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Predicative suffixation in Algonquian

1. Introduction

(1)

FUNCTIONS	Creissels et al. (2021)	Drapeau (2014)	Haspelmath (2022)
a. *she is a teacher*	Inclusion predication	C. identificationnelle	Classificational c.
b. *she is my teacher*	Identity predication	C. équationnelle	Equational c.

FORMAL TYPES: Juxtaposition (2), copula (3), and predicative-affixation constructions (4)

(2) No (special) words: Juxtaposition constructions, e.g. in Hungarian (3.PRS) (Creissels et al. 2021: 14)
[*János*] [*tanár*]
J. teacher
'János is a teacher.'

(3) (Special) words: Copula constructions
a. Verbal copula: English
[*I*] *am* [*Rosa Parks*]
b. Nonverbal: Mapudungun (unclassified; South America)
[*iñche*] *ta* [*Rayen*]
1SG.PRO COP R.
'I am Rayén.'

(4) Parts of words: "Predicative inflection constructions" (Creissels et al. 2021)
a. Morphologically heavier predicates
a1. Predicative argument indexation: Tswana (Bantu; Southern Africa) (Creissels et al. 2021: 16)
([*ǹná*]*)* ***kì***-[*mòn̂:nà*]
1SG.PRO **1SG.SBJ**-man
'I am a man.'
a2. Denominal verbalization: Blackfoot (Algonquian; Canada/USA) (Frantz 2009: 107)
kit-á-[*ína*]-***yi-hpoaawa?***
2-DUR-chief-**VBLZ:be**-2PL.NAFF
'Are you (PL) chiefs?'
a3. Invariable copulative clitics/affixes: Hamar (Omotic; Ethiopia) (Creissels et al. 2021: 15)
[*yáa*] [*éedi* *sía*]-***ne***
2SG.PRO person bad-**COP**
'You (SG) are a bad person.'
b. Morphologically lighter predicates: †Akkadian (Semitic; Mesopotamia)
*šarrāq-**um*** vs. [*šu*] [*šarrāq*]
thief-**NPRED** 3SG.M.PRO thief[**PRED**]
'thief' 'He is a thief.' (Creissels et al. 2021: 17–18)

(5) Combination: †Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan; Mexico) (Creissels et al. 2021: 19)
ni**-tēuctli* vs. ***ni**-tēuctli* ***ni-catca
1SG-lord **1SG**-lord **1SG-be.PST**
'I am a lord.' (4a1) 'I was a lord.' (3a+4a1)

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2. Algonquian denominal verbalization (4a2)

(6) a. Arapaho (Plains Algonquian; Wyoming / Oklahoma) (Cowell & Moss 2008: 428)

*neeyéí3eibeihíí-**ini**-noo*
IC\teacher-**VBLZ:AI**-1SG
'I am a teacher.'

b. Menominee (Central Algonquian; Wisconsin) (Bloomfield 1962: 89; Monica Macaulay, p.c.)

*apɛ·hni·hs-**ewe**-w*	vs.	*e·h-yo·-m*	*atu·hpwan*	*a·we-w*[1]
boy-**VBLZ:AI**-3		OST-DEM-NPRED	table	be-3
'He is a boy.'		'This here is a table.'		

c. Passamaquoddy (Eastern Algonquian; New Brunswick / Maine) (Leavitt 1996: 49, 52)

*skitap-**ewi**-w*	vs.	*Piyel*	*not*	*skitap*	vs.	*skitap*	*nil*
man-**VBLZ:AI**-3		P.	COP	man		man	1SG.PRO
'He is a man.'		'Peter is a man.'				'I am a man.'	

(7) Blackfoot (Plains Algonquian; Alberta / Montana) (Frantz 2009: 107)

a. *ikkam-ína-**yi**-si,* *n-omoht-iik-ipisat-i'taki*
if-chief-**VBLZ:AI**-3.SBJV 1-SAPPL-very-amazement-feel.AI
'If he's a chief, I'm amazed.' (:: default)

b. *nínaa-wa*
chief-PROX.SG
'(He is a) chief.' (:: 3rd person independent)

Division of labor (s. Zúñiga forthcoming for details):
- Inclusion predication: verbalizing construction in most(/all) languages; for Menominee, it is unclear what governs the alternation between verbalization and the construction with a verbal copula.
- Identity predication: verbal copula in Arapaho (*neeni-*) and Menominee (*a·we-*) and Blackfoot (*waami-*); predicative suffixes in Menomini (§ 3.1) and Blackfoot (§ 3.2).

3. Algonquian predicative suffixes (4a3*)

3.1. Non-predicative vs. predicative markers in Menominee (Central Algonquian; Wisconsin)

(8) a. *kenua-q* *kɛ·hken-amɛ·k*
2PL.PRO-SFX IC\know.TI-2PL.CNJ
'you (PL) who know it'

b. *nenɛ-**q*** *nesek* *kɛ·hken-aman*
1SG.PRO-**PRED** only IC\know.TI-1SG/2SG.CNJ
'I am the only one who knows it.'

(Bloomfield 1962: 502, 461)

Table 1. Menominee personal pronouns (Bloomfield 1962: 192–195)

Non-predicative forms				Predicative forms			
1SG	*n-en-a-h*	1PLE	*n-en-a-q*	1SG	*n-en-ɛ-q*	1PLE	*n-en-a-q*
		1PLI	*k-en-a-q*			1PLI	*k-en-a-q*
2SG	*k-en-a-h*	2PL	*k-en-ua-q*	2SG	*k-en-ɛ-q*	2PL	*k-en-ua-q*
3SG	*w-en-a-h*	3PL	*w-en-ua-q*	3SG	*w-en-ɛ-q*	3PL	*w-en-ua-q*

(Bloomfield 1962: 40, 206, 482)

[1] The Menominee element can be traced back to Proto-Algonquian **a·wi-* 'be' and is cognate with similar elements in other Central Algonquian languages, as well as with the verbal copulas in Arapaho (*neeni-*; Goddard 2015: 346–347) and Blackfoot (*waami-*; Berman 2006: 280).

∴ Singular forms have an equipollent opposition between non-predicative *-h* and predicative *-q*
∴ Plural forms neutralize the opposition and have a neutral marker *-q*

(9) a. *yo·-m* *ese·qta-w*
DEM-NPRED act.so.AI-3
'S/he does like this.'

b. *yo·-**q*** *n-e·k*
DEM-**PRED** 1-house
'This is my house.'

(Bloomfield 1962: 206)

Table 2. Menominee demonstratives (Bloomfield 1962: 192–195)

	Non-predicative forms				Predicative forms			
	ANIM		INAN		ANIM		INAN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
PRX	*ayo-w* *ayo-m*	*ako-h* *ako-m*	*yo·-w* *yo·-m*	*ano-h* *ano-m*	*ayo-q*	*ako-q*	*yo·-q*	*ano-q*
	ano-h *ano-m*				*ano-q*			
DIST	*eno-w* *eno-m*	*ake-h* *ake-m*	*ene-w* *ene-m*	*ane-h* *ane-m*	*eno-q*	*ake-q*	*ene-q*	*ane-q*
	ane-h *ane-m*				*ane-q*			

(10) Additional forms (Johnson & Macaulay 2015: 374; see also Johnson et al. 2015)
a. Spatial(-temporal): *yo·-s* 'here' — *yo·-q* 'it is here', *ene-s* 'there/then' — *ene-q* 'it is there/then', *oma-s* 'over here' — *omɛ-q* 'it is over here', *eme-s* 'over there' — *eme-q* 'it is over there'
b. Negation: *kan* PRED/NPRED

∴ All predicative forms have the marker *-q*; non-predicative forms show variation (one paradigm has *-w* in the singular and *-h* in the plural; another paradigm has, in decreasing order of frequency, *-h, -m*, *-w*; there are also the plural forms *a-ke-ko-h* (PRX.ANIM) and *a-ne-no-h* (ANIM.OBV/INAN))

(11) a. *katɛ·-pi·-w-an* *anenoh* *Sa·pati·s* *w-e·w-an*
by.intent-come.AI-3-OBV DEM.OBV.ANIM J.B. 3-wife-OBV
'Jean-Baptiste's wife intends to come here.'

b. *ne-mɛ·hsoh-**ɛ·w***
1-grandfather-**PRED**
'My grandfather is the one.' (:: singular nouns, 3rd-person independent)

c. *Sa·pati·s-**ɛ·w**-an-et* *kaye·s-pa·pakam-a·cen?*
J.B.-**PRED**-OBV-INTER IC\PST-beat.repeatedly.TA-3SG.PROX→3.OBV.CNJ
'Was it Jean-Baptiste whom he beat?' (:: singular nouns, 3rd-person independent)

d. *Sa·pati·s-**ɛ·h*** *(kɛ·ta-piat)*
J.B.-**PRED** IC\by.intent-come.AI.3.CNJ
'It is Jean Baptiste (who intends to come).' (:: personal names)

Table 3. Markedness relationships with non-verbs

	Non-predicative unmarked	Non-predicative marked
Predicative marked	Hamar (4a1) Menominee lexical (cf. (11))	Menominee indexical (cf. (8)–(9))
Predicative unmarked		Akkadian (4b)

(12) TAME morphology (Johnson & Macaulay 2015: 374; verbal examples from Bloomfield 1962)

a. *nenɛ-t* 'is it I?' — *ayo-t* 'is it this one (ANIM)?' — (*ka-t*)

Cf.	*pi·-w*	*pi·-q*
	come.AI-3	come.AI-INTER
	's/he comes'	'is s/he coming?'

b. *nenɛ-sa-q* 'so it is I' — *ayo-sa-q* 'so it is this one (ANIM)' — *ka-sa-q*

Cf.	*ke-piam*	*ke-piam-**esa**-h*
	2-come.AI.2SG	2-come.AI.2SG-PRET-H
	'you (SG) come/came'	'so you (SG) come'

c. *nenɛ-pa-q* 'but it was I' — *ayo-pa-q* 'but it was this one (ANIM)' — *ka-pa-q*

Cf.	*ke-piam*	*ke-piam-**epa**-h*
	2-come.AI.2SG	2-come.AI.2SG-PRET-H
	'you (SG) come/came'	'but you (SG) did come'

d. *nenɛ-w-en* 'it is said to be I' — *ayo-w-en* 'it is said to be this one (ANIM)' — *ka-w-en*

Cf.	*ke-po·sem*	*ke-po·sem-**en***
	2-embark.AI.2SG	2-embark.AI.2SG-REP
	'you (SG) embark'	'it is said that you (SG) embark'

∴ Demonstratives do not inflect for person/number (personal pronouns (trivially) do); indexicals do not inflect for conjunct order; they cannot be transitivized or nominalized. If these *q*-predicatives are "verbs", they are non-prototypical/defective.

Table 4. Summary of Menominee markers

	Non-predicative		Predicative		
			Inclusion predication	Identity predication	
verbalizing	—		*-ewe-*{INFL}	—	
non-verbalizing	*-h ~ -q*	*-h/-m/-w*	—	*-q*	*(-ɛ·w ~ - ɛ·h)*

Division of labor (s. Zúñiga forthcoming for details):
- Inclusion predication: lexical nominals appear with the verbalizing construction or the verbal-copula construction; indexicals can appear with the verbal copula *a·we-* (cf. (6b)).
- Identity predication: indexicals use a non-verbalizing predicativizing strategy; some nouns are predicativized directly with *-ɛ·w ~ -ɛ·h* or appear in the verbal-copula construction.
- It is unclear to me when speakers use the verbal-copula construction (if two options exist).

3.2. Predicative marker in Blackfoot (Plains Algonquian; Alberta / Montana)

Uhlenbeck (1938: 78): "verbalized demonstrative"

(13) a. [*am-wa*]$_{NP}$-***o'ka*** [*am-wa* *nit-ohkíímaan(-wa)*]$_{NP}$
DEM-PROX.SG-**PRED** DEM-PROX.SG 1-wife-PROX.SG
'That one is my wife.' (Frantz 2009: 69)

b. [*niistó-wa*]$_{NP}$-***o'ka*** [Ø]$_{NP}$
1SG.PRO-SBJ-**PRED**
'I am the one.' (Frantz & Russell 2017: 13)

c. [*amo-hka*]$_{NP}$-***o'ka*** [Ø]$_{NP}$, *nit-innihtat-aa-wa*
DEM-NVIS-**PRED** 1-boil.TA-DIR-3SG.PROX
'Here it is, I put it in the pot (lit. boiled it).' (Uhlenbeck 1912: 194)

(14) a. [*ann-iksi*]$_{NP}$-***ayi*** *nit-áak-ohpomm-aa-yi-aawa*
DEM-PL-**FOC**[2] 1-FUT-buy-AIO-DIR-3PL-3PL[3]
'Those are the ones I'll buy.' (cf. *nit-áak-ohpomm-aa-iksi* 'the ones I'll buy') (Frantz 2009: 69)

b. [*amo-ka*]$_{NP}$-***ayi*** *nit-a'p-á-ssko-ok-wa*
DEM-CIS-**FOC** 1-around-DUR-chase.TA-INV-3SG.PROX
'Here comes one chasing me.' (Uhlenbeck 1912: 189)

c. [*om-wa-hka*]$_{NP}$-***ayi*** *á-sstoyíímsstaa-wa*
DEM-PROX.SG-NVIS-**FOC** DUR-cause.cold.weather.AI-3SG.PROX
'That is he that makes the cold weather.' (Uhlenbeck 1912: 67)

Schupbach (2013: 74): "*-ayi* is used when the demonstrative phrase is a part of the argument structure of another clause; *-ao'ka* is used when the demonstrative is itself an entirely independent clause."

(15) *ki* *om-iksi-hka-**o'ka**-yi-aawa* *sotám-oht-a'p-á-waawahkaa-yi-aawa*
and DEM-PL-NVIS-**PRED**-3PL-3PL then-along-around-DUR-walk.AI-3PL-3PL
'And they then were walking about.' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 86)

∴ Demonstratives do not (normally) inflect for person/number (personal pronouns (trivially) do); indexicals do not inflect for conjunct order; they cannot be transitivized or nominalized; they do not seem to occur with any kind of verbal morphology. These *(a)o'ka*-predicatives are even less verbal than their Menominee *q*-counterparts.

Division of labor (s. Zúñiga forthcoming for details):
- Inclusion predication: verbalizing strategy (except for 3rd person independent)
- Identity predication: the verbal copula *waami-* seems to be the default strategy; the copulative affix is basically used in independent+present affirmative clauses with indexicals.

4. (Interim) conclusions

- Inclusion predication ('I am a girl'): Most, if not all, Algonquian languages have a denominal verbalizing strategy available for this function. Many languages (Blackfoot, Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, Ojibwe, Passamaquoddy) can also use juxtaposition, and some even nonverbal copular constructions (the above exc. Blackfoot); division of labor clear in Blackfoot, unclear (to me) in other languages.
- Identity predication ('I am your sister'): Languages use either juxtaposition (Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, Ojibwe), verbal copular words (Blackfoot, Arapaho, Menominee, Ojibwe) or nonverbal copular words (Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, Ojibwe, Passamaquoddy), or copulative/predicative affixes (Menominee and Blackfoot).
- Copulative/predicative affixation is specialized for indexical subjects (personal pronouns / demonstratives) but seem to have a limited distribution even there (more so in Blackfoot than in Menominee).
- Killian's (2022) types of "predicative demonstratives": presentative (= ostensional), identifying; localizing; copular.

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[2] I am grateful to Denis Creissels and David Beck for helping me to see the merits of this analysis.

[3] The original has 'help' instead of 'buy' (without giving any context), but the correct forms are as follows: 'help': *sspomm-ihtaa-* AI / *sspomm-o-* TA; 'buy': *ohpomm-aa-* AIO / *ohpomm-atoo-* TI / *ohpomm-at-* TA.

Abbreviations

AI animate intransitive, AIO animate intransitive w/object, ANIM animate, CIS cislocative, CNJ conjunct, COP copula(tive), DEM demonstrative, DIST distal, DUR durative, FOC focus, IC initial change, INAN inanimate, INTER interrogative, M masculine, NAFF non-affirmative, NPRED non-predicative, NVIS nonvisible, OST ostensive, OBV obviative, PL plural, PLE plural exclusive, PLI plural inclusive, PRED predicative, PRO personal pronoun, PROX proximate, PRS present, PRX proximal, PST past, SG singular, SBJ subject, TA transitive animate, TI transitive inanimate, VBLZ verbalizer

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