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LES MÉDIANES CLASSIFICATOIRES EN INNU : ANALYSE
MORPHOSYNTAXIQUE ET SÉMANTIQUE

MÉMOIRE

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*To my mother, Rosilyn, who never finished her
Master's thesis because life got in the way*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Agent
AG ^N	Agent (natural)
AI	Intransitive verb with Animate subject
AO	Associated Object
AP	Antipassive
BEN	Benefactive
EXP	Experiencer
FIN	Final
GL	Goal
II	Intransitive verb with Inanimate subject
INST	Instrument
LOC	Locative
PA	Patient
TA	Transitive verb with Animate object
TH	Theme
TI	Transitive verb with Inanimate object
TIIT	TII theme

RÉSUMÉ

La présente étude porte sur une hiérarchisation des arguments de verbes innus qui détermine quels arguments sont marqués dans les flexions du verbe et quel argument est incorporé en position médiane. Le corpus est constitué de 1 275 verbes innus comportant chacun au moins une parmi cinq médianes dites « classificatoires ». Faisant suite aux travaux de Drapeau (2008) qui traite de verbes comportant des médianes génériques (non-classificatoires), chaque argument sémantique se voit attribué un rôle sémantique (thématique) selon la position qu'il occupe dans la décomposition lexicale du verbe. L'objectif de l'étude est de vérifier les conclusions de Drapeau (2008), soit que, d'une part, la hiérarchisation des arguments résulte d'une interaction entre la hiérarchie des rôles sémantiques, la « animacy hierarchy », et la « possessor constraint » et que, d'autre part, l'argument auquel renvoie la médiane est toujours le plus bas dans l'hiérarchie des arguments. Les résultats démontrent que la hiérarchisation proposée par Drapeau explique les données avec les médianes classificatoires. Ainsi, ils démontrent un parallélisme entre les deux types de médianes. Toutefois, ils mettent en valeur une faiblesse dans le système d'attribution de rôles sémantiques utilisé en relevant la nécessité de mieux définir le rôle de thème et celui d'instrument. Finalement, l'analyse des verbes comportant des médianes doubles remet en question la définition que donne Goddard (1990) des processus de dérivation primaire et secondaire dans les langues algonquiennes.

Mots clés : innu, médiane, classificateur, incorporation, hiérarchie, rôle sémantique

ABSTRACT

This study examines the ranking of arguments of Innu verbs that determines which arguments get marked in the verb's inflection and which argument becomes incorporated in the medial position. The corpus consists of 1,275 Innu verbs, each of which contains at least one of five medials identified as "classifier medials." Following the work of Drapeau (2008), which deals with generic (i.e. non-classifier) medials, each semantic argument is ascribed a semantic (or "thematic") role according to its position in the lexical decomposition of the verb. The aim of the study is to verify Drapeau's (2008) conclusions to the effect that, on the one hand, the ranking of arguments results from an interaction between the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy, and the Possessor Constraint and that, on the other hand, the argument to which the medial refers is always the lowest ranking argument. The results show that the ranking system proposed by Drapeau accounts for the data involving classifier medials. Thus, the data show a symmetry between the two types of medials. However, they identify a weakness in the chosen system of assigning semantic roles by highlighting the necessity of better defining the roles of Theme and Instrument. Lastly, the analysis of verbs involving double medials calls into question the accuracy of the definition that Goddard (1990) gives of primary and secondary derivation in Algonquian languages.

Keywords: Innu, medial, classifier, incorporation, hierarchy, semantic role

INTRODUCTION

To many people in the 21st century, aboriginal languages of North America are, like the aboriginal cultures to which they belong, the stuff of folklore, rather than a current issue. Yet they are the subject of a significant amount of academic studies. Indeed, the number of aboriginal-language dictionaries and grammars continues to grow; still, our knowledge of these languages remains incomplete. The case of Innu-Cree is no exception.

Linguistic analysis of Innu-Cree is still very much at the descriptive level. Like other Algonquian languages, it is polysynthetic, meaning that it has a high number of morphemes per word. This fact is particularly obvious in Innu verbs, which often must be rendered by complete sentences in Indo-European languages such as English.

Today, the language is relatively well known, and its verbs well documented. However, description of one component of its verbs—the medial—remains particularly limited in Innu and related languages. The most recent grammar of Innu (Clarke, 1982) makes no mention of medials. H.C. Wolfart's (1973) grammar of Plains Cree, a closely related language is more than a third of a century old. However, a recent conference paper by L. Drapeau (2008c) comes as a timely and highly relevant exception, as we will see in Chapter 4.

Medials are divided into basic groups: classifier medials, and other medials, which we will call “generic” medials, following Drapeau (2008b). Typically, classifier medials categorize physical entities by shape and substance, whereas

generic medials refer to specific, concrete objects. For this reason, generic medials are more directly associated with the process of noun incorporation.

However, in her paper on medials, Drapeau (2008c) proposes an innovative ranking of participants involving the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint to account for the phenomenon of noun incorporation, and, importantly, for medial realization in general. Her findings are based on a study of generic medials, but she maintains that they hold true for all medials—even classifier medials. My thesis aims to verify this claim.

By analyzing a list of Innu verbs containing classifier medials and ranking the participants of each one following Drapeau's method, I intend to determine whether the presence of classifier medials is subject to the same constraints as those Drapeau proposes based on an analysis of generic medials. The fact that I will be looking at classifier medials will have some consequences in terms of outcomes. For instance, the variety of semantic roles assigned to medials will necessarily be more limited in my study than in Drapeau's paper. This is because unlike many of the generic medials that Drapeau uses, classifier medials cannot refer to human actors. However, the crucial part will be to see whether the same system can apply to both types of medials.

I will begin with a brief overview of the linguistic and geographic status of the Innu language to situate it in relation to other languages of the world. Chapters 2 and 3 explain the basic notions that my analysis will involve. In Chapter 2, I will look at various types of classifier systems, giving special attention to verbal classifiers. Chapter 3 provides a sketch of the structure of Innu verbs, as well as verb classes. This chapter is necessary for understanding the role of the different components of verb stems: initials, finals and medials, as well as the important distinction between animate and inanimate entities in Innu morphology. Following that, I will present Drapeau's (2008c) account of incorporation, which will serve as the theoretical basis for my analysis. As a matter of necessity, I will also address the issue of semantic

roles and touch on the process of lexical decomposition which I will use to assign them based on Jackendoff (2007) and Drapeau (2008c). In Chapter 5, I will set out my results, grouping them into sections according to the semantic role assigned to medials and including additional discussion on residual cases at the end.

This thesis is part of the larger project on Innu headed by Lynn Drapeau and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC #856-2004-1068). Unless otherwise specified, the examples quoted for illustrative and analytical purposes are taken from the project's database (Drapeau, 2008a). The database resulted in the publication of the *Dictionnaire montagnais-français* (Drapeau, 1991). New information is continually being added to the database as it becomes available.

CHAPTER I

SITUATION OF INNU

The Innu language or, more properly, Innu-Aimun, is an aboriginal language of North America. Formerly known as Montagnais, it is in fact one of several dialects of Cree. What is sometimes called the “Cree continuum” is a language with many dialects and sub-dialects spoken across a vast area from Labrador to Alberta. At its western end, in the Prairies, Plains Cree is spoken. At the opposite end, we find Naskapi in Labrador and adjacent parts of Quebec. Neighbouring dialects are generally mutually intelligible, but dialects geographically farther apart are not. The most marked difference occurs at James Bay, such that the groups of dialects on either side of it could be considered distinct languages (Mithun, 2001). Innu is spoken in Eastern Quebec from the Lac-Saint-Jean region (Mashteuiatsh) in the west to Shefferville (Matimekossh) in the north, to the Lower North Shore of the St Lawrence River in the East (see Figure 1).

Cree, including Innu, is a language of the Algonquian family, which is the most expansive North American language family geographically. The bulk of Algonquian languages belong to the Algonquian group, whose territory stretches along the East Coast of North America from Labrador to North Carolina and as far west as Alberta and Montana. Algonquian languages are divided into three branches: the Plains, Central and Eastern branches. The Plains Branch includes the Blackfoot, Cheyenne

and Arapahoan languages. The Central Branch comprises Cree-Innu, as well as Ojibwa, among other languages. The Eastern Branch includes such languages as Mi'kmaq, Maliseet and Abenaki. However, Wiyot and Yurok, two Californian languages, have also been genetically linked to Algonquian and are therefore included under the larger Algic umbrella.

Regrettably, many Algic languages, like many other aboriginal languages of North America, are now extinct. Cree, including Innu, has fared relatively well among the remaining living languages in its family. While the overall trend in terms of number of speakers has been a downward one, efforts are being made to maintain the language. Today, there may be as many as 80,000 speakers of various Cree dialects; Innu speakers, meanwhile, number over 11,000 (Canada, 2007).

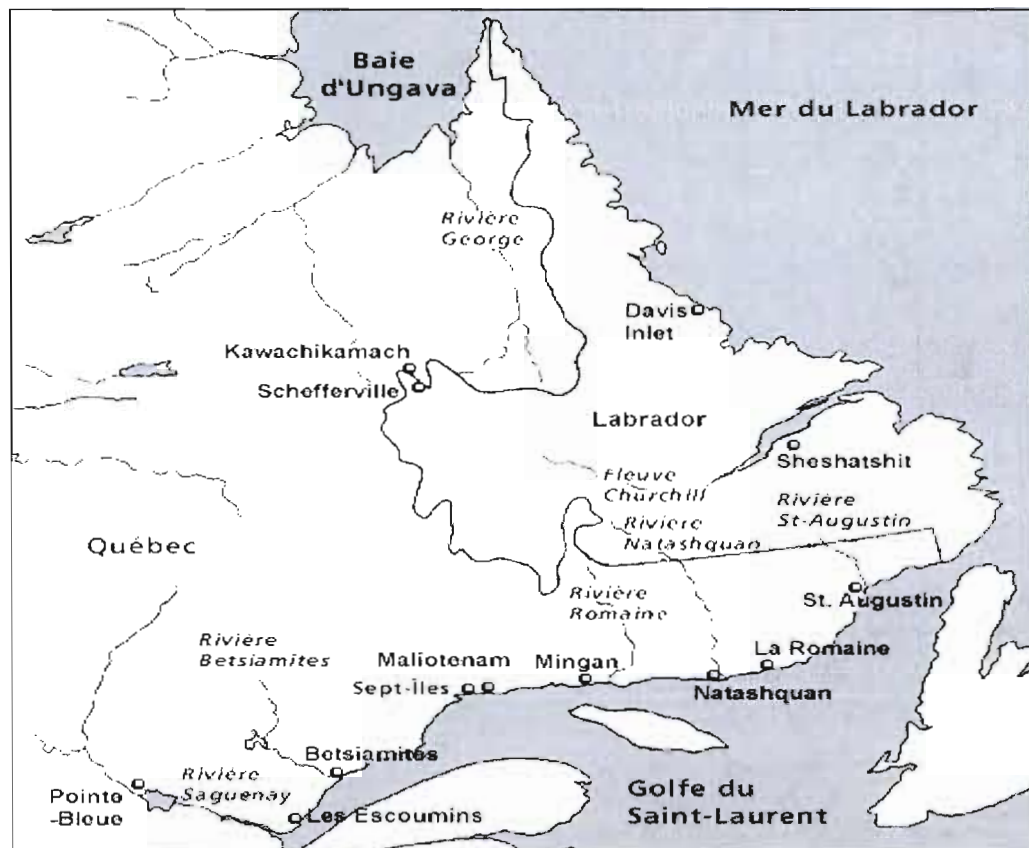


Figure 1: Innu and Naskapi speaking communities today

CHAPTER II

CLASSIFIERS

Before addressing the issue of classifier medials, it is important to understand the concept of classifiers and classifier systems. Colette Grinevald (2005) defines classifier systems as “lexico-syntactic systems which provide an overt linguistic categorization of nominals.” In the languages of the world, classifier systems are used to categorize what are usually termed nouns or nominals according to animacy, physical features (material, shape (including configuration) and consistency) and function. These systems stand somewhere between the grammaticalized gender systems of many Indo-European languages such as French (*le poteau* ‘the post’, *la rue* ‘the street’) and lexical measure words and unit counters (e.g. “a loaf of bread,” “a bottle of wine”). Aikhenvald in her large review of classifier systems (2003) and Grinevald in her typology (2005) both describe four types of classifiers, but because no two classifier systems are exactly alike, these types are depicted as nodes on a continuum rather than as discrete categories. Nevertheless, the four “nodes” are nominal classifiers, numeral classifiers, genitive classifiers and verbal classifiers. These terms reflect the position of the classifiers within a sentence rather than the entity which they classify. Hence, nominal classifiers are so called not because they classify nouns, which is something characteristic of all classifier types, but because they are much like nouns themselves. More specifically, they do not depend on any

element of the noun phrase other than the noun itself, and are often used as anaphoric pronouns.¹ Example (1) illustrates the use of nominal classifiers in Jacaltek.

(1) Jacaltek (Craig, 1986)

xil naj xuwan no' lab'a
 see.PAST CL.man John CL.animal snake
 '(man) John saw the (animal) snake'

Numeral classifiers, the most common type of classifiers, are thus named because they appear “contiguous to numerals” (Grinevald, 2005), as in Mandarin in example (2).

(2) Mandarin (Li and Thompson, 1981)

<i>sān-ge rén</i>	;	<i>nì-tiáo niú</i>	;	<i>nì-liù-běn shū</i>
three-CL person		that- CL cow		that-six- CL book
'three people'		'that cow'		'six books'

Genitive classifiers, also known as possessive classifiers, occur on the possessor part of possessive constructions, and classify the entity that is possessed, as in example (3). They only categorize items that are considered alienable.

(3) Ponapean (Rehg, 1981)

(a)	<i>kene-i</i>	<i>mwenge</i>
	CL.edible-GEN/1	food
	'my food'	
(b)	<i>were-i</i>	<i>pwoht</i>
	CL.transport-GEN/1	boat
	'my boat'	

¹ However, they are not used as anaphoric pronouns in the example herein.

The fourth and last type of classifier system identified by Grinevald is verbal classifiers. As their name indicates, verbal classifiers occur as part of verbs. Three main sub-types are identified, although individual systems may occur midway on a continuum between two of these. The single most important factor responsible for the difference in sub-type characteristics is age. The youngest verbal classifier systems feature what Grinevald (2005) terms “incorporated classifiers,” which Aikhenvald (2003) refers to as “classificatory noun incorporation.” Such classifiers are created by incorporating free-standing nouns into the verb. As illustrated in example (4), the classifiers’ form clearly resembles that of the nouns from which they are generated.

(4) Munduruku (Mithun, 1986)

ti *dojot puye, o'-ti-mog* *ip baseya'a be*
 water bring when they-CL.water-place they basin in
 ‘when they brought water, they placed it in the basin’

However, synchronic data is most often insufficient for identifying the origin of most classifiers (Grinevald, 2005). This is the case with many verbal classifiers, which, though originally derived from nouns, have become phonetically eroded and often semantically less transparent over time. In other words, they no longer resemble any of the nouns that they classify. These classifiers are referred to as “classifying verbal affixes” (Grinevald, 2005) or “affixed verbal classifiers” (Aikhenvald, 2003). Example (5) provides instances of classifying verbal affixes in Imonda.²

² These examples are not intended to suggest that the classifiers shown are derived from the nouns with which they appear. They are included here merely to illustrate the fact that, unlike incorporated classifiers, classifying verbal affixes bear no resemblance to the nouns they classify.

(5) Imonda (Seiler, 1986)

- (a) *tōbtō kam u-aihu*
 fish me CL.small.animal-give
 ‘give me the fish!’
- (b) *po kam i-aihu*
 water me CL.liquid-give
 ‘give me the water!’
- (c) *maluō kam lēg-aihu*
 clothes me CL.sheetlike-give
 ‘give me a piece of clothing!’

In some cases, further erosion and fusion of verbal classifiers of the first two subtypes results in the formation of what Aikhenvald calls “suppletive classificatory verbs.” The basic concept of such verbs resembles the case of English “eat” and “drink,” where certain properties of a subject or object argument (in this case, the solid or liquid state of the object) determine which verb is used. But suppletive classificatory verbs differ significantly from any English verbs in that their stems are always paradigmatic (Aikhenvald, 2003), as illustrated in example (6).

(6) Cherokee (Mithun, 1986)

gakaneha
 ‘he’s giving him a living thing’

ganehneha
 ‘he’s giving him some liquid’

adeha
 ‘he’s giving him a long, rigid object’

ganvneha
 ‘he’s giving him a flexible object’

ahneha
 ‘he’s giving it to him (something not contained in one of the above categories)’

This thesis deals with verbal classifiers. As we will see in Chapter 3, Innu verbs contain morphemes that are known as “medials.” Medials are divided into two types: classifier medials and generic medials. Classifier medials in Innu occur in verbs and categorize nouns by shape and substance; they are therefore a type of verbal classifier. The medials I will be looking at bear no resemblance to any noun in the language. For this reason, they can be considered classifying verbal affixes.

CHAPTER III

INNU VERBS

3.1 Innu Verb Structure

Before attending to the specific issue of Innu classifier medials, it is important to understand what exactly the term “medial” refers to, and explaining medials requires a basic understanding of how Innu verbs are structured. According to Goddard’s (1990) account of verb structure, verbs in Algonquian languages such as Innu consist of a stem and an inflection. Verb stems minimally contain an initial, which can be either a root or a stem of an existing word. They can also contain a final, which indicates the verb type and whose meaning is usually abstract, and a medial, which refers to a physical entity. The verb inflection, or ending, contains an array of grammatical properties, including person and number (singular vs. plural) among others.

3.1.1 Initials

A root is the most semantically essential indivisible element of the verb (e.g. *miš-* “big” or “be big” in *miš-âw* ‘it is big’). A stem is a more complex element comprising up to three parts: a root, a medial, and a final. It is essentially a full-fledged verb without the inflection. Roots and stems can be collectively referred to as “initials.”

- (7) âyât -âšku -pali =w
 move-LONG.RIGID-in.movement.AI=3
 ROOT -MEDIAL -FINAL =INFLEXION
 'he swings in the tree'

The stem of a verb X can be used to form the initial of a new verb Y, i.e. it is possible to create a new verb by adding a medial, a new final and an inflection to the stem of another verb, as illustrated below.

- (8) pâmutâm -âwš -u =w
 RED.carry.on.back.TA -child-FIN.AI =3
 'he carries a child on his back'

In Algonquian languages, stems are said to be formed by one of two types of derivation: primary and secondary. In the most recent account of Algonquian stem derivation (Goddard, 1990), most verb stems, whether they consist of one, two, or three identifiable parts, result from primary derivation. Indeed, primary derivation allows for three types of stem formation: one-part [initial], two-part [initial + final], and three-part [initial + medial + final].

Importantly, Goddard makes no distinction between roots and complex initials, preferring simply to use the term "initial" in reference to both. His approach breaks significantly with those of previous accounts (see Bloomfield, 1946) according to which building stems on complex initials (i.e. on other stems) was considered a type of "secondary derivation." Getting rid of the notion of "root" makes it possible to apply the same analysis to any element that appears in the initial position and broadens the scope of primary derivation.

While Goddard's analysis is simpler in this respect, it also requires that, in cases where a verb appears to contain two different medials, either one must be considered part of an initial, or else the two must be analyzed as a complex medial. Furthermore, as Drapeau (2008b) points out, roots and complex stems are fundamentally different things. A root is semantically and morphologically indivisible and expresses an

action, state or process. Complex initials are derived from noun stems or verb stems (which are built on roots). For this reason, we will continue to use the term “root” where necessary.

In the Goddardian scheme, the term “secondary derivation” is restricted mainly to derivations involving changes in lexical category without the addition of a semantic modifier. This means that no medial may be added at the level of secondary derivation. Therefore, secondary derivation, exceeds the boundaries of this thesis as my analyses will deal exclusively with verbs whose stems are formed through primary derivation as defined by Goddard (1990).

3.1.2 *Finals*

Finals may be semantically abstract or concrete. The meaning of abstract finals is either nil or not easily identifiable, whereas that of concrete finals is fairly clear. While both abstract and concrete finals occur in intransitive verbs, most finals in transitive verbs have a concrete, identifiable meaning and are called “instrumental finals” because they express the manner of performing the action (Drapeau, 2008b). All finals express the class of the verb (see section 3.2).

Some examples of instrumental finals include *-n-* ‘by hand,’ *-pul-* ‘by sawing,’ and *-pit* ‘by pulling.’ It is important to note that instrumental finals, unlike medials, do not refer to any specific entity that may be counted as an additional argument in a predicate. For instance, a TA verb containing *-pul-* ‘by sawing’ cannot be said to contain an argument ‘saw.’ Rather, the final simply indicates that the action in question is done with a sawing motion.

Importantly, finals, especially concrete ones, come in pairs according to gender along the lines described in section 3.2.

3.1.3 Medials

Medials are optional in constructing Innu verbs, but when they do occur, they are always between the root or stem (initial) on the one hand and the final on the other. In fact, as we shall see later, the term “medial” is more descriptive of this middle position than of the actual elements that occupy it.³ Table 3.1 shows how several verbs can be created by varying the medial. Note that *-w* inflection drops after stems that end with /n/; the same rule applies after TI stems ending with the *-am-* theme sign as we will see below.

Table 3.1—Innu verb construction with medials

Initial	Medial	Final	Inflection	Verb
<i>cinw-</i> 'long'	∅	<i>-â-</i>	<i>-w</i> 3RD PERS	<i>cinwâw</i> 'c'est long
<i>cinw-</i> 'long'	<i>-âpêk-</i> 'threadlike'	<i>-an-</i>	3RD PERS	<i>cinwâpêkan</i> 'qqch (filiforme) est long'
<i>cinw-</i> 'long'	<i>-êk-</i> 'spread out'	<i>-an-</i>	3RD PERS	<i>cinwekan</i> 'qqch (étalé) est long'
<i>cinw-</i> 'long'	<i>-âpišk-</i> 'mineral'	<i>-â-</i>	<i>-w</i> 3RD PERS	<i>cinwâpiškâw</i> 'qqch (minéral) est long'
<i>cinw-</i> 'long'	<i>-âškw-</i> 'long, rigid'	<i>-an-</i>	3RD PERS	<i>cinwâškwan</i> 'qqch (long, rigide en bois) est long'

3.2 Verb Classes in Innu

The following sketch of Innu verb classes is based on Drapeau (2008b). Although the details between Algonquian languages may differ, the verb classes exist across the family (Bloomfield, 1946 ; Dahlstrom, 1991 ; Wolfart, 1973). Just as gender in Romance languages divides nouns into masculine and feminine categories,

³ In this thesis, I will consider medials only as they occur in verbs. The same morphemes that appear in the medial position in verbs appear elsewhere as noun finals or as particle finals (as in measure words).

Algonquian languages like Innu separate nominals into Animate and Inanimate genders. And just as gender is largely unpredictable in French, so in Innu some inanimate objects (e.g. raspberries and snowshoes) are grammatically Animate. Innu nouns bear no morphological indication of their gender, however. Instead, the effects of noun gender are seen on verbs, which are divided into four classes based on their transitivity and the gender of their subjects or objects:

- a) Transitive verbs with an Animate object (TA),
- b) Transitive verbs with an Inanimate object (TI),
- c) Intransitive verbs with an Animate subject (AI), and
- d) Intransitive verbs with an Inanimate subject (II).

All TA verbs have an Animate subject and an Animate object. The verb inflection encodes the person of the subject and object. TI verbs have an Animate subject whose person is encoded by means of the inflection, but they do not encode the properties (singular/plural) of the object. Unlike TA verbs, TI verbs do not always have a specific object. In fact, in some cases, TIs have no object whatsoever. Consequently, a number of TI verbs have two possible interpretations: one with a specific object and another without.

There are two types of TI verbs often identified as TI1 and TI2. TI1 verbs have a stem ending in *-am-* in the third person and *-ê-* in the first and second persons. TI2 verbs have a stem ending in *-â-* for every person and are inflected like AI verbs.

AI verbs are generally intransitive and always have a grammatically Animate subject. II verbs fall into one of two categories. Either they have a referential, Inanimate subject (e.g. “the fruit is ripe”), or else they are impersonal, without any specific referent (e.g. “it is raining”). Both types are inflected the same way, even though the third-person marking in impersonal verbs is non-referential (like the “it” in English “it is raining”). As is the case in the TI verb group, many verbs in the II

group can be interpreted in two different ways (referential or impersonal). (see Drapeau, Forthcoming).

The four verb classes differ from one another by their inflections, but also by their stems. TA and TI verbs often come in pairs featuring distinct but similar stems. Some verbs even come in fours (TA, TI, AI and II), i.e. the four stems are derived from a same basis.

Drapeau (2008b) stresses that the four verb classes are morphological—not syntactical—classes, despite their syntax-oriented nomenclature. Although the verb classes accurately reflect the transitivity of Innu verbs and the gender (animacy) of their respective subjects or objects in a majority of cases, the numerous exceptions make it impossible to predict transitivity or argument animacy with absolute certainty. Only in the TA group do all the verbs behave the same way syntactically.

In terms of argument structure, Innu recognizes only three syntactic core arguments: subject (S), object (O1) and second object (O2). Other referents may be included on a semantic level, but these cannot be identified syntactically (i.e. grammatically). In other words, additional arguments are not core arguments: they are not indexed on the verb through inflection, although they may be incorporated in medial position.

CHAPTER IV

AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESES AND

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Background

Recently, Lynn Drapeau presented a paper in which she takes a look at medial incorporation in Innu in an attempt to determine the rules that govern it. Based on Jackendoff (1990) and his Semantic Role Hierarchy whose purpose “is to determine which roles get mapped onto which syntactic functions” she devises a model which can account both for argument indexation on the verb and argument incorporation into the verb (Drapeau, 2008c). According to her findings, “out of several participants in the event, it is always the lowest one in the hierarchy of semantic roles that gets incorporated” when all participants are animate, whereas the highest-ranked arguments get indexed on the verb as “core arguments.”

However, where inanimate participants are involved, she finds that the Animacy Hierarchy (see Siewierska, 2004) (human>animate>inanimate>abstract), which ranks animate entities above inanimates, must be taken into account. She maintains that the “Animacy Hierarchy [...] trumps the Semantic Role Hierarchy” and thus accounts for a constraint found in Innu that “bars inanimate Agents from acquiring subject status

in transitive verbs.” Specifically, Drapeau asserts that the Animacy Hierarchy will deprive an inanimate agent of whatever priority status the Semantic Role Hierarchy would otherwise accord it in acquiring core argument status, such that the inanimate agent “becomes a good candidate for incorporation.”

Furthermore, she maintains that possessor-possessee relationships and part-whole relationships between participants must also be factored into the overall ranking of participants according to the “Possessor Constraint.” (Rhodes, 1993). Indeed, she argues that possessors and wholes (which she defines as inanimate possessors) override, i.e. outrank, possesseees and parts (inanimate possesseees) such that possesseees and parts may be incorporated. In other words, possesseees and parts may be realized as medials.

In short, Drapeau (2008c) makes the point that only the lowest ranking participant may be incorporated, but that the notions of “lowest and highest are defined by a combination of the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint.” She also makes the crucial claim that “this generalization applies to every type of medial whether it be a full noun, a bound morpheme derived from a noun or a classifier.” In other words, Drapeau asserts that the constraints governing the incorporation of arguments are the same for all types of entities occurring in the medial position of verbs and that they also govern the identification of the core arguments to be indexed on a verb.

A “full noun” is a noun that is incorporated into a verb in the medial position without any change from its free-standing form. A “bound morpheme” is an entity in the medial position whose meaning is the same as that of an independent (or “free”) noun and whose form is derived from, but clearly not identical to, that of its free noun equivalent. Body-part medials are a good example of such bound morphemes. (See 5.11.2.) Full incorporated nouns and bound morphemes derived from nouns are what Drapeau (2008b) terms “non-classifier” or “generic” medials because each one has a semantically equivalent free-noun counterpart and refers to a generic entity. The term

“classifiers” as used by Drapeau, refers to medial-position morphemes that differ from both full nouns and bound morphemes derived from nouns in two ways. First, they have no phonetic relationship to any noun and their meaning has no free-noun equivalent in the language. Second, as the name “classifier” indicates, these medials act as classifiers, more specifically as verbal classifiers: “verbal” because they occur within verbs and “classifiers” because they identify classes of nouns. (See Chapter 2.)

While Drapeau (2008c) asserts that the same rules govern incorporation (i.e. argument realization in the medial position) when the medial is a classifier as when it is a full noun or a bound morpheme derived from a noun, her work is based mainly on an analysis of non-classifier medials. One of the main focuses of this thesis is therefore to determine whether Drapeau’s claim actually holds true in the case of classifier medials by performing an in-depth analysis of the latter category.

4.2 Aim and Research Questions

As mentioned earlier, relatively few studies have been published on the topic of medials in Algonquian languages. The dearth of literature on the subject leaves the door wide open to exploration in any number of directions. I will focus on the issue of classifier medials.

Recall that medials are divided in two large groups. First, there are “generic” medials, which refer to entities. They generally replace an external noun, and are therefore associated with noun incorporation. Then, there are classifier medials, which categorize entities by shape and substance and typically co-occur with the external nouns that they classify. When used in this manner, classifier medials basically correspond to the classifying verbal affixes described in Chapter 2.

In my analysis, I will do two things:

- 1) identify the semantic roles of classifier medials in Innu verbs; and

- 2) determine whether Drapeau’s constraints concerning argument incorporation in Innu apply to classifier medials.

In terms of research questions this aim translates into the first part of an attempt to determine whether the classifier medials of Algonquian languages form a distinct class of incorporated elements as defined by the properties ascribed to “classificatory noun incorporation” by Grinevald (2005) and Aikhenvald (2003). More generally, the analysis I propose to carry out will answer a very small part of the following question: Does the distinction between classifier and non-classifier noun incorporation imply in Innu—and in languages in general—a distinction between elements incorporated for classification on the one hand and “generic” nominals on the other?

4.3 Hypotheses and Methodology

The criteria for distinguishing between classificatory and generic medials in most of the literature on Algonquian languages are either fuzzy or non-existent. I will therefore focus my research on the Innu equivalents of the five Plains Cree medials that Wolfart (1973) explicitly identifies as classificatory⁴:

-*âškw*- ‘long, rigid’,

-*âpišk*- ‘mineral’,

-*êk*- ‘sheetlike’,

-*âpêk*- ‘threadlike’, and

-*ip(ê-k)*- ‘liquid’.

These morphemes occurring in the medial position are considered clear examples of classifier medials in Innu-Cree because they bear no phonetic relation to any existing noun in the language and because their exact meanings do not match those of

⁴ Note that even Wolfart provides no specific criteria to explain a medial’s classificatory status.

any independent noun. According to established criteria (Aikhenvald, 2003 ; Grinevald, 2000), they are thus different from incorporated nouns, even though nouns, when incorporated, also occupy the medial position within verbs.

My corpus consists of all the verbs the Innu database (Drapeau, 2008a) that meet three criteria. Note that for the purposes of this thesis, “primary derivation” and “secondary derivation” will be as defined by Goddard’s (1990) model of verb stem derivation, as will related concepts such as “medial position.” Firstly, the stems of the verbs must be formed through primary derivation; secondary-derivation verbs are therefore excluded from the analysis. Hence, verb structures, such as anti-passives (see example (9)), in which these morphemes occur only within the verb initial are excluded. Secondly, they must contain at least one of the five above-mentioned morphemes in the medial position. Thirdly, the semantic relation between the classifier verb and the morphemes it comprises must be sufficiently transparent to allow for analysis of the medial’s role in context. In other words, we have excluded from the corpus fixed, idiomatic expressions, such as example (10), in which the verb’s meaning cannot be retrieved by looking at its individual parts⁵.

(9) cist -**âšku** -t -icê =w
 pierce-LONG.RIGID-TI-AP.AI=3
 ‘he nails’

(10) nânatu -âšâk -**âšku** -šimu =w
 look.for-hook-LONG.RIGID-FIN.AI=3
 ‘he is looking for a partner of the opposite sex’

In total, our five classifier morphemes occurred in 1,363 verbs in the Innu database. After applying the three foregoing criteria, we were left with a corpus of 1,275 verbs.

⁵ See Lachapelle (2008) for an analysis of metaphorical and metonymical uses of medials in the Innu verb.

4.3.1 *Semantic roles of medials*

In the first part of my analysis, I will look at the semantic (thematic) roles of the medials in the verbs. This will involve identifying for each verb all the semantic arguments and assigning a semantic role to each one. Following Drapeau (2008c), I will use a list of semantic roles based on those in Jackendoff (Jackendoff, 1990, 2007). Drapeau's complete list of semantic roles, which I propose to use in my analysis, is provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1—Semantic roles

Agent (AG), including natural agents (AG^N)
 Patient (PA)
 Theme (TH)
 Benefactive (BEN)
 Experiencer (EXP)
 Goal (GL)
 Locative (LOC)
 Instrument (INST)

This list of roles proposed by Drapeau (2008c) is identical to that of Jackendoff's with four exceptions. Drapeau's list does without the role of Stimulus and extends the scopes of Theme to cover it. She also extends the scope of the Agent role in order to eliminate the need for Jackendoff's Actor and Source. Additionally, Drapeau includes an Instrument role, which she has found necessary to account for some data not covered by the other roles. The criteria for assigning each role are set out in 4.3.2.

Lastly, Drapeau makes a slight distinction within the Agent role. Jackendoff includes under Agent what some role systems term "Natural Causer." Drapeau follows Jackendoff's logic and treats all Agents as such. However, we will recall that she maintains that inanimates are barred from acquiring subject status because of the cut-off on the Animacy Hierarchy (Drapeau, 2008c). Because of the separation between animates and inanimates in the language, Drapeau marks semantically inanimate Agents with an "N." Since the analysis I propose to carry out is intended to

verify this separation as it applies to classifier medials, I too will make this distinction and refer to semantically inanimate Agents as “AG^N.”

Thus, the semantic roles I identify will be analyzed according to the following hierarchy: AG^(N)/EXP > PA/BEN > TH > GL/LOC/INST.

4.3.2 *Lexical decomposition*

My method, again following Drapeau, will also be based on Jackendoff (2007) and, to a lesser degree, on Van Valin Jr. (2005). Their approaches offer the advantage of not defining semantic roles in absolute terms. Indeed, many theories of thematic roles simply associate certain semantic roles with a given verb by listing them directly in the lexical entry for that verb. Jackendoff and Van Valin, on the other hand, define thematic roles “in terms of the argument positions in the decomposed logical structure representations,” i.e. in the lexical decomposition of predicates, which includes primitive predicates, types of arguments and constants (Van Valin Jr, 2005). Example (11), reproduced from Drapeau (2008b), shows the lexical decomposition of the Innu verb meaning “he wipes something with sand.”

- (11) *šišussûcinamw*⁶ ‘he rubs something with sticky matter’
 x DO [[wipe] y] WITH z
 AG PA TH
 The medial *-assuac-* ‘sticky matter’ is assigned the Theme (TH) role.

Primitive predicates include CAUSE, BECOME, TO and UNDER among others. In example (11), DO and WITH are the primitive predicates. The arguments are x, y and z (i.e. “he,” “something” and “granular” respectively). Constants include such things as “dry,” “open” and in this case “wipe.” In Innu, they essentially correspond to the verb root.

⁶ The medial is in boldface.

The process of assigning semantic roles based on lexical decomposition as set out in Drapeau (2008d, 2008c) can thus be summarized as follows.⁷ The Agent role (including Agent^N) will be assigned to the first argument of a CAUSE predicate (example (12)) and, when the action is volitional, the first argument of a DO predicate (example (13)):

(12) John kills Paul (causes Paul to become dead).

(13) He jumps/sings/drinks/dances.

The Patient role will go to the first argument of a BECOME predicate (example (14)).

(14) Paul gets sick.

The Theme role will cover two notions: a) the first argument of a BE predicate (stative verb), including locations (example (15)), and b) the third argument in three-participant predicates (example (11) and (16)).

(15) Tom is tall/is in Paris.

(16) John fills the tank with gasoline.

Goal will serve to identify what the action is directed towards, or the reason for it:

(17) kutikunî -miškw -ê =w
 night.out -beaver-FIN.AI=3
 'he spends the night away from camp (hunting) beaver'

The Benefactive role corresponds to the beneficiary of an action, the person (or thing) for whom (for which) an action is performed:

⁷ Examples (12) – (16), (20), (21), (23) are taken from Drapeau (2008b). Examples (17) and (22) are taken from Drapeau (2008c).

(18) John gives Paul a gift.

(19) Jane dances for the audience.

The Experiencer role is ascribed to the first argument of a perception predicate (example (20)) or mental state predicate (example (21)):

(20) Paul sees the dog.

(21) Paul is thinking of Jane.

The Locative role corresponds to the location:

(22) âm -âkunê-pali =w
 fall.off-snow-by.moving.AI=3
 'he falls off the snow bank'

The Instrument role is assigned to an item that is used to carry out the action:

(23) cipu -ssûc -ikašam=w
 plug.up -GUMMY.SUBSTANCE-with.heat.TI1=3
 'he welds something'
 (literally: "he plugs something up with a gummy substance by heating")

4.3.3 Comparison of results

Following the assignment of semantic roles to all the entities identified by the verbs in my corpus, the second and most crucial component of my analysis will be the comparison of my assignment of thematic roles with Drapeau's (2008c) findings. Recall that generic medials are morphemes in the medial position of a verb that refer to a generic entity (e.g. snow, moose). Each one is either identical to or derived from free-standing noun which it generally replaces in the context of a sentence. Classifier medials, on the other hand, identify an entity as belonging to a particular class of nouns (e.g. sheetlike, mineral, liquid). The entity being classified is typically

specified by an external noun that co-occurs with the classifier medial within the sentence. By comparing the thematic roles I assign to classifier medials with those that Drapeau has assigned to generic medials, I will thus be able to verify whether both types of medials behave the same way. Specifically, I will be able to verify the hypothesis that classifier medials and generic medials obey the same set of constraints with respect to argument incorporation.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

My analysis consisted in the assignment of semantic roles and grammatical functions to all the semantic arguments of each of the verbs containing any one of the five classifier medials identified above: *-ipê(k)-*, *-apêk-*, *-êk-*, *-âpišk-*, and *-âškw-*. In this section, I will present all the semantic roles I assigned to medials as well as the various “patterns” of semantic roles within verbs in order to examine the interaction between the entity referred to by the medial and the arguments indexed on the verb. To do this, I will highlight some of the most relevant and interesting examples and explain the reasoning behind the role assignment where necessary.

5.1 Semantic Roles

The three most common roles identified in the list of verbs were Agent, Patient and Theme. However, Locative, Instrument and Goal roles were also identified. Classifier medials were found to have each of these roles in at least one instance.

5.2 Theme

The role to which medials were most often assigned is Theme. This frequency is of course reflective of the fact that Theme actually applies to two types of arguments. As explained above, a Theme can be the semantic role assigned to the first argument

of a BE clause in the lexical decomposition of a verb, or it can be the role assigned to the third argument in three-participant predicates. The first type of Theme was found more often than the second in our data due to a high number of stative verbs.

Verbs involving a Theme as the first argument of a BE clause are stative verbs. Stative verbs in our data include “ordinary,” single-argument verbs, such as those in Table 5.1. Such verbs have a clearly defined subject argument that is either Animate or Inanimate and is classified by the medial.

Table 5.1—Theme role in ordinary statives⁸

Verb	Translation
alakašk-âpišk-â=w	qqch (minéral) est large
cîtw-âpêc-iši=w	il (filiforme) est raide, rigide
išwê-y ⁹ -âšku-ši=w	il (long, rigide) a une crête, une longue arête
kacîcê-y-êci-ši=w	il (étalé) est carré, rectangulaire
âm-ip-ê=w	qqch (liquide) déborde, ça déborde de liquide
akwâkw-âpišk-â=w	qqch (minéral) est rouillé
âkwât-âpiss-itê-w	le poêle, qqch (minéral) est extrêmement chaud
âkwât-êyêc-iši=w	il (étalé) est de dimension exceptionnelle
apiciminê-y-êc-iši=w	il (étalé) est violet
âpitûssinê-pê-y-â=w	qqch (liquide) est à moitié rempli, plein
êyêt-âpissi-tin=w	qqch (minéral) porte l’empreinte, la marque de nombreux coups
it-âpišk-â=w	qqch (minéral) est ainsi, a tel aspect, telle caractéristique
kacîcê-y-âpišk-â=w	une surface (minérale) est carrée, rectangulaire

⁸ Note that medials ending in /k/ palatalize to /c/ before high front vowels.

⁹ A /y/ glide is inserted between two vowels, which does not have morphemic status.

kânw-âpêc-iši=wat	ils (filiformes) sont longs
kâšim-âpišk-â=w	qqch (minéral) a une arête, un bout blessant, dangereux
kaštêw-âšku-iši=w	il (long, rigid) est noir, noirci
kâw-âpêc-iši=w	il (filiforme) est rugueux, rude
pâkw-âšku-ši=w	il (arbre) est asséché
šêtê-y-âpišk-â=w	qqch (minéral) est éblouissant
šukw-êc-iši=w	il (étalé) est taché de sang

The stative verbs in our data also include impersonal verbs, i.e. verbs “in which the element that normally assumes the “subject” function [...] is either downgraded or completely suppressed, or even [...] completely inexistent”. Actually, they include a very specific type of impersonal verb which Drapeau (Forthcoming) calls “lexical impersonals.” These verbs have a third-person “dummy” subject marking just like the “it” in English weather verbs such as “it rains.” Because this third-person subject does not refer to any specific entity, these verbs cannot occur with an external noun. Unfortunately, many of these verbs are otherwise difficult to distinguish from ordinary stative verbs. This difficulty is mainly due to the fact that both types of verb often yield translations beginning with “it is...” or “there is...”. Furthermore, neither lexical impersonal verbs nor ordinary stative verbs systematically contain any morphosyntactic feature invariably identifying them as such.

Fortunately, this difficulty is of little consequence for the purposes of this thesis. As “dummy” subjects in impersonal verbs are semantically void, they cannot be assigned a semantic role. The medial is therefore left to identify the only semantically substantial argument in the verb. Moreover, this non-subject argument referred to by the medial in impersonal verbs was assigned a Theme role in all but three instances. As a result, all the impersonal verbs in our sample contained the same number (one)

and—with three exceptions (see 5.4)—the same type (TH) of semantic roles as the ordinary stative verbs did. Table 5.2 illustrates lexical impersonal verbs.

Table 5.2—Theme role in impersonal verbs

Verb	Translation
âštam-âpišk-â=w	c'est la face du rocher
cilikû-pêc-î=w	il tombe une neige mêlée de pluie
cim-âškw-ê-y-â=w	c'est la fin abrupte d'une étendue boisée
kâšk-âpiss-ê-cûn=w	il y a un seuil rocheux infranchissable dans le courant
âpam-ipê-y-â=w	c'est une portion du cours d'eau où le courant tourne sur place
cîšk-âškw-ê-y-â=w	c'est un escarpement, une pente à pic recouvert(e) de grands arbres
ilnâšt-âškw-ê-y-â=w	c'est une région, un endroit boisé de sapins
iškut-ipê-y-â=w	c'est la fin de l'étendue d' eau , c'est le bord de l' eau
kwâl-âpišk-â=w	il y a un creux, une concavité dans la roche , dans qqch de minéral
kwâlass-ipê-y-â=w	il y a une flaque d' eau
kwêštakâmê-y-âpišk-â=w	il y a des roches sur le pourtour du lac
massêkw-âškw-ê-y-â=w	c'est un endroit d' arbres rabougris
milu-pê-y-â-š=u	c'est une étendue de belle eau calme
milu-tw-âškw-â=w	il y a une éclaircie dans le bois où on peut passer sans encombre
nâtwâ-pê-y-â=w	il y a un bassin d' eau calme interrompant le cours d'une petite rivière
nûtim-âškw-ê-y-â=w	c'est une région entièrement boisée
pîlê-pê=w	la rive est inondée
šîpê-y-âškw-ê-y-â=w	il y a un passage dans une zone d' arbres clairsemés
ussîšuku-pêc-itân=w	les gouttelettes de pluie forment des bulles à la surface de l'eau

Although our data did contain far more stative verbs, there were still a fair number of three-participant predicates in which the third argument was assigned the role of Theme. Table 5.3 presents a sample of these.

Table 5.3—Theme role in predicates with three participants

Verb	Translation
âm- ipê -ssinatâ=w	il fait déborder qqch en le remplissant de liquide
âpitûssinê- pê -štâ=w	il remplit qqch de liquide à la moitié
šâkassinê- pê -štâ=w	il remplit qqch de liquide
šâkassinê- pê -y=êw	il le remplit de liquide
šišu- pêc -inam=w	il frotte qqch à la main avec du liquide
šišu- pêc -in=êw	il le frotte, le frictionne à la main avec du liquide
šišu- pêk -aym=w	il frotte qqch avec du liquide à l'aide d'un objet
šûc- ipê -aym-w=êw	il fait gicler l' eau sur lui à l'aide d'un objet
ulâ- pêk -ay-tam=w	il asperge qqch d'eau
ulâ- pêk -ay-tw=êw	il l'asperge d'eau
ûšwê- pêk -aym-w=êw	il éclabousse qqn d'eau
titip- êyêc -inam=w	il enroule qqch dans un tissu
titip- êyêc -in=êw	il l'enroule dans un tissu

5.3 Patient

As stated in 4.3.2, the Patient is the first argument of a BECOME predicate in the lexical decomposition of a verb. Medials bearing a Patient role were almost as numerous as those with the role of Theme. Patient medials were chiefly limited to the object function in dual-argument verbs. Some 430 verbs in our data were identified as having only a subject and an object, and most of those are morphosyntactically transitive with an animate subject, including all of those in Table 5.4. Where the verb

was transitive, the non-Patient argument was always an animate Agent. Agent being higher up in the Semantic Role Hierarchy, this portion of the data was perfectly consistent with Drapeau's (2008c) account of incorporation.

Table 5.4—Medials with Patient role in transitive verbs

Verb	Translation
acw- êk -aym=w	il rapetisse qqch (étalé) au moyen d'un objet
âm- âšku -nam=w	il enlève qqch (long, rigide) de là où c'était juché
âm- ipê -ssinay=êw	il le (liquide) fait déborder en en remplissant un contenant
ciš- âpišk -išam=w	il fait chauffer qqch (minéral)
cišpac- êc -išim=êw	il en (étalé) met épais
ên- âšku -l=êw	il le (long, rigide) place, dépose à plat
êt- âpišk -aym=w	il frappe qqch (minéral) de telle manière que le coup y laisse une marque
iškw- êc -in=êw	il le (étalé) fait de telle longueur
it- êk -aym=w	il repasse qqch (étalé) de cette façon
kacîcê-y- âpišk -aym=w	il taille qqch (minéral) en carré, en rectangle
kâšî-y- âpišk -aym=w	il essuie qqch (minéral) au moyen d'un objet
kaštêw- âpiss -ikašam=w	il noircit qqch de minéral par le feu, par la chaleur
kwâškwê- pêci -škam=w	il fait gicler l' eau sous ses pas
kwîškw- âpêc -išam=w	il coupe qqch (filiforme) droit
lâlak- âšku -nam=w	il recourbe qqch (long, rigide) vers l'extérieur à la main
mâkw- âškw -aym=w	il resserre, comprime qqch en bois
nanapw- êc -i-nam=w	il plie plusieurs fois qqch (étalé)
papw- êc -i-pal-itâ=w	il secoue qqch (étalé) en l'agitant (pour le débarrasser de ce qui y adhère)
šatw- âšku -nam=w	il redresse qqch (long, rigide)

However, 32 verbs of the AI type were also identified as having an Agent-subject and a Patient. Examples are shown in Table 5.5. Like the TA verbs in Table 5.4, these AI verbs with Patient medials are consistent with Drapeau’s statements. Nevertheless, they form an interesting sub-group.

In languages in general, it is common, even normal, for a verb whose object is incorporated to see its valence decrease accordingly.¹⁰ In other words, when a noun is incorporated into a two-argument transitive verb, it is normal for that transitive verb to assume an intransitive form. In the case of head-marking languages such as Innu, this means that when an argument undergoes noun incorporation, it is no longer indexed on the verb. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, the use of classifier medials, or “verbal classifiers,” is a process that is entirely separate from noun incorporation, at least as defined in Aikhenvald (2003) and Grinevald (2005). Classifier medials are not nouns, per se, and, in theory, their role is different from that of generic medials (see 4.2). As previously explained, classifier medials are so called because they generally classify an external noun with which they co-occur. On the other hand, a generic medial resulting from noun incorporation is supposed to *replace* an external noun. And yet, we have these 32 verbs in our data that have all the trappings of noun incorporation—an incorporated element coupled with reduced valence reflected in morphosyntactic intransitivity—except that what appears to act as an incorporated noun is actually a classifier medial. This evidence suggests that in some situations classifier medials may act as generic medials, replacing an external noun instead of classifying it.

Granted, I cannot claim with absolute certainty that co-occurrence of an external noun is in fact impossible for the 32 verbs in question until a verification is conducted with native Innu speakers. The question of whether classifier medials actually do

¹⁰ The valence of a verb refers to the number of arguments “controlled” by the verb. In head-marking languages, it is reflected in the number of arguments indexed on the verb. The greater the number of arguments, the higher the valence. An intransitive verb has only one core argument and is therefore termed “monovalent”; a transitive verb with two core arguments is “divalent”; and so on and so forth.

entirely replace external nouns just as generic medials do (and if so, under what circumstances), although highly relevant, is not one I intend to settle in this thesis. For my purposes, what is most important is whether the entity in the medial position can be predicted according to the interaction Drapeau (2008c) posits between the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint.

Table 5.5—Medials with Patient role in AI verbs

Verb	Translation
âwš- ip-ê =w	il transporte de l' eau
âwt- aškw-ê =w	il (castor) transporte son bois
cimut- ip-ê =w	il vole qqch (liquide), de la boisson alcoolisée
êyêt- âšku-twê =w	il a manifestement mangé du feuillage
ika-y- p-ê =w	il enlève de l' eau à la main; il pompe de l'eau manuellement
kwîškw- âp-ê-šâwê =w	il découpe de la babiche toute droite
mâtinwê- p-ê =w	il distribue les parts de liquide
matwê-y- âšku-šin =u	il fait craquer des branches , du bois en marchant
papam- âšku-twê =w	il mange les branches ici et là sur son passage
pêykw- âpêk-aštâ-š =u	il place, dépose une seule chose (filiforme); il écrit une seule ligne
pêykw- âšku-kâpû-tâ-š =u	il plante, érige, met debout un seul objet (long, rigide)
pim- âšku-twê =w	il grignote les arbres au passage
šîkun- ip-ê =w	il vide un contenant rempli de liquide
šûšûka-y- p-ê =w	il transvase petit à petit du liquide ; il écope, puise à l'épuisette
tak- âpiss-i-n =u	il touche à un objet, une surface (minérale); il touche, effleure le poêle

Two II verbs were also found to have both an Agent-subject and a semantic Patient:

- (24) ûswê **-pêc** -itin=w
 splash-LIQUID-by.falling.II=3
 something splashes the **water** as it falls
- (25) ûswê-**pêc** -ipal =u
 splash-LIQUID-in.movement.II=3
 something splashes the **water** as it moves

These verbs are like the AI verbs in Table 5.5 in that they have a reduced valence and therefore do not allow co-occurrence of an external object noun. However, the verbs' intransitivity may be more a matter of necessity in the II verbs. In the AI verbs discussed above, as well as in the TA and TI verbs in this section, the Agent is always animate. The Agent ranks highest in the Semantic Role Hierarchy and is therefore the first entity to acquire core argument status. No matter whether the Patient then is indexed on the verb and classified by a medial as in the TA and TI verbs or is fully incorporated as in the AI verbs, the verb still meets the requirements of the Semantic Role Hierarchy.

However, the ranking of participants is somewhat more complicated when the Agent is inanimate. Recall that inanimate Agents get bumped down in the ranking of participants because the Animacy Hierarchy ranks animates above inanimates. As a result, inanimate Agents cannot be the subject of transitive verbs (Drapeau, 2008c) (see 4.1). Both example (24) and example (25) refer to inanimate Agents splashing water, hence the intransitive form.

5.4 Agent

As explained in section 4.3.2, Agent is the role assigned to the first argument of either a CAUSE predicate or a volitional DO predicate. There were a couple of dozen verbs in which the medial was assigned the role of Agent. This number is small in comparison to our long lists of verbs containing medials with either a TH or a PA role, but it is fully understandable, given that, according to the Semantic Role

Hierarchy, an Agent outranks all other roles and is thus the least likely candidate for incorporation. However, as previously explained, Drapeau (2008c) has observed that the “Animacy Hierarchy [...] trumps the Semantic Role Hierarchy,” such that *inanimate* Agents cannot acquire subject status in transitive verbs.

Indeed, in Innu, sentences like “the fire destroyed the city” (with “fire” as a subject) are impossible. Even constructions more or less equivalent to English passives (i.e. “The city was destroyed by the fire”) can be difficult. Instead, Innu speakers often convey this type of meaning using a series of sentences, such as “The city was destroyed. It is because of the fire” (Drapeau, 2007).

However, Innu also offers other, albeit less frequent, solutions. As mentioned, Drapeau (2008c) asserts that an inanimate Agent gets bumped down in the ranking of arguments, and may therefore be incorporated. My results, as shown below, concur with Drapeau’s findings. As stated above, Agents are identified by a classifier in about two dozen different instances in my data. Importantly, the Agent is inanimate in all of these cases, as Drapeau’s findings would predict. The only difference between my results and Drapeau’s findings is that mine involve classifier medials, whereas hers involve generic medials.

Table 5.6—Verbs containing an Agent medial and Patient subject

Verb	Translation
âkušîw- p-ê =w	il est malade de boisson (literally: liquid makes him sick)
mûškû- p-ê =w	il pleure sous l'effet de la boisson (literally: liquid makes him cry)
cîškwê- p-ê =w	il perd ses esprits à force de boire (literally: liquid makes him lose his wits)
kaškatomwê-y- êc-î =w	il s'étouffe dans ce qui l'enveloppe, dans ses couvertures
kû- p-ê =w	il tombe endormi sous l'effet de la boisson (literally: liquid makes him fall asleep)
pîtûšê- p-ê =w	il a une ampoule (literally: water causes him to become double-skinned)

Of course, the question of whether these Agent entities actually *replace* an external noun arises here, just as it did for the Patient arguments in Table 5.5. Of the two dozen or so verbs in which the medial was assigned an Agent role, all are intransitive. As mentioned in section 5.3, this intransitivity would seem to suggest that the medial is indeed replacing an external noun.

Of course, this is of no consequence in checking my results against those of Drapeau (2008c), since she expressly asserts that the presence of all medials is subject to the same rules, whether they replace arguments or merely classify them. The fact that medials were ascribed an Agent role in two dozen verbs supports Drapeau's idea that Agents can be downgraded and become good candidates for incorporation. Furthermore, the fact that the Agent was inanimate in all of these verbs supports Drapeau's contention that Agents can become candidates for incorporation only if they are inanimate. In short, the interaction between the Animacy Hierarchy and the Semantic Role Hierarchy that Drapeau appeals to in her study of generic medials can also explain my data involving classifier medials.

The verbs in Table 5.6 are representative of the bulk of the verbs whose medials were assigned an Agent role in that they all have two semantic arguments including an identifiable Patient as subject. However, five verbs with Agent medials were found that did not fit this mould. All five are lexical impersonals: i.e. verbs in which the grammatical subject is not an identifiable semantic entity. Two will be discussed later on because they contain complex medials (see 5.11.1). The remaining three of these verbs are shown here in examples (26) to (28). The fact that they are impersonals is interesting. Like the verbs in Table 5.6, they have an inanimate Agent that is incorporated. However, unlike in the verbs in Table 5.6, they do not have a Patient. Indeed, since their grammatical subject is a "dummy" subject, i.e. is semantically void, it cannot be assigned a semantic role. And while this situation is not contrary to any of the constraints detailed in Drapeau (2008c), it is not expressly predicted by

them either, since Drapeau (2008c) does not specifically address the issue of “dummy” subjects and impersonals.

(26) tac -**pêy** -â=w
 cold-LIQUID- FIN.II =3
 It is cold because of the **rain**, because of a nearby **body of water**

(27) tak -**âškw-ê**-yâ=w
 cold-LIQUID- FIN.II =3
 It is cold because of the **trees**

(28) âti -**pê** -yâ=w
 move-LIQUID-FIN.II =3
 It is a place inaccessible on foot because of the rising **water** level
 II

5.5 Locative

Locative, as mentioned in section 4.3.2, simply corresponds to the location of the action or state described in the verb. Classifier medials were assigned a Locative role in 194 instances. Such Locative medials were found in verbs where the subject and only core argument was assigned a Theme or an Agent role. Medials with a Locative role were also identified in verbs that had two core arguments: a subject, bearing an Agent role, and an object, which was assigned a Patient role.

Verbs that have a single core argument and a Locative medial are shown in Table 5.7. Verbs with two core arguments and a Locative medial are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.7—Locative role in intransitive verbs

Verb	Translation
cîš- âšku -tin=w	ça frôle, frotte contre un arbre , un objet (long, rigide)
âšak- âpêc -iškam=w	il s'accroche les pieds, le corps dans qqch (filiforme)

têt-âpiss-i-kâpaw=u	il est debout sur une roche
paku-pê-patâ=w	il court dans l' eau
âpitû-pêk-utin=w	qqch (canot) est enfoncé à mi-hauteur dans l' eau
âyât-âšku-pal-û=w	il se balance dans l' arbre
cîk-âšku-api=u	il est assis contre le mur , l' arbre
kušp-âšku-pal=u	il vole en direction de la forêt
kutâw-pêc-i-pal-û=w	il s'enfonce, disparaît sous l' eau de lui-même
micimw-âpiss-i-tin=w	qqch se prend, se coince, s'échoue dans les roches
muku-p-ê=w	il, c'est à fleur d' eau
paku-pê-patâ=w	il court dans l' eau
pašt-âpêc-išin=u	il est étendu en travers d'un objet long et vertical
šâci-pê-ku-tin=w	qqch a une partie qui sort de l' eau
tâci-pêc-i-šin=u	il effleure la surface de l' eau
têtîpêwê-y-âškw-aym=w	il contourne un bosquet d'arbres , un boisé à pied
ušê-y-âpišk-aym=w	il marche sur la crête d'un rocher , d'un sommet rocheux
ussit-i-pêk-u-tin=w	qqch flotte à la surface de l' eau
utâm-âšku-šin=u	il se frappe contre un arbre

Table 5.8—Locative role in transitive verbs

Verb	Translation
âkw-êk-aym=w	il dissimule qqch derrière un rideau , un écran quelconque (étalé) suspendu
kušp-âšku-tay=êw	il entre dans la forêt en amenant qqn avec lui
pašt-âpêk-akutâ=w	il étend, suspend qqch sur une corde de manière à ce que ça retombe des deux côtés
têt-âpišk-aštâ=w	il place, dépose qqch surélevé sur un objet (minéral); il fait cuire qqch en le posant directement sur le dessus du poêle

acitâ- pêc -in=êw	il le met dans l' eau la tête en bas
akw- âškw -âym=w	il presse qqch contre le mur, contre un objet en bois au moyen d'un objet
âpitû- pê -škam=w	il fait caler qqch à mi-hauteur dans l' eau sous son poids
cîš- âpiss -ititâ=w	il fait frôler, frotter qqch contre un objet, une surface (minéral)
kuš- âpê -pit=êw	il le fait caler au fond de l' eau en vitesse
mûss- ipê -nam=w	il fait émerger qqch à la surface avec les mains
nâš- ipê -štišw=êw	il l'envoie vers l' eau , à la côte
šâc-i- pêk -utitâ=w	il met qqch dans l' eau avec un bout, une partie qui sort à la surface
šêkw- âšku -šim=êw	il le glisse sous un objet (long, rigide)
tâp- âškw -aym=w	il engage, enfile qqch sur un objet en bois ; il suspend qqch sur un cintre
têt- âšku -šim=êw	il le couche, l'étend sur une plate-forme de bois
titipin- âšku -titâ=w	il enroule qqch autour d'un objet (long, rigide)

There were a handful of instances where the assignment of a locative role was subject to context. This was the case in verbs that had two possible interpretations. The flexibility in interpretation sometimes occurred in verbs belonging to two separate morphosyntactic categories, such as in example (29), but not always, as illustrated in example (30).

(29) išku -p- ê=w AI/II
 such.and.such.height-LIQUID-FIN.AI=3
 'he is in the **water** up to such-and-such a level; there is **water** up to such-and-such a level'

(30) mûn-**âpišk** -aym =w
 dig -MINERAL-with.inst.TI1=3.3'
 'He digs a hole in the **rock**'

On the AI reading of the verb in example (29), the grammatical subject “he” is assigned a Theme role, and the “water” (indicated by medial *-ipe(k)-*) is assigned a Locative role. On the II reading, the verb is impersonal: the grammatical subject is non-referential (i.e. semantically void), and “water” is assigned the role of Theme.

The verb in example (30) can only be interpreted as a TI verb. The grammatical subject is always an Agent, but “the rock” can be construed either as the location of the digging (Locative) or as the thing affected by it (Patient).

All the verbs in which the medial was assigned a Locative role are consistent Drapeau’s (2008c) claim that only the lowest ranking participant may be incorporated (i.e. be realized in the medial position), with the notion of “lowest ranking” being determined, in this specific case, solely by the Semantic Role Hierarchy.

5.6 Instrument

Medials were assigned the role of Instrument in some 67 verbs. This role, as its name would indicate, is the role assigned to the instrument that is used to accomplish the action. The role was unanticipated based on Jackendoff (2007). Ideally, no new role would have been created, but the data seemed to leave little other option as some verbs exhibited arguments for which the existing labels simply did not make sense:

- (31) *kaškatomw-êyêc -in=êw*
 breathless-SHEETLIKE-by.hand.TA=3.3'
 ‘He prevents him from breathing using a **cloth**’

All of the verbs in which the medial was assigned the role of Instrument also contained an animate subject and an object, which were assigned the roles of Agent and Patient, respectively. Instrument ranks lower on the Semantic Role Hierarchy than both Patient and Agent. Hence, the data I used is yet again consistent with Drapeau’s (2008c) predictions concerning argument eligibility for argument realization in the medial position.

Table 5.9—Medials bearing an Instrument role

Verb	Translation
akwâ-y-âškw-âym=w	il le sort de l'eau avec un bâton ; il le débarque avec un bâton
âm-âšku-w=êw	il le fait choir de là où il était juché au moyen d'un bâton
âyâkatw-âškw-aym=w	il fait bouger, remuer qqch à plusieurs reprises avec un bâton , un objet (long, rigide) pour le prendre
âyât-âškw-aym=w	il secoue, remue qqch au moyen d'un objet (long, rigide)
lak-âškw-aym=w	il repousse, maintient qqch repoussé au moyen d'un bâton
lâlik-âšku-šim=êw	il le déchire en l'accrochant sur un objet (long, rigide)
lûtê-y-âškw-aym=w	il entrebâille qqch au moyen d'un objet de bois
matuštwe-y-âškw-aym=w	il met qqch dans le feu à l'aide d'un bâton
micim-âpišk-w=êw	il le retient, le maintient en place avec un objet minéral
micim-âšku-w=êw	il le retient, le maintient en place avec un objet en bois
mînw-âškw-aym=w	il redonne une forme droite, redresse qqch à l'aide d'un bâton
nîm-âšku-w=êw	il le tient en suspension avec un bâton sans qu'il touche à ce qui est en dessous, au sol
pîm-âškw-aym=w	il tord, gauchit qqch à l'aide d'un bâton
šît-aškw-aym=w	il maintient qqch serré, raide à l'aide d'un morceau de bois
šitw-âškw-aym=w	il assujettit qqch avec un bâton pour que ce soit solide et immobile
tuk-âškw-âym=w	il entrouvre qqch avec un bâton
unikât-aškw-aym=w	il transporte qqch en équilibre après un bâton qu'il

up-âškw-aym=w	porte sur l'épaule il soulève qqch au moyen d'un bâton
utâm-âškw-aym=w	il frappe qqch avec un bâton
ut-âškw-aym=w	il attire qqch vers lui au moyen d'un bâton
wêp-âšku-w=êw	il le repousse, le rejette au loin avec un bâton

5.6.1 Co-occurrence of instrument medials and instrument finals

An interesting phenomenon involving close semantic interaction between the medial and the final was identified in a number of verbs, including examples (32) and (33). While it must be recognized that Innu is not a purely agglutinative language, an analysis of the individual parts in the verb yields a significant finding. The verb in example (32) comprises an initial, *akwâ-*, meaning “remove”; the medial *-âškw-*, meaning “long, rigid”; and a final *-ah*, meaning “using an object” or, more properly, “by object-using.” The verb’s full meaning, as stated above, is “he removes him with a stick.”¹¹ Note that in this particular example, the meaning of *-âškw-* “long, rigid” is interpreted more specifically as “stick.” This process, whereby a particular aspect of an object is used to refer to the object itself, is known as metonymy (see Lachapelle, 2008 for details).

(32) akwây-âšku- w= ew
 remove-LONG.RIGID-with.inst.TA=3.3'
 ‘He gets him out of the water with **a stick**’

(33) micim-âpišk -aym = w
 hold -MINERAL-with.instrument.TTI=3
 ‘He holds something in place using an object (**mineral**)’

Normally, although the English translation of the final clearly implies the involvement of a physical object, the Innu is not so explicit in this regard. As

¹¹ The verb can be used more specifically to mean such things as “he gets him out of the water.”

mentioned in 3.1.2, manner-of-action, or “instrument,” finals properly refer to the action rather than to any physical elements involved, e.g. “by sawing” rather than “by using a saw.” Therefore, any physical object implicitly referred to should not be considered a grammatical or even semantic argument.

And yet, in example (32), the medial *-âškw-* qualifies just such an object as though it were a bona fide argument (semantically, at least). Hence, once again, the verb translates, albeit roughly, as “he removes someone *using a stick*,” i.e. “using a long, rigid object.”

Example (32) is not an isolated case. In example (33), the verb *micimâpiškaym* has an initial *micim-* meaning “hold something in place.” It too contains the final *-ah-* ‘using an object,’ as well as the medial *-âpišk-* ‘mineral.’ The verb’s meaning, “he holds something in place with a mineral object,” reveals a semantic relationship between the final and the medial that is identical to the one occurring in example (32). The final indicates a manner of action that requires the use of an instrument, and the medial explicitly identifies—or at least classifies—this very same instrument. It is as though the medial in both these examples acted on the interpretation of the instrument final *-ah-* such that the manner of action was no longer simply “by object using,” but rather “by stick using” in (32) and “by mineral object using” in (33).

There are several dozen cases just like these. In fact they account for a majority of the 60 odd verbs in which the medial was assigned an Instrument role. They typically, although not exclusively, involve the medial *-âškw-*, and almost always include either the final *-ah-* “using an object,” or the final *-tin-* (sometimes *-šin-*) “by contact with an object.”

It is easy to see why the most common finals are those meaning “by using an object” and “by contact with an object” in verbs where a medial with an Instrument role seems to further specify the final’s interpretation: a final such as *-in-* “by hand”

leaves no room for different interpretations, especially any that would involve things that are mineral, threadlike, liquid, etc.

As for the predominance of the medial *-âškʷ-* “long, rigid” in these cases, it should first be noted that *-âškʷ-* is the most common medial in *all* our data. In fact, there were nearly twice as many occurrences of *-âškʷ-* as there were of *-êk-*, which was the second most common of our five classifier medials. However, beyond the overall frequency of *-âškʷ-* in the language, its predominance in cases where the medial was assigned an Instrument role in the presence of (and seemingly in connection with) an instrument final may simply have to do with the nature of the world.

If we consider all the tools that people are likely to use in their everyday lives, a good many can probably be described as “long and rigid” to some degree. Conversely, few, if any, are liquid. This is consistent with our data. Taking all the occurrences of an Instrument role in the data into account, we find that the prototypical instrument, in the sense of a physical object referred to by a medial bearing an Instrument role, seems to be a hand-held and certainly solid object. In no case does the medial *-ipê(k)-* (liquid) designate anything that corresponds to either part of that description.

The interaction observed may have repercussions for future analysis of Innu verbs beyond the mere addition of another semantic role. It may call into question the idea that instrument finals refer only to the manner of action and not to actual objects. Alternatively, it may cast doubt on the appropriateness of systematically assigning semantic roles to medials. The most that can be said for now is that the use of classifier medials in Innu verbs is more complex than might be guessed based on a description of various types of verbal classifiers by Aikhenvald (2003) or Grinevald (2005). The data involving Instrument medials seems to indicate one of two possibilities. The first possibility is that classifier medials sometimes refer to an entity that cannot be considered an actual participant in the verb—and therefore should not

be assigned a semantic role. The second possibility is that classifier medials occasionally act on instrument finals in such a way as to confer participant status on physical entities whose presence is otherwise only assumed based on the manner of performing the action, i.e. that classifier medials can make explicit what must otherwise remain implicit.

5.6.2 Differentiation from TH

It should be noted that the distinction between Instrument and Theme is not always crystal clear. For instance, one might reasonably argue that the liquid identified by medial *-ipê(k)-* in example (34) is in fact an Instrument.

- (34) šišu-**pêc** -inam=w
 rub-LIQUID- by.hand.T11 =3.3'
 'He hand-rubs something with **liquid**'

But consider example (35). It exhibits the same argument structure as in example (34). Both these verbs have an Agent acting on a Patient in a manner that involves a third entity, which in both cases is identified by the medial *-ipê(k)-* (liquid). The only difference between example (34) and example (35) is in the manner of action due to the use of two different finals: *-in-*, meaning “by hand,” and *-ah-*, meaning “with an object.”

- (35) šišu-**pêk** -aym =w
 rub-LIQUID-with.inst.T11=3.3'
 'He rubs something with **liquid** using an object'

However, example (35) opens up the possibility, at least in theory, of introducing another, more typical, instrument other than and in addition to *-ipê(k)-*.¹² For

¹² Here, I must add a brief word of caution. While the final *-ah-*, meaning “with an object,” was certainly the most common final in our verbs containing an Instrument-role argument, it was not the only final. Nor did the presence of the final *-in-*, “by hand,” preclude the occurrence of an Instrument-role medial in a verb: consider *kaskatamweyecinam* (*kaskatamwey-ec-in-am-w*) “he hermetically

instance, we might expect to find a verb such as example (36) formed a compound medial consisting of morphemes *-ipê(k)-* “liquid” and *-âškw-* “long, rigid,” resulting in a verb meaning “he scrubs something with liquid using a long, rigid object.” In this four-participant situation, we would have an Agent (he) and a Patient (something); the liquid would be assigned a Theme role; and, lastly, the long, rigid object would take the Instrument role (since it is a more prototypical instrument than liquid).

- (36) * *šišu-âškupek* *-aym =w*
 * rub-LONG.RIGID.LIQUID-with.inst.T11 =3.3'
 * ‘he rubs something with **liquid** using a **long, rigid object**’

And yet no such verb exists in our data; nor does the data contain any other four-participant verbs for that matter.

The fact of the matter is that “liquid,” as the third participant in examples (34) and (35), meets all the criteria for receiving a Theme role. Recall that a Theme is simply defined as the third participant in transitive verbs. Given this information, one may then wonder whether the distinction between Theme and Instrument is not entirely arbitrary, i.e. whether Instrument could not be subsumed under Theme.

Syntactically, Instrument and Theme certainly can be considered one and the same, and both roles may be said to belong to what Van Valin Jr. (2005) calls a “third macro-role,” i.e. a non-Agent, non-Patient role. For Van Valin, the important thing is distinguishing between the “most Agent-like” participant and the “most Patient-like” participant; any distinctions between various types of third arguments—if indeed they can be made with any certainty—are of no consequence and thus entirely irrelevant.

However, as the approach I have taken is concerned with the specific role of third arguments, it is certain that for any clear-cut distinction to be made between Theme and Instrument, the exact definition of Theme must be revised.

wraps, plugs up something with **fabric**.” Thus, while the inclusion of an Instrument role in verbs with *-ah-* may be more intuitive than in verbs with *-in-*, it would be incorrect to presume that the assignment of an Instrument role is dependent on a verb’s final.

5.7 Goal

In the interest of reducing to a minimum the number of roles identified in our data, and in accordance with Drapeau's (2008c) streamlined list of semantic roles, most of the verb arguments that could potentially have been analyzed as having a Goal role were reanalyzed as Locatives. Recall that Goal is defined as the reason for the action or the thing that the action is directed towards. Locative, is the role assigned to locations. Therefore, any goal that could be construed as a location was assigned the role of Locative.

In addition to cutting down on the overall number of different roles, this way of doing things was intended to eliminate much of the confusion surrounding the often fuzzy distinction between Goal and Locative. For instance, many semanticists might assign "a body of water" in example (37) and "the rocks" in example (38) the role of Goal because they each denote a point at which a movement ends. However, the lack of any definitive starting point for either "arrive" or "run aground" is such that both "a body of water" and "the rocks" can easily be construed as Locatives in that they denote the location where the actions "arrive" and "run aground" take place.

(37) matâ-**p-ê**=w
 arrive-LIQUID-FIN.AI=3
 'He arrives at a **body of water**' (AI)

(38) micimw-**âpišk** -issini=u
 stuck -MINERAL-FIN.AI=3
 'he gets stuck, runs aground on the **rocks**'

Throughout much of the role assignment process, it appeared as though the analysis of so-called "locative goals" as Locatives would enable us to eliminate the need for a Goal role altogether in the analysis. In the end, we were able to subsume Goal under Locative in all but two cases, which are shown in examples (39) and (40). Both verbs are somewhat metaphorical, but they were included in our data because

the overall meaning of each verb can nevertheless be gleaned fairly easily by looking at the morphemes it comprises.

(39) wîci-**p-ê** =w
 like-LIQUID-FIN.AI=3
 ‘he is a heavy drinker’
 (literally, “he likes/frequents **drink**”) (AI)

(40) nânatû-**p-ê** =w
 search-LIQUID-FIN.AI=3
 ‘he is looking for **water**; he is looking to get someone to buy him a **drink**’ (AI)

5.8 Benefactive and Experiencer

Our analysis of the data did not yield any instances of classifier medials in either the Benefactive or the Experiencer role. These two roles certainly do occur in Innu, as illustrated in examples (41) and (42); however, based on our analysis, they simply do not occur in verbs containing any of the five typically classificatory medials.

(41) nîmi-tutw=êw
 dance-BEN=3.3’
 ‘he dances for him’

(42) wâpam=êw
 wâpam=êw
 see =3.3’
 ‘he sees him’

Beneficiaries and experiencers are semantically animate; classifier medials classify semantically inanimate objects. Therefore, it is only normal that no classifier medial should be assigned a Benefactive or Experiencer role. Furthermore, while generic medials can refer to semantically animate entities (e.g. *-amišk-* “beaver,” *-mûšw-* “moose”), Drapeau (2008c) makes no mention of either the Experiencer or the Benefactive role ever being assigned to a generic medial. Hence, the absence of

Experiencer and Benefactive roles among classifier medials in no way contradicts Drapeau's statements concerning medials in general. Rather, it fully supports them.

5.9 Relationships of possession and part-whole relationships

The analysis of all the verbs containing classifier medials revealed that, in a non-negligible number of cases, there appeared to be two arguments bearing the same role. For instance, in example (43), there appear to be two Patients: "the wood" and the final object to be made out of wood ("something"). However, semantic role theories generally stipulate that each argument receive no more than one role and that each role be assigned to no more than one argument.

- (43) ul -âškw -aym =w
 prepare-LONG.RIGID-with.inst.TI1=3.3'
 'He starts by getting the **wood** ready with an object in order to make something'

As stated in Drapeau (2008c), Algonquian languages, including Innu, "are often described as 'possessor raising' languages" because, in these languages, "the possessor, a non-argument of the verb, acquires core argument status and is indexed on the verb at the expense of the possessee which would otherwise normally be considered to be the direct semantic argument of the verb." As the possessor is indexed on the verb, "the possessee may be incorporated." Drapeau (2008c) refers to the fact that possessors have priority access to core argument status as the "Possessor Constraint" after Rhodes (1993), and identifies it, along with the Semantic Role Hierarchy and the Animacy Hierarchy, as one of three argument ranking systems that govern noun incorporation.

Where an argument of the verb appears to identify a part of another argument, these arguments are said to be in a *part-whole relationship*. Importantly, Drapeau (2008c) finds this relationship to be identical to that between possessors and possesseees, and even refers to "wholes" as merely "inanimate possessors."

Example (43) can thus be explained by the existence of a part-whole relationship between what seem to be two Patients. Because the “wood” is part of the “something,” rather than bearing two separate Patient roles, “wood” shares *the same* Patient role assigned to the “something.” Hence, example (43) only involves two distinct roles: Agent (assigned to “he”) and Patient.

Table 5.10 shows other verbs that involve relationships of possession (including part-whole relationships) and in which the role assignment was the same as in example (43). Significantly, the possessee (or part) is incorporated in every case, as required by the Possessor Constraint. Also, the Semantic Role Hierarchy is followed, since the Patient role shared by the incorporated entity ranks lower than the Agent role borne by the grammatical subject.

Table 5.10—Verbs involving relationships of possession

Verb	Translation
kâkapê-y-âškw-ay-m=w	il écarte les deux pattes, extrémités de qqch en bois au moyen d'un objet
pass-êci-n-am=w	il enlève ce qui (étalé) recouvre qqch
ât-âšku-titâ=w	il change le manche de qqch
câk-âšku-pit-am=w	il soulève (en forçant) le bras de qqch ; il actionne un levier , un manche en le soulevant en vitesse
tatw-êyêc-i-n-am=w	il défait l' enveloppe , l' emballage de qqch; il décachette qqch
lâlak-âšku-kâpaw=w	il est debout le corps cambré; il (long, rigide) est debout, planté avec une cambrure
wîškwêy-êk-âpaw=w	il s'assoit enveloppé dans une couverture ; il est placé, assis, déposé enveloppé

However, arguments in relationships of possession were not always assigned a Patient role, as the three body-part verbs shown in examples (44) to (46) illustrate. Body-part verbs are verbs that feature a medial that refers to a body part (nose, arm, leg, etc.). In some body-part verbs, the body-part morpheme is coupled with a second morpheme to form what Goddard (1990) calls a “complex medial.” The Innu Dictionary lists three such verbs in the Innu Dictionary in which the complex medial

is composed of a body-part morpheme on the one hand and one of our five classifier morphemes on the other:

- (44) kânw-**apêc** -**išit** -ê=w
 long-SHEETLIKE-foot- FIN.AI =3
 ‘he is long-**footed**’
- (45) lâlak-**âšku** -**šit** -ê=w
 bent-LONG.RIGID -foot- FIN.AI =3
 ‘he has **feet** that bend outward’
- (46) âkwât -**âšku** -**c** -ê=w
 extême-LONG.RIGID-penis- FIN.AI =3
 ‘he has a penis of exceptional size’

Following the method of role assignment described above for situations involving part-whole relationships, I assigned only one semantic role—Theme (first argument of a BE clause)—to be shared by the possessor and the possessee (or body-part). In each of these cases, the possessor, “he,” is indexed on the verb, while the possessee (the body part) is incorporated. This is just as Drapeau (2008c) predicts.

Interestingly, the structure in examples (44) to (46) was also found in two non-body-part verbs:

- (47) cinw-**âp** -ê =w
 long-THREADLIKE- FIN.AI =3
 ‘he has a long portage **rope, fishing line**’ (Literally, “he is long-roped”)
- (48) takw-**âp** -ê=w
 short-THREADLIKE-FIN.AI=3
 ‘he has a short portage **rope**’ (Literally: “he is short-roped”)

Here again, the Possessor Constraint applies since the possessor, “he,” has subject status and the possessee, “rope,” is incorporated. In fact, not only did the Possessor Constraint apply in every verb in which a relationship of possession was

identified, but the Semantic Role Hierarchy was followed, too. Hence, my data involving relationships of possession fully support Drapeau's (2008c) findings.

5.10 Double predication

As noted above, each pair of entities in a relationship of possession or a part-whole relationship was assigned a single semantic role. As a result, I was able to avoid assigning the same semantic role twice within a single verb in those cases. However, there are five verbs in my data that involved no relationship of possession (including part-whole relationships) and in which the assignment of the same role to two separate arguments was unavoidable.

Table 5.11—Verbs involving double predication

Verb	Translation
kwâškwê- pêk -aym-w-êw	il l'éclabousse d' eau au moyen d'un objet
wâš- ipêc -išim-êw	il (au loin) le fait tomber avec un éclaboussement d' eau
ûšwê- pêc -ititâ-w	il fait éclabousser l' eau en y échappant, faisant tomber qqch
ûšwê- pêc -išim-êw	il fait éclabousser l' eau en l'y échappant, le laissant tomber
kwâškwê- pêc -iškam-w-êw	il l'éclabousse en marchant dans l' eau

Interestingly, five verbs were also unusual in that they exhibited double predication, i.e., the lexical decomposition of each verb yields a subordinate predicate within a main predicate. For instance, example (49) translates literally as “He makes him fall, which makes the water visible from far.” Its lexical decomposition is as follows: [x[he] CAUSE y[him] DO[fall]] CAUSE z[water] BECOME visible from far]. In other words, the first part of the verb, “he makes him fall,” is a complete predicate in itself and this first predicate serves as the first argument of a second

predicate, “causes the water to be visible from far.” Since both “him” and “the water” are second arguments of cause predicates, they were both assigned a Patient role.

- (49) wâši-**pêc** -išim =êw
 splash-LIQUID-by.impacting.TA=3.3'
 ‘He (far away) makes him/it fall with a big visible splash’

There is a fundamental rule in most semantic role theories according to which no role may be assigned more than once within a single predicate. While the verbs in Table 5.11 each involve more than one Patient, it is significant that each *predicate* has only one Patient. Indeed, the subordinate clause “he causes him to fall” has an Agent (he) and a Patient (him). The main clause “causes the water to be visible from far” has a Patient (the water) and an Agent, which consists of the entire subordinate clause (he-causes-him-to-fall).

It is also worth pointing out that based on our data, the selection of core arguments and arguments to be incorporated in double-predication verbs resembles that in verbs involving relationships of possession. Recall that where relationships of possession are involved, the possessee would “normally be considered to be the direct semantic argument of the verb,” but the possessor “acquires core argument status [...] at the expense of the possessee” (Drapeau, 2008c).

In our five cases of double-predication, “water,” the Patient of the main clause, would normally be considered a direct semantic argument of the verb. Instead, it is the Patient of the subordinate clause (“him” or “something,” depending on the case) which acquires core argument status, leaving “water” to be incorporated. In the verbs where the grammatical object is animate, its core argument status can be explained by the Animacy Hierarchy, which ranks animates above inanimates (as in (49)). However, in example(50), the Animacy Hierarchy is irrelevant since the “water” and the “something” are both inanimate. Hence, there may very well be a fourth constraint that must be taken into account in addition to the Semantic Role Hierarchy,

the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint when determining which arguments are to be incorporated.

- (50) wâši -**pec** -ititâ= w
 splash -LIQUID-by.impacting.TI2-3
 ‘He (far away) makes it fall with a big visible splash’

5.11 Verbs containing two morphemes in the medial position

Recall that according to Goddard’s (1990) scheme of stem derivation, verbs can have no more than one medial. Any cases that, according to Bloomfield’s (1946) account of derivation, were said to contain two medials, Goddard reanalyzed in one of two ways. Either he considers the first medial part of the verb initial, leaving the second medial as the only “true” medial, or he analyzes both medials as forming a single, complex medial. In this section, I look at the handful of verbs in my corpus that are said to contain complex medials.

5.11.1 Complex medials comprising two classifier morphemes

Three verbs in our data were found to contain two separate classifier morphemes. All three verbs are lexical impersonals and all three include the same two classifier morphemes: *-ipê(k)-* and *-âškw-* (in that order).

- (51) cîk-**âšku** -**pê** =w
 edge-LONG.RIGID-LIQUID.II=3
 ‘the water is up to the edge of the forest’

- (52) wîš-**âšku** -**pê** =w
 ???-LONG.RIGID -LIQUID.II=3
 ‘the woods are flooded’

- (53) pîlêy-**âšku** -**pê** =w
 ??? -LONG.RIGID-LIQUID.II=3
 ‘the shore is flooded up to the tree line’

In the case of *cikâškwepew*, *-âškw-* was analyzed as part of the initial since *cikâškw-* is an existing word in the language. Accordingly, no semantic role was assigned specifically to *-âškw-* in that case. As mentioned in section 5.2, lexical impersonals have a dummy subject to which no semantic role is assigned. In the case of *cikâškwepew*, *-ipê(k)-* was assigned the role of Theme (first argument of a BE predicate). Thus, example (51) resembles the majority of lexical impersonals in my data, as established in section 5.2.

However, examples (52) and (53) differ significantly. In these two instances, both *-âškw-* and *-ipê(k)-* are in the medial position, and they are said to form a complex medial. They resemble examples (26), (27) and (28) in that, unlike other impersonal verbs in our data, they involve an inanimate Agent instead of a Theme role. However, they are unlike any other impersonal verb encountered in my corpus in that they also contain a Patient role. Indeed, in both example (52) and example (53), there is an inanimate Agent (“water,” identified by *-pêk-*) doing an action (flooding), which directly affects a Patient (identified at least in part by *-âškw-*).

The result is that these two verbs are the only lexical impersonals in my data that bear more than one semantic role. Furthermore, the two roles they bear are each assigned to a specific medial-position morpheme. Now, if the two morphemes in the medial position take two different semantic roles, we can wonder whether it is really appropriate to analyze them as a single, complex medial, as Goddard (1990) does, rather than as two distinct medials, as Bloomfield (1946) does.

5.11.2 *Body-part verbs*

An analysis of the three body-part verbs in examples (44), (45) and (46), repeated here as examples (54), (55) and (56), begs the same question. As mentioned in section 5.9, the three body-part verbs in my data each contain two morphemes in the medial position: a classifier morpheme and a morpheme referring to a body part. In all three cases, both the classifier morpheme and the body-part morpheme refer to the

same entity (a part of the body) and therefore share the same semantic role. In that respect, there is no reason not to consider them as two parts of the same complex medial. In fact, if body-part medials were consistently accompanied by the same classifier morpheme, the complex medial analysis might still seem likely. However, as examples (54) and (55) reveal, a single body-part morpheme can occur with different classifier morphemes depending on the circumstances.

(54) kânw-âpêc -iřit -ê=w
 long-SHEETLIKE -foot-FIN.AI=3
 ‘he is long-**footed**’

(55) lâlak-âřku -řit -ê=w
 bent-LONG.RIGID-foot- FIN.AI=3
 ‘He has **feet** that bend outward’

(56) âkwât -âřku -c -ê=w
 exceptional-LONG.RIGID -penis- FIN.AI=3
 ‘he has a penis of exceptional size’

This finding is significant, for, if a morpheme that identifies a body part can be combined with different classifier morphemes and still refer to the same body part, and if, as shown in 5.11.1, two medial-position morphemes in a single verb can be assigned two different semantic roles, then what reason do we have to treat such co-occurring morphemes as a unit? Logic would suggest analyzing them as separate medials, in direct opposition to Goddard’s (1990) scheme of stem derivation.

CONCLUSION

My main intent in conducting this analysis was to verify whether Drapeau's (2008c) account of incorporation according to the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint could apply to classifier medials. In the process of doing so, I encountered a few limitations, but I also made a number of findings that reach beyond the originally intended scope of this thesis.

My biggest limitation had to do with the system of semantic roles, which I believe requires further refinement. To start with, the Theme role should be clarified. In some ways, the Theme role was used as an "everything else" category. The fact that it encompassed two entirely unrelated notions (first argument of a BE clause and third argument in three-participant predicates) makes the meaning of "Theme" elusive. The definition of the second type of Theme (third argument in three-participant predicates) is particularly broad and actually applies to most medials that were assigned an Instrument role. Hence the unclear distinction between Theme and Instrument. The distinction between Goal and Benefactive, although it was not an issue in this thesis, also requires further clarification.

The method of lexical decomposition, which was supposed to provide an objective means of assigning semantic roles also proved imperfect. Indeed, while the role assignment was immediately obvious in a majority of cases, a considerable number of cases nevertheless involved a certain amount of guesswork. In most instances, this was of little consequence for our purposes; however, in a few cases, selecting an alternative way of construing the verb's meaning would have had

impacted the ranking of participants. Most notable among these were verbs whose participants ended up with Locative and Theme roles, whereas the same examples had originally been interpreted as involving an incorporated inanimate Agent and a Subject inanimate Patient.

Even so, the analysis has yielded some very interesting results. As stated above, the most important thing for the purposes of this thesis was to determine whether the Semantic Role Hierarchy, the Animacy Hierarchy and the Possessor Constraint can be appealed to to explain the presence of classificatory medials in the manner suggested by Drapeau (2008c) for explaining the incorporation of generic medials. My analysis indicates that the vast majority of my data can be explained by Drapeau's system of ranking participants. Though my analysis actually yielded no clear counter-examples, some issues remain unresolved. The case of verbs involving double predication is most notable among these.

In few verbs I identified as involving double predication, the incorporation of a classifier medial was consistent with the requirements of both the Semantic Role Hierarchy and the Animacy Hierarchy. However, each instance required one role to be assigned twice, contrary to what semantic role theories in general allow. Accordingly, Drapeau (2008c) did not foresee these situations and her paper provides no means of deciding which of the two Patients ought to be incorporated. A fourth constraint may thus be necessary to account for these data.

Interestingly, while an inanimate Agent cannot be the subject of a transitive verb (see Drapeau, 2008c), my analysis shows that a reduction in valency allows inanimate Agents to acquire subject status in the presence of an inanimate Patient. Indeed, while inanimate Agents are lower than animate Agents in Drapeau's ranking of participants, it remains unclear just how much lower they actually rank.

Furthermore, my intransitive verbs with two semantic roles (hence, two semantic participants) show beyond a doubt that classifier medials may replace an external noun just as generic medials do (see 5.3). This corroborates what other authors, most

recently Lachapelle (2008), have already mentioned and supports Drapeau (2008c), who sees “no reason to slice up medials into different processes.”

Medials with the Instrument role yielded an important discovery concerning their relationship with instrument finals. In many cases, the Instrument medial was found to “classify” an entity whose presence is merely implied by the final. As explained in Drapeau (2008b), although a noun is sometimes required in the English translation of instrument finals (e.g. *-ah-* “by using an object”), it is wrong to interpret this as evidence of an incorporated argument. But in a considerable number of cases, medials bearing an Instrument role referred to the very argument that the instrument final is not supposed to indicate. The data involving Instrument medials shows yet again that the use of classifier medials is not limited to the classification of external nouns. They can also be used not only to replace an external noun, but to incorporate a noun which syntax would not allow—a noun that, were it not for the medial, would only exist in the clumsy English translation of the final.

Lastly, the few verbs in my data that contained complex medials (medials containing more than one morpheme) provided some powerful counter-examples to Goddard’s scheme of verb stem derivation and the very idea of “complex medials.” First, it was found that the pairs of morphemes in complex medials are not fixed. Indeed, the morpheme for “foot” can be combined with two different classifier morphemes to form two different medials. Second, in cases where the complex medial was composed of two classifier morphemes, it was found that the two classifier morphemes within the medial bore two different semantic roles. These findings are contrary to Goddard’s (1990) very idea of complex medials and pose a challenge to his account of verb stem derivation in Algonquian languages. Moreover, they support Bloomfield’s prior explanation of Algonquian stem derivation (Bloomfield, 1946), which does allow multiple medials.

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