The Diachronic Cline of the Peripheral Agreement in Algonquian

Yadong Xu

Data Handout

PWoLL V · U of Winnipeg
March 16, 2019


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<th>[person]</th>
<th>[number]</th>
<th>[phi]</th>
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(1) Proto-Algonquian peripheral suffix: number contrast

a. *ne-wa-pam-a-w-ena-n-a
   1 -see -3-ftv-1p -3s
   ‘We see him/her (an.)’

b. *ne-wa-pam-a-w-ena-n-aki
   1 -see -3-ftv-1p -3p
   ‘We see them (an.)’

- Summary of Proto-Algonquian peripheral suffixes

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>0s</th>
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<td></td>
<td>*-a</td>
<td>*-i</td>
<td>*-ari</td>
<td>*-aki</td>
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- Pattern of peripheral agreement: *Proto-Algonquian

(2) Primary object vs. secondary object

a. TA (animate object)
   *ne-wa-pam-a-w-aki
   1 -see -3-ftv-3p
   ‘I see them (an.)’

b. TI (inanimate object)
   *ne-wa-pant-a-n-ari
   1 -see -0-ftv-0p
   ‘I see them (in)’

c. AI+O (pseudo-transitive)
   *ne-kapa-n-a
   1-disembark-ftv-3s
   ‘I disembark it (an.)’

d. TA+O (ditransitive, goal and theme)
   *ne-nekaθ-a-en-ari
   1-abandon-3-ftv-0p
   ‘I abandon them (in) for him’

- Pattern of peripheral agreement: TA

(3) all 4 languages show object agreement

a. Delaware
   n3-mi-l-â-w-ak
   1-give.to-3-ftv-3p
   ‘I give to them (an.)’

b. Ojibwe
   n-wabam-aa-ag
   1 -see -3-3p
   ‘I see them (an.)’

c. Oji-Cree
   ni-kii-waapam-aa-k
   1-past-see -3-3p
   ‘I saw them (an.)’

d. Cree
   ni-wâpam-â-w-aki
   1 -see -3-ftv-3p
   ‘I see them (an.)’

- Pattern of peripheral agreement: TI

(4) Cree drops out not marking inanimate object

a. Delaware
   m-pân-am-ân-a
   1 -look.at-0-ftv-0p
   ‘I see them (in.)’

b. Ojibwe
   n-waaban-aa-n-an
   1 -see -0-ftv-0p
   ‘I see them (in.)’
c. Oji-Cree
   *ni-kii-takihshikaat-aa-n-an*
   1-past-kick -0-ftv-0p
   ‘I kicked them (in.)’

d. Cree
   *ni-wâpat-ê-n*
   1-see -0-ftv
   ‘I see it/them (in.)’

- **Pattern of peripheral agreement: AI+O**
  (5) Plains Cree and Oji-Cree do not mark for object
  
  a. Delaware
     *nɔ-wani-ːn-a-k*
     1 -see- ftv-3p
     ‘I forgot them (an.)’
  
  b. Ojibwe
     *n-miigwe-n-ag*
     1-give.away-ftv-3p
     ‘I give them (an.) away’

- **Pattern of peripheral agreement: TA+O**
  (6) Only does Delaware take peripheral agreement for *theme*, the rest of languages pattern like ordinary TA, agreeing with *goal*.
  
  a. Delaware
     *nɔ-miː-l-a-ːn-a*
     1 -give -3-ftv-0p
     ‘I gave them (in.) to him’
  
  b. Ojibwe
     *ni-gii-miin-aa-ːØ Mani mzinegen*
     1-past-give-3-3s Mary book
     ‘I gave a book to Mary (obv.)’
  
  c. Oji-Cree
     *Menii o-miin-aa-ːn Cawn-an masinahiikan-an*
     Mary 3 -give-3-3′ John-3′ book-0p
     ‘Mary gives John (obv.) books’
  
  d. Cree
     *âtotamaw-ê-w-ːØ*
     tell.of -3-3-3′
     ‘He tells of it for him (obv.)’

- **Summary:** diachronic cline of peripheral agreement marking for object

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>TA+O secondary object</th>
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<td>✓</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cree</td>
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Data cited are from:

- Delaware: Goddard (1979), Goddard (2017)
- Cree: Wolfart (1973)
- Oji-Cree: fieldwork from author’s consultant Samson Beardy

References