyín
   LOC--inside--eat.AI--PRX DEM--OBV car--OBV bread
   ‘He ate some bread in the car.’
   b. *ḥisápooyí ḫnaśeyín ḫimí ḫisókistóomatómahka

The locative DP in (2) is event-internal, because only one part of the event occurs inside the bag (e.g. the agent must be standing outside of the bag to pack the books inside). Both orders of LOC--GOAL and GOAL--LOC are allowed.

(2) a. ḫísápoohpaataki ḫimí ḫskiniṭisimáa ḫsináák’itsíisí
   ḫi-isápoohpaataki-wa ḫom-γí ḫskiniṭisimáa ḫsináák’itsíisí--γí
   LOC--inside--carry.AI--PRX DEM--OBV bag book--IN.PL
   ‘He packed books inside that bag.’
   b. *ḥísápoohpaataki ḫsináák’itsíisí ḫimí ḫskiniṭisimáa

Analysis
We show that event-external locatives adjoin higher than event-internal locatives, shown in (3). We assume that linear word order mirrors syntactic precedence. Event-external modifiers adjoin high enough that the direct object is unable to raise above the locative expression, resulting in only one possible order. Event-internal modifiers adjoin at a low enough point that the direct object is able to raise above it.

A

Heather Bliss, Rose-Marie Dechaine & Tomio Hirose
A Comparison of Locative PPs in Blackfoot and Plains Cree

This paper explores similarities and differences in the syntax of locative PPs in Blackfoot and Plains Cree. We argue that P is instantiated by different (non-cognate) morphemes in the two languages: in Blackfoot P is a verbal prefix, discontinuous from the locative DP it licenses (1), but in Plains Cree, P is a nominal suffix (2).

(1) **Blackfoot**

*Nits’i* (*i*’*i* *om* *i*’*i*’*i*).

nit-it *i*’*i* om-yi itaoyo’p-yi
1-LOC-eat.AI DEM-INAN eating.place-INAN
‘I ate at the restaurant.’

(2) **Plains Cree**

*Nimicison* *nimicison* *nahkhokh.*

ni-micison-n *nimicison* *nahkhokh.*
1-eat.AI-LOC eating.place-LOC
‘I ate at the restaurant.’

Blackfoot *it*- and Plains Cree *-ihk* show striking similarities in their distribution. Both are required for licensing locative DPs, and may co-occur with other locative modifiers. Moreover, in both languages, there are no PP arguments formed with *it*- or *-ihk*; PPs are adjuncts. In neither language are there verbs that select for PP complements, and PPs do not control verb agreement or trigger direct/indirect marking.

We propose that Blackfoot and Plains Cree differ with respect to where in the clausal structure locative PPs appear. In Blackfoot PPs are adjoined to IP but in Plains Cree they are adjoined to CP. This accounts for the observation that Plains Cree but not Blackfoot PPs interact with the left clausal periphery and are sensitive to CP-level properties such as clause-typing and obviation.

There are two different accounts of what qualifies as P in Algonquian. Rhodes (2005, 2010) argues the class of relative roots (of which Blackfoot *it* is a member) are derived via P-incorporation. Oxford (2008, 2010) claims that P is instantiated by locative inflection in Innu, the cognate of which is Plains Cree *-ihk*. Our account allows for both possibilities. Relative roots and locative inflection have different positions in the surface syntax and different historical origins, but both can instantiate locative P.

References


Expressions of Location and Direction in Menominee
Sarah Lundquist and Monica Macaulay
University of Wisconsin-Madison

1. Introduction
   This paper describes the multiple strategies for expressing location and direction in Menominee.

2. Categories of Expressions
   - Bare nouns may have a locative interpretation, translated as at, by, from, in, over, to.
   - The locative suffix -eh marks approximately the same relationships, e.g. at, by, from, in, inside, into, on, to, upon, with.
   - Some forms function as prepositions, e.g. antamiah ‘under’, aytoh ‘at both ends, sides (of)’, etk ‘close to, near’.
   - There are a variety of locative and directional particles, e.g. ones which incorporate reference to a specific ground (etkeskoniah ‘by the fire’), or specify distance and direction of an activity (omanakah ‘in this direction, over here’).
   - There are four locative demostratives, indicating proximal and distal location. Two mean ‘here’ and ‘there’, and two have “more strongly pointing reference” (‘over here’, ‘over there’) (Bloomfield 1962:192).
   - A few preverbs have purely locative meanings (tasih ‘there, in a place’), but a larger number express direction (yohk ‘from there’).
   - There is a small set of purely locative verbs. Location and direction are expressed through the derivational morphology of many other verbs.

3. Syntax
   3.1. Prepositions
       Following Oxford (2007, 2008, 2011) and LeSourd (to appear), we argue that some supposed particles are actually prepositions. We compare them to prepositions described by Oxford and LeSourd in Innu-aimum and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, examining their coreference with NPs and their function as heads. We also look at PPs in Menominee, noting that they can be conjoined, and that their internal syntax is more flexible than that described by Oxford and LeSourd.

   3.2. General
       Nonverbal locatives have a fair bit of freedom in terms of word order, preverbally they function as topic (internal or external) and focus (Johnson et al. to appear).

4. Conclusion
   This paper contributes to the growing body of work on locative expressions in Algonguan languages.
This paper investigates how principles from cognitive linguistics can be applied to understand aspects of Swampy Cree stem formation. Specifically, a subset of Swampy Cree roots denoting movement and shape are examined as expressions of image schemas. How this knowledge might be incorporated into lesson plans for teaching Cree as an additional language is briefly discussed.
A close examination of Mi’gmaq place names southeast of Quebec City reveals an interesting pattern: in the case when we have sets of two place names where one is unmarked (e.g. Matane (Mntn in Mi’gmaq)) and the other is marked for ‘small/new’ or ‘big/old’ (e.g. Petit Matane (Mtnni’j in Mi’gmaq)), the unmarked name is always southwest of the marked name, which is northeast of the unmarked. When we put all the available sets on a map of the Lower Saint-Lawrence Valley and the Gaspé Peninsula, it gives us a dot-to-dot pattern of migration routes corresponding quite neatly to Peter Denny’s insights (as presented in DENNY, Peter J. 2003. Early Signs of Eastern Algonquians. Essays in Algonquian, Catawban and Siouan Linguistics in Memory of Frank T. Siebert Jr. Blair A. Rudes and David J. Costa. Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, Memoir 16, p. 15-36.)
Recovering natural history designata in the Northeast: interdisciplinary efforts in ecological linguistics

Indigenous terminologies for natural history—ecological, botanical, and zoological—hold great value for linguistic and cultural revitalization, historical reconstruction, and simple lexicography, among others.

For languages of the Northeast (roughly: New England and northeastern Canada), however, radical changes in the physical and linguistic ecology of their speech communities now often severely limit direct native speaker access to this traditional knowledge.

Within these lacunae, recovering natural history designata is a fundamentally interdisciplinary effort. It requires both linguistic expertise in the internal and comparative linguistic reconstruction of these terms' form and content, and also natural history expertise in the properties (past/present distribution, appearance, behavior, seasonality, human usage/relation, etc.) of the potential designata.

We report on two major outcomes of such a collaboration: (a) effective methodologies for recovering designata when native speaker expertise is unavailable, and problems therein; (b) how these apply to recovering several bird and plant terms in Penobscot and Passamaquoddy-Maliseet.

From the start, we find that this is a hybrid process. For the typical polysynthetic lexeme, determining a phonological form from transcriptionally problematic legacy documentation requires not just reference to phonotactic and morphotactic possibilities, but also a back-and-forth evaluation of resultant morphosematic composition. Whose plausibility in turn depends on solid knowledge of the above-mentioned properties of the designatum candidate.

We offer, then, an explicit laying out of what is often an implicit, ad hoc set of methodologies for recovering (morpho-)phonological form and designational content, highlighting how the linguistic and the natural-historic interweave to provide plausible potential identifications. The outcomes of this multidisciplinary work stand as useful in their own right, and with careful awareness of possible pitfalls, can also provide a new resource for native speakers and learners alike to reawaken linguistic memories and the other bodies of knowledge tied into them.
Youth suicide in First Nations communities in Canada continues to be a significant problem. However, data provided by the Chief Coroner’s Office of Ontario indicates that high rates of suicide are localized within specific areas in Northern Ontario while southern communities have rates similar to non-First Nations populations. Duran and Duran (1995) and Brave Heart (1995) conceptualized a version of “historical trauma” as a means of articulating the role of history in the creation of social problems in American Indian communities in the United States. Critiques of historical trauma, such as Kirmayer (2013), are valid from the perspective of transcultural psychiatry. However, it is apparent that history does play an important role in the development of the health of a community. This paper is a presentation of my research into the relationship between suicide in Northern First Nations communities and historical development of social problems. History is considered using a social determinants model beginning with A. Irving Hallowell’s work and continuing through to present reports. Extensive literature on First Nation suicide in Canada is considered within the same model with specific attention being paid to Anishinaabek, Cree and Oji-Cree communities. Drawing on medical anthropology’s concept of the syndemic, I examine how multiple social, economic and political determinants contribute to the conditions that make suicide as widespread as it is in some communities but not others. Historical trauma is revisited away from Duran and Duran and Brave Heart’s method as a shared historical experience that continues to shape the health of communities.

Intergeneration Trauma and Embodied Metaphor in First Nations Narrative
Regna Darnell
Residential school experience, in the Canadian First Nations context, has evolved over the past two decades and has been conflated in both public and scholarly discourse with Historical Trauma at the community level and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder at the individual level. The utility of these constructs is assessed here based on narratives about residential school experience from the author’s anthropological fieldwork with Plains Cree and Anishinaabeg communities over more than four decades and from descriptions in the ethnographic literature. The paper considers the embodied nature of the experiences reported by the children and grandchildren of survivors as well as by survivors themselves. Residential school experience has come to stand for the cumulative stress and disruption of personal and community autonomy resulting from centuries of colonial imposition. Western literary concepts of metaphor do not fit well with the phenomenology that establishes the legitimacy of oral tradition as an interpretive matrix for First Nations experience. Rethinking the abstraction of metaphor in terms of real experience as transmitted across generations through narrative memory goes far toward elucidating why the residential school experience remains salient for individuals, families and communities long after the schools themselves ceased to exist. The implications of taking such contemporary embodied experience seriously, both for mental health policy and providing culturally sensitive frameworks for clinical practice, have yet to be seriously addressed. Cross-cultural mis-communication abounds due to potentially incommensurable community and individual evaluations of the utility of externally derived mental health interventions and their relevance to healing and well-being as understood in local terms.
The study of Cree, Ojibwa and Metis traditional art is challenging at best. The three cultural groups, although linguistically related for the most part, travelled together, intermarried, hunted together and shared in religious and social gatherings. Although Metis culture does not always have it’s roots in Algonquian culture, the three people have, from time to time, been culturally interacting for over two hundred years… particularly in what is now Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba. In the early 1700s, another cultural group, the Nakota / Assiniboine / Stoney people, becomes allies of the Plains Cree and soon were entwined into the religious, social and hunting lives of the Cree and their neighbours. In the late 1700s some 30 years before Lord Selkirk began his community at Red River a large Cree-Metis community flourished just south of present day Hay River, North West Territories and they played a role in introducing floral style beadwork into the north country further complicating the distinction between Cree/Metis design with Dene and Dene/ Metis design.

In my preoccupation of examining and studying Cree, Ojibwa and Metis traditional art I’ve often heard tell that prior to the introduction of glass beads, decorative art took the form of painted or porcupine quilled geometric designs. Traditional artist have pointed out that after studying the language and culture of the Aboriginal peoples they encountered and attempted to convert, missionaries learned of the power and symbolic meaning of the forms, designs and symbols Aboriginal people used in their decoration of clothing, horse equipment, hunting equipment, dwellings, and in their tattoos. Aboriginal people tell us that missionaries worked very hard to discourage people from using these designs, paints, and symbols. One of the forms of counter attack against the power these forms and symbols held is the introduction of floral designs. In fact, we are told by art historians that floral design did eventually replace the power and protection qualities the geometric forms held. But was the power and protection of the design found strictly in the form?

This mingling of traditional cultures and spiritual beliefs mixed with new Christian beliefs and values would have a profound impact on the type and style of clothing, hunting and horse equipment, and the decorative art which came out of the Plains and Great Lakes during the late 1700s and into present day traditional art forms. This paper will examine this theory and how successful or non-successful floral design was and present, possibly for the first time, hidden symbols of power and protection found in the “new mediums”.

Michael David Hamilton
McGill University
IN AGREEMENT: AN ACCOUNT OF VERBAL PERSON SUFFIXES

In this paper I present three diagnostics which show that verbal person suffixes in Mi’gmaq are agreement affixes as opposed to clitics. The first diagnostic is the presence of defective intervention (Chomsky, 2001). Agreement cannot occur with an NP when there is a structurally closer NP (Preminger, 2009). In Mi’gmaq, as in Ojibwe (Lochbihler, 2012), this can be seen in double object constructions. Object person features can only be reflected on the verb with the goal but not the theme, as in the lack of variance for an inanimate or animate theme in (1).

(1) Lance ignmu-s-p-n-n Sa’n-al wigatign/atlai-l
    Lance give-dir-PST-3-OBV John-OBV book(IN)/shirt(AN)-OBV
    Lance gave John a book/shirt

The second diagnostic is locality (Preminger, 2009), as an agreement relationship can only occur within a particular domain, such as a phase. Long-distance agreement (LDA) is a construction where a matrix verb displays object marking with an embedded argument, as geji’g in (2), which is often argued as being within the same phase as the matrix verb (Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002). I argue that verbs which undergo LDA in Mi’gmaq always probe downward in an attempt to agree with an object, and when it does not find an available goal, default inanimate object morphology is displayed (Piggott, 1989), as geitu in (2). The display of default morphology when a suitable goal is not found is also prediction of an agreement relationship (Preminger, 2009).

(2) geitu/geji’g Lance nata’matnag-ethnic
    know.1-O’know.1>3 Lance know.fight-3
    I know Lance knows how to fight

The third diagnostic is tense invariance. Nevins (2011) argues that true clitics do not show allomorph across tenses, whereas agreement affixes may. In Mi’gmaq, verbal person suffixes, such as third person and obviative in (3), differ between past and present tense.

(3) Lance gesal-a-p-n-n’gesal-a-t-1 Mali-al
    Lance love-DIR-PST-3-OBV/love-DIR-3-OBV Mary-OBV
    Lance loved/loves Mary

References

Mi’gmaq -asi as a Middle Voice Marker

The morpheme -asi in Mi’gmaq⁴ and its variants -a’si, -as’, -a’s’, and -si has been described as a reflexive (Inglis 1986). Similarly, other Algonquian languages have been noted to have ‘middle reflexive’ markers (e.g. Goddard 1990, Valentine 2001). In this paper I examine in detail what it would mean for Mi’gmaq -asi and its variants to be a middle marker using the ten middle ‘situation types’ described by Kemmer (1993). Mi’gmaq -asi can be found with many verbs fitting Kemmer’s situation types, such as grooming or bodily care (1a), movement in a direction (translational motion) (1b), emotion middle (1c), and spontaneous events (1d), although some middle situation types are found with a general intransitivity marker -a instead of -asi such as naturally reciprocal events (1e).

(1)  
a. gesisp-a’L-si-t  wash-TA-ASI-3  ‘s/he washes self’  
b. ejigl-a’si-t  away-ASI-3  ‘s/he goes away’  
c. jrp-a’si-t  fear-ASI-3  ‘s/he is afraid’  
d. enq-a’si-t  stop-ASI-3  ‘s/he comes to a stop’  
e. maw.ie-j-ig  together-E.3-FL  ‘they congregate, gather together’

Further evidence that -asi causes an increase in the affectedness of the subject that is characteristic of the middle voice (Lyons 1969) comes from minimal pairs of -asi and another AI final such as -e, where the form with -asi is interpreted as an inchoative or change in state, such as (2a) ‘is becoming red’, which contrasts with a property such as (2b) ‘is red’.

(2)  
a. megw-a’si-t  red-ASI-3  ‘s/he is becoming red’  
b. megw-e’-g  red-E.3  ‘s/he is red’

References


⁴ Many thanks to Janine Metallic for her time and patience. All Mi’gmaq examples are based on the dialect spoken in Listuguj, QC and are written in the Listuguj orthography.

Carol Rose Little  
McGill University
Evidentiality in Mi’gmaq

Evidentiality is the grammatical coding of the source of information of the speaker. Many Algonquian languages have evidential markers. It has been argued that Mi’gmaq has three evidential markers: direct, indirect, and “deferential” evidential markers (Inglis 2003; Loughran, 2012). In this study, I argue that the Mi’gmaq evidential system consists primarily of two evidentials – the direct and indirect. I argue that the third evidential marker posited by Inglis (2003) and discussed by Loughran (2012) is not a separate evidential but a phonological variant of the indirect evidential. I will also explore how the Mi’gmaq evidentiality system fits into other analyses of evidentiality.

(1) Gesnegwa-p-ss  
BeSick3.sg-PASTdir-PASTindir  
He was sick/He was sick (so I heard).

(2) Gesnegwa’-a’p  
BeSick2.sg-PASTindir  
Were you sick?

Example 1 shows the direct evidential -p(n) and indirect evidential -s(n). The direct evidential signifies that the speaker is certain of the information he conveys or he has seen the event. The use of the indirect evidential marks that the speaker is either unsure of the event, relaying secondhand information, or has inferred this event from evidence. Both these evidentials can only occur in past tense environments. Loughran (2012) argues that past tense and evidentiality are fused. Example 2 is what Loughran (2012) and Inglis (2003) call the deferential evidential -s’p(n). This “deferential” is most likely a cognate of the Proto-Algonquian *sa(pa)aiki indirect, or suppositive, evidential.

Furthermore, I will address how the Mi’gmaq evidential system fits into other analyses of evidentiality, namely the Parametric Substantiation Hypothesis (Ritter and Witschko, 2000) and Speas (2004) feature geometry.
Problems and prospects in the Penobscot Dictionary

Siebert 1980 discusses technical issues in developing the Penobscot Dictionary, a project unfortunately not completed at the time. We happily report on a new effort to complete this work, and detail its challenges both old and new.

The project has three major goals:

(a) recover, archive, and disseminate versions reflecting the document in its most complete forms from the 1980s project outcomes

(b) provide an error-corrected edition linked to those mss., permitting trackback of editing changes

(c) disseminate the resource in forms maximally accessible both to the Penobscot Nation and outside scholars alike

For (a) we discuss the digital-print manuscript sources, showing how recovering legacy data, structuring it into a digital lexicon, and correcting systematic and semi-systematic errors all can be radically facilitated through minimal but powerful digital text manipulation tools (regular expressions), which are both freely available and easy to learn.

For (b) we lay out the editorial process, showcasing how documentation of intermediate stages is integral to the final product. We then examine problems of the transcriptional record (e.g. phonemic normalization issues, and the limits of comparative phonology for resolving uncertain transcriptions) and conclude that rich editorial annotation is preferable to invisible normalization.

For (c), we examine accessibility both from the text's own internal structuring and content and from its external presentation (in development and final form alike) to its user communities. We present our high-tech solutions to dictionary lookup for a polysynthetic, head-marking language—a morpheme lexicon and morphological parsing algorithms—but emphasize that real accessibility comes from solid pedagogical outreach. This goes beyond teaching learners to recaptulate Algonquianist linguistic analysis and terminology, and instead rethinks categories like "obviative" and "animate" from pragmatic, lay learner-familiar reference points. We suggest that this can also offer new insights into the phenomena themselves.

References

Algonquian lexicography strives to provide expert help for communities of aboriginal people in preserving and promoting their languages. Many outstanding dictionaries have resulted from our collective efforts, both in print and in web form. We will present conceptual structures that we have developed in compiling several such dictionaries, with a goal to encourage a shared set of successful practices that can serve as models for present and future work. Relational databases provide us with immensely powerful tools for carrying out our work, in design and presentation. One very important concern is how we can use such tools to develop pedagogically effective resources for teachers and learners.

Another challenge that needs to be addressed is how to work with speakers and native lexicographers in a way that empowers them. There can be a wide range of computer literacy, of mastery of the standard writing system, and of actual knowledge of the language being documented. However, if we wish our dictionaries to contribute to language preservation and strengthening, it is important to find ways that allow multiple uses and contributions. We report on some solutions to these issues, including new possibilities offered by information and communication technologies.

In using information technology one must consider long term viability in today's and future digital economy. This requires a multi-format and multimedia approach to the making of dictionaries. This is achieved by having an infrastructure that provides a way to collect, process and distribute data to and from multiple users in multiple formats. We discuss some of the common issues and some solutions we are using to build our infrastructure.

Prolegomena to a new dictionary of Blackfoot
An important issue in developing a multimodal digitally based dictionary of Blackfoot concerns the question how best to incorporate existing resources. This presentation discusses the main strengths and weaknesses of the most important available materials and considers how best to handle them in order to create a modern resource for speakers, teachers, learners and linguists.

Substantial lexicographic work on Blackfoot was done by Tims (1889), Uhlenbeck & Van Gulik (1930, 1934), and Frantz & Russell (1995). Tims’ work was directed at missionaries and teachers who needed to learn Blackfoot. Accordingly, the Grammar part of his work contains extensive paradigms and the Dictionary part is English-Blackfoot only. He includes basic parts of speech labels, for instance classifying verbs according to the usual four classes as well as conjugation types, but there is no attempt to identify roots or stems.

Uhlenbeck & Van Gulik’s separate English-Blackfoot and Blackfoot-English vocabularies are based mainly on the textual materials in Uhlenbeck (1911, 1912). This collection is much more extensive than Tims’, but is a step backwards in terms of analysis: lemmas consist of disparate units from individual morphemes to whole words, there is no attempt to label parts of speech or identify roots/stems, and the link with the textual sources is not explicit.

Frantz’s work attempts to serve both the linguistic community and the speakers of the language. This is most evident in the organization of his grammar (Frantz 2009). The Dictionary, however, is structured according to linguistic principles, as evident from its title. It is not user-friendly for speakers, teachers and learners. Linguists and Algonquianists will encounter idiosyncratic terminology and inconsistent representation of derivationally related forms.

Other challenges to the integration of these three works into a new resource include dialect and spelling differences and the large time gap between them.

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Research-in-progress on the problem of definition of the band and the theoretical conception of leadership and propriety.

Hubert Pineault
Université de Montréal

In her 1954 article, Leacock has brought one of the greatest contribution to the study of social organization among the Algonquian societies and other northern American hunters-gatherers, but she has left many unanswered questions. By focusing on the minimal economic unit (the hunting/trapping group), she has put aside elucidating the dynamics determining bands composition and size variation (through fusions and fissions). Moreover, I am inclined to think that her Marxist theoretical view made her perceive the evolution of Algonquian societies moving from a near all grand unity to an increasingly divided type of organization.

On the other hand, some academics (i.e. Rogers, 1965; Conkling, 1974), while agreeing with Leacock’s theory about the development of family hunting territory and the intrinsic fluctuation of the Algonquian band membership frontier, present theories of band leadership which cannot emancipate from a corporate view of groups wider than the family unit. Is there a middle ground between a formal view of the band and a more or less chaotic form of family association?

This paper will present research-in-progress dealing with the dynamics of leadership among Algonquian societies, a question which cannot be separated from the definition of band and that might also require a reappraisal of the propriety concept. Indeed, since Leacock’s work, we see the land tenure system in terms of usufruct rights. Could we challenge this long-held view and propose another non-occidental conception of propriety: the presence of full ownership rights having for central claim the important living resources of the territory instead of the land per se? What would be the theoretical impacts of such a change of perspective? Could it open new ways of appraising band formation, composition and leadership? As those questions do not have answers yet, I will explore new possibilities in this area of inquiry.

Bibliography

Revisiting the St. Lawrence Algonquian’s Experimentation with Sedentism

Jean-François Lozier
Canadian Museum of Civilization

The first half of the seventeenth century was for the Algonquians who occupied and visited the St. Lawrence Valley a period of encounter and experimentation. Much has been written about the “experiment” of Sillery, near Quebec, where Jesuit missionaries hoped to fix these nomadic populations. This paper revisits the subject, and proposes new interpretive angles. For starters, an onomastic shift in the scholarly literature from Sillery to Kamiskouaouangachit, the name by which it was known to its Innu and Anishinabeg inhabitants, is in order.

Whereas scholars who have considered the formation of Sillery (sic) and other early mission villages have tended to emphasise missionary perspectives and initiative, these villages deserve to be recognized as joint creations; as the expression of intersecting French and Aboriginal desires, needs, and priorities. Algonquian experiences with village life and agriculture, lived in certain early-seventeenth century circumstances and remembered from an earlier time, indeed offered a precedent to settlement near the French. Warfare with the Iroquois represented in these years both an incentive and a disincentive to it. The trajectories of Kamiskouaouangachit and other mission communities correspond neatly with the intensification of the Iroquois offensive and the decline of the Algonquians of the St. Lawrence as a military power. Examining the context of the escalating conflict, and paying close attention to abortive developments at Trois-Rivières and on the Island of Montreal during these years, this paper attempts to shed new light on the contingencies of village formation in the colonial context.
Seeking consensus on the fundamentals of Algonquian word order
Amy Dahlstrom
University of Chicago

With this presentation I hope to initiate a conversation among Algonquianist linguists about what the fundamental parameters are in word order phenomena that we should be describing. After all, in broad terms the languages of the Algonquian family share a number of notable characteristics including extremely flexible word order, agreement morphology for subject and object functioning pronominally in the absence of external arguments, and discontinuous arguments. In other aspects, however, the members of the family exhibit differences: for example, in Meskwaki oblique arguments expressing location or manner nearly always appear immediately to the left of the verb (Dahlstrom 1995), while in Cree such obliques can also be found post-verbally (see, for example, Wolvengrey 2011:233ff).

Given these similarities, a comparative approach to Algonquian syntax can inform in important ways our analyses of the word order and other syntactic constructions in the sister languages. Before undertaking such a study, however, it is necessary to clarify what the data consists of. There have been numerous studies of word order patterns in Algonquian languages since Tomlin and Rhodes’ (1979) work on information structure in Ojibwa, appealing to various aspects of pragmatics, syntax, and argument structure, but there is little agreement in terminology or indeed in basic practices. It is hoped that this review of a number of word order accounts will be a step toward reaching a consensus on the distinctions necessary for comparative work.

The main points emphasized in the present paper are (1) the need to distinguish topic and focus constructions from unmarked instances of subject and object NPs; (2) the pitfall of lumping together the non-subject grammatical relations as all being ‘object’, rather than distinguishing (primary) object, second objects, and obliques; (3) an exploration of the complications presented by the Algonquian copying/raising to object construction for word order studies.

REFERENCES
Basic Word Order and Information Structure in Ojibwe

Abstract

The idea that all languages have a basic word order is controversial (Mithune, 1992, Dryer, 1995). Drawing correlations between a language’s purported basic word order and patterns elsewhere in the language would seem to support this conclusion. Herring (2012) conducted a survey of 36 diverse languages, including Ojibwe, to test the accuracy of 4 separate principles in predicting the order of topic and focus. Though she concluded that the principle of basic word order, specifically whether the subject is preverbal or postverbal, was the most successful predictor, the survey failed to note that new or shifted topics pattern with focus in that they are preverbal in Ojibwe and many other Algonquian languages (Johnson & Rosen, 2011). This paper pulls together current research on Ojibwe which shows that the placement of nominal constituents is not ‘free,’ but subject to such factors as definiteness, animacy and obviation, in addition to information structure. Though not yet fully understood, these factors may shed light on whether frequent word orders are more ‘basic’ or explainable ‘tendencies.’

The existence of basic word order remains an open question and further research into these factors, as well as the subtypes of topic and focus, is needed.

*Keywords: Ojibwe, word order, topic, focus, information structure*
Enclitics and Sentence Particles in Miami-Illinois
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The Miami-Illinois language has several particles and enclitics used to mark such functions as futurity, interrogative, negation, new information, habituality, or various shades of the dubitative. Some of these particles are sentence initial, others consistently occur in clause-second position, while others vary in their placement. In this paper, I will examine these particles, discussing their semantics, syntax, and phonological features. This will be done with examples from native texts as well as example sentences drawn from the extensive corpus of both modern Miami-Illinois and eighteenth-century Illinois.
Dozens of islands, both big and small, dot the map of Maine’s Penobscot Bay, and these islands were important in the annual life cycle of Native Americans here. This paper will first offer an overview of this bioregion, with particular attention to the important species and place names recorded by Siebert (Penobscot), as well as Rosier’s 1605 vocabulary. Ethnographic writers like Josselyn and Speck are also considered, detailing diverse practices such as “duck drives” and midnight raids on cormorant colonies.

The focus will then narrow to examine the Fox Islands (today’s Vinalhaven and North Haven), and especially their satellite Seal Island—ten miles out to sea from them, and home to one of the largest breeding colonies of gray seals (Halichoerus grypus) in America. Because of their size (weighing as much as 700 pounds) and the mid-winter timing of their haul-out for breeding, gray seals offered early hunters an abundant source of meat, fat, and fur precisely when it was most needed.

Such a resource would have had implications on the local human population, and archaeological finds at the Turner Farm site (North Haven) and Candage site (Vinalhaven) seem to bear this out. This paper summarizes the archaeological findings to date, and makes the case that gray seals were arguably the most important prey species for the Wabanaki people of Penobscot Bay.

A final point will be to consider the peculiar resemblance of the Candage site to a place described in Penobscot oral history, where the culture hero Glooskap killed the first moose. Artifacts here date from historic times all the way back to Moorehead Phase (“Red Paint”) culture, and the possibility of it being the actual site of a Penobscot creation story seems to merit further serious consideration.
Algonquian women have always played an especially significant role in meeting the health needs of their families, especially reproductive health and child care. Most plant-gathering and processing activities were the domain of women. Plant-related activities that men engaged in included the collection and preparation of various species for spiritual as well as medicinal use. Missionaries, supported by Indian Agents, stigmatized the professional Shaman, and once they had banished the Medicine-Men from the community, the “women who healed” took over the stage. In reality, these women were not newcomers to the scene, but the descendents of midwives who had plied their profession since women had first given birth. We will illustrate plants, roots and barks used for food and medicines and to craft surgical appliances. While nineteenth century physicians bled, blistered and prescribed toxic drugs such as mercury; Algonquian healers offered nourishment, psychological support and mild herbal-based therapies. As a child I was set to work dusting bottles of Indian tonics bearing dramatic pictures of medicine men that likely encouraged me to become a physician specializing in clinical pharmacology and practice on an Indian reserve. In retirement I found a brief biography of Canada’s first Aboriginal physician Peter E. Jones MD 1866 who had learned herbal medicine from his Ojibwe Missionary father Rev. Peter Jones. As a teen ager Dr. Jones had helped his father compile his classic History of the Ojibwe peoples which included detailed lists of their medicines.

A Look At The Newberry Mathevet Manuscript On Nipissing: Ayer MS 1639
Georges-F. Aubin
Assumption College
The Relational Inflection: Definition and Modern Use in Swampy Cree

The verb, which is at the core of the understanding of the Cree language, contains valuable information, namely on the relationships between the participants or people involved in the action. One of these relationships is expressed through an inflectional morpheme called the relational form: it refers specifically to an agent acting *in relation to* an additional animate third person, without the latter being the direct patient or the benefactor. It applies only to AI (animate intransitive) and TI (transitive inanimate) verbs and is unique to Cree among all Algonquian languages and seemingly all languages of the world.

The form has been previously documented and/or studied, namely by Junker (2003), Ellis (1971, 2000, 2004), Bloomfield (1928) and Wolfart (1973). It has been established that it occurs in specific contexts predominantly with independent and conjunct forms. The relational form can also occur with TI verbs specifically when the agent is acting on a third person’s possession, as well as with AI and TI verbs in complex clauses where the subject of the embedded clause triggers the appearance of the relational in the main clause (or vice versa). Furthermore, it can also be used simply to acknowledge the presence, spiritual or physical, of a third person.

For this paper, I propose to discuss and exemplify the relational form in light of previous aforementioned research as well as preliminary findings of interviews I’ve done over the summer as part of my Master’s research, with Swampy Cree speakers in Norway House, Manitoba. I also hope to compare the inflection to the nonrelational and benefactive paradigms, as the relational seems to have an intermediate status between the two; it does not quite make an intransitive verb transitive or a transitive verb ditransitive, although it marks the presence of an additional participant. I will present these conclusions and open the discussion on the present day use of this very unique, complex and fascinating form.

317 words
Cheyenne Connectives

This talk discusses the meaning and use of several connectives found in Cheyenne (Plains Algonquian: Montana and Oklahoma), drawing on the author’s fieldwork as well as various language materials (e.g., Leman 2012, 1980a; Fisher et al. 2006). Many Cheyenne connectives are morphologically complex, based on the form for ‘and’, complicating a compositional semantic analysis.

In Cheyenne, the basic form used for conjunction is *naa* (Leman 2012). This can be used to conjoin sentences (or verbs), as in (1), as well as NPs, as in (2), from a text by Mrs. Allen Flyingout. It can also be used at the beginning of sentences, especially in stories.

(1) *Annie* é-ho’soo’e *naa* Shelly é-ho’soo’e.
   Annie 3-dance CNJ Shelly 3-dance
   ‘Annie danced and Shelly danced.’

(2) *Hé’e* *naa* hetane é-h-vée-koomo o’hé’e.
    woman CNJ man 3-PST-camp-NAR river. OBL
    ‘A woman and a man were camping by a river.’

Other connectives are formed by combining an element with *naa*, such as ‘and also’ in (3), ‘but’ in (4), and ‘or’ in (5). Alone, Cheyenne *mato* means ‘also’ (Fisher et al. 2006).

(3) *Na-to’se-é-ho’soo’e* *naa* mato *ná-to’se-néméne.*
    1-going-to-around-dance CNJ also 1-going-to-sing
    ‘I’m going to dance around and also I’m going to sing.’

The combination of *naa* and *mato* is straightforwardly compositional: ‘and also’. However, the forms for ‘but’ and ‘or’ are less clearly compositional. When used alone, cf. (4), *oka* means ‘only’ or ‘except’ (Fisher et al. 2006). The Cheyenne form for ‘or’, illustrated in (5), combines *naa*, *mato*, and *héná*, the last of which means ‘maybe’ or ‘even’, depending on the context.

(4) *Annie* é-ho’soo’e *naa* oha Shelly é-sáa-ho’sóč-hè.
    Annie 3-dance CNJ only Shelly 3-NEG-dance-NEG
    ‘Annie danced but Shelly didn’t dance.’

(5) *É-ohke- Pé-néš-tse* *naa* mátōh=héva é-ohke-pénōh-é-néstse.
    3-HAB- grind-PSV-PL CNJ also=maybe 3-HAB-pound-PSV-PL
    ‘They ( chokecherries) are ground or they are pounded.’

It is not clear how to compositionally achieve a meaning for ‘but’ or ‘or’ from these parts, especially assuming the standard truth-functional connective analysis of ‘and’. Examples such as (6) further complicate a truth-functional analysis of *naa*.

(6) *Mó=hé’tôhe* *naa* mó=hé’tôhe?
    INT—this one CNJ INT—this one
    ‘Do you mean this one (pointing) or this one (pointing)?’

In (6), *naa* seems to function like English ‘or’. Cheyenne (6) could be used in a context where the speaker was asked to be passed something, say a cup, but isn’t sure which cup was intended and so asks (6) to clarify. In such a context, the meaning of ‘and’ would not be appropriate.

This talk discusses these challenges in developing a compositional semantics for the Cheyenne connectives, relating them to recent work on connectives in other languages (e.g., Davidson 2013).