

**Adverbial and Argument-Doubling Clauses in Cree**

**By**

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**A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of**

**Master of Arts**

**Department of Linguistics  
University of Manitoba  
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## ***Abstract***

Cree has been described as a pronominal argument language. This classification implies that argument positions in Cree are not available to overt NPs. Instead, argument positions are located within the verbal complex, and are filled by non-overt pronominal arguments. Overt NPs are located in non-argument positions.

This thesis argues that subordinate clauses are also located in non-argument positions. While this might suggest that pronominal argument languages would lack complement clauses (i.e., no argument position for a clause) there is evidence to show that subordinate clauses can be divided into those with complement-like properties, and those which have adjunct-like properties. Unlike previous treatments of subordinate clauses, where these clauses were differentiated by a difference in structural position (i.e., argument versus adjunct) this analysis does not base the division on structural position. Following a distinction found in overt NPs, I propose that subordinate clauses are differentiated by whether or not they are an argument-doubling expression. Argument-doubling clauses display complement-like properties, while non-argument-doubling (adverbial) clauses show adjunct-like properties. We will examine differences in distribution, proximate re-assignment and extraction between these two types of subordinate clause.

I claim that Argument-doubling expressions are included within the domain of the argument with which they are referentially-linked. This proposal accounts for the restrictions on proximate re-assignment, as well as suggesting a new perspective on the copying-to-object construction in Cree.

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## Notations

### Abbreviations and Special Symbols:

3	.....	third person singular proximate
3'	.....	third person obviative
(3-3')	.....	third person singular proximate subject acting on third person obviative object
(3-inan)	.....	third person singular proximate subject acting upon inanimate object
an	.....	animate
cj	.....	conjunct preverb
dir	.....	direct
inan	.....	inanimate
indf	.....	indefinite subject
int	.....	intention (aspect)
inv	.....	inverse
NI	.....	inanimate noun
obv	.....	obviative
pl	.....	plural
pst	.....	past
prox	.....	proximate
rdpl	.....	reduplication (aspect)
s.o.	.....	someone (animate)
s.t.	.....	something (inanimate)
AI	.....	animate intransitive verb
II	.....	inanimate intransitive verb
TA	.....	transitive animate verb
TI	.....	transitive inanimate verb
	.....	proximate shift
{...}	.....	domain

### Source references:

Most textual examples are from Plains Cree texts recorded by Bloomfield.

(S) indicates Bloomfield 1930.

(P) indicates Bloomfield 1934.

All textual references are in the following style: (P:57-10), which indicates a clause/sentence taken from Bloomfield 1934, page 57, line 10.

All examples from these texts have maintained Bloomfield's orthography. Thus, the conjunct preverb *ê-* is written as *êh-*, and the obviative suffix *-a* is written as *-ah* in examples taken from Bloomfield's texts. I have used Bloomfield's glosses for the most part, but have made occasional modifications, where Bloomfield's gloss gives more pragmatic information than is included in the isolated sentence.



All examples which are referenced as (DS) are elicited examples, and are in Swampy Cree. My language consultant was born at Fisher River, Manitoba, and learned the variety of Swampy Cree spoken there as her first language. She began learning English at the age of 16. These laboratory sentences may sometimes appear less idiomatic or natural than sentences uttered in the context of a larger narrative. Nonetheless, they are grammatical sentences.

Examples from other sources are labelled for language and reference source.

# **Adverbial and Argument-Doubling Clauses in Cree**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This thesis is concerned with the treatment of subordinate clauses in Cree, a Pronominal Argument language. Primarily, I account for the distinction between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses, in a way which is not based upon their structural position.

In configurational languages like English and French, complement and adjunct clauses are differentiated by the structural position they hold in the sentence. Complement clauses are situated in argument positions, while adjunct clauses are in non-argument positions. Pronominal Argument languages, however, cannot be explained by a similar treatment. Argument positions in these languages are found inside the verbal complex and are filled by pronominal arguments. This leaves no argument position outside the verbal complex accessible to Noun Phrases (NPs) or subordinate clauses. Given the theoretical implications of such a structure, we would expect only one type of subordinate clause in a Pronominal Argument (PA) language, an adjunct or non-argumental clause. These languages should lack complement clauses.

There is evidence in Cree, however, which indicates that there are at least two types of subordinate clauses. One of these types clearly demonstrates complement-like behaviour, while the other shows adjunct-like behaviour. This evidence includes restrictions on obviation status, in particular, on proximate re-assignment between clauses. Our goal is to account for this distinction while recognizing that both clauses are found in non-argumental position.

Little research has been done on subordinate clauses in Algonquian languages. Even less research attempts to do so in the light of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis. While much of the recent research has focussed on the relationships between NPs and pronominal arguments, it has not been extended into subordinate clauses. Of the few formal treatments of the relationship between the subordinate clause and the matrix verb (cf. Baker (1996), Blain (1997)), complement-like behaviour is explained by situating these clauses in argument positions.

The research presented here offers a new approach to the differing relationships between matrix verbs and subordinate clauses. This is important to the general theories about pronominal argument languages, since all other accounts of distinctions between subordinate clauses have appealed to a difference in structural position. Even work undertaken within the guidelines of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis has assumed that complement-like clauses are generated in argument position. My analysis, however, maintains a non-argument position for *all* constituents except pronominal arguments.

I argue that the distinction between adjunct-like clauses and complement-like clauses is the presence or absence of referential linking. Referential linking (r-linking) is a process of co-indexation between constituents. Complement-like clauses are in fact *argument-doubling clauses*. These clauses are r-linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb, and function to 'double' the pronominal argument, i.e., provide more information about it. Adjunct-like clauses, which I will term *adverbials*, are not r-linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. This distinction mirrors one already established for NPs in pronominal argument languages.

This treatment of subordinate clauses provides not only an explanation for differences in clausal behaviour, but also sheds light on two other areas. Only by making a clear distinction between adverbial and argument-doubling clauses can we achieve a proper representation of restrictions on proximate re-assignment. Secondly, a clear statement with respect to the 'copying-to-object' construction requires that we have a treatment that captures the distinctions between argument-doubling and adverbial clauses.

## **1.2 Outline**

The present chapter will include an introduction to Cree as a pronominal argument language, as well as explore some of the implications of adopting the Pronominal Argument theory of language structure for subordinate clauses.

Chapter 2 will present a brief overview of previous research on Cree and other pronominal argument languages.

Chapter 3 will outline the evolution of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis, and provide grammatical background of Cree in particular. It will also examine the treatment of NPs in Cree, both argument-doubling and oblique. This chapter will introduce subordinate clauses, and provide evidence for a distinction between adjunct-like (adverbial) and complement-like (argument-doubling) clauses.

Obviation is a system of third-person reference found in Algonquian languages. In particular, it forms one of the principal tests for determining subordinate clause structure. Chapter 4 is devoted to an in-depth examination of the restrictions governing obviation assignment and re-assignment.

Chapter 5 describes the proposed treatment of subordinate clauses in Cree, and their relationships to the matrix clause. It identifies the role of referential-linking in clausal relations, and demonstrates how this distinction in subordinate clauses accounts for the differences in clause behaviour. Here, we examine the issue of domains, and establish that argument-doubling clauses are a part of the same sentential domain as the matrix verb. Adverbial clauses form a separate domain from the matrix verb. This chapter closes with an explanation for the restrictions of proximate re-assignment between clauses.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the analysis proposed in this thesis, as well as some further consequences of this treatment. In particular, this analysis provides a succinct account of a syntactic phenomenon known as 'copying-to-object'. Topics in need of further study will also be mentioned.

### **1.3 Introduction to Cree as a Pronominal Argument Language**

Cree is a member of the Algonquian language family. Narrowly defined, Cree is spoken in northern Ontario, northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. There are four major dialects in this region; Plains Cree, Swampy Cree, Woods Cree and Moose Cree, as well as many minor ones. Some scholars also include Montagnais-Naskapi in the Cree family, which is spoken in Quebec, but this is still controversial.

Dialectologists have focussed on the phonological discrepancies among these dialects, rather than syntactic or lexical differences. The standard example used to illustrate this key feature is shown below, with the first person emphatic pronoun.

(1)	Proto-Algonquian	*/nīla/	‘I’
	Plains Cree	/nīya/	
	Swampy Cree	/nīna/	
	Woods Cree	/nīōa/	
	Moose Cree	/nīla/	

Cree is a Pronominal Argument (PA) language. The definition of a PA language is essentially concerned with the treatment of the central verbal arguments, namely subject, object and indirect object.

In all languages, the verb provides certain information to the arguments in the clause. This information identifies the type of role that an argument fulfils. This role is called a thematic role, or theta role. In configurational languages like English or Italian, the verb discharges these theta roles to specific structural positions in the sentence hierarchy. These positions, called argument positions, can be occupied by overt noun phrases (NPs) or clauses (CPs). The subject and object of a verb are identified by their placement in these positions.

PA languages lack argument positions outside of the verbal complex. Argument status is said to be assigned to non-overt pronominals (*pros*) situated in argument positions inside the verbal complex. Full NPs (overt nominals) cannot receive argument status, and are found only in non-argumental positions. The central arguments found within the verbal complex are pronominals, or small *pros*. A *pro* is a non-overt pronoun. It carries all of the nominal features of person, gender and number, but it is phonologically null. These non-overt pronouns are found in Pro-drop languages like Italian, where the subject position of a finite verb may be null. According to the Extended Projection



- (3) a. Italian: Ha parlato.  
 [CP [NP *pro*] [VP ha parlato ]]  
 has-3sg spoken  
 'He has spoken.'
- b. Cree: pīkiskwêw.  
 [CP [VP [NP *pro*] pīkiskwêw ]]  
 speak-AI-3  
 'He speaks/has spoken'.

If we examine the Italian and Cree sentences in (3), we see that they share the ability to have non-overt *pro*'s as arguments. By comparing the positioning of *pro* in the two sentences, we can see that in the Italian example, *pro* is situated in a structural position outside of VP. The Cree sentence has *pro* situated inside the verbal complex. In both Italian and Cree, *pro* receives the appropriate theta-role from the verb, thus satisfying the theta-criterion. The principal difference between *pro* in these languages is its positioning relative to the verbal complex.

Overt NPs corresponding to central argument roles, i.e. subject or object, are optional in Cree. Because the thematic roles for the core arguments are assigned to *pros* inside the verb, NPs are not structurally necessary as subject or object. Furthermore, because argument status is assigned within the verbal complex, NPs are relegated to non-argument positions. When an NP occurs, and refers to the same referent as one of the pronominal arguments, it is co-indexed to the appropriate *pro* through referential-linking. We will discuss referential linking in greater detail in a later chapter.

Because the structural position of full NPs does not indicate thematic role, constituent order in Cree is largely irrelevant to thematic relations. In (4), the various



combinations of the sentence components do not change the thematic relations of each referent (discourse considerations aside).

- (4) iskwêw wâpamêw nâpêwa.<sup>1</sup>  
woman-3 see-TA-(3-3') man-3'  
'The woman sees the man.'

iskwêw nâpêwa wâpamêw.  
wâpamêw iskwêw nâpêwa.  
wâpamêw nâpêwa iskwêw.  
nâpêwa iskwêw wâpamêw.  
nâpêwa wâpamêw iskwêw.

We can contrast these examples with English sentences that show that in a configurational language, constituent order is relevant to thematic and grammatical role interpretation. Once the word order is changed, the thematic/grammatical roles of subject and object are changed. In (5a), the dog is the subject and the man is the object. In (5b), the man is now in subject position and the dog is situated in object position. The two sentences refer to entirely different events.

- (5) English  
a. The dog bit the man.  
b. The man bit the dog.

Because overt NPs corresponding to argument roles are not required in the sentence, it is assumed that the Cree verb discharges all of its theta roles to the pronominal arguments within VP. Example (6) shows how a sentence (shown previously in (4) with

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<sup>1</sup> For gloss abbreviations, the reader is referred to the table of abbreviations on page (iii).

two NPs) can be expressed with only one of the overt NPs, (6a) and (6b), or neither (6c), without affecting its grammaticality.<sup>2</sup> This illustrates that the theta-criterion is met even without overt NPs present, and that the central arguments must be expressed as *pros* within the verb.

- (6) a. iskwêw wâpamêw.  
 woman-3 see-TA-(3-3')  
 'The woman sees him.'
- b. wâpamêw nâpêwa.  
 see-TA-(3-3') man-3'  
 'She sees the man.'
- c. wâpamêw.  
 see-TA-(3-3')  
 'She sees him.'

As mentioned above, noun phrases that appear in the sentence are assumed to be in non-argumental positions. If the NP designates the same referent as one of the pronominal arguments, it is indexed to that *pro* located inside the verbal complex. This type of indexing is called referential linking, or r-linking. R-linking has the function of linking an pronominal argument with an argument-doubling expression. Example (7) illustrates an NP linked to the appropriate pronominal argument within the verbal complex.<sup>3</sup> The NP *atim* 'dog' has the same features as the object *pro* inside the verb: third

---

<sup>2</sup>

Of course, discourse functions play a role in each sentence's acceptability. The point however is that the overt NPs are not required to fulfil the Theta Criterion. It has been fulfilled by the pronominal arguments.

<sup>3</sup>

Details about nominal and verbal inflection, and methods of indicating r-linking, will be provided in the following chapters.



In Cree, however, there is evidence that a complement-like clause exists.<sup>4</sup> These clauses have different syntactic characteristics from adverbial clauses. How is this explained?

In this thesis, I will show that there are different types of subordinate clauses in Cree. In particular we will see that Cree has both adverbial clauses and complement-like subordinate clauses, distinguished by their syntactic and semantic behaviours. These clauses can be identified by their relationship to the pronominal arguments within the verb. Complement-like clauses are argument-doubling clauses, r-linked to one of the central arguments in the matrix verb. Adverbial clauses are not. This distinction mirrors the one in place for pronominal arguments and NPs.

---

4

By 'complement-like' I mean that the subordinate clause has certain characteristics in line with complement clauses in configurational languages. They occur with a restricted set of transitive verbs, and function 'semantically' like a complement. However, these clauses are not subcategorized by the verb, and are not in an argument position. Their 'complement' characteristics do not include an argument position in the sentence hierarchy.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Earlier Treatments of Subordinate Clauses in Pronominal Argument Languages**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter sketches some of the previous literature on subordinate clauses in Cree and related languages. There is a small amount of information on subordinate clauses, and what does exist tends to be descriptive. There exist few formal treatments of the differences between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses, and none of them have attempted to address the distinction between adjunct-like and complement-like subordinate clauses without appealing to an argument/non-argument structural analysis.

#### **2.2 Early Grammars of Cree**

The early grammars of Cree offer few details of subordinate clauses. Most of them equate the syntactic phenomena of subordinate clauses with the morphological subjunctive mood found in other languages. Hunter (1875), Horden (1881), Stevens (1934) and Hives (1948) barely mention subordinate clauses except to discuss the subjunctive verb form, or to introduce the relative pronouns. There is no analysis of subordinate structure, except in Horden (1881) who outlined some grammatical rules, one of which stated that one verb governs another in the subjunctive mood. Horden also included a wealth of examples of both types of subordinate clauses under investigation in this thesis.

Only Howse (1844) and Lacombe (1874) provide some detail about subordinate clauses in Cree. Howse discussed the possible moods of subordinate verbs, but more

importantly for our purposes, he recognized that subordinate clauses could be dependent on main clause verbs. He also discussed the ordering of subordinate and main verbs, including relative clauses.

Lacombe (1874) discussed relative clauses, ('le *qui* et le *que* relatifs', p.153) and described some of the uses of the conjunct preverbs *ê-* and *kâ-*.

None of these early grammars treat Cree subordinate clauses much differently than subordinate clauses found in English or Latin. These constructions in Cree were assumed to have similar structures, and moods, as the well-studied languages.

### **2.3 Recent Work on Cree**

Wolfart's (1973) grammar of Plains Cree presented a comprehensive overview of Cree morphology and word formation. This survey did not include a detailed description of subordinate clauses. He mentioned subordinate clauses, but only with regard to the use of the conjunct verb form, and the subordinators *ê-* and *kâ-*, where the conjunct preverb *ê-* indicates subordination in a neutral way, and *kâ-* can be used for relative subordination as well as many others. Subordinate clauses were called dependent clauses, but no syntactic descriptions were given. He listed four uses of the conjunct verb: narrative, participial, substantive and focal. The narrative use of the conjunct verb shows no agreement of referents between the matrix clause and subordinate clause. Agreement is shown either between clauses, or overt or covert references when the conjunct is used for participial constructions. A substantive clause occurs when a clause functions as the adjunct of the

verb, and a focal clause is defined as a clause where the predication is a particle expression.

A condensed version of this grammatical sketch was published recently in the Language volume of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* (1996). This version included a section on Cree sentences, co-authored by C. Reinholtz. In this section, subordinate clauses are described as forming a part of a larger, containing sentence. Examples are given with transitive verbs, but no structure or syntactic linking is explained. This section also looks at relative clauses and wh-questions (both of which we will examine in chapter 5). However, these types of subordinate clauses were only described, and illustrated with examples. There is no explanation about how they fit into the larger sentence, and what sort of relationship (if any) exists between the matrix and subordinate clauses.

Ellis (1983) is a grammar of Cree geared towards teaching a non-native speaker to speak Swampy Cree. In terms of subordinate clauses, however, we find essentially only a brief description and a multitude of examples. Although he provided a good description of the use of the subordinators *ê-* and *kâ-* with respect to aspect, there were no explanations about how these clauses fit into Cree syntax.

Dahlstrom, in her 1986 dissertation on Cree morphosyntax, treated one type of subordinate clause as a complement clause. Dahlstrom defined Cree as a non-configurational language where the grammatical relations of subject and object were expressed by verbal inflection. She proposed that this verbal inflection played a dual role; it functioned as agreement markers when lexical NPs occurred in the sentence, but as

pronominal arguments whenever NPs were absent. Thus, she did not confine argument status to pronominals within the verb. Lexical NPs, when they occurred, could also function as arguments, and their role in the sentence was indicated by the verbal inflection (as opposed to structural position).

In light of this, it is no surprise that she considered complement clauses to be subcategorized elements of a subset of transitive verbs. If NPs could be arguments, indicated by verbal inflection rather than position, what would prevent clauses from receiving a similar treatment? She claimed that some Transitive Inanimate verbs were subcategorized for a subject and a complement clause, while some Transitive Animate verbs were inflected for a subject, a complement clause and/or an animate object.

Some recent articles about the Pronominal Argument structure in Cree, written by Reinholtz (1994), Reinholtz and Russell (1995) and Russell and Reinholtz (1995), focus on the structure of NPs in Cree. These articles demonstrate that NPs are not in fact adjuncts, as assumed by the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (explained in chapter 3), but are nonetheless situated in non-argument positions. One of these papers, Reinholtz and Russell (1995), includes a section on *wh*-questions, describing them as cleft constructions: a *wh*-quantifier and a relative clause. This will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Starks (1995) examines subordinate clauses in Woods Cree. Since this article does not adopt the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis, the value of her examination of subordinate clauses for the present study is limited. She does not assume a non-argumental status for all subordinate clauses. Starks divides subordinate clauses into 3



categories: complements, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. She claims these categories reflect three different roles in the grammar: complements are arguments, adverbial clauses modify sentences, and relative clauses modify nouns. Her analysis largely follows distinctions typically found in configurational languages. Because she does not follow a pronominal argument analysis - indeed she labels complement clauses as 'arguments' of the predicate - she appeals to argument versus non-argument positions to explain the distinctions in subordinate clauses.

Blain (1997) takes a Pronominal Argument Hypothesis approach to Wh-questions in Plains Cree. Like Reinholtz and Russell (1995), she adopts a cleft-construction analysis. Most of her proposal focuses on the internal structure of wh-questions, not on their interaction with matrix verbs as complement-like clauses. She does, however, devote one section to subordinate wh-questions and 'complement' clauses.

Blain argues that complement-like clauses in Plains Cree are in argument position. She bases this conclusion on extraction data. She demonstrates that extraction from a complement-like clause is grammatical, while extraction from an adjunct-like clause is ungrammatical. These extraction asymmetries should not occur, she claims, if all subordinate clauses are adjoined to the matrix clause in the same manner.

This is precisely what I have identified as the problem in chapter 1 (and will discuss again in the following chapter). I differ from Blain, however, in how to treat this difference in behaviour. Blain concludes that because extraction is possible in complement-like clauses, they must be in argument positions, as opposed to adjunct-like clauses which are base-generated in non-argument positions. I argue that *both* types of

clauses are in non-argument positions, and that we must find a way to account for the dissimilarities between these two types of clauses without appealing to a difference in structural position.

#### **2.4 Baker's Analysis of Mohawk, a Polysynthetic Language**

One of the most prominent writers on non-configurational syntax is Mark Baker with his work on Mohawk, an Iroquoian language. In his 1991 paper, 'On some Subject/Object Asymmetries in Mohawk,' and his 1996 book, *The Polysynthesis Parameter*, Baker sets up two different types of subordinate clauses in Mohawk, adjuncts and complement clauses. These clauses mimic the distinction found in configurational languages, having different structural positions. The complement clause is generated within VP and adjunct clauses are generated outside VP.

Baker acknowledges the general viewpoint that the central arguments of the verb are not manifested by overt NPs in this nonconfigurational language. He assumes there is a hierarchical organization to the clause structure of Mohawk, just as in configurational languages. He does not, however, extend the view of non-argument positions for overt NPs into subordinate clauses.

In his 1991 article, Baker explains the difference between the acceptability of complement clauses and overt NPs in argument positions by way of the Case Filter. The Case Filter applies at S-structure, and serves to bar NPs which have phonetic features and appear in argument positions, but are without Case. This filter has no effect on *pro* or on S' (CP). The Case Filter applies at different levels of representation, both PF and LF. NPs

can be interpreted at a particular level only if they receive Case at that level. This is Baker's Generalized Visibility Condition (1991:570). Elements must receive Case at the level where their interpretation is most relevant. Thus, for NPs, it is PF as they must be pronounced, and for phonetically-null *pro*'s, it is LF.

Baker also argues that, because the Case features of heads are absorbed by the agreement morphemes in Mohawk, overt NPs are barred from argument positions when the Case Filter applies at PF. This is because they do not have Case at this level where they must be interpreted. S's and *pros* are allowed. Then, the agreement morphemes are deleted at LF, and Case can be re-assigned to appropriate arguments (*pro*), allowing them to receive theta-role assignment.

In his 1996 book, *The Polysynthesis Parameter*, Baker takes another view of the distinction between subordinate clauses in non-configurational languages. In this work, Baker stresses the Morphological Visibility Condition (MVC) as outlined in (8).

(8) *The Morphological Visibility Condition (MVC)*<sup>5</sup>

A phrase X is visible for theta-role assignment from a head Y only if it is co-indexed with a morpheme in the word containing Y via:

- (i) an agreement relationship, or
- (ii) a movement relationship

Therefore, while the verb discharges a theta-role to an appropriate phrase as dictated by the Theta Criterion, that phrase must be co-indexed to a morpheme on the verb, according

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Baker (1996:17)

to the MVC. The co-indexing relationship is either that between an NP and an agreement category, or that between a moved element and its trace.

In terms of subordinate clauses, the MVC entails that if a CP were to act as subject or object to the verb, there must be a morpheme in the verbal complex that is co-indexed with the CP. However, as Baker points out, a problem arises if the co-indexed morpheme is an agreement morpheme. Agreement, he claims, is "...an inherently nominal phenomenon in most languages" (Baker, 1996:453). CPs are not nominal, and therefore cannot agree with a *pro* in the VP. Therefore, CPs cannot satisfy the MVC by way of agreement relations. This would suggest, then, that CPs cannot be arguments in nonconfigurational languages. While this appears to be in conflict with the evidence Baker adduces in his 1991 article, we will see that he does attempt to account for the discrepancy.

Baker notes that Mohawk tends to avoid complementation. Direct quotative clauses occur far more frequently than indirect speech. Mohawk also uses a series of conjoined clauses or sequences of clauses, where a language like English would use complementation.

However, where complementation does occur, Baker suggests an analysis where the CP can be said to be in adposition with an NP. The N can be incorporated into the verb, satisfying the MVC, and allowing a complement relationship with the CP. This, he claims, allows CPs to be arguments. In Mohawk, many constructions are found with the N *rihw* 'matter' incorporated into the verb. Other instances, he argues, use a

phonologically null N in adposition to the CP. By postulating an N in adposition to the CP he allows for the MVC to be satisfied.

Baker's analysis for Mohawk cannot be applied *verbatim* to Cree. Cree does not have a morpheme like Mohawk *rihw* 'matter' which can be used to satisfy the MVC when complement-like clauses occur. Furthermore, the version of the PAH which I am adopting assumes a non-argument status for all constituents except *pro*. Unlike Baker in his analysis of Mohawk, I do not assume that, in Cree, it is only overt NPs that are prevented from occurring in argument positions. Rather, I argue that only *pro* can occur in these positions, and both NPs and subordinate clauses are in non-argument positions. This entails that all subordinate clauses are in the same structural position, and cannot be distinguished by an argument/non-argument division.

## 2.5 Summary

This chapter has examined some of the past literature on subordinate clauses in Cree and Mohawk, another PA language. None of the grammars reviewed attempted to treat all subordinate clauses as non-argument clauses. Rather, if they provided a structural description of subordinate clauses at all, they defined complement and adjunct clauses on the basis of structural position; argument versus non-argument. This type of analysis assumes that only overt NPs are barred from argument position, and that CPs are not.

A problem with such an analysis concerns the pronominal arguments within the verbal complex, and the availability of argument roles to these *pros* and any CPs that may also occur in the sentence. If argument status is always assigned to the pronominals, there

would not be any such role for a CP. The Theta Criterion states that a theta-role can be assigned to one and only one argument. If the theta-roles are filled by the pronominals, there is no way to create an argument position for a complement clause.

In this thesis, I will propose that we can make a syntactic differentiation between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses while maintaining a non-argument status for both. This proposal will achieve the following:

- i) a treatment which illustrates a syntactic difference between adjunct-like (adverbial) and complement-like (argument-doubling) clauses (not structural position)
- ii) a treatment for argument-doubling clauses
- iii) a refinement of the restrictions governing obviation, including proximate shifts

There is a general consensus among earlier descriptions and treatments of subordinate clauses as to the existence of two kinds of subordinate clauses, namely those with adjunct-like behaviour and those with complement-like behaviour. The treatment proposed here builds on this previous work, and attempts to provide an analysis which provides for this long-recognized distinction in subordinate clauses.

The next chapter will present an overview of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH), as well as an introduction to Cree morphology, NPs and subordinate clauses.

## **Chapter 3**

### **The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis and Cree**

#### **3.1 The Problem**

This chapter will focus on the need for a treatment which makes explicit the difference between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses in the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) framework. This distinction rests on a division between argument-doubling and non-argument-doubling (adverbial) clauses. The present analysis accounts for the differing behaviour of these clauses, and also allows us to explain other syntactic phenomena, such as restrictions on obviation and the copying-to-object construction. Obviation will be discussed in chapter 4, and the extension of this analysis to making the correct predictions with respect to proximate shifts and copying-to-object constructions will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

One of the basic premises of the PAH is that subject and object theta-roles are assigned to either clitic pronouns (Jelinek 1984) or null pronouns (Russell and Reinholtz 1995) within the verbal complex. This entails that overt NPs can only be found in non-argumental positions. It follows, then, that other elements that are commonly found in an argument position in configurational languages would also be relegated to non-argumental positions. If we look at subordinate clauses, this would suggest that only non-argumental clauses are found, i.e., these languages would lack complement clauses. At first glance, this should not pose any difficulties: all subordinate clauses in a pronominal argument language can be defined as non-argument elements, just like NPs.

However, an examination of the subordinate clauses found in one such language, namely Cree, suggests that there *are* clauses that have central properties in common with complement clauses. They occur with a limited group of transitive verb stems, and display a tighter syntactic linkage with their matrix clause than other subordinate clauses. The problem then is how to describe these complement-like clauses within a pronominal argument framework. Positing argument positions for complement clauses only seems a rather *ad hoc* solution, and would weaken the PAH. Rather, an analysis must be able to account for the complement-like behaviour of some subordinate clauses while maintaining that these clauses are situated in a non-argument position. As well, it must offer a treatment which accounts for the differences between these clauses and other adjunct-like clauses.

### **3.2 The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH)**

Before we begin our look at Cree and its pronominal argument structure, it will be instructive to re-trace the steps by which the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis evolved over the past 15 years. This will introduce some of the specific assumptions that I will adopt for the analysis of Cree subordinate clauses.

#### **3.2.1 The PAH Then**

In 1983, Ken Hale published a paper on the structure of an Australian language, Warlpiri. This language had characteristics that confounded the linguistic theories developed for other languages. Noun phrases could be placed in any order, or freely omitted, without



rendering the sentence unacceptable. The constituents of an NP could even be separated from each other.

The free word order of constituents is shown in example (9). All three sentences, while showing a variety of constituent orders, have the same syntactic meaning.

- (9) Ngarrka-ngku ka wawirri panti-rni.  
man ERG AUX kangaroo spear NONPAST  
'The man is spearing the kangaroo.'  
(Hale, 1983:06)

Wawirri ka panti-rni ngarrka-ngku.  
Panti-rni ka ngarrka-ngku wawirri.

An example of syntactically discontinuous constituents is given in (10).

- (10) **Wawirri** kapi-rna panti-rni **yalumpu**.  
kangaroo AUX spear NONPAST that  
'I will spear that kangaroo.'  
(Hale, 1983:06)

And, finally, in (11) we see the sentence shown above in (9) now with only one NP (11a) and (11b), or none at all (11c). All versions are acceptable Warlpiri sentences.

- (11) a. Ngarrka-ngku ka panti-rni.  
man ERG AUX spear NONPAST  
'The man is spearing him/her/it.'
- b. Wawirri ka panti-rni.  
kangaroo AUX spear NONPAST  
'He/she is spearing the kangaroo.'
- c. Panti-rni ka.  
spear NONPAST AUX  
'He/she is spearing him/her/it.'  
(Hale, 1983:07)

Hale concluded that the difference between Warlpiri, a non-configurational language, and configurational languages was in the application of the Projection Principle. The Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1981, 1982) dictates that the theta-marking properties of each lexical item must be represented categorically at each syntactic level. One of the motivations behind the Projection Principle is to ensure that there be no missing arguments: they are all required to be accounted for at every level of representation. In Warlpiri, however, Hale claimed that the Projection Principle held only at LS (lexical structure). Lexical structure referred to predicates and their argument arrays. These arrays correspond to variables specified in the dictionary definition of a verb. The dictionary definition assigns the theta-roles and case to the LS arguments.

Hale proposed that overt NPs belonged in PS (phrase structure) and could be associated with the argument variables in LS by appropriate case marking. In fact, he claimed that a

“principal function of case-marking in Warlpiri [was] that of signalling the correct association of constituents in PS to arguments in LS” (Hale, 1983:14).

The optional nominals in PS and the arguments in LS were associated through a linking rule.

- (12) Linking Rule: Co-index N' in PS with *arg* in LS, provided the case category of N' is identical with that of *arg* (assigning a distinct index to each *arg* in LS). (Hale, 1983:14)

There is no specification of a bi-unique relationship between the *args* in LS and the nominals in PS. There need not be any nominal corresponding to an *arg*, or there may be more than one (thus solving the problem of discontinuous constituents).

Because this proposal violated the Projection Principle, Hale proposed a parameter for its application. He called it the Configurationality Parameter.

(13) Configurationality Parameter:

- i) In configurational languages, the projection principle holds of the pair (LS,PS).
- ii) In non-configurational languages, the projection principle holds of LS alone.

(Hale, 1983:26)

The result of Hale's analysis was that sufficient arguments were ensured in LS, but they did not need to be matched up to any nominals in PS, and there was no need to postulate any empty categories. NPs were not required to appear in thematic positions. Therefore, they could be optional, in free order or discontinuous. Thus, non-configurationality was a result of the relationship between phrase structure (PS) and lexical structure (LS), i.e., the difference in the way the Projection Principle held in this type of language.

Jelinek (1984) disagreed with Hale's analysis of disparate applications of the Projection Principle for different language types. Rather, she maintained that the Projection Principle is a universal component of all grammars, and must be applied as originally designed even to nonconfigurational languages. It ensures that grammatical relations are indicated at the surface structure, to allow for sentences to be interpretable.

The greatest difference between Jelinek's proposal and Hale's analysis is the location of the core arguments. For Hale, they were in the lexical structure of the verb, but were not found in the phrase structure. For Jelinek, the central arguments of the verb were realized overtly, in the phrase structure, as verbal clitics on the auxiliary verb. These

pronominal clitics were never bound by an overt NP in argument position, because overt NPs cannot occupy argument positions. Argument status was awarded inside the verb-AUX complex to the clitics. Jelinek proposed

“...that verbal argument arrays (argument positions) in LS are satisfied always and only in PS in Warlpiri by clitic pronouns, and that nominals are simply optional adjuncts, with non-argumental functions” (Jelinek, 1984:44).

She argued that, because nominals are not arguments, nor bi-uniquely related to arguments, more than one nominal may be adjoined to a single argument to yield apparently discontinuous expressions. And since nominals are "mere adjuncts", there is nothing to require that they have a fixed order.

Example (14) shows how the arguments of the verb are represented by clitics on the auxiliary verb in Warlpiri. (14a) contains an auxiliary verb with third person subject and object clitics, both of which are null. (14b) shows overt clitics for a third-person plural subject and object.

- (14) a.     panti -rni           ka - $\emptyset$        - $\emptyset$   
           spear-NONPAST PRES-3sgNOM-3sgACC  
           ‘He/she is spearing him/her/it.’
- b.     panti -rni           ka -lu       -jana  
           spear-NONPAST PRES-3plNOM-3plACC  
           ‘They are spearing them.’
- (Jelinek, 1984:46-47)

The verb in Warlpiri assigns theta-roles, but does not govern nominals. The verb plus the AUX tense/aspect jointly govern clitic pronouns and assign NOM/ACC/DAT case to them. Jelinek claimed that case marking on a nominal indicated the verbal argument to which it could be adjoined. The case marking on the nominal would have to be

'compatible' with the case marking on the verbal argument. Warlpiri has a split ergative system sensitive to the person hierarchy. The case on first and second person clitic pronouns follows a nominative/accusative (NOM-ACC) case system, while the case on nominals is assigned under an ergative/absolutive (ERG-ABS) system. The case which appears on the arguments is called grammatical case (G-case). The G-cases are NOM, ACC and DAT. Nominals have primary or secondary lexical case (L-case). The primary L-cases are ERG, ABS and DAT. The secondary L-cases are LOCATIVE, PERLATIVE, ALLATIVE, ELATIVE, etc. Only the primary L-cases can be co-indexed to the clitic arguments. Jelinek called these nominals adargumental adjuncts, since they give more information about the referent of a clitic argument. Nominals with secondary L-case cannot be co-indexed with a clitic pronoun, but must be licensed by a case particle phrase or postposition. These nominals are called adsentential adjuncts.

Jelinek's linking rule follows in (15) and a chart of case-compatibility between G-case (on arguments) and L-case (on nominals) is presented in (16):

(15) Linking Rule (Jelinek, 1984:52)

A clitic pronoun may be co-indexed with a nominal, providing the L-case of the nominal and the G-case of the clitic pronoun are *compatible* (assigning a distinct index to each clitic).

(16) Compatible Cases (Jelinek, 1984:52)

- a. NOM G-case is compatible with ABS and ERG L-case.
- b. ACC G-case is compatible with ABS and DAT L-case.
- c. DAT G-case is compatible with DAT L-case.

Jelinek's analysis did not provide for a bi-unique linking rule between clitics and NPs. Therefore, she said, there may be more than one nominal co-indexed with a clitic, resulting in a 'discontinuous constituent'. Furthermore, clitic arguments are not required to be linked to nominals, so nominals may not be present at all. Also, some nominals which do occur in the sentence may fail to be co-indexed because they bear secondary L-case marking, which is not compatible with the G-case on the clitics.

Some examples of linking relations between arguments and nominals are provided in (17) and (18). Example (17) shows two nominals which are co-indexed with separate arguments within the verbal complex. Example (18), contains only one adargumental nominal. The other two nominals have secondary L-case marking, namely locative case, and cannot be linked to any argument in the verb.

#### Warlpiri

(17) ngajulu-rlu ka-rna-ngku nyuntu-0 nya-nyi  
 1-ERG PRES-1sgNOM-2sgACC you-ABS see-NONPAST  
 ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────┐  
 'I see you.' (Jelinek, 1984:54)

(18) ngarrka-patu-0 ka-lu karti-ngka manyu-karri-mi karru-ngka  
 man-pl-ABS PRES-3plNOM cards-LOC play-NONPAST creek-LOC  
 ┌──────────────────┐  
 'The men are playing (at) cards in the creekbed.' (Jelinek, 1984:62)

To summarise Jelinek's proposals, then: Warlpiri does assign argumental status to elements in the sentence. However, these arguments are within the verbal complex, as clitics on the auxiliary verb. These clitics satisfy the Theta Criterion. Any noun phrase found in a Warlpiri sentence is considered to be an adjunct, i.e., in non-argumental position. Furthermore, if the case of the NP is compatible with the case of the clitic, they

can be understood to be co-indexed. The NP provides more information in regard to the argument. If the case of the NP is not compatible with the case of the clitic, the NP is understood to be an adsentential adjunct, licensed by a case particle phrase or postposition, and providing extra information in the sentence. This theory of adjunct status for NPs certainly accounts for the free word ordering, optionality and asymmetries typical of NPs in Warlpiri. Adjunct constituents are not structurally obligatory nor rigidly ordered. An NP in adjunct position, therefore, can occur in any position in the sentence, or not at all.

The main points of this early work on the PAH which have been carried into more recent research are the non-argumental status of NPs, and situation of argument positions inside the verb. Both of these are relevant to the present study of Cree subordinate clauses. Unlike Warlpiri, Cree does not have clitics which occupy the argument positions. Instead, I follow Russell and Reinholtz (1995) in positing null pronominal arguments (*pro*) located within the verbal complex. These *pros* are typically identified by the verbal morphology. We now turn to some recent developments of the PAH and identify other assumptions I will adopt for the analysis of Cree adverbial and argument-doubling clauses.

### **3.2.2 The PAH Now**

Since Jelinek's 1984 proposal, the PAH has been adopted for the analysis of other languages displaying non-configurational properties. For Cree, we can cite Dahlstrom (1986), Reinholtz (1995), Russell & Reinholtz (1995), Reinholtz and Russell (1995), Blain (1997), and Déchaine and Reinholtz (1998). There have been some modifications to the

theory along the way. For some pronominal argument languages, there are no verbal clitics to accept argument roles, so phonologically null pronouns (*pros*) have been posited within the verbal complex (for Cree, cf. Reinholtz and Russell 1995, Blain 1997, Déchaine and Reinholtz 1998). *Pro* is a non-overt pronoun that occupies a specific structural argument position as discussed in chapter 1. For the present analysis of Cree, I assume that there are *pros* inside the verbal complex that accept the argumental theta-roles discharged by the verb. In this thesis, I will not examine the positioning of the *pros* within the verbal complex.<sup>6</sup>

Since Jelinek's (1984) article was published, the term 'non-configurational' has been more narrowly defined. It is now being used, more or less, as a label for languages displaying certain important characteristics:

- (19) Principal Characteristics of Non-Configurational (Pronominal Argument) Languages
- i) Thematic/grammatical relations do not determine word order

This means, that word order plays no role in determining thematic or grammatical roles. Unlike English, where word order distinguishes between subjects and objects, a pronominal argument language does not rely on word order to identify these roles. Example (3) in chapter 1 illustrated this, where six variations of word order in a simple sentence do not change the sentence's interpretation.

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The hierarchical structure of the pronominal arguments within the verbal complex is presented in a recent paper by Déchaine & Reinholtz (1998).



ii) Full NPs are optional with regard to thematic/grammatical relations

Any NP referring to the subject, object or indirect object in a Cree sentence is optional. It does not have to occur for the sentence to be grammatical. This was shown in example (6) in chapter 1.

iii) Absence of certain subject/object asymmetries

Because the PAH stipulates that pronominal argument languages place overt NPs in non-argument positions, it provides an explanation for the absence of certain subject/object asymmetries found in configurational languages. This is especially clear in co-reference restrictions, or the lack thereof. For example, certain constructions that would result in a Principle C violation in English are perfectly acceptable in Cree. Principle C stipulates that referring expressions must be free, i.e., not bound by any other element in the sentence. A Principle C violation occurs in configurational languages when a referential expression is bound by another NP in an argument position, as is seen in the ungrammatical English translation of (20b).

- (20) a. animêniw John<sub>i</sub> omôhkomân kî-wîcihik<sup>7</sup>  
that John his-knife pst-help-TA-(0-3)  
'That knife of John's<sub>i</sub> helped him<sub>i</sub>.'
- b. kî-pîkonam [animêniw John<sub>i</sub> omôhkomân]  
pst-break-TI-(3-0) that John his-knife  
\* 'He<sub>i</sub> broke that knife of John's<sub>i</sub>.'

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These examples are cited from Russell and Reinholtz (1995) who modelled these sentences after Baker's (1991) Mohawk examples.

In English, the subject c-commands the object, but not vice versa. Thus, while the English translation of (20a) is acceptable, example (20b) is not. In (20a), the proper name is embedded inside the NP, so it does not c-command into the VP where the pronoun lies. The proper name in the subject can be co-referential with the pronoun object without a violation of Principle C. In (20b) however, the pronoun subject binds the proper name contained within the object NP. This results in a Principle C violation, because the referring expression, the proper name, is not free. It is bound by the pronoun. In Cree, however, both (20a) and (20b) are grammatical. The pronominal arguments are contained within the inflected verb form and therefore do not c-command anything outside the inflected verb. Hence the grammaticality of (20b).

The PAH has undergone some other modifications in recent years. Initially, any language said to be nonconfigurational was assumed to have a flat, non-hierarchical structure. But, as Russell and Reinholtz (1995) show, the absence of argument positions for NPs does not necessitate an absence of hierarchical structure. Rather, they have shown that Cree, for example, does have a hierarchically-organized clause structure, organized in terms of the functional categories of Focus and Topic. This provides a discourse-motivated structure in Cree, following the lines of information distribution typical of Algonquian languages, where new or focussed information tends to occur in a pre-verbal position, and old or thematic information typically follows the verb (cf. Tomlin and Rhodes 1979). The optional, non-argumental NPs occupy positions in FocP or TopP, either as the specifier of the FocP for focussed nouns, or in the complement position of the TopP. The verbal complex, which consists of the verb stem, agreement morphology, and



presented above, NPs are situated in specifier or complement positions of the projections of functional categories, Focus and Topic. In this thesis, I push this structure one step further, by claiming that subordinate clauses are also relegated to non-argument positions. This entails that we must find a way to distinguish between two types of clauses that are situated in the same type of position, yet display different behaviours.

### **3.3 Cree**

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a profile of Cree verbal morphology, NPs and subordinate clauses. An overview of Cree verbs and agreement morphology follows in section 3.3.1. Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 will examine overt NPs and subordinate clauses in Cree. One goal of this chapter is to make apparent the similarities between the standard treatment of NPs in Cree and the proposed treatment for subordinate clauses.

#### **3.3.1 Verbal Morphology**

Cree verbs have four morphological classes, labelled according to transitivity and the grammatical animacy of the participants.<sup>8</sup> Intransitive verbs are conventionally divided into two groups based upon the animacy of their subject, while transitive verbs are subdivided according to the animacy of the object. Verb classification is indicated by a

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Cree has a gender classification based upon grammatical animacy. Nouns are either animate or inanimate (classification is not necessarily semantically based).

suffix called the 'stem final'. The four classes are laid out in (22) with examples of each verb in (23).<sup>9</sup>

- (22) AI - animate intransitive (animate actor)  
II - inanimate intransitive (inanimate actor)  
TA - transitive animate (animate goal)  
TI - transitive inanimate (inanimate goal)

- (23) a. AI mihkosiw asiniy.  
be.red.AI-3 stone-3  
'The stone is red.'
- b. II mihkwâw maskisin.  
be.red.II-0 shoe-0  
'The shoe is red.'
- c. TA niwâpamâw asiniy.  
1-see.TA-(1-3) stone-3  
'I see a stone.'
- d. TI niwâpahtên cîmân.  
1-see.TI-(1-inan) boat-NI  
'I see a boat.'

There are three orders of verbal inflection: independent, conjunct and imperative. Each order has different affixes for the verb. For our purposes we are only interested in the independent and conjunct orders. The independent order is restricted to matrix verbs. The conjunct order may be found in either matrix or subordinate clauses. However, a subordinate clause can only occur with a verb in the conjunct.

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<sup>9</sup>

These verb classifications are essentially prototype categories based upon morphological properties. A large number of AI verbs are intransitive, and there are TI verbs which are actually intransitive. This overview of Cree verbal morphology is intended to provide some basic background information, and will not discuss the many exceptions, except to note that they exist.

- (24) a. Independent:      **niwâpamâw cîmiy.**  
                                   **see-TA-(1-3) Jimmy-3**  
                                   ‘I see Jimmy.’
- b. Conjunct:        **ê-wâpamak cîmiy.**  
                                   **cj-see-TA-(1-3) Jimmy-3**  
                                   ‘(When) I see Jimmy.’

In a Cree verb there is no specific position for an affix which identifies a subject or object. The person-marking affixes serve only to identify sentence participants, and it is a direction marker within the verb which associates the appropriate participant to the appropriate argument role. In other words, it is not position which identifies subject/agent and object/patient, but rather morphology. This association is also dependent upon a person hierarchy, where second person is higher than first person, and both outrank third person. This hierarchy is shown in (25).

- (25) 2 > 1 > 3 > 3' > 0<sup>10</sup>

To demonstrate this somewhat complex system of argument assignment, let us consider the following examples.

- (26).            **niwâpamâwak.**  
                           **1-see.TA-direct-3p**  
                           ‘I see them.’

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<sup>10</sup> 3 = third person proximate, 3' = third person obviative. 0 = inanimate

- (27).            **niwâpamikwak**<sup>11</sup>.  
                   1-see.TA-inv-3p  
                   ‘They see me.’

Examples (26) and (27) demonstrate that affix position is not related to subject or object roles. The first person marker *ni-* precedes the verb stem in both instances, and the third person plural marker *-wak* always occurs at the end of the verb. These prefixes and suffixes, shown in boldface type, simply indicate the participants involved in the event. The direction marker, which has been underlined in the above examples, is either direct *-â-* as in (26), or inverse *-ik(w)-* as in (27), and serves to link these participants to the argument roles, based upon the person hierarchy. Thus, in (26), because the verb is direct, we know that a participant higher on the animacy hierarchy acts upon a participant who is lower on the hierarchy. In this example, the first person participant acts upon the third person. Conversely, in (27), the verb is in the inverse form, which tells us that a lower participant acts upon a higher one. Thus, in this sentence, the third person is the subject, and the first person is the object.

In examples (28) and (29) below, we can see the direct and inverse forms of a verb when both participants are third person. Here, we see how obviation roles play out in the animacy hierarchy. Obviation is obligatory when more than one third person occurs in a clause, and functions to disambiguate the two third persons. One participant is proximate,

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The full form of the inverse marker is *-ikw-*. The morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of the verb *niwâpamiwak* would be:

*ni-wâpam-ikw-wa-k*  
 1-see(TA)-inv-3-pl  
 ‘I see them’.

i.e., more prominent in the discourse, while the other is marked as obviative. In (28), the direction marker indicates that a participant higher on the animacy hierarchy acts upon a participant that is lower on the hierarchy. The verbal inflection indicates that a third person plural proximate and an obviative participant are involved. Because proximate participants are higher than obviative participants on the animacy hierarchy, we know that the proximate plural acts upon the obviative. In (29), we see the inverse form of the verb. This means that the obviative (lower on hierarchy) acts upon the proximate (higher on hierarchy). In (28) and (29), the direction markers are underlined.

(28)           wâpamêwak.  
                   see.TA-dir-(3p-3')  
                   ‘They (prox) see him/them (obv).’

(29)           wâpamikwak.  
                   see.TA-inv-(3'-3p)  
                   ‘He/They (obv) sees/see them (prox).’

These examples also demonstrate that the proximate/obviative distinction is not based on the roles of subject and object.

This section has introduced the different verb orders as well as verbal morphology. The agreement morphemes serve to identify the pronominal arguments which are situated within the verbal complex. We also introduced the role of obviation, and demonstrated that obviation status is not dependent upon thematic roles.



### 3.3.2 NPs in a Cree Sentence

So far, we have looked at the relationships inside the verbal complex, including verb forms and argument identification. Of course, because we claim that arguments in Cree are inside the verbal complex, this is crucial to sentence interpretation. However, NPs are not barred from occurring in a Cree sentence. They are required for the same discourse motivations as in any other language: introduction of new participants, clarification, style, etc. When an NP occurs in Cree, it is in a non-argumental position.

There are two types of NPs found in Cree sentences. These may be labelled argument-doubling NPs (A-doubling NPs) and oblique NPs. A-doubling NPs are co-indexed to the pronominal arguments within the verb, while oblique NPs are not. We will investigate these below.

#### 3.3.2.1 Argument-Doubling NPs

An A-doubling NP must be construed with one of the pronominal arguments inside the verbal complex. This is accomplished by referential linking. In order to be referentially linked, an NP must bear features compatible to one the central arguments occurring in the clause. An example of an A-doubling NP can be seen in (30). In this sentence, the overt NP *mostoswa* 'buffalo(obv)' matches the person, gender, and obviation features of the object *pro*. It is third person, animate and obviative (number is not marked on obviative participants). Thus, *mostoswa* 'buffalo(obv)' is co-indexed with the object argument in the verbal complex.

- (30) *pro*<sub>1</sub>-wâpamêw-*pro*<sub>j</sub> mostoswa<sub>j</sub>.  
└──────────┘  
see.TA-(3-3'<sub>j</sub>) buffalo<sub>j</sub>.3'  
 'He saw some buffalo.'(P:290-31)

There is a restriction on which NPs can be A-doubling NPs. Because, by definition, these NPs are construed with the pronominal arguments, only NPs which can be co-indexed with subjects, objects and indirect objects belong to this class. These are the only argument roles which can be represented pronominally in the verbal complex. Example (31) illustrates A-doubling NPs co-indexed with a subject (31a), an object (31b), and an indirect object (31c).<sup>12</sup>

(31) Subject

- a. êkwah pihtwâw aw oskinîkiw.  
 then smoke.AI-3, this youth-3,  
 'Then the youth smoked.'(P:206-06)

Object

- b. sîpiy wâpahtamwak.  
 river<sub>i</sub> see.TI-(3p-inan<sub>i</sub>)  
 'They saw a river.'(P:168-20)

Indirect Object

- c. êkosi owîcêwâkaniwâwah êh-mâh-miyâcîk,....  
 then their-companions-3', cj-rdpl-give.TA-(3p-3'<sub>i</sub>)  
 'Then when they gave them to their companions,...'(P:40-24)

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<sup>12</sup>

The terminology for referring to the morphologically-identified non-agentive argument in a di-transitive verb is controversial. Traditional grammars of Cree have claimed that with these verbs, the beneficiary functions as the direct object. The verbal morphology for the beneficiary is identical to that of a direct object in a simple transitive verb. The patient/theme is not morphologically marked, but is included in the interpretation. By terming these arguments as 'indirect object' I am claiming only that the thematic role of these arguments is one of beneficiary. I do not want to omit this particular thematic role in the analysis, but readers should note that it is not a clear-cut issue of grammatical role; i.e., direct object or indirect object. For more information, see Wolfart (1973).

The NP is licensed through co-indexation with the argument. The *pro* and the NP can be seen as elements of a chain, which share the same features and thematic relation. This co-indexation is also called referential linking, or r-linking. Referentially linked constituents have a common referent and identical features. This includes person, number and gender. An overt NP and an argument must also have the same obviation status, in order for the NP to be an A-doubling expression.

### 3.3.2.2 Oblique NPs

Co-indexation with a pronominal argument is not a requisite factor for an NP to occur in a Cree sentence. An NP can also occur in a postpositional phrase. In this way, the NP is said to be licensed by the postposition. The postpositions found in these phrases are usually *ohci* 'from, with, etc.' and *isi* 'to, towards.' Overt nominals may also be licensed by a nominal suffix *-ihk* alone or in addition to a postposition<sup>13</sup>. Oblique NPs are never associated with subject or object roles (this is obvious since they cannot be co-indexed with the pronominal arguments), but occur as instruments, locations, sources and goals. Examples of each of these roles are presented in (32a-d).

(32) Instrument

- a. **ohcahcâpiyah ohci pakamahwêw.**  
his-bow-3' with hit.TA-(3-3')  
'He struck him with his bow.'

(P:292-11)

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13

NPs with the thematic roles of source, goal or location often occur with both the postposition *ohci* 'from' and the locative suffix *-ihk* on the oblique NP. At this point, I cannot offer an explanation of this phenomenon.

### Source

b. ..., *kâ-wâpamât*    *awa nâpêw mihcêt êh-wayawiyit*    ***mistikohk ohci***  
cj-see.TA-(3-3') this man-3 many cj-go.outside.AI-3' tree-loc from

*kinêpikwah.*

snake-3'

'and then the man saw a great many serpents come forth from the tree.' (P:270-39)

Oblique nouns can also be licensed by a locative suffix *-ihk* which occurs on the noun.

### Location

(c) *êkwah mîcisôwak êkotah sâkahikanihk.*  
then eat.AI-3p there lake-loc  
'Then they ate, there in the lake.'

(P:288-27)

### Goal

(d) *êkwah pihêwak ôki takosinwak wacistwanihk.*  
then partridge-3p those arrive.AI-3p nest-loc  
'Then the partridges arrived at the nest.'

(P:280-22)

Such nominals can also be licensed when *ohci* 'from' or *isi* 'towards' occur not as postpositions, but as preverbs within the verb phrase. These preverbs occur after a conjunct prefix and/or past marker *kî-* (if used) and person prefixes, but before the verb stem. The role of the NP remains the same as if the preverb were a postposition. Some examples are provided in (33).

(33)

a. *môskîstawêw*    *ôhi nâpêsisah, cikahikan*    *êw-ohci-pakamahwât,*  
run.at.s.o.TA-(3-3') that boy-3'    axe    cj-with-strike.s.o.TA-(3-3')

*êh-nipahât.*

cj-kill.TA-(3-3')

'She(prox) ran at the boy(obv) and struck him(obv) with an axe, killing him(obv).'

(S:246-12)

- b. *sêkîhîk*, *wâsiskotênîkanîhk êy-ohci-wayawiyit.*  
 frighten. s.o.TA-(3'-3) lamp-loc cj-from-go.outside.AI-3'  
 'He (obv) frightened him (prox), coming out(obv) of the lamp.' (S:340-15)

Thus we have seen that NPs in Cree can be licensed either by referential-linking to a pronominal argument in the verb, i.e., subject, object and indirect object roles, or NPs can be licensed by a postposition, preverb or locative suffix if they are fulfilling oblique roles, such as location, instrument, source or goal.

### 3.3.3 Subordinate Clauses in Cree

Subordinate clauses are marked by the use of a verb in the conjunct order. Conjunct verbs may be indicated in one of two ways; initial change and conjunct inflection. Initial change is a process of systematic phonological substitution of the vowel in the first syllable of the verbal complex, i.e., on the first preverb,<sup>14</sup> if there is one, or on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb stem. Some examples of initial change are shown in (34),<sup>15</sup> where (34a) and (34c) present independent forms, and (34b) and (34d) present the conjunct form (with initial change) of the verb.

- (34) i ~ ê  
 a. *pimohtêw*  
 walk.along.AI-3  
 'He walks along'.

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<sup>14</sup> The preverb *kâ-* found with conjunct verbs is the past preverb *kî-* which has undergone initial change.

<sup>15</sup>

Examples (34a-d) are cited from Wolfart, (1973:83). These are only two examples of the systematic phonological substitution. For more examples and details on other vowels, see Wolfart 1973.

- b. pēmohtéyâhk  
 cj.walk.along.AI-1pl  
 'As we(excl) walked along.'

ê ~ iyê

- c. tēhtapiw  
 ride.AI-3  
 'he rides (on horseback)'

- d. tiyēhtapit  
 cj.ride.AI-3  
 'as he rode'

Conjunct verbs also have a different set of inflectional endings from independent order verbs. An example is given in (35) below.

- (35) a. cān sipwēhtêw.  
 John leave.AI-3  
 'John leaves.' (independent)
- b. cān ê-sipwēhtêt.  
 John cj-leave.AI-3  
 '(when/that) John leaves.' (conjunct)

While a matrix clause may have either an independent order verb or a conjunct order verb, a subordinate clause can only appear with a conjunct verb. It is ungrammatical for a subordinate clause to have an independent verb form, as shown in (36b).

- (36) a. cān kiskēnimêw awēna kâ-sipwēhtēnit.<sup>16</sup>  
 John know.TA-(3-3') who cj-leave.AI-3'  
 'John knows who left.' (DS)

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Recall that all examples marked with DS are elicited examples and in Swampy Cree. Notice the Swampy Cree proximate ending in the conjunct is -nit. instead of the Plains Cree -yit.

- b. \* cân kiskênimêw awêna sipwêhtêniwa.  
 John know.TA-(3-3') who leave.AI-3'  
 'John knows who left.' (independent subordinate V) (DS)

Because argument roles are filled by pronominals within the verbal complex, and since subordinate clauses appear outside the verbal complex, we expect that all subordinate clauses must be in non-argument positions. As previously mentioned, there is evidence to suggest that subordinate clauses in Cree fall into two main classes.

Semantically speaking, the division is very similar to that in configurational languages, such as English, where we find structurally distinct adverbial and complement clauses. The subordinate clauses in Cree have a similar semantic division but, as we have already said, we cannot use the same type of structural differentiation in a pronominal argument language. We cannot appeal to a difference in argument versus non-argument position. Complement clauses occur in argument positions in a configurational language, and in a PA language, these positions are filled by pronominals. All subordinate clauses in a PA language, therefore, are in non-argument positions.

We can differentiate the two clause types by following the distinction found between NPs. We shall see that the significant distinction between these two types of subordinate clause involves the presence or absence of an A-doubling relationship with the matrix clause. Like A-doubling NPs, Cree has A-doubling clauses, and, just as we find oblique NPs, which have no relationship to the core arguments, so too are there adverbial clauses, which add more information to the sentence as a whole, and are not linked to pronominals within the matrix verb. Adverbial clauses do not appear to have any

syntactic relationship to the matrix verb, outside of pragmatic considerations, of course. However, A-doubling clauses demonstrate a syntactic link between the matrix clause and the subordinate clause. We shall see that these A-doubling clauses show characteristics often found in complement clauses in configurational languages, but without being situated in an argument position. The A-doubling structure allows for the closer semantic and syntactic integration characteristically found in complement clauses. Furthermore, this analysis maintains a distinction between these clauses which are intuitively an integral part of the matrix verb, and adverbial clauses, which are not.

### 3.3.3.1 Argument-Doubling Clauses

In this section, I show that argument-doubling (A-doubling) subordinate clauses behave similarly to A-doubling NPs, which we have already examined. I claim that like A-doubling NPs, these clauses are r-linked to a central argument within the matrix verb.

A-doubling clauses are subordinate clauses with complement-like characteristics. These clauses appear with a set of transitive verbs, both TI and TA. The TI verb is a transitive verb, which is inflected for a subject and construed with an inanimate object. TA verbs are inflected for both a subject and an animate object.<sup>17</sup> The animacy of the subject is not specified, but it is generally animate. An example of an A-doubling clause is provided in (37). Here, the A-doubling clause is *ê-kih-tapasiyit* 'that the other had got

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In this analysis, I leave aside the issue of intransitive verbs which take an object. For example, an AI verb like *mici-* 'to eat (it)' may occur with an NP which is understood to be referring to the theme/patient, even though there is no such argument specified in the morphology, nor one expected in a verb supposedly belonging to an intransitive class. This is an area which needs further study.



away'. It is in the conjunct order, and is occurring with a transitive matrix verb *kiskêyihitam* 'he knows it'.

- (37) êkoyikyhk<sup>18</sup> namoya kiskêyihitam ê-kîh-tapasiyit.  
 even.now not know.TI-(3-inan) cj-pst-flee.AI-3'  
 'Even now he did not know that the other had got away.' (S:37-29)

These subordinate clauses occur with transitive verb stems. If they occur with an intransitive verb, they receive a different interpretation. This is apparent if we compare the two sentences in (38).

- (38) a. mihtâtam ê-kî-sipwêhtênit.  
 regret.TI-(3-inan) cj-past-leave.AI-3'  
 'She regrets that he left.' (DS)
- b. pâhpiw ê-sipwêhtênit.  
 laugh.AI-3 cj-leave.AI-3'  
 'She laughs/laughed when he leaves/left.' (DS)

In (38a) the subordinate clause is construed with object pronominal argument. It has a semantic relationship with the matrix clause which suggests a complement-like interpretation. The proposition expressed by the subordinate clause provides information about the object of the verb 'regret something'. However, in (38b), the relationship between the matrix verb and the subordinate clause is a temporal one. The subordinate clause simply expresses an event which happened at the same time as the event in the matrix clause. While a causal relationship could be posited, it would rely on pragmatic considerations, not syntactic ones. The subordinate clause in (38b) does not have a

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This is Bloomfield's spelling, and should be written as *êkoyikohk*.

complement-like interpretation. The relationship between these clauses will be explained in greater detail in chapter 5.

A non-exhaustive list of transitive verb stems which can introduce argument-doubling clauses is found in (39).

(39) Plains Cree

TI

itêyiht-	'to think something'
kaskêyiht-	'to be sad about something'
kiskêyiht-	'to know something'
mâmaskât-	'to find something strange'
mihtât-	'to be sorry (about something), to regret something'
misk-	'to find something'
miywêyiht-	'to be glad about something'
pawât-	'to dream about something'
pêht-	'to hear something'
wâpaht-	'to see something'

TA

kakwêcim-	'to ask someone'
kiskêyim-	'to know someone'
wâpam-	'to see someone'
wihtamaw-	'to tell someone about it/him'

These verbs which may occur with A-doubling clauses have semantic properties in common. They may all be classified as some sort of 'mental action.' This type of verb characteristically occurs with complement clauses in other languages. At this point, however, I must leave the semantic properties aside, and am concentrating on the syntactic (argument) properties of this set of transitive verbs.

There is no difference in the verbal morphology of the transitive matrix verb when it occurs with an A-doubling NP or an A-doubling clause.<sup>19</sup> Examples (40) and (41) show comparisons of the matrix verb with an A-doubling NP and A-doubling clause, for TI and TA verbs respectively. This suggests that the verb assigns its argument roles identically in each case. Theta roles (argument status) are assigned to the pronominals within the verbal complex, regardless of what else occurs in the sentence.

- (40) a. **wâpahtam mihkoh.**  
 see.TI-(3-inan) blood.NI  
 'She saw some blood.' (S:102-09)
- b. **wâpahtam êh-misatimositêyit.**  
 see.TI-(3-inan) cj-horse.foot.AI-3'  
 'he (prox) saw that he (obv) had horses' feet.' (S:262-46)
- (41) a. **kîtahtawê wâpamêw mahîhkanah pêyak.**  
 presently see.TA-(3-3') wolf-3' one  
 'Presently he saw a wolf.' (S:30-25)
- b. **êkosi wâpamêw êh-otinamiyit cîkahikan.**  
 then see.TA-(3-3') cj-take.TI-(3'-inan) axe.NI  
 'He saw her take an axe.' (P:70-05)

The fact that transitive verbs display identical verbal morphology when they are linked to either A-doubling NPs or clauses, provides an opportunity for a test to show that A-doubling clauses are situated in non-argument positions. We have already seen that because A-doubling NPs do not occupy argument positions, they must be licensed by being co-indexed with a pronominal argument in the verb. Correspondingly, if my claim

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<sup>19</sup>

We shall see that this is relevant to the analysis presented in chapter 5.

that A-doubling clauses also occupy non-argument positions is true, we expect that they must receive co-indexation with a *pro* in the matrix verb. If a *pro* is unavailable, then the A-doubling clause cannot be licensed by it, and the resulting sentence should be unacceptable. This would show that the clause cannot receive its status by being situated in an argument position (for if it were, it would not need co-indexation to a *pro*).

### 3.3.3.1.1 Showing the Non-Argumental Status of Argument-Doubling Clauses

One way to show that A-doubling clauses are not situated in argument positions is to put them in competition with an A-doubling NP. We have already seen that A-doubling NPs must be co-indexed to a *pro*. We are claiming that A-doubling clauses also have a linking relationship to a *pro* in the matrix verb. What happens if we put both of these constituents into a sentence where there is only one *pro* available for linking?

If we have one transitive matrix verb with only two argument positions to distribute, e.g., *pêhtawêw* 'he hears him', we assume that one *pro* is the agent/experiencer, and the other with the theme. If there is an appropriate A-doubling NP (i.e., one whose features match those of the *pro* and they identify a common referent), for example *anihi atimwa* 'that dog', it can be licensed by the theme argument, as shown in example (42). Here, the NP *anihi atimwa* 'that dog' is construed with the theme argument in the verbal complex.

- (42)    *awa kimotisk pêhtawêw          anihi atimwa*  
           this-3 thief-3    hear.TA-(3-3')    that-3' dog-3'  
           'This thief heard that dog.' (DS)

If the matrix verb occurs with an A-doubling clause, e.g., *ê-ati-kîwênit câna* ‘that John came home’, a grammatical sentence results,<sup>20</sup> as shown in (43).

- (43) *awa kimotisk pêhtawêw ê-ati-kîwênit câna.*  
 this-3 thief-3 hear.TA-(3-3') cj-go.home.AI-3' John-3'  
 ‘This thief heard John go home.’ (DS)

Both constituents, the NP *anihi atimwa* ‘that dog-3’ and the clause *ê-ati-kîwênit câna* ‘(that)John go(went) home’, can be linked to the matrix verb. However, when we try to put both the A-doubling clause and the A-doubling NP with the single transitive verb, as in (44), the sentence fails.

- (44) \* *awa kimotisk pêhtawêw anihi atimwa ê-ati-kîwênit câna.*<sup>21</sup>  
 this thief-3 hear.TA-(3-3') that dog-3' cj-go.home.AI-3' John-3' (DS)

This behaviour is expected under the analysis proposed. I have claimed that in order to occur as an A-doubling expression, NPs and clauses must be r-linked with an argument *pro* of matching feature content. If both of these constituents occur in a sentence, and there are not enough arguments available,<sup>22</sup> the sentence is ungrammatical,

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<sup>20</sup>

It is recognized that this sentence is somewhat odd semantically, as the verb *kîwê-* ‘to return home’ does not include an audible component. This aside, the sentence is still acceptable *grammatically*. Note also that this sentence is an elicited construction, and therefore less idiomatic than textual data.

<sup>21</sup>

It is important to point out that it is an A-doubling interpretation for the subordinate clause that is ruled out. Presumably this sentence is acceptable if the subordinate clause receives an adverbial reading. An example of such a sentence, containing an A-doubling overt NP and an adverbial clause, is found in (77).

<sup>22</sup>

Either apparent arguments (identified by agreement morphology) or non-apparent (inherent) arguments.

as demonstrated in (44). The NP and clause cannot both receive their A-doubling interpretations. If (44) were acceptable, we would have had to assume that the subordinate clause is either licensed by some other means, or that clauses *can* occur in an argument position, as proposed by Baker (1996) and Blain (1997).<sup>23</sup> The fact that (44) is unacceptable is support for an analysis that A-doubling clauses are in non-argumental positions.

Another example follows in (45), but this time something interesting happens to the A-doubling clause when the A-doubling NP and clause both occur with a single transitive verb.

- (45) a.    *nipêhtên*            *âcimowin*.  
           hear.TI-(1-inan) story.NI  
           ‘I heard the report.’ (DS)

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By non-apparent. I refer to the matter of ditransitive verbs, where only the agent and beneficiary are visibly identified by agreement morphology (see also footnote 12). An argument for the theme is not reflected in the verbal inflection, but can be assumed to be present, since NPs which refer a to theme can occur in the sentence. For example.

*miyêw*                            *kisêyiniwa* *misatimwa*.  
*pro*-give-TA-(3-3')-*pro*, old man<sub>i</sub>-3'    horse<sub>e</sub>-3'  
 ‘He (prox) gave a horse (obv) to the old man (obv).’

Here, the agreement morphology identifies only the agent and the beneficiary. The thematic indirect object *pro* is linked to the NP *kisêyiniwa* ‘old man’. There is no theme argument corresponding to *misatimwa* ‘horse’ in the verbal inflection. However, we must assume that the theme argument is inherent in the verb stem, for two reasons. Firstly, the verb ‘to give’ is a ditransitive verb, having three theta roles to assign: agent, theme and beneficiary. Failure to do so would contravene the Theta Criterion. Thus, even though the verbal morphology only exhibits two arguments, three are implied. Secondly, an NP (here *misatimwa* ‘horse’) which is understood to be referring to the theme can occur in the sentence, without any postposition or preverb to license it. Recall also, that postpositions and preverbs only license oblique NPs, not NPs that can be linked to argument roles of subject, object and (thematic) indirect object. Since this example is a grammatical sentence, we must assume that the NP is properly licensed, and this is accomplished through linkage to an morphologically unidentified argument.

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Recall that some linguists working within the PAH continue to place ‘complement’ clauses in argument position. cf. Dahlstrom (1986), Baker (1996), Blain (1997).

- b.    **nipêhtên            ê-wanihôt    cân.**  
hear.TI-(1-inan) cj-be.lost.AI-3 John-3  
'I heard that John was lost.' (DS)
- c.    **nipêhtên            âcimowin ê-wanihôt    cân.**  
hear.TI-(1-inan) story.NI    cj-be.lost.AI-3 John-3  
'I heard the report that John was lost.' (DS)

In (45a), the verb, *nipêhtên* 'I hear it', occurs with an A-doubling NP alone. In (45b) it occurs with an argument-doubling clause, *ê-wanihôt cân* 'that John was lost'. Both are acceptable sentences. Example (45c) has both the NP and the subordinate clause occurring with the single transitive verb. The sentence is grammatical, but only because the clause no longer functions as an A-doubling constituent. In this example, the NP and clause have semantic properties in common. The subordinate clause has changed its role in the sentence and is being interpreted as a post-nominal modifier. The result is a completely different sentence. Therefore, in this sentence, the subordinate clause does not need to be co-indexed to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb, it is not an A-doubling clause. In (45c) there is only one constituent which requires linkage to a *pro*, a complex A-doubling NP which contains an overt nominal and a modifier.

The crux of these examples is that a subordinate clause cannot be classified as an A-doubling clause if it is not r-linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verbal complex. In (45c), the clause could not function as an A-doubling clause, but became a post-nominal modifier to the A-doubling NP.

### 3.3.3.1.2 Declarative Argument-Doubling Clauses

This section and the following two sections examine two sub-classes of argument-doubling clauses: declarative (i.e., non-Wh-) clauses, and Wh-clauses. Both types double a pronominal argument within the matrix verbal complex. This section discusses declarative argument-doubling clauses and the phenomenon of copying-to-object, which occurs when an argument-doubling clause is introduced by a TA verb. Declarative A-doubling clauses are a prominent type of A-doubling clause. Some examples with TI matrix verbs are below in (46) and (47).

(46) miywēyhtam      êh-nikamoyit.  
be.glad.TI-(3-inan) cj-sing.AI-3'  
'She was glad that he was singing.' (S:125-46)

(47) ...kâ-wâpahtahk      êh-kâh-kîskicihcēyit.  
cj-see.TI-(3-inan) cj-rdpl-have.severed.hand.AI-3'  
'...then he (prox) saw that he (obv) had some fingers cut off.' (P:80-26)

When the A-doubling clause is introduced by a TA matrix verb, a particular syntactic construction called 'copying-to-object' is said to occur.<sup>24</sup> This regular pattern of agreement marking, as explained in Dahlstrom (1986), is found when a TA verb occurs with a declarative A-doubling clause. The object argument of the matrix TA stem is co-referential with the subject argument of the subordinate verb. That is, the subject of the subordinate verb is 'copied' into the object role of the main verb. She describes this

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This section follows a previous treatment of the copying-to-object construction (cf. Dahlstrom 1986). In section 6.2. I will present data to show that this construction is not restricted to subordinate subjects, as well as offer a new perspective which attempts to explain this syntactic phenomenon.





to-object does not appear to be free, but shows restrictions that stand in need of an explanation. In section 6.2, I will show that the copying-to-object construction is not restricted to subordinate subjects, and that its occurrence (and non-restrictiveness) follows quite naturally from an argument-doubling analysis.

### 3.3.3.1.3 Argument-doubling Wh-Clauses

In this section, we look at the other type of argument-doubling clause; argument-doubling Wh-clauses. It is this clause type that provides the clue to the analysis of the relationship between an A-doubling clause (declarative and Wh-) and the matrix verbal complex.

Wh-questions in Cree can occur as matrix questions or as indirect questions.

Indirect questions are A-doubling clauses, which are introduced by transitive verbs. The significant difference between an A-doubling Wh-clause and a declarative A-doubling clause is the presence (or absence) of a pre-verbal Wh-phrase.

A-doubling Wh-clauses look identical to matrix Wh-questions. An example of a matrix Wh-question is provided in (50).

- (50) tănêhki kâ-ohci-sipwêhtêt mēriy?  
why cj-away-leave.AI-3 Mary  
'Why did Mary leave?' (DS)

In a matrix construction, the Wh-phrase always occurs pre-verbally at the beginning of the clause. In argument-doubling Wh-clauses, the Wh-phrase usually occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause. This demonstrates that argument-doubling

clauses are in fact separate clauses from the matrix verb. If they were not, we would expect the *wh*-phrase to appear initially in the matrix clause.

Examples of A-doubling *Wh*-clauses are given in (51) and (52). Each subordinate clause has a clause-initial *Wh*-phrase, *tânitê* ‘where’ in (51) and *tanêhki* ‘why’ in (52).

(51) *nikiskênihtên* [tânitê cân kâ-itôhtêt].  
 1-know.TI-(1-inan) where John cj-go.AI-3  
 ‘I know where John went.’ (DS)

(52) *nikî-wihtamâk cân* [tanêhki kâ-ohci-sipwêhtênit mêrîwa]  
 1-pst-tell.TA-(3-1) John-3 why cj-away-leave.AI-3' Mary-3'  
 ‘John told me why Mary left.’ (DS)

Example (53) below compares two sentences which differ in the placement of the *Wh*-phrase. (53a) has the *Wh*-phrase at the beginning of the subordinate clause, while (53b) places the *Wh*-phrase in the sentence-initial position, with the rest of the subordinate clause following the matrix verb. Only (53a) is a grammatical sentence. Presumably, (53b) would be acceptable if the matrix verb *nikiskênimâw* ‘I know him’ was in the conjunct form, as the *wh*-phrase would then be clause-initial in a conjunct verb clause. But, as it stands, (53b) is not acceptable if the *Wh*-phrase is to be construed with the subordinate verbal complex *ê-sipwêhtêt* ‘that he(prox) left’.

(53) a. *nikiskênimâw awêna ê-sipwêhtêt.*  
 1-know.TA-(1-3) who cj-leave.AI-3  
 ‘I know who it is that left.’ (DS)

b. \* *awêna nikiskênimâw ê-sipwêhtêt.*  
 who 1-know.TA-(1-3) cj-leave.AI-3 (DS)

This shows that these *wh*-clauses are subordinate clauses. They are clauses in their own right, separate from the matrix verb.

### 3.3.3.2 Adverbial Clauses

Like oblique NPs, adverbial clauses are not co-indexed with any of the arguments in the matrix verb. These clauses are not restricted to occurring with transitive matrix verbs, and have a wider range of distribution than A-doubling clauses. Generally, the purpose of these clauses is to modify the matrix sentence as a whole. Some examples are found below in (54) and (55).

(54) **êh-pîhtokahât ôh âwâsisah, miyw-âyâyiwa.**  
cj-bring.in.TA-(3-3') that child-3' be.well.AI-3'  
'When he (prox) brought the child (obv) in again, he (obv) was well.' (P:204-17)

(55) **kisiwâk êh-ihât wîh-pâhpihik.**  
near cj-be.AI-3 int-laugh.at.s.o.TA-(3'-3)  
'When he got near, the other laughed at him.' (P:60-21)

Earlier, in section 3.3.3.1.1, we looked at a test of competition between A-doubling NPs and clauses, in order to show that an A-doubling relationship presupposes referential-linking. Placing a potential A-doubling NP and A-doubling clause in the same sentence, with only a single argument available for *r*-linking, results in one of these constituents not functioning as an argument-doubling expression, if the sentence is interpretable at all. If an expression is not *r*-linked, it is not an A-doubling expression.

In contrast, if an adverbial clause occurs within a sentence where the pronominal argument in the matrix verb is already *r*-linked to an NP, i.e., no *r*-linking is available to

the adverbial clause, the sentence is grammatical. This is shown in examples (56) and (57).

- (56) **ê-sipwêhtêyan, niki-pêhtawâw atim.**  
 cj-leave.AI-2 1-pst-hear.TA-(1-3) dog-3'  
 'When you went out, I heard the dog.' (DS)
- (57) **êh-pasikôt, êh-âmaciwêt, kê-wâpamât osima,**  
 cj-rise.AI-3 cj-walk.up.AI-3 cj-see.TA-(3-3') his-brother-3'  
 'When he rose to his feet and walked up the slope, there he saw his brother,...'  
 (P:162-23)

Because the adverbial clause does not require co-indexation with a matrix *pro*, it can co-exist in a sentence where an A-doubling NP is r-linked to the only available argument in the matrix verbal complex. R-linking is not involved in the interpretation of adverbial clauses.

### 3.3.3.3 Comparing Argument-Doubling and Adverbial Clauses

Aside from the differences that I have introduced in this chapter, and will explain more fully in chapter 5, there are other differences between these two types of subordinate clause. One difference is found by comparing their distributional restrictions.

#### 3.3.3.3.1 Distributional Restrictions

As mentioned previously in section 3.3.3.1, argument-doubling clauses are restricted to occurring with a subset of transitive matrix verbs. This section provides detailed evidence to show that argument-doubling clauses and adverbial clauses differ in their distribution by

examining how they behave with different types of matrix verbs.

We can examine the interpretation(s) subordinate clauses receive with both transitive and intransitive matrix verbs. A subordinate clause can only receive an argument-doubling interpretation when it is introduced by an appropriate transitive matrix verbal complex, with an argument available for r-linking. If the matrix clause contains an intransitive verb (i.e., no available argument<sup>26</sup>), an argument-doubling interpretation is not possible. In contrast, adverbial clauses generally receive the same interpretation regardless of the transitivity, or availability of arguments, of the matrix verbal complex.

First, we will take a single subordinate clause *ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy* ‘when/that Mary left’, and compare the interpretations it receives when introduced by both transitive and intransitive matrix verbs.

- (58) a. **nikiskênimâw** *ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy*.  
1-know.TA-(1-3) cj-leave.AI-3 Mary-3  
‘I know that Mary left.’  
*ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy* = argument-doubling clause
- b. **nimâton** *ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy*.  
1-cry.AI-1 cj-leave.AI-3 Mary-3  
‘I cried when Mary left.’  
*ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy* = adverbial clause

In (58), the subordinate clause *ê-sipwêhtêt mēriy* ‘when/that Mary leaves’ receives a different interpretation in each sentence. In (58a), it occurs with a transitive verb

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The number of arguments a verb has to assign is not necessarily dependent on verb classification. Some AI verbs can introduce A-doubling NPs and clauses. Argument identification, then, must be determined by a verb’s lexical meaning and semantic content, not by its morphological classification. More research on this topic needs to be done.

containing a pronominal argument which can be r-linked to the subordinate clause. Thus, it receives an A-doubling interpretation. In (58b), the subordinate clause is introduced by an intransitive matrix verb, where there is no argument available for r-linking. The clause is interpreted as an adverbial clause; it expresses a temporal relation.

In example (59) below, we can compare the interpretations of an indisputable adverbial clause when it occurs with both an intransitive and a transitive matrix verb. As we might expect, the interpretation is not affected by the transitivity of the matrix verbal complex, i.e., availability of arguments. Adverbial clauses do not require r-linking to a pronominal argument for their interpretation.

- (59) a.   nipâhpin    mayaw    ê-sipwêhtêt   cân.  
           I-laugh.AI-1 as.soon.as cj-leave.AI-3 John-3  
           'I laughed as soon as John left.'
- b.   nimihtâtên   mayaw    ê-sipwêhtêt   cân.  
           I-regret.TI-1 as.soon.as cj-leave.AI-3 John-3  
           'I felt sad as soon as John left.'  
           'I regretted it (something previously mentioned) as soon as John left.'<sup>27</sup>

Regardless of the transitivity of the matrix verb, the adverbial clause receives the same interpretation, a temporal relation.

This comparison of distributional restrictions illustrates a distinction between argument-doubling clauses and adverbial clauses. Argument-doubling is a syntactic-

But note that if *mayaw* 'as soon as' is removed from the subordinate clause, the clause in (59b) could receive an argument-doubling interpretation. There is an available argument in the matrix verbal complex to which a clause could be r-linked. Removing *mayaw* 'as soon as' in (59a) would not allow an A-doubling interpretation. The intransitive verb in (59a) has only one pronominal argument, and it is assigned to the agent. There is no available argument for an A-doubling constituent.

semantic relation, namely construal with an argument. This is formally captured by referential-linking. If an expression does not receive such a construal, it cannot be referred to as A-doubling. Thus, only those subordinate clauses which are introduced by verbs which contain arguments available for r-linking, can be argument-doubling clauses. This explains why A-doubling clauses occur (largely) with transitive verbs. It also accounts for the wide distribution of adverbial clauses. Having no need of construal with an argument in the matrix verbal complex, adverbial clauses can occur with a wider variety of matrix clauses.

#### **3.3.3.3.2 Extraction**

There is other evidence to show us that the distinction we have made between subordinate clauses in Cree exists. The analysis presented in this thesis divides subordinate clauses based on their relationship to the core arguments which are located within the matrix verbal complex. As discussed in the previous section, argument-doubling clauses receive their interpretation by construal with a pronominal argument, demonstrated through r-linking. Adverbial clauses do not need this relationship with a matrix argument. This distinction mirrors the difference found with NPs as discussed in section 3.3.2. There we examined the treatment of argument-doubling and oblique NPs, where argument-doubling NPs are r-linked to a *pro* in the matrix verbal complex, while oblique NPs are licensed by a postposition or preverb. If we adopt this distinction for subordinate clauses, we might expect, then, to find other characteristics of subordinate clauses which mimic the behaviour of A-doubling and oblique NPs. In this section we examine extraction data.





In example (62) below, we see extraction from NPs located in different positions.

Sentence (62a) has the determiner within the post-verbal NP *nisto iskwêwa* ‘three women(obv)’. In (62b), the determiner has been extracted out of the NP when the NP is in a preverbal position. In (62c), *nisto* ‘three’ is extracted from the NP in postverbal position. In both cases, *nisto* ‘three’ is fronted to a pre-verbal position, a focus position.

- (62) a. *cîmiy wâpamêw nisto iskwêwa.* (DS)  
 Jimmy-3 see.TA-(3-3') three woman-3'  
 ‘Jimmy sees three women.’
- b. *nisto cîmiy iskwêwa wâpamêw.* (DS)  
 three Jimmy-3 woman-3' see.TA-(3-3')  
 ‘Jimmy sees three women.’
- c. *nisto cîmiy wâpamêw iskwêwa* (DS)  
 three Jimmy-3 see.TA-(3-3') woman-3'  
 ‘Jimmy sees three women.’

However, when the NP is an oblique NP, no element can be extracted from it without making the sentence ungrammatical.

- (63) a. *mêriy kaskikwâsow niso awâsisa ohci.* (DS)  
 Mary-3 sews.AI-3 two child-3' for  
 ‘Mary sews for the two children.’
- b. \* *niso mêriy kaskikwâsow awâsisa ohci.* (DS)  
 two Mary-3 sews.AI-3 child-3' for

The distinction between A-doubling and oblique NPs, with respect to the possibility of extraction, can also be found with subordinate clauses. Extraction can occur

in some A-doubling clauses, but not in adverbial clauses.<sup>29</sup> If an NP containing a determiner is found in a (non-Wh-) argument-doubling clause, the determiner can be extracted out of the subordinate clause and into a sentence-initial position of the main clause. This is illustrated in (64) and (65). In both sentences, the determiner *niso* 'two' is fronted out of the A-doubling clause.

- (64) a. **nikiskênihtên ê-atâwêt<sup>30</sup> cân niso astotina.**  
 know.TI-(1-inan) cj-buy.AI-3 John-3 two hat-3'  
 'I know that John bought two hats.' (DS)
- b. **niso nikiskênihtên ê-atâwêt cân astotina.**  
 two know.TI-(1-inan) cj-buy.AI-3 John-3 hat-3'  
 'I know that John bought two hats.' (DS)
- (65) a. **cân wâpamêw ê-sipwêhtênit niso nâpêwa.**  
 John-3 see.TA-(3-3') cj-leave.AI-3' two man-3'  
 'John saw two men leave.' (DS)
- b. **niso cân wâpamêw ê-sipwêhtênit nâpêwa.**  
 two John-3 see.TA-(3-3') cj-leave.AI-3' man-3'  
 'John saw two men leave.' (DS)

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Extraction is not a definitive test of A-doubling status. Not all A-doubling clauses can have a constituent extracted. For example, A-doubling Wh-clauses usually show a Wh-island effect. i.e., extraction is not possible. However, extraction is discussed here, because it is a phenomenon that *does* illustrate differing behaviour of A-doubling and adverbial clauses, a distinction that mimics the behaviour of A-doubling and oblique NPs.

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This is an interesting verb. *atâwê-* 'to buy it/him' is morphologically classified as an animate intransitive verb. It occurs, however, with an NP that appears to reflect the role of theme, even though there is no direct object *pro* identified in the verbal morphology. At this point, I cannot provide an explanation for this type of verb. All I can assume for the moment is that there is an inherent theme argument in the verbal stem, which is not identified through the verbal inflection. For more information on this topic. cf. Wolfart (1999).

If an NP is in an adverbial clause, a determiner within it cannot be extracted.

Sentences (66) and (67) show this, where the fronting of *nêwo* ‘four’ in (66), and of *anihi* ‘those’ in (67) results in ungrammatical sentences.

- (66) a.    *cân sipwêhtêw ispî ê-mâci-nikamonit nêwo awâsisa.*  
 John leave.AI-3 when cj-begin-sing.AI-3' four child-3'  
 ‘John left when four children began to sing.’ (DS)
- b.    \* *nêwo cân sipwêhtêw ispî ê-mâci-nikamonit awâsisa.*  
 four John leave.AI-3 when cj-begin-sing.AI-3' child-3' (DS)
- (67) a.    *cîmiy pâhpiw ê-pîhtokwênit anihi iskwêwa.*  
 Jimmy-3 laugh.AI-3 cj-enter.AI-3' those woman-3'  
 ‘Jimmy laughed when those women entered.’ (DS)
- b.    \* *anihi cîmiy pâhpiw ê-pîhtokwênit iskwêwa.*  
 those Jimmy-3 laugh.AI-3 cj-enter.AI-3' woman-3' (DS)

This exemplifies another difference between adverbial and argument-doubling clauses in Cree. While extraction is not possible in *all* argument-doubling clauses, its behaviour with respect to A-doubling versus adverbial is consistent with the analysis proposed here, that these clauses represent two types of subordinate clause which can be compared to the two types of NPs found in Cree. Non-A-doubling constituents do not permit extraction, while A-doubling expressions (NP or clause) may, providing there are no other syntactic constraints, like Wh-islands, barring the construction.

### 3.3.4. Conclusion

In section 3.3, then, we have examined Cree pronominal arguments, NPs and subordinate clauses. I have argued that argument status is always assigned inside the verbal complex

to non-overt pronominals. Any NPs that are found within the sentence are found in a non-argument position. However, not all NPs behave in the same way. An A-doubling NP is construed with an argument within the verbal complex. It shares a common referent and has matching features to that *pro*. This relationship is indicated by referential-linking. Oblique NPs are not linked to arguments, instead they are licensed by postpositions, preverbs or a locative suffix. They serve to identify participants other than the subject, object or indirect object.

I have proposed that subordinate clauses can also be divided into two classes following the same distinction as NPs. A subordinate clause can only be construed as an A-doubling clause, when there is an argument within the matrix verbal complex with which the clause can be r-linked. There is a limited set of matrix verbs which can facilitate this; a list of transitive verbs was given in example (39). Adverbial clauses do not rely upon construal with a matrix argument for their interpretation, and as such, have a much wider range of distribution. Only A-doubling clauses are ever in competition with an A-doubling NP for r-linking. There are no restrictions upon the occurrence of an adverbial clause when an A-doubling NP is also found within a sentence. The adverbial clause provides no interference in the linking relationship between the matrix verbal complex and the NP. Further, we have seen that determiners can only be extracted out of A-doubling clauses, and that such extraction is barred in the case of adverbial clauses. This demonstrates similarities in behaviour found between A-doubling and oblique NPs.

So far, I have presented evidence for a distinction between A-doubling and adverbial clauses. I have not provided many details of the analysis, nor explained how the

r-linking relationship between A-doubling clauses and a matrix argument is established. This will be laid out in chapter 5. First, however, chapter 4 discusses how we can use obviation to provide more evidence that this distinction in clause types is justified.

## Chapter 4

### Obviation

#### 4.1 Introduction

We turn now to an examination of another difference between what I propose are argument-doubling and adverbial clauses in Cree. The assignment of obviation status, and especially its re-assignment presents us with clear evidence in support of a distinction between these clauses. In particular, I will show that the re-assignment of the proximate role is restricted between some subordinate clauses and the matrix clause. Proximate shifts cannot occur between a matrix clause and an argument-doubling clause. In contrast, if the subordinate clause is an adverbial clause, this restriction is lifted, and re-assignment is left to the discretion of the speaker.

The obviation status of a participant is recognized as a feature of that argument. However, unlike phi-features, obviation is not lexically encoded. Phi-features are features of person, number, gender and case.<sup>31</sup> They are intrinsically identified by the meaning of a word. In Algonquian languages, obviation is encoded in the morpho-syntax. Its value is identified in the grammar, not in the lexicon. For example, if we consider the referent *wākayōs* 'bear', it will always be third person, animate and singular. Those feature values are inherent in this nominal. The lexical content of the rest of the sentence does not have any effect on these features. The significance of obviation as opposed to phi-features is

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This thesis does not discuss Case in Cree. For a discussion of Case, see Dechaine and Reinholtz (1998).

that its value is not inherent in the semantic composition of the argument. Obviation is an additional feature placed on a participant. The obviation status of a nominal will depend on the lexical content of the rest of the sentence, or the speaker's discretion. No constituent has an obviation feature pre-established in its lexical make-up.<sup>32</sup>

It is the fact that this feature is not inherent in nominals and is open to change that makes obviation such a useful tool for analysing clause relations. In particular, the fact that the option of changing obviation roles is consistently absent in specific syntactic environments, but present in others, suggests a syntactic constraint that applies to certain constructions. In Cree, the obviation status cannot be changed between a matrix verb and a subordinate clause if the clause is an argument-doubling clause. However, if the subordinate clause is an adverbial clause, then obviation roles may be changed. This provides further evidence that subordinate clauses have different syntactic relationships with the matrix verbal complex.

In this chapter, we will begin with a description of obviation in Cree, and then examine the phenomenon of proximate shifts. We will then examine both argument-doubling clauses and adverbial clauses to illustrate the syntactic restriction placed on inter-clausal proximate shifts.

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This does not mean that a constituent's role in the sentence does not entail a particular obviation status, for example, any noun possessed by a third person must be obviative. The point here is that no constituent has an obviation feature established before it is placed into a sentence. The feature value is determined by the syntax/semantics component of the grammar, and not by the lexicon.





the verbal morphology. In the example in (69), the inanimate noun *maskisina* ‘moccasins’ is not overtly marked for obviative status. However, the verb *êh-miywâsiniyikih* ‘that they(obv) were pretty’ is inflected for an obviative plural subject.

- (69) *kîtahtawê kâ-miskahk maskisina otinam,*  
soon cj-find.TI-3 moccasin(0p) take.TI-3  
‘Soon he(prox) found some moccasins(obv), he(prox) picked them(obv) up  
*ê-wâ-wâpahtahk; êh-miywâsiniyikih.*  
cj-examine.TI-3 cj-pretty.II-0’p  
and examined them(obv), they (obv) were very pretty.’ (Wolfart 1973:16)

Obviation is chiefly a discourse phenomenon,<sup>35</sup> and is governed by few syntactic criteria. First, there can usually be only one proximate referent per clause.<sup>36</sup> All other animate third person participants must be obviative. In example (70) below, only one participant is proximate, a previously mentioned youth who is identified by *êwakôw* ‘this one(prox)’ as well as the proximate singular subject marking on the verb *miyêw* ‘to give’. The other two animate third person participants, *misatimwa* ‘horse(obv)’ and *ôhó*

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By the term ‘discourse phenomenon’ I do not mean to imply that obviation has no role in the syntax. ‘Discourse’ does not entail non-syntactic, the two are inter-related. However, while there are syntactic restrictions on obviation, its predominant function is to distinguish between third persons. It can also be manipulated as a stylistic tool in narration.

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Multiple proximates do occur, but usually this is if both nominals are conjoined and are functioning within the same semantic role. For example,

*âsay ôtêh wikiwâhk awa nâpêsis êkwah aw ôskinikiw mawihkâtâwak,*  
already here live.AI this boy-3 and this youth-3 lament.s.o.TA-(indf-3p)  
‘Meanwhile, back in their home, this boy and this young man were being mourned,’ (P:96-41)

Here, both the boy and the youth are proximate, because they are a conjoined construction, where together, they are construed as the theme of the matrix verb. The verbal inflection *mawihkâtâwak* ‘they(prox) were being mourned’ hows a third person plural proximate object.

*kisêyiniwa* ‘that old man(obv),’ are both marked as obviative. This example illustrates that where more than one third person participant occurs in a clause, only one can be proximate.

- (70) *miyêw misatimwa ôhô kisêyiniwa êwakôw.*  
 give.TA-(3-3') horse-3' that old.man-3' this-3  
 ‘He (prox) gave a horse (obv) to the old man (obv).’ (P:40-40)

The second syntactic restriction is placed on possessive constructions. If a noun is possessed by another third person, then that possessed noun must be obviative. The possessor may be either proximate or obviative. Examples of possessive constructions are illustrated in (71). In (71a), the possessed noun *okosisa* ‘son(obv)’ is obviative, while the possessor *awa kisêyiniw* ‘old man’ is proximate. In (71b), both the possessor *nâpêwah* ‘man(obv)’ and the possessed noun *owikimâkaniyiwah* ‘his(obv) wife(obv)’ are obviative. In both examples, the possessed noun is obviative.

- (71) a. *êkwah awa kisêyiniw pêcâpamêw okosisa, êh-pâpayiyit.*  
 then this old.man-3 see.s.o.coming.TA-(3-3') his(3)-son-3' cj-approach.AI-3'  
 ‘Then that old man (prox) saw his son (obv) riding toward where he(prox) was.’  
 (P:64-39)
- b. *nîso pikôw wâpamêw, nâpêwah êkwah owikimâkaniyiwah.*  
 two only see.TA-(3-3') man-3' and his(3')-wife-3'  
 ‘He (prox) saw only two persons, the man (obv) and his (obv) wife (obv).’  
 (P:298-11)

This restriction only occurs with third-person possessors. If an animate noun is possessed by a first or second person, obviation is not obligatory. This is illustrated in example (72), where the possessor is first person, and the possessed third person, the

younger sister, is proximate. This can be seen by the unmarked form of the noun *nisîmis* ‘my younger sister’ (as opposed to a marked, obviative form) and the proximate morphology on the TA verb *ê-kî-pimisimih* ‘she(prox) was made to lie down.’

(72) Plains Cree

tâpwê piko wiy âwa **nisîmis** awa, nipêwinihk  
truly surely she this 1-yng. sister this, bed-loc

ê-kî-pimisimih,...

cj-pst-make.s.o.lie.down.TA-(indf-3)

‘And as soon as my little sister(prox) had been put to bed,...(Bear *et al.*, 1992:136)

A further restriction on the distribution of proximate and obviative roles occurs with relative clauses. The obviation status of the head of a relative clause must be the same in the matrix and the dependent clause (cf. Dahlstrom (1990:103) and Dryer (1992:141)). Example (73) illustrates this restriction.

(73) âhci pikoh yêhyêw awa [ayahciyiniwah ostikwânihk **kâ-pâskisokot**].  
still breathe.AI-3 this-3 Blackfoot-3' 3-head-loc cj-shoot.TA-(3'-3)  
‘He (prox) [who had been shot in the head by the Blackfoot (obv)] was still  
breathing.’ (P:90-11)

The proximate participant in (73) is indicated to be the subject in the main clause AI verb, *yêhyêw* ‘he(prox) breathes’. The agreement morphology for singular proximate subject is bolded on the verb. The proximate status of this participant is maintained in the relative clause. The subordinate verb *kâ-pâskisokot* ‘(that) he/they(obv) had shot him(prox)’ in the relative clause is inflected for an obviative actor and a proximate patient. The verb contains an inverse marker, which indicates that a participant lower on the

animacy hierarchy acted upon a participant which is higher on the hierarchy. The animacy hierarchy was discussed in section 3.3.1.

The assignment of proximate and obviative is not dependent upon thematic roles like agent or patient, nor on grammatical roles like subject or object. Example (74) illustrates this:

- (74). a.     *wâpamêwak.*  
          see.TA-dir-(3p-3')  
          'They (prox) see him/them (obv).'
- b.     *wâpamikwak.*  
          see.TA-inv-(3'-3p)  
          'He/They (obv) see(s) them (prox).'

In (74a), the transitive verb *wâpam-* 'see s.o.' has two theta roles to assign; an agent and a theme. These thematic roles are assigned to two pronominal arguments situated within the verbal complex. The verbal morphology *-êwak* '(dir) 3p-3'' indicates that the agent (subject) argument is proximate and plural, while the theme (object) *pro* is obviative. In contrast, example (74b) is in the inverse form. Here, the agent (subject) argument is assigned obviative status, while the theme (object) is proximate, indicated by the verbal morphology *-ikwak* '(inv) 3'-3p'. We notice then, that the proximate is agent<sup>37</sup> in (74a), but a theme in (74b), and the obviative is a theme in (74a) and an agent in (74b). Thus, we can state that the choice of proximate or obviative status is not dependent upon thematic role.

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Here, I use the term 'agent' in the sense of a thematic subject, not in the sense of the initiator of an agentive verb.

### **4.3 Proximate Shifts**

Given more than one third person, a narrator must choose which participant will be marked as the proximate and which as the obviative. The proximate is typically used for the more topical, central character, while the obviative indicates a character which is more peripheral at that point in the text.

The assignment of proximate and obviative status to discourse participants is generally not static. While it is theoretically conceivable that proximate and obviative status could remain constant throughout a text, this is not usually the case. The narrator may re-assign these features to other participants, either newly introduced or already present. Thus, previously obviative characters may become proximate, and *vice versa*. This re-assignment is called a proximate shift (cf. Goddard (1984, 1990) on Fox, and Dahlstrom (1986) on Cree).

A proximate shift can be interpreted as a signal of a new episode in the narrative, a change in the topic, a new point of view, or perhaps a less-defined context such as a narrative peak or a degree of heightened tension (cf. Russell 1991). The re-assignment of obviation status is frequently found where a high degree of activity is occurring in the story.

### 4.3.1. Between Sentences

When a proximate shift occurs, it is most commonly found between two sentences.<sup>38</sup> A shift is often accompanied by a full A-doubling NP, frequently with a demonstrative marker. However, a full NP is not necessary, and sometimes it is only the verbal inflection which indicates that the obviation status of a participant has been changed.

Example (75) illustrates a proximate shift. In the first clause, the A-doubling NP *wākayôs* ‘bear’ is proximate, as can be seen by examining the uninflected overt NP in the sentence, as well as the verbal morphology on the verb *ayâw* ‘he(prox) is near’, indicating that the subject *pro* is singular and proximate. The NP *takwâhnâwa* ‘the bull(s)(obv)’ has a suffix *-a* indicating it is obviative. In the second sentence however, the proximate reference is assigned to one bull, which occurs as an unmarked A-doubling NP. The new proximate status of this referent is also reflected on the verb *pasikôw* ‘he(prox) rises’, where the suffix indicates a singular proximate actor. The double bar ( || ) indicates a proximate shift.

(75) âsay cîkih ayâw wākayôs ôhîh takwâhnâwa.  
already near be.AI-3 bear-3 these bull-3'  
‘By this time the bear(prox) had got close to the bull buffalos(obv).’

|| kîtahtawê pasikôw awah takwâhnaw pêyak,  
suddenly arose.AI-3 this bull-3 one  
‘Suddenly one bull(prox) arose,’

(P:150-01)

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Proximate shifts can also occur inside of a complex sentence, between a matrix verb and a subordinate clause. This will be discussed in the next section.

(76) *kîwêw*            *mistanask*; *kostêw*            *wâkayôсах*.  
 go.home.AI-3 badger-3    fear.TA-(3-3') bear-3'  
 'Badger(prox) went home; he(prox) was afraid of that bear(obv).'

|| *kahkiyaw otinam*                    *wiyâсах awa wâkayôs*.  
 all            take.TI-(3-inan) meat.NI this bear-3  
 'This bear(prox) took all the meat.'

(S:102-07)

In (76), the first sentence has Badger as proximate. The A-doubling noun, *mistanask* 'Badger', is unmarked, and the verb *kîwêw* 'he(prox) went home' is inflected for a singular proximate subject. Also, the A-doubling NP *wâkayôсах* 'bear(obv)' is marked with the obviative suffix. In the second sentence, the bear has become proximate. Notice the unmarked NP *wâkayôs* 'bear' and the inflection for a proximate subject argument on the verb *otinam* 'he(prox) takes it'.

Typically, proximate shifts occur between separate sentences, as just shown in examples (75-76). Less frequently, they may occur within a single complex sentence - between a matrix verb and a subordinate clause. However, only one type of clausal relation allows this. The next two sections will show that a proximate shift can only occur between a matrix clause and an adverbial clause. A-doubling clauses do not allow a proximate shift.

#### 4.3.2. Between a Matrix Clause and an Adverbial Clause

Intra-sentential proximate shifts may occur between a matrix clause and an adverbial clause. This is not very different than changing the proximate reference between separate sentences. Because the adverbial clause is a free clause, i.e., not r-linked to the matrix



verbal complex, it is able to have proximate and obviative status assigned to its arguments independently of the main clause verb. Obviously, discourse and semantic conditions apply, but there is no syntactic obligation for the arguments in the adverbial clause to maintain the obviation status awarded to the main clause arguments. Two examples demonstrating this are given below.

The first sentence in (77) is provided to put the second sentence, a complex sentence with an adverbial clause, into context. The verbal complex in the first sentence *sipwêhtêw* 'he(prox) set out' has a single pronominal argument acting as agent. The inflection on the verb indicates that the argument is proximate and singular. This role is continued into the adverbial clause of the following sentence, as indicated by the proximate singular morphology on the AI subordinate verb *êh-pihtokêt* 'when he(prox) entered'. The referent in both of these verbal complexes is the central character of the story, *Wisahkêcâhk*. However, in the matrix clause, the proximate role has been re-assigned to a different referent. The agent argument in the matrix verbal complex *itêw* 'he(prox) said thus to him(obv)' is r-linked to an A-doubling NP *wêmistikôsiw* 'the Frenchman'. It is this argument that is now proximate. This is clearly indicated by the unmarked form of the A-doubling noun, the use of the demonstrative *awa* 'this', which is reserved for proximate nouns, as well as the proximate singular agent morphology on the matrix verb. Therefore, we see that we have a proximate shift occurring between an adverbial clause and the main clause. It is identical to the proximate shifts we saw in the previous section between sentences.

(77) êkosi êkwah sipwêhtêw.  
 so then set.out.AI-3  
 'So he (prox) set out. (wîsahkêcâhk)'

êh-pihtokêt, || wêmistikôsiw awah omis itêw:  
 cj-enter.AI-3 Frenchman-3 this thus say.thus.to.s.o.TA-(3-3')  
 'When he(prox=wîsahkêcâhk) entered, the Frenchman(prox) said...' (S:30-13)

Example (78) below also shows this pattern. In this example, there is a shift from the proximate referent *wâkayôs* 'bear' to *ayîsiyiniw* 'man'. The first line clearly shows that, initially, the bear is proximate. The A-doubling noun is unmarked, it occurs with the demonstrative *awa*, and the verbal inflection on *kostêw* 'he(prox) fears him(obv)' shows a transitive animate verb, with a proximate subject and an obviative object. In the second line, the argument referring to the bear is still proximate in the subordinate clause, *ê-wîh-tapasît* 'when he(prox) tried to escape.' In the matrix clause, however, the proximate role is re-assigned to the argument referring to the man. This is indicated by the unmarked form of the A-doubling NP *ayîsiyiniw* 'man', the occurrence of *awa* and the singular proximate subject inflection of the verb, *môskîstawêw* 'he(prox) attacks him(obv)'.

(78) êwakô êkonih kostêw awa wâkayôs.  
 this-3 this-3' fear.TA-(3-3') this bear-3  
 'The bear(prox) was afraid of this one(obv).'

ê-wîh-tapasît, || môskîstawêw aw ayîsiyiniw.  
 cj-int-flee.AI-3 attack.TA-(3-3') this person-3  
 'When it[bear](prox) tried to escape, the man(prox) attacked it(obv).' (P:150-15)

So, we see that the relationship between adverbial clauses and matrix verbs is just like one between separate sentences in terms of proximate shifts. There is no dependent

relationship between the arguments of the matrix and subordinate clause. Each occurs independently of the other in terms of reference. There is no co-indexation between the clauses. The arguments in each verb, main and subordinate, are free of one another. This means that a speaker can re-assign proximate status to a new referent between the adverbial and matrix clauses.

### **4.3.3 Between a Matrix Clause and an Argument-Doubling Clause**

We turn now to A-doubling clauses. I have proposed that these clauses appear with transitive verbs and are reminiscent of what we would call a complement clause in English. Technically, of course, these clauses cannot be true complement clauses, as they are not arguments of the verb. As I have discussed at length already, Cree is a pronominal argument language, and as such, its arguments are found within the verbal complex. There are no argument positions for a clause to occupy.

Argument-doubling clauses occur with both TI and TA matrix verbs. Because A-doubling clauses are ‘doubling’ an argument of the matrix verb, there is a dependent relationship between the two clauses. The A-doubling clause and the pronominal argument form a chain, and thus have identical features.<sup>39</sup> It is not surprising, then, that proximate shifts are not found between a matrix clause and an A-doubling clause. The obviation status of a referent has to be the same in each clause.

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The notion of chains will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

Some examples of complex sentences containing A-doubling clauses are given in (79) - (81). The obviation status of the participants in each matrix verb is maintained in the subordinate verb. In (79), the subject of the matrix verb *mihtâtamwak* 'they(prox) are sorry about it' is proximate. This status must be maintained in the A-doubling clause. No other referent can be assigned proximate status. The subordinate verb *ê-sipwêhtêyit* 'that she(obv) left' in the A-doubling clause requires only an agent argument. This argument, as indicated by the verbal morphology and the A-doubling NP *îskwêwah* 'woman(obv)' is obviative.

- (79) *mihtâtamwak ê-sipwêhtêyit ôh îskwêwah.*  
 sorry.TI-(3p-inan) cj-leave.AI-3' that woman-3'  
 'They(prox) were sorry that that woman(obv) had gone away.' (S:224-29)

In (80) below, the matrix verb *kiskêyimik* 'he(obv) knows him(prox)' identifies *ôhtâwiya* 'his(prox) father(obv)' as obviative, and the son as proximate. The son is the subject of the subordinate verb *ê-sipwêhtêt* 'that he left', and is still proximate. There is no proximate shift between the clauses.

- (80) *namoya kiskêyimik ôhtâwiya ê-sipwêhtêt.*  
 not know.TA-(3'-3) 3-father-3' cj-leave.AI-3  
 'His(prox) father(obv) did not know that he(prox) had gone off.' (P:92-05)  
 'His(prox) father(obv) did not know him(prox) to have gone.'

In fact when a proximate shift was attempted, as shown in (81b), it was ruled out as marginal at best, and essentially unacceptable as a grammatical sentence.<sup>40</sup>

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Note that in elicited sentences, structures that are typically deemed ungrammatical in context are

- (81) a. *cân kiskênihtam mêriwa ê-âhkosinit.*  
 John-3 know.TI-(3-inan) Mary-3' cj-be.sick.AI-3'  
 'John(prox) knows that Mary(obv) is sick.' (DS)
- b. ?\* *cân kiskênihtam || mêriy ê-âhkosit.*  
 John-3 know.TI-(3-inan) Mary-3 cj-be.sick.AI-3 (DS)  
 'John(prox) knows that Mary(prox) is sick.'

As discussed in section 3.3.3.1.3, A-doubling clauses can also occur as indirect Wh-questions. Such clauses are identical to the declarative (non-Wh-) A-doubling clauses we have already seen, with respect to proximate re-assignment. There can be no proximate shift between the matrix clause and the subordinate clause. Examples (82) and (83) contain A-doubling Wh-clauses. In both of these examples, the argument in the A-doubling Wh-clause is obviative. This is expected, since proximate status has been assigned to the referent *cân* 'John(prox)' in the matrix clause of each sentence. Because *cân* 'John' is proximate, no other referent in the matrix or A-doubling clause can be assigned proximate status. All other referents must be obviative. This is borne out, in these sentences, where in (82) *mêriwa* 'Mary(obv)', and in (83) *awêniwa* 'who(obv)', are assigned obviative status.

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sometimes judged to be marginally acceptable in isolation. This is especially true with obviation, perhaps because obviation is primarily a discourse function. However, the important point is that sentence (81a) is consistently judged to be better and more grammatical than sentence (81b). This is especially borne out in textual sources. In Bloomfield's published texts of Plains Cree narratives, I have found only one exception to the analysis presented in this paper.

*namoya kiskêyimêwak tântê êh-ohotôtêt aw âyahciyiniw.*  
 not know.TA.-(3p-3') || where cj-come.from.there.AI-3 this Blackfoot-3  
 'They did not know from where that Blackfoot had come.' (P:82-42)

Unfortunately, I have no explanation for this exception. One possibility is that the subordinate clause is direct discourse, rather than indirect discourse. Argument-doubling clauses typically maintain the obviation roles found in the matrix clause.

- (82) *cân kiskênimêw tânitê mériwa ê-itohtênit.*  
 John-3 knows.TA-(3-3') where Mary-3' cj-go.AI-3'  
 'John(prox) knows where Mary(obv) went.' (DS)
- (83) *cân kiskênimêw awêniwa ê-sipwêhtênit.*  
 John-3 knows.TA-(3-3') who-3' cj-leave.AI-3'  
 'John(prox) knows who(obv) is leaving.' (DS)

The fact that proximate shifts are not allowed between an A-doubling clause and the matrix verb shows us two things:

- i) A-doubling clauses are different from adverbial clauses;
- ii) A-doubling clauses have a syntactic relationship to the matrix clause that requires the obviation features of the participants to remain unchanged.

This provides more support for an analysis where the A-doubling clause has a tighter syntactic link to the matrix verb than an adverbial clause. In chapter 5, we will examine how this linkage occurs.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Obviation, then, appears to be subject to another syntactic restriction. Aside from a limit of one proximate referent per clause, the obligatory obviative status for nouns possessed by a third person, and the maintenance of obviation status between relative clauses and their heads, there is a restriction on the re-assignment of proximate status between clauses. Only certain types of clausal relations permit a proximate shift. Specifically, they can only occur between an adverbial clause and the matrix clause. A-doubling clauses must maintain the proximate reference assigned in the main clause verb.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, obviation provides a invaluable tool for distinguishing between these subordinate clauses in Cree. Because obviation is a non-inherent feature of an argument, any restrictions on whether or not it can be changed reflect other phenomena at work. The consistent difference in obviation restriction between adverbial and argument-doubling clauses provides evidence to different syntactic relationships and structures. The details of these relationships will be spelled out in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5

### An Analysis of Adverbial and Argument-Doubling Clauses

#### 5.1 Introduction

I have proposed that a distinction between complement-like and adjunct-like subordinate clauses in Cree can be made without claiming a contrast in argument/adjunct position. The version of the PAH which I adopt places only pronominal arguments in argument positions, inside the verbal complex, while all other constituents occur in non-argument positions. While both argument-doubling and adverbial clauses are in non-argument positions, the need to differentiate between these two types of subordinate clauses is apparent when we consider the evidence presented in chapters 3 and 4.

I have claimed a distinction between argument-doubling clauses, which demonstrate complement-like characteristics, and adverbial clauses, which behave like adjuncts. This distinction replicates one already made between A-doubling and oblique NPs. The present chapter will discuss in detail the form and implications of this distinction between subordinate clauses.

I propose that some subordinate clauses, those with complement-like properties, are A-doubling clauses, while other subordinate clauses are not. A-doubling clauses are construed with an argument, and this is captured by being referentially-linked to a *pro* argument in the matrix verbal complex. This linking forms a chain, thereby establishing a



single sentential domain<sup>41</sup> to which both clauses belong. Much of the behaviour we have found with A-doubling clauses follows from this perspective.

Adverbial, or non-A-doubling, clauses are not construed with an argument. In other words, they do not have a referential-linking relationship with any argument in the matrix verbal complex. This type of subordinate clause is a separate domain from the matrix verb.

This chapter will provide a detailed overview of the analysis proposed here, as well as considering some implications and consequences that arise. First, however, we shall briefly review the evidence of different clause behaviours presented in chapters 3 and 4.

## **5.2 Review of the Problem and Evidence for a Distinction in Subordinate Clauses**

Before we begin to explain the analysis proposed for subordinate clauses, let us briefly review the reasons why it is necessary to make a distinction between A-doubling clauses which exhibit complement-like behaviour, and adverbial clauses which display adjunct-like behaviour. First we will re-state the problem investigated this thesis, and recapitulate the evidence for two types of subordinate clause.

### **5.2.1 The Problem of Assuming a Non-Argumental Position for all Subordinate Clauses**

Under the PAH, as implemented for Cree by Russell and Reinholtz (1995), Reinholtz and Russell (1995) and Déchaine and Reinholtz (1998), the verb assigns argument roles to null

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A precise definition of a 'sentential domain' will be given in section 5.4.4.

pronominals within the verbal complex. In Cree, these arguments can be identified by the verbal morphology.<sup>42</sup> If all argument roles are filled by *pros*, there are no other core argument positions in the sentence hierarchy. This implies that all overt NPs and subordinate clauses must appear in non-argument positions.

Treating all subordinate clauses as non-argumental constituents poses no problem in the case of adverbial clauses, since they are always in non-argumental positions, even in configurational languages. In Cree, however, we find that there exist clauses which have complement-like characteristics, even though they are not arguments of the verb. We solve this puzzle by positing a relationship between the complement-like clause and a pronominal argument, just as is claimed to exist for A-doubling NPs. This results in a clause type called argument-doubling clauses, which are r-linked to a matrix *pro*. This allows them to receive an 'argumental' interpretation while being situated in a non-argumental position in the sentence hierarchy.

### 5.2.2 Evidence for a Distinction in Subordinate Clauses

A list of the evidence we have already examined is given below in (84).

- (84) i)        distributional restrictions  
      ii)       proximate shifts  
      iii)       extraction

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<sup>42</sup>

With some exceptions as we have already noted, i.e., ditransitives and verbs which are morphologically intransitive, yet behave like transitives.

i) Distributional Restrictions

A-doubling expressions are r-linked to a pronominal argument within the matrix verbal complex, with which they are construed. Therefore, these clauses must occur with a matrix verb that has a sufficient number of argument roles, so that one of them can be r-linked to the A-doubling clause. We saw in section 3.3.3.3.1, that matrix verbs which introduce A-doubling clauses are generally transitive verbs, and a list of such verbs was given in example (39).

Adverbial clauses are not r-linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verbal complex. Therefore, the argument specifications of the matrix verb are irrelevant to the occurrence of these subordinate clauses. Adverbial clauses have a wide range of distribution, and may occur with a variety of matrix verbs, both transitive and intransitive. These clauses are subject to semantic and discourse-related restrictions certainly, but are not restricted to occurring with only a specific class of verbs.

ii) Proximate Shifts

Restrictions on proximate shifts demonstrate a clear difference between A-doubling and adverbial clauses.

No constituent has an obviation feature established before it is placed into a sentence. The obviation feature is determined by the syntax/semantics component of the grammar, and not by the lexicon (unlike features of person, number and gender). Where obviation status is not restricted by the grammar (e.g., nouns possessed by a third person must be obviative) the speaker can assign proximate and obviative status according to the

discourse prominence of each participant in the narrative. Furthermore, the speaker can change the obviation status of the participants to suit a particular point in the discourse.

A proximate shift can occur between separate sentences. Within a sentence, between a matrix verb and a subordinate clause, a proximate shift is subject to certain restrictions. A proximate shift cannot occur between an argument-doubling clause and the matrix clause. The obviation status of a referent(s) must remain the same between the matrix verb and the argument-doubling clause. If the subordinate clause is an adverbial clause, however, a proximate shift is allowed between it and the matrix clause.

### iii) Extraction

Extraction also shows that there is a difference between A-doubling clauses and adverbial clauses. Non-A-doubling clauses show a blanket prohibition on extraction. A-doubling clauses, on the other hand, do permit extraction, providing there are no island effects occurring for independent reasons.

The remainder of this chapter presents a description of the r-linking relationship that exists between A-doubling clauses and an argument within the matrix verbal complex. We will describe this relationship in terms of a chain, and discuss the implications that this analysis creates. First, however, we will address adverbial clauses, which are not linked to a matrix argument.





#### 5.4 Argument-Doubling Clauses

As its name suggests, this type of subordinate clause is construed with one of the pronominal arguments of the matrix verb. This is represented by referential-linking. This section will address how this linking is accomplished.

I argue that an r-linking relationship between the pronominal argument in the matrix verbal complex and the subordinate CP is not possible. I claim that argument-doubling clauses are unlike English complement clauses, where we say that a transitive verb 'selects' a CP complement. I propose that Cree verbs do not select CP complements, but always have their argument arrays filled by pronominals within the verbal complex. Furthermore, these pronominals cannot be directly linked to a clause, unlike NPs. We cannot co-index entities that belong to different categories. Subordinate clauses are CPs, while the pronominal argument, *pro*, is an NP. Evidence that a pronominal argument is nominal comes from the fact that *pro* can be co-indexed to nouns, i.e., these two entities belong to the same category.<sup>45</sup>

I propose that A-doubling clauses are contained inside a larger NP. This ensures that there is an NP which can be co-indexed with a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. An abstract representation of this structure is given below in (87). The pronominal

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In claiming that only like categories can be r-linked, I follow Baker (1996). At this juncture however, there is no concrete evidence for this assumption, and it could be that an r-linking relationship is possible between a *pro* and the CP. In this case, the A-doubling clause would be able to be directly linked to the argument, which would capture the construal relationship. At the present time, however, I propose that A-doubling clauses are contained within an NP, thereby allowing for r-linking between like categories.

argument in the matrix verbal complex forms a chain with the NP containing the A-doubling clause.

- (87) matrix verbal complex                      A-doubling clause  
           [<sub>CP</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub>-V-*pro*<sub>j</sub>]            [<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub>-V ] ]
- 

I have already demonstrated, in section 3.3.3.1, examples (40 and 41), that the verbal morphology of a matrix verb is identical whether it occurs with an A-doubling NP or clause. If we claim that A-doubling clauses are situated inside a containing NP, the identical agreement morphology is not surprising. The pronominal argument is always doubled by an NP. This analysis receives support from a treatment that has been proposed by Reinholtz and Russell (1995) for Wh-questions, which we discussed previously in section 3.3.3.1.3, and review again in the next section.

#### 5.4.1 Evidence from Wh-Questions

In the treatment of Wh-questions, there is a clear case to be made for relativization being involved. Wh-questions consist of an initial wh-phrase and a conjunct verb. Independent forms of the verb are disallowed, which shows us that the clause is subordinate. To demonstrate this subordinate status, we will look again at example (36) from section 3.3.3, renumbered here as (88). (88b) in this example shows that a verb in the independent order, in common in matrix, declarative clauses, is ungrammatical in a Wh-question.

- (88) a.        *cân kiskênimêw        awêna kâ-sipwêhtênit.*  
           John know.TA-(3-3') who    cj-leave.AI-3'  
           'John knows who left.'(DS)





Example (90) demonstrates that a Wh-question has the same structure either as a matrix clause or a subordinate clause. A cleft-construction treatment of A-doubling Wh-clauses solves a problem mentioned in section 5.4. There we said that we had no way to link an A-doubling clause (as a CP) to a pronominal argument within the matrix verb. We claimed this because we cannot co-index constituents that belong to different categories (the *pro* being an NP, and the clause a CP). Under a relative clause analysis, however, co-indexation is possible. The cleft structure of A-doubling Wh-clauses provides a nominal to co-index with a *pro* in the matrix clause. In fact, the whole A-doubling Wh-clause is an NP, consisting of a relative clause (the subordinate clause itself) and the containing NP constituent. Now we can link an NP (which contains the A-doubling clause) to a matrix *pro*.

An example of a representation of this proposal is given below in (91). The object pronominal argument in the matrix clause is co-indexed with the NP which contains the A-doubling Wh-clause. This co-indexation is indicated by a subscripted 'j' on each constituent.

- (91) *cân* *pro<sub>i</sub>*-*kiskênimêw-pro<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub> *awêna* [<sub>CP</sub> *Op<sub>j</sub>* *pro<sub>j</sub>*-*kâ-sipwêhtênit*]].  
 John know.s.o.TA-(3-3'<sub>j</sub>) who cj-leave.AI-3'<sub>j</sub>  
 'John knows (him)<sub>j</sub> [who<sub>j</sub> left].'  
 'John knows (him), who (it is that) left.'

If we were to extend this analysis to all A-doubling clauses, we would find a way to link all of these clauses with one of the pronominal arguments inside the matrix verb. The non-Wh-clauses would simply not have a Wh-phrase, but would have be situated

inside a containing NP all the same. The containing NP could include overt material, such as an NP or a determiner such as *awa* 'this', or it may include no overt nominals (i.e., the 'head' of the relative clause would be null). If there were no overt nominal material, we would assume that there is a null *pro* in the head position<sup>46</sup> that was linked to one of the pronominal arguments in the matrix verbal complex. We will look at this structure in greater detail in section 5.4.3, but first, we will take a closer look at Cree relative clauses.

### 5.4.2 Relative Clauses

Before we proceed with the proposed analysis for Cree A-doubling clauses, I would like to briefly review Cree relative clauses. These clauses illustrate how an NP, which contains a subordinate clause, can be linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. The NP which contains the relative clause can also include a full NP, a demonstrative or no overt

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Baker (1996) describes a similar idea for 'pseudo-nominals'. Pseudo-nominals are verbal forms that receive a nominal interpretation. He claims that this phenomenon is quite common in polysynthetic languages (see Baker 1996:166 for references regarding such languages). He describes these pseudo-nominals as identical in structure to relative clauses, having properties of wh-movement, except that the relative operator is phonologically null (Mohawk has an overt relative operator *tsi nikâv* 'which').

He does not claim that this relative clause is embedded inside an NP which has a null head. He acknowledges that this is a possible structure, where the null head of a full NP could be a *pro*, which is licensed by being linked to a position which is governed by agreement. He does not see, however, any reason to posit the containing NP.

I propose that the class of nominalized verbal constructions, which demonstrate similar structure to relative clauses, can be extended to include argument-doubling clauses. We have already discussed how wh-questions, both matrix and subordinate, have a relative clause structure, and how this can be extended to include all A-doubling clauses as well (not just wh-clauses).

Unlike Baker, however, I propose that there is reason to place the nominalized verbal construction inside a containing NP. The most important differentiating factor between my claim and Baker's, is that he places A-doubling clauses (which he calls complements) in argument positions, while I place them in non-argumental positions. Because these clauses cannot receive their 'argumental' behaviour and interpretation by being situated in an A-position, they must be referentially-linked to a pronominal argument which is in an argument position. This linking is facilitated by placing the clause inside of a containing NP. This NP can be co-indexed to the matrix *pro*, as it is of the same lexical category as the argument, where the subordinate clause (CP) is not.

nominal material at all. The NP may contain only a CP. The following examples give constructions which illustrate each of these options. In (92), the containing NP includes a full NP as well as the subordinate clause.

- (92) *êkosi êkwah pro<sub>i</sub>-kîwêpahtâw* [<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub> *awa ômisimâw<sub>i</sub>*  
 thus then run.home.AI-3 this elder sister-3  
 [<sub>CP</sub> Op *pro<sub>i</sub>-kâ-kîh-pakwâtât-pro<sub>j</sub>*]]<sup>47</sup>  
 cj-pst-hate-TA-(3-3)  
 ‘So then the elder sister, who had scorned him, ran home.’ (S:108-25)

In (93), there is a demonstrative included in the containing NP.

- (93) *pro<sub>i</sub>-miywêyih tam-pro<sub>inan</sub>* [<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub> *awa* [<sub>CP</sub> Op *pro<sub>j</sub>-kâ-kîh-kaskatahoht-pro<sub>i</sub>*]].  
 be.glad.TI-(3-inan) this cj-pst-wound.TA-(indf-3)  
 ‘The one who had been wounded was glad (about it (previously mentioned s.t.)).’  
 (P:98-04)

Finally, in example (94), the NP consists of only a subordinate CP, there is no overt nominal material at all.

- (94) *pro<sub>i</sub>-nêwiwak êkwah* [<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Op *êkâ pro<sub>i</sub>-kâ-tapasîcik*]].  
 be.four.AI-3p thus not cj-flee.AI-3p  
 ‘Thus they were four who did not flee.’ (P:40-32)

These relative clauses are also in a non-argumental position. Depending upon the desired sentence structure, i.e., pre- or post-verbal, they may be situated in the specifier

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Relative clauses are assumed to contain operators. Empty operators (Op) are posited when no overt operator (Wh-phrase) is present, as found in Cree relative clauses. These operators are assumed to occupy the specifier position of CP in languages like English. I have no evidence that they would occupy a different position in Cree, and have located them in [Spec. CP].

position of the FocP, or in the complement position of the TopP. The containing NP is r-linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. The most important point demonstrated by relative clauses is that we may have no overt nominal material in the containing NP - it may contain only a subordinate CP, and the overall constituent is still interpreted as a nominal.

### **5.4.3 Extending this Analysis to Argument-Doubling Clauses**

I propose that we can extend the analysis of a containing nominal to include our treatment of argument-doubling clauses at large. This would provide an NP for all A-doubling clauses which would be linked to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. Recall that in section 3.3.3., I claimed that although the two types of subordinate clauses identified in this thesis appear to mirror the distinction found between A-doubling and oblique NPs, up until now we had no way of linking A-doubling clauses to the pronominal arguments in the matrix clause. I claimed that *pro* is a nominal, and could therefore be linked only to NPs. If A-doubling clauses are CPs, we have no way of linking them to the *pros*. If we adopt an analysis which states that A-doubling clauses have a relative clause structure, it is possible for these clauses to be encompassed within a larger NP. This containing NP can then be r-linked to a pronominal argument in the main clause verb.<sup>48</sup>

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The examples that follow are a rough outline of the structural relationships that occur between the arguments of the matrix verb and the A-doubling clause, and the location of the A-doubling clause. An explanation of the methodology of co-indexation (chain formation) and the syntactic domains that are created as a result will follow in section 5.4.4.



not just those with Wh-phrases as in (95). This containing NP is co-indexed with a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. This co-indexing relationship is possible with both TA and TI verbs as illustrated in (97) and (98)..

An example of the linking relationship between an argument in a TA verb and the NP containing an A-doubling clause is given in (97). In this sentence, the subject *pro* of the subordinate verb *êh-wayawiyit* 'she(obv) goes outside' is co-indexed with the A-doubling NP *iskwêwah* 'woman'. This nominal is sitting inside the containing NP, but outside of the subordinate clause. The index of *iskwêwah* percolates to the NP which contains the nominal and the subordinate clause<sup>50</sup>. This complex NP is in turn, linked to the object *pro* in the matrix verb *wâpamêw* 'he sees her.' All of these constituents are marked in the representation with a subscripted 'j'.

- (97) kîtahtawê wâpamêw [NP iskwêwah [CP Op êh-wayawiyit]],...  
 presently see s.o.-TA-(3-3') woman-3' cj-go outside-AI-3'  
 'Presently he saw a woman come out of her lodge,...' (P:70-03)

kîtahtawê *pro*<sub>i</sub>-wâpamêw-*pro*<sub>j</sub> [NP<sub>j</sub> iskwêwah<sub>j</sub> [CP Op<sub>j</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub>-êh-wayawiyit]]  
 presently see.TA-(3-3') woman-3' cj-go.outside.AI-3'  
 'Presently he saw her, it was a woman that came out of her lodge.'

We now turn to an example where the containing NP does not have any overt nominal material, only a subordinate clause. Recall that in section 5.4.3 on relative clauses, I argued that a nominal containing a subordinate clause still receives its nominal

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This follows under X-bar theory, where the index of the head of a projection always percolates to its maximal projection.

reading even if it does not contain any overt nominal material. This position is filled by a null *pro* (cf. footnote 46, p.98).<sup>51</sup> We will look at containing NPs which include only an A-doubling clause occurring with both a TA and a TI verb.

In (98), there is no overt nominal material in the containing NP. The subject *pro* of the subordinate verb *ê-nôhtêhkwasiyit* ‘she became sleepy’ is co-indexed with a null *pro* posited in the head position of the NP. The index of the head percolates to the containing NP, which in turn, is co-indexed with the object *pro* of the matrix verb *kiskêyimêw* ‘he knows her.’

(98) *kiskêyimêw* [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Op *ê-nôhtêhkwasiyit*]].  
 know.TA-(3-3') cj-become.sleepy.AI-3'  
 ‘He knew that she was sleepy.’ (S:258-26)

*pro*<sub>i</sub>-*kiskêyimêw*-*pro*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Op *pro*<sub>j</sub>-*ê-nôhtêhkwasiyit*]].  
 know.TA-(3-3') cj-become.sleepy.AI-3'  
 ‘He knows (her), (the one) that she became sleepy.’

The above example illustrates the linking relationship found between a TA verb and an A-doubling clause. A sentence with a TI matrix verb works in the same manner.

When a TI verb occurs with an A-doubling clause, there is often no overt nominal material inside the containing NP. The head position is filled by a null *pro* which establishes the index for the containing NP. The NP then links to the inanimate pronominal argument in the matrix verb. The *pro* in the containing NP does not link to any of the pronominal arguments within the A-doubling clause. The *pro* in the containing

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This *pro* is not an argument, but a non-overt nominal.



NP can be understood to be referring to a featureless nominal meaning something like ‘the fact that.’ An example, with the r-linking relationships spelled out follows in (99).

- (99) *nimiywêyihên* [NP [CP Op *ê-sipwêhtêt*]].  
 I-be.glad.about.it.TI-(1-inan) cj-leave.AI-3  
 ‘I am glad that he is gone.’ (P:126-25)

*pro<sub>i</sub>*.*nimiywêyihên-pro<sub>j</sub>* [NP<sub>j</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* [CP Op *pro<sub>k</sub>-ê-sipwêhtêt*]].  
 I-be.glad.about.it.TI-(1-inan) cj-leave.AI-3  
 ‘I am glad (about it), (the fact) that he is gone.’

Thus, with a TI verb, the only r-linkage between the matrix verb and the A-doubling clause is between the containing NP and the inanimate *pro* object of the matrix verb. It can be seen in the above example that the subordinate argument *pro<sub>k</sub>* is not co-indexed with anything; it has no link to the matrix clause.

The important points of this section have been as follows. Both adverbial and argument-doubling clauses are in non-argument positions. Argument-doubling clauses are construed with a pronominal argument in the matrix verbal complex, and this is formally represented as referential-linking. In order to r-link the A-doubling clause with a matrix *pro*, I have proposed that A-doubling clauses be treated as relative clauses, in line with the standard treatment of (indirect) Wh-questions. This allows the CP to be placed inside a larger containing NP, which, being of like categories, can be linked to the pronominal argument.

#### 5.4.4 Chains and Domains

The co-indexation between a pronominal argument in the matrix verb and an argument-doubling NP can be viewed as a type of chain formation. A chain is a set of constituents that function as a single linguistic element, created by co-indexation. Chains have been used principally to deal with movement relations, both NP- and Wh-movement, and serve to bind the traces that a moved element leaves behind (cf. Haegeman 1994, Cowper 1992). Such chains are called derivational chains. While movement is not involved in Cree argument-doubling constituents, the notion of chains is relevant here. This is a non-derived type of chain. The r-linking relationship between the pronominal argument and the NP containing the A-doubling clause fulfils a number of properties of chain formation. The members of a chain must be capable of being co-indexed. A chain may contain only one argument, and can be associated with only one theta-role. (The fact that argument-doubling does not involve movement makes some of the other properties of syntactic chains irrelevant, such as the behaviour of multiple traces).

These properties are fulfilled when we r-link an A-doubling constituent to a pronominal argument in the matrix verb. The *pro* found inside the verbal complex is an argument, while the A-doubling NP or clause is in a non-argumental position. There is only one theta-role associated with the chain of *pro* and the A-doubling NP/clause, which is assigned to the *pro* (*pro* being in argument position). (100) spells out all of these properties. (100a) presents a sentence with a simple A-doubling NP, while (100b) illustrates a sentence with a subordinate clause situated inside a containing A-doubling NP.



- b. { *pro*<sub>i</sub>-wâpahtam-*pro*<sub>j</sub> }<sub>[NP<sub>i</sub>] [CP êh-misatimositêyit]]</sub>.  
*see. TI-(3-inan) cj-horse.foot. AI-3'*  
 'He (prox) saw that he (obv) had horses' feet.' (S:262-46)
- c. { [CP *kisiwâk pro*<sub>i</sub>-êh-ihât ] } { [CP *pro*<sub>j</sub>-wih-pâhpihik-*pro*<sub>i</sub> ] }.  
           near                  cj-be. AI-3                  int-laugh. at. s.o. TA-(3'-3)  
 'When he got near, the other laughed at him.' (P:60-21)

Examples (102a) and (102b) both consist of a single domain, since the NP, which in (102b) contains the A-doubling clause, is r-linked to a matrix pronominal argument. The sentence in (102c) consists of two domains. The adverbial clause *kisiwâk êh-ihât* 'when he(prox) got near' is not r-linked to any matrix argument, and therefore is not a part of the same domain as the matrix verb. Each clause is its own domain. A domain consists of a verb and all its arguments, including any argument-doubling constituents. This definition rules out any r-linking relationship between the two occurrences of *pro*<sub>i</sub> in (102c). Even though they refer to the same referent, they are not A-doubling. The lack of this relationship prevents the subordinate clause from being included in the matrix domain.

This leads us to one thing that must be made clear about this definition of domain: a difference between 'doubling' and 'co-referentiality'. It is important to stress that only an A-doubling type of co-reference entails a common domain. A formal distinction is as yet unavailable. At this point, however, we can state that there are clear diagnostic differences between A-doubling and co-reference, one of which is proximate re-assignment. Whatever the full difference is between A-doubling and co-reference, the crucial point is that only A-doubling is relevant to domains.

While doubling involves co-referentiality, the converse is not true. Not all constituents which are co-referential involve a doubling relationship. This fact is important in light of the following sentence (103).

(103) John<sub>i</sub> snores when he<sub>i</sub> sleeps.

If this sentence occurred in Cree, where ‘John’ and ‘he’ are co-referential, we would not want to claim that they have a doubling relationship. Under the definition of domain given above, a doubling relationship entails that both the *arg* and the doubling constituent form a single domain. We do not want to say that the matrix clause and the adverbial clause in (103) form a domain - indeed, the proposed analysis claims that a sentence containing an adverbial clause and matrix clause has two domains, one per clause. A Cree example is given in (104).

(104) [<sub>CP</sub> mayaw *pro*<sub>i</sub>-êh-kawisimot], [<sub>CP</sub> sêmâk *pro*<sub>i</sub>-nipâw ].  
 as.soon.as cj-lie.down.AI-3 immediately sleep.AI-3  
 ‘As soon as he<sub>i</sub> lay down, he<sub>i</sub> went to sleep. (P:176-01)

In (104), the subject argument in the subordinate clause is co-referential with the subject argument in the matrix clause, they are both *pro*<sub>i</sub>. These arguments however, are not in a doubling relationship. Furthermore, we have already stated that adverbial clauses are not a part of the matrix domain. Therefore, it is important to stress that a domain consists of a verb, its arguments, and any A-doubling constituents. Co-referentiality of arguments is not a sufficient requirement for the formation of a domain. Thus, adverbial clauses, whether or not they have a referent in common with the matrix clause, are not A-

doubling clauses, and therefore, form a separate domain. This is stated in (105), where  $Y(P_i)$  is co-referential with  $X(P_i)$ , but since there is no A-doubling relationship between them, they constitute separate domains.

(105) { [...X(P)<sub>i</sub>...] } { [...Y(P)<sub>i</sub>...] } where Y is not an argument-doubling expression.

#### 5.4.4.1 Explaining the Obviation Restriction

If we accept that argument-doubling clauses function like relative clauses contained inside an NP, then there is no longer any question as to why proximate shifts are disallowed between these clauses and the matrix verb. A-doubling clauses are r-linked to a pronominal within the matrix clause, thus, they are a single domain. It is an accepted constraint that a Cree clause has only one proximate constituent. If we replace 'clause' with 'domain,' we achieve a more accurate representation of what is occurring. A domain, in this context, includes a verb, its arguments and any constituents that double the arguments.

This is why a proximate shift is not allowed between a relative clause and its head, as noted by both Dryer (1992) and Dahlstrom (1986). Because the head is r-linked to a pronominal argument within the subordinate verb, it forms a chain with the argument. The head and the subordinate clause form one linguistic domain. Therefore, any features associated with the head must be maintained in the relative clause, including obviation.

Argument-doubling clauses are a part of a single domain, shared by the matrix clause. Thus, if only one proximate referent is allowed per domain, we can see why

proximate re-assignment is not found between the matrix verb and A-doubling clause. We would have two proximate referents within a single domain, which is not allowed.<sup>52</sup>

Adverbial clauses do not have any referential link to the matrix verb. Therefore, they do not constitute a single domain. Instead, each is its own domain, in which obviation features may be freely assigned (syntactically, not in terms of discourse). The speaker can choose to maintain or change the proximate/obviative status of the participants according to the needs of the discourse.

It must be made clear what is being restricted in a domain. It is not only one proximate NP or argument that is allowed in a single domain, it is a single proximate referent. I will demonstrate the need for this distinction below.

If we claimed that only one proximate NP or argument is allowed per domain, we would certainly predict the correct representation of the sentence in (106).

(106) Sue(prox) knows that Lance(obv) kicked Vern(obv).

If Sue is proximate, then both Lance and Vern must be obviative. This is borne out by the data. Example (107) gives a Cree sentence containing two separate referents. Because the A-doubling clause is a part of the same domain as the matrix verb, only one of these disjoint referents can be proximate. Since the referent in the matrix clause is proximate, the referent in the subordinate clause is obviative.

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There is one exception to this generalization - when co-referential arguments appear in a single domain. This is the only situation which permits multiple proximates. This is discussed on p. 111.

- (107) { *kêtahtawê pro<sub>i</sub>-kiskêyhtam-pro<sub>j</sub> [NP<sub>j</sub> ayîsiyiniwah kisiwâk [CP pro<sub>j</sub>-êh-ayâyit]]* }.  
 presently know.TA-(3-inan) person-3' near cj-be.AI-3'  
 'Presently, she<sub>i</sub> knew that some person<sub>j</sub> was near.' (P:154-02)

Simply claiming, however, that only one proximate argument is allowed per clause would rule out an acceptable sentence like the one given in (108), where both 'Bert' and 'he' are proximate.

- (108) Bert<sub>i</sub> knows that he<sub>i</sub> failed the test.

If 'Bert' and 'he' are co-referential, and 'Bert' is proximate, then 'he' must be proximate as well. We saw in section 4.3.3 that a participant must maintain its obviation status between a matrix clause and an A-doubling clause. An analysis that claimed only one proximate argument per domain, however, would rule out sentence (108) as unacceptable (having two proximate arguments). It would also predict, incorrectly, that the following sentence (109) is acceptable, where 'Bert' and 'he' are co-referential, but there is only one proximate argument in the domain.

- (109) \* Bert<sub>i</sub>(prox) knows that he<sub>i</sub>(obv) failed the test. (co-referential reading)

This sentence cannot mean that 'Bert' himself failed the test. The only acceptable reading occurs if 'he' refers to somebody other than 'Bert'. We have already discussed (see section 4.3.3) that if a pronominal argument in the A-doubling clause has a different obviation status than an argument in the matrix verb, they cannot be referring to the same participant. We can compare the examples in (110), which demonstrate that to interpret



two arguments as co-referential within a single domain, they must have the same obviation status.

- (110) a. { *awa nâpêw pro<sub>i</sub>-kiskênihtam-pro<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>-ê-kî-cinâhiht-pro<sub>i</sub>*]] }  
 this man-3 know.TI-(3-inan) cj-pst-made.late.TA-(indf-3)  
 ‘This man<sub>i</sub> knows that he<sub>i</sub> is late (he is made late).’ (co-referential reading)
- b. { *awa nâpêw pro<sub>i</sub>-kiskênihtam-pro<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub> [<sub>CP</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>-ê-kî-cinâhimiht-pro<sub>m</sub>*]] }  
 this man-3 know.TI-(3-inan) cj-pst-made.late.TA-(indf-3’)  
 ‘This man<sub>i</sub> knows that the other<sub>m</sub> is late (he<sub>m</sub> is made late).’ (disjoint reference)

In (110a), an argument in the subordinate clause has the same obviation status as an argument in the matrix verb. Because they are inside the same domain, they are interpreted as necessarily co-referential. In (110b), the argument in the subordinate verb is obviate, i.e., it has a different obviation status from the proximate argument in the matrix verb. These two arguments are within the same domain, and are therefore interpreted as referring to two separate referents. If an argument in the matrix verb and an argument in the A-doubling clause refer to the same participant, they must have the same obviation status.

Thus, we want to define the restriction of proximate assignments in a domain to a single referent. Every occurrence of that referent in a domain will show the same obviation status. The necessity of obviation status of participants remaining constant between a matrix verb and an A-doubling clause was discussed in section 4.3.3. We now propose that this is a result of both clauses belonging to the same domain.

We should also point out that co-reference itself does not restrict proximate re-assignment. We have already seen examples where two co-referential arguments do not

have the same obviation status. An example of this is found in section 4.3.2., as example (78). I repeat the sentence here as example (111).

(111) ê-wîh-tapasît, || môskîstawêw aw ayîsiyiniw.  
cj-int-flee.AI-3 attack.TA-(3-3') this person-3  
'When he<sub>i</sub>(prox) tried to escape, the man<sub>j</sub>(prox) attacked him<sub>i</sub>(obv).' (P:150-15)

Each of these clauses contains an argument which refers to the bear. Although these arguments are co-referential, they do not have the same obviation status. The bear is proximate in the subordinate clause, but obviative in the main clause. A proximate shift has occurred between the two clauses. This is allowed because the two clauses, the adverbial and the main clause, constitute two separate domains.

This shows us that obviation is not the same as the phi-features of person, number and gender. Co-referentiality does not entail that the co-referents have the same obviation status. If it did, we would see proximate shift restrictions in non-A-doubling (adverbial) clauses as well as A-doubling clauses.

So, by defining a domain as a verb, its arguments and any argument-doubling constituents, we ensure that a matrix verb and an A-doubling clause constitute a single domain, while a matrix verb and an adverbial (non-A-doubling) clause represent two separate domains. Within a domain, all instances of a referent must have the same obviation status. Therefore, if a single referent occurs in the guise of multiple arguments in a domain, as in example (108) and (110a) above, then all arguments of that referent must demonstrate the same obviation status. This is not because they are all co-



Lastly, we can consider an adverbial clause occurring with a matrix verb. Because these non-A-doubling clauses are not r-linked to any argument in the matrix verb, they do not belong to the same domain. They constitute two separate domains. Therefore, just as between separate sentences, a proximate shift can occur between the matrix verb and the adverbial clause.

(114)

$\{[_{\text{FOCP}} [_{\text{CP}} \text{pro}_i\text{-}\acute{\text{e}}\text{h-p}\acute{\text{i}}\text{h}\text{t}\text{o}\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}]]\}, \{[_{\text{FOCP}} [_{\text{NP}} \text{w}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\text{i}\text{s}\text{t}\text{i}\text{k}\acute{\text{o}}\text{s}\text{i}\text{w} \text{awah} \text{omis} [_{\text{TOPP}} [_{\text{CP}} \text{pro}_j\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{w-pro}_i]]]]\}$   
 cj-enter.AI-3                      Frenchman-3 this thus                      say.TA-(3-3')  
 ‘When he(prox=Wisahkêcahk) entered, the Frenchman (prox) said:..’ (S:30-13)

Thus, the syntactic restrictions on proximate re-assignment follow from the distinction we have made between A-doubling and adverbial clauses.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the fundamental difference between complement-like and adjunct-like clauses is not their structural position, but a difference in being an argument-doubling expression or not. Argument-doubling clauses are situated inside of a containing NP which is linked to a pronominal argument within the matrix verb. In this manner, they function just like simple A-doubling NPs. By forming a chain with the matrix *pro* they create a single domain, containing both the matrix and A-doubling clause. A domain consists of a verb, its arguments and any argument-doubling constituents.

On the other hand, adverbial clauses are not A-doubling expressions, therefore they are not r-linked to any matrix pronominal argument. These clauses are separate

domains from the matrix verb, and do not exhibit the same behaviour as A-doubling clauses.

We have also identified a more comprehensive representation of the restriction on the number of proximates found within a domain. We have shown that it is a restriction of one proximate referent per domain. This refinement, together with a treatment which accounts for the differences between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses also allows us to account for restrictions on proximate re-assignment between matrix verbs and subordinate clauses.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion and Further Consequences

#### 6.1 A Summary of the Proposed Treatment for Cree Subordinate Clauses

The appeal to domains provides answers for many of the problems that have been identified in this study. It answers the question of how clauses in a non-argumental position can receive a 'complement-like' interpretation. Demonstrated through referential linking, an A-doubling clause can form a chain with a pronominal argument in the matrix verb, thereby creating a single domain which includes both the matrix and subordinate clauses.

We achieve referential-linking by positing a relative clause structure for A-doubling clauses. This structure is similar to what is found for Wh-questions, which are cleft constructions, comprised of a Wh-phrase and a relative clause. This treatment can be applied to A-doubling Wh-questions as well. By extending this analysis to include all A-doubling clauses, we provide an NP which can be linked to the matrix pronominal argument. We need a nominal to head the A-doubling clause, because *pro* (a nominal) can only be co-indexed with constituents of the same category, and therefore, not with CPs.

The fact that the verbal morphology of a transitive verb does not change regardless of whether it appears with an A-doubling NP or an A-doubling clause is consistent with this analysis. The matrix verb is always inflected for a pronominal argument, and that pronominal argument is co-indexed with an NP (either a simple noun, or an A-doubling clause which has a relative clause structure).

The behaviour exhibited by A-doubling clauses and NPs, compared to adverbial clauses and oblique NPs, comes down to a statement of domains. This analysis settles the some of the major issues raised throughout this study.

This treatment of subordinate clauses allows for a clear distinction to be made between adjunct-like and complement-like clauses. Unlike earlier analyses by Baker (1996) and Blain (1997), I maintain that subordinate clauses are subject to the same restriction on structural position as NPs - they are in non-argument positions. The version of the PAH adopted for this work, dictates that argument positions are filled by null pronominals. Therefore, no argument positions remain for any other constituent to occupy.

Earlier treatments of subordinate clauses also recognized that subordinate clauses could be divided into two types, those with adjunct-like behaviour, and those with complement-like behaviour. To capture this distinction, complement-like clauses were placed in argument position. I propose that such a treatment weakens the PAH. If we adopt the present analysis, which expresses the distinction through referential-linking and the creation of domains (or the lack thereof), there is no need to look to structural position to distinguish these clause types. We maintain the fundamental claim of the PAH, that argument positions are found inside the verbal complex.

I propose that although both types of subordinate clause are in non-argument positions, the A-doubling clauses are actually within the same domain as the matrix verb. This is accomplished through referential-linking, which forms a chain between the subordinate clause and a pronominal argument within the matrix verb. As explained

above, this analysis accounts for the argumental behaviour exhibited by these clauses.

They cannot receive an argumental interpretation without being within the domain of the matrix verb. Without construal with an argument, they are merely adverbial clauses.

Adverbial clauses function just as one would expect of a non-argumental clause.

They are syntactically independent, i.e., they are not construed with a pronominal argument. Because the subordinate clause is not linked to an argument in the matrix verb, it forms a separate domain, and does not receive any argument identification from the matrix verb.

This analysis is in line with the restriction on proximate shifts between matrix and A-doubling clauses, as examined in section 5.4.4.1. If A-doubling clauses and the matrix verbal complex form a single domain, and if only one proximate referent is allowed per domain, it is obvious why there can be no proximate shift between an A-doubling clause and the matrix verb. The obviation status of each participant must be maintained throughout the domain.

Adverbial clauses on the other hand, do not form a chain with the matrix pronominal arguments, and therefore constitute separate domains. There is no restriction on changing the proximate status of participants in the adverbial clause. A proximate shift between an adverbial clause and the main clause is the same process as a proximate shift between sentences. It is a shift occurring between two separate domains.

A consequence of the analysis proposed here involves the copying-to-object construction. The next section will discuss this construction in terms of a domain analysis.







(117) kiwâpamitin      ê-ocêmisk. (DS)  
2-see.s.o.TA-(1-2) cj-kiss.s.o.TA-(3-2)  
'I saw you, he kissed you.'

Under a sentential domains analysis, this kind of variation is allowed. We do not posit any type of raising or copying phenomenon at work. We simply state that there must be r-linking between the clauses in order to create a single domain which includes both the matrix verb and the subordinate (A-doubling) clause. This view allows for some creativity to be involved, as we saw in examples (116) and (117). The r-linking is not restricted to a specific argument position, but may be construed with either the subject/agent or object/patient of the subordinate verb.<sup>54</sup>

The copying-to-object construction was noted to be restricted to 'complement-like' clauses occurring with TA matrix verbs only. Under the analysis presented in this thesis, we can provide an analysis for this restriction. By formulating a distinction between A-doubling and non-A-doubling (adverbial) clauses, we can offer a succinct analysis of why some clauses have co-indexed arguments and some clauses don't. Complement-like clauses (A-doubling clauses) need to be r-linked to the matrix pronominal argument in order to receive their argumental interpretation. These clauses are situated inside a larger containing NP, which is r-linked to an argument within the matrix verb. The object argument of a matrix TA verb is co-referential with an argument in the subordinate clause (not necessarily the subject). A TI matrix verb has its inanimate

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The r-linking of either the subordinate subject or object to the matrix object is not completely unrestricted. Predominately, it is the subordinate subject that is co-indexed to the matrix *pro*. A precise explanation of the restrictions on this construction is as yet unavailable.

argument r-linked to the containing NP only. Adjunct-like clauses (adverbial clauses) do not have a r-linking requirement. This allows us to make a strong prediction that non-A-doubling clauses will never demonstrate this co-indexation phenomenon.

Essentially, by proposing this analysis, I am claiming that the phenomenon of 'copying' is not involved in the co-indexation of arguments between a matrix clause and an A-doubling clause. Rather, the co-indexing relationship is necessary to procure an A-doubling interpretation for the subordinate clause.<sup>55</sup>

This, then, is further evidence that the creation of domains is a central issue in Cree A-doubling clauses. If we accept this basic tenet, then we have an explanation for a number of syntactic phenomena that have been observed occurring between Cree clauses, but not explained.

### 6.3 Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to account for the behaviour of subordinate clauses within the framework of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis. Rather than claim that the complement-like behaviour of some subordinate clauses implies that they are situated in argument position, I have attempted to maintain a viewpoint that only pronominal arguments can occupy argument positions. All other constituents must be situated in non-

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I am claiming that the copying-to-object construction is not a correct account of the phenomena at work. What has been termed 'copying', I suggest is only co-indexing in order to construe an argument-doubling expression with a matrix *pro*. This analysis may be able to be extended from complement-like clauses, which are r-linked to the matrix object *pro*, to include all possible A-doubling clauses. This may be able to be applied to 'Raising-to-Subject' constructions, as well. The principal difference would be that the A-doubling clause is r-linked to the matrix subject argument. At this point, this is simply a suggestion, and has yet to be examined.

argument positions. Following the distinctions and theories already established for NPs in pronominal argument languages, I have proposed that subordinate clauses can be distinguished in the same way. Like A-doubling and oblique NPs, we distinguish two types of subordinate clauses, namely A-doubling and adverbial clauses.

The distinction between these two clause types is based on referential-linking. A-doubling clauses are r-linked to a pronominal argument within the matrix verb, while adverbial clauses are not. This r-linking creates a chain, which means that the A-doubling clause and the matrix clause constitute a single domain. Much of the behaviours we identified for A-doubling clauses follow from this.<sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, this analysis allows us to gain new perspectives on two issues. Firstly, instead of a restriction of only one proximate referent per clause, we see now that it is a question of only one proximate referent per domain. This allows greater explanatory power to the obviation data we have examined.

As well, we gain a new perspective on the copying-to-object construction. We now see this phenomenon as a part of a more general pattern of domain creation. An A-doubling clause must be r-linked to the matrix clause in order to get its argumental reading. It cannot get this reading from its structural (non-argument) position.

Obviously there are many more questions yet to be answered. For now, this analysis has solved an apparent paradox: how Cree, a pronominal argument language, can

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This analysis, however, does not provide an explanation for the extraction behaviour of A-doubling clauses. Extraction data was used only to illustrate a difference between A-doubling and non-A-doubling clauses. This area still needs further research.

have subordinate clauses which reflect an argumental reading while appearing in non-argumental positions. This proposal has also explained the difference between these A-doubling clauses and adverbial clauses, which demonstrate adjunct-like behaviour and do not receive argumental interpretations. Furthermore, we have shown that Cree subordinate clauses do not contradict the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis.

There are certainly issues that are left unresolved. The question of extraction needs to be investigated further, it may provide information which can help us refine this analysis. As well, the ability of both subordinate subject and object arguments to be r-linked to the matrix object of a TA verb, as shown in examples (116) and (117), suggest that there may be other factors governing which argument is chosen to be co-indexed with an A-doubling expression. This opens a new area of research.

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