Daniela Henze Reconstruction Meeting

March 11, 2010

Proto-Algonquian

1 Research about it

- The Beginning
  - Bloomfield “On the sound system of Central Algonquian” 1925
  - Bloomfield “Algonquian” 1946
- Goddard “(Remarks on) The Algonquian Independent Indicative” 1967 & 1974
- Paul Proulx “Algonquian Objective Verbs” 1984

2 Phonological Reconstruction

2.1 Some preliminaries

- comparing of languages that are presumably related to each other
- two languages are only genetically related if they descended from the same ancestor language
- this can only be proven if we find regular sound correspondences
- based on these, regular sound changes can be postulated, which allow to reconstruct a proto-language
- to find sound correspondences one has to set up correspondence sets of words that are likely cognates - no straightforward way to do this
  - compare forms with similiar meaning
  - compare forms of certain phonetic similarity

(1)

Italian	*French*	*Spanish*
cane	chien	perro
[kaːne]	[ʃjɛ̃]	[pɛro]

∗Italian /k/ before /a/ corresponds regularly to French /ʃ/
∗but it would be very difficult to include spanish *perro* in this set

  - most important point: correspondences or differences have to recur in a systematic fashion
    - ∗ gr. /t^{h}eos/ vs. lat. /deus/ ’god’
    - ∗ usually gr. [t^{h}] ∼ lat. [f]
- compare relatively long forms
  - chance for two-segment sequences to have identical meaning is much greater

- onomatopoeia and ‘baby-talk’ words are no reliable evidence
- correspondences should be found everywhere in the vocabulary and should include most of the basic vocabulary
  - to eliminate similiarties due to linguistic contact
- besides providing the ultimate proof of genetic relationship, a reconstructed language permits us to recover earlier linguistic reality
- however, this point is controversial
  - we can never fully reconstruct an ancestral language
  - by reducing variation to invariance one has to postulate dialect-free proto-languages - unnatural assumption

2.2 A few Algonquian sound correspondences

(2) **a, *a:, *o, *o:*

F	C	M	O	
ki:ck-ah-am-wa	ki:sk-ah-am	ke:sk-ah-am	ki:ck-ah-ang	‘he severs it by tool’
a	a	a	a	
u-na:pä-m-ani	u-na:pä-m-a	na:pä-w	u-na:bä-m-an	‘he is male’ (M: ‘her husband’)
a:	a:	a:	a:	
otenamwa	ohtinam	ohtäänam	ontinank	‘he takes it from there’[1]
o	o	o	o	
maneto:wa	manito:w	manäto:w	manido:	‘manitou’
o:	o:	o:	o:	

- easiest case: all languages agree
- we have to reconstruct **a, *a:, *o, *o:* respectively
- more difficult are sets like (3)

(3) **i, *i:, *e:, *e*

F	C	M	O	
po:nimäwa	po:nimäw	po:nimew	po:nima:d	‘he stops talking to him’
i	i	i	i	
ni:miheti:wagi	ni:mihito:wak	ni:mihetowak	ni:mihidiwag	‘they dance together’
i:	i:	i:	i:	
pema:tesiwa	pima:tisiw	pema:tesiw	pima:dizi	‘he lives’
e−e	i−i	e−e	i−i	
ci:ci:pa	si:si:p	se:sip	ci:ci:b	‘duck’
i:	i:	e:	i:	
ki:ckahamwa	ki:skaham	ke:skaham	ki:ckahang	‘he severs it by tool’
i:	i:	e:	i:	

- easy to reconstruct are **i* and *i:*, since all languages agree

[1] O: conjunct form ‘if he takes it from there’

- an *e* in F and M always corresponds to an *i* in C and O
- since we reconstructed already an **i* and this does not change to *e* in F and M we have to reconstruct a different segment, namely **e*
- additionally we have to say that this **e* changes to *i* in C and O
- it's the same for F, C, O *i:* and M *e:* - we have to reconstruct **e:*

(4) *PA vowel correspondences*

*	F	C	M	O
**a*	a	a	a	a
**a:*	a:	a:	a:	a:
**o*	o	o	o	o
**o:*	o:	o:	o:	o:
**i*	i	i	i	i
**i:*	i:	i:	i:	i:
**e*	e	i	e	i
**e:*	i:	i:	e:	i:

- for consonants it's the same procedure
- at first sounds in which all languages agree

(5)

F	C	M	O	
na:twa	na:tam	na:tuah	na:din	'he fetches it'
t	t	t	d	
to:tawäwa	to:tawäw	to:tawew	to:dawa:d	'he treats him so'
t	t	t	t	
paga:ni	paka:n	paka:n	paga:n	'large nut'
p	p	p	p	
pemwäwa	pimwäw	pemi:w	pimwa:d	'he shoots him'
m	m	m	m	
kegi	kiki	kike:h	kigi	'having such and such a thing'
k−g	k−k	k−k	k−g	

- on this way reconstructable are **p, *t, *c, *k, *h, *ʔ, *s, *m*
- Ojibwa shows voicing of stops as long as they are not word-initial - completely regular

(6) **n, *θ, *l*

F	C	M	O	
no:nwa	no:niw	no:new	no:ni	'he sucks at the breast'
n	n	n	n	
inapiwa	itapiw	ina:piw		'he sits thus'
n	t	n		
	itahkamikisiw	ina:hkamikesiw	inahkamigizi	'he carries on that way'
	t	n	n	
ana:gani	uya:kan	una:kan	una:gan	'dish, bowl'
n	y	n	n	

- **n* appears everywhere as *n* and is never subject to mutations
- there has to be another sound in PA which gets *n* in F, M, O and *t* in C
- we reconstructed already an **n* and **t*
- so we need a sound which can equally good change to *n* as to *t*
- Bloomfield proposes **θ*
- the last set: F, M, O *n* and C *y* we have to handle the same way
- since **n* is undoubtedly reconstructed as well as the y[2], we need another sound which lies somewhere between both ⇒ **l*

(7) *PA - Reconstructed consonantal system*

	labial	dental	alveolar	post-alv.	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p		t		c	k	ʔ
fricative		θ	s	ʃ			h
nasal	m		n				
lateral			l				
glides	w				j		

3 Morphological Reconstruction - Bloomfield 1946 & Goddard 1967

- with the reconstruction of the sound system as basis, a reconstruction of the morphological system was tried
- focus here: verbal morphology
- Bloomfields analysis of the independent indicative paradigm leaves some questions open

3.1 Variety of plural endings

(8) *"The languages disagree as to the plural forms of first and second persons."* Bloomfield 1946, § 34.

	F	C	M	O
1pe	*-pena / -na:n*	*-na:n*	*-menaw /-enaw*	*-min / -na:n*
1pi		*-naw ∼ -na:naw*	*-q*	
2p	*-pwa / -wa:w*	*-na:waw*	*-mwaw / -waw*	*-m / -wa:*

- Bloomfield leaves this unexplained
- Goddard tries a differentiation in 2 sets

(9) I: 1pe **-ena:n-*, 1pi **-enaw-*, 2p, 3p **-wa:w-* N-ENDINGS

- this one shows up somehow in every language
- it is regularly used to indicate plural possessors in noun inflection

[2] F: ni:yawi, C: niyaw, M: ne:yaw, O: ni:yaw

(10) *Possession with plural possessor*

a. Fox (Bloomfield 1926, p. 184)

ke-penäsiwame-na:na	'our (incl) sacred bird-skin'
ne-togimame-na:na	'our (excl) chief'
ke-maneto:m-wa:w	'your manitou'

b. Potawatomi (Hockett 1969, p. 68)

k-tokmam-nan	'our (incl) chief'
n-tokmam-nan	'our (excl) chief'
k-tokmam-wa	'your chief'

(11) II: 1pe ***-hmena*, 1pi ***-hmena*, 2p ***-hmwa* *HM-ENDINGS

- Goddard modifies the reconstruction of the initial element from P to Hm

- FCMO show only *m* or *p* but c.f.

(12) *correspondences of PA *Hm*

Mez	/m/	Cre	/hp/ ?
Oji	/m/	Bla	/hp/
Pot ...	/m/	Del	/hm/
Sac	/p/	Miy	/hm/
Pmq	/p/ and /m/	Chy	/m/ and /hem/
Sjw	/m/		

3.2 Charateristics

- *Hm- and n- endings have different characteristics

- if there is a *Hm-ending present no second argument may be specified on the verb, even if possible

- with n-endings agreement with two arguments is possible

(13) *Potawatomi*

3s	3p	
n-wapm-a-mən 1-*see*-TH-1p	n-wapm-a-mən 1-*see*-TH-1p	1p ⇒ 3s/3p
n-wapm-ək-nan 1-*see*-TH-1p	n-wapm-ək-nan-ək 1-*see*-TH-1p-3p	3s/3p ⇒ 1p

- Goddard calls the n-endings OBJECTIVE

- and the *Hm-endings ABSOLUTE

3.3 Distribution

(14)

	AI	TI	TA local	TA direct	TA inverse	
Cre	hm	n	hm	n	n	
Mez	hm	hm	hm	n	n	
Mia	hm	hm	hm	hm	n[3]	
Oji	hm	n	hm	n	n	Central Algonquian
Pot	hm	hm	hm	hm[4]	n	
Sac	hm	hm	hm	hm	n	
Sjw	hm	hm[5]	hm	hm[5]	n	
Abe	hm	n+hm	hm	n+hm	n	
Aaq	hm	n	hm	n	n	
Del	hm	n+hm	hm	n	n	Eastern Algonquian
Nnt	hm	n+hm	hm	n+hm	n	
Pqm	hm	n	hm	n	n	
Bla	hm	hm	hm	n	n	Plains Algonquian
Chy	hm	n	hm	n	n	

- the languages are conform in having *Hm in AI and TA local and n in TA inverse

- this means that in AI there is only one argument specified on the verb (consequentially) and in TA inverse the verb shows agreement with both arguments

- local forms (1 ⇔ 2) agree in every language with only one argument and have *Hm endings

- some eastern languages have something like "differential object marking" (n+hm)

- the definite forms are used when there is no nominal object and are also used when there is one to give a definite meaning

- the indefinit forms are used when there is a nominal object which is than understand as indefinite

(15) *Abnaki finite and indefinite conjugation*

	finite	indefinite
nominal object	***w'namito**nal* kchi nebesal* 'he sees the great lakes'	*'namito kchi nebesal* 'he sees some great lakes'
no nominal object	***w'namito**nal* 'he sees them'	

(16) *TA direct forms (3rd person object; in case of two 3rd persons one is obligatory obviative)*

Finite:

	3s	3p
1s	n'- -o:	-o:-k
1pe	n'- -o:-nna	-o:-nna-wak
1pi	k'- -o:-nna	-o:-nna-wak
2s	k'- -o:	-o:-k
2p	k'- -o:-wo:	-o:-wo:-k
3s	w'- -o:	-o:
3p	w'- -o:-wo:	-o:-wo:

Indefinite:

	3s /p
1s	n'- -o:
1pe	n'- -o:-bena
1pi	k'- -o:-bena
2s	k'- -o:
2p	k'- -o:-ba
3s	w'- -a
3p	w'- -ak

[3] n only for 1pe and 1pi; 2p has p and no 2nd argument
[4] 2p has n and 1p forms have p
[5] 1pe and 1pi have p and no 2nd argument, 2p forms have n and 2nd argument

3.4 Where are they from?

- how did this system arose?
- two possible ways

3.4.1 originally double system

- there was a double system with absolute and objective forms, later on the languages gave up on this and merged the two (Goddard)
- Goddard: double system for the transitive conjugation
- the verb could agree with only one argument = *Hm-endings
- or with both arguments = n-endings
- languages like Abnaki, Delaware or Natnick conserved this system
- all other merged the two systems into one

(17) *Pre-PA sentences*

	VERB	OBJECT		
	we−waapam−aa−w−ali		he looks at him	objective
	waapam−ee−wa	*elenyiw−ali*	he looks at the man	absolute
	ne−waapam−aa−naan−aki		we look at them	objective
↳	*ne−waapam−aa−naan*			
↳	*ne−waapam−aa−na*	*elenyiw−aki*	we look at the men	absolute
	ne−waapam−aa−Hmena			
	ne−waapam−aa−naan−a		we look at him	objective
	ne−waapam−aa−Hmena	*elenyiw−a*	we look at the man	absolute

- object endings **-a, *-ali, *-aki* are encliticized to the phrase
- phrase with nominal object: ending appears on the object
- phrase without nominal object: ending appears on the verb
- in PA times process of WORD-SHORTENING
  - loss of nasal or semivowel plus short vowel in word-final position (…NV# ⇒ ∅, …GV# ⇒ ∅)
  - plus shortening of an immediately preceding vowel (…VVNV# ⇒ V)
- through shortening the n-endings end up as the *Hm-endings without the *Hm element
- however, we need a source for the *Hm
- may be taken over from another (sub-)paradigm
- searching for something like *Hm+n-endings leads to the passive paradigms

(18) *Fox passive*

1sg	ne- -ekoo-pi
2sg	ke- -ekoo-pi
3sg	-aa-pi
1pe	ne- -ekoo-p-ena
1pi	ke- -ekoo-p-ena
2p	ke- -ekoo-p-wa
3p	-aa-pi

- there the shortening resulted in endings of the form … **Hm-ena* and … **Hm-wa*
- the shortened n-endings (*-ena, -wa*) were replaced with these
- that there are no *Hm-endings in TA inverse follows, since the passive always involved a preceding *-ekw-*
- *Hm-endings in TA inverse (which has a TH *-ekw-*) would have resulted in ambiguity

disputable points in his argumentation:

- why were new endings needed?
  - *-ena* seems as good as *-ena:n*
- why should the passive endings have been used as model
  - may also be due to chance that both have the same form
- one has to assume a lot of reshaping

3.4.2 originally only one set

- at the beginning only one set of endings was used and through some processes the other was introduced on certain places in the system (Proulx)
- objective verbs are of recent origin
- *"objective verbs are limited to the independent order and their details differ widely from language to language"* (Proulx 1984, p.404)
- pre-PA the independent system was only composed of absolute forms, in the intransitives as well as in the transitive conjugations

(19) *pre-PA TA direct*

	3s / 3p	obv
1s	ne- -a:-hmi	
1pe	ne- -a:-hmena:ni	
1pi	ke- -a:-hmenawi	
2s	ke- -a:-hmi	
2p	ke- -a:-hmwa:wi	
3s		-e:-w-a
3p		-e:-w-aki

(20) *pre-PA TA inverse*

	1s	1pe	1pi	2s	2p	3s	3p
3s / p	ne- -ekwe-hmi	ne- -ekwe-hmena:ni	ke- -ekwe-hmenawi	ke- -ekwe-hmi	ke- -ekwe-hmwa:wi		
obv						-ekw-a	-ekw-aki

- a 3rd person subject was expressed in forms with charateristic *-*w* but never in those with *-*Hm*
- so -*a* 3SG.anim and -*aki* 3PL.anim generally followed *-*w* but not *-*Hm*
- process of word shortening ⇒ final **hmi* dropped

(21) *word shortening*

ne- -ekwe-hmi ⇒ ne- -ekweh ⇒ ne- -ekw 3s - 1s/2s

- now 3rd person endings are possible - they would follow -*w* and no **Hm* was contained
- next step: extended to the other forms of the inverse with inserting *-*ena:n,* *-*enaw,* *-*ewa:w* before -*a*/-*aki* by analogy with possessed nouns

(22) *possessed nouns in Fox*

1pi	ket-ehkom-ena:n-a	ket-ehkom-ena:n-aki	'our louse/lice'
2p	ket-ehkom-wa:w-a	ket-ehkom-wa:w-aki	'your louse/lice'
3p	ket-ehkom-wa:w-a	ket-ehkom-wa:w-aki	'their louse/lice'

(23) *PA TA inverse*

*	1s	1pe	1pi	2s	2p	3s	3p
3s	ne- -ekwa	ne- -ekw-ena:na	ke- -ekw-enawa	ke- -ekw-a	ke- -ekwe-wa:wa		
3p	ne- -ekwaki	ne- -ekw-ena:na	ke- -ekw-enawa	ke- -ekw-aki	ke- -ekwe-wa:wa		
obv						-ekw-a	-ekw-aki

- the forms with the new n-endings show only agreement with one argument
- Proulx suggests a "only one plural marking"-rule for PA[5]
- a second innovation extended the number contrast found in the singular forms of TA inverse to the corresponding TA direct forms

(24) *PA TA direct*

*	3s	3p	obv
1s	ne- -a:-wa	ne- -a:-waki	
1pe	ne- -a:-hmena	ne- -a:-hmena	
1pi	ke- -a:-hmena	ne- -a:-hmena	
2s	ke- -a:-wa	ke- -a:-waki	
2p	ke- -a:-hmwa	ke- -a:-hmwa	
3s			-e:-w-a
3p			-e:-w-aki

[5] which is perhaps still active in today's languages at least in some formations (e.g. conjunct)

- gender symmetry
- directional (direct/inverse) symmetry
- these changes were done at the beginning of PA
- later on the individual languages modified their system, often in order to built up more symmetry
- so Menomini extended the objective endings also to the direct forms and generalized -*aki* 3PL.anim for every 3rd plural form

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