oswêw êkwa ê-tipiskâk, mâka mâcîw âhpô ê-mâcît?

Atticus G. Harrigan, Antti Arppe

Introduction and Background

■ This presentation will investigate how often verbs occur in certain forms.

■ This is interest based on fieldwork undertaken over the last year and half in Maskwacîs, AB.

– *Lemmata, or dictionary forms, are generally given in 3 Sg form, independent order.*

– *Many times when presented with this form, speakers would insist that a conjunct form is more appropriate.*

Plains Cree Verbs

- **4 classes:**
- – *VAI (intransitive verbs that take an animate argument)*
- – *VII (intransitive verbs that take an inanimate argument)*
- – *VTI (transitive verbs that take an animate actor and an inanimate patient)*
- – *VTA (transitive verbs that take both an animate actor and animate patient)*

Plains Cree Verbs

- 2 Orders distinguished by morphology
- *Independent: used mostly in main clauses (Cook 2014, Wolvengrey 2011), often said to denote a very recent event, perfect aspect, or simple aspect.*

- *Conjunct: used mostly in subordinate/non-main clauses (Cook 2014, Wolvengrey 2011), often translated as progressive aspect (e.g. Okimāsis 2004), speakers often translate it as a simple present construction.*

- *No effect on word-order in the clause.*

- *__tipiskâw vs. ê-tipiskâk__*

Plains Cree Verbs

■ Orders are both semantically and morphosyntactically different (but we aren't sure on the semantics).

■ Orders are generally taught that verbs can occur in either order.

■ Is this true (cf. Karlsson, 1985, 1986, Arppe 2006)?

Plains Cree Corpus

■ A conversational corpus of ~95, 000 verbal lemmata

■ Corpus fed into an automatic analyzer we are developing

– *aya*

– *aya+N+AN+Sg+Obv, ayi+N+IN+Pl, aya+N+AN+Sg, ayâw+V+TI+Imp+Imm+2Sg, ayâw+V+AI+Imp+Imm+2Sg, aya+Ipc*

– *Of those forms that were analyzed and that produced non-ambiguous results we recorded instances of verbs being used in independent and conjunct forms.*

Limitations

- This study is on a relatively small corpus

- Only those forms that were unambiguous were considered

- *Issues with small words and forms that need to be corrected in our system*

- We makes no distinction between the so called *ka*- and *ê*- conjunct forms

Proportion of Ind. Order occurrence
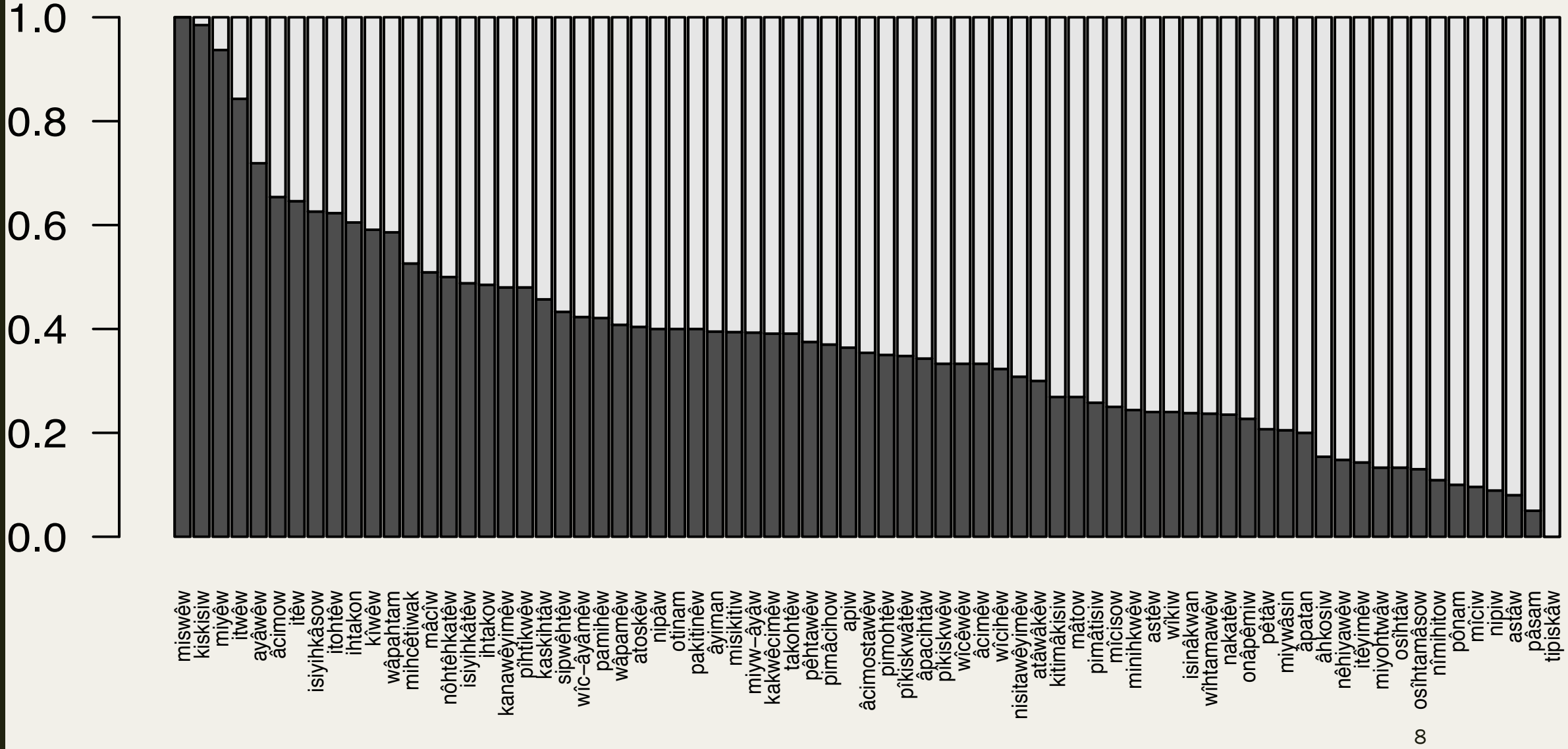
Order Occurrence (Top 10. Independent Only)

Lemma	Meaning	Class	#.Total
oswêw	s/he boils s.o	TA	14
akotâw	s/he hangs s.t. up	TI	13
kêhcinâhow	s/he is certain	AI	11
mîsîw	s/he defecates	AI	11
tôtamawêw	s/he does it so for s.o.	TA	11
kîwêpayiw	s/he goes back home	AI	9
mîcitêw	s/he soils s.o.	TA	6
kîsisikêw	s/he cooks	AI	6
nisitohtawêw	s/he understands s.o.	TA	6
âhkamêyimow	s/he is persistant	AI	6

Order Occurrence (Top 10. Conjunct Only)

Lemma	Meaning	Class	#.Tot
kîsikâw	'(it is) day'	II	17
tipiskâw	'(it is) night'	II	13
itâcimostawêw	's/he tells s.o. such a story'	TA	12
nôcihcikêw	's/he traps'	AI	11
itahtopiponwêw	's/he is so old'	AI	11
itakihtêw	'it costs so much'	II	9
itwêmakan	'it has such a meaning'	II	8
ispayin	'it happens thus'	II	8
asiwatâw	'she puts s.t. in a bag/box'	TI	8
misâw	'it is big'	II	8

Order occurrence by verb class

We see that VII verbs are disproportionately found in Conjunct.

Percent of verbs in Ind. And Cnj.
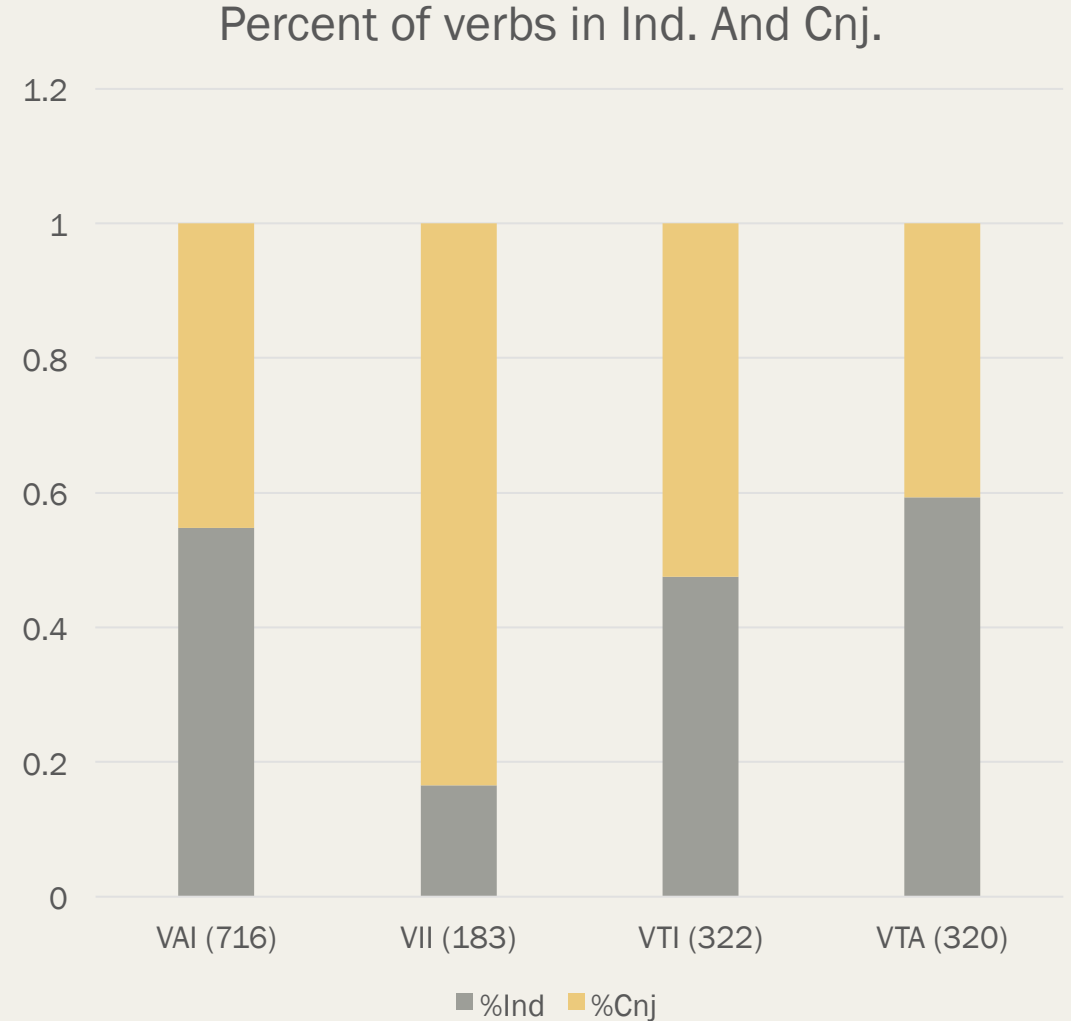
Differences by word Class

- Verb classes vary significantly in terms of which order they prefer.

- VAI and VTA like the independent, while VTI and VII like the conjunct.

- This can't just be attributed semantic differences (VAI and VTA might both be dynamic verbs for the most part, but so is VTI and it is paired with VII in terms of which order it prefers).

- How do these data relate to the three-class animacy-based system proposed by Wolvengrey (2011)?

Further Research

- Get a bigger corpus!

- Get a better semantic classification of verbs.

- Compare across speakers (and communities)

Conclusions

- Individual verbal lemmata prefer one order more than the other

- Furthermore, verb classes have preferences of their own

- Semantics has something to do with this (II verbs are more likely to be stative), but can't be the only reason.

Statistics

$ctable
        [VAI] [VII] [VTI] [VTA]
[IND] 2072 115 782 1149
[CNJ] 1717 580 866 790

$X2.df1 $X2.df
[1] 3.841459   [1] 7.814728

$cells$X2
        VAI   [VII] [VTI] [VTA]
[IND] 9.96 -161.10 -4.12 25.77
[CNJ] -10.38 168.66 4.29 -26.85

$cells$X2.df.sign $cells$X2.df1.sign
V1 V2 V3 V4   V1 V2 V3 V4
1 + - 0 +   1 + - - +
2 - + 0 -   2 - + + -

$cells$std.pearson.residuals
        [,1] [,2] [,3] [,4]
[1,] 6.191464 -19.01848 -3.2505 8.322329
[2,] -6.191464 19.01848 3.2505 -8.322329

$cells$std.pearson.residuals.sign
V1 V2 V3 V4
1 + - - +
2 - + + -

Citations

- Arppe, Antti 2006. Frequency Considerations in Morphology, Revisited - Finnish Verbs Differ, Too. In: A Man of Measure. Festschrift in Honour of Fred Karlsson in his 60th Birthday (2006). Suominen, Mickael et al. (Eds). Special Supplement to SKY Journal of Linguistics, Volume 19/2006, pp. 175-189. Linguistic Association of Finland, Turku.

- Cook, Clare. The Clause-Typing System Of Plains Cree. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Karlsson, Fred (1985) Paradigms and word forms. Studia gramatyczne VII: 135–154.

- Karlsson, Fred (1986) Frequency considerations in morphology. Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung 39.1: 19–28.

- Wolvengrey, Arok. Semantic and pragmatic functions in Plains Cree syntax. Utrecht Amsterdam: LOT Universiteit van Amsterdam Host, 2011.

- Special Thanks to C. H. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew for their work on corpus materials used for this study.