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The Structure of Reflexive Clauses in Michif: A Relational Grammar Approach

Larry Lee Lovell

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THE STRUCTURE OF REFLEXIVE CLAUSES IN MICHIF: A RELATIONAL GRAMMAR APPROACH

by
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Bachelor of Science, Middle Tennessee State University, 1982

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
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for the degree of
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This thesis submitted by Larry Lee Lovell in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of M. A. in Linguistics from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done.

Stephen A. Makett

John O. Crawford

Norton D. Kinghorn

This thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

A. William Johnson 9/17/64

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Date August 9, 1984
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ABSTRACT

Work in Relational Grammar has made possible the characterization of such notions as 'passive' and 'reflexive' in terms of grammatical relations and relational changes. More recent work in Italian has revealed evidence supporting the notions of retroherent advancement and cancellation.

This study examines reflexive clauses in Michif, a language with Algonquian verb morphology. It shows (1) that the conditions for the occurrence of the reflexive morpheme and the passive morpheme may be formulated simply using concepts available in RG, (2) that the structure of reflexive Passive clauses involves retroherent advancement, and (3) that there exist initially unaccusative clauses in Michif which also involve retroherent advancements with accompanying reflexive verb morphology.

There is no strong evidence in Michif to support either of the current resolution strategies for multiattachments. The question of final (in)transitivity of reflexive clauses, crucial to a determination of their final strata (and thus their complete structure), is a complex one--apparently not answerable in terms of verb morphology alone--for which an adequate syntactic test remains to be discovered.
Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

Recent work in relational grammar (RG) has provided evidence for formulation of certain proposed universal laws and other hypotheses. Perlmutter (1983) and Perlmutter and Rosen (1984) contain works supporting such proposals as:

- The Universal Characterization of Passivization
- The Multiattachment Hypothesis
- The Unaccusative Hypothesis
- The Notion of Cancellation
- The Notion of Retroherent Advancement
- The Final-1 Law

all of which have some bearing on the topic of this thesis: the structure of reflexive clauses in Michif.

Other work by Rosen, especially her dissertation (1981), is even more closely associated with this topic. Her proposed solutions for problematic reflexive constructions in Italian are similar to proposals I make here and the credit is hers not only for breaking the ground but for paving the way, especially where the notion of Retroherent Advancement, and the use of The Unaccusative Hypothesis in conjunction with it, is concerned.
1.2 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Michif has been described by Crawford as 'a mixture of French and Cree, ... with some Chippewa influence' (1983:vii) and has been the language studied at the University of North Dakota sessions of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (UND-SIL) for several years. Boteler (1971), Peske (1981), Weaver (1982), and Speers (1983) have written theses directly connected with this language; Rhodes (1976b) and Evans (1982) have written papers on Michif. Crawford has, perhaps, published most extensively on the subject (1976, 1978) and has most recently edited The Michif Dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree, a work authored by two native speakers, Laverdure and Allard (1983). For those unacquainted with Michif, the grammatical sketch by Rhodes (1976b) and Crawford's sociolinguistic articles provide a helpful introduction.

1.3 PRIMARY DATA BASE

The release of Laverdure and Allard in the fall of 1983 was timely for me because it followed my own introduction to the study of Michif that summer. The dictionary, which employs an English-Michif arrangement, contains many illustrative sentences, and therein a wealth of cultural information. It attracted me as a possible primary data base for my study for several reasons. First, although edited by Crawford, it is, in his words, 'essentially the work of two people: Patline Laverdure and Ida Rose Allard' (1983:ix); therefore, it is a work primarily by native speakers and, as such, provides insights which material elicited by someone not well acquainted with the language and culture might easily overlook. Second, it is a substantial body of work and provides a tremendous amount of data about the language. Third, it is material that has no direct link with my topic (through elicitation, designed study, or questionnaire) or with the theoretical framework I employ; so, it can function as an unbiased source of data, collected and compiled in such a way as to be free of the bugaboo of 'finding what one is looking for', something at times difficult to avoid with specially elicited material.

This primary data base has been supplemented by my own elicited material, by texts and elicited paradigms supplied by Dean Saxton, field methods instructor at UND-SIL for the past seven years, and by my conversations with Rose Ann
Swenson, a native speaker who has worked both as a language helper with SIL during the summers and as a language helper in Michif language courses during the fall and spring semesters at UND for the past few years. In addition, the works in closely related languages have served as guidelines and crosschecks on my data.

1.4 SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Weaver (1982) describes Michif verb morphology and gives an RG analysis of what, in traditional Algonquian literature, are called 'inverse forms'. Using proposals from Rhodes (1976a), she argues that Michif employs obligatory passivization 'when the initial 2 is above the initial 1' on a hierarchy\(^3\) (1982, p.16). Although Wolfart and others have argued against calling Algonquian 'inverse forms' passives on the basis of stylistic options (either being available or not being available), Jolley has made the important point that form and function should not be confused, that the form of passives in both Indo-European and Algonquian is a 2 to 1 advancement (1982, p.25),\(^4\) a point Weaver reiterates (1982, p.17-8).

The question of whether Algonquian languages have a true passive or simply an 'inverse form' has been debated in the literature for years. Wolfart (who opposes a passive analysis) provides an excellent review of the literature pertinent to the question for Cree up to the time of his
publication (1973). Jolley (1982) provides a review of the literature on the inverse-passive controversy and reaches the opposite conclusion from Wolfart.

The Universal Characterization of Passivization by Perlmutter and Postal (1983a) makes possible the kind of analysis described by Jolley, one which focuses upon form rather than function. And, although the analysis presented here does not interpret inverse constructions as passives, clauses which are analyzed as involving passivization are done so on the basis of Perlmutter and Postal's Universal Characterization of Passivization which focuses upon form rather than function.

In his analysis of Menomini, Bloomfield includes the most extensive account of reflexive constructions in an Algonquian language of which I am aware (1962, p.280-98). He finds four types of reflexive constructions, which for various reasons he terms (1) explicit reflexives, (2) passive reflexives, (3) reflexives of useful action, and (4) middle reflexives. With one exception types (1), (3), and (4) are the subject of Chapter II; type (2) is the subject of Chapter III. No attempt is made here to classify reflexives according to function; rather, an attempt is made to account for the facts of Michif syntax. That is not to imply that we ignore the matter of function. However, where two forms which are claimed to function differently are indistinguishable in their relative morphological
composition, then one must appeal to extra-syntactical arguments based on extra-syntactical facts to settle the matter.

Our claim is that where morphological similarity exists between two forms, with perhaps little apparent similarity in function, it is often the case that the morphological similarity is explainable in terms of grammatical relations and rules authorizing relational changes, such as the rule of Passive formulated by Perlmutter and Postal (1983a). More specifically, the kind of problematic reflexive morphology which in related Algonquian languages has required complicated descriptions based on function can be adequately handled in Michif by relatively simple formulations based on notions available within the theoretical framework of Relational Grammar—this is our thesis.

1.5 A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Introduction. As I was to learn later, my study of reflexive constructions in Michif began on the very first day when my language helper introduced himself:

(1.1)

zhinikawshoun Zhorzh
(freely): 'my name is George'
In the course of my second year of study at UND-SIL during the summer of 1983, I elicited more forms having similar verb morphology. Then, during the spring of 1984, after the publication of The Michif Dictionary, I began a search through it for other similar constructions. At about the same time Steve Marlett suggested that I also investigate clauses like (1.2) below, which involve very similar morphology:

(1.2)

dawhkoushin
'I'm sick'

During the course of my investigations I noticed the close association of the apparent semantic domains of clauses like (1.2) with clauses like (1.3):

(1.3)

dawshtaypayin
'I'm recovering'

Both (1.2) and (1.3) have arguments which are initially Patients. Also, both (1.2) and (1.3) have morphology which distinguishes them from other intransitive clauses which seem to take arguments which are initially (and finally) Agents or Actors.
My investigations ultimately included clauses of all three types: those having verb morphology like (1.1), (1.2), and (1.3).

1.5.2

Method. In order to expand my data base as widely as possible in as short a time as possible, I read through The Michif Dictionary, noting the three types of verb morphology mentioned above. This data was then entered on index cards, and subsequently transferred to computer files for ease of manipulation. Entries are alphabetized according to the Michif verb and include both the English gloss, and the English citation under which the entry may be found. In all, about 1300 cards were prepared, a little over 400 for each of the three morphological types under investigation. With such a cross-referencing system established, I was able to create a Michif-English file, sort for a particular string (which could be the surface form(s) of a morpheme), and obtain a listing of all occurrences of the string in the file. This facilitated the identification of roots and the analysis of the verb morphology. Where questions arose or gaps remained I was able to elicit data from the language helpers for UND-SIL during the summer of 1984.

Rather than switching back to one of the orthographies used by other Algonquianists, I chose to use the orthography employed in The Michif Dictionary. I recognize that there
are certain disadvantages in departing from established patterns; nevertheless, my goals include (1) complying with the now established orthography preferred by the authors of the first sizable Michif dictionary and (2) providing a source of Michif predicates (both transitive and intransitive) alphabetized in Michif as a basis for further study; although it is impractical to include the bulk of my work in this study, a partial listing of predicates obtained from my readings of the dictionary is included in Appendices B, C, and D in hope that, however rough the glosses, someone else's task may be simplified. Since many of the forms obtained from the dictionary occur with illustrative examples, it is advantageous to follow the dictionary's orthography for ease of cross-reference.

It should also be pointed out here that I am aware of certain inconsistencies in the dictionary—what might be called a lack of standardization in its orthography—but I have elected to include the variations rather than attempt to edit them out because they may be of value later to someone taking a diachronic approach in a particular study.

1.5.3

Observations. Our observations and analysis form the body of this study. As mentioned above, Bloomfield's type (1), (3), and (4) predicates, which we term ordinary reflexives, are the topic of Chapter II; Bloomfield's type (2), his
'passive reflexives', which we term reflexive Passives, are the topic of Chapter III. In Chapter IV evidence is presented for considering initially intransitive clauses like (1.2) above as involving reflexive morphology as well. Chapter V contains a discussion of subtleties of Michif verb morphology and how they mask notions of final transitivity. Chapter VI concludes the study with a review of the RG proposals which facilitate an analysis of Michif syntax.
Chapter I Notes

1 'Traditional' here contrasts with either a transformational generative approach or a relational grammar approach.

2 The approach Rhodes takes in his analysis of Ojibwa might be viewed as a transitional one between transformational generative and relational, since it was written during the early formative years of relational grammar.

3 See Chapter V.

4 For a more formal definition see Chapter III, Note 3.

5 We could find no evidence supporting the claim that inverse clauses such as (li) and (lii) are finally intransitive.

(li)

wawpamikoow

/o - wawpam - iku - w/

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

3 . - see - INV - 3

'he (farther) sees him (nearer)"
(lii)

kiwawpamitin

/ki - wawpam - iti - n/

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

2 - see - INV - 1

'I see you'

(We refer to the 'theme' affix as 'VOICE' throughout this study because in this position before the CM occur 'active' themes, 'passive' themes, and 'reflexive' themes— notions frequently associated with voice in other languages. We include the inverse theme as a 'VOICE' as well.) It seems to us, in addition, that either the rules for verb agreement are necessarily complicated if clauses like (li) and (lii) are considered finally intransitive, or the phonological rules governing deletions which one must appeal to in inverse constructions must be formulated ad hoc.

Bloomfield considers as 'middle reflexives' forms which are finally -pow, -how, -mow, etc., forms not considered as reflexives for the purpose of this study because there is little evidence in Michif for the notion of reflexivity, either semantically or syntactically, where these forms are concerned. Bloomfield makes a similar observation for Menomini, remarking that middle reflexives vary in their 'degrees of freedom and regularity as to the mode of formation, and of explicitness as to the reflexive
meaning' (1962, p.281). A few examples of forms which Bloomfield cites as middle reflexives in Menomini are listed below (1962, p.294-8):

- **aske:pow** 'he eats raw food'
- **we:nepow** 'he dirties his mouth by eating'
- **ke:hpow** 'he has indigestion'
- **ese:how** 'he dresses thus'
- **wane:how** 'he disguises himself'
- **kesiahow** 'he paddles or swims fast'
- **ace:mow** 'he narrates'
- **neka:mow** 'he sings'
- **ona:mow** 'he speaks the truth'
- **onенow** 'he swims'

Wolfart gives similar forms for Plains Cree (1973, p.73).

7 For instance, the Michif predicate meaning 'to see oneself' might occur in the illustrative example given for the English entry mirror: 'he saw himself in the mirror'.

In the three Appendices (B, C, and D) listing predicates with morphology like (1.1), (1.2), and (1.3), only Appendix D gives both the gloss and the English citation. Space and time do not permit duplicating the entire files here; however, samples of each type are included to give the reader more data than is reasonable to include in the text.
Chapter II
ORDINARY REFLEXIVE CLAUSES

2.1 OVERVIEW
This chapter presents an RG analysis of reflexive clauses utilizing The Multiattachment Hypothesis. After introducing ordinary reflexive clauses in Michif and defining the conditions determining reflexive morphology, another reflexive construction involving an advancement is considered. Finally, two proposals for resolution of multiattachments are examined and the evidence for each of them in Michif is discussed.

2.2 THE MULTIATTACHMENT HYPOTHESIS
In her dissertation on the relational structure of reflexive clauses Rosen cites an unpublished manuscript by Perlmutter (1978) as the source of The Multiattachment Hypothesis (Rosen 1981, p.79). As outlined by Rosen 'the essential feature of Perlmutter's proposal is that reflexive clauses contain a nominal which is doubly attached in some stratum' (1981, p.67). This is a novel analysis; in the past reflexive clauses have been analyzed in terms of coreference and/or anaphora. The nature of Perlmutter's proposal is illustrated by the following clauses from English and their associated stratal diagrams (SDs) (initial strata only):
(2.1)
he sees her

(2.2)
he sees himself

(2.1 SD)  (2.2 SD)

In (2.1 SD) there are separate arcs for the separate nominals bearing the subject 1 and the direct object 2 relations. However in (2.2 SD), although there is a separate 1-arc and a separate 2-arc, both arcs are headed by the same nominal. The nominal in (2.2 SD) is said to be multiattached (doubly attached) in the initial stratum of the SD.

The Multiattachment Hypothesis makes a prediction about the structure of all reflexive clauses. Although Rosen has found limitations on the application of The Multiattachment Hypothesis to all reflexive clauses in Italian, in the next section we will examine ordinary reflexive clauses in Michif to see if the facts in this language may be accounted for by The Multiattachment Hypothesis.
2.3 ORDINARY REFLEXIVE CLAUSES IN MICHIF

An analysis similar to the one applied to (2.1 SD) and (2.2 SD) may be applied in the Michif clauses in (2.3) and (2.4):

(2.3)

\[ \text{wawpamayw} \]

/0 - wawpam - ay - w/
RM - STEM - VOICE - CM \(^3\)
3 - see - (ACT/OB) - 3
'he sees her'

(2.4)

\[ \text{wawpamishoow} \]

/0 - wawpam - ishou - w/
RM - STEM - VOICE - CM
3 - see - REFL - 3
'he sees himself'

(2.3 SD) \hspace{1cm} (2.4 SD)

\[ P \quad 1 \quad 2 \]

\[ \text{wawpam} \quad 3s \quad 3s \quad \]

Again, (2.3 SD) and (2.4 SD) show initial strata only. The difference between (2.3) and (2.4) is found in the VOICE \(^4\)
position, where the reflexive voice morpheme in (2.4) replaces the active voice morpheme in (2.3).

By postulating an initial multiattachment in (2.4 SD), the conditions for the appearance of reflexive morphology on the verb may be stated as follows:

(2.5) CONDITIONS FOR REFLEXIVE MORPHOLOGY
(first formulation)

When a nominal a heads both a 1-arc and a 2-arc in a single stratum, the resulting multiattachment determines reflexive morphology on the verb.

Other examples of ordinary reflexive clauses in Michif are given below to illustrate variations in verb morphology.

(2.6)

kiwawpamishoun
/ki - wwpam - ishou - n/
RM - STEM - VOICE - CM
2 - see - REFL - 2
'you see yourself'
(2.7)

niwawpamishoun
/ni - wawpam - ishou - n/
RM - STEM - VOICE - CM
1 - see - REFL - 1
'I see myself'

As can be seen by comparing (2.4), (2.6), and (2.7) the RM and CM markers vary to reflect the change in persons, but the VOICE morpheme indicating reflexive action is present in all three examples. Both (2.6) and (2.7) have an associated SD with an initial stratum like (2.4 SD), one containing a 1:2 multiattachment.5

2.4 STRATURAL LIMITATIONS ON REFLEXIVE MORPHOLOGY?
The Michif reflexive clauses presented in (2.4), (2.6), and (2.7) involve initial multiattachments which meet the conditions for reflexive morphology as defined in (2.5). There are other clauses which involve initial multiattachments but which do not meet the conditions for reflexivity in the initial stratum. One example of such a clause is (2.8):
(2.8)

Aen saenchur doushtamawshoun

/ni - t - ousht - amaw - ishou - n/


a  belt  1 - 0 - make - 0 - REFL - 1

'I am making a belt for myself' (more literally, 'I am making myself a belt')

(2.8 SD)

As can be seen from (2.8 SD), there is an initial multiattachment which does not meet the conditions in (2.5). However, because Michif permits Ben-2 advancement (registered here on the verb by the morpheme /-amaw/) under certain conditions, the second stratum of (2.8 SD) does fulfill the conditions necessary for reflexive morphology to appear on the verb.

The fact that there is a multiattachment of any kind is not a sufficient condition to produce reflexive morphology in Michif. The same basic information expressed in (2.8) may also be expressed by the following clause:
(2.8b)

\[\text{Aen saenchur doushtaen pour niya} \]

\[/ni - t - ousht - ae - n/\]

\[\text{INDF NOM RM -EP- STEM -VOICE- CM PREP PRO} \]

\[\text{a belt 1 -0- make -(ACT/IN)- 1 for 1s} \]

'I am making a belt for myself'

which has the following SD (initial stratum only):

(2.8b SD)

\[\text{In (2.8b SD) there is a multiattachment in the initial stratum, but not one which involves both a 1-arc and a 2-arc. There is no evidence in (2.8b) that an advancement has taken place. And, although (2.8b SD) does not represent the final SD for (2.8b), it does provide an example of an SD for a clause which involves initial multiattachment, but which does not involve reflexive morphology. A more complete SD for (2.8b) is given later in this chapter.} \]

In all the SDs presented thus far involving multiattachment the final stratum has not been shown. In the next section we examine some proposed resolution strategies for multiattachments.
2.5 RESOLUTION OF MULTIATTACHMENTS

Johnson and Postal maintain that all multiattachments (overlapping self-supporting arcs) require resolutions (1980, p.450ff,526-8). Such a requirement means that structures like (2.4 SD), with multiattachments in the final strata, are not well formed in any language. In the following subsections two strategies for resolving multiattachments in Michif are considered.

2.5.1 The 'Pronoun Copy' Strategy. For languages such as English and German where reflexive clauses employ overt pronouns, Perlmutter and Postal suggest resolutions involving copy pronouns (1984a, p.135). This same strategy is referred to by Rosen as 'pronoun birth' (1981, p.17,139-221).

(2.9)

Ich sehe mich
'I see myself'

(2.9 SD)
In the initial strata of SDs of clauses like (2.9) there is some nominal which bears two grammatical relations, in this case, 'ich'. In the succeeding strata of such SDs a pronoun birth occurs, the arc headed by the pronoun replacing one of the arcs headed by the multiattached nominal. Here, 'mich' heads a 2-arc in the final stratum replacing the 2-arc headed by 'ich' in the initial stratum, and, by the replacement, the multiattachment is resolved. Note especially that this pronoun copy replacement strategy creates SDs which are both initially and finally transitive in this case.

As far as the 'pronoun birth' resolution is concerned, we have no evidence in Michif that overt pronouns are involved in clauses like (2.4) wawpamishoow 'he sees himself'. However, we might well postulate 'pronoun birth' as a resolution strategy in clauses such as (2.8b) Aen saenchur dousthan pour niya, where an overt pronoun heads a Ben-arc replacing the initial Ben-arc of the 1:Ben multiattachment. Then, the final SD for (2.8b) would appear as follows:
But again, there is no evidence for overt pronoun copies in the case of reflexive clauses.\(^8\)

### 2.5.2 The Cancellation Strategy

For Italian, Rosen suggests cancellation as a possible resolution strategy for clauses involving multiattaches (1981, p.172-177). She offers a provisional formal definition of cancellation\(^9\) and presents relational networks associated with certain clauses in Italian such as the following:

(2.10)

Mario si odia

'Mario hates himself'
As shown clearly by (2.10 SD), the nominal in (2.10) is initially multiattached, but in the second stratum the 2 relation has been cancelled, resulting in a finally intransitive clause.\(^{10}\) According to Rosen (who follows Perlmutter (1978)), it is the cancellation which produces a reflexive clitic on the verb in such cases.

We have no evidence in Michif at this point that distinguishes between the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis A: The existence of a 1:2 multiattachment in a clause results in reflexive morphology on the verb.
Hypothesis B: Cancellation of the 2-arc of a 1:2 multiattachment results in reflexive morphology on the verb.\(^\text{11}\)

Since we know of no other proposed resolution strategies than the two presented in subsections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, we will assume cancellation for the time being, taking three things into consideration:

1. the Johnson-Postal hypothesis requiring that all multiattachments be resolved (1980, p. 450);
2. the lack of evidence supporting the pronoun birth strategy;
3. the lack of evidence contradicting the cancellation strategy.

There is the possibility that Michif utilizes some form of incorporation of what otherwise would be an overt reflexive pronoun, but investigation of the topic of pronoun incorporation in Michif is beyond the scope of this study.\(^\text{12}\)

If we adopt a cancellation strategy, then final strata can be given for the ordinary reflexive clauses (2.4) and (2.8):
The first formulation for the occurrence of reflexive morphology in (2.5) is now revised accordingly:

(2.11) CONDITIONS FOR REFLEXIVE MORPHOLOGY

(final formulation)

Cancellations of the 2-arc of a 1:2 multiattachment results in reflexive morphology on the verb.
2.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter the conditions for the occurrence of reflexive morphology in Michif were formulated in (2.11) by referring to grammatical relations and relational changes. The conditions specified in (2.11) have as a prerequisite the existence of 1:2 multiattachments. Evidence was also provided which shows that the required conditions determining reflexive morphology need not be met in the initial stratum of a clause, but may be met in a subsequent stratum as a result of an advancement. In addition, it was shown that every multiattachment does not necessarily produce reflexive morphology, only 1:2 multiattachments.

Finally, two proposals for resolution of multiattachments in other languages were examined and it was found that evidence for neither is present in the Michif reflexive clauses considered thus far. But, one proposal (pronoun birth) makes claims which cannot be supported by any evidence from surface forms—there are no overt reflexive pronouns in Michif. The other proposal (cancellation) is adopted on the premise that one or the other must apply.
Chapter II Notes

1 A discussion of The Multiattachment Hypothesis is also included in Perlmutter and Postal (1984a, p.94-97).

2 The central issue in Rosen's study, according to her, is The Multiattachment Hypothesis and predictions it makes about all reflexive clauses. She concludes that in Italian there are some reflexive clauses which do not involve multiattachments in any stratum (1981, p.136-221).

3 See Appendix A for a list of all abbreviations used.

4 The reason for the lumping together of morphemes in this particular position under the heading VOICE was given in Chapter I, Note 5.

5 Throughout the remainder of this study a colon will be used to separate the grammatical signs of the arcs involved in a multiattachment. Thus, a 1:Ben multiattachment is one in which a nominal heads both a 1-arc and a Ben-arc.

6 The conditions governing advancements in Michif are determined to a large degree by a Person Hierarchy which is discussed in section 5.2. Rhodes describes similar obligatory advancements for Ojibwa (1976a, p.129). However, all advancements are not determined by the Person Hierarchy in such a way as to preclude paraphrasing in every instance; that is, there do seem to be clauses in Michif which function as paraphrases of each other in one of which an
advancement is permitted, but not required by the Person Hierarchy. Compare (2.8) and (2.8b) in this respect.

7 Since the 2 relation borne by the multiattached nominal is not being taken over by another nominal, but rather the pronoun copy simply makes explicit the fact that one nominal bears two relations, the pronoun copy heads a 2-arc which replaces the 2-arc of the multiattachment; it creates no chomeur in the process.

8 Johnson and Postal postulate that pronoun copies are involved in all resolutions of multiattachments (1980, p.128). Our statement here does not contradict their proposal; it merely says that overt copy pronouns are not found in ordinary reflexive clauses in Michif. See Note 10.

9 Rosen's formulation is reproduced below:

A cancellation is a pair of strata $c_k$ and $c_{k+1}$ having the property that there exists a nominal $a$ heading exactly $n+1$ distinct arcs in $c_k$ and $n$ distinct arcs in $c_{k+1}$, for some $n$ (1981, p.173).

See Aissen (1982, p.12) for another definition of cancellation suggested by Johnson, as well as a discussion of cancellation as it figures in analyses of other problems in RG. Also see Johnson and Postal (1980, p.128-9) for a similar concept.

10 As I understand them, Johnson and Postal argue against structures like (2.10 SD), favoring instead structures in which replacer arcs subsequently self-erase
(1980, p.128-30). Thus, Rosen's analysis of direct cancellation of the object arc of a multiattachment is a novel one precisely because it does not involve a replacer arc.

11 Hypothesis B logically entails the conditions for Hypothesis A and another condition as well. Because of the facts presented in section 2.4, and because of other facts presented in Chapter IV, we assume that the conditions for Hypothesis A are, in fact, met, making Hypothesis B reasonable.

12 Rhodes has proposed noun incorporation for Ojibwa (1976a), something harder to validate for Michif since nearly all nouns are of French origin, and thus, easily recognizable. The few nouns from Cree which are still used in Michif may be involved in incorporation of some kind. Michif does have a verbalization technique which takes erstwhile French nouns (as well as English loans), with the appropriate definite article, and constructs verbs from them by adding RM and TNS prefixes, and a verbalizing suffix, usually /-iwiw/, to produce predicates like the one in the following example:
(21)

La shayayr awn fayr ka-la rouy-iwiw

/0 - ka -la rouy- iwi - w/

DEF NOM PREP NOM RM-TNS -DEF NOM- VBL- CM

The pail of metal 3-FUT-the rust-VBL-3

'the metal pail will rust'

But this technique is not a productive one, judging by elicited texts and the entries in Laverdure and Allard (1983). Isolating incorporated erstwhile Cree nouns is a step more removed, but perhaps possible; isolating incorporated pronouns is a step more removed still.
Chapter III

REFLEXIVE PASSIVE CLAUSES

3.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter presents two RG analyses of reflexive passive clauses, one of them involving both The Multiattachment Hypothesis and the notion of retroherent advancement. Examples of Michif clauses similar to those Bloomfield (1962) calls 'passive reflexives' in Menomini are then presented and the conditions governing the appearance of the 'passive' morpheme are discussed.

3.2 TWO RG ANALYSES OF REFLEXIVE PASSIVE CLAUSES

As mentioned in Chapter II, ordinary reflexive clauses in English and German, such as (2.2) 'he sees himself' are analyzed by Perlmutter and Postal as involving initial 1:2 multiattachments.

(2.2 SD) (initial stratum only)
Such a multiattachment is then resolved by a pronoun replacer, 'himself' in this case, heading a 2-arc which replaces the 2-arc originally headed by the multiattached nominal, 'he' in this case. The first two strata of (2.2) are given in (2.2 SD2) below:

(2.2 SD2)

In all the ordinary reflexive clauses presented in Chapter II, the final 1-arc is an initial 1-arc.

Now consider the following German clauses:

(3.1)

solche Sachen werden oft gesagt
'such things are often said'

(3.2)

solche Sachen sagen sich oft
'such things are often said'

The plain Passive clause (3.1) has the following SD:
The question which now arises, one which is discussed in Perlmutter and Postal (1984b), is: what are the possible structures for reflexive Passive clauses such as (3.2)? Two alternatives are presented by Perlmutter and Postal, both involving pronominal copies (1984b, p.136,166). These are given in (3.2 SD1) and (3.2 SD2):
In (3.2 SD2) 'solche Sachen' heads only a 2-arc in the initial stratum. But, in the second stratum it heads not only an advancee 1-arc, but a 2-arc as well. This type of advancement, where a nominal heads both an advancee arc and an arc retaining its previous grammatical relation, is termed by Rosen a retroherent advancement (1981, p.21-5). Retroherent advancements characteristically create multiattachments.

Both (3.2 SD1) and (3.2 SD2) are Passive structures because they both involve a 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum. However, (3.2 SD1) does not have a 1:2 multiattachment in a single stratum; (3.2 SD2) does.

Perlmutter and Postal (1984b) favor structures such as (3.2 SD1), although they present an analysis essentially like (3.2 SD2) in an endnote. One important connection they wish to maintain between plain Passive clauses and reflexive
Passive clauses is the fact that both contain an advancee 1-arc and parallel 1- and 2-arcs. Perlmutter and Postal (1984a) define the concept 'parallel arcs' in such a manner that the arcs must have the same tail and same head--but need not occur in the same stratum. Thus 'solche Sachen' in (3.2 SD1) has parallel 1- and 2-arcs: both arcs have the same tail and the same head, although they occur in different strata. In an initial stratum no distinction exists between the concept 'parallel 1- and 2-arcs headed by nominal a' and the concept 'a 1:2 multiattachment headed by nominal a'. But in structures such as (3.2 SD1) and (3.2 SD2) which involve more than just an initial stratum, a distinction is clearly manifested. There is no stratum in (3.2 SD1) in which a single nominal heads both a 1-arc and a 2-arc. Even though the copy pronoun heads a 2-arc in the final stratum, taking over the 2 relation borne by 'solche Sachen' in the initial stratum, there is no true 1:2 multiattachment in (3.2 SD1).

As mentioned in Chapter II, we have observed no overt reflexive pronouns in Michif, and thus cannot posit final strata such as those given in (3.2 SD1) or (3.2 SD2). The important point to be made here is not a distinction between initial and final strata--they are the same for (3.2 SD1) and (3.2 SD2)--but rather, the linking of reflexivity with a particular syntactic phenomenon.
Since in Chapter II we defined the conditions determining reflexive morphology for Michif so as to require a 1:2 multiattachment in some stratum, we reject structures like (3.2 SD1) in favor of those like (3.2 SD2) on the grounds that in Michif, it is not a sufficient condition for reflexive morphology that a nominal head parallel 1- and 2-arcs; it is necessary that a nominal head parallel 1- and 2-arcs in the same stratum. Henceforth, to avoid ambiguity, we employ the term 'multiattachment' to refer to 'parallel arcs occurring within the same stratum'. We have used the term 'multiattachment' in this sense throughout this study, but make the clarification here explicit:
(3.3) DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'PARALLEL ARCS' AND 'A MULTIATTACHMENT':

\[ N \]

\[ \text{A} \quad \text{GR}_x \quad c_i \quad \text{GR}_y \quad c_j \quad \text{B} \]

where \( x \) and \( y \) are grammatical signs (1, 2, Ben, etc.) denoting the grammatical relation (GR) born by the head, \( a \).

(a) If \( i \neq j \), arc A is parallel to arc B.

(b) If \( i = j \), there is an \( x:y \) multiattachment in stratum \( c_i \).

One reason a distinction is being made here between 'a nominal heading parallel arcs' and 'a nominal heading a multiattachment' is discussed in Chapter IV.

In the next section we present some examples of Michif reflexive Passive clauses.
3.3 REFLEXIVE PASSIVE CLAUSES IN MICHIF

In Michif, pairs of verbs like the following occur (the forms given in each instance are for third person singular animate final subject):

(3.5)
(OR) ahishoow "he assigns himself"
(RP) ahikawshoow "he is assigned"

(3.6)
(OR) kitimahishoow "he abuses himself"
(RP) kitimahikawshoow "he gets a raw deal"

(3.7)
(OR) kishinahamawshoow "he teaches himself"
(RP) kishinahamawkawshoow "he is taught, trained"

(3.8)
(OR) nakanishoow "he abstains"
(RP) nakanikawshoow "he is restricted"

(3.9)
(OR) pishkaymishoow "he fend's for himself"
(RP) pishkaymikawshoow "he is controlled"

(3.10)
(OR) shawkihishoow "he loves himself"
(RP) shawkihikawshoow "he is loved"
The OR forms of the verbs display the reflexive morpheme /-ishou/ as described in Chapter II. Note that in (3.7) (OR) the /i/ of /-ishou/ is elided when preceded by /aw/.

The RP forms of the verbs also contain the reflexive morpheme /-ishou/ 5 In each case the reflexive morpheme is preceded by /-ikaw/, the /i/ of /-ishou/ again being elided after /aw/.6 The only morphological difference between an OR form and its RP form below it is the presence of /-ikaw/ in the RP form.

Such RP forms as those above are what Bloomfield terms 'passive reflexive' forms in Menomini (1962, p.281-282-3). Although he analyzes /-esi/ as the morpheme denoting 'explicit reflexives', he analyzes /-ka:si/ as a single morpheme denoting 'passive reflexives' (1962, p.281-2). For Menomini he gives no single generalized gloss for forms with /-ka:si/, but in his work on Algonquian he refers to them as 'verbs of undergoing' (1946, p.108). Likewise, for Eastern Ojibwa he gives /-ka:so/ the gloss 'undergo action', but here he further analyzes /-ka:so/ as being 'a complex of /-ke:/ ... with /-so/ ', where the /-ke:/ apparently denotes 'action on an indefinite object' (1958, p.77,87). We shall discuss forms associated with 'action on an indefinite object' a bit later in this section. Suffice it to say that in the examples to follow ((3.11) and (3.12)) there is a co-occurrence of /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ where objects are specified. Bloomfield's analysis thus does not account for the facts in these Michif clauses.
The analysis presented in this thesis is novel in that it will account for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ by separate criteria, but in a manner such that their co-occurrence is predictable; that is, the co-occurrence of /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ is a result of the fact that the conditions for the occurrence of each of them has been met in a certain clause. We have already demonstrated the occurrence of /-ishou/ apart from /-ikaw/ and formulated the conditions for its occurrence. Here we account for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ apart from, or in conjunction with, /-ishou/.

If we examine Michif clauses where the RP forms occur we find the following cases:

(A) clauses where the final subject is a 'non-Agent', and the Agent or Actor mentioned is marked by a preposition or a postposition;

(B) clauses where the final subject is a 'non-Agent', and any Agent or Actor is left unspecified.

In the examples which follow, (3.11) and (3.12) illustrate case (A) above; (3.13) illustrates case (B). For the time being, /-ikaw/ will be labelled with three question marks (???) in the morpheme cuts; exactly what it signifies is the topic of this and the next section.
Aberdeen kee-ahikawshoow Zhorzh par li BIA

/0 – kee – ahi – ikaw – ishou – w/
ADV RM-TNS-STEM-??-VOICE-CM PREP DEF NOM
Aberdeen 3-PAST-put-??-REFL-3 by the BIA
'the BIA assigned George to Aberdeen', (literally
'George was assigned to Aberdeen by the BIA')

(3.11 SD)

weechihikawshoowuk l'azhawnsree oushchi
/0-weechihi-ikaw-ishou-w-ak/
RM-STEM-??-VOICE-CM-PL DEF-NOM POST
3 - help - ?? - REFL-3-PL the-agency from
'they are receiving help from the agency' or
'they are being helped by the agency'
In (3.11) the preposition *par* 'by' marks the 1-Chomeur, just as in French Passives where *par* marks 1-Chomeurs. A few Michif postpositions have been retained from Cree and one of these is illustrated in (3.12), where *oushchi* 'from, by' marks the 1-Chomeur of the clause. Thus, in (3.11) and (3.12) the Actor or Agent, the initial 1 of the clause, is being specially marked or flagged to indicate that it does not bear the subject relation in the final stratum. It appears that the initial 1 has been placed en chomage by an advancement to 1 of another nominal. Also, verb agreement is with the final 1 of the clause, not with the initial 1. If we vary (3.12) to 'I was being helped by the agency' we obtain (3.12b):
(3.12b)

geeweechihikawshoun l'azhawnsree oushchi

/ni-kee-weechih-i-kaw-ishou-n/

RM-TNS-STEM-???-VOICE-CM DEF-NOM POST

l-PAST-help-???-REFL-1 the-agency by

'I was being helped by the agency'

There is clearly no agreement with a third person nominal in (3.12b), even though the initial l is third person. Verb agreement is with the final l only.

Now consider (3.13), where only one nominal is specified, the initial Actor or Agent being left unspecified:

(3.13)

keekitimahikawshoow

/0 - kee - kitimahi - ikaw - ishou - w/

RM - TNS - STEM - ?? - VOICE - CM

3 -PAST- abuse - ?? - REFL - 3

'he got a raw deal', (literally

'he was abused')
In no case is an overt nuclear term other than the final subject allowed to appear without a prepositional or postpositional flag when both /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ are present:

(3.14)

*weechihikawshoowuk l'azhawnsree

(3.15)

*Li BIA Zhorzh kee-ahikawshoow Aberdeen

Thus, ungrammatical sentences result when the initial subjects are not flagged in an appropriate way.

The question which arises now is: what are the conditions for the appearance of /-ikaw/ on the verb? If we assume that (3.11) through (3.13) involve Passive and that this is indicated by /-ikaw/, then we may formulate conditions for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ as follows:
(3.16) CONDITIONS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF /-ikaw/
(first formulation):

A 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum
is registered by the appearance of /-ikaw/ on
the verb.

A straightforward Passive analysis of the morpheme /-ikaw/
is complicated by the existence in Michif of other pairs of
clauses such as the following, which Bloomfield refers to as
those involving 'action on an indefinite object' for
Menominiec:

(3.17)

\textit{yer geenootinow}

\textit{/ni -kee- nootin -aw- w/}

ADV RM-TNS- STEM - VOICE - CM

yesterday 1 -PAST-fight- (ACT/PR) - 3

'I fought him yesterday'

(3.17 SD)
(3.18)

yer geenootinikawn

/ní - kée - nootin - ikaw - n/

ADV RM - TNS - STEM - ??? - CM

yesterday 1 -PAST-fight- ??? - 1

'I fought yesterday'

The SD for (3.17) consists of a single transitive stratum. Note that there is verb agreement with both the final 1 and final 2. However, verb agreement in (3.18) is with only one nominal, the final 1. In addition, there is an /-ikaw/ morpheme which must be accounted for.

Although there is the possibility that the /-ikaw/ of (3.11) through (3.13) and the /-ikaw/ of (3.18) are phonologically identical but morphologically distinct, we make the more interesting assumption that the two /-ikaw/s are, in fact, the same morpheme. Before presenting the analysis, however, it should be pointed out that not all verbs in Michif which may or may not take an object have forms with /-ikaw/ in the sense of (3.18). For instance, the following verbs function essentially like nootin—they have one form when an object is specified and another form with /-ikaw/ when no object is specified (only the verb stems are given for Michif):
(3.19)

aymisht  'read'
manish    'cut'
mounawh   'dig'
oushpayh  'write'
payhkiht  'cleanse'

Contrasting with verbs like those in (3.19) are others which have the same forms when an inanimate object is specified as when no object is specified:

(3.20)

meeyawht  'smell'
minihkw   'drink'
nakamoo   'sing'
payht     'hear'
pimouht   'walk'
pimpawht  'run'

For Italian, Rosen found it useful to mark verbs in the lexicon according to whether they took initial nuclear terms optionally or obligatorily. Thus, the verbs in (3.19) may be thought of as being marked as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblig</td>
<td>Oblig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
meaning that the verb requires both an initial subject and an initial direct object.

The verbs in (3.20) may be thought of as being marked:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
1 & 2 \\
\hline
\text{Oblig} & \text{Opt}
\end{array}
\]

meaning that the verb may take an initial object, but one is not required.

Based on the lexical marking scheme presented above, (3.18) involves a verb which requires that an initial object be present. The SD for (3.18) includes a direct object:

(3.18 SD1) (initial stratum only)

We now turn to a discussion of some of the possible analyses which account for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ both in clauses like (3.11) through (3.13) and in clauses like (3.18).
3.3.1
The '2-arc Cancellation' Analysis. If one assumes that the 2 relation is simply cancelled (something not proposed before for such clauses in RG), so that no advancements occur, then final verb agreement is accounted for. Such an approach is represented by (3.18 SD2), which is initially transitive but finally intransitive.

(3.18 SD2)

![Diagram](image)

Cancellation of arcs not involved in multiattachments has not been proposed before, although Johnson and Postal (1980) propose 'erasure' of arcs under certain conditions. Entertaining the notion of cancellation of non-multiattached arcs for the moment, we revise (3.16), obtaining (3.21):

(3.21) CONDITIONS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF /-ikaw/

(second formulation):

Cancellation of a 2-arc is signaled by the appearance of /-ikaw/ on the verb.
This '2-arc Cancellation' analysis has ramifications for the analysis of ordinary reflexive clauses, however. If (3.21) is correct, the final strata of ordinary reflexive clauses do not result from a cancellation of the 2-arc headed by a multiattached nominal. For in the ordinary reflexive clauses presented in Chapter II, such as (2.4) wawpamishoow 'he sees himself', there is no indication of a cancellation of the 2-arc of the initial 1:2 multiattachment because /-ikaw/ is absent. Following (3.21), just two possibilities remain in the case of ordinary reflexive clauses:

(A) Ordinary reflexive clauses involve an unresolved 1:2 multiattachment (and are finally transitive).

(B) Ordinary reflexive clauses involve an undiscovered resolution strategy for 1:2 multiattachments (and are finally intransitive).

Both these possibilities force novel analyses. In addition, (3.21) raises such questions as: why should the 2-arc of a 1:2 multiattachment resulting from a retroherent Passive advancement subsequently undergo cancellation, while the 2-arc of a 1:2 multiattachment resulting from a Ben-2 advancement not undergo subsequent cancellation?
Because of the complications it introduces, we reject the '2-arc Cancellation' analysis and examine an alternative.

3.3.2
The '2-1 Advancement' Analysis
Postal has suggested a strategy for obtaining finally intransitive clauses from initially transitive clauses through the phenomenon of Antipassive (1977). With an Antipassive analysis, (3.18) has the following SD:

(3.18 SD3)

In this case, as with the reflexive Passive cases, we may posit that the presence of /-ikaw/ signals a 2-1 advancement. In (3.18 SD3) that advancement is not out of a transitive stratum, however. The constraint that the 2-1 advancement be from a transitive stratum must be lifted from (3.16); thus, we obtain the more general (3.22):
(3.22) CONDITIONS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF /-ikaw/

(final formulation):

A 2-1 advancement in a clause that is initially transitive is registered by the appearance of /-ikaw/ on the verb.

The more general formulation in (3.22) implies that /-ikaw/ is not a morpheme which marks Passive as defined by Perlmutter and Postal (1983a); therefore we label /-ikaw/ as a 'passive' morpheme, rather than as a 'Passive' morpheme to respect this formal distinction.

3.3.3 Other Reflexive Passive Clauses. Before closing this chapter on reflexive Passive clauses it should be pointed out that it is also possible to have reflexive Passive clauses which involve other advancements, such as Ben-2. The following two examples demonstrate clauses which are more or less paraphrases of each other. In (3.23) there are no advancements; in (3.24) there is a Ben-2 advancement, registered on the verb by /-amaw/:
(3.23)

Maree lee shmeezh keeshoushkawham pour niya
/0-kee-shoushkawh-am-w/
NOM DEF NOM RM-TNS-STEM-VOICE-CM PREP PRO
Mary the shirts 3-PAST-iron-(ACT/IN)-3 for ls
'Mary ironed the shirts for me'

(3.23 SD)

(3.24)

lee shmeezh geeshoushkawhamawkwashoun Maree
oushchi
/ni-kee-shoushkawh-amaw-ikaw-ishou-n/
DEF NOM RM-TNS-STEM - (3-2) -VOICE-VOICE-CM NOM POST
the shirts 1-PAST-iron- 0 -PASS-REPL- 1 Mary by
'I got the shirts ironed for me by Mary' (more literally 'I was ironed the shirts by Mary')
In (3.24 SD) the requirements for Passive are met, for the 2-1 advancement is out of a transitive stratum. As indicated by (3.24 SD) the conditions for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ are met, namely a 2-1 advancement in a clause which is initially transitive. Also, the conditions for the occurrence of /-ishou/ are met by the cancellation of a 2-arc of a 1:2 multiattachment.

To our knowledge Michif is the first language observed to have reflexive Passive clauses in which there is overt marking of the initial-1's having been placed en chomage.

3.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter two RG analyses of reflexive Passive clauses were examined, and, because of the conditions necessary for reflexive morphology in Michif, the analysis involving retroherent advancement was chosen. Then, reflexive Passive clauses in Michif were examined and shown to have verb
agreement with the person of but one nominal—the final l. And, although reflexive Passive clauses have structures which satisfy the requirements of Passivization, it was shown that Passive is not a necessary condition for the appearance of /-ikaw/ on the verb, merely a sufficient condition. The occurrence of /-ikaw/ is more general and is conditioned by clause-initial transitivity, as well as by a 2-1 advancement.
Chapter III Notes

Strictly speaking there is a distinction between the 'arcs' of RNs and the 'paths' of SDs. An arc relates a particular head to a particular tail for a single grammatical relation for one or more strata:

\[
  \text{N} \\
  1 \xrightarrow{a_{c_1c_2}} \text{N}
\]

Argument \(a\) heads a 1-arc in strata \(c_1\) and \(c_2\) with tail \(N\). On the other hand what is revealed in a stratal diagram are the grammatical relations borne by an argument in any particular stratum:

\[
  \text{N} \\
  2 \xrightarrow{a} \text{N} \\
  1 \xrightarrow{b} \text{N}
\]

Nominal \(a\) heads a 2-arc in the initial stratum, but it heads a 1-arc in the subsequent stratum. The 'line' connecting clause node \(N\) to head \(a\) is spoken of as a 'path' (Aissen 1982, p.8).
This formulation of ordinary reflexive clauses includes clauses such as (2.8) which have an initial l:Ben multiattachment also, since the l-arc is still an initial l-arc.

When written with an upper case 'P', the word Passive is used to refer to Perlmutter and Postal's conception of passivization. As defined by them,

Passive is the rule ... that sanctions the existence of a l-arc for a nominal Na in stratum ck+l of a clause node C, where Na heads a 2-arc in stratum ck of C, and where there is some nominal Nb which heads a l-arc in stratum ck (1983a, p.18).

Stated informally, Passive is a rule sanctioning a 2-1 advancement out of a transitive stratum. In the formal SDs given below, only (3ii SD) meets the conditions of Passive:

(3i SD)  

(3ii SD)

The stratum from which the 2-1 advancement takes place in (3i SD) is not transitive, and therefore (3i SD) does not involve Passive.
4 See also Perlmutter (To appear).

5 In Chapter II, we presented ordinary reflexive clauses which in every instance had semantically animate, volitional arguments as final subjects. Indeed, it is a rare situation in which an inanimate argument can be the final subject of an ordinary reflexive clause in the sense of those presented in Chapter II. Our efforts to elicit ordinary reflexive clauses with inanimate final subjects produced one of two responses by our informants: (1) they replied that the sentences were non-sensical, 'you can't say that'; or (2) they responded by giving an animate form, ignoring the 'disagreement' in animacy for the moment. Thus, where li bwaw 'the stick', a syntactically inanimate noun, is inserted in a clause such as 'the stick is rubbing itself' either of the two responses above could be expected. In the second case, the form given was shawminishoow 'he is touching himself'. Also, see Chapter IV, Note 3.

But for clauses like those given in (3.5) through (3.10) there is very often another form given where an inanimate final subject is involved. These forms involve the morpheme /-itay/, and, unlike other forms with inanimate final subjects which take an /-n/ as a CM, these forms take a /-w/. Thus, two clauses like (3iii) and (3iv) show a minimal difference in verb morphology:
The only difference between (3iii) and (3iv) as far as verb morphology is concerned is the substitution of /-itay/ for /-ishou/ in the clause involving an inanimate nominal (3iv). We assume for now that there may be two reflexive morphemes, one used with animate final subjects, /-ishou/, and one used with inanimate final subjects, /-itay/. This allomorphy is discussed again in Chapter IV. We assume, further, that it is a semantic restriction which prevents /-itay/ from occurring in ordinary reflexive clauses. For now, we acknowledge that clauses such as (3iv) are exceptions to the rules of verb agreement as we now understand them.
Note that in (3.7) (RP) the /i/ of /-ikaw/ is elided after the preceding /aw/ as well. Although other forms suggest that the /i/ in both /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ may be an epenthetic one, we have chosen, for now, to write the underlying forms as /-ikaw/ and /-ishou/ with an accompanying deletion rule:

Rule 1:  \( i \rightarrow \emptyset / aw \)

Some speakers employ oushchi as a preposition in every circumstance, making no distinction between erstwhile French prepositions and erstwhile Cree postpositions as to their placement in a clause. Although they continue to use the Cree word, the marking system appears to have moved to a prepositional one following the French system. This is interesting because, in other ways the language appears to have borrowed French words, such as the nouns and their associated articles differentiated for gender, but has imposed upon them the Cree system of syntactic (in)animacy. Adopting an 'all prepositional' approach represents a trend in the opposite direction.

Rosen refers to such marking of a predicate as a 'statement of its relational valence' (1981, p.49-58).

Rosen does propose simple cancellation when the final \( 2 \) is a pronoun (1981, p.173).

It should also be noted here that Antipassive has been proposed by Frantz (1981, 1984) for Blackfoot, another Algonquian language.
Chapter IV
REFLEXIVE UNACCUSATIVE CLAUSES

4.1 OVERVIEW
This chapter begins with an RG analysis of intransitive clauses, including a discussion of two classes of predicates which determine different initial strata. Then, intransitive clauses in Michif are introduced; the morphology of unergative clauses is compared with that of unaccusative clauses and the findings discussed.

4.2 AN RG ANALYSIS OF INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES
Perlmutter and Postal have proposed that initially intransitive clauses are not uniform in their structures (1983b, p.69). They have found it useful to distinguish two classes of initially intransitive clauses. Initially intransitive clauses which involve an Agent, Actor, or an argument which exercises volition are termed unergative clauses. The following are examples of typical unergative clauses in English:

(4.1)
I'm walking
(4.2)

he's swimming

(4.3)

they're shouting

Clauses (4.1) through (4.3) have SDs consisting of a single stratum:

(4.1 - 4.3 SD)

Unergative clauses contrast with unaccusative clauses.¹ The argument of an initially unaccusative clause is generally an Experiencer, a Patient, or some nominal which does not exercise volition:

(4.4)

I'm falling

(4.5)

it's exploding
Clauses like (4.4) through (4.6) are thought to have SDs in which the argument bears the 2 relation in the initial stratum:

(4.4 - 4.6 SD) (initial stratum only)

Predicting whether clauses are initially unergative or unaccusative requires correlation of semantic roles and initial grammatical relations, an interesting requirement. Rosen describes the interface between semantic roles and initial grammatical relations as lacking one-to-one correspondence in any universal sense (1984, p.38-77). She presents effective arguments which counter The Universal Alignment Hypothesis of Perlmutter and Postal (1984a, p.97-100), but concludes that 'cross-linguistically, semantic roles prove to be related to initial G[rammatical] R[elation]s in a non-random way, but not by any reliable homomorphism' (1984, p.73). The Universal Alignment Hypothesis is not perfect; but, it is very useful as a rule of thumb.
Perlmutter and Postal have generated a list of what they expect are unaccusative predicates cross-linguistically (1984a, p.98-9), a list which includes various categories:

(4.7) CATEGORIES OF UNACCUSATIVE PREDICATES

(following Perlmutter and Postal (1984a))

(a) Predicates expressed by adjectives in English;

(b) Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient

(c) Predicates of existing and happening;

(d) Involuntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses

(e) Aspectual predicates;

(f) Duratives.

Perlmutter and Postal are clear in pointing out that the categorization given above is only one among many possible for unaccusative predicates.

4.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN MICHIF

Using Perlmutter and Postal's list of intransitive predicates and their classification (and subsequent categorization) of unergative and unaccusative predicates as a guide, we obtain six distinct morphological patterns of
predicates in Michif intransitive clauses. These six patterns are discussed below in four subsections; in the first, four patterns found in initially unergative clauses are discussed; in the second, predicates of initially unaccusative clauses which exhibit these same four patterns are discussed; in the third and fourth subsections, two other patterns, associated almost exclusively with typical unaccusative predicates, are introduced.

4.3.1

Four Patterns of Initially Unergative Clauses. According to Bloomfield (1958 and 1962) and Wolfart (1973) intransitive verb stems generally end in a vocoid in the closely related Algonquian languages of Menomini, Eastern Ojibwa, and Plains Cree. Four common patterns exist in Michif for the combination of stem final vocoids with CMs for local (/−n/) and non-local (/−w/) forms of predicates of initially unergative clauses. These four patterns are illustrated by the examples which follow:

(4.8) (Pattern A: Verb Stems Ending in /aw/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kinipawn</td>
<td>'you are sleeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninipawn</td>
<td>'I am sleeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipow</td>
<td>'(s)he is sleeping'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4.9) (Pattern B: Verb Stems Ending in /i/)

kiweekin 'you dwell, live'
niweekin 'I dwell'
weekiw '(s)he dwells'

(4.10) (Pattern C: Verb Stems Ending in a Contoid)

kipimouhtawn 'you are walking'
bimouhtawn 'I am walking'
pimouhtayw '(s)he is walking'

(4.11) (Pattern D: Verb Stems Ending in /ou/)

kinakamoun 'you are singing'
ninakamoun 'I am singing'
nakamoow '(s)he is singing'

The four patterns may be analyzed as follows:
(4.12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local</th>
<th>Non-local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern A: -awn</td>
<td>-ow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/aw-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern B: -in</td>
<td>-iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/i-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern C: -awn</td>
<td>-ayw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/aw-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern D: -our</td>
<td>-oow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ou-n/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be pointed out here that even though the stems of verbs in Pattern A and Pattern C show the same /aw/ in the local forms, still the non-local forms vary. Pattern C follows the same pattern as the Transitive Animate paradigm, where verb stems typically end in a contoid, either /-m/ or /-ht/, although occasionally stem final /-w/ appears.

4.3.2

Initially Unaccusative Clauses Without Special Morphology.

Some predicates which Perlmutter and Postal predict as being involved in clauses which are initially unaccusative, such as 'drown', 'die', 'explode', and others, have one of the four patterns given above for predicates of initially
unergative clauses. Morphologically, these predicates are indistinguishable from the predicates of initially unergative clauses:

(4.13) (Pattern A)

\textit{pimawtakow} \quad '(s)he is floating'

(4.14) (Pattern B)

\textit{kisheekiw} \quad '(s)he is growing'

(4.15) (Pattern C)

\textit{nishtawpawwayw} \quad '(s)he is drowning'

(4.16) (Pattern D)

\textit{nipoow} \quad '(s)he is dying'

If the initial strata of clauses like (4.13) through (4.16) differs from the initial strata of clauses like the examples given in (4.8) through (4.11) the difference is not revealed morphologically. If these were the only initially intransitive clause types in Michif then one might question the validity of Perlmutter and Postal's classification of of predicates on the grounds that no morphological distinctions exist. Other types of initially intransitive clauses do exist in Michif, however, and they are discussed below. But, assuming that (4.13) through (4.16) have initially
unaccusative strata, what would their final structures look like? Because of the Final-1 Law, the argument in an initially unaccusative clause usually advances in the next stratum to head a 1-arc. Many initially unaccusative clauses then, such as those in (4.13) through (4.16), have the structure given below:

(4.13 - 4.16 SD)

Nominal a heads an initial 2-arc and a final 1-arc. This type of 2-1 advancement is called plain unaccusative advancement (Rosen 1981, p.21-5).

Structures like (4.13 - 4.16 SD) are interesting because they involve parallel 1- and 2-arcs and because they involve 2-1 advancements.

First, it is now clear why in Chapter II (2.5) and in Chapter III (3.3) a formal distinction needs to be made between 'a nominal which heads parallel 1- and 2-arcs' and 'a nominal which heads a 1:2 multiattachment'. In all structures involving plain unaccusative advancement, a nominal heads parallel 1- and 2-arcs. However, the verb
morphology in such plain unaccusative clauses as (4.13) through (4.16) does not include the reflexive morpheme /-ishou/. Therefore, it is not a sufficient condition for reflexive morphology in Michif that a nominal head parallel 1- and 2-arcs. It is necessary that the parallel arcs be in the same stratum: they must form a 1:2 multiattachment as defined in (2.5).

Second, the structure for a plain unaccusative clause contains a 2-1 advancement, but the verb morphology does not include the morpheme /-ikaw/. It is not a sufficient condition for the occurrence of /-ikaw/ that a 2-1 advancement occur in a clause. It is necessary that the 2-1 advancement occur in an initially transitive clause if /-ikaw/ is to appear on the verb. This is in accordance with the formulation given in (3.22).

Thus, the structure of plain unaccusative clauses and their associated morphology support the formulations given for the appearance of both the passive morpheme and the reflexive morpheme.

4.3.3
Initially Unaccusative Clauses with /-payi/. In many initially unaccusative clauses the morpheme /-payi/ functions as an inchoative aspect marker on the predicate. The following clauses illustrate this:

PREDICATES WITH /-payi/:
apisheepayin
/0 - 0 - apishee - payi - n/
RM - TNS - STEM - ASP - CM
3 - PRES - small - INCHO - 3IN
'it is dwindling'

aymawyipayin
/0 - 0 - ay - mawy - payi - n/
RM - TNS - ? - STEM - ASP - CM
3 - PRES - ? - bad - INCHO - 3IN
'it is going haywire' or 'it's going bad'

nipawpayiw
/0 - 0 - nipaw - payi - w/
RM - TNS - STEM - ASP - CM
3 - PRES - sleep -INCHO- 3
'he's nodding off' or 'he's going to sleep'
(4.20)

\[ \text{mawchipoonipayin la pwee} \]
/0 - 0 - mawchi - pooni - payi - n/
RM -TNS- ASP - STEM - ASP - CM DEF NOM
3 -PRES- begin - stop -INCHO- 3IN the rain
'the rain is stopping' (more literally,
'the rain is beginning to stop')

With the final /i/ of /-payi/ these predicates have the same forms as those in Pattern B above. Plain unaccusative advancement is presumed for clauses such as (4.17) through (4.20). A more extensive listing of predicates with /-payi/ may be found in Appendix B. It is, however, the next class of predicates with which we are most concerned.

4.3.4
Initially Unaccusative Clauses with /-ishi/. A third group of initially unaccusative clauses involves the morpheme /-ishi/. For the most part, these predicates describe personal qualities or states of being. Bloomfield identifies a similar morpheme in Eastern Ojibwa, /-isi/ 'state, shape', which he claims is the most widespread Animate Intransitive final for that language (1958, p.82). In Michif, predicates with /-ishi/ most often belong to categories (a), (c), and (f) in Perlmutter and Postal's classification given in (4.7). A few examples of predicates with /-ishi/ follow:
PREDICATES WITH /-ishi/:

(4.21)

Bachees apsheeshiw

/0 - apshee - ishi - w/
NOM RM - STEM - ??? - CM
John 3 - small - ??? - 3
'John is small, skinny'

(4.22)

Maree miyouawkoushiw

/0 - miyou - nawkou - ishi - w/
NOM RM - STEM - STEM - ??? - CM
Mary 3 - good - appear - ??? - 3
'Mary is good-looking, beautiful'

(4.23)

Zhorzh ayeshkoushiw

/0 - 0 - ayeshkou - ishi - w/
NOM RM - TNS - STEM - ??? - CM
George 3 - PRES - tired - ??? - 3
'George is tired'

In the morpheme identifications for (4.21) through (4.23) /-ishi/ is simply labelled with three question marks (???) because its significance is the topic of discussion for the remainder of this chapter. In each case, for animate arguments these predicates contain the morpheme /-ishi/.
4.4 ANALYSIS OF REFLEXIVE UNACCUSATIVE CLAUSES

4.4.1 Evidence from Italian. In formulating the auxiliary selection rule for Italian, Rosen employs the notion of parallel arcs (although she does not refer to it as such in the actual formulation itself). Thus, she gives the auxiliary selection rule in the following form:

AUX SELECTION.

Select essere 'be' in any clause that contains a 1-arc and an object-arc with the same head.
Otherwise, select avere 'have' (1981, p.212).

With this rule Rosen is able to account for differences in auxiliary selection once predicates have been assigned a relational valence. Those predicates taking obligatory initial direct objects but optional initial subjects form a class of predicates which may have structures like (4.4 - 4.6 SD) involving an initial stratum with no nominal heading a 1-arc. The Final-1 Law predicts that structures like (4.4 - 4.6 SD) are not well formed in any language as final structural descriptions. As mentioned above, it is assumed that the nominal which heads a 2-arc in the initial stratum heads a 1-arc in the subsequent stratum, a notion reflected by SDs like (4.13 - 4.16 SD). Thus, the marking of relational valences in conjunction with such notions as initial unaccusativity and plain unaccusative advancement
makes possible a statement of auxiliary selection in Italian.

But the problem of auxiliary selection is not the only one connected with initially unaccusative clauses in Italian. There is also the problem of the distribution of the reflexive clitic. Following Perlmutter (1978), Rosen posits that the cancellation of an arc results in clitic morphology (1981, p.140-1,173). Thus, those clauses in Italian which are initially intransitive and yet show the presence of a reflexive clitic do so because there is a cancellation involved. For these cases Rosen proposes retroherent unaccusative advancement with subsequent cancellation of the 2-arc in the arrival stratum. Such an advancement is shown in (4.24 SD):

\[(4.24 \text{ SD})\]

As in other retroherent advancements, nominal \(a\) heads an advancee arc (here, a 1-arc) and an arc retaining its former relation (here, a 2-arc) in the arrival stratum (here, the second stratum).
In Italian, then, in addition to having their relational valences specified, predicates of initially intransitive clauses which take a reflexive clitic must be marked in the lexicon as requiring retroherent advancement as well. This means that there are two forms of unaccusative advancement in Italian: plain and retroherent.

4.4.2

Evidence from Michif. There is evidence in Michif for positing these two forms of unaccusative advancement also.

4.4.2.1

Proposal 1: Animate and Inanimate Reflexive Morphemes. In Chapter III, Note 5, the parallel morphology which occurs in reflexive Passive clauses with animate and inanimate final subjects is described. A very similar parallel morphology occurs for some initially unaccusative clauses: some initially unaccusative clauses with /-ishi/ in the animate forms show /-i(h)ti/ in the inanimate forms. One example of such an alternation is found in the forms for 'fall':

(4.25)

kipuhkisin 'you fall'
buhkisin 'I fall'
puhkisin '(s)he falls'
pukhin 'it(IN) falls'
Based on this kind of parallelism, one might conclude that the reflexive morphemes /-ishou/ and /-itay/ have intransitive counterparts in /-ishi/ and /-i(h)ti/. This proposal is illustrated in (4.26):

(4.26) ANIMATE AND INANIMATE REFLEXIVE MORPHEMES
(tentative formulation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initially</td>
<td>Initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clauses: /-ishou/</td>
<td>/-itay/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ishi/</td>
<td>/-i(h)ti/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Proposal 1, there are some initially unaccusative clauses in Michif which involve reflexive morphology, presumably as a result of retroherent advancements having taken place. Underlying this proposal is the assumption that similar morphemes imply similar structures. Accepting this proposal means that we call /-ishi/ in (4.21) through (4.23) a reflexive morpheme.

4.4.2.2
Proposal 2: Only Animate Reflexive Morpheme(s). Although some predicates with /-ishi/ have inanimate forms with
/-i(h)ti/ like (4.25) above, other predicates show a different pattern when the final subject is inanimate. One language helper gave inanimate forms with /-awkwun/ whenever any of the animate forms had /-awkoushi/. The following examples illustrate this usage:

(4.27)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kashkitaynawkoushiw} & \quad '(s)he looks dark' \\
\text{kashkitaynawkwun} & \quad 'it(IN) looks dark'
\end{align*}\]

(4.28)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{miyeumawkoushiw} & \quad '(s)he smells good' \\
\text{miyeumawkwun} & \quad 'it(IN) smells good'
\end{align*}\]

One analysis of the inanimate versions of (4.27) and (4.28) assumes that the /ou/ of /-awkou/ becomes a glide (/w/) before a vowel, resulting in an analysis like the that given in (4.29) below:

(4.29)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{miyeumawkwun} & \\
/0 - 0 - miyeu - mawkou - V - n/ & \\
\text{RM} -\text{TNS} - \text{ADV} - \text{STEM} - ??? - \text{CM} & \\
3 -\text{PRES} - \text{good} - \text{smell} - ??? - 3\text{IN} & \\
'it(IN) smells good'
\end{align*}\]

where /-V/ represents some vowel.
Pairs of clauses like those in (4.27) and (4.28) when contrasted with clauses like those in (4.25) show uniform morphology for the animate forms involving /-ishi/, but variation in the inanimate forms. To maintain the hypothesis that reflexive morphemes exist for both animate and inanimate forms requires postulating several allomorphs of the inanimate reflexive morpheme just for initially intransitive clauses. It's seems more reasonable to drop the proposal that inanimate reflexive morphemes exist and propose instead that the reflexive morpheme in Michif has only animate forms.

This way of viewing the situation results in positing that 'stative' predicates of at least two different classes exist in Michif. One class takes /-i(h)ti/ for inanimate final subjects; the other class is like (4.28) for inanimate final subjects. However, both classes take /-ishi/ for animate final subjects. Since there is some question about what /-itay/ marks in reflexive Passive clauses with inanimate initial direct objects (inanimate final subjects?), it is quite possible that there is only one reflexive morpheme—which marks only animate final subjects—having two allomorphs: /-ishou/ for initially transitive clauses and /-ishi/ for initially intransitive clauses. This view requires that a constraint be added to the formulation of conditions governing the occurrence of the reflexive morpheme such that the nominal heading the 1:2 multiattachment be syntactically animate.
4.4.2.3
Evaluation of Proposals 1 and 2. Which of the above analyses is the better one is hard to say until more information about the distribution of predicates with \/-ishi/ is available. At present, the second analysis positing reflexivity only for animate forms seems more tenable for several reasons.

First, in the face of such facts as those presented in (4.27) and (4.28), one is hard pressed to account for an additional morpheme in the animate forms of the clauses. If there exists an inanimate reflexive morpheme what is it in forms like (4.27) and (4.28)? What are the restrictions on its occurrence, if in fact it has a form like \/-i(h)ti/? Since these same predicates take \/-ishi/ and would be marked in the lexicon as requiring retroherent advancement, some other lexical procedure would be needed to further restrict them, allowing the inanimate reflexive form in some instances and prohibiting it in others. Considering these difficulties, we find Proposal 1 weak and hard to maintain.

Second, one must account for the fact that other initially unaccusative clauses (with and without special morphology distinguishing them from initially unergative clauses) exist in Michif which do not take \/-ishi/ when animate final subjects are involved. If \/-ishi/ is some kind of animacy marker, rather than a reflexive morpheme, then one must account for why it does not appear in all
Proposal 2 offers an explanation which accounts for the facts presented thus far.

On the basis of information now available, it appears that the situation in Michif is similar to the situation in Italian: some initially unaccusative predicates must be specially marked in the lexicon as requiring retroherent advancement. The need for this kind of marking system reflects the fact that two types of initially unaccusative clauses exists in Michif: those which involve plain unaccusative advancement and those which involve retroherent unaccusative advancement, the latter advancement meeting the conditions for the occurrence of reflexive morphology.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter the basic morphology of initially intransitive clauses in Michif was presented. Two classes of predicates were isolated on the basis of The Universal Alignment Hypothesis of Perlmutter and Postal; and, although there is some morphological overlap between the two, there exist both semantic and morphological distinctions sufficient for their recognition as separate classes. These two classes of predicates are associated with initially unergative clauses and initially unaccusative clauses. Evidence was also presented for making a further distinction between two types of predicates within the
unaccusative class: those involving plain unaccusative advancement (without reflexive morphology) and those involving retroherent unaccusative advancement (with reflexive morphology). A system of lexical marking, like that Rosen proposes for Italian, was suggested, adding to the requirement for relational valence marking the requirement that some predicates be marked as undergoing retroherent advancement.
Chapter IV Notes

1 Johnson and Postal credit G. K. Pullum with suggesting the terms 'unergative' and 'unaccusative' (1980, p.232).

2 There are some exceptions, such as those intransitive verbs whose stems end in /n/. We ignore them here because they form such a small class in comparison to those which end in a vocoid. Wolfart gives statistics for Plains Cree showing that fewer than four percent of Animate Intransitive predicates have stems ending in /n/ (1973, p.50).

3 Wolfart gives /-payi/ the gloss 'moves' for Plains Cree, and cites examples in that language of causative clauses involving /-payi/ as well (1973, p.71).

4 Just what constitutes an animate argument in Michif varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers recognize grammatical animacy-inanimacy distinctions held over from Cree where, in addition to humans and animals, such things as trees, rocks, balls, ice, and bread are considered animate. Other speakers make a distinction between humans and animals on the one hand and all other objects on the other. Still others, for the purposes of determining reflexivity, consider only humans as animate.

5 See Appendix C for a more extensive list of predicates with /-ishi/.
Going a bit further, one might analyze the final vocoids of the four morphemes above as separate morphemes. Dean Saxton is currently pursuing an analysis along these lines (personal communication, 1984). He refers to the vocoid before what I term the CM as the 'interface marker' because it carries information about the 'person classes' (local or non-local) marked in the two positions of the predicate where my RM and CM markers are situated. In this case the four morphemes may be reduced to:

(4i) REFLEXIVE MORPHEMES (tentative formulation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initially Transitive Clauses:</th>
<th>Animate /-ish/</th>
<th>Inanimate /-it/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initially Intransitive Clauses:</td>
<td>/-ish/</td>
<td>/-i(h)t/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since there is an optional /h/ in /-i(h)t/, the next step might be the obvious one of collapsing the four morphemes into two allomorphs of the reflexive morpheme, /-ish/ for animate final subjects and /-it/ for inanimate final subjects. But because of the similarity between /-i(h)t/ and the animacy agreement marker /-(h)t/ (see Chapter V, (5.8) and (5.9)) we need more evidence than we currently possess to make so strong a claim.
7 Wolfart notes similar forms for Plains Cree (1973, p. 71).

8 It is not clear what the function of /-V/ is in such an analysis but it appears, comparing the AN and IN versions in (4.27) and (4.28), that the AN versions have an additional morpheme (either /-ish/ or /-ishi/). Wolfart mentions a similar problem in discerning the function of Transitive Inanimate theme signs (1973, p. 58).
Chapter V
PROBLEMATIC VERB MORPHOLOGY

5.1 OVERVIEW
This chapter presents a discussion of the interaction of the notion of (in)transitivity with the structure of Michif verbs and the attendant problems for analysis inherent therein.

5.2 STRUCTURAL MASKING OF TRANSITIVITY
Although Edwards (1961), Ellis (1962), and Wolfart (1973) give paradigms of Cree verbs which show the same basic morphology in the present singular independent forms,¹ their analyses of the verb morphology differ somewhat. The following Michif examples based on the transitive animate (TA) verb /wawpam/ 'see' were elicited by myself in the summer of 1983 and are essentially the same as those given in the Cree grammars mentioned above—the analysis is similar to Wolfart's for (5.1) through (5.3), but departs for (5.4).
(5.1)

\textbf{kiwawpamin}

\textit{\textbackslash ki - wawpam - i - n/}

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

2 - see - (ACT/L) - 1

'you see me'

(5.2)

\textbf{kiwawpamow}

\textit{\textbackslash ki - wawpam - aw - w/}

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

2 - see - (ACT/PR) - 3

'you see him'

(5.3)

\textbf{niwawpamow}

\textit{\textbackslash ni - wawpam - aw - w/}

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

1 - see - (ACT/PR) - 3

'I see him'
In each of the examples above the two persons involved in the action are different. Rogers (1973), Wolfart (1973), and Jolley (1982) describe the various persons involved in terms of locality, where the speaker and addressee are considered as 'local' and all others as 'non-local'. The non-local persons may be further specified as 'proximate', 'obviative', or 'unspecified'. These persons are all ranked according to a Person Hierarchy, given for Michif in (5.5) below:

(5.5) PERSON HIERARCHY FOR Michif

[ Local ] [ Non-local ]

2nd > 1st > UN > 3rd

/ \ AN > IN

/ \ PR > OB

where '>' is read 'outranks'
Therefore, whenever two different persons are arguments to a predicate (for now we assume simple transitive clauses where a final subject and a final direct object are involved) the Person Hierarchy ranks one of them as the ranking nuclear term. This person is marked by the RM in one of three ways:

(5.6) RANKING NUCLEAR TERM MARKERS (RMs)

**Local:** /ki-/ marks second person  
/ni-/ marks first person  

**Non-local:** /0-/ marks all third persons: PR, OB, UN, and 0

The 'outranked' person is then marked by the CM in one of two ways:

(5.7) COMPLEMENTARY NUCLEAR TERM MARKERS (CMs)

**Local:** /-n/ marks first and second persons  

**Non-local:** /-w/ marks animate third persons

Various analyses have been proposed for forms having inanimate final direct objects. In effect, the transitive predicate is a function of two arguments,

\[ F(x,y) \]

with a slot or position for marking each of them. When the person of \( x \) is not equal to \( y \), then according to the Person
Hierarchy either x outranks y, or y outranks x. If x outranks y, then x is marked by the RM and y is marked by the CM. If y outranks x, then y is marked by the RM and x is marked by the CM. In other words, when a predicate shows agreement with two nuclear terms (we ignore for the moment whether they are initial, final, or other nuclear terms) then we may assume that we are dealing with a clause that is transitive in some stratum.

Complications arise, however, when x = y. Because there are two slots or positions to be filled in the morphology of all Michif verbs, three cases appear in the form $F(x,x)$.

The three cases are:

1. Transitive predicates involving a single nominal which bears two grammatical relations such as those involved in reflexive clauses and reciprocal clauses;
2. Transitive predicates with an inanimate nuclear term which does not determine person agreement, person agreement being only with animate nuclear terms in Michif;
3. Intransitive predicates involving a single nominal, assumedly a final-1.
In case (1) or (3) the Person Hierarchy is not relevant because there is nothing to rank. In both cases the RM and CM mark the same person. In case (2) the Person Hierarchy is relevant, but the restriction mentioned precludes filling either of the two 'person slots' marked by RM and CM with a 'non-person'. In cases where a predicate has an RM and a CM which mark the the same person, we must look elsewhere for indicators of final transitivity.

Some verbs employ an affix showing agreement with the animacy of the direct object, such as the verb /wawpa/ 'see':

(5.8)

\[ niwawpamow \]

/ni - wawpa - m - aw - w/

RM - STEM - AA -VOICE- CM

1 - see - AN -(ACT/PR)- 3

'I see him'

(5.9)

\[ niwawpahtaen \]

/ni - wawpa - ht - ae - n/

RM - STEM - AA -VOICE- CM

1 - see - IN -(ACT/IN)- 1

'I see it'
In (5.8) /-m/ marks agreement with an animate 2, which is here both initially and finally a 2. In (5.9) /-ht/ marks agreement with an inanimate 2.

Let us assume that the animacy agreement markers (AAs) show agreement with the animacy of the final direct object. This assumption is supported by forms of predicates involved in raising constructions. If this is the case, then in clauses like *wawpamishoow 'he sees himself' are we to assume that the AA shows agreement with a final direct object? If so, then traditional analyses which consider such forms as having derivational morphology (and being finally intransitive), are incorrect. In addition, if reflexive clauses do involve multiattachments which require subsequent resolution, how do we account for the final transitivity of *wawpamishoow.5

One possible solution to this dilemma is to posit reflexive structures which do not involve multiattachment at any level, something Rosen does for Italian (1981, p.208-14). This is not desirable because it complicates formulating the conditions for the occurrence of reflexive morphology in all but the simplest cases. To assume that animacy agreement is with the initial 2 of the clause gets us no closer to a determination of final transitivity.

Other verbs, such as those presented in Chapter III (3.19) show no animacy agreement at all, although the RM and CM may mark different persons, apparently indicating
transitivity in those cases. But what of clauses like payhkihishoow 'she's freshening up' or, more literally, 'she's cleansing herself'? Here there appears to be no animacy agreement at all. Reflexive forms of these clauses appear to have any notion of final transitivity well masked.

At this point, one is moved to ask: upon what grounds were previous analyses based which considered such clauses as wawpamishoow 'he sees himself' as involving derivational morphology and being (finally) intransitive?

Still other verbs, such as those presented in Chapter III (3.20), do not show agreement with more than one nominal finally (that is, the RM and CM can always be taken to mark the same person—not two different persons) even when what appears to be a direct object is present. These forms are as enigmatic as reflexive forms concerning the notion of final (in)transitivity.

If animacy markers are not reliable indicators of final (in)transitivity, then final (in)transitivity is masked in those cases where a single nominal is involved (case (1) above). Whether or not that nominal bears two grammatical relations in the final stratum is not clear, for two slots in the verb morphology are marked for agreement with it either way.
5.3 SUMMARY

The kinds of evidence presented above show the subtleties of the Michif verb. A notion like 'transitive', which is defined in RG by the existence of a subject arc and a direct object arc in the same stratum—a notion of two grammatical relations—is at odds somewhat with a system where the 'two-placeness' of the predicate regarding person agreement is content with redundancy in those cases where only one person is involved. In such cases, we have tried to show, final transitivity cannot be assessed reliably by animacy agreement markers. Neither can the fact that both person slots are filled be taken as an indication of final transitivity. What is needed is a syntactic test to determine whether or not reflexive clauses are finally transitive or intransitive. Such an adequate syntactic test for final (in)transitivity remains to be found.
Chapter V Notes

1 With the exception of orthographic variations they are essentially the same for a great many of the common verb roots; where Crawford (1983) has [aw], Edwards writes [aa], Ellis writes [a·], and Wolfart writes [ā].

2 Jolley can be credited with this particular name for the ranking system employed by Algonquian languages (1982, p.2). Hockett has referred to it as an 'Obviation Hierarchy' (1966, p.60) and others have called it an 'Animacy Hierarchy' because inanimates are ranked lower than animates on it: the hierarchy seems to be operating upon more than just persons.

3 Several analyses of clauses involving an inanimate direct object are possible. One analysis assumes that there is no verb agreement with the 'person' or locality of inanimate nominals and that the CM marks agreement with the animate subject (just as the RM does). This approach is illustrated by (5i) below.

(5i)

niwawpahtaen

/ni - wawpah - ae - n/

RM - STEM - VOICE - CM

l - see - (ACT/IN) - l

'I see it(IN)'
Another analysis assumes that there is agreement with inanimate nominals in Michif, basing its claim on the fact that an alternation exists between forms for animate final subjects and inanimate final subjects. As shown in Chapter IV and in Appendix B, forms with /-payi/ take a final /-n/ when the argument is inanimate, and a final /-w/ when the argument is animate. If the final /-n/ is the CM, then there is the possibility of another approach, illustrated by (5ii) below:

(5ii)

\[
\text{niwawpahaen} \\
/\text{ni} - \text{wawpaht} - \text{ae} - \text{n}/ \\
\text{RM} - \text{STEM} - \text{VOICE} - \text{CM} \\
1 - \text{SEE} - (\text{ACT/IN}) - 3\text{IN} \\
'\text{I see it(IN)}'
\]

We have assumed for this study that there is no verb agreement with the locality of inanimate direct objects, but are aware of other interpretations and the strength of some of their arguments. See (5.9) for a more complete analysis of the clause analyzed above.

4 The question of whether the agreement is with initial or final direct object has not been argued to my satisfaction thus far. For instance, in both Michif and Ojibwa (see Rhodes 1973, p.130) when 3-2 or Ben-2 advancement is registered on the verb, even if all arguments
are animate, the verb shows agreement with an inanimate nominal. In this case agreement is clearly not with either the initial 2 or the final 2.

5 A pronoun birth resolution followed by incorporation of the copy pronoun is certainly a viable option which accounts for the facts up to a point. Whether or not the final stratum of such a structure is transitive or not, though, is questionable.
Chapter VI
CONCLUSION

Previous analyses of Algonquian languages cannot account for the facts of Michif verb morphology in reflexive clauses. The most extensive account of reflexive clauses in an Algonquian language, Bloomfield's account for Menomini, is an attempt to classify reflexive clauses based on their function; but, it includes as reflexives many clauses whose association with any notion of 'reflexive' as 'action upon self by self', however loosely, is highly questionable. In addition, such an account introduces a fair amount of complexity into the grammar by associating with the notion of reflexivity predicates of various morphological types. Other predicates with these same patterns are then not analyzed as reflexive.

The theoretical framework of Relational Grammar provides a means whereby such notions as 'reflexive' may be defined in terms of grammatical relations and the nominals which bear them. More specifically, the framework of RG (as developed primarily by Perlmutter and Postal) associates with 'reflexive' the notion of multiattachment.

Similarly, the notion of passive in Algonquian languages has been debated for a long time, much of the
confusion arising because passive was characterized functionally. Again, the framework of RG characterizes Passive as a rule which sanctions a change in grammatical relations under certain conditions, namely a 2-1 advancement from a transitive departure stratum.

As demonstrated in this study, formulations for predicting the occurrence of the reflexive morpheme /-ishou/ and the passive morpheme /-ikaw/ can be made on the basis of the existence of certain grammatical relations and changes in those relations. For Michif the importance of current proposals in RG is demonstrated by the following points:

1. The Multiattachment Hypothesis predicts that it is possible for a nominal to bear more than one grammatical relation in a given stratum. Occurrence of the reflexive morpheme in Michif can be accounted for by this notion (in conjunction with other proposals).

2. The notion of syntactic levels or strata is also fundamental to the RG framework. Formulation of the conditions for the occurrence of the passive morpheme is much simplified by referring to the initial transitivity of clauses.

3. There exist two large classes of predicates of (initially) intransitive clauses in Michif which are semantically and morphologically distinct (to a large degree). The Universal Alignment Hypothesis predicts
such a semantic distinction and, in conjunction with
The Unaccusative Hypothesis, also determines two
different initial structures (initially unergative
and initially unaccusative) for these two classes.

4. There exist within the class of unaccusative
predicates two types. One type, like those taking
/-payi/, shows no unusual morphology (other than
/-payi/ itself) distinguishing them from unergative
clauses. Another type shows variation in inanimate
forms but has a consistent pattern with /-ishi/ in
animate forms. The Unaccusative Hypothesis, The
Final-1 Law, and the notion of Retroherent
Advancement predict that two types of initially
unaccusative clauses may exist in a language: those
involving plain unaccusative advancement and those
involving retroherent unaccusative advancement.

5. The Universal Characterization of Passivization and
the notion of Retroherent Advancement do not exclude
as ungrammatical clauses which involve both. The
existence of clauses in Michif showing both passive
and reflexive morphology is anticipated by these
proposals. One is hard pressed to account for
reflexive Passive morphology in Michif based on
function.

These facts justify as worthwhile a continued investigation
of Michif utilizing a Relational Grammar approach.
APPENDICES
Appendix A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

0 = an unspecified mind-possessing being
1 = subject in SDs, first person in glosses
2 = direct object in SDs, second person in glosses
3 = indirect object in SDs, third person in glosses
AA = animacy agreement
ACT = active voice, e.g. (ACT/OB) = action on an obviative
ADV = adverb
AI = animate intransitive verb stem
AN = animate
ASP = aspectual marker
Ben = the Benefactive relation
BEN-2 = benefactive to direct object advancement
c = stratum
Cho = the Chomeur relation
CM = the complementary nuclear term marker
DEF = definite article
EP = epenthetic contoid or vocoid
FUT = future
GR = grammatical relation
II = inanimate intransitive verb stem
IN = inanimate
INCHO = inchoative
INDF = indefinite
INV = inverse voice
L = local
NOM = nominal
Obl = oblique relation (not a term)
OB = obviative
OR = ordinary reflexive
p = plural in SDs
P = predicate relation in SDs
PASS = passive voice, 2-1 advancement in initially transitive clause
PAST = past
PL = plural in glosses
POST = postposition
PR = proximate
PREP = preposition
PRES = present
PRO = pronoun
REFL = reflexive
RM = ranking nuclear term marker
RP = reflexive passive
s = singular
SD = stratal diagram
STEM = verb stem
TA = transitive animate verb stem
TI = transitive inanimate verb stem
TNS = tense
UN = unspecified nominal

VBL = verbalizer

VOICE = indicator of the relationship of subject to action
Appendix B

PREDICATES WITH /-PAYI/

The following list of predicates with /-payi/ was compiled largely from data collected from The Michif Dictionary by Laverdure and Allard (1983). Michif forms are given for third person singular final subjects, and show final /w/ for animate and final /n/ for inanimate.

akwanoupayiw 'magnetic'
apisheepayin 'dwindles'
ashaypayin 'backs up (as in a septic tank)'
atipoonipayin 'diminishes'
atishooshkoupayiw 'glides'
awkataypayiw 'retches'
awmachiwaypayin 'goes up or rises'
awpipayin 'frays, ravels'
awpoochipayin 'upside down'
awshoopayin 'catching, spreading'
awshtaypayiw 'recovers, recuperates'
cheehcheehipayiw 'flinches'
cheehipayiw 'twitches'
ishkipayiw 'floods, runs over'
ishkoupayin 'remains, is left over'
ishpayin 'comes about, happens, forms'
kakipipayin 'clogs'

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kakwawyakipayin</td>
<td>'horrible, tragic, catastrophic'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kashkitaywpayiw</td>
<td>'tarnishes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeshkwaypayiw</td>
<td>'crazy, beserk, wild, drunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kichimawkipayin</td>
<td>'lamentable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimoutawmoupayiw</td>
<td>'chokes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipinaywaypayiw</td>
<td>'strangles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisheepayiw</td>
<td>'fast, rapid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kisheewpayiw</td>
<td>'flares up, has a temper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kookeepayiw</td>
<td>'goes down, sinks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kooshkoupayiw</td>
<td>'gets wide awake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kushkunipayin</td>
<td>'premature'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwashkwaypayiw</td>
<td>'bounces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwayshkhipayiw</td>
<td>'changes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li jeur-ipayin</td>
<td>'hardens'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamipayiw</td>
<td>'comes off, detaches'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamikoupayin</td>
<td>'rickety, shakey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manaypayin</td>
<td>'gone, all out, exhausted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mashkoupayin</td>
<td>'petrifies, solidifies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matwaypayin</td>
<td>'cracks, goes bang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawchipayin</td>
<td>'begins, kicks off, calls to order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawchipoonipayin</td>
<td>'begins to stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawyipayin</td>
<td>'goes haywire'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mawyihkwaypayiw</td>
<td>'is in pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawyipayin</td>
<td>'goes bad, defective, faulty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayhchipayin</td>
<td>'worn out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meenoupayiw</td>
<td>'respond'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>michimoupayin</td>
<td>'stick (as a pedal)'</td>
</tr>
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mihkoupayiw  'redden, blush'
mishipooshkoupayin 'explodes'
miyeupayin 'fortuitous, luck(ily)'
miyeushooshkoupayiw 'glides'
miyeumawmashkawchipayin 'miracle'
miyoupayin 'handy, goes well'
mooshkipayin 'inflammation, heat, rash'
mishimeenoupayiw 'snaps out of it'
nakipayin 'ends, expires, fails, stops'
nanamipayiw 'trembles, quakes'
nanikhkipayin 'shaky, unsteady, trembles'
nawhnakipayiw 'halting, hesitating'
nawshpichipayin 'endless'
nawtwapayin 'breaks'
neehtchipayin 'descends, goes down'
ninoohtaypayin 'be off, go out of (plumb)'
nipawpayiw 'nods, goes to sleep'
nipoowpayiw 'droops, goes dead or numb'
noohtaypayin 'shortage, insufficient'
ouchipayiw 'jerks, goes in jerky'
ouchipitamoupayin 'jerky, not smooth'
ouchipoupayiw 'shrivels'
ouchipwawpayin 'puckers'
ouhipipayin 'rises, goes up'
pahkwachipayin 'unglued, open'
pakichipayiw 'relieves'
pakouchaypayiw 'ruptures'
pakoupayin 'breaks'
pakshipayin 'goes slack'
papawnimipayiw 'frolics'
pashakoupayin 'slimy'
pashkoupayiw 'molts'
pawhpipayiw 'tee-hees, laughs'
pawkihkwaypayiw 'puffy or swollen'
pawkipayiw 'swells, gets bigger, inflamed'
pawpayin 'oncoming'
peechnipayin 'goes into'
peehtikwaypayin 'goes in (to body?)'
peekoupayin 'broken, dilapidated'
peemipayin 'awry'
peenikipayin 'falls down, shatters'
pinikipayin 'disintegrates, falls apart'
poonipayin 'stops, ends, terminates'
pooshkoupayin 'erupts, bursts out'
pwawkamoupayiw 'retches, heaves'
shapoupaypayin 'watery'
shashkitaypayin 'flares up'
shawwawpipayin 'springy, elastic'
shawpoupayiw 'wet'
shaykishipayiw 'panics'
sheehkwaypayin 'frayed'
sheekinaypayiw 'runs over'
sheekipayin 'spills over, spills'
sheeshchipayiw 'hard up'
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>shikooshkoopayiw</td>
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<td>shookaypayiw</td>
<td>'speeds along'</td>
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<td>shpayin</td>
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<td>takoumawkoupayin</td>
<td>'catches the scent'</td>
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<td>tashwaykipayin</td>
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<td>teehtipipayiw</td>
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<td>tipahikaypayin</td>
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<td>washaywaypayiwiw</td>
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<td>wawkipayin</td>
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<td>wawshakawpayin</td>
<td>'goes around, spins, rotates'</td>
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<td>wawshayshkopayin</td>
<td>'clears up (weather)'</td>
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<td>wawshikhkopayin</td>
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<td>yawhyawpayiwiw</td>
<td>'wobbles'</td>
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<td>yawkataypayiwiw</td>
<td>'gags'</td>
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<td>yawykishkipayin</td>
<td>'ripped, torn, opened'</td>
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<td>yooshkawpaykpayiwiw</td>
<td>'flabby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youhtaypayin</td>
<td>'gapes open'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C

PREDICATES WITH /-ISHI/

The following list of predicates with /-ish/ was compiled largely from data collected from The Michif Dictionary by Laverdure and Allard (1983). Michif forms are given for third person singular final subjects, and show final /w/ for animate and final /n/ for inanimate.

akawmawtishiw        'listless'
apsheeshiw            'small, slight'
awhkashiw             'light-weight'
awhkoushiw            'sick, ailing'
awhkwatishiw          'picky'
awpachishiw           'useful'
awpayshiw             'sensible'
awtishiw              'is, has the quality of'
ayeshkounawkoushiw    'looks tired'
ayeshkoushiw          'tired, weary'
ishkoushiw            'tall'
itahkamikishiw        'acts like'
kakwawyakishiw        'detestable, fierce, horrible'
kakwy-akishiw         'bad-tempered, ferocious'
kapayshiw             'camps, stays'
kashkitaynawkoushiw   'looks dark'
kashitayshiw          'dark'

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katawawshishiw  'dainty, pretty, delicate'
keeshnawtahkamikishiw  'blunders, acts foolish'
keeshpishiw  'chapped'
keewawtishiw  'motherly'
kinooshiw  'long, tall'
kishaywatishiw  'angelic, kind, tender'
kishaywawtishiw  'charitable, good-hearted'
kishchimiyeunawkoushiw  'looks majestic'
kishiwawshiw  'angry, mad, irate, pouts'
kishkishiw  'remember'
kishpakshashawkishiw  'hard-fisted, skin-flint'
kitimawkishiw  'needy, bad off, sad'
kitimawkihtawkoushiw  'tear-jerker, sounds sad'
kiyakishiw  'itches'
koohkooshiw  'slut'
machawchishiw  'cantakerous, immoral'
macheeshiwaypishiw  'mean, evil, damned, bestial'
macheetahkamikishow  'practices wickedness'
mashkawishiw  'strong, powerful, brawny'
mawmawyakhakamikishiw  'perverse, acts very bad'
mawyakhakamikishiw  'misbehaves, acts bad'
mawyawtishiw  'homely, ugly'
mawyinawkoushiw  'peaked, looks bad or ugly'
miyawpatishiw  'useful'
miyawtishiw  'gentle'
miyeumawkoushiw  'smells good'
muyeunawkoushiw  'looks good, spiffy'
miyou-awshiw 'chaste, faithful, good'
miyou-awtishiw 'nice, gentleman, fun loving'
miyounawkoushiw 'attractive, looks good'
miyoushiw 'liberal'
mootahkamikishiw 'deceives, acts sly'
mootishiw 'sly, two-times'
nahayhtawwishiw 'detestable, moody, eccentric'
nahayhtawkoushiw 'formidable, irksome'
nahinawkoushiw 'presentable, clean cut'
nakamouhtawkoushiw 'hums, sounds like singing'
nawkoushiw 'shows, appears, looks like'
naypaywawtahkamikishiw 'boobos, acts embarrassed'
naypaywshiw 'shy'
neepaywishiw 'demure, ashamed, bashful'
nipooawtishiw 'dead, stick-in-the-mud'
nishtawnawkoushiw 'easily noticed'
nishtouhtawkoushiw 'easily heard'
ouchiwawshimishiw 'farrow's'
ouyeshnawkoushiw 'looks cunning'
panawchichikayshiw 'wasteful'
payhkinawkoushiw 'clean cut, looks clean'
payhkishiw 'clean, immaculate'
payhtawkoushiw 'bawls, cackles, makes noise'
paypayhtawkoushiw 'thunders, makes lots of noise'
pimawtishiw 'exists, is alive'
pooshiw 'ride (in)'
shashawkishiw 'miserly, close-fisted, stingy'
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>shasheepishiw</td>
<td>'endures, sticks (to it)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaykishiwi</td>
<td>'panics, is frightened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shakykihtawkoushiw</td>
<td>'sounds frightened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheepawhkawshiwi</td>
<td>'naps, snoozes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheetawshiwi</td>
<td>'rigid, stiff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shinawkoushiwi</td>
<td>'looks a certain way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoohkimawkoushiw</td>
<td>'smells strongly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoohkinawkoushiw</td>
<td>'looks powerful, strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoohkishiwi</td>
<td>'strong, powerful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoohkihtawkoushiw</td>
<td>'sounds powerful, loud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahkamikishiwi</td>
<td>'does, performs, commits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taywshiwi</td>
<td>'hurts, is in pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanikishkishiwi</td>
<td>'forgets, loses memory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawhkaywishiwi</td>
<td>'sensitive, touchy, delicate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawkishiwi</td>
<td>'hunched'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weehkawshin</td>
<td>'delicious, savory, tasty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weehkawtishiwi</td>
<td>'tastes good or delicious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weehpishiwi</td>
<td>'hollow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weenayhtawkoushiw</td>
<td>'detestable, disagreeable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeninawkoushiw</td>
<td>'frowzy, looks horrible'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weepawpawkinawkoushiw</td>
<td>'looks squalid or filthy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weepawpawkishiw</td>
<td>'piggish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weepishiwi</td>
<td>'filthy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeschaykishiwi</td>
<td>'smelly, stinks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeshakishiwi</td>
<td>'injured'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

PREDICATES WITH /-ISHOU/

Key to Entries: On the first line of each entry taken from The Michif Dictionary by Laverdure and Allard (1983), the Michif word is given either in the form in which it appears in the illustrative example(s) or, if there is no illustrative example for a particular citation, then it is given in citation form. In the second column the word to the left of the slash is the English gloss, the gloss being determined in the following priority:

1. as given directly in the dictionary;
2. as implied in the dictionary;
3. as ascertained by myself from available data.

If the gloss is [bracketed] then it is an actual lexical citation in the dictionary. If it is not bracketed then the Michif predicate occurs as part of another lexical citation; in that case, the lexical citation appears to the right of the slash.
ahikawshoow
put (in) / [assign]
put on / [monitor]
put out / [red carpet]
put in / [ridgepole]
put in / [tomb]

ahikawshouwuk, awn dawnzhee
put (in) / [imperil]

ahikawshoow, dawn prayzoon
put (in) / [incarcerate]

ahishou
put yourself straight / [straighten]

(kakakwy)-akitawshoow
/ [enrage]

akwanahoushout
cover up / [story teller]

amatshoohk
[specter] /

amatishouhk
[banshee] /

anoohowashoow
[nurse a baby] /

apishou
[warm up] (oneself) /

apwayshoow
[perspire] /

[be inside] /

room and [board] /

ashamikawshoow

put in / [imprisoned]

ashiwahikawshouw

[be inside] / [paddock]

ashwashoo

[be inside] / [pasture]

ashwashoow

be contained (?) / [safe]

atawayshtamawshouyawn
buy (for self) / [winter coat]

atawmimikawshouw
put [fault] on /
atawmimishout  / [fall guy]  
atawmimishouwuk  / [blame oneself]  
atawayshtamawshoow  / [self-reproach]  
awstahikawshoow  / buy  
awpachihikawshoow  / [stockings]  
atimikawshoow  / [overtake]  
atishoow  / [mellow]  
atishouwuk  / (be) ripe  
atoushkawshoow  / [overripe]  
awchimishoow  / [ripen]  
atoushkayhkawshoow  / [self-employed]  
awpachihikawshouwuk  / put on  
awshuw peesheestatow  / [make-work]  
awkhousheekawshoow  / [own up]  
awpachihikawshoow  / [feign]  
awkhousheekawshoow  / sickness  
awpachihikawshoow  / [malinger]  
awpachihikawshouwuk  / be in  
awshuw peesheestatow  / [ox]  
awstahikawshoow  / [rearrange]  
awitisheekawshoow  / [promoted]  
awtisheekawshoow, miyou  / put on  
ayeshkouhishou  / [exhaust]  
ayeshkoushiwishoow  / [wear out]  
ayitayimishouhk, miyouer ki lee zoot  / [patronize]  
aykeemanishoost, aen zhwal  / [gelding]  
aykishkishitoutawshout, noo  / [self-abnegation]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aymashnawshoun</td>
<td>[scar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aymashnikawshoohk</td>
<td>[fancy work]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aymatishouhk</td>
<td>[specter]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayshawpouhkawshoow, noo</td>
<td>[half-baked]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayshpeechikitawshout</td>
<td>(be) so [angry]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheehtahoushou</td>
<td>[stick] (with a needle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheeshou</td>
<td>[sting]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ichikawshoow</td>
<td>put, place [assign]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihikawshoow, noo miyayhtem</td>
<td>[inconsolable]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkawshoow, aen bet</td>
<td>act like [halfwit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atoushkay-ihkawshoow</td>
<td>[pretext]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkawshoow, kawyay li baytaw</td>
<td>act like [fathead]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkawshoow, li saen</td>
<td>act [holier ... ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkawshoow, li boss-</td>
<td>act, behave [authoritative]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihkawshoow, li pchi</td>
<td>act, behave [babyish]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishiweehikawshoow</td>
<td>[nickname]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishchikawshouhk</td>
<td>[shape]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishnihkawtikawshoow</td>
<td>call [ant]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishnihkawshoow</td>
<td>[moniker]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishpitishoohk, kwayesh</td>
<td>[well-groomed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itahikawshoow</td>
<td>[authorize]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[proclaim]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itahishoow</td>
<td>[self-appointed]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mshikishchee-ityayimishoow</td>
<td>[self-conceit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itayimishout</td>
<td>[self-appraisal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itayimishouwuk, pleu miyeur</td>
<td>[rebuff]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myeu-ityaymeeshoow</td>
<td>[self-respect]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expression</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itaymikawshoow, no kiyawm</td>
<td>[unexcused]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itaymishoow</td>
<td>attitude(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itaymishoow, kihchee</td>
<td>[self-assurance]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kishchee-ityaymishout</td>
<td>[self-importance]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itikawshoow</td>
<td>find, be found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itoustahikawshoow</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takewyakayimikawshoow</td>
<td>[overindulge]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakawawshchihishouw</td>
<td>[self-indulgence]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakawshchihishouw</td>
<td>[indulge]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakaypawchishihkawshouhk</td>
<td>[tomfoolery]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakwawyakayimikawshoow</td>
<td>[detestable]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakwawyakikitawshoow</td>
<td>[red hot] (angry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[rage]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[seethe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakwy-akaymawkawshoow</td>
<td>[detestable]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakwy-akihkashoow</td>
<td>[fiery]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakwy-akikitawshoow</td>
<td>blow a [gasket]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kameenoupitishoow</td>
<td>[spruce up]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanwayimikawshoow</td>
<td>store / [elevator]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapashkaynikawshouwuk, noo</td>
<td>[indivisible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapooshkoushoow</td>
<td>[blow up]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kashkamatishoow</td>
<td>[rare-ripe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kashkambishouwuk daw loo</td>
<td>[sail]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kashkistamawshoow kaykwawy kaw-aywt</td>
<td>[self-acquired]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kashkistamawshouhk [gain] /
kashkwawshou [hand]
   sewing / [odds and ends]
   sew / [sinew]
kashkwawshouwin [sewing machine] /
kashwawshouhk [stitch] /
kawahkatishoow [scrawny] /
   [skinny] /
   [underweight] /
kawahhkatoushoow [gaunt] /
kawkeehtouhkawshoow [excuse] /
kawishkooshoow [laden] /
kawkeenakashout leave / [rue]
kawkipahoushouhk, awn fayr [armored] /
kawmeeshahikawshoow [reparable] /
kawmeetshouhk, ita [cafe] /
kawmiyaymikawshouhk [accepted] /
kawmoowikawshoow eat / [peach]
kawmiyoumeechishouhk [appetite] /
kawpakwahikawshoow [patchable] /
kawschitinikawshouwuk catch / [slip up]
kawsheepayhoukawshoow [stricken] /
kawshitahkoupitawwashouhk bear / [motherhood]
kawshkipawshoow shave / [razor]
kawshkipawshouwuk [shave] /
kawshkipitishoun [scratch] /
kawshoo [hide] /
kawshoow hide [bush]
[duck] /
[lurk] /
kawshoow, noo [overt] /
kawshou, kaywa [openly] /
kawshoun hide [thicket]
kawuhkatishoow [bony] /

Kaypawthahkamikshiik [goof] /
kaypawtssheehkawshoow [ridiculous] /
kaypawtssheehkawshou [silly] /
kaypawtsshihkawshoow [goof] /

Keekayhishouhk [self-heal] /

Keemoochikitawshoow [fume] (in anger) /

Keendawayimikawshouwuk, noo [exclude] /

Keeshishouk cook [sauce pan]

Keeshkwaykanawmikawshoow [daze] /

Keeweechihikawshoow, noo [self-made] /

Kenawayhtemawshoow [possessive] /

Kenawaymawshoow [nursemaid] /

Kenwayhtamawshou [save] /

Kikitawshoow, shaenmawk kakawya [hair-trigger] (temper) /

Kimeetshoue, noo [fast] (abstain) /

Kimiyikawshoow, li drway [authorize] /

Kipahoukawshoun [shut-in] /
kipahoukawshouwuk [quarantine] /
kipoutawmoukawshoow [pent up] /
kischee-itaymikawshoow [well thought of] /
kischeetayimishoow [swelled head] /

[kischeetayimishouchik [self-esteem] /
kishchaymikawshoow [adore] /
kishchaymishoow [cocky] /
kischeetayimikawshoow [reputation] /
kishinahamawkwawshoow, noo [untrained] /
kishinahamawshoow [self-taught] /
kishkayimikawshoow, mishiway [well known] /
kishkayimikawshoow, mishiway pi myeuymikawshoow [prominent] /

[kishkikawshouwuk wear / [shawl]
kishkishin think / [ego]
kishkishitoutawshoow, mouhchii [thoughtless] /
kishkishitoutawshoow, yaenki wiya [self-centered] /
kishkishoutoutawshoow, yaenki wiya [self-absorption] /
kishnahamawshouhk [self-educated] /
kitawshoow, kakwawyski [raving] /
kitimahikawshoow [raw deal] /
kitimahishoow [self-abuse] /
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitimawkayimishout</td>
<td>[self-pity]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitimuhikoushouwuk</td>
<td>[underprivileged]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyakawhpeehkawshoow</td>
<td>[giggle]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koushnahamawshoow</td>
<td>[self-taught]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koushnahamawshouwuk</td>
<td>[self-educated]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kowihkatishouw</td>
<td>[gaunt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kshawpishkishoow</td>
<td>[overheat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kushkihtamawshoow</td>
<td>earn / [award]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kushkistamawshoow</td>
<td>[self-made]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kushkwawshoun</td>
<td>sew / [thimble]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwayishpishkaymishout</td>
<td>[self-preservation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyawshkimishouhk</td>
<td>[self-deceiving]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machimakishkamawshoow</td>
<td>[up against it]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machishoow</td>
<td>[haunt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maenschishoun</td>
<td>get burned / [fiery]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maenschchishoow</td>
<td>[sunburn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamischimikawshoow</td>
<td>[praiseworthy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamischimishoow</td>
<td>[whitewash](gloss over)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamischimishouhk</td>
<td>[self-congratulatory]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manishoukawshoow</td>
<td>cut (out) / [sleeve]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mashi-awshoow</td>
<td>[marked]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mashinawshoow</td>
<td>[blemish]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mashkahikayhkawshoo</td>
<td>employed / [smeller]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mashnawshkishihoow</td>
<td>[disfigured]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mashnawshoot, aen [tiger cat] /
mashnikawshoohk [feather stitch] / [needlework] /
matishoun see a [ghost] /
mawashoow [pick] /
mawhcheew, akawwawt [feeble] /
mawhchinikawshouw [moveable] /
mawkashinawshout [earmark] /
mawkouhikawshoow [berate] / [reprimand] /
mawkouhikawshouhk [chide] /
[mawoushouhk [tongue lashing] /
mawoushouhk [berry picking] /
mawscheew move around / [sense ... ]
mawyikwawshoun [boggle] /
mawyineepacheehkawkawshoow [molest] /
maychitayw [afire] /
mayhchishoow [scald] /
mayhchishouhk kaykwy kawmaychishou [chafe] /
mayhchishouw [fiery] /
mayshchinatikawshouwuk become extinct / [bison] 
meechishoow eat / [teethe]
meechishou [dine] /
meechishouwin [food] /
[mnourishment] /
meechshoow, toul tawn [binge] /
meenopitishoow, mitooni kwayesh  [preen] /
meenoupitishoow, noo       [frowzy] /
meenoupitishout           [primp] /
meetchishouhk              eat / [survive]
                              eat / [necessary]
meetchoow                  eat / [heartily]
meetchou                   [eat] /
                              eat / [supper]
meetchou, par pchi braen  [nibble] /
(ekaw)-(e)meetchouhk        [fast] /
meetchouhk, apsheesh       [snack] /
menishouht                 [emasculate] /
menishoushou               cut / [jack-knife]
michiminishou             [grip] /
                              [self-control] /
                              [refrain] /
                              [restrain] /
mihkouhkashoow            be [red hot] /
mishi-akishoow             [important] /
mishikischayimikawshoow   [praiseworthy] /
mishikischaymishoow       [self-righteous] /
mishinipahikawshouwuk     [carnage] /
mishitaymishoow           [insufferable] /
                              [overrate] /
mishow                     [big] /
miyaymikawshoow          [great] (quality) /
miyeumikawshoow  like, appreciate / [ostentation]
miyeuwimikawshoow  like / [pervert]
miyeuymikawshoow mitouni  [popular] / 
miyikawshoow  [acquire] / 
        be given / [bill]
        be given / [gratis]
        be given / [raise]
        [recipient] / 
        be given / [transfusion]
        be given / [wages]

miyikawshoow awiyek kawnipout
  someone whose given(?)[heir] / 

miyikawshoow lee zawnfawn
  be given [custody] / 

miyikawshoun  [given] / 

miyishoow, aen out nou  [alias] / 

miyishouyen kaykwuy ouhchi  [dedicate] / 

miyou-ashamikawshoow  [well fed] / 

miyou-awpachihikawshoow  take [advantage] / 

miyoukenawaymikawshouhk  [safe keeping] / 

miyoumichiminishoow  [hold up] (maintain) / 

miyoumichiminishouw  [graceful] / 

miyoupitishoow  [well-groomed] / 

miyouwawpamikawshoow  [admirable] / 

miyouyimikawshoow, noo  [unpopular] / 

moowkawshouwuk  eat / [syrup]
mshimyawpamikawshoow  [charming] /
mshitayimishouhk  [self-importance] /
mushkuwsheew  [brawny] /
muwshoow  [hand pick] /
               [pick] /
muwshou  [berry picking] /
pick  [raspberry]
pick  [strawberry]
muyikawshoow, akoutee [bonus] /
naeshtohishou  [exhaust](tire) /
nahinikawshoow  bury  [cemetery]
               bury  [deceased]
nakashoow  [deserter] /
               leave  [obstetrician]
nakawnishouhk  [abstain] /
nakinikawshoow  [restricted] /
               [detain] /
nakinishouhk  [self-restraint] /
nanawachimikawshoow  [ribbing] /
nanawshkawshouyawn  [self-defense] /
napawchihishou  [encumber] /
natawayhishouhk  [self-heal] /
nawtamawshoow  defend one's rights  [gamely]
               [make a stand] /
nawtamawshoow, no  [defenseless] /
nawtamawshoow, noo [take it lying down] /
nawtamawshou [stand up for] /
awtamawshouhk [self-defense] /
awtamawshouw [defensive] /
nawtawihishoun [self-heal] /
nawshpichikitawshoow [hostile] /
nayoumawwashoow carry [piggyback] /
naypaywhishoohk [self-abasement] /
neekawnahishouhk [self-appointed] /
neeshou [close] /

[nipakahkatayhishoow [emaciated] /
nipawahskhishaow [perish](burn) /
nipahikawshouwuk hunt [wide open]
nipahikoushouwuk [overkill] /
nipahishoow [suicide] /
nipahishouwuk [self-destruction] /
nipahkwahshoow playing [possum] /
nipawahkwahshoow [feign] sleep /
nipayatkawshouwuk

[put to sleep with [anaesthesia] /

nishtouhtawkawshoow, mitouni [intelligible] /

noochihikawshou(yen) [lash] /
noocechihishoow [aimless] /
noochochihikawshoow [beat] up /
nouhawashou [nurse a baby] /

oooshoo [boil] / [teakettle]

ouchiminishout [repress] /

ouhchihishouyawn [self-denial] /

ouhpikihikawshoow be raised / [native]

ouhpimikawshoow [excitable] /

oupimikawshouw [excited] /

ouschikitawshoow [indignant] /

oushawmimetswoow [overeat] /

oushiiishoun (?) / [egotism]

oushiiishoun, nauut kwayesh [improve] /

oushooow [seethe] /

oushouwuk [boil] /

[boil](with anger) /

[ferment] /

outawpawshounawn [ride] /

outawpawshout ride / [car sick]

outawpawshouwuk ride / [handcar]

outawpooshou ride / [surrey]

outinamawshoow seize / [latch]

outinamawshouw steal / [audacity]

outinikawshoow catch / [adultery]

[arrest] /

arrest / [non-support]

outinishout (?) / [oneself]

outistinikawshoow [rape] /
pakamahoukawshoow [blow] /
pakitinikawshoow [allow] /
         [exempt] /
pakouchaynikawshoow [operate] /
pakouchaenikawshoow operate / [open-heart]
pawkachikawshoow [infamous] /
pawkwaschikawshoow [disfavor] /
         [outcast] /
         dislike / [wrongdoer]
pakwawchikawshout (?) / [effigy]
pakwawtikawshoow [rat fink] /
pamihishoow [self-supporting] /
pamihishou [reach] (?) /
pamihishouhk [self-service] /
papawmitawpawshouwuk pour la fon [joyride] /
papaycheew [slow] /
         [slowpoke] /
pashishou [singe] /
pashkiyawkawshoow beat / [misplay]
pashkoushoukawshouwuk [sheep shearing] /
patakistawshoow [miscalculate] /
pawhpeehkawshoow [giggle] /
         [ha-ha] /
pawhpeekawshoohk [teehee] /
pawhphikawshoow [ridicule] /
pawshoow [dry] /
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pawshouwuk</th>
<th>Dry / [shrivel]</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Payakouhihikawshouwuk</td>
<td>[isolate] /</td>
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<tr>
<td>Payhkihishou</td>
<td>[freshen] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payhkimuwshoow</td>
<td>[pick clean] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payhtawkawshoow, noo</td>
<td>[inaudible] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peehtikwahikawshoow</td>
<td>[admit] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peekshkwaystamawshoow</td>
<td>[self-asserting] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peestikwaypayhoushounawn</td>
<td>[register] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peewaymawchimishoow</td>
<td>[speak ill of oneself] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peewaymishoow</td>
<td>[self-critical] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pihkashouhk avik li salay</td>
<td>[sunburn] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pishkayimishoun</td>
<td>[on one's own] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pishkayimishouyen</td>
<td>[shift] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pishkaymikawshoow keep under one's</td>
<td>[thumb] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pishkaymikawshoow, noo</td>
<td>[unpopular] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pishkaymishou</td>
<td>[fend] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[self-preservation] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooshkoukitawshoow</td>
<td>[erupt] (with anger) /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooshtawshoow</td>
<td>[load] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poostawpawwahikawshouwuk</td>
<td>[irrigate] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooyakishouk</td>
<td>[pare] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poustawshawkahishoow</td>
<td>[garb] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puhkwacheew</td>
<td>welcome / [outstay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwawtuwmikawshoow</td>
<td>[stand one's ground] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakikawshouwuk</td>
<td>sew / [pompons]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
shakipawchikawshoow  sew / [peplum]
shashawkistamawshoow  [miserly] /
shawishoow  [fry] /
shawkihikawshoow  love / [papoose]
                 lovable / [pious]
shawkihishoow  [self-love] /
shawpouhkashoow, (noo(?))  [soggy] /
shawsheeshchipitamawshoow  [press](embrace) /
shaykeewaystahikawshouwuk, cheuk shawr  
                 [recall] /
sheehishou  act like / [jackass]
sheekimikawshouw  [excited] /
sheetakwchiwashtow  [boil over] /
sheepahoushouwuk  [padding](pad) /
sheeshcheehishouhk  [exert] /
sheetowshihk, noo  [supple] /
shichee-iwishou  [languid] /
shikeeweeshkahoush  hurt [ourselves] /
shimeechichouhk  (?) / [nook]
shinawkouhishouw, pakhawn  [disguise] /
shinhkawtikawshoow  call / [peewee]
shinhkawshoow  [name] /
shinhkawshoow, pakhawn  [alias] /
shinhkawshoow, nama nawnduw  [nameless] /
shipwaychahoukawshoow  [banish] /
shipwaychishahoukawshoow  [exile] /
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shnikawchikawshoow</td>
<td>call / [grand aunt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoow</td>
<td>[warm] (weather) /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shouhk-atoushkayhk</td>
<td>(?) / [toil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shouhkishouw</td>
<td>strong / [take ... chin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahkamishoun</td>
<td>[jab] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahkoupishouw</td>
<td>bind / [fetter]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapasheew</td>
<td>[escape] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[flee] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[flight] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[get away] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapwaystawshaow</td>
<td>[earnest] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatasheekhaykawshoow</td>
<td>[putter] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawyimikawshoow</td>
<td>be considered for / [judgeship]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawayimikawshoow, noo</td>
<td>[unwelcome] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawpwayshkoushou</td>
<td>[weigh] (yourself) /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawpwaystawkawshoow</td>
<td>allow / [restricted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawwahoukawshoow, no la plot</td>
<td>[no-hitter] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taymishoun, pleu baw ki lee zout</td>
<td>[inferior] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teehkishoow, nou</td>
<td>go away / [insoluble]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tihkishoow</td>
<td>[thaw] /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tihikishoow, la glas disoor la tayr zhamaen</td>
<td>go away / [permafrost]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipayistamoohkawshoow kaykwawy aykee-oushipayhamiyit</td>
<td>[plagiarize] /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tipaymishoow [independent] /
tipaymishou [liberty] /
tipaystemawshoow [possessive] /
tishahoukawshoow send [orphanage]
toomuwshoumawn berry picking [namely]
tootawshoow [self-inflicted] /
tootawshouchik [self-destruction] /
(t)outahkawshout [feign] /
towkoumashinahoushou [bruise] /
waneehkaytoutawkawshoow sink into [oblivion]
wawaysheew [dress] /
[garb] /
wawpameetshouhk [breakfast] /
wawpamikawshoow, noo [unseen] /
wawpamikawshouwuk look at [partial]
wawpamishoow [reflection] /
wawpamishou [image] /
wawpamishouwin [mirror] /
wawpamowshoow be visible [pole star] /
wawpishoow [light colored] /
wawshishoow shine [star] /
wawwaypishoohk [swing] /
wayeshihishouhk [self-defeating] /
waywaypishoow go to and [fro] /
weechihikawshouwuk [relief] /
weechihishou help [effort]
weechihishouhk [self-help] /  
(chi)weechihishout, pa mwayaen [helpless] /  
weehikawshoow, noo ouhchi [nameless] /  
weehishoow [alias] /  
weenihishouhk [dirty] /  
weenihishoun [impure] /  
weeshakahoushout [self-inflicted] /  
wunikishkisheetootawkawshoow, noo [unforgettable] /  
wunishkisheehkawshoow [feign] fainting /  
wynoutawpawshouhk [round trip] /
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