"SMALL" TALK: THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX IN NORTHERN EAST CREE

AMANDA CUNNINGHAM

"SMALL" TALK: THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX IN NORTHERN EAST CREE

by

© Amanda Cunningham

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Linguistics
Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 11, 2008

St. John's Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstract

Diminutivization is a morphological process that is commonly attested among the world's languages. Though it has been studied in numerous languages belonging to a variety of language families, there has been a limited amount of research conducted on the diminutive in Algonquian. This thesis examines the diminutive suffix in Northern East Cree (NEC), a subdialect of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi which is a Central Algonquian language spoken in Québec. Comparisons, where possible, are made with other Algonquian dialects for which there is diminutive data.

The phonological, semantic, and morphosyntactic properties of the particle, nominal, and verbal diminutive in NEC are described. There is a particular focus on the verbal diminutive, the investigation of which analyzes its distribution by identifying what elements of the sentence (subject, object, and/or verb) it modifies within each of the four Algonquian verb classes. The extent to which the Algonquian diminutive behaves like inflectional morphology is also discussed.

Acknowledgments

Completion of a project of this magnitude can never be achieved by just one individual. I owe my success to a number of people and organizations.

First, and foremost, I must acknowledge the amazing team of faculty, administrative staff, and graduate students that comprise the Linguistics Department at MUN. Together, they create a relaxed, friendly and supportive, yet academically challenging environment. In particular, I am indebted to Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie for giving me access to her expertise and research, for performing fieldwork on my behalf, and for her willingness to help make my life outside of the university more pleasant.

I could not have asked for a better supervisor than Dr. Julie Brittain, a brilliant writer and researcher for whom I have a great deal of respect. She frequently put my insecurities at ease and supported me unconditionally. She also collected fieldwork on my behalf and gave me access to her research notes, both of which I am grateful for.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Will Oxford for being my "go-to guy" for technical support, and for always doing it with a calming smile. I, literally, could not have written – rather typed – this thesis without him. I am grateful to both Will and Erin Swain for their eagerness to pass along tidbits of information that they thought would benefit my research.

As I am an out-of-province student, with significant debt from my Bachelor's degree, I would not have been able to complete my program without significant financial support. I am extremely grateful to the Linguistics Department for allocating teaching assistantships

to me for each semester of my program, to the MUN School of Graduate Studies for their two-year fellowship, to the CURA project for providing me with part-time work, to the CCLAS project for funding my fieldwork, and to the ELRC at MUN for summer employment.

On a more personal note, I need to thank Margot Hiltz, Kathy Moulton, Jennifer Thorburn, Ahmad Assiri and Coleen Porter for giving me the one thing I surely could not have survived this experience without: their friendship. Finally, I want to dedicate this thesis to my oldest and dearest friends Greg Brown and Rozelle Winter, and to my family – Sheryl, Vince, Dave, and Kris – for always being by my side.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

AI	Animiate Intransitive
anim	Animate
BIA	Betsiamites Innu-aimun
CIN	Conjunct Indicative Neutral
CMN	Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi
def	Definite article
derv	Derivation
dim	Diminutive
DIR	Direct theme sign
EC	East Cree
excl	Exclusive
fem	Feminine
FUT	Future
Gen	Genitive case
hab	Habitual
IA	Innu-aimun
IC	Intitial Change/Changed Conjunct
II	Inanimate Intransitive
IIN	Independent Indicative Neutral
IN	Incorporated Noun
inan	Inanimate
incl	Inclusive
infl	Inflection
INV	Inverse theme sign
masc	Masculine
NEC	Northern East Cree
neg	negation
neut	Neuter
Nom	Nominative Case
nonSAP	Non-Speech Act Participant
obv	Obviative
past	Past tense
PC	Plains Cree
pl	Plural
poss	Possessive
Pqmy	Passamaquoddy
pv	Preverb
refl	Reflexive
SAP	Speech Act Participant

SEC	Southern East Cree
sg	Singular
ShIA	Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun
TA	Transitive Animate
TI	Transitive Inanimate
TS	Theme Sign
WN	Western Naskapi
1	1st person
21pl	Inclusive 'we'
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
3′	Obviative

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the function of the diminutive suffix in Northern East Cree (hereafter referred to as NEC). NEC is a dialect of the Central Algonquian language referred to as the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language complex (CMN) and is spoken in west central Québec (Gordon 2006). NEC is one of two sub-dialects of East Cree (EC), the other being Southern East Cree (SEC).[1]

To date, there has been a limited amount of research conducted on the diminutive in Algonquian. Though the principle focus of this thesis is NEC, other dialects are also considered. For Central Algonquian, these include Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun (ShIA), Betsiamites Innu-aimun (BIA), Western Naskapi (WN), and Plains Cree (PC). Passamaquoddy (Pqmy), an Eastern Algonquian language, is also considered. Thus, by investigating the diminutive suffix in NEC, this study makes a much-needed contribution to Algonquian linguistics as a whole.

This chapter includes a description of some general diminutive properties (§1.1), a demographic description of CMN (§1.2), a historical and demographic account of EC (§1.3), and an overview of those features of Algonquian grammar relevant to this thesis (§1.4). My research objectives for this thesis are outlined in §1.5. The sources of data and a descrip-

[1] "Montagnais" is a colonialist term. The colonial era is a time in Canada's history during which aboriginal peoples were mistreated. Contemporary speakers of Montagnais associate the name with colonialist attitudes, and have come to reject it. Instead, the term "Innu-aimun" has been adopted. However, Innu-aimun not only refers to speakers of Montagnais, but speakers of Eastern Naskapi (from Natuashish), as well. I use the term "Innu-aimun" (IA) throughout this thesis, but only in reference to the Montagnais dialects, specifically the Sheshatshiu and Betsiamites subdialects of Montagnais.

tion of the manner in which data is presented are detailed in §1.6. A literature review is provided in §1.7. Finally, an outline of the organization of this thesis is provided in §1.8.

1.1. About the Diminutive

Universally, diminutives are not uncommon. They have been documented in a variety of language families (among others, Romance (Italian, Kiefer 2001; Spanish, Spencer 1991), Bantu (Kikuyu, Stump 1998), Sinitic (Lin 2004), Slavic (Czech, Naughton 2005), Semitic (Tigre, Elias 2005), Germanic (Afrikaans, Coetzee and Kruger 2004; Dutch, Booij 2005), and Salish (Lushootseed, Urbanczyk 2006)).

A two-way distinction can be made between the languages of the world in terms of the diminutive. There are languages in which the diminutive carries its own Gender feature (e.g., Dutch, German, Croatian) and those where it does not (e.g., Russian, Spanish, Algonquian). A detailed discussion of the relationship between Gender and the diminutive is deferred to Chapter 2.

Diminutive morphology creates a variety of evaluative notions, prototypically, that of smallness (Jurafsky 1996) or affection (Voorhis 1985).[2] These meanings may be conveyed via affixation or a variety of non-concatenative morphological processes, such as reduplication (Salish, Urbanczyk 2006) and sound symbolism (Algonquian, Pentland 1974). "Sound symbolism" or "consonant symbolism" (hereafter referred to as sound symbolism) refers to morphophonological processes which affect consonants in the base (e.g., glottal-

[2]The reader is referred to Jurafsky (1996), which offers a detailed description of semantic and pragmatic uses of the diminutive in a variety of languages (e.g., see discussion on the Cantonese diminutive, which may derive nouns signifying notions such as social marginalization, approximation, and can also denote a partitive reading).

ization, l/r shifting, fronting, or backing) and result in a diminutive reading.[3] CMN is one of 25 Algonquian languages that uses sound symbolism (Pentland 1974) and it has been attested in NEC, as examples throughout this thesis will show. Undertaking an investigation of diminutivization by means of sound symbolism is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.[4] Therefore, within this thesis, any reference to "the diminutive" with respect to Algonquian languages refers only to the diminutive suffix.

Aside from conveying certain core semantic notions, the diminutive functions pragmatically in a variety of languages to show intimacy, sympathy and affection (Jurafsky 1996). Several theories have attributed the origin of the pragmatic (and semantic) diminutive to the semantic notion of "child" (Wierzbicka 1984; Dressler and Barbaresi 1994; Jurafsky 1988, 1996).

Despite there being a wide range of universally attested meanings associated with the diminutive, MacKenzie observes that the CMN diminutive contributes a more restricted set of semantics: nominal diminutives convey notions of smallness, physical immaturity, or low relative status; and verbal diminutives convey smallness or cuteness of the subject or object, or brevity of time of the action/state denoted by the verb (MacKenzie p.c.). Some examples are provided in Table 1.1 below.

[3]See Pentland (1974) for a description of these processes.

[4]I do note occurrences of sound symbolism when it arises in the data.

Table 1.1: Diminutive Semantics of the NEC Diminutive Suffix

		FORM	GLOSS	SEMANTIC EFFECT
NOUNS				
i	a. Stem:	*piskitisinihîkin*	'chapter'	Small Size
	b. Diminutive:	*piskitisinihîkin**ish***	'**verse**', '**small portion**of writing'	
ii.	a. Base:	*iyâpâutihkw*[5]	'adult male caribou in spring whose antlers are starting to grow, migrating north'	Physical Immaturity
	b. Diminutive:	*iyâpâ**shîsh***	'**two-year-old** caribou in early fall'	
iii.	a. Stem:	*uchimâu*	'manager'	Low Relative Status
	b. Diminutive:	*uchima**shîsh***	'**store clerk**'	
VERBS				
iv.	a. II Stem:	*wâshâu*	'it is a bay'	Small Size
	b. Diminutive:	*apishiwâshâ**shiu***	'it is a **small** bay'	
v.	a. II Stem:	–	–	Cuteness
	b. Diminutive:	*mâshchinâkushi**shiu***	It looks **cute**'	
vi.	a. AI Stem:	*nipâu*	's/he sleeps'	Brevity of Time
	b. Diminutive:	*nipâ**shiu***	's/he takes **a nap**'	

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Leaving the topic of diminutive semantics, I now turn to diminutive productivity. There are some languages in which the diminutive applies to various syntactic categories. For example, aside from nouns, the diminutive can modify verbs and interrogatives in German (Korecky-Kröll and Dressler 2007); adjectives and adverbs in Greek (Thomadaki and Stephany 2007); verbs, particles, pronouns, interjections, and adverbs in Russian (Protassova

[5]In example (ii), the non-diminutive and diminutive forms do not form a minimal pair; that is, the difference between the forms is more than just the presence/absence of the diminutive suffix. Further discussion of non-diminutive–diminutive pairs and the discussion of the absence of data (see example (v)) is deferred to §1.6.4.

and Voeikova 2007); and determiners, adverbs, and participles in Spanish (Marrero et al. 2007). Some examples are provided in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Other Categories That Undergo Diminutivization

CATEGORY	LANGUAGE	DIMINUTIVE	GLOSS
Adjective	Greek	*ftinutsikosi*	'rather cheap'
Adverb	Russian	*tutočki*	'here'
Verb	Russian	*kušen'at*	'eat' (motherese)
Participle	Spanish	*terminadito*	'finished'
Interrogative	German	*warump-erl denn?*	'why'
Interjection	Russian	*netuški*	'no'
Determiner	Spanish	*todito*	'all'

In some languages, the diminutive applies more productively to nouns than to other lexical categories (e.g. Lithuanian, Savickienė 2007; German, Korecky-Kröll and Dressler 2007; Hungarian, Bodor and Barcza 2007). However, in other languages, it is productive across many categories. For example, in Cayuga (Iroquoian), the diminutive suffix *-ah/-hah* attaches to nouns and verbs productively (Dyck 1995). The Inupiaq dialect of Inuktitut has several diminutive suffixes. The *-chōa* suffix, in particular, is found on nouns, verbs and locatives (Barnum 1970).[6] In CMN, nouns, verbs, and a subset of particles readily undergo diminutivization (MacKenzie 1996).[7] This study examines how the diminutive behaves with respect to each part of speech in NEC.

[6]The author gives lexicalized locatives special status because of their unique grammatical properties. Lexicalized locatives, therefore, form their own grammatical category (see Barnum 1970 for details).

[7]Traditional descriptive grammars of Algonquian languages (e.g. Bloomfield 1946) distinguish between three parts of speech. "Particles" is a term used to refer to any free morpheme which is neither a common noun or verb. Consequently, particles span a variety of grammatical categories. Particles are discussed in more detail in §1.4 and Chapter 3.

1.2. CREE-MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI

CMN is a Central Algonquian language that has the largest number of speakers of any aboriginal language in Canada (MacKenzie 1980), with 96,625 speakers (Norris and Jantzen 2002) extending from the Rocky Mountains to the coast of Labrador (see Figure 1.1).[8]

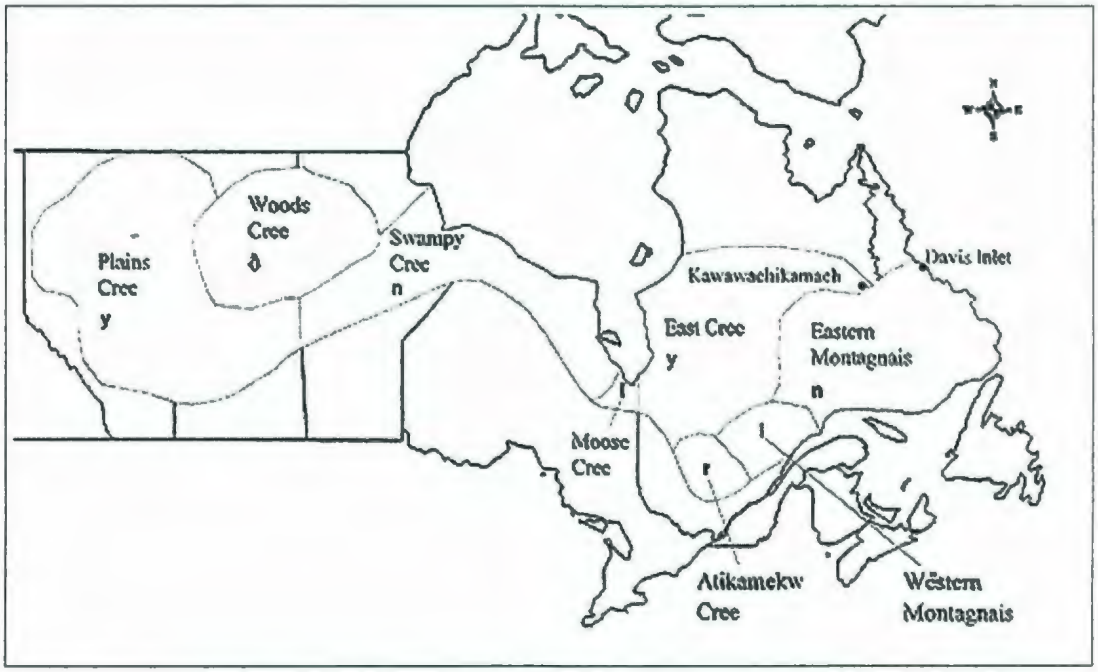


Figure 1.1: Distribution of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi

(Source: Brittain 2001)

Throughout the 20th century, linguists and ethnographers debated over which of the dialects that comprise CMN should be classified as "Cree", "Montagnais" or "Naskapi".[9]

[8]The phonemes in this figure represent the distribution of reflexes of Proto-Algonquian */l/ (discussed further in §1.2.1) with respect to CMN dialects across Canada.

[9]MacKenzie (1980) (see references therein) provides a detailed chronological account of the various classifications of CMN dialects offered throughout the 20th century.

MacKenzie (1980) concludes that despite the problematic nature of the terms "Cree", "Montagnais" and "Naskapi", the fact that these dialects share linguistic features suggests they all form a single dialect continuum: Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi.

1.2.1. Classificatory Features of CMN Dialects

CMN dialects are distinguished from each other based on two main criteria: reflexes of the Proto-Algonquian */l/ and palatalization. A dialect within CMN has one of five reflexes of */l/: /n/, /l/, /y/, /r/ and /ð/ (see Figure 1.1 above). "Palatalized dialects" refers to dialects that palatalize /k/ to /tʃ/ when /k/ precedes high front vowels /i/, /î/, /e/.[10] Those dialects that do not exhibit this sound change are "unpalatalized dialects". EC, Naskapi, and all subdialects of IA are palatalized dialects. All other Cree dialects are unpalatalized (MacKenzie 1980).

1.2.2. Language Viability

Historical stigmatization of aboriginal languages together with modernization has led to the endangerment and extinction of nearly half of Canada's aboriginal languages over the last century (Norris and Jantzen 2002). Language endangerment results from the failure to transmit languages between generations (Norris and Jantzen 2002). It is this lack of transmission that has caused so many of Canada's remaining aboriginal languages to become endangered (Wurm 1996).

[10]The term "palatalized dialect" was first employed by Jesuit missionaries, such as Silvy (1678) and Fabvre (1695) (MacKenzie 1980).

With over 87,000 speakers, Cree is one of three "viable" languages in Canada (Norris and Jantzen 2002), meaning long term survival is reasonably secure.[11] Montagnais-Naskapi and Atikamekw Cree are "viable but small"; that is, they are at risk of endangerment, but are likely to survive.[12]

Norris and Jantzen (2002) state that of children between the ages of 5-14, 96.7% have knowledge of the Cree language, 45.4% speak it as their mother tongue, but only 35.7 % speak the language at home. The respective figures for Montagnais-Naskapi are 98.5%, 87.3, and 81.1%. The general trend found across all Canadian aboriginal languages is that women of child-rearing ages and males and females of working ages favor use of non-aboriginal languages. Older age groups are more likely to have an aboriginal mother tongue (Norris and Jantzen 2002).

Certainly, the large population of Cree speakers has helped sustain the language. However, the Cree School Board in Mistissini, Québec deserves acknowledgment for their contribution to the current viability of EC. The Cree School Board was created after the James Bay and Northern Cree Agreement of 1975 (Cree School Board 2006). Since that time, it has instituted numerous programs encouraging and protecting Cree language and culture. For example, a culturally relevant curriculum has been incorporated into school programs, where Cree is also the principle language of instruction in pre-kindergarten to grade three.[13]

[11]Norris and Jantzen (2002) describe language survival using a five-category classification system adopted from Kinkade (1991). A "viable" language is one with a "large enough population base that long-term survival is relatively assured" (Norris and Jantzen 2002: 21). Languages with more than 1,000 speakers which are spoken in isolated and/or well-organized communities, such that survival is probable, are termed "viable but small".

[12]Although Algonquianists consider Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi dialects of one language, Norris and Jantzen (2002) distinguish Cree from Montagnais-Naskapi. Moreover, in this study, they are regarded as languages and not dialects. Norris and Jantzen (2002) also exclude Atikamekw Cree from the Cree category and treat it separately.

[13]In Mistissini, Cree instruction ends after grade two.

The Cree School Board also supports an interactive website for EC (www.eastcree.org), which hosts a story archive, a dictionary, and reference grammar.

1.3. EAST CREE

EC is spoken in nine communities in Québec by approximately 13,000 people (Junker 2003b). Figure 1.2 below contains a map which shows the geographical location of these communities.

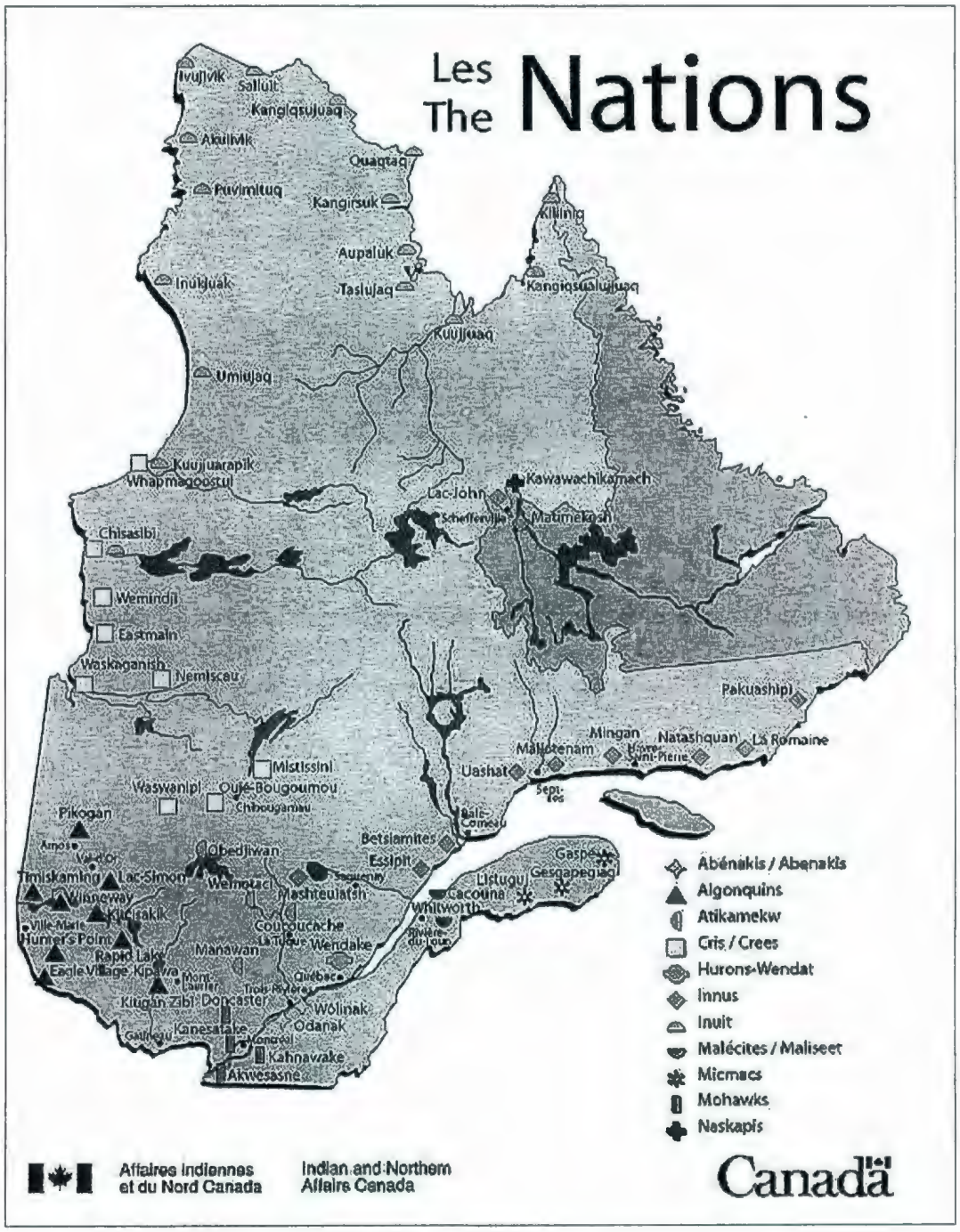


Figure 1.2: The First Nations of Québec and Labrador[14]

(Source: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2002)

NEC is spoken in the four communities of Chisasibi (formerly Fort George), Whapmagoostui (Great Whale River), Wemindji, and East Main. Southern East Cree (SEC) is spoken in Waskaganish, Mistissini, Nemiscau, Oujé-Bougoumou, and Waswanipi.

MacKenzie (1980) describes how prehistoric hunting patterns, trade routes and cultural/language contact between groups of aboriginal peoples living in Québec could account for the dialect differentiation within CMN, and subsequently, the division of EC into two dialects.

1.3.1. Potential Non-Linguistic Factors Contributing to Dialect Differentiation in CMN [15]

All of the NEC communities follow the James Bay shoreline. With the exception of Waskaganish, all of the SEC communities are inland. On the Québec-Labrador peninsula, speakers of Cree and IA (except those residing in Natuashish), traditionally occupied a forested environment while the Naskapi exploited the northerly tundra, beyond the treeline.

In pre-European times, those living in the forested regions were less likely to move inland, which would take them away from sources of water (MacKenzie 1980). Therefore, when the inlanders migrated toward waterways, they were more likely than forest dwellers to have contact with people from either coast (along James Bay and the St. Lawrence River). However, coastal peoples, themselves, would have little-to-no contact with people from the other coast, or with tundra-dwellers to the north. Thus, the people who would eventually come to be speakers of NEC had less contact with speakers of other dialects

[14]Though the Inuit live in Québec and Labrador, the focus of my thesis is on Algonquian. Therefore, discussion of the Inuit is not included in this thesis.

[15]The information contained in this discussion on the pre-history of CMN peoples was taken from MacKenzie (1980).

than did the ancestors of those who have become speakers of SEC. While the more southern groups of Cree could have had contact with the Innu of the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, those further north probably would not have.

Contact with Europeans (the French and English) may have contributed to dialect differentiation within EC, as well. Between 1670 and 1821, the Québec Peninsula was split into two areas which were controlled by different trading companies: Rupertsland and the Domaine du Roi. Posts were mainly set up along salt-water routes. Few posts were permanently established in the interior. This situation led to a variety of differing contact situations. Because of their proximity to the trade routes, the James Bay Cree (NEC) were in regular contact with European traders and with aboriginal traders from other nations (the Huron and the Ottawa). The Cree in the interior (SEC) had limited contact with traders because of the temporary and infrequent presence of inland trading posts. Consequently, many Cree of the interior (namely Mistassini and Waswanipi) took their business to the posts along the costs of James Bay or the St. Lawrence. Contact with other nations would still not have been as constant or long as it was for the James Bay Cree.

The reverse situation arose once the Europeans began settling the region between 1820-1945. The James Bay Cree had little contact with settlers and continued trading. Although the interior Cree continued to trade in the winter, they engaged in European activities such as farming and lumbering.

In light of the different contact situations speakers of Cree of may have experienced in Québec, it is not surprising that two subdialects within EC exist today.

1.3.2. Northern East Cree

The NEC data I analyze in this thesis comes from the two NEC-speaking communities of Whapmagoostui and Chisasibi.

Prior to the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, the Cree people of Québec did not have claim to any territory. The agreement gave land to the Québec Association of Indians, which was comprised of the Cree and Inuit people of northern Québec (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2003). The territory known as Chisasibi contains 130,580 hectares of land and is bordered by James Bay to the west and La Grande Rivière to the north. It has 3,739 inhabitants whose first language is, primarily, Cree and whose second language is, primarily, English (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2003, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 2007). Whapmagoostui is a smaller community made up of 814 inhabitants and 319.25 square kilometers of land. Here, Cree is also the principal spoken language, with English being the second language. It is situated where the Great Whale River flows into Hudson's Bay.

Preston (1981) observes that within James Bay communities, a distinction is made between "inlanders" and "coasters" (MacKenzie 1980: 23). The distinction is based on prehistoric differences in hunting and social practices. Coasters hunted coastal animals such as seal and walrus, but inlanders did not. Coasters were able to access trading posts in the winter more easily than the inlanders, who only visited the posts in the summer (MacKenzie 1980).

Dyck et al. (2006) and Swain (in preparation) have observed dialect variation within NEC spoken in Chisasibi. Stress is realized differently and the variation appears to paral-

lel the inlander–coaster division. Differences between how the consultants employed the diminutive did emerge. Because the consultants speak separate subdialects (inland and coastal), these differences may be accounted for in terms of dialectal differences. Though I comment on these differences, an indepth sociolinguistic account is beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.4. Some Grammatical Features of Algonquian Languages

This section outlines some grammatical features of Algonquian particles, nouns, and verbs which are the most relevant to the present study. This section begins with a brief description of nouns and particles, followed by a more indepth description of verb properties. The final portion of this section discusses features that are relevant to all three categories.

The term "particle" is used in Algonquian linguistics to refer to a word that is neither verbal nor nominal in function. It is not a very informative term considering the diversity of syntactic categories it describes. This category includes words that correspond to, among others, numerals, adverbs, adpositions, conjunctions, and interjections (Clarke and MacKenzie 2004). Some examples are provided in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: Various NEC Words That Are Classified As Particles

	PARTICLE	GLOSS	CORRESPONDS TO
a.	*pâyikushtâu*	'nine'	Numeral
b.	*âihkim*	'forcefully	Adverb
c.	*kwâshtâh*	'on the other side'	Adposition
d.	*âtiwî*	'at least'	Conjunction
e.	*mâmiskâch*	'incredible'	Interjection

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Algonquian languages have grammatical Gender which is valued as +/− animate. While not all grammatically animate nouns are logically animate, all grammatically inanimate nouns are logically inanimate (Bloomfield 1946), as shown in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Grammatical Gender and NEC Nouns

	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	GENDER	
			GRAMMATICAL	LOGICAL
a.	*mînûsh*	'cat'	Animate	Animate
b.	*akiskw*	'arrow'	Animate	Inanimate
c.	*masinahîkan*	'letter','book'	Inanimate	Inanimate
d.	N/A	–	Inanimate	Animate

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

1.4.1. VERBS

In Algonquian languages, there are a maximum of five "orders" for which verbs may be inflected (Bloomfield 1946). They are the Interrogative, Prohibitive, Independent, Imperative and Conjunct. Only the latter three are attested in CMN (MacKenzie 1980). Orders are further divided into modes which in turn, are divided into tenses. In Cree, tenses are divided into submodes in the Conjunct Order (see Table 1.5 below).

Table 1.5: Verb Paradigms in Cree

ORDER	MODE	TENSE	SUBMODE
INDEPENDENT	Indicative	Preterit	
		Neutral	
	Dubitative	Pretertit	
		Neutral	
CONJUNCT	Indicative	Preterit	Unchanged
			Changed
		Neutral	Unchanged
			Changed
	Subjunctive	Neutral	Unchanged
			Changed
	Dubitative	Preterite	Unchanged
			Changed
		Neutral	Unchanged
			Changed
IMPERATIVE		Immediate	
		Delayed	

(Source: Ellis 1971)

1.4.1.1. Composition of Verb Stem

In the field of traditional descriptive Algonquian linguistics, the Algonquian verb is analyzed as having, minimally an "initial" and a "final" (see (1a) below) (Bloomfield 1946; Goddard 1988,1990; Dahlstrom 1991). A verb may also contain a "medial" (1b).

(1) Verb Composition in Fox

a. Noun: Initial-Final

mahkwayi
mahkw-ay-i
bear-skin-sg.inan
initial-final-infl
'bearskin'

b. AI Verb: Initial-Medial-Final

pekowikwešinwa
pekow-ikwe-šin-wa
dust-face-lie-3sg
initial-medial-final(AI)-infl
'he lies with a dusty face'

(Source: Fox, Goddard 1990, 452,453)

Generally, the initial is the root of the stem (Goddard 1990) and medials are incorporated nouns or classificatory morphemes.[16] Finals are located at the right edge of the verb stem, before inflection, and are described in more detail below.

A preverb is a bound morpheme which is, phonologically, an independent word, but is syntactically part of a compound verb stem (due to the fact it is located between agreement prefixes and the initial) (Goddard 1990). Functional preverbs express modality, tense, and aspect. Lexical preverbs convey a variety of semantic meanings. Multiple preverbs can simultaneously accompany a verb.[17] The template for an Algonquian verb stem (minus inflection) is as follows:

(2) (preverb*) - initial - (medial) - final

1.4.1.2. FINALS

In terms of their function, an assortment of morphemes are referred to as finals. For example, some finals determine the grammatical category of a stem and the class of a verb. The following example shows how a stem can be converted to an AI verb with the addition of the AI final *-eθi* (3b) or an II verb with the addition of the II final *-ia* (3c).

[16]Goddard (1990) notes that primarily, only underived initials (initials not composed of multiple components) can be equated with roots.

[17]See Edwards (1954), Jancewicz and MacKenzie (1988), and Starkes (1992) for a description of the relative order in which preverbs can be stacked.

(3) VERB FORMATION IN KICKAPOO

a. Stem

askipak-
initial
'green'

b. AI Verb Stem

askipakeθi-
askipak-**eθi**-
green-AI
initial-final
'to be green'

c. II Verb Stem

askipakia-
askipak-**ia**-
green-II
initial-final
'to be green'

(Source: Kickapoo, Goddard 1990, 462)

Finals such as these – that are functional as opposed to lexical in nature – are referred to as "abstract finals"(Bloomfield 1946, Denny and Mailhot 1976, Valentine 2001). "Concrete finals" have a more semantic function. The example in (4) illustrates a series of stacked finals and shows the variety of functions verb finals perform (finals are in bold).

(4) VERB

sakihisosihkasoskiw
sakih **-iso -si -hka.so-ski**-w
love-**refl-dim-pretend.to-hab**-3
'He's in the habit of pretending to love himself a little.'

(Source: PC, Dahlstrom 1991, 203)

While no one has stated explicitly that the verbal diminutive is a final, it is treated as one in the literature. For example, in reference to (4) above, Dahlstrom (1991: 203) states:

"the finals added to sakih- are -iso- reflexive, -isi- diminutive, -hka.so- 'pretend to', and -iski- habitual."

Branigan et al. (2005) propose a syntactic model for finals. Within this model, finals are located in little-v and word formation occurs in accordance with the principles of regular syntactic movement.

1.4.1.3. Classes of Verbs

Transitivity and Gender are morphologically marked in Algonquian verbs, resulting in four classes (Bloomfield 1946):

- Transitive Animate (TA) - A verb requiring two arguments, where the object is animate.
- Transitive Inanimate (TI) - A verb requiring two arguments, where the object is inanimate.
- Animate Intransitive (AI) - A verb with one animate argument.
- Inanimate Intransitive (II) - A verb with one inanimate argument.

The "Pseudo Transitive Inanimate" or "TI2" is often described as a fifth class. TI2 verbs are like TI verbs in that they have two arguments, however they have AI inflectional endings. If a verb is available in the TI class, a TI2 version is unavailable, and vice versa. Also, because the arguments of TI and II verbs are inanimate, they will always be third persons.

1.4.1.4. Intransitives

In Algonquian languages, intransitive verbs are traditionally classified in terms of their stem final vowel. They may end with *-â*, *-e*, *-î*, *-u*, or *-n* (see Appendix A for sample verb

conjugations). For the purposes of this thesis, I refer to these as "stem final vowels" (sfv); however, unless they are pertinent to the the discussion at hand, stem final vowels are not glossed.[18]

Perlmutter (1978) formulated the Unaccusative Hypothesis which proposes two subclasses for intransitive verbs: unergative and unaccusative. Cross-linguistically, unergative and unaccusative verbs behave differently. Linguists have formulated various theories to account for this difference.

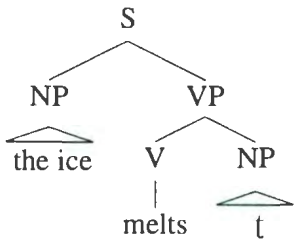
A syntactic approach to unaccusativity (e.g., Burzio (1986)) characterizes unergative verbs as having only an external argument. Conversely, unaccusative verbs are analyzed as having an internal argument. Within the Minimalist Program, subjects of unaccusative predicates originate as object complements. The object does not check accusative case as it would in a transitive construction, hence the term "unaccusative".[19] In contrast, unergative subjects originate in a subject position. The differing syntactic configurations are illustrated by the trees in (5).[20]

[18]I am aware that in some analyses, what I refer to as stem final vowels are treated as intransitive finals (see Branigan et al. (2005)). As such, they have a specific grammatical function (i.e., determining the valency of the verb as well as the Gender of its single argument). It is outside the scope of this thesis to enter into this debate, unless it becomes relevant to my analysis. I do not detail the function of stem final vowels.

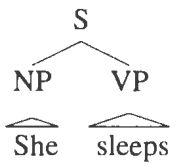
[19]Structural case is not overtly marked in Algonquian.

[20]While split VP analysis (Larson 1988) allows for a rather more detailed syntactic representation of unergative, as opposed to unaccusative predicates, the simpler syntactic representation I use here suffices for my purposes and is consistent with pre-Larsonian representations proposed to account for the distinction.

(5) a. UNACCUSATIVE:
'The ice melts'



b. UNERGATIVE:
'She sleeps'



One component of my investigation on verbs is to determine whether or not an unaccusative/unergative distinction is evident with respect to the diminutive in CMN.

1.4.1.5. TRANSITIVES

In Algonquian, the distinction between speech act participants (SAPs) (first and second persons) and non-speech act participants (non-SAPs) (third persons) is important. Particularly, whether one, both, or neither of the arguments in a TA verb is a speech act participant affects how the verb is inflected. Three subject-object relationships emerge as a result of this distinction. According to Wolfart (1973: 42), the term "you-and-me" describes forms of verbs whose arguments are SAPs, "third-person" refers to verbs whose arguments are non-SAPs, and "mixed" describes forms of verbs that have one SAP and one non-SAP as arguments. I adopt a slightly different set of terms: "local", "non-local", and "mixed", respectively.

In Algonquian languages, the grammatical functions performed by the arguments of TA verbs are determined via interaction of the Person Animacy Hierarchy (PAH) and theme

sign verbal morphology.[21] The PAH ranks members of the person paradigm relative to each other, as depicted by the schema in (6).

(6) PAH: 2>1>3anim>3′anim>inan

Theme signs are portmanteau morphemes that encode which argument is the subject and which is the object, while also indicating whether the ranking order of the PAH is observed or not. "Direct" theme signs (DIR) respect the PAH. "Inverse" theme signs (INV) reverse the hierarchy. In either case, the higher ranked person is interpreted as the subject. Example (7) illustrates the interaction of theme sign morphology with the PAH.

(7) 'SCARE'; TA VERB; CONJUNCT

a. Direct

nisekihanan atim
ni-sekih-**a**-n-an atim
1-scare-**DIR**(CIN.1>3)-1-pl dog
'We scare the dog'

b. Inverse

nisekihikonan atim
ni-sekih-**iko**-n-an atim
1-scare-**INV**(CIN.3>1)-1-pl dog
'The dog scared us'

(Source: PC, Wolfart 1973)

Both examples in (7) share the same morphological structure – save the theme sign – but have different meanings. The difference in subject-object orientation is attributed to the theme sign. The verb in (7a) has a direct theme sign, indicating that the PAH is respected. Consequently, first person takes precedence over third person and is analyzed as the subject, with the third person being analyzed as the object. The inverse theme sign in (7b) reverses the ranking order, causing the first person to be analyzed as the object.

[21] TI verbs also bear theme signs. Although these TA and TI morphemes go by the same name, they do not function in the same way (Wolfart 1973, Brittain 2001). The function of TI theme signs has not been established, though Goddard (1979) and Brittain (2001) argue that they mark object agreement.

There is some debate as to whether the effects of the PAH can be derived as opposed to simply being an artifact of the language that speakers learn. Brittain (2001) suggests that the ranking observed in the PAH can be derived by the universal principles subsumed by Minimalist Syntax. Blain (1997) accounts for the facts by proposing a set of "alignment conditions": the direct/indirect contrast captures the alignment/non-alignment of the PAH with a hierarchy of grammatical functions (in which the subject outranks the object).

1.4.2. General Features

1.4.2.1. Word Formation

A stem is the pre-inflectional form that is created in a process Algonquianists refer to as "stem derivation". A primary stem consists of a minimum of one to a maximum of three components: an initial, initial + final, or initial + medial + final. A secondary stem is a primary stem plus an additional final (Goddard 1990). Generally, primary stem derivation derives the initial category (noun, verb, or particle) of the root and secondary stem derivation can change the category (Clarke and MacKenzie 2004). For example, a verb can be converted into a noun with the addition of a noun final. In (8) an agentive noun is derived from an AI verb by adding the noun final *-w* and the third person prefix *o-*.

(8) Noun Derivation

a. Primary Stem: Verb	b. Secondary Stem: Noun
pimipici-	*opimipiciw*
'travel'	o-pimipici-**w**
	3-travel-**final**
	'trave**ler**'

(Source: PC, Wolfart 1973, 69)

Any component of the stem can be derived from other components. For example, a verb final can be derived from a medial with the addition of a verb final:

(9) DERIVING A FINAL

a. Primary Stem: Medial	b. Secondary Stem: Final
-ələnč- 'fingers'	*-ələnč-**ah*** finger-**act.on.by.tool** medial-**TI final** '**act on** by fingers'

(Source: PC, Goddard 1990, 469)

While traditionally Algonquianists have taken word formation to be a pre-syntactic process (e.g., Bloomfield 1946), a body of literature accounts for word formation in terms of universally familiar syntactic operations (e.g., Ackema and Neeleman 2004, Branigan et al. 2005, Mathieu 2006).

Throughout the remainder of this thesis, the term "verb stem" refers exclusively to the uninflected form that results after primary and secondary stem formation.

1.4.2.2. INFLECTION

Derivational and inflectional affixes are positioned to the right of the verb stem. These suffixes can be numerous and appear in a particular sequence. For example, Wolfart (1973) identifies ten inflectional affix "slots" for PC, whereas Dahlstrom (1991) distinguishes only eight. The following discussion deals only with Person, Number, and Obviative inflection.

1.4.2.2.1. Person Agreement prefixes (on verbs in the Independent order and nouns) and suffixes (on verbs) explicitly establish the person features of actors, goals, and posses-

sors. First and second person prefixes are marked on both verbs and possessors, but third person prefixes are only overtly marked on possessors. Person prefixes can only agree with one argument, so in TA verbs, a choice has to be made with respect to which argument (actor or goal) agreement is made. Agreement occurs with the highest ranking argument in terms of the PAH (Wolfart 1973).

In the Independent Order, agreement suffixes do not distinguish between first, second and third persons, only between local and non-local persons. In the mixed set, suffixes agree with the non-local argument (except when the local argument is plural, and the local–non-local distinction is required to distinguish between inclusive 'we', exclusive 'we', and second person plural arguments). These agreement affixes allow for the optionality of personal pronouns. Person pronouns are often omitted, but surface in pragmatically-determined contexts (e.g., for emphasis).

1.4.2.2.2. Number Plural is marked by a suffix for both nouns and verbs. Singular is unmarked. Number agrees with the object in the mixed set and with the subject in non-local and local sets.

1.4.2.2.3. Obviation Syntactically, Obviation occurs when there are two or more third person arguments in one clause, or when a possessed noun has a third person possessor. To make one third person more prominent (proximate), the less prominent (obviative) third person(s) is marked with an obviative suffix.[22]

[22]For a more indepth description of obviation in CMN narratives, see Hasler (2002) for ShIA.

Obviation and Number agreement suffixes are portmanteau morphemes that also encode Gender. For verb paradigms that illustrate Person, Number, and Obviative inflection in NEC, see Appendix A.

1.5. Scope and Objectives

Though the diminutive applies to a subset of particles, nouns, and verbs, it affects each part of speech differently. This section outlines preliminary observations that have been made by Algonquianists about the diminutive in a variety of CMN dialects and lists the questions arising, which this thesis endeavors to answer in its investigation of the NEC diminutive.

1.5.1. Particles

Considering the diversity of parts of speech captured by this category, one question that arises is: does the diminutive apply to all particles? Preliminary research suggests, and this thesis confirms, that the diminutive is restricted to a subset of particles. MacKenzie's (1996) data shows only diminutivized adverb-like particles of space, time, and quantity for EC (see Table 1.6).

Table 1.6: Types of Diminutivized Particles Observed in EC

	TYPE	BASE		DIMINUTIVE	
i	Spatial	a. *wâhyû*	– [23]	b. ***wâhyûîsh***	'far'
ii	Temporal	a. *anûhch*	'now, today'	b. ***anûhchîsh***	'in **a while**; **a bit** sooner'
iii	Quantity	a. *mishtîh*	'more'	b. ***mishtahiîsh***	–

(Source: EC, MacKenzie 1996)

[23] As discussed in §1.6.4 below, an "en dash" (–) indicates missing or unattested data.

Evidence from WN also suggests the diminutive is restricted with respect to particles. While some adverbs of space, time, and quantity can be diminutivized in WN, others cannot (Brittain 2006a):

(10) PARTICLE: SPATIAL

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
pâsûch 'near'	**pâsûch**is*** 'a **bit** nearer'

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

(11) PARTICLE: TEMPORAL

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
anûhch 'now'	**anûhch**is*** **'in a while'**

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

In this thesis, I describe any patterns that emerge with respect to how the diminutive is distributed among particles in NEC, taking note of which particles can and cannot take diminutive morphology.

1.5.2. NOUNS

Examples (12) and (13) below illustrate that both animate and inanimate nouns can be modified by the diminutive:

(12) NOUN: INANIMATE

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
pâshchikin 'gun'	*pâshchikin**ish*** '**small** gun'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

(13) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
nâpâu 'man'	*nâpâ**sh*** 'boy'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Brittain (2006c) observes a count-mass distinction among WN nouns.[24] Not all nouns can take a plural suffix, suggesting that some nouns are not countable. In (14a) below, an attempt to pluralize 'snow' was rejected by a consultant who offered (14b) as a replacement.

(14) NOUN: ANIMATE

a.	b.
Nistu kûn-ich*** three snow-**pl** 'three snow**s**'	*nistwâw' ât-apî-t kûn* three thus-sit-3CIN snow 'three piles of snow' (lit.'It sits thus thrice.')

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006c)

The potential for a mass-count distinction was considered while researching the distribution of the diminutive in NEC.

[24]Though a distinction between count and mass nouns is found in many languages, it is not universal. For example Wiltschko (2004) makes a convincing argument that no such distinction is relevant in Halkomelem (Salish).

MacKenzie (p.c.) observes that some terms referring to species of birds (15) and insects (16) have the diminutive suffix, but do not have diminutive semantics, suggesting they have become lexicalized.

(15) ANIMATE NOUN: BIRD TERM

a. Non-Diminutive Form	b. Diminutive
piyâsiu 'bird'	*piyâshîsh* piyâshi-**ish** bird-**dim** 'bird' (* 'little bird')

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

(16) ANIMATE NOUN: INSECT TERM

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Lexicalized Diminutive
amiskw 'beaver'	*amishku**shîsh*** amishkw-**sh-ish** beaver-**dim-dim** 'black water bug' (* 'little beaver')

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Lexicalization refers to the process by which words that were historically formed through derivation have become established words and/or have taken on idiosyncratic properties. One consequence of lexicalization is that component morphemes may become opaque. Take, for instance, 'contact', an English word composed of two Latin morphemes: *com-* ('together') and *tangere* ('to touch') (Neufeldt 1997). The modern English speaker (such as myself) no longer assigns meaning to the prefix *com-*. Arguably, although "tact" still exists

as a word, its meaning in this case is not one of 'touch' but of 'diplomacy' or 'poise'. One could argue, then, that both morphemes in 'contact' have been "lost"; i.e., the word has been re-analyzed by modern speakers as being a single morpheme. Likewise, the diminutive suffix in (15b) and (16b) appears to lack meaning.

I investigated how use of the diminutive is constrained for nouns, restricting my investigation along the following lines:

(i) Does (grammatical and natural) Gender play a role in determining which nouns can or cannot host the diminutive suffix?

(ii) Does Number (count versus mass) play a role in determining the distribution of the diminutive?

(iii) Are there any generalizations to be made in terms of which types of nouns tend to be lexicalized diminutives?

(iv) Is the variety of semantic notions the diminutive contributes in Algonquian distributed among the subset of nouns identified in (i) and (ii)?

1.5.3. VERBS

Previous research shows that in Algonquian languages, the presence of diminutive morphology in the verb complex results in argument modification (PC, Wolfart 1973; Pqmy, LeSourd 1995; CMN, MacKenzie 1996). Modification of the action or state denoted by the verb is also possible (Menomini, Bloomfield 1962; PC, Wolfart 1973; Pqmy, LeSourd 1995; EC, MacKenzie 1996; WN, MacKenzie 1996).

For Pqmy, LeSourd (1995) observes that, generally, the diminutive is construed with the subject in intransitive verbs and the object in transitive verbs. With respect to – at least a subset of – AI verbs, MacKenzie (1996) observes dialect variation in the function

of the verbal diminutive suffix: while in ShIA a diminutive AI verb consistently gives a diminutive subject reading, in NEC the interpretation is ambiguous (17).

(17) 'SLEEP'; AI VERB

nipâshu
'S/he sleeps **a little**'
(i.e., 'takes a nap') or
'The **little** one sleeps.'

(Source: NEC, Brittain 2006b)

Brittain (2006b) confirms these observations for NEC and reports that in WN, AI diminutives pattern with ShIA (Brittain 2006a) giving only a modified subject reading (see (18)).

(18) 'SLEEP'; AI VERB

*(awîsis) nipâ**su**w*
'(The **little** child/baby) is asleep.'
*'S/he takes a nap'

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

At least a subset of TA and TI verbs can take diminutive morphology. In TI verbs, the object is modified, as data from CMN (19) and Pqmy (20) show:

(19) 'TAKE', TI VERB

a.	Stem	b.	Diminutive
	nûtinân		*nûtinâsin*
	n-ûtinâ-n		n-ûtinâ-**si**-n
	1-take-SAP.sg		1-take-**dim**-SAP.sg
	'I take it.'		'I take **something small**.'

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

(20) 'SEE'; TI DIMINUTIVE

nəmí-ht-ðáw-ə́ss-ən
-dim [25]
'S/he sees **it (dim)**.'

(Source: Pqmy, LeSourd 1995, 116)

The patterns for TA verbs are more complex and will be discussed in greater detail in §5.3.3.2. Briefly, for Pqmy, LeSourd found that only direct TA diminutives are grammatical, and give an object reading. Inverse forms resulted in a subject reading, but these forms were considered marginal, at best, by speakers. However, in WN, a subject reading is found in inverse TA forms:

(21) TRANSITIVE ANIMATE

Inverse

nikâsînikus
'S/he (**dim**) wipes me (dry, e.g., with a towel).'

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

LeSourd (1995) discusses only action/state and argument modification, however data from a WN narrative suggests modification of a final is also possible:

[25] A morphological analysis of this form was not provided.

(22) 'GRAB'; CONJUNCT; AI VERB

miyâkunisit uyâyuw ...
mâku-n-**isi**-i-t uyâyiw
IC.grab-by.hand-**dim**-sfv-3sg this/these.one(particular)[26]
'And he [Little Mink] grabbed it [the soil] with his **little hand**,... '

(Source: WN, Text 4:163)

There are two diminutivized elements in this sentence: the subject (**Little** Mink) and the final ('by hand' > with his 'little hand'). To my knowledge, finals generally have scope over the verb. Evidence from NEC supports this data, suggesting that finals can have scope over other finals. This is a novel discovery in field of Algonquian linguistics.

Considering these data, the research objectives for NEC verbal diminutives are:

(i) For NEC, to determine, for each syntactic class of verb, the effect of adding diminutive morphology.

(ii) To determine whether the verbal diminutive has scope over finals in NEC.

(iii) Having obtained the data in NEC, to make (at least a descriptive) comparison of the dialect variation between NEC, WN and ShIA.

(iv) (Via elicitation) to provide a general description of cases, should these arise, where speakers reject a verbal diminutive form.[27]

These research objectives are descriptive in nature. Thus, it was not necessary to subscribe to a particular theoretical approach for this thesis.

[26]IC refers to the "Changed Conjunct" or "Initial Change", which uses an internal vowel shift to form the Conjunct form from the Independent.

[27]Phil LeSourd (p.c.) states that in general, in Pqmy, the diminutive verbal affix is not very productive. In WN, linguistic consultants reported that while diminutives are formed freely for AI and II verbs, in the TA paradigm, older speakers use the diminutive more than younger speakers. This may be an area of linguistic change for WN (Brittain 2006a). Wolfart (1973: 61) refers to the PC "TA diminutive paradigm" as being "marginal" and "almost entirely lacking", Wolfart cites instead data provided by Lacombe (1874), a TA direct diminutive form where the subject receives the diminutive reading.

1.6. Data and Methodology

As research questions are tailored to each lexical category, I do not employ a single methodology throughout this investigation. Methodology will be outlined for each category, in their respective chapters. One aspect of methodology common to all three categories is the utilization of both textual and elicited data.

Both textual and elicited data are equally important to this research. Textual data has the benefit of being readily accessible, searchable, and has the potential to reveal grammatical constructions beyond those with which the researcher is familiar. A major disadvantage, though, is that the number and type of tokens the data offers can be limited. Elicited data, on the other hand, allows the researcher to gather the specific data s/he requires. Moreover, the researcher can acquire grammaticality judgments from speakers, that identify grammatical constraints. Unfortunately, the act of elicitation can sometimes create a context-poor discourse environment, such as when the researcher wants to acquire the translation of a specific form. In a way, this situation is preferred because a lack of context forces the speaker to rely on his/her intuitions and default interpretations, which has proven to be an important consideration in the interpretation of verbal diminutive patterns (see Chapter 5, §5.3).

The general procedure used to gather data was to first analyze textual data from various sources in order to get a sense of what rules condition the diminutive, and then test those impressions by eliciting forms from a consultant.

1.6.1. TEXTUAL DATA

For NEC, I obtained textual data from two principal sources:

(i) The Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary (Salt et al. 2004) – The majority of my research uses gradable data (i.e., tokens that have the greatest potential to undergo diminutivization because they can be assigned relative value) from this source. Three versions of this dictionary are available. There is a published version, an online version, and a database version created in Shoebox. I used the latter two. The online version was used when there was no access to the database (e.g., when using a computer other than my own) and when I needed to search for a specific word. The Shoebox version was used to compile lists from which entries could be easily contrasted.

Ideally, because diminutives can either be derived or lexicalized, there should be a distinction between these forms in terms of how they are coded in the database. Salt et al. (2004) chose to label derived diminutive forms as "dim" and leave lexicalized forms unglossed (with respect to diminutivization). Unfortunately, there are a few inconsistencies with respect to how entries are coded/glossed. Many forms that are in fact derived are not glossed as "dim". Fortunately, I was able to confer with one of the editors (Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie), and together, we were able to clarify the diminutive status of the majority of the ambiguous entries.

(ii) The Nation Magazine – It is an open source publication produced by the company Beesum Communications, which is owned and operated by James Bay Cree. It was first published in 1993. The portion of the magazine of particular value to my research

was the translated legends from the community of Whapmagoostui. I examined three stories:

- Text 1: "Chikâpâsh and the Mishtâpâuch"
- Text 2: "Grandfather Nûtâchikwâu"
- Text 3: "Chikâpâsh and the Sun"

Data for IA was obtained solely from databases. They are the Betsiamites Database (BIADB), which was incorporated into Drapeau's (1991) published bilingual dictionary, and the Lablex database for the Sheshatshiu, Labrador dialect.

One piece of WN data came from an unpublished oral narrative, "Wolverine the Creator", which was narrated by the late John Peastitute of Kawawachikamach and translated into English by Silas Nabinicaboo, Alma Chemaganish, and Phil Einish. The audio file containing the narrative is property of the Naskapi development Corporation. I refer to this source as Text 4.

1.6.2. Elicited Data

Elicited data was obtained via fieldwork and e-mail correspondence:

Fieldwork: Two members within my department (Drs. Marguerite MacKenzie and Julie Brittain) have been doing fieldwork in Chisasibi for their Child Language Acquisition Study (which financially supported fieldwork for this thesis).[28] I prepared the material for elicitation, and they conducted fieldwork on my behalf.

[28]The Child Language Acquisition Study (CCLAS): "Phonological and morphosyntactic development in a polysynthetic language: The acquisition of Cree as a first language" (Brittain, Dyck, Rose; SSHRC grant 410-2004-1836).

Two trips to Chisasibi were made. Dr. MacKenzie went to Chisasibi in February 2007 and Dr. Brittain in May, 2007. In both cases, the services of the same consultant (Consultant A) were employed. She is an "inlander" female between the ages of 30 and 40 and has worked previously with the department. Fieldwork was conducted in her home.

E-MAIL: E-mail correspondence rarely occurred. I only communicated with the consultant (Consultant B) when I required clarification of data or a second opinion. She is an older female speaker and a "coaster".

1.6.3. Other Sources of Data

Some other significant sources of data used for this thesis are MacKenzie (1996), a conference handout that briefly summarizes the CMN diminutive, citing numerous examples of particle, nominal, and verbal diminutives for various dialects of CMN. Fieldnotes for WN, from the community of Kawawachikamach, (Brittain 2006a, 2006c) were also used.

1.6.4. Presentation of Data

Data is presented using "roman" orthography which is based on the roman alphabet. A Cree syllabic orthography is used by the Cree community, however I do not include syllabics in this thesis. The roman (and syllabic) orthographic system is phonemic, therefore IPA is not used.

In CMN, there is a distinction between long and short vowels. The representation of long vowels using roman orthography varies throughout the literature: long /i/ can be written as a double "i" (ii), with a circumflex (î), with a macron (ī), with a colon (i:) or

with a following period (i.). For consistency and convenience, I have chosen to use the circumflex for all data presented in this thesis, regardless of the orthography employed in the original source.

Where possible and appropriate to the discussion at hand, I use interlinear transcription to present the data. This format usually includes four lines of text. The first line provides the orthographic representation of the utterance, the second divides the utterance into its morphological components, the third line gives the gloss for each morpheme, and the fourth line provides the English translation of the utterance (see (23) for an example).

(23) INTERLINEAR TRANSCRIPTION FOR *nipâshu*

line 1	Orthographic Representation	*nipâshu*
line 2	Morphological components	nip-â-sh-u
line 3	Morphological analysis	sleep-sfv-dim-3
line 4	English translation	'S/he sleeps a little.'

(Source: Dialect; Reference 1 and Text X: Line Y)

Following each data set, the source(s) of the data and dialect are specified. In the case of the Nation texts, the text number and line are given. If a source is not given, the data comes from my personal knowledge of the language of discussion.

Wherever possible, I provide the corresponding non-diminutive form for every diminutive, with a preference for minimal pairs, so that the effects of the diminutive are clearly illustrated. However, minimal pairs are not always possible, in which case, I resort to using near-minimal pairs. I distinguish between non-diminutive forms as follows:

- "Stem" means the non-diminutive form participates in deriving the diminutive, and thus forms a minimal pair with it.
- "Base form" indicates the non-diminutive form forms a near minimal pair; that is, the diminutive is not derived from it, but both forms are derived from the same root.
- "Non-diminutive" is used when the corresponding diminutive is lexicalized. The two forms may form a minimal pair or near minimal pair, but because lexicalized diminutives are not derived, using "stem" or "base" is inappropriate as it implies derivation.
- "Citation Form" – In citation form, verbs and possessed nouns are inflected for third person singular. When the citation form is the only non-diminutive form available for a diminutive inflected for other persons, "citation form" is used.

Though managing four terms is somewhat cumbersome, on theoretical grounds, I feel that distinguishing between forms that participate in deriving the diminutive and those that do not is important.

In keeping with the discussion of citation forms, where the Gender of the indefinite third person 'it' is frequently explicitly identified (e.g., 'S/he, it (anim)' or 'S/he, it (inan)'), I omit it: 'S/he, it'. I am able to do this because for all verb data, I indicate the verb class, from which the Gender properties of the arguments involved can be inferred.

Occasionally, the data required to complete a data set is unavailable or unattested. An "en dash" (–) indicates a missing form, but in no way implies that a form is impossible or ungrammatical, merely that I do not have access to it.

1.7. Literature Review

This section provides an overview of the literature that has been written about NEC in general (§1.7.1) and the Algonquian diminutive (§1.7.2), in particular.

1.7.1. Literature Pertaining to Northern East Cree

Though most dialects of CMN remain under-described, a number of publications which focus on EC have appeared over the past 30 years. These include MacKenzie (1973, 1980, 1992) and Clarke et al. (1993, 1996, 2001), which are articles that compare particular grammatical aspects of EC with other CMN dialects.

Less has been written for the northern and southern subdialects of EC, specifically. A modest body of work exists on the syntax, morphosyntax and semantics of SEC (Junker 1996, 1998, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d, 2004a, 2004b, In Press; Junker and Blacksmith 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2006; Junker and MacKenzie 2003, 2004; Junker et al. 2004). There is also one article discussing SEC phonology (Brittain 2000) and a published lexicon for SEC (Neeposh et al. 2004).

Less literature exists for NEC. Aside from a comprehensive lexicon (Salt et al. 2004), a few other lexical resources for NEC are available in the form of word lists (e.g., fish names, Berkes and MacKenzie 1978; plant names, MacKenzie 1996). Dyck et al. (2006) discuss NEC phonology and Swain (in preparation) provides an account of NEC stress. Also, a descriptive grammar for NEC is currently being compiled by Marie-Odile Junker (Carleton University) and Marguerite MacKenzie (Memorial University of Newfoundland) in cooperation with the Cree School Board. A web-based version of this grammar (www.eastcree.org) is under construction.

1.7.2. Literature Pertaining to the Algonquian Diminutive Suffix

Some of the earliest works on CMN date back to the mid-seventeenth century (Montagnais, Silvy 1678; Cree, Lacombe 1874; "Otchipwe", Baraga 1878).[29] If there is any mention of diminutives at all, it is brief and descriptive. For example, Lacombe (1874) identifies the various parts of speech that can take the suffix, but does not discuss allomorphy. Wolfart's (1973) PC grammar discusses only verbal diminutives, while Ellis's (1983) Cree grammar for Moose Cree and Swampy Cree – dialects spoken on the west coast of James Bay – discusses only the allomorphy of the diminutive suffix in nominal diminutives. Both authors provide only a handful of examples.

Literature on the reconstruction of the Proto-Algonquian diminutive is scarce. Hockett (1964) proposes a reconstruction of the Proto-Algonquian diminutive used with certain kinship terms, suggesting *-*ehs* as the hypothetical diminutive suffix. Pentland (1988) discusses briefly the diminutive for AI verbs in Old Ojibwe and in the now extinct Tadoussac Montagnais dialect.

LeSourd (1995) provides the most extensive analysis of the diminutive suffix in an Algonquian language, discussing diminutivized nominals and verb forms in Pqmy (as discussed in §1.5.3 above). The diminutive in Algonquian, however, remains under-documented.

1.8. Outline of Thesis

The chapter immediately following this one (Chapter 2) describes some theoretical issues surrounding diminutive morphology. The results of this research are presented in Chap-

[29] "Otchipwe" is an older spelling for Ojibwe. I use the spelling "Ojibwe" throughout this thesis.

ters 3-5. Each chapter addresses the relationship between the diminutive and one part of speech. For each, the phonetic form of the diminutive suffix, its position in the stem, and methodology are detailed.

Of the three parts of speech, particles are dealt with first, in Chapter 3. This chapter is composed of four sections. Because particles form such a functionally complex category, they are usually divided into groups – or classes. The classification system for NEC particles is outlined in §3.1. The second section (§3.2) describes the phonological form and the position of the diminutive suffix in the stem, accompanied by illustrative data. The third section (§3.3) details the methodology used for the particle portion of this research. Results are provided in the final section (§3.4). This section is divided into two parts, one describing semantic contributions made by the particle diminutive (§3.4.1) and the other illustrating how the diminutive is distributed across NEC particle classes, and how this distribution compares with dialects of IA (§3.4.2).

Chapter 4 addresses the nominal diminutive and contains three major sections. Methodology and the phonological form of the nominal diminutive are discussed in sections §4.1 and §4.2, respectively. Results are provided in §4.3, which includes seven parts. §4.3.1 describes the location of the suffix with respect to inflectional affixes. Nouns with multiple diminutive suffixes are described in §4.3.2. An account of the nominal diminutive's semantic effects is provided in §4.3.3. Sections §4.3.4 though §4.3.7, deal with each of the research questions outlined above. In order, they are Gender, countability, concreteness, and lexicalization.

Finally, diminutivized verbs are described in Chapter 5. As with Chapter 4, there are three parts to this chapter: the phonetic shape of the diminutive (§5.1), methodology (§5.2),

and results (§5.3). The results section is, in turn, divided into six sections. §5.3.1 outlines the observed semantic contributions the verbal diminutive makes. Results for intransitives and transitives are treated separately (§5.3.2 and §5.3.3, respectively). For each one, I describe how the diminutive affects the morphophonemics of the verb stem, its position in the verb stem, and modification patterns. Modification of finals is discussed in §5.3.4. Other patterns that emerged from the data are discussed in §5.3.5 and §5.3.6.

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis with a summation of findings (§6.1) and a description of issues for the NEC diminutive that remain to be addressed, suggesting directions which future research on the diminutive in Algonquian may follow (§6.2).

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Issues

One basic concern of the morphologist is determining what constitutes inflectional as opposed to derivational morphology. While reviewing the available literature pertaining to the diminutive, it became clear that the diminutive is neither inflectional nor derivational cross-linguistically. Katamba (1993: 212) observes the following:

> "Cross-linguistic comparisons are thus rendered difficult since the same category (e.g., diminutive) may be inflectional in one language but derivational in another. We cannot assume that, if a category is treated as inflection in one language, it will be inflectional in the next language we encounter".

Thus, the diminutive varies from language to language in terms of derivational/inflectional properties.

Nowhere in the literature reviewed for this thesis has the Algonquian diminutive "final" been explicitly identified as either inflectional or derivational. Pentland (1988: 49), in his discussion of Old Ojibwe and Tadoussac Montagnais, makes reference to two kinds of diminutive, implying that one was inflectional and one was derivational: "the two languages had a diminutive in addition to the more widespread derivational diminutive". Also, Wolfart (1973: 6) lists the Plains Cree diminutive under the section entitled "verb inflection" rather than in the "word formation" section.[1] One aim of this thesis is to determine to what extent the diminutive behaves like derivational or inflectional morphology in Cree.

[1]Specifically, Wolfart places discussion of the diminutive in §5.8: "Marginal and suppletive paradigms".

One criterion traditionally used to distinguish inflectional from derivational morphology is category-preservation (Beard 1998). A suffix may cause a change in lexical category (e.g., verb > noun) or lexical subclass (e.g., feminine > neuter). While inflectional morphology does not cause a change in category, derivational morphology may. Therefore, if morphology causes a change in category, it is generally considered derivational.

Not all derivational morphology changes category, however. For example, the English diminutive suffixes *-ling*, *-y*, *-let* and *-ette* are derivational yet, they do not cause a change in category. To illustrate derivational morphology that does change category, I will discuss the category of Gender, which is understood to be an inherent property of nouns (see, for example, Lecarme (2002)).

2.1. THE DIMINUTIVE AS DERIVATION

"Polarity" is a term introduced by Meinhof (1912) to describe the linguistic phenomenon whereby, the values of two exponents of two given grammatical features are reversed. For example, in "Gender Polarity", the grammatical features involved are Number and Gender.[2] In Somali, the exponents of Gender and Number are masc/fem and sg/pl, respectively. The following example from Somali illustrates polarity with respect to these two features. The feminine form of a noun which is valued as masculine singular is plural (1a). Similarly, the masculine form of a feminine singular is plural (1b):

[2]Gender Polarity is commonly attested throughout Afroasiatic languages, such as in the Cushitic languages of Agaw, Bayaso, Iraqw, Oromo, Rendille, and Somali (Lecarme 2002). See Lecarme (2002) and references therein for a detailed discussion of Gender Polarity in these languages.

(1) GENDER POLARITY IN SOMALI

a. i) *libáax-a*
lion(masc)-def.masc.sg
'lion'

ii) *libaaxyó-áda*
lions(fem)-def.fem.pl
'lions'

b. i) *goól-sha*
lioness(fem)-def.fem.sg
'lioness'

ii) *goólo-áha*
lioness(masc)-def.masc.pl
'lionesses'

(Source: Somali, Lecarme 2002, 112)

This data shows that masculine forms differ in Number from their feminine counterparts and plural forms differ in Gender from their singular counterparts. In other words, when Number changes, Gender changes. Thus, the affix that marks Number has Gender features as well. Lecarme (2002: 119) states:

> "In languages with Gender distinctions, nouns are typically associated with an invariant Gender. If a noun is feminine, its plural form is also feminine. What is crucial here is that in the plural we are dealing with gender values which do not come *from* the noun. This Gender value must therefore be a feature of the plural suffix itself."

Given that the plural affix causes a change in Gender, the Somali plural appears to be derivational in nature.

2.1.1. GENDER FEATURES AND THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX

The discussion of the Somali plural has relevance for the diminutive because Gender is a feature which, in certain languages, is associated with diminutive morphology. In some

of these languages, the diminutive suffix, like in the Somali plural, carries its own Gender features, and the value of the feature determines the Gender of the complex (diminutive) form.[3] The diminutive, then, is category-changing morphology and can be regarded as derivational.

2.1.1.1. DIMINUTIVES WITH GENDER FEATURES

German and Dutch are two languages whose diminutives carry Gender features. German Gender has three values (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and Dutch has two (common and neuter). In both languages, nouns become neuter with the addition of the diminutive suffix (Beard 1998). An example from German is provided in (2).

(2) NOUN

a.	Stem: Masculine	b.	Diminutive: Neuter
	der Brief		*das Briefchen*
	der Brief		das Brief-chen
	def.masc letter.masc		def.neut letter.neut-dim.neut
	'the letter'		–

(Source: Beard 1998, 51)

The Dutch diminutive can apply to bases belonging to many grammatical categories, but because the diminutive is specified for neuter Gender, the resultant diminutive is always a neuter noun (Souman and Gillis 2007). The following example illustrates a Dutch de-adjectival nominal diminutive:

[3]The term "complex form", in this thesis, refers to the form that results after a derivational or inflectional affix is added. Conversely, a "simplex form" is the pre-derivational/pre-inflectional form.

(3) DUTCH DE-ADJECTIVAL DIMINUTIVE NOUN

a. Stem: Adjective	b. Diminutive: Noun (Neuter)
zoet 'sweet'	*zoet-**je*** sweet-**dim.neut** 'something sweet'

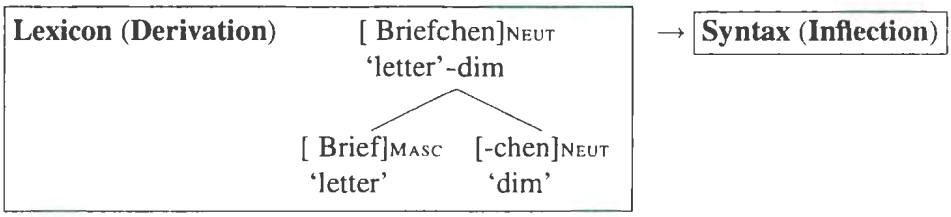
(Source: Souman and Gillis 2007, 187)

The Dutch diminutive is clearly category changing. Not only does it change the Gender of the simplex noun, it changes lexical categories, as well. Therefore, the Dutch diminutive is unambiguously derivational.

Inflection is widely held to be a product of syntax while derivation occurs pre-syntactically. It follows, then, that because diminutivization in languages like German and Dutch is not a category- preserving process – i.e., it is derivational – it is a pre-syntactic operation wherein the diminutive is a lexical entry which carries its own Gender feature. Due to the fact that it determines the category (Gender) of the whole word, and it complies with Williams's (1981) "Right-hand head rule" which stipulates that the head of a morphologically complex word is the right hand member of that word, we can regard the diminutive as the morphological head of the complex word. As such, the Gender features of the diminutive percolate to the complex form when the diminutive and simplex form combine in the Lexicon, resulting in the observed shifting of Gender.[4] This is illustrated in the schema below which represents the concatenation of the German diminutive noun from example (2).

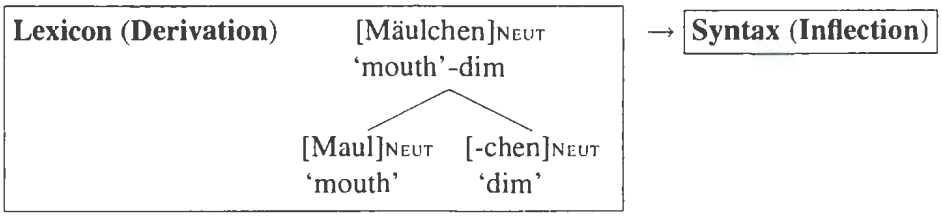
[4]Feature percolation refers to a process in morpheme-based morphology wherein the features of the morphological head are transfered to the head of the dominating node of the whole word (Lieber 1980, 1989).

(4) GERMAN: DIMINUTIVIZATION AS DERIVATION



Clearly, if the Gender of both the affix and root are identical, the process of feature percolation applies vacuously, as the schema in (5) illustrates for the diminutive of *Maul* ('mouth'):

(5) AUSTRIAN GERMAN: DIMINUTIVIZATION OF *Maul*



(Source: Korecky-Kröll and Dressler 2007)

In fact, in Croatian, feature percolation usually applies superficially. Typically, the Gender value of the affix and root is identical as diminutive suffixes are gender-dependent; that is, a simplex noun will only select a diminutive allomorph that has the same Gender value (Palmović 2007):[5]

[5]In exceptional cases, the diminutive can change the Gender of a Croatian noun (Palmović 2007).

(6) GENDER-DEPENDENT DIMINUTIVIZATION IN CROATIAN

a.	i) Stem	ii) Diminutive
	nož	*nož-ić*
	knife.masc	knife.**masc**-dim.**masc**
	'knife'	–
b.	i) Stem	ii) Diminutive
	voda	*vod-ica*
	water.fem	water.**fem**-dim.**fem**
	'water'	–

(Source: Croatian, Palmović 2007, 74)

Thus, although the Croatian diminutive has Gender features, it is category-preserving morphology.

2.1.1.2. DIMINUTIVES WITHOUT GENDER FEATURES

Though German, Dutch, and Croatian represent the type of language in which nominal diminutives carry their own features, cross-linguistically, it is more common for nominal diminutives to carry the features (e.g., Gender) of the base rather than those of the affix. For example, Russian, like German, has three Gender values (masculine, feminine, and neuter). However, in Russian, both the simplex noun and its diminutive form always have the same Gender valuation. In the example below, a feminine noun forms a feminine diminutive (7a) and a masculine noun forms a masculine diminutive (7b):

(7) DIMINUTIVES OF RUSSIAN NOUNS

a.	i) Stem: Feminine	ii) Diminutive: Feminine
	stola	*stolika*
	stol-**a**	stol-ik-**a**
	table-**fem**.Nom/Gen	table-dim-**fem**.Nom/Gen
	'table'	–
b.	i) Stem: Masculine	ii) Diminutive: Masculine
	kot	*kotjonok*
	kot-**ø**	kot-jonok-**ø**
	cat-**masc**	cat-dim-**masc**
	'cat'	'baby cat'

(Source: Russian, Protassova and Voeikova 2007, 45, 47)

Like Russian, diminutives of Spanish nouns also carry the Gender features of the base. Spanish has a binary Gender system distinguishing masculine from feminine Gender. A feminine noun remains feminine in diminutive form (8a). The same is true for diminutives of masculine nouns (8b).

(8) DIMINUTIVES OF MEXICAN SPANISH NOUNS

a. i) Stem: Feminine

gata
gat-**a**
cat.**fem**
'cat (female)'

ii) Diminutive: Feminine

gatita
gat-it-**a**
cat-dim-**fem**
'kitty (female)'

b. i) Stem: Masculine

gato
gat-**o**
cat-**masc**
'cat (male)'

ii) Diminutive: Masculine

gatito
gat-it-**o**
cat-dim-**masc**
'kitty (male)'

2.1.1.3. GENDER AND THE CMN DIMINUTIVE

None of the data considered for this thesis indicate that the CMN diminutive suffix carries Gender features of its own. In fact, Drapeau (1979: 60) explicitly states that the Montagnais diminutive is a suffix "*sans genre*" ("without Gender"). The examples of diminutivized plurals below illustrate that this observation applies not only to Montagnais, but to dialects of CMN in general.

In Algonquian, the suffix that marks Number on nouns is a portmanteau morpheme which also marks Gender (NEC, *-ich* = plural animate; *-h* = plural inanimate). In example (9), the morpheme which appears in the simplex form, appears in the diminutive, showing that Gender does not change between simplex and diminutive forms.

(9) DIMINUTIVE OF AN CMN PLURAL

a. i) Stem: Animate

mistâpâuch
mistâpâu-**ch**
spirit-**pl.anim**
'helper spirits'

ii) Diminutive: Animate

mishtâpâshich[6]
mishtâpâ-sh-**ich**
spirit guide-dim-**pl.anim**
'young helper spirits'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:26)

b. i) Stem: Inanimate

mischinh
mischin-**h**
shoe-**pl.inan**
'shoes'

ii) Diminutive: inanimate

mischinishh
mischin-ish-**h**
shoe-dim-**pl.inan**
'little shoes'

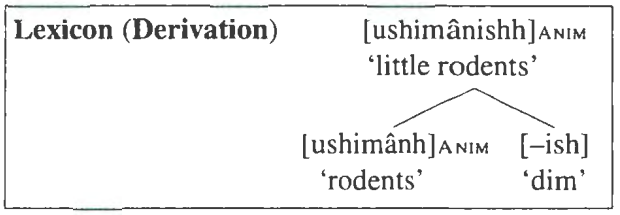
(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

The complex forms that result from diminutivization in (9) bear the same Gender features as their simplex counterparts. This example offers strong evidence supporting the hypothesis that the CMN diminutive suffix is not specified for Gender. Therefore, CMN diminutive morphology is category-preserving and patterns with Russian and Spanish and not with German or Dutch. This, however, tells us very little in terms of the inflectional/derivational status of the CMN diminutive due to the fact that category-preservation can occur with both inflectional and derivational morphology.

Taking CMN as an exemplar of the kind of language wherein the diminutive does not have its own Gender feature, we can say the nominal suffix has a lexical entry which lacks a Gender feature:

[6]Note that the /s/ palatalizes to /ʃ/ in the diminutive due to sound symbolism.

(10) DIMINUTIVIZATION IN CMN



(Source: NEC, Text 3:91)

It would be interesting to determine for languages like CMN, in which the diminutive applies across syntactic categories, whether or not the suffix is specified for a nominal-specific feature such as Gender, providing, of course, that the diminutive is a single affix that applies across categories.

2.2. THE DIMINUTIVE AS INFLECTION

Thus far, I have discussed diminutive morphology which exhibits properties of derivational morphology. There are cases to be made, however, that diminutives behave like inflectional morphology.

2.2.1. DIMINUTIVES RESULTING FROM INFLECTION

Katamba (1993) argues that the diminutive in Fula (West Atlantic Niger-Congo) is inflectional. Fula nouns belong to a neutral (i.e., unmarked) class (singular class 1 and 9-23, plural class 2, 24, or 25). These classes are designated by class-specific prefixes that mark Number, which is an inflectional category. Diminutivization occurs when the noun is in-

flected outside of its neutral class, in what is called the diminutive class (singular class 3 and 5, plural class 6).

(11) FULA NOUN CLASSES

a. i) Class 16: Neutral Singular

ɗem-ŋgal
tongue-sg(16)
'big tongue'

ii) Class 24: Neutral Plural

ɗem-ɗe
tongue-pl(24)
'big tongues'

b. i) Class 3: Diminutive Singular

ɗem-ŋgel
tongue-sg(3)
'small tongue'

ii) Class 6; Diminutive Plural

ɗem-kon
tongue-pl(6)
'small tongues'

(Source: Fula, Katamba 1993, 210)

The Fula diminutive is signaled using the same inflectional morphology as is used to mark Number. As such, it can be considered inflectional.

The diminutive in Kukuyu (Bantu) is formed in a fashion similar to the Fula diminutive, and is regarded as an inflectional category (e.g., Anderson 1982, 1985). In Kukuyu, the Gender of a noun is determined by which classes of Number prefixes it is inflected with in the singular and plural. For example, a noun belonging to the 7/8 Gender is inflected with a class 7 singular prefix and a class 8 plural prefix (Stump 1998):

(12) KUKUYU NOUN: GENDER 7/8

a. Stem

-raatũ
'shoe'

b. Singular; Class 7

kĩ-raatũ
sg(7)-shoe
'shoe'

c. Plural; Class 8

i-raatũ
pl(8)-shoe
'shoes'

(Source: Kukuyu, Stump 1998, 28)

The diminutive of 'shoe' is formed by using prefixes from classes 12 and 13 instead of 7 and 8:

(13) KUKUYU NOMINAL DIMINUTIVE: GENDER 12/13

a. Singular; Class 12

ka-raatũ
sg(12)-shoe
'little shoe'

b. Plural; Class 13

tũ-raatũ
pl(13)-shoe
'little shoes'

(Source: Kukuyu; Stump 1998, 28)

Therefore, diminutivization results from an alternate pairing of inflectional classes. In other words, the diminutive is a result of inflection.[7]

[7]The fact that not all nouns inflected for the 12/13 gender are diminutives causes Stump (1998) to question this analysis, suggesting instead that the Kukuyu diminutive results from derivational rules.

2.2.2. Inflectional Properties of the CMN Diminutive

A second criterion used for distinguishing derivational and inflectional morphology is how morphemes are positioned relative to each other and to the root (Beard 1998; Stump 1998). Assuming a root undergoes derivation in the Lexicon and then passes through the Syntax for inflection, inflectional affixes are predicted to appear farther from the root than derivational affixes (i.e. [root-derivation*-inflection*]). This predicts that the diminutive morpheme, if derivational, should be to the left of inflection.

An examination of the position of diminutive morphology relative to other morphemes in CMN is inconclusive in determining whether the diminutive is inflectional or derivational. In both nouns and verbs the diminutive appears between morphemes which would appear to be (considering their function) inflectional. In (14), the diminutive appears to the right of the possessive inflection and to the left of plural inflection:

(14) Diminutivized Noun: Animate

nipûshîmishich
ni-pûsh-**îm-ish**-ich
1-cat-**poss-dim**-pl
'my little cats'

(Source: NEC, Brittain et al. 2005)

We can see from the TI verb in (15) that the diminutive is located between the theme sign, which is generally regarded as being inflectional (among others, Goddard 1979), and person inflection.

(15) 'OPEN'; TI VERB

âpihâshiu
âpih-**â-shi-u**
open-**TS-dim-3sg**
'She opens it a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant B)

The diminutive is typically positioned between theme sign and person inflection in TA verbs as well:

(16) 'HIT'; TA VERB

Direct

pakamahwê-siw
pakamahw-**ê -esi-wa**
hit(TA)-**DIR-dim-IIN.2sg**
'He (3) hits him (3′)'

(Source: PC, Wolfart 1973, 61)

Wolfart (1973: 61), citing data from Lacombe (1874), observes for PC that in direct TA verbs with non-local arguments, the diminutive occurs to the right of the theme sign (17a), while in the inverse, the diminutive suffix occurs to the left of the theme sign (17b).

(17) 'HIT'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

a. Direct

pakamahwê-siw
pakamahw-ê-**esi**-wa
hit(TA)-**DIR-dim**-IIN.infl-dim-2s
'He (3) hits him (3′)'

b. Inverse

pakamahosikot
pakamahw-**esi-ekw**-[i]-t
hit(TA)-**dim-INV**-CIN.infl
'He (3′) hits him (3)'

(Source: PC, Wolfart 1973, 61)

With the exception of (17), the diminutive suffix is found between other inflectional affixes. Assuming all inflectional processes occur in the Syntax, it is possible for inflectional affixes to be stacked. Thus, it is quite plausible to conclude that the diminutive suffix in CMN is inflectional. The position of the suffix on the left edge – "inside" the other inflectional morphemes – in (17) might be evidence that the suffix is derivational. On the other hand, it may just be the leftmost inflectional affix in a sequence of inflectional affixes.

In conclusion, the inflectional/derivational status of the diminutive varies across languages. Languages like Dutch and German provide positive evidence that morphological processes that contribute diminutive semantics can be derivational in nature. However, in Fula and Kukuyu, diminutive semantics result from inflectional processes. Consequently, the diminutive must be analyzed on a case by case basis for each of the world's languages.

In the case of the CMN, I examined the diminutive from the perspectives of category-preservation and morpheme ordering. Though the CMN diminutive is category-preserving morphology, it may still be derivational morphology. However, the diminutive suffix is found stacked between other affixes which are inflectional, in both nouns and verbs. At this point, I cannot categorically conclude whether the CMN diminutive is inflectional or derivational based solely on these criteria. For now, however, the evidence does seem to weigh slightly heavier on the side of inflectional morphology.

CHAPTER 3

Diminutivization of Particles

In Chapter 1, particles were introduced as the catch-all category for Algonquian words that do not function as nouns or verbs. As such, they perform a variety of syntactic functions. Though specific types of particles have been studied (e.g., conjunctions, Starks 1982; negators, MacKenzie 1992, Brittain 1996, 1997, 2001), research covering the spectrum of particle types is lacking, with the exception of Oxford (2007) which addresses particle classes (classes are discussed in §3.1) in IA.

Preliminary research shows that diminutive productivity in CMN is somewhat restricted. Mackenzie (p.c.) observes that in CMN, diminutives of particles that function as adverbs of space, time, or quantity are the most common. Data from MacKenzie (1996) suggests diminutivization of particles may be more productive in some dialects of CMN than in others. MacKenzie (1996) provides diminutive forms for 18 particles which function as adverbs of space, time, and quantity. While diminutives are possible for all 18 particles in NEC, only four particles form grammatical diminutives in ShIA. MacKenzie does not present any data attesting to the reverse pattern, wherein a diminutive is possible in ShIA but not in NEC. Table 3.1 provides a sample of these data, showing examples of particles which undergo diminutivization in both dialects and examples of particles that are only possible in NEC.[1]

[1]The aim of the sample is to show a) the three types of particles that are the most compatible with diminutivization, b) those particles that form diminutives in both dialects, and c) those particles for which diminutives are only possible in NEC. Data included in this table were selected on this basis.

Table 3.1: Comparison of Particle Diminutives in NEC and ShIA

		GLOSS	NEC	ShIA	CLASS
i.	Stem: Diminutive:	'offshore' 'somewhat offshore'	a. *tâwich* b. *tâwichîsh*	c. *tâut* d. *tâutshîsh*	Spatial
ii.	Stem: Diminutive:	'more, further' 'a bit more', 'a bit further away'	a. – b. *aushtâshîsh*	c. *ushte* d. *ushteshîsh*	Spatial
iii.	Stem: Diminutive:	'across water' 'more or less across water'	a. *nâtikâm* b. *nâtikâmîsh*	–	Spatial
iv.	Stem: Diminutive:	'more' 'a bit more'	a. *etitû* b. *etitûîsh*	–	Quantity
v.	Stem: Diminutive:	'later' 'a little later'	a. *pâtimâ* b. *pâtimâîsh*	–	Temporal

(Source: MacKenzie 1996)

My investigation of the diminutive with respect to particles aims to answer the following question: Is the diminutive in NEC restricted only to particles of space, time, and quantity? Considering that the diminutive appears to be less constrained in NEC than in ShIA with respect to adverbs of space, time, and quantity, if the diminutive turns out to have a wider distribution, will the NEC diminutive be more productive overall, applying to more classes in NEC than in ShIA?

In this chapter, I outline how particles are classified in NEC (§3.1), the form of the diminutive and its position in the particle stem (§3.2), and the methodology used for this portion of the investigation (§3.3). Results are discussed in §3.4. I describe what semantic effects the diminutive has on NEC particles (§3.4.1), how the diminutive is distributed with respect to particle classes (§3.4.2), and how its productivity in NEC compares with dialects

of IA (also in §3.4.2). Nouns and verbs are the focus of this thesis, therefore I discuss only a subset of particles.

3.1. Particle Classes

Particles are divided into classes based on a number of factors, such as the syntactic function or semantic properties of the particle. For example, a classification system for IA particles (Hasler 2006) distinguishes particles that do not modify nouns ("Adverbs") from those that do ("Quantifiers"). Within the Adverb class, semantic distinctions are made between adverbs of time, space, manner, degree, and certainty.

Classification systems, though, are not consistent throughout Algonquian languages. For example, where Hasler (2006) has a class for Prepositions, Salt et al. (2004) do not; and where Salt et al. (2004) specify a class for Discourse particles, Hasler (2006) does not. In fact, Hasler (2006) identifies only six main classes, whereas Salt et al. (2004) identify 19 classes.[2] They are Location, Demonstrative/Location, Demonstrative/Focus/Location, Time, Location/Time, Quantity, Quantity/Time, Discourse, Evaluative, Interjection, Interrogative, Interrogative/Time, Interrogative/Location, Manner, Emphasis, Conjunction, Affirmative, Number, and Negative (see Figure 3.1).

[2]I make a distinction between major and minor classes with respect to how classes are categorized in Salt et al. (2004). A major class is one in which the particles have one clear function (e.g., "Demonstrative" particles and adverbs of "Time"). Minor classes contain particles with properties that are associated with more than one of the major classes (e.g., "Demonstrative/Location/Time" and "Interrogative/Time").

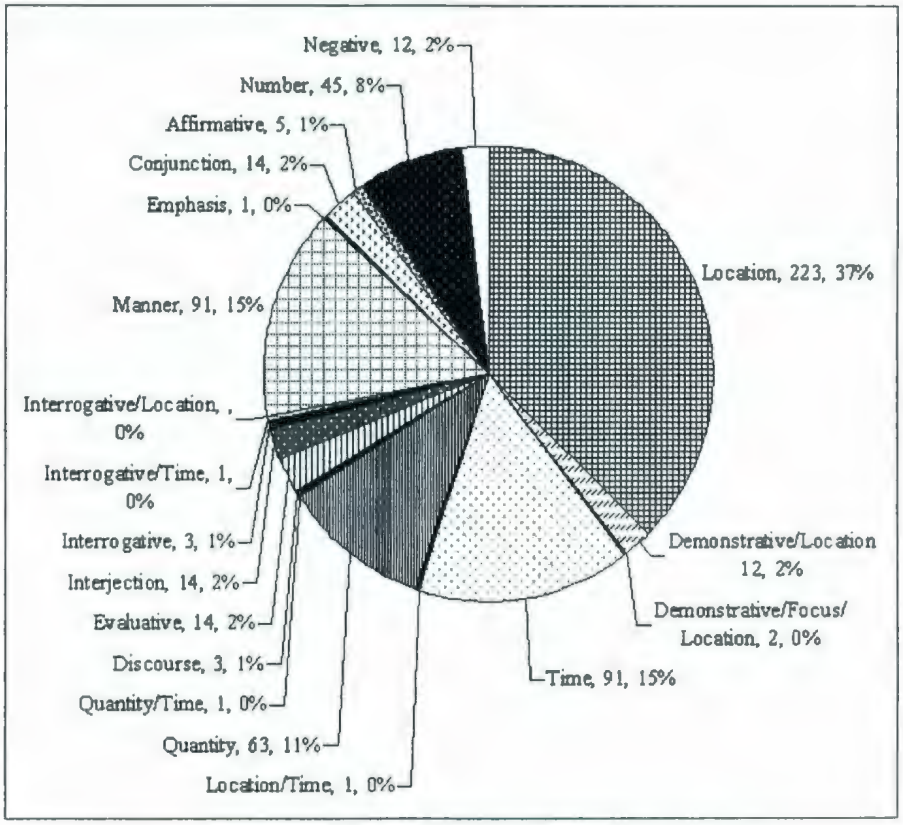


Figure 3.1: Classes of Particles in Salt et al. (2004)
(KEY TO LABELS: class, total (/596), %)

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

3.2. FORM AND POSITION

The diminutive suffix attaches to the right edge of the particle stem. It has three allomorphs: *-sh* surfaces when the stem final segment is [â], [e], or [û]; *-îsh* surfaces after [î], [u], [û], [ʧ], [h], [m], or [ʃ]; and *-ish* surfaces after a preceding [t] or [n].[3] At this stage, no pattern

[3]Note that when the *-sh* allomorph surfaces, it is followed by a second diminutive suffix, forming a double diminutive (see examples (i)-(iii) in Table 3.2. For a discussion of double nominal diminutives, see §4.3.2 .

explaining the allomorphy has emerged, though, considering the number of environments in which *-îsh* surfaces, it is likely to be the elsewhere case. Examples illustrating the allomorphs are provided in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Allomorphy Exhibited by the Diminutive Suffix in NEC Particles

	PRECEEDING SEGMENT	BASE FORM		DIMINUTIVE	
-SH					
i.	[â]	a. *pâtimâ*	'later'	b. *pâtimâ**sh**îsh*	'a little later'
ii.	[e]	a. *âshtimite*	'on the side'	b. *âshtimite**sh**îsh*	'a bit on the side'
iii.	[û]	a. *pwâstû*	'too late'	b. *pwâstu**sh**îsh*	'sort of too late'
-ÎSH					
iv.	[î]	a. *mishtahî*	'a lot'	b. *mishtahî**sh***	'a fair bit'
v.	[u]	a. *atitiu*	'more'	b. *atitiwî**sh***	'a little more'
vi.	[û]	a. *wâhyû*	'far'	b. *wâhyûî**sh***	'sort of far'
vii.	[ʧ]	a. *takuh**ch***	'on top'	b. *takuhchî**sh***	'pretty much on top'
viii	[h]	a. *yâkwâ**h***	'be careful' 'watch out'	b. *yâkwâhî**sh***	'be careful ' 'watch out'
ix.	[m]	a. *natikâ**m***	'across water'	b. *natikâmî**sh***	'more or less across water'
x.	[ʃ]	a. *pâtimâ**sh***[4]	'later'	b. *pâtimâshî**sh***	'a little later'
-ISH					
xi.	[t]		–	*mwâshti**sh***	'a little too late'
xii.	[n]		–	*pâyikwâmih-kwâni**sh***	'one teaspoon'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004, MacKenzie 1996)

The diminutive causes stem allomorphy in particles. In (iii) above, stem-final /û/ is shortened when the *-sh* allomorph is added; note, though, that length is maintained when the *-îsh* allomorph is used (see (vi)).

[4]The single diminutive offered as the base form in (x) has not actually been attested. I have only encountered a diminutive form with two diminutive suffixes (see (i)). I include it here for purposes of illustration.

In ShIA, stem-final /n/ (1) and /-ît/ (2) are often deleted in the diminutive form.[5]

(1) PARTICLE: LOCATION

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
nâmûn	*nâmûshîsh*
'downwind','easterly'	'a little downwind'

(Source: ShIA, Lablex)

(2) PARTICLE: LOCATION

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
ishpimît	*ishpimishîsh*
'up','above'	'a little bit above'

(Source: ShIA, Lablex)

Though I have not yet observed this for NEC particles, stem-final nasal deletion emerges in NEC verbal diminutives (see Chapter 5, §5.3.3.1 and §5.3.2.1).

3.3. METHODOLOGY

NEC data used in this portion of the investigation was taken from MacKenzie (1996) and Salt et al. (2004) and elicited from Consultant A. Sources used for IA data are Lablex, BIADB, MacKenzie (1996) and Oxford (2007).

Of the 596 particle entries in Salt et al. (2004), 31 end with either *-ish*, *-îsh*, or *-shîsh*, but none are glossed as "diminutive". With Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie's assistance, I was able to identify 13 diminutives and 12 non-diminutives, leaving six forms unverified. I

[5]The sequence *-ît* forms the ShIA locative suffix, used to indicate spatial position or direction:
e.g. *mîtshuâp* + *ît* = *mîtshuâpît*
('house') ('**in the** house')

preferred to have more than 13 diminutives to work with therefore, I attempted to verify the status of the remaining six forms. First, I consulted Salt et al. (2004) in search of the corresponding non-diminutive form. If such a form existed, and the semantic difference between it and the form with the diminutive-like suffix was diminutive in nature, it would confirm the latter as a diminutive. If a non-diminutive form did not surface, I attempted to elicit one from a consultant.

Of the 13 verified diminutives, only four of the 19 particle classes are represented (see Table 3.3 for a summary of these details).

Table 3.3: Tentative Summary of Diminutive Particles in Salt et al. (2004)

CATEGORY	TOTAL# OF PARTICLES	# OF DIMINUTIVES
Location	223	2
Time	91	7
Quantity	63	3
Quantity/Time	1	1
TOTAL	378	13

To obtain a more complete representation of particle classes, I elicited diminutives of particles from other classes. To minimize the burden on the interviewer and the consultant, I omitted 10 classes from the investigation: Location, Time, and Quantity (MacKenzie (1996) provides ample data for these categories), the six minor classes, and Number (the only forms available in this class represent numeric values that cannot be diminutivized (e.g., *niyâyu*, 'five' and *niyâywâumitâhtumitiniu*, 'five hundred')).[6] I elicited diminutives of only two particles – where possible – from each of the remaining nine classes. Thus, the sample is not statistically representative.

[6] 'Number' is the label used in Salt et al. (2004) for particles that refer to numerals.

As the diminutive is an example of evaluative morphology, I selected tokens whose semantic properties had the potential to be evaluated or quantified. For example, in English, 'exactly' (which corresponds to the particle *miâm* in ShIA) cannot be diminutivized (*'a little exactly'). Though diminutives of forms like *miâm* may be possible in NEC, I opted to avoid these types of particles, in favor of those whose diminutives could result in a concrete semantic change. Of course, in some classes (Negatives, Affirmatives, Interrogatives), semantic properties of most – if not all – particles may not lend themselves well to diminutivization (e.g., Number, as discussed above). For these classes, the candidates with the greatest diminutive potential were selected for elicitation.

A secondary goal of this investigation was to compare the distribution of the diminutive between NEC and dialects of IA. As part of his research on particles in IA, Oxford (2007) compiled a list of diminutivized particles contained in Lablex (ShIA) and BIADB (BIA). He made this data available to me. For this reason, NEC is compared to the ShIA and BIA dialects of IA. Table 3.4 illustrates how the NEC, ShIA, and BIA databases are comparable in terms of the total number of entries and diminutives they contain, and how many classes are distinguished.

Table 3.4: Comparison of Particle Entries in CMN Dialect Databases

DIALECT	# OF CLASSES	#OF PARTICLES	# OF DIMINUTIVES
NEC	19	596	13-19
ShIA	16	717	28
BIA	14	1156	13

Though the number and type of classes differ between dialects, correspondences could be made in most cases based on the functional similarities exhibited by respective classes.

For example, Location particles in NEC; Locative, Locative + N and Locative Demonstrative particles in BIA; and Spatial Adverbs and Locative Prepositions in ShIA all have spatially-related functions. For ease of reference, the labels used by Salt et al. (2004) are applied to all three dialects. Thus, Locative, Locative + N, Spatial Adverbs, and Locative Prepositions are classified as "Location" in this thesis. When no equivalent class exists in Salt et al. (2004), original labels are kept. The summary of classes in Table 3.4 above reflect this labeling system. In comparing Figure 3.1 for NEC above with Figure 3.2 for ShIA below, the reader will see where correspondences were and were not made.

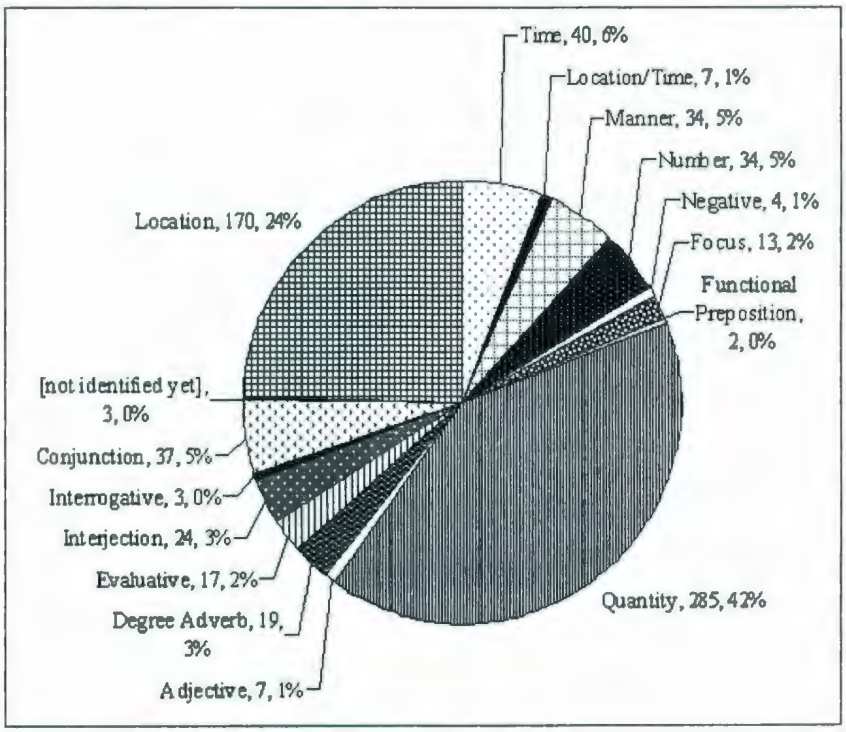


Figure 3.2: Classes of Particles in the Lablex Dictionary Database
(KEY TO LABELS: class, total (/596), %)

(Source: ShIA, Oxford 2007)

Only classes for which clear correspondences could be made were compared.

3.4. RESULTS

3.4.1. SEMANTIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Should a variety of classes be compatible with diminutivization, one would expect the diminutive to provide a number of meanings due to the fact that particles encompass a variety of functions, and meanings which may be appropriate for one type of particle may not be for another. For instance, it is not difficult to imagine the diminutive of a Manner adverb conveying the notion of "cuteness" (e.g., 'She smiled cutely'). It would, however, be difficult to conceive of space (Location), time (Time), affirmation (Affirmative), and conjunctions (Conjunction) in terms of "cuteness". Should the diminutive be restricted to a select number of classes, semantic contributions by the diminutive may not be as robust. This is indeed the case, as only five classes of particles (see §3.4.2) are eligible for diminutivization in NEC. The observed semantic effects on particles in these classes are illustrated by the examples in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Semantic and Pragmatic Contributions by the NEC Particle Diminutive

	BASE		DIMINUTIVE	
MITIGATION				
i.	a. *pwâstû*	'too late'	b. *pwâstu**shîsh***	'sort of too late'
ii.	a. *wâshkich*	'long ago'	b. *wâshkich**îsh***	'quite a while ago'
iii.	a. *wâhyû*	'far'	b. *wâhyû**îsh***	'sort of far'
iv.	a. *nâtikâm*	'across water'	b. *nâtikâm**îsh***	'more or less across water'
SMALL QUANTITY				
v.	a. *pitute*	'further'	b. *pitute**shîsh***	'a bit further'
vi.	a. *wâipisch*	'a little while'	b. *wâipishch**îsh***	'a little while'
vii.	a. *atitiu*	'more'	b. *atitiw**îsh***	'a little bit more'
SMALL SIZE				
viii.		–	*pâyikwâmih-kwâni**shsh***	'one teaspoon'
GENERIC MEANING				
ix.		–	*apish**îsh***	' a little bit'
PRAGMATIC USE				
x.	a. *yâkwâh*	'be careful'	b. *yâkwâh**îsh***	'be careful' *'be a little careful'

(Source: MacKenzie 1996; Salt et al. 2004; and Consultant A)

Though the particle diminutive has the usual effect of conveying small quantity or size, it often has a mitigating effect, by diminishing quantity or intensity without necessarily implying smallness. These diminutives tend to be translated as 'sort of X', 'quite X', or 'more or less X'. For example, both (ii) and (vi) contain Time particles that refer the passage of time, but while (vib) denotes a small quantity of time, the meaning in (iib) does not (*'a short time ago'). Instead, the quantity of time is still large, but not by as much as the semantics of the root indicate.

The diminutive can also be used pragmatically, in which case, no semantic change occurs, as can be seen by example (x) above.

Finally, *apishîsh* is a lexicalized diminutive of a Quantity particle, which means 'a little bit'. The referent is left unspecified until the particle is accompanied by a noun or verb, in which case, that noun or verb is the referent. For example, in (3), the referent is the noun 'sugar'.

(3) *apishîsh* WITH NOMINAL REFERENT

apishîsh *shûkâu*
a.little.bit sugar
'a bit of sugar'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, §5.3.6, I believe *apishîsh* performs, periphrastically, the same function as the diminutive suffix, transferring its diminutive power to whatever part of speech it modifies.

3.4.2. Distribution Among Particle Classes

Prior to fieldwork, diminutives were only attested in four particle classes. After attempting to elicit diminutives of 16 particles from a total of nine classes, I uncovered only one additional class that is compatible with the diminutive. There was one example of an Interjection particle in diminutive form ((x) below), however it only functions pragmatically.[7] Table 3.6 shows the results of this investigation.

[7]Diminutives of interjections have been observed in other languages (e.g., Russian, Protassova and Voeikova 2007).

Table 3.6: Results of the Diminutivization NEC Particles

	BASE		DIMINUTIVE	
AFFIRMATIVE				
i.	a. *âkush*	'It doesn't matter', 'It is alright'	b. ***âkushîsh***	–
ii.	a. *nîhî*	'yes'	b.***nîhîsh***	–
CONJUNCTION				
iii.	a. *âtiwî*	'at least', 'fortunately'	b. ***âtiwîsh***	–
iv.	a. *tâpikâ*	'instead', 'because'	b. ***tâpikâshîsh***	–
DISCOURSE				
v.	a. *wâhû*	'have to','as a result', 'wanted to'	b. ***wâhûîsh***	–
vi.	a. *kâkiyâh*	expresses doubt or uncertainty	b. ***kâkiyâhîsh***	–
EMPHASIS				
vii.	a. *mîyânikw*	emphasizes commands	b. ***mîyânikuîsh***	–
EVALUATIVE				
viii.	a. ***chispâu***	'it is wasteful', 'it is a pity that...'	b. ***chispâuîsh***	–
ix.	a. ***mâshkuch***	'maybe', 'perhaps'	b. ***mâshkuchîsh***	–
INTERJECTION				
x.	a. *yâkwâh*	'be careful', 'watch out'	b. *yâkwâhîsh*	'be careful' (speaking to child)
xi.	a. *nitihâ*	'here', 'let me see' 'show it to me',	b. ***nitihâshîsh***	–
MANNER				
xii.	a. *mâtinû*	'slowly'	b. ***mâtinûîsh***	–
xiii	a. *iyihch*	'different'	b.* *iyihchîsh*	–
NEGATIVE				
xiv.	a. *nimâ*	'don't you agree/think'	b. ***nimâshîsh***	–
xv.	a. *ishkiâkâ*	'not suitable', 'unlikely'	b. ***ishkiâkâshîsh***	–
INTERROGATIVE				
xvi.	a. *tâisp*	'when'	b. ***tâispîsh***	–

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Of the six forms in Salt et al. (2004) whose diminutive status was uncertain, I was able to ascertain that two were diminutives, but belonged to classes for which diminutives have already been confirmed, leaving these four forms unverified :

(4) PARTICLES WITH DIMINUTIVE-LIKE SUFFIX

a. Particle: Quantity
chikiwâsh
'a few times, small amount'

b. Particle: Manner
nâshtiyish
'at all/everything'

c. Particle: Location
ninânish
'in all directions, all apart, disconnected'

d. Particle: Affirmative
âkush
'it doesn't matter, it is alright'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Consultant A judged the potential non-diminutive forms ungrammatical for all four particles. Therefore, either the forms in (4) are lexicalized diminutives, or non-diminutive particles that coincidentally end with the same sequence of segments that are found in the diminutive suffix. If the former is true, then two more classes – Manner (4b) and Affirmative (4d) – could be added to the tally of particle classes for which diminutives are attested, making a total seven classes compatible with the diminutive. In fact, diminutives of Manner particles are possible in ShIA and BIA. Figure 3.3 shows for each dialect, all the classes for which diminutives are possible and what percentage of the total number of diminutives each class contributes.

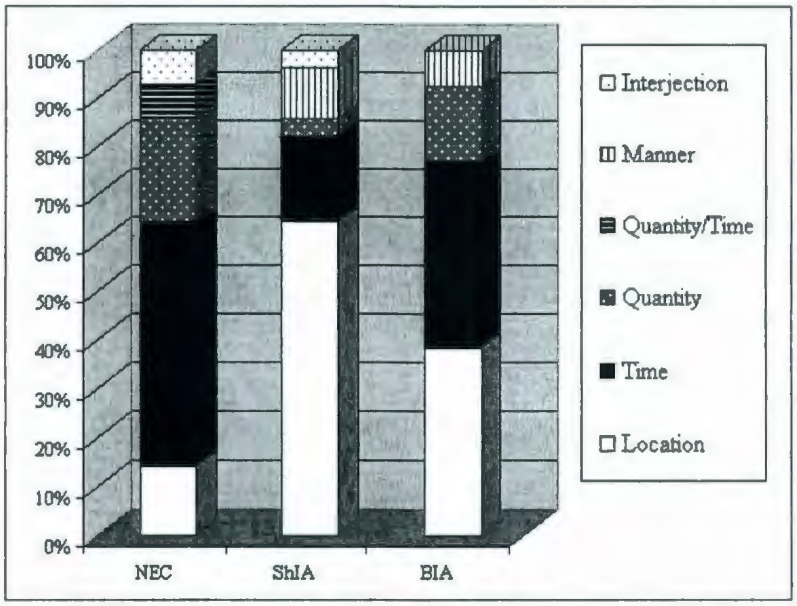


Figure 3.3: Particle Diminutives by Class in NEC, ShIA, and BIA

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004; ShIA, Lablex; BIA, BIADB)

This examination of diminutives confirms MacKenzie's (p.c.) observations. Of the 19 possible classes of particles, those that MacKenzie observes as being particularly diminutive-friendly (Location, Time, Quantity, Quantity/Time) are essentially the only classes (plus Interjections, and possibly Affirmative and Manner) for which diminutives have been confirmed. I had anticipated that certain classes of particles might be incompatible with diminutivization because they are made up of particles whose referents cannot be modified in evaluative or quantitative terms (discussed in §3.3). These results suggest this may be the case. However, there is no obvious reason why the option of a pragmatic function should not be available for diminutives of these particles when it is possible for others, like the Interjection particle in Table 3.6, example (x).

Five – potentially seven – classes of particles can form diminutives in NEC, indicating that the diminutivization of particles in NEC is only slightly more productive than in either IA dialect, for which only four classes are compatible with the diminutive.

Although only certain classes of particles are open to diminutivization, not all particles belonging to those classes can be successfully diminutivized. For instance, efforts to elicit diminutives for the following two particles of Quantity in (5) and (6) failed, possibly because their respective meanings are difficult to evaluate or quantify.

(5) PARTICLE: QUANTITY

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
usâ 'mostly'	**usâshîsh*

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(6) PARTICLE: QUANTITY

a. Non-Diminutive	b. Diminutive
mîn 'again'	**mînîsh*

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Data from WN does not support the possibility that the semantics of the root may condition diminutive productivity within a class:

(7) PARTICLES: LOCATION

a. Diminutive of *pâsûch*, 'near'

* *pâsûchis*
*'**a little** nearer'

b. Diminutive of *wâyû*, 'far away'

wâyûs
'**a little** further away'

c. Diminutive of *ustâ*, 'further'

* *ustâs*
*'**a little bit** further '

(Source: WN, Brittain 2006a)

These data show that it is possible for only one member of a semantically related pair of particles to be diminutivized. Example (7a) is the antonym for (7b) and (7c). A diminutive is not possible for (7a) but is possible for (7b). Furthermore, (7b) and (7c) both denote the notion of "a great distance" (i.e., "far"), and, again, a diminutive is only possible for (7b). All three forms are semantically related, yet a diminutive is only possible for one. Thus, some factor other than semantics must condition diminutive applicability within a class.

One possibility is morphological blocking. Aronoff (1976) assumes that the Lexicon avoids complete synonymy between entries. When one form for an entry already exists, but another can be created using morphological rules, the Lexicon prevents, or "blocks", the Morphology from producing that form. Diminutive forms might not be possible for the particles in (5) and (6) because other forms contributing the same semantic notions might already exist in the Lexicon. Further fieldwork would reveal whether this is in fact the case.

In summary, the diminutive, as it applies to particles, does not appear to be very productive in CMN. It is slightly more productive in NEC than ShIA and BIA. These conclusions are based on two observations. First, only five out of 19 (NEC), four out of 16 (ShIA), and four out of 14 (BIA) classes of particles have confirmed diminutives. Second, it was

observed for NEC, ShIA, and WN that not all particles within a class are compatible with diminutivization. These generalizations are tentative, as they hinge on two very significant factors: (1) that the classification systems accurately reflect the types of particles CMN uses and (2) that the samples I examined adequately represented each class. In other words, the selection of particles for investigation and, particularly, how particles are classified, affect how the distribution of the diminutive is perceived.[8] If a universal classification system were developed and the number of class types decreased, the perceived distribution of the diminutive could change, and a more accurate comparison between dialects may be possible.

[8]Oxford (2007) proposes only eight major particle classes for ShIA.

CHAPTER 4

The Nominal Diminutive

In order to determine the distribution of the diminutive for NEC nouns, I investigate three nominal properties: Gender (§4.3.4), countability (§4.3.5), and concreteness (§4.3.6). I also examine to what extent nominal diminutives have become lexicalized (§4.3.7).

My predictions are as follows:

- GENDER – There are approximately 2600 inanimate and 1500 animate nouns listed in Salt et al. (2004).[1] Because there are more inanimate nouns than animate nouns overall, one would expect there to be more inanimate diminutives than animate diminutives. This is not the case. 54 of the nouns listed in Salt et al. (2004) are derived nominal diminutives, 70% of which are animate. These preliminary findings may be an indication that Gender restricts the application of the diminutive. However, that a significant percentage (30%) of the diminutives are inanimate suggests that inanimate nouns are nonetheless compatible with the diminutive. Therefore, I do not anticipate that Gender will be found to constrain diminutive productivity.

- COUNTABILITY – The diminutive typically conveys the notion of small quantity or size with respect to nouns. Mass nouns, by definition, are not countable, and are, subsequently, difficult to quantify. However, in languages like English, mass nouns can be measured with the aid of quantifiers (e.g., 'a lot', 'a little', 'much', 'less').

[1]Gender in this chapter refers exclusively to grammatical Gender.

NEC has particles and preverbs that function in a similar way. There is no reason, then, to preclude the diminutive from modifying the size or amount of quantified mass nouns.

- CONCRETENESS – Similarly, as long as the semantics of the noun impart its ability to be described in evaluative terms, the diminutive should not behave differently with abstract nouns than it would with concrete nouns in NEC.

- LEXICALIZATION – The majority of the bird and insect terms MacKenzie (p.c.) identifies as lexicalized diminutives refer to specific species (e.g., 'great-crested fly-catcher', 'oldsquaw duck', and 'black water bug'). If the diminutive is exploited in order to distinguish between particular species of birds and insects, and if these diminutives have become established words, I suspect that lexicalization of diminutives will include terms referring to species of other types of organisms, as well.

Before presenting the results of this investigation, I discuss methodology in §4.1, the form of the nominal diminutive in §4.2, its position in the noun stem in §4.3.1, and its effects on the semantics of the noun in §4.3.3.

4.1. METHODOLOGY

I have identified three types of diminutives in Salt et al. (2004):

- Derived diminutives – take (a) diminutive suffix(es) and have diminutive semantics
- Lexicalized diminutives – take (a) diminutive suffix(es), and either lack diminutive semantics or have idiosyncratic meanings
- Unverified diminutives – take (a) diminutive suffix(es), but the status (lexical vs. derived) remains unknown

I have omitted the unverified forms from my analysis. Therefore, any discussion of data obtained from Salt et al. (2004) addresses only derived or lexicalized diminutive forms.

In order to determine whether Gender constrains the derivation of nominal diminutives, I investigated three types of animate-inanimate pairs. First, I examined diminutives of pairs of semantically related words, where one member is animate and the other is inanimate (e.g., species of coniferous trees: [+ animate] 'pine tree', [– animate] 'white spruce tree').

A small subset of nouns can be both grammatically animate and inanimate, but Gender is contextually-conditioned in these cases. For example, *pimîy* in WN is animate when referring to 'fat' or 'oil' and inanimate when signifying 'gasoline' (Brittain 2006a). Thus, the second pair of nouns I investigated consisted of the animate and inanimate forms of *pimî* in NEC.[2]

The third group of nouns considered in this thesis involves two nouns from Salt et al. (2004) that are glossed as both animate and inanimate. Unlike *pimîy* in WN, however, there is no indication from the English gloss that animacy marks a semantic distinction. These forms are given below.

(1) DUAL GENDERED NOUNS

a.	[+/- animate]	b.	[+/- animate]
	pânischihkw		*nipikâhtikw*
	'frying pan'		'wooden board'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

The labeling of these nouns as both animate and inanimate may be a result of a glossing error or dialect variation. Alternately, it may simply be an indication that Gender has yet

[2]The orthographic representation of *pimîy* in NEC is *pimî*.

to be verified for these forms. However, if they are in fact dual gendered nouns, elicitation of their diminutive forms might reveal whether diminutivization is constrained by Gender: if Gender does affect diminutivization, I would expect diminutives of animate versions for each noun in (1) to be possible but ungrammatical for inanimate versions, or vice versa.

To address the questions of countability and concreteness, I first needed to find appropriate nouns to derive diminutives from. I took some of these data and elicited their NEC counterparts. I also elicited diminutives of nouns from Salt et al. (2004) whose English gloss suggested they might be mass or abstract nouns. To test whether the selected nouns were mass nouns, I elicited their plural forms.[3] Nouns which could not take the plural suffix were taken to be mass. Conversely, those that could were considered count nouns. The next step was to acquire diminutives of these nouns and note asymmetries (count vs. mass, abstract vs. concrete) in terms of which forms derived grammatical diminutives.[4]

The final goal of my investigation of the nominal diminutive pertains to lexicalized diminutives. Determining whether lexicalized diminutives are limited to terms referring to types of birds and insects was a matter of reviewing the lexicalized forms in Salt et al. (2004) and observing what, if any, characteristics (Gender, countability, abstractness, semantic category, plurality, etc.) are shared among them. To confirm the lexicalized status of the noun (i.e., to rule out glossing errors), I attempted to elicit forms without the diminutive suffix. If the non-diminutive form was salient and semantically related to the diminutive form (i.e., it did not possess idiosyncratic properties in relation to its constituent morphemes) then the diminutive form was taken to be a derived form. The converse was

[3]The morphemes which mark Number for NEC nouns are *-ich* for animates and *-h* for inanimates.

[4]The majority of nouns used in other areas of this research are concrete count nouns. Thus, it was not necessary to acquire additional concrete or count noun data for this stage of the investigation.

true for lexicalized diminutives. Nouns used for this portion of the investigation were chosen based on their semantic properties. In order to accurately determine what types of nouns tend to be lexicalized, I included nouns whose respective meanings covered a wide range of semantic concepts.

The results of this investigation are discussed below.

4.2. FORM

The nominal diminutive has two allomorphs: *-sh* and *-ish*.[5] Table 4.1 below illustrates the different environments in which the allomorphs surface. *-ish* attaches to nouns ending in [ʧ], [m], or [n], and *-sh* occurs with stems ending in [i], [î], or [u].

Table 4.1: Allomorphy Exhibited by the Diminutive Suffix in NEC Noun

	PRECEDING SEGMENT	BASE FORM		DIMINUTIVE	
-ISH					
i.	[ʧ]	a. –	–	b. *mâchishku-**chish***	'small frog'
ii.	[m]	a. *umitâwâshim**h***	'his amulet'	b. *umitâwâshi-**mish**h*	'his little amulet'
iii.	[n]	a. *pâshchiki**n***	'gun'	b. *pâshchiki**nish***	'small gun'
-SH					
iv.	[i]	a. *pâushtiku**i***	'rapids'	b. *pâushtiku**shî**sh*[6]	'small rapids'
v.	[î]	a. *asin**î***	'rock'	b. *asin**îsh***	'twenty-two caliber bullet'
vi.	[u]	a. *âihkunâ**u***	'bannock'	b. *âihkunâ**ush***	'cookie'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004 and Text 1:109)

[5]There is potentially an issue of whether the [i] is epenthetic or actually forms part of the diminutive suffix. As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to answer this question, for convenience, I have included [i] as part of the suffix.

Generalizing from this data, what I take to be the underlying form is *-sh* which surfaces in cases where the base form is vowel-final; elsewhere (i.e., for consonant-final bases), the allomorph *-ish* surfaces.

It is worth noting that a base-final diphthong is sometimes lost when deriving the diminutive. In (vi) above, it is maintained ([âu]), but in (2) below it is not ([â]).

(2) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
uchimâu	*uchimâsh*
'manager'	'store clerk'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Though this process applies mainly to /âu/-final bases, (3) provides an example for a base ending with the diphthong /ui/.

(3) NOUN: INANIMATE

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
pâushtikui	*pâushtikushîsh*
'rapids'	'small rapids'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

4.3. RESULTS

This section is divided into seven subsections. The first three describe where the suffix is positioned in the noun stem, diminutives with multiple diminutive suffixes, and the se-

[6]The form in example (ivb) is a double diminutive. Double diminutives are discussed in detail in section §4.3.2 below.

mantic contributions that have been attested for the nominal diminutive, respectively. The remaining four discuss the three noun properties (Gender, countability, and abstractness) discussed above, and lexicalized diminutives.

4.3.1. POSITION

The diminutive suffix may attach directly to the root (see (3) above). In possessive forms requiring a possessive suffix, the diminutive is positioned to the right of the possessive morpheme (see (4) below).[7]

(4) NOUN: INANIMATE

nitawâshimîchimish
nit-awâsh-i-mîch-**im-ish**
1-child-food-**poss-dim**
'child tax allowance'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

In complex diminutives (diminutives with multiple suffixes), the stem to which a second diminutive attaches may already be diminutivized. In (5) below, 'amulet' is a lexicalized diminutive, originally derived from 'power' (Mackenzie, p.c.). Therefore, the stem to which the rightmost diminutive attaches is a diminutive itself ([[power-**dim**]-poss] > [[[power-dim]-poss]-**dim**]). In these cases, the possessive morpheme is positioned between diminutive suffixes.

[7]All animate and a subset of inanimate nouns require the possessive morpheme *-im*. For further details, the reader is referred to Wolfart (1973: 28).

(5) DIMINUTIVE OF *umitâwashîmh*, 'his amulet'

umitâwashîmishh
u-mitâwa-**sh-îm-ish**-h
3-power-**dim-poss-dim**-obv.anim
'his little amulet'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:114)

The rightmost diminutive suffix is located to the right of the possessive morpheme, just as it is predicted to be, based on its position in simple diminutives (diminutives with one suffix) like (4).

The diminutive suffix precedes plural (6) and obviative (7) inflectional affixes.

(6) DIMINUTIVE OF *mistâpâuch*, 'helper spirits'

mishtâpâshich[8]
mishtâpâ-**sh-ich**
spirit guide-**dim-pl.anim**
'young helper spirits'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:26)

(7) DIMINUTIVE OF *ushimânh*, 'rodents'

ushimânishh[9]
ushimân-**ish-h**
rodent-**dim-obv.anim**
'little rodent(s)'

(Source: NEC, Text 3:91)

Example (5) above is a diminutive that is both possessive and obviative; the rightmost diminutive suffix is positioned between possessive and obviative inflection.

[8]Note that the /s/ palatalizes to /ʃ/ in the diminutive due to sound symbolism.
[9]Obviation over-rides number agreement, therefore *ushimânh* could refer to one or many rodents.

The position of the diminutive in simple diminutives is summarized by the templates below:

(8) a. For proximates: (person)-root-(poss)-dim-(num.gen)
b. For obviatives: (person)-root-(poss)-dim-obv.gen

4.3.2. Complex Diminutives

Approximately half (37/81) of the nominal diminutives (both lexicalized and derived) listed in Salt et al. (2004) are "double diminutives", meaning they have two adjacent diminutive suffixes. The rules of allomorphy apply as described above in §4.2, and are illustrated in example (9).

(9) Derived Diminutive; Animate

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
kâkw	*kâkushish*
'porcupine'	'small, young porcupine'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

The vocalic segment of the suffix surfaces as a long vowel in some cases (see (10) below).

(10) Lexicalized Diminutive; Animate

âpikushîsh
'mouse', 'mouse decoy'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

From the perspective of iconicity, one would expect forms with multiple diminutive suffixes to have amplified or additional diminutive semantics when compared to a simple diminutive or its simplex form. In Mexican Spanish, for example, adding the diminutive

suffix *-it* to the noun *chica* ('little girl') can create a sense of endearment toward the referent (11b).[10] An additional suffix adds the notion of cuteness (11c).

(11) MEXICAN SPANISH

a. Stem
chica
'(little) girl'

b. Diminutive 1: Affection
chiquita
'**sweetie**', 'little one'

c. Diminutive 2: Cuteness
chiquitita
'**cute** little one'

I did not come across any examples of double diminutives that are semantically richer than simple diminutives in NEC. Semantically, double diminutives and single diminutives are identical. For example, the term 'boy' is derived from 'man' in NEC via diminutivization. Both a simple (12a) and double diminutive (12b) with 'man' as the root are attested, though the additional suffix in (12b) does not mark a semantic contrast.

(12) DIMINUTIVES OF *napâu*, 'man'

a. Simple Diminutive
napâsh
napâ-**sh**
man-**dim**
'**boy**'

b. Double Diminutive
napâshish
napâ-**sh-ish**
man-**dim-dim**
'**boy**'
*'little boy'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

[10]Although the Spanish diminutive usually assigns a meaning marking a reduction in size (Marrero et al. 2007), it can bestow, amongst other evaluations, affection. It is the affectionate usage of the diminutive I witnessed most often in Mexican Spanish (specifically in Chiapas). Dressler and Barbaresi (1994) suggest that it functions pragmatically, as well.

The majority of the double diminutives in Salt et al. (2004) are lexicalized and because lexicalized diminutives often have idiosyncratic meanings, the semantic contribution that each suffix makes is difficult to determine. Example (13) contrasts a derived simple diminutive with a lexicalized double diminutive of the same root. The form in (13b) clearly has diminutive meaning, but no diminutive semantics surface in (13c).

(13) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Stem/Non-Diminutive Form

amiskw
'beaver'

(Source: NEC, SEC, Salt et al. 2004)

b. Derived Simple Diminutive

amishkush
amisku-**sh**
beaver-**dim**
'**little** beaver'

(Source: SEC, Salt et al. 2004)

c. Lexicalized Double Diminutive

amishkushîsh
amishkw-**sh-ish**
beaver-**dim-dim**
'black water bug'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

In light of the fact that additional diminutive suffixes do not necessarily add diminutive meaning to the base, the question that immediately comes to mind is: for cases of double diminutives with no additional meaning, why are there two suffixes? Answering this is beyond the scope of this thesis, but I can go so far as to comment on what types of nouns (in terms of Gender, countability, concreteness, lexical status (lexicalized vs. derived), and semantic category) tend to have double diminutives. I have selected nouns from Salt et al. (2004) that exhibit each of these features and displayed them in Table 4.2 for this purpose.

Table 4.2: Double Diminutives of Nouns in NEC

DERIVED DIMINUTIVES				
i	a. Stem:	*shîpî*	'river'	(inanimate)
	b. Diminutive:	*shîpî**shish***	'stream' or 'creek'	
ii	a. Stem:	*atihkw*	'caribou'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*achihku**shish***[11]	'one-year-old caribou'	
iii	a. Stem:	*îyâhtikw*	'black spruce'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*îyâhtiku**shish***	'young black spruce'	
iv	a. Stem:	*chischuchimâu*	'king'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*chischuchimâ**shish***	'prince'	
LEXICALIZED DIMINUTIVES				
v	a. Non-Diminutive:	–	–	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*mini**kushish***	'minute'	
vi	a. Non-Diminutive:	*amiskw*	'beaver'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*amishku**shîsh***	'black water bug'	
vii	a. Non-Diminutive:	*mihchâshiu*	'fox'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*wâpihchâ**shîsh***	'white arctic fox'	

(Source: Salt et al. 2004)

It appears as though nouns of all types form double diminutives. As the table above illustrates, double diminutives are attested for inanimate (i) and animate (ii-vii), derived (i-iv) and lexicalized (v-vii), and abstract (v) and concrete (i-iv, vi, and vii) nouns. There were no examples of mass noun diminutives (simple or double) in Salt et al. (2004) on which to comment.

These same types of nouns form simple diminutives. For comparison, I have compiled some data for single diminutives and displayed them in Table 4.3.

[11]The phonological change in (ii) and (vi) results from sound symbolism. Also, I could only make a near minimal pair for (vii). The main difference between forms is that the initial *wap-* ('white') in the diminutive is not present in the non-diminutive form.

Table 4.3: Simple Diminutives of Nouns in NEC

DERIVED DIMINUTIVES				
i	a. Stem:	*mischâkusâkihîkin*	'pond in the swamp'	(inanimate)
	b. Diminutive:	*mischâkusâkihîkinish*	'pond in the swamp'	
ii	a. Stem:	*mûkumân*	'knife'	(inanimate)
	b. Diminutive:	*mûkumânish*	'pocket knife'	
iii	a. Stem:	*chishâyâkw*	'bear'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*chishâyâkush*	'baby bear'	
iv	a. Stem:	*chîwishishân*	'orphan'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*chîwishishânish*	'orphan'	
			in early fall'	
v	a. Base:	*kûn*	'snow'	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*mîchimâkunishshish*	'small snowflakes'	
LEXICALIZED DIMINUTIVES				
vi	a. Non-Diminutive:	*utâpân*	'train'	(inanimate)
	b. Diminutive:	*uchâpânish* [12]	'car'	
vii	a. Non-Diminutive(initial):	*mîn*	–	(inanimate)
	b. Diminutive:	*minish*	'berries'	
viii	a. Non-Diminutive:	–	–	(animate)
	b. Diminutive:	*achikâshshîsh*	'mink'	

(Source: Salt et al. 2004)

There are animate (iii-v, and viii) and inanimate (i, ii, vi, and vii), derived (i-v) and lexicalized (vi-viii), and concrete diminutives (i-viii) with one suffix. The patterns that emerge from this data are the same as those that emerge from the double diminutive data in Table 4.2.

The only observable difference between nouns that have one versus two adjacent diminutive suffixes is semantic category. With the exception of 'minute' (Table 4.2; (v)), the roots of double diminutives pertain to things found in the natural world: animals (including humans), bodies of water, and plants. Nouns with one suffix tend to belong to a wider range

[12]The phonological change in (vi) results from sound symbolism.

of semantic categories attributed to both the natural and man-made world (e.g., Table 4.3 (ii) and (vi)).

Successive suffixes are attested in other languages and can reach surprising numbers. Savickienė (2007) observes for Lithuanian that although double diminutives are common in everyday speech, up to six successive diminutive suffixes have been attested. The highest number of stacked suffixes I have observed for NEC is three (see (14) below). I am not exactly sure what effect the third suffix has on the root in (14c) because it is semantically weaker (i.e., it has less semantic content) than the corresponding double diminutive (14b).[13]

(14) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Base

iyâpâutihkw
iyâpâ-utihkw
male-caribou
'adult male caribou in spring whose antlers are starting to grow, migrating north'

b. Double Diminutive

iyâpâshîsh
iyâpâ-**sh**-**îsh**
male-**dim**-**dim**
'**two-year** old caribou in early fall'

c. Triple Diminutive

uschiyâpâshîshish
usch-iyâpâ-**sh**-**îsh**-**ish**
new-male-**dim**-**dim**-**dim**
'two year-old male caribou'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

The double diminutive not only contributes the notion of "youth", but the season in which the caribou of that age is found. The triple diminutive only contributes the notion of "youth".

[13]Ideally, a set of forms with identical bases would most effectively illustrate the progression of derivation, both formally and semantically. The most I could do, given the available data, is use forms that are derived from the same root (*iyâpâ*, 'male'). I was unable to find a simple diminutive with the same root for NEC.

All the examples I have discussed so far in this section illustrate diminutives with two immediately adjacent suffixes. There are also diminutives with multiple non-adjacent suffixes. The example in (15) is iconic, meaning that each suffix contributes a portion of the overall meaning of the diminutivized noun.

(15) NOUN: ANIMATE

awâshishihkânish
awâsh-**ish**-ihkân-**ish**
child-**dim**-wooden-**dim**
initial-dim-final-dim
'doll'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

'Doll' literally translates as 'little wooden small child'. The form for 'doll' contains one initial and one final.[14] The leftmost suffix diminutivizes 'child', and the rightmost suffix modifies 'small child made of wood'.

It is not always clear from the glosses, though, what semantic contribution each suffix makes. Contrast (15) with (16), the derivation of 'boss's daughter'.

[14]There are actually three finals, as the diminutive is considered a final (recall the discussion of the diminutive in Plains Cree (Dahlstrom 1991)). I have not glossed the diminutive suffixes as finals here, simply to highlight the other finals.

(16) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Non-Diminutive

uchimâu
'boss'

b. Diminutive with a Single Suffix

uchimâsh
uchimâ-**sh**
boss-**dim**
'**store clerk**'

c. Diminutive with Multiple Suffixes

uchimâshkwâsh
uchimâ-**sh**-kwâ-**sh**
boss-**dim**-female-**dim**
initial-dim-final-dim
'manager's **daughter**'
*'store clerk's daughter'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

The diminutive in (16) is composed of four morphemes: an initial, a final and two diminutive suffixes. The combination of [boss-dim] results in the meaning 'store clerk' (16b). This exact sequence of morphemes is contained within the form for 'boss's daughter' (16c), but the combination no longer refers to 'store clerk'. The original meaning of the root ('boss') is maintained.

Because the diminutive suffix attached to 'boss' does not have the same effect in (16c) as it does in a simple diminutive (16b), and there is no indication that this diminutive suffix contributes semantically to the noun's overall meaning, it may be the case that the leftmost diminutive exists to satisfy some sort of "diminutive agreement" between certain morphemes that make up the noun (such as between an initial and a final which is followed by a diminutive).

4.3.3. Semantic Contributions

Table 4.4 summarizes the semantic effects created by the nominal diminutive that I have observed.

Table 4.4: Semantic Contributions and Functions of the Nominal Diminutive

		FORM	GLOSS	SEMANTIC EFFECT
i	a. Stem:	*shîpî*	'river'	
	b. Diminutive:	*shîpî**shish***	'**stream**', '**creek**'	
ii	a. Stem:	*chîkihîkin*	'axe'	(Small Size)
	b. Diminutive:	*chîkihîki**nish***	'**small** axe'	
iii	a. Stem:	*kâkw*	'porcupine'	
	b. Diminutive:	*kâku**shish***	'**small** porcupine'	
iv	a. Stem:	*chischuchimâu*	'king'	
	b. Diminutive:	*chischuchimâ**shish***	'**prince**'	(Lesser Status)
v	a. Stem:	*uchimâu*	'boss'	
	b. Diminutive:	*uchimâ**shish***	'**store clerk**'	
	c. Diminutive:	*piyâwâku**nish***	'manger's **daughter**'	
vi	a. Stem:	*asinî*	'rock'	
	b. Diminutive:	*asinî**sh***	'**twenty-two caliber bullet**'	
vii	a. Stem:	*shûyân*	'money'	(Specialized)
	b. Diminutive:	*shûyâ**nish***	'**lunch** money'	
viii	a. Stem:	*wîchihîwâwin*	'support'	
	b. Diminutive:	*wîchihîwâwi**nish***	'support **money**'	
ix	a. Stem:	*chishâyâkw*	'bear'	
	b. Diminutive:	*chishâyâku**sh***	'**baby** bear'	
x	a. Stem:	*nâpâu*	'man'	(Physical
	b. Diminutive:	*nâpâ**shish***	'**boy**'	Immaturity)
xi	a. Stem:	*atihkw* [15]	'caribou'	
	b. Diminutive:	*achihku**shish***	'**one-year-old** caribou'	
xii	a. Citation Form:	*ushîmh*	'his/her sibling'	
	b. Diminutive:	*nishîmi**sh***	'my **younger** sibling'	(Youth)
xiii	a. Stem:	*pishiu*	'lynx'	
	b. Diminutive:	*pishî**shish***	'**young** lynx'	
xiv	a. Base:	*kûn*	'snow'	(Light Weight)
	b. Diminutive:	*piyâwâku**nish***	'**light** snowflake'	

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Confirming MacKenzie's (p.c) observations, the nominal diminutive most commonly denotes small size (e.g., 'creek' vs. 'river' (i)), physical maturity (e.g., 'boy' vs. 'man' (x)), as well as lesser status (e.g., 'store clerk' vs. 'boss' or 'manager' (v)). Additionally, the diminutive denotes light weight (e.g.,'light snowflake' vs. 'snowflake' (xiv)) and youth (e.g., 'younger sibling' vs. 'sibling' (xii)).[16]

Some of the more interesting effects of the diminutive are quite specialized. In example (vi), the meaning the diminutive provides is one of kinship ('manager' vs. manager's daughter'). There are a few examples wherein the diminutive creates hyponymy ('lunch money' vs. 'money' (vii); see also (vi) and (viii)). As well, there are the variety of meanings associated with lexicalized diminutives such as 'minute' and bird and insect terms.

Finally, as with particle diminutives, the nominal diminutive is used pragmatically, particularly in child-directed speech. In (17), two meanings were given for the diminutive form of 'love', only one of which is diminutive.

(17) PRAGMATIC USE

a.	Stem	b.	Diminutive
	sâchihîwâwin 'love'		*sâchihîwâwin**ish*** 'little love' or 'love'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

When used in child-directed speech, the noun, though having a diminutive suffix, does not undergo a semantic change.

[15]The phonological change in (xi) results from sound symbolism.

[16]I have made a distinction between physical maturity and youth. For example, while a one-year old and two-year old caribou are both young, they are in different stages of physical development.

4.3.4. GENDER

None of the data collected for this research indicate that the diminutive is restricted by Gender in NEC. Both animate and inanimate nouns can be diminutivized readily.

My attempt to elicit pairs of semantically related words of differing Gender was unsuccessful. The three pairs I chose are given in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Gender Distinction between Semantically Related Nouns

	INANIMATE			ANIMATE		
i	a.	*ashtis*	'mittens'	b.	*mischisin*	'moccasin', 'shoe'
ii	a.	*minihîkw*	'white spruce tree'	b.	*uschisk*	'pine tree'
iii	a.	*atihkûkin*	'caribou bone'	b.	*ushihâkin*	'bones cut from the back and sides of a large fish with flesh still attached'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

The diminutive of *ashtis* (ia) is derived via sound symbolism and not suffixation:

(18) NOUN: ANIMATE

a. Suffixation

ashtishish***
'**little** mittens'

b. Sound Symbolism

*ashti**sh***
'**little** mittens'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

The diminutive of 'moccasin' is derived by means of suffixation and sound symbolism (the second /s/ of *mistisin* palatalizes to /ʃ/):

(19) NOUN: INANIMATE

mischishinish
mischi**shin**-**ish**
moccasin-**dim**
'**little** moccasins'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

That the inanimate 'mittens' does not take the diminutive suffix could prove interesting if diminutivization by sound symbolism were preferred over suffixation by other inanimate nouns. However, as the examples of inanimate diminutives in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 show, inanimate diminutives are regularly formed via suffixation. Therefore, Gender does not account for why the diminutive of 'mittens' is formed solely by means of sound symbolism. Because the animate partner 'moccasins' also undergoes sound symbolism, sound symbolism is not restricted to a particular Gender value.

With regards to the other two pairs, the non-diminutive forms in (iib) and (iiib) were not recognized by Consultant A, so a diminutive form could not be elicited. The consultant did offer a substitute for (iib): *wâchinâkinish* ('tamarack tree'). Though not as closely related semantically as I had intended, the semantics are comparable. Thus, instead of having nouns denoting two varieties of coniferous trees, the pair consists of one deciduous and one coniferous species of tree. Having said that, there is not much to comment on with respect to the new pair. The diminutive for 'white spruce tree' is *minihîkush*. Both the inanimate and animate members of the pair contain the diminutive suffix *-(i)sh*.

Recall that I wanted to compare the diminutive forms of two nouns from Salt et al. (2004) that are listed as being both animate and inanimate. Again, they are:

(20) DUAL GENDERED NOUNS

a.	[+/- animate]	b.	[+/- animate]
	pânischihkw		*nipikâhtikw*
	'frying pan'		'wooden board'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Consultant A could not provide a context for both the animate and inanimate versions of each word because she associated each word with only one Gender. She identified (20a) as inanimate, offering *pânischihkush* for the diminutive form. She only gave one form for (20b) (*nipikâhtikush*), but did not indicate its Gender. Without an animate and inanimate pair to compare, these data have become irrelevant to this discussion.

I looked at one final set of data to understand the relationship between Gender and the diminutive. Where *pimîy* in WN has an inanimate and animate form, it only has an inanimate form in NEC, and refers to all types of fat/grease. Its diminutive form is *pimîsh*.

The only notable asymmetry between diminutives of animate and inanimate nouns is that only one of the 27 lexicalized nouns in Salt et al. (2004) is inanimate (see §4.3.7, example (iv) in Table 4.8). However, this fact merely suggests that animate diminutives may have a greater tendency towards lexicalization than inanimate diminutives, and says nothing about diminutive productivity.

In summary, although there was a higher percentage of animate nominal diminutives than inanimate in Salt et al. (2004), I have not uncovered any evidence that diminutivization is conditioned by Gender.

4.3.5. COUNTABILITY

Countability does not seem to affect diminutive productivity, either. To investigate its effect, I first determined the count-mass status for six forms, by testing whether applying a plural suffix resulted in a grammatical outcome (count) or not (mass). The results of this test are provided in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Count Status of Nouns Based on Plurality

	STEM			PLURAL			COUNT/MASS
i	a.	*kûn*	'snow'	b.	**nistu kûnich*	*three snows'	(Mass)
ii	a.	*chîshikw*	'sky'	b.	**chîshikuh*	*'skies'	(Mass)
iii	a.	*shûyân*	'money'	b.	* *shûyânich*	*'monies'	(Mass)
iv	a.	*sâchihîwâwin*	'love'	b.	**sâchihîwâwinh*	*'[different kinds of] love'	(Mass)
v	a.	*atihkuyân*	'caribou hide'	b.	*atihkuyânich*	'caribou hides'	(Count)
vi	a.	*pichiu*	'gum'	b.	*apichiuich*	'gums'	(Count)

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

I proceeded to elicit diminutives for mass nouns (i-iv) and discovered that diminutives are possible for (i), (ii), and (iv) but not (ii):

(21) DIMINUTIVES OF MASS NOUNS FROM TABLE 4.6

a. (i) [*nistâwich âtapîshit*] *kûnish*[17]
b. (ii) **chîshikush*
c. (iii) *shûyânsh*; 'lunch money'
d. (iv) *sâchihîwâwinish*; 'a little love', 'love'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

[17]The diminutive of 'snow' (*kûnish*) was given in the context 'three piles of snow' (lit. 'it sits thus thrice'). The meaning of the diminutive form was not given.

Clearly, mass nouns are able to undergo diminutivization. The numerous examples of count nouns throughout this chapter provide ample evidence that count nouns are readily diminutivized, as well. Therefore, as predicted, countability does not influence diminutive productivity.

4.3.6. ABSTRACT VERSUS CONCRETE NOUNS

I selected three abstract nouns from Salt et al. (2004) to elicit diminutives from. They are:

(22) ABSTRACT NOUNS

a. *wîchihîwâwin*
'help, assistance, support'

b. *tâwâyâyihtimuwin*
'belief, faith'

c. *nipihîwâwin*
'murder'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

As expected, the diminutive of 'murder' (**nipihîwâwin**ish***) was rejected, I suspect because the concept of murder cannot be quantified (*'a little murder'). The acceptability of the diminutive for (22b) (? *tâwâyâyihtimuwin**ish***) is questionable. What is interesting is (22a). The simplex noun means 'support'. In English, 'support' can be interpreted in the abstract (emotional support) and concrete (financial or physical support) sense.[18] In NEC, the diminutive form is interpreted only in the concrete sense ("financial support"):

[18]Money is tangible and physical assistance can be felt. Thus, under this analysis, I consider 'support' a concrete noun.

(23) DIMINUTIVE OF (22a)
*wîchihîwâwin**ish***
'support money'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

That the diminutive results in a concrete noun could indicate that the simplex noun *wîchihîwâwin* does not correspond exactly with the English notion of 'support', in that it is only interpretable in the concrete sense. On the other hand, it could suggest that abstract nouns cannot form diminutives, such that diminutives of nouns like the one in (23), that are associated with both abstract and concrete meanings, are automatically interpreted in the concrete sense. Certainly, further research would be more conclusive.

4.3.7. LEXICALIZATION

The main purpose for my examination of lexicalized diminutives is to determine if the tendency for lexicalization is restricted to a subset of nouns based on the semantic properties of their roots. I considered diminutives lexicalized if removing the suffix did not yield a grammatical form accepted by NEC speakers, if the current use of the form with the diminutive suffix has no diminutive semantics associated with it, or if the meaning is idiosyncratic. The example 'flowers' (***nîpîsh***) illustrates the first two criteria. Not only is this form not associated with any sort of diminutive meaning in NEC (*'little flowers') (Salt et al. 2004), Consultant A judged the non-diminutive form (**nîpî*) as ungrammatical.[19]

[19]Non-diminutive forms of *nîpîsh* have been attested in dialects related to NEC: *nēpe* in western Cree dialects (Watkins 1938) and *nipia* (note this is a plural form) in Montagnais (Laure 1727). In both dialects the associated meaning is 'leaf'.

Thus, whatever diminutive meaning was originally associated with this form has since been lost in NEC.

Data shows that the majority (63%) of the lexicalized diminutives in Salt et al. (2004) refer to living beings, including, but not limited to, birds and insects. These include plants, mammals, and reptiles. Table 4.7 gives some examples.[20]

Table 4.7: Lexicalized Nouns Referring to the Natural World

		FORM	GLOSS	CLASS OF ORGANISM
i	a. Non-Diminutive:	*piyâsiu*	'bird' [large fowl]	(bird)
	b. Diminutive:	*piyâ**shîsh***	'bird' [small fowl]	
ii	a. Non-Diminutive:	**chîshchiship*	–	(bird)
	b. Diminutive:	*chîshchishi**pish***	'green-winged teal duck'	
iii	a. Non-Diminutive:	**usâuskupiyâsiu*	–	(bird)
	b. Diminutive:	*usâuskupiyâ**shîsh***	'warbler finch'	
iv	a. Non-Diminutive:	*amiskw*	'beaver'	(insect)
	b. Diminutive:	*amishkushî**sh***	'black water bug'	
v	a. Non-Diminutive:	**nîpî*	–	(plant)
	b. Diminutive:	*nîpî**sh***	'flowers'	
vi	a. Non-Diminutive:	**mîn*	–	(plant [fruit])
	b. Diminutive:	*mî**nish***	'berries'	
vii	a. Non-Diminutive:	**wâpihchâsiu*	'–	(mammal)
	b. Diminutive:	*wâpihchâ**shîsh***	'white arctic fox'	
viii	a. Non-Diminutive:	**mâchishkuch*	–	(reptile)
	b. Diminutive:	*mâchishkuchi**sh***	'small green or brown frog'	

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. (2004))

[20]Non-diminutive forms are only available for the words in (i) and (iv) though, there is no longer a semantic association between the diminutive (iv) and its non-diminutive form. Though not a word, the form in (via) (*mîn-*) is an initial meaning 'berry', used to form other words such as ***mînaahtikw*** ('**berry** bush'). However, it is an independent word in other dialects of CMN (MacKenzie, p.c.).

I distinguish between two types of diminutive bird terms: those that contain the base *piyâshîsh* ('bird') (iii), and those that do not (ii).[21] The relationship between *piyâsiu* and its diminutive form is exceptional. Normally, a simplex form represents something of average size and the diminutive results in a reduction in size to below average. In the case of *piyâsiu*, the non-diminutive form refers to large fowl (geese, turkeys, etc.) (MacKenzie, p.c.). Thus, the simplex form represents an above average-sized entity/object, and the diminutive reduces the size to a normal size (i.e., the diminutive does not mean 'little bird', but something along the lines of "non-large fowl"). Therefore, the diminutive reading of (ib) is somewhat idiosyncratic in that, unlike all other lexicalized bird terms in Salt et al. (2004), it refers to a group of birds (small fowl) as opposed to a specific species ((ii) and (iii)).

The other 37% of the lexicalized diminutives cover a wide range of semantic groups. Table 4.8 provides a few illustrative examples.

Table 4.8: A Miscellany of Lexicalized Nouns

	LEXICALIZED DIMINUTIVE			NON-DIMINUTIVE			GENDER
i	a.	*minikushish*	'minute'	b.	**minikw*	–	(animate)
ii	a.	*mitâwâsh*	'amulet'	b.	*mitâwâu*	'power'	(animate)
iii.	a.	*nûshishîmish*	'my grandchild'	b.	** nûshishîm*	–	(animate)
iv	a.	*uchâpânish*	'car'	b.	*utâpan*	'train'	(inanimate)

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

[21]Diminutives with *piyâshîsh* were not counted as separate instances of the diminutive.

Though the diminutives in (ii) and (iv) have grammatical non-diminutive counterparts, they are not derived diminutives because the meaning originally supplied by the root has been lost in the diminutive (e.g., *uchâpânish* is not intuitively understood to mean 'little train').

These data show that lexicalization of diminutives applies across nouns with a variety of semantic properties, not only bird and insect terms.

The final observation that is discussed in this chapter pertains to the initial (*apish-*), which means 'small'. I have observed that in certain cases, *apish-* is required to form the diminutive. Example (24) illustrates this.

(24) DIMINUTIVES OF *îyiyi*; 'person'

a. Initial + Suffix

*apishîyiyi**sh***
apish-îyiyi-**sh**
small-person-dim
'dwarf', 'midget'

b. Only Suffix

**îyiyish*
îyiyi-**sh**
person-**dim**
'dwarf', 'midget'

c. Only Initial

**apishîyiyiu*
apish-îyiyiu
small-person
'dwarf','midget'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Neither the diminutive suffix nor *apish-* alone suffice to form the diminutive of 'person'. Both morphemes are required to form the diminutive (24a), or the result is ungrammatical (24b) and (24c). Consultant A stated that *îyiyish* without *apish-* was possible only for the nickname *pichika* ***îyiyish*** ('short man'). Interestingly, the diminutive of 'goose' can be formed with just the initial *apish-*:

(25) NOUN: ANIMATE

apishishch
apish-ishch
small-goose
'small goose'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Further discussion of *apish-* appears in Chapter 5 (§5.3.2.3 and §5.3.6).

In conclusion, I have shown that the diminutive suffix is positioned to the left of plural and obviative inflection and to the right of possessive inflection. Diminutives with multiple suffixes are common, but additional suffixes do not necessarily add meaning. The nominal diminutive supplies some typical diminutive notions (small size and immaturity) as well as a variety of specialized meanings. Data collected for this thesis does not indicate that Gender and countability constrain diminutive application among nouns, though there is a small amount of evidence that suggests the abstract/concrete quality of nouns may. Finally, lexicalization of diminutives extends well beyond the bird and insect terms noted by MacKenzie (p.c.).

CHAPTER 5

The Verbal Diminutive

In his analysis of the Pqmy verbal diminutive, LeSourd (1995) examines all four verb classes and identifies what the diminutive modifies (subject, object, and/or verb) with respect to each class (refer back to Chapter 1, §1.5.3 for a summary of LeSourd's results). In this chapter, I analyze the distribution of the verbal diminutive in NEC using this approach. The results of this investigation are detailed in §5.3. As well, I provide an account of the formal properties of the verbal diminutive, describing its form (§5.1) and position in the verb stem, as well as any stem allomorphy affixation of the diminutive suffix instigates (§5.3). The methodology used in this investigation is outlined in §5.2.

5.1. PHONOLOGICAL FORM OF THE VERBAL DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX

The verbal diminutive suffix takes the form *-shi*. When the following segment is a [u] or [û], the [i] of the suffix may or may not be articulated, but is present underlyingly (MacKenzie, p.c.). This is supported by the fact that speakers are inconsistent in how they write the verbal diminutive. For instance, the diminutive of *îshkwâtâu* ('It burns') is written both as *îshkwâtâshiu* or *îshkwâtâshu* ('It burns a little' or 'A little thing burns') (MacKenzie, p.c.). In other contexts, such as adjacent to the inflectional suffix [-n] (*nichî îshkwâshâshin*; 'I burned it a little'), [i] is consistently represented in the orthography.

When the segment immediately preceding the diminutive is a consonant, an epenthetic [i] is inserted before the diminutive suffix. In (1), the preceding segment is a [k].

(1) 'HIT'; TA VERB

a. Citation Form	b. Diminutive
utâmihwâu	*nichî utâmihuk**ishi**shi-u*
utâmihw-â-u	ni-chî utâmihw-ik-**ishi**-shi-u
hit-DIR(IIN.3>3′)-nonSAP.sg	1-past hit-(IIN.3>1)-dim-dim-nonSAP.sg
'S/he hits him/her'	'The baby hit me'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

For convenience, in this thesis I include the epenthetic [i] in the gloss for the diminutive (*-ishi*) and do not analyze its underlying nature.

The above example also shows that double diminutives are possible for verbs, as well as nouns and particles. I do not discuss verbal double diminutives further, due to a lack of sufficient data.

5.2. METHODOLOGY

Verbal diminutive data was obtained through fieldwork, as well as through the examination of Salt et al. (2004) and Texts 1-4. In determining which verbs to focus on for the elicitation portion of this research, a number of variables were considered. First, I selected representatives from each of the four Algonquian verb classes.[1] Second, for comparisons within a single class, I included verbs of varying semantic classes (e.g., perception: 'see',

[1]Fieldwork did not generate any T12 forms for analysis.

'smell'; process: 'eat'; state: 'stand', 'sleep'; change of state: 'melt', 'burn'; and physical contact: 'wipe dry', 'hit'). Third, for intransitives, I took into account the distinction between unaccusative and unergative predicates. So far as I am aware, there is no test for unaccusativity in Algonquian; therefore, I specifically selected verbs with semantics that are commonly associated with each type of predicate cross-linguistically (see Levine and Rappaport Hovav (1995)). Fourth, I preferred to use verbs that were as semantically and morphologically simple as possible. For example, I felt that elicitation, and the subsequent analysis, of the diminutive of a verb like 'eat' would be less taxing for a form like *mîchiu* ('s/he eats') than for *nâhnâmimîchiu* ('s/he eats so much of it that s/he cannot eat it ever again because it makes her/him sick'). In this example, the lack of correspondence between NEC and English clause structure would unnecessarily complicate the analysis.

I will now discuss the results of this investigation.

5.3. Results

The NEC diminutive behaves differently for intransitive and transitive verbs. Though discussed together in §5.3.1 below, intransitive (§5.3.2) and transitive (§5.3.3) verbs are treated separately thereafter.

5.3.1. Semantic Contributions

Pinpointing what the diminutive contributes semantically is not as straightforward for verbs – when it is the action/state that is being modified – as it is for particles and nouns. What does it mean to say, for example, that a ball rolls "a little"? Do the diminutive semantics

describe the manner in which the ball is rolled (i.e., with little force)? Is it that the ball moves only a small distance (i.e., small quantity)? In effect, these interpretations are interconnected. A small amount of force would result in the small motion of the ball, and the subsequent short distance it travels. Therefore, whether the diminutive is describing the manner of the action or the result of the action, the overall semantic impression is the same. Having said that, I have attempted to articulate what semantic functions I believe the verbal diminutive performs in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Semantic Contributions of Action/State-Oriented Diminutives

		FORM	GLOSS	SEMANTIC EFFECT
i (TA)	a. Citation Form:	*kwâhkwâtipinâu*	's/he rolls it'	
	b. Diminutive:	*nikwâhkwâtip-itinâ**shiu***	'I roll the ball **a little**'	(Manner)
	c. Diminutive:	*kwâkwâtipitâ**sh***	**'Gently** roll the baby' [2]	
ii (AI)	a. Stem:	*nipâu*	's/he sleeps'	(Small Quantity –
	b. Diminutive:	*nipâ**shiu***	's/he **takes a nap**'	Duration)
iii (AI)	a. Stem:	*ishkwâshû*	's/he gets burned'	(Small Quantity –
	b. Diminutive:	*ishkwâ**shushû***	'she gets burned **a little**'	Material)
iv (TA)	a. Citation Form:	*âpichihâu*	's/he makes use of someone'	
	b. Diminutive:	*âpichihiku**shû***	's/he makes **a little use** of me'	(Small Quantity –
v (TA)	a. Stem:	*itâchimâu*	's/he tells reports about someone'	Frequency)
	b. Diminutive:	*itâchimiku**shiyit***	's/he tells reports ' **a little** about someone'	

(Source: NEC, Consultant A, Text 1: 151 and Text 2:114)

[2]Example (ic) is in the Imperative order, and (vb) is in the Conjunct. All other examples in this table are in the Independent order.

The verbal diminutive, generally, has an adverbial effect. It mitigates the manner in which the action is performed ('gently', (ic)), and modifies quantity either by diminishing the duration ('take a nap', (iib)) or frequency ('tell reports a little'(vb)) of the event. The diminutive also describes how little the goal is affected by the action ('burn a little', (iiib)); that is, with a verb like 'burn', the result of the action of someone "burning a little" can mean either a) a small portion of that person's body was affected, or b) the degree to which s/he was burned was not severe. It is impossible to say, without context, what the intended meaning is.

Semantic contributions made by the diminutive when it modifies arguments are easier to describe. The effects on human arguments are physical immaturity ('the baby' or 'child', (2a)) and small size ('small person', (2b)).

(2) TA VERBS; HUMAN ARGUMENTS

a. *nutâmihwâ**shin***
'I hit **the baby**'
(lit. 'I hit the little one')

b. *wâpihti**shiu***
'**A small person** sees it'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

When the arguments are logically inanimate, the diminutive usually diminishes quantity (3) or size (4):

(3) TI VERB; SMALL QUANTITY

a. Citation Form

muwâu
'S/he eats it'

b. Diminutive

*âihkunâu muwâ**shiu***
cake eat
'S/he is eating **a bit of cake**'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(4) II VERB; SMALL SIZE

a. Citation Form	b. Diminutive
ishkwâtau	*ishkwâtâ**shiu***
'It burns'	'**A little thing** is burning'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

The majority of stative intransitive diminutives get their diminutive semantics mainly from an initial (see §5.3.2.3). Consequently, this summary of semantic effects conveyed by the verbal diminutive applies to transitive verbs and active intransitives only.

5.3.2. INTRANSITIVES

In this section on intransitives, I discuss how the diminutive affects the morphophonology of the intransitive verb stem, the position of the diminutive within the verb stem, and diminutive modification patterns (what component of the sentence the diminutive in construed with).

5.3.2.1. MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Addition of the diminutive suffix causes stem allomorphy in II verbs. When the diminutive attaches to a verb stem ending in a nasal, the nasal segment is deleted. Furthermore, while *n*-stem II verbs by definition are not inflected with the 3rd person *-u* (see (5a) and Appendix A), *-u* surfaces in their diminutive form (see (5b)).

(5) 'BE WINDY'; II VERB

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
yûtin	*yûtishiu*
yûti**n**	yûti-shi-**u**
'It is windy'	wind-dim-**nonSAP.sg**
	'It is a little windy'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Third person inflection surfaces in AI *n*-stems as well, though, interestingly, the nasal segment is preserved (see (6)).

(6) 'POUR'; AI VERB

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
uhpimâshin	*uhpimâshinishiu*
uhpimâshi**n**	uhpimâshi**n**-ishi-**u**
lean.to.one.side	lean.to.one.side-dim-**nonSAP.sg**
'S/he pours it'	'S/he pours it a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant B)

One possible explanation might be that the presence or absence of third person *-u* in the surface form is conditioned by the preceding [n]. When the underlying nasal and *-u* are adjacent, *-u* deletes. In cases where the segments are not adjacent, due to either nasal deletion (5) or an intervening segment/morpheme (such as the diminutive suffix in (6)), *-u* surfaces.

Both the appearance of third person inflection in the surface form and nasal deletion occur with TI diminutives as well, the discussion of which is deferred to §5.3.3.1. The most that can be said without further investigation, is that verb stems are grammatically conditioned in some way to preserve their pre-diminutive form for AI but not II *n*-stems.

5.3.2.2. POSITION

The unmarked position for the diminutive suffix in intransitive verbs is to the right of the stem final vowel and to the left of person inflection:

(7) verb.stem-sfv-**dim**-person-(number)-(obviation)

Example (8) shows the location of the diminutive for both AI and II verbs.

(8)

a. 'HAVE LEGS'; AI VERB

iyâpishikâchâshiu
iyâpish-ikât-**â-shi-u**[3]
skinny-leg-**sfv**(AI)-**dim-nonSAP.sg**
'S/he has skinny legs'

b. 'BE AN ISLAND'; II VERB

apishânikâshiu
apish-ânik-**â-shi-u**
small-island-**sfv**(II)-**dim-nonSAP.sg**
'It is a small island'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

5.3.2.3. MODIFICATION PATTERNS

Recall from §1.5.3 that LeSourd (1995) observes that verbal diminutives generally modify subjects, and occasionally the verb, in intransitive constructions. Preliminary data from ShIA (MacKenzie 1996) and WN (Brittain 2006a) support this. However, MacKenzie (p.c.) observes that in NEC AI constructions, there is an ambiguity between a reading in which the subject is modified by the diminutive and one where the verb (state/action) is modified. Data collected for this research not only corroborates this observation, but reveals a more complex story.

[3]The underlying /t/ surfaces as the palatal [tʃ] ([ch] orthographically) due to sound symbolism.

A review of the intransitive diminutives in Salt et al. (2004) reveals two main semantic classes of verbs: stative and active. There are also intransitives which can incorporate nouns. Each will be dealt with individually.

5.3.2.3.1. Stative Intransitives Taking into account both textual and elicited data, it appears that stative verbs with diminutive semantics do not derive their diminutive meaning solely from the diminutive suffix, although the suffix is required. Each of the verbs in Table 5.2 has the diminutive suffix, and is accompanied by an initial that supplies diminutive meaning, as well.

Table 5.2: Stative Intransitive Diminutives with an Obligatory Initial and Diminutive Suffix

INITIAL	SEMANTIC CONTRIBUTION	EXAMPLE	VERB CLASS
apish-/pîsh-	'small'/ 'little'	a. ***apish**âpishchi**shiu* 'It (mineral) is small'	AI
		b. ***apish**ânikâ**shiu*** 'It is a small island'	II
mâsh-	'cute'	c. ***mâsh**châyihchâ**shiu*** 'S/he is cute'	AI
		d. ***mâsh**châyihtâku**shiu*** 'It is cute'	II
pâsh-	'short' (in time and distance)	e. ***pâsh**ihuku**shiu*** 'It is a short distance by paddling'	II
shâk-	'narrow'	f. ***shâk**iwâyiwâ**shiu*** 'It (beaver) has a narrow tail'	AI
iyâpish-	'skinny'	g. ***iyâpish**ikâchâ**shiu*** 'S/he has skinny legs'	AI
tip-	'short' (in height)	h. ***tipish**ishchishkâ**shiu*** 'It is an area of short pine trees'	AI

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Both the initial and diminutive suffix must be present for these verbs to be grammatical. For example, in (d), you could neither omit the initial, (**châyihtâkushiu*), nor the diminutive (**mâshchâyihtâkû*).

In light of the co-dependency between the initial and diminutive suffix, and considering the initial itself has diminutive semantics, it is unclear whether the the diminutive suffix contributes anything to the overall meaning, making it difficult to generalize as to what element of the sentence (subject or state) the diminutive modifies.[4]

While the initial-diminutive combination appears to apply to the entire subclass of AI stative verbs, there are exceptions in the corresponding II subclass. I noted four instances of stative II diminutives where an initial is not obligatory in Texts 1-3 .

(9) II VERBS WITH NO DIMINUTIVE-LIKE INITIAL, CONJUNCT;

a. *iyâtiwâkimîu**shi**yich*
'They are inlets'

b. *wâwâkâyâ**shi**ch*
'They are sandy coves'

c. *wiyûkimâ**shi**ch*
'They are little gulfs'

d. *mimiywâ**shi**ch*
'They are nice'

(Source: NEC, Text 2:24)

The exceptional behaviour exhibited by the II stative diminutives in (9), in relation to those from Table 5.2, cannot be attributed to semantic properties. First of all, the four verbs in (9) do not form a cohesive semantic group. While the first three pertain to geographical locations, the fourth one is adjectival and qualitative. Secondly, even if we were to ignore the fourth verb, proposing that verbs referring to geographic locations form a semantic

[4]For the sake of convenience, and where it is not pertinent to the discussion, I will refer to the single argument of intransitive verbs as the subject, regardless of whether the subject originates as the canonical subject or in the object position.

subset of II verbs that do not require an initial with diminutive semantics, example (b) from Table 5.2 would defeat this hypothesis, as it contains a verb that refers to geographic location that requires an initial. Therefore, semantic properties of verb stems do not appear to explain the deviant cases in (9).

Though generalizing about the modification patterns has proven to be somewhat of a challenge for stative intransitive diminutives, patterns arising from active intransitive constructions are more discernible.

5.3.2.3.2. Active Intransitives An active AI diminutive with a non-local subject can result in both subject and event-oriented readings (10a). If the subject is local, both interpretations are possible, but, without situational context, not equally plausible (10b).

(10) 'SLEEP'; AI VERB; UNERGATIVE

a.	Non-Local Subject	b.	Local Subject
	*nipâ**shi**u*		*niki nipâshin*
	nip-â-shi-n		ni-ki nip-â-**shi**-n
	sleep-sfv(AI)-dim-nonSAP.sg		1-FUT sleep-sfv(AI)-**dim**-SAP.sg
	'S/he takes **a nap**' or		'I will take **a little nap**'
	'**The little one** sleeps'		

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Although 'Little I sleep' is certainly possible for (10b), Consultant A stated that she would only have come to this conclusion if the speaker was of small stature. The default interpretation is a diminutivized event. This stands to reason, as people generally do not refer to themselves ('little me') or the person to whom they are talking ('little you') in diminutive

form, unless there is some pragmatic motivation behind it, such as child-directed speech, assuming of course that diminutivization in these cases is constrained by semantics alone.

II diminutives can only have non-local subjects, and pattern with AI diminutives with non-local subjects (i.e., both event and subject modification are possible):

(11) 'BURN'; II VERB; UNACCUSATIVE

a. Stem	b. Diminutive
îshkwâtâu	*îshkwâtâ**shi**u*
îshkwât-â-u	îshkwât-â-**shi**-u
burn-sfv(II)-nonSAP.sg	burn-sfv(II)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'It burns'	'It burns **a little**' or 'A **little** thing burns'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

The modification patterns for II and AI diminutives are not conditioned by unaccusativity. The verb in (10) has semantics associated with unergative predicates. The verb in (11) above lacks the agentive subject which accompanies unergative predicates, and along with the verb in (12) below, has semantics associated with unaccusative predicates. The modification patterns observed for diminutives of both predicate types are the same. When the subject is non-local (see (10a) and (11b)), the addition of the diminutive suffix can result in either a diminutivized subject or event. When the subject is local ((10b) and (12)), event modification results.

(12) 'ROLL'; AI VERB; UNACCUSATIVE; IMPERATIVE

kwâkwâtipitâsh
kwâkwâtipitâ**sh**
'**Gently** roll him/her (the baby) [to put him/her to sleep]'[5]

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

5.3.2.3.3. Incorporating Verbs Intransitive verbs may contain an incorporated noun (IN). In constructions where there are two arguments and one is an IN, the IN is the entity which is modified. To illustrate this, examples (f) and (g) from Table 5.2, have been repeated as (13) below.

(13) AI VERBS WITH INCORPORATED NOUN

a.	*shâkiwâyiwâshiu*	b.	*iyâpishikâchâshiu*[6]
	shâk-**iwâyiw**-â-shi-u		iyâpish-**ikât**-â-shi-u
	narrow-**tail**-AI-dim-nonSAP.sg		skinny-**leg**-sfv(AI)-dim-nonSAP.sg
	'It (beaver) has **a narrow tail**'		'S/he has **skinny legs**'

(Source: NEC, Salt et al. 2004)

Number inflection agrees with the subject of intransitive verbs. In (13b), agreement is with a singular third person. *-ikât* is a medial and is thus an incorporated nominal. Incorporated nouns, as demonstrated by Baker (1988), among others, are never subjects. Formally, then, two arguments are acknowledged: the possessor and the possessed noun (the IN). Yet, it is the IN and not the non-local subject – which one would predict to be modified based on patterns observed thus far – that the diminutive modifies (*'Little s/he

[5]The object in this example in implied in NEC, but is expressed overtly in the English translation.
[6]The final [ʧ] is an underlying /t/ that results from sound symbolism.

has skinny legs'). Likewise, it is the incorporated 'tail' and not 'beaver' that is modified in (13a).

5.3.3. TRANSITIVES

Because theme signs interact with the PAH in TA verbs, diminutive effects on TA verbs are quite different and more complex than those for TI verbs. Therefore, the results for TA and TI verbs will be discussed separately, beginning with TI verbs. For each class, I discuss – where applicable – how the diminutive affects the morphophonology of the verb stem, the position of the diminutive within that verb stem, and diminutive modification patterns.

5.3.3.1. TI DIMINUTIVES

5.3.3.1.1. Position and Morphophonological Effects The unmarked position for the diminutive is to the right of the theme sign and to the left of person inflection:

(14) TI VERB: (person)-verb.stem-TS-**dim**-person-(number)-(obviation)

Patterning with II *n*-stems, when the diminutive attaches to a TI verb ending in a nasal, the nasal segment deletes. Non-diminutive forms of nasal-final TI verbs are not inflected for third person *-u* (15a); yet, third person inflection surfaces in the diminutive (15b), again, patterning with II *n*-stems).

(15) 'OPEN'; TI VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

a. Base Form	b. Diminutive
âpiham	*âpihâshiu*
âpih-**am**	âpih-â-shi-**u**
open-TS	open-TS-dim-**nonSAP.sg**
'S/he opens it'	'She opens it a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

This example also shows that vowel lengthening of /a/ accompanies nasal deletion.

5.3.3.1.2. Modification Patterns Diminutives of transitives are quite restricted in Pqmy, according to LeSourd (1995). In fact, LeSourd offers little analysis with respect to TI constructions simply because he had not come across many TI diminutives in natural speech. In NEC, however, TI diminutives are possible, though fewer in number compared to diminutives observed in the other verb classes. I noted only five instances of TI diminutives in both the textual and elicited data collected for this thesis.

While TI diminutives have the potential to modify subjects, objects, and actions, some readings are more plausible than others. In the the mixed sets below, only an event reading is given for (16a) and an object reading for (17a). In the non-local sets below, an event reading is offered for (16b), and subject and object readings are given for (17b).

(16) 'BURN'; TI VERB

a. Mixed Set

nichî ishkwâshâshin
ni-chî ishkwâsh-â-**shi**-n
1-past burn-TS-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I burned it **a little**'

b. Non-local Set

chî ishkwâshishiu uchâkwânimish
chî ishkwâshi-**shi**-u uchâkwânimish
past burn-refl?-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
stuff
'He burned his own stuff **a little**'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(17) 'SEE'; TI VERB

a. Mixed Set

nichî wâpihtâshin
ni-chî wâp-iht-â-**shi**-n
1-past see-TS-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I saw **a small thing**'

b. Non-local Set

wâpihtishiu
wâpiht-i-**shi**-u
see-TS-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'**A small person** sees it' or
'S/he sees **something small**'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Semantic properties of the verb stem combined with the local and/or non-local properties of the arguments may play a role in how the listener interprets the diminutive when no context is available to help disambiguate between potential readings, accounting for why only certain interpretations are offered in (16) and (17). For instance, 'Little me saw something' (subject reading), 'I saw something a little' (event reading), or I saw something small' (object reading) are all semantically plausible and grammatical interpretations for the diminutive of 'see' in (17a). Interpretations of verbs of perceptions like 'see', in the absence of context, tend to be absolute. A person can either see, or they cannot. Context makes more gradable/quantifiable interpretations possible, such as 'I see a little'. Con-

trastively, quantification of an action denoted by process verbs like 'burn' ('burns a little') is easier to conceive of in the absence of context. This difference in semantic properties could explain that, while possible for both (16a) and (17a), an event reading is only offered for the former.

I suggested for intransitive diminutives that without contextual motivation, local arguments are not usually construed with the diminutive. Applying this generalization to TI verbs could explain why a possible subject reading for (17a) was not offered. Thus, the fact that the consultant only gave one reading (object reading) for (17a) does not imply that other readings were not possible, rather it suggests that contextual information is considered when interpreting diminutive forms, and object modification was the most intuitive of the possible readings for this particular verbal diminutive.

5.3.3.2. TA DIMINUTIVES

5.3.3.2.1. Position The unmarked position for the diminutive in TA stems is to the right of the theme sign followed by person inflection. Recall from Chapter 2, §2.2.2 that for PC, Wolfart (1973) observes that the diminutive in inverse non-local forms is to the left of the theme sign. This, to the best of my knowledge, had not been observed for diminutives in any other Algonquian language or dialect, until now.

In NEC, when the arguments of the TA diminutive are local or mixed, the diminutive, as expected, is located to the right of the theme sign, in both the direct and inverse forms, as shown in examples (18)-(22).

(18) 'WIPE';TA VERB; LOCAL SET

a. Direct

chikâshînâshin
chi-kâshîn-**â** -**shi**-n
2-wipe.dry-**DIR**(IIN.2>1)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'You wipe me dry a little'

b. Inverse

nikâshînâshin
ni-kâshîn-**â** -**shi**-n
1-wipe.dry-**INV**(IIN.1>2)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I wipe you dry a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(19) 'WIPE';TA VERB; MIXED SET

a. Direct

NO DATA

b. Inverse

nikâshînikushiu
ni-kâshîn-**ikw**-**shi**-u
1-wipe.dry-**INV**(IIN.3>1)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'The child wipes me dry'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(20) 'HIT'; TA VERB; LOCAL SET

a. Direct

kûtâmihushin
kûtâmih-**w**-**shi**-n
hit-**DIR**(IIN.2>1)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'You tap me'
(lit. 'You hit me a little bit')

b. Inverse

kûtâmihutishin
kûtâmih-w-**it**-**ishi**-n
hit-**INV**(IIN.1>2)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I tap you'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(21) 'HIT'; TA VERB; MIXED SET

a. Direct

nutâmihwâshin
n-utâmihw-**â** -**shi**-n
1-hit-**DIR**(IIN.1>3)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I hit the baby'

b. Inverse

nichî utâmihukishishiu
ni-chî utâmihw-**ik**-**ishi**-shi-u
1-past hit-**INV**(IIN.3>1)-**dim**-dim-nonSAP.sg
'The baby hit me'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(22) 'PULL DOWN'; TA VERB; LOCAL SET

a. Direct

chipâchi kupishin
chipâchi kup-**i**-**shi**-n
2-will pull.down-**DIR**(IIN.2>1)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'You will pull me down a little'

b. Inverse

chikûpitishin
chi-kûp-**it**-**ishi**-n
2-pull.down-**INV**(IIN.1>2)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I pull you down a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

However, when both arguments in an inverse construction are non-local, the diminutive is located to the left of the theme sign. Compare the non-local forms in (23b) and (24b) below with the local forms of their respective verbs above.

(23) 'HIT'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

a. Direct

utâmihwâshiu
utâmihw-**â** -**shi**-u
hit-**DIR**(IIN.3>3′)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'S/he taps him (John)(obv)'
(lit. 'S/he hits him a little bit')

b. Inverse

utâmihwâshikw
utâmihw-â-**shi**-**kw**
hit-DIR-**dim**-**INV**(IIN.3′ >3)[7]
'He (obv.) taps him.'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(24) 'PULL DOWN'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

a. Direct

kupitâshiu
kupit-â-**shi**-u
pull.down-**DIR**(IIN.3>3′)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'S/he, it pulls him/her/it (obv) down a little'

b. Inverse

kupitishikû
kupit-**ish**-ik-û
pull.down-**dim**-**INV**(IIN.3′ >3)-nonSAP.sg
'S/he (obv) pulls him/her down a little'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Thus, the attested patterns for the location of the diminutive suffix with respect to the theme sign in the TA diminutive are as follows:

- Direct Local and Mixed: verb.stem-TS-**dim**
- Inverse Local and Mixed: verb.stem-TS-**dim**
- Direct Non-Local: verb.stem-TS-**dim**
- Inverse Non-Local: verb.stem-**dim**-TS

Though a marked position has been observed, its grammaticality has not been conclusively established. First, the diminutive suffix is not found consistently in the marked position when the conditioning factors are present. Second, although Consultant A gave the inverse form in (24) without hesitation, she did struggle somewhat with the inverse form in (23). Initially, she provided the marked pattern (dim-INV). After further deliberation,

[7]Notice in this example that along with the inverse theme sign, a morpheme resembling a direct theme sign (*-â*) surfaces in the diminutive of the inverse form. This is a peculiar result, however it is not unique to NEC. LeSourd (1995) observes that repetition of the direct theme sign immediately after the diminutive is characteristic of all Pqmy TA diminutives. Interestingly, although diminutives of inverse forms are virtually unattested in Pqmy, diminutives of inverse forms with a theme sign to the right of the diminutive suffix are more acceptable than those with a theme sign to the left or those with two theme signs.

however, she settled on the unmarked form (INV-dim), placing the diminutive to the right of the theme sign (shown in (25) below).

(25) 'HIT'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL

Inverse

utâmihukushiu
u-tâmihw-**ik**-**ushi**-u
3-hit-**INV**(IIN.3′ >3)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'He (John) taps her.'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Third, Consultant B rejected the marked pattern completely (see (26b)).

(26) 'SERVE SOMETHING'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

Inverse

a. *Tshân ashimikushiu Mânî*
Tshân ashim-**ikw**-**shi**-u Mânî
John serve-**INV**(IIN.3′ >3)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg Mary
'Mary (obv.) gives John a little to eat'

b. **Tshân ashimishiku Mânî*
Tshân ashim-**ish**-**ikw**-u Mânî
John serve-**dim**-**INV**(IIN.3′ >3)-nonSAP.sg Mânî
'Mary (obv.) gives John a little to eat'

(Source: NEC, Consultant B)

This suggests that the marked pattern is not universally accepted in NEC. This variation could be attributed to dialectal differences, as Consultant A is an "inlander" and Consultant B is a "coaster" (refer back to Chapter 1, §1.3.2 for description of these terms). Placing the diminutive suffix before the theme sign in inverse TA constructions could be permitted in the inlander variety of NEC, but prohibited in the coaster variety. As inlanders and coasters

inhabit the same community, dialect transfer could have motivated Consultant A to change her mind with respect to (23). Research on dialect variation in this region would, certainly, shed more light on this topic.

Though the grammaticality of the marked position of the diminutive suffix in NEC TA verbs is questionable, data from Potawatomi (Central Algonquian) offers some supportive evidence. Halle and Marantz (1993) observe that the Potawatomi negator is located to the right of Agr1 morphemes, but to the left of Agr2 in negative TA constructions, as shown in (27) and (28) below.

(27) 'SEE'; TA VERB; LOCAL SET (AGR2)

a. Direct	b. Inverse
kwapmus'imun	*kwapmus'non*
k-wapm-**us'-imun**	k-wapm-**us'-non**
2-see-**neg-TS(2>1)**	2-see-**neg-TS(1>2)**
'You don't see us'	'I don't see you'

(Source: Potawatomi, Halle and Marantz (1993: 165))

(28) 'SEE'; TA VERB; MIXED SET (AGR1)

a. Direct	b. Inverse
nwapmas'i	*nwapmuks'i*
n-wapm-**a-s'i**	n-wapm-**uk-s'i**
1-see-**TS(1>3)-neg**	1-see-**TS(3>1)-neg**
'I don't see him'	'He doesn't see me'

(Source: Potawatomi, Halle and Marantz (1993: 165))

The Agr1 and Agr 2 morphemes can be equated to mixed and local TA theme signs, respectively.[8]

[8]In Halle and Marantz's (1993) analysis, Agr1 morphology agrees with pro non [-obviative] DP arguments in Gender, Case, Obviation and Number. Agr2 agrees with [-obviative] arguments in Person and Case.

Patterning with NEC TA diminutives, the relevant variable which has an effect on the location of the Potawatomi negator, with respect to the theme sign, is speech act participation. The pattern deviates however, in that whether the verb is inverse or direct has no bearing on the variation. Another difference is that while it is a clear local–non-local distinction that affects the position of the diminutive relative to the theme sign in NEC TA diminutives, in Potawatomi, the local–mixed distinction is less discrete, as the mixed set includes one local argument.

5.3.3.2.2. Modification Patterns LeSourd (1995) found that for TA constructions, diminutives are only readily acceptable in direct constructions. The result is object modification. However, Brittain (2006a) found that diminutives of inverse forms are possible in WN. In fact, TA inverse diminutives are quite common in NEC. Both direct and inverse forms can result in subject, object, and action/state modification (see examples (29)-(31) below).

(29) 'HIT'; TA VERB; LOCAL SET

a. Direct

kûtâmihushin
kûtâmih**w**-**sh**-in
hit-**DIR**(IIN.2>1)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'You **tap** me'(lit. 'I hit you **a little**')

b. Inverse

kûtâmihutishin
kûtâmih-w-**it**-**ish**-in
hit-**INV**(IIN.1>2)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I **tap** you'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(30) 'HIT'; TA VERB; MIXED SET

a. Direct

nutâmihwâshin
n-utâmihw-**â** -**sh**-in
1-hit-**DIR**(IIN.1>3)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I hit **the baby**'

b. Inverse

nichî utâmihukishishiu
ni-chî utâmihw-**ik**-**ishi**-shi-u
1-past hit-**INV**(IIN.3>1)-**dim**-dim-nonSAP.sg
'**The baby** hit me'

(Source: NEC; Consultant A)

(31) 'HIT'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL SET

a. Direct

utâmihwâshiu
utâmihw-**â** -**shi**-u
hit-**DIR**(IIN.3>3′)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'S/he **taps** him (John)(obv.)

b. Inverse

utâmihwâshikw
utâmihw-â-**shi**-**kw**
hit-**DIR**-**dim**-**INV**(IIN.3′>3)
'He (John)(obv.) **taps** her'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Patterning with AI, II, and TI verbs, the default interpretation associated with the local set is a diminutivized event (29). In mixed constructions, object (30a), subject (30b) and event ((32) below) readings are possible. Interestingly, the diminutivized argument in the mixed set is never the local one. Subject ((33) below), object ((33) below), and event ((31) above) readings are also possible in the non-local set.

(32) 'ROLL'; TA VERB; MIXED SET

Direct

nikwâwâtipitinâshiu
ni-kwâ-wâtipitin-â-**shi**-u
1-roll-roll-DIR(IIN.1>3)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'I roll it (a ball) **a little** (a short distance)' or
'I roll **a little thing** (a ball)'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

(33) 'SEE'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL

Direct

*wâpimâ**shiu***;
'He sees **little her** (obv.)' or
'**Little he** sees her (obv.)'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Though the PAH is a conditioning factor in terms of whether the diminutive suffix is positioned to the right or left of the theme sign, it does not affect diminutive modification patterns in TA constructions. That the target of modification (event) does not change between inverse and direct forms in the local and non-local sets for 'hit' ((29) and (31)) is evidence of this.

Having examined diminutive modification patterns for each verb class, it is clear that the patterns observed for the NEC verbal diminutive do not coincide with those observed for Pqmy. LeSourd (1995) describes modification patterns for Pqmy in terms of syntactic role (subject, object, action/state). Within his framework, the NEC diminutive appears to be more productive because it is free to modify subjects, objects, and actions/states, and this ability is not restricted by verb class. While it may be the case that the NEC verbal

diminutive is more productive, this is not the conclusion I have arrived at. I conclude that syntactic role does not adequately account for the modification patterns observed for the NEC verbal diminutive. The local–non-local properties of the arguments of the verb more accurately determine what readings are appropriate for a given verb. For AI, II, TI , and TA diminutives the following patterns have been observed:

- Subject, object (in TI and TA), and action/state readings are possible for any verb, provided that the situational context supports the interpretation
- In the absence of context, the diminutive is not construed with a local argument
- In the absence of context, the diminutive is construed with either a non-local argument or action/state
- In the absence of context, semantic properties (e.g., perceptual vs. process verbs) of the verbs may inhibit an action reading

Because the Pqmy verbal diminutive has not been analyzed in these terms, I make no conclusions about the relative productivity of the NEC and Pqmy verbal diminutives.

I have made a point of distinguishing between context-based and non-context-based interpretations of the diminutive, suggesting that a) subject, object or event readings are possible for any given verb in contextless situations and b) context will eliminate ambiguous readings. An example from Text 2 illustrates these points nicely.

(34) 'TELL REPORTS ABOUT'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL

Direct

âyûkw mâ kâitâchimikushiyit

kâ itâchim-iku-**shi**-iyi-t

past tell reports of-INV(IIN.3′ >3)-**dim**-obv-3

'That's **the little bit** he (Grandfather) told to **her** (mother)'

(lit. 'My mother told reports (stories) a little bit about Grandfather')

(Source: NEC, Text 2:114)

The verb in (34) contains the diminutive of the non-local form of the TA verb 'tell reports of'. Subject, object, and action readings should all be possible, but only one can be intended. This excerpt comes at the end of the story. Nowhere up to this point are either the Grandfather (object) or mother (subject) spoken of in diminutive terms. It would not make sense to the reader/listener, then, for either character to suddenly become diminutivized. Using these contextual cues, the reader can eliminate both arguments as the probable targets of modification. Thus, the reader, as the translator has done, assumes an event reading ('telling a little bit').

Having described the distribution of the verbal diminutive with respect to each verb class, I now turn to secondary patterns that have emerged from the data, beginning with the modification of finals.

5.3.4. MODIFICATION OF FINALS

The modification patterns discussed so far pertain to the action/state and arguments of the verb. I now address the question of whether the verbal diminutive can have scope over another final in NEC as it does in WN. The reader can see that three interpretations were

offered for (35): action modification (i), subject modification (ii), and modification of a final in (iii).

(35) 'GRAB'; CONJUNCT; AI VERB; UNERGATIVE

Miyaakunishit ...
mâku-n-**shi**-t
grab-by.hand-**dim**-sfv(AI.CIN).nonSAP.sg
i) 'She grabbed [the soil] **gently**' or
ii) '**The child/small person** grabbed [the soil]' or
iii) 'She grabbed [the soil] with **her small hand**...'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

Thus, example (35) is evidence that the CMN verbal diminutive suffix can, indeed, modify another final. Some restrictions may apply, however. The following example of a TI verb also contains a final meaning 'by hand', however only an object reading was offered for this particular verb.

(36) 'TAKE'; TI VERB

Mixed set

nûtinâshin
n-ût-in-â-**shi**-n
1-take-fnl.by hand-TS(IIN)-**dim**-SAP.sg
'I take **something small**'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

To my knowledge, modification of a final by the diminutive has not been attested in any Algonquian language, until now. Whether this possibility is restricted to active intransitives, intransitives in general, or is available across all classes of verbs remains to be seen.

5.3.5. Semantically Vacuous Diminutives

Thus far, we have seen examples of diminutivized subjects, objects, actions/states, and finals. There are some examples where the verbal diminutive does not appear to modify anything. Consider the following example:

(37) 'MAKE SMALL'; AI VERB

tihkâpûshiyûh
tihkâp-û-**shi**-yiûh
make.small-sfv(AI)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg.obv
'He made himself smaller'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:27)

The action 'make small' appears to be a diminutive, but it is not. Like the AI verbs in Table 5.2 above, the notion of "smallness" in 'make small' is intrinsic to the meaning of the verb stem. Unlike those AI verbs in Table 5.2, however, 'make small' does not require a diminutive suffix (MacKenzie p.c.). The notion of "smallness", then, cannot be attributed to the diminutive suffix. The subject does not appear to be diminutivized either.

If the verbal diminutive suffix neither modifies the action nor the subject, what purpose does it serve? One possibility might be that the diminutive suffix is used to satisfy some sort of agreement relationship with the nominal diminutive that is the subject.[9] Were this the case, one would expect any verb with Chihkâpâsh as its argument to have a diminutive suffix. The fact is, while there are several verbal diminutives in the Chihkâpâsh stories, the

[9]The subject of this sentence is a character by the name of Chihkâpâsh. The name "*Chihkâpâsh*" is a lexicalized nominal diminutive. Chihkâpâsh is a character in many stories and is spoken of in diminutive terms because he has the power to make himself small.

majority of the verbs with Chihkâpâsh as the subject do not contain the diminutive suffix (see (38)):

(38) 'GRAB'; CONJUNCT; AI VERB

Kâ ***mâkunimwât*** *uyâ ushuyû*
kâ mâkunimw-ât uyâ ushuyû
past grab-sfv(AI.CIN) this tail
'He [Chihkâpâsh] grabbed onto the tail of the beaver'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:58)

Here is another example of a sentence containing a verbal diminutive that does not contribute semantically to the sentence.

(39) 'TO PLACE FACE UP'; CONJUNCT; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL

Direct

*utâ â atichinihâ**shit***[10]
utâ â atichinih-â-**shi**-t
right.here pv place.face.up-DIR(CIN.3>3′)-**dim**-nonSAP.sg
'He placed it [little amulet] in front of him face up'

(Source: NEC, Text 1:114)

Neither the subject ('Little he'), object ('little it'), nor action ('placed a little') are modified here.[11] A requirement to agree with the diminutive features a diminutivized argument ('the little amulet') is one way to account for its presence here (and in (37) above).

[10]The gloss given in Salt et al. (2004) for this verb is 'upside down'. The standard modern spelling is *achishtinâu*.

[11]The object 'it' is an anaphoric reference to the diminutive '*nimitâwashîmish* ('my little amulet') mentioned two lines previously in the story. Thus the diminutive semantics associated with the object in this sentence were established earlier and did not come from the diminutivized verb.

5.3.6. THE PERIPHRASTIC DIMINUTIVE

The final observation I will discuss in this chapter pertains to the lexicalized diminutive particle *apishîsh* ('a little bit'), which was introduced in Chapter 3, §3.4.1 and the initial *apish-* ('small'), discussed in Chapter 4, §4.3.7. Both morphemes have diminutive semantics and are used in conjunction with other words (i.e., the particle needs an accompanying noun or verb, and an initial, minimally, needs to be accompanied by a final.). Together, these characteristics give these morphemes the ability to modify other parts of speech in much the same way as the diminutive suffix does. We have seen evidence that this is the case for the initial *apish-* which is used in conjunction with the diminutive suffix to attribute a diminutive meaning to nouns (recall example (24) in Chapter 4: ***apish**îyiyish*, 'small person') and to stative intransitive verbs (Table 5.2 above). In fact, evidence from Text 1 suggests that the particle *apishîsh* may actually be in competition with the verbal diminutive suffix, as (40) illustrates.

(40) 'FEAR SOMETHING'; TA VERB; NON-LOCAL

Direct

Tâpâ wâwâch ***apishîsh kushtâu***
tâpâ wâwâch **apishîsh** kusht-â-u
neg even **a.little** fear-DIR(IIN.3>3′)-nonSAP.sg
'He was not scared again at all [of the giant beaver].'
(lit. 'He was not even **a little frightened** [of the giant beaver]'.

(Source: NEC, Text 1:20)

While the action appears to have diminutive meaning ('a little frightened'), the verb does not have a diminutive suffix and must, therefore, be receiving diminutive semantics from elsewhere. The particle *apishîsh* is adverbial in nature (MacKenzie, p.c.); therefore, it

does not have scope over the subject or object and can only modify the verb. It is the likely candidate for verb modification in (40). Understanding the demands on the reader/listener and wanting to eliminate and potential ambiguity, the story-teller might avoid the verbal diminutive altogether, opting for a periphrastic diminutive construction which ensures the intended action reading, an option that the particle *apishîsh* guarantees.

Consider another example. In response to the request to translate 'burn a little sugar', and 'burn it a little bit' into NEC, Consultant A gave the following structure:

(41) 'BURN'; TI VERB

Diminutive

*tihchi**shiu** **apishîsh** shûkâu*
tihch-i-**shi**-u **apishîsh** shûkâu
burn-TS(IIN)-**dim**-nonSA.sg a.little sugar
'She **warmed** a **little** sugar'

(Source: NEC, Consultant A)

There are two modified elements in this construction, the action ('burn'>'warm') and the object ('a little sugar'). Data considered in this thesis suggests that one diminutive suffix can only do the job of modifying one component of a clause. A second morpheme that has diminutive power, then, would be required for multiple components to be modified. This means that by supposing the suffix on the verb modified the action, the noun 'sugar' would have to get its diminutive semantics elsewhere, such as by means of the nominal diminutive. However, the noun does not have a diminutive suffix. Therefore, the noun must get its diminutive meaning from the verbal diminutive, and the action must be diminutivized by some other means. The only other morpheme that has the ability to modify the verb is the particle *apishîsh*. This example differs slightly from (40) above in that *apishîsh* does not

force an intended reading when multiple readings are possible, rather it allows for multiple elements in a sentence to be diminutivized.

The table below summarizes the results discussed in this chapter. It includes, with respect to each verb class – and subclass where applicable – what part of the sentence has the potential to be modified, whether there is a default interpretation, and the position of the suffix relative to the theme sign or stem final vowel. I have based these generalizations only on the data I collected and make no categorical conclusions.

Table 5.3: Modification Patterns of NEC Verbal Diminutives

	POSITION	SUBJECT	OBJECT	ELEMENT MODIFIED	DEFAULT READING
AI VERBS					
Stative	sfv-dim	Local, Non-Local	–	subject? state?	?
Active	sfv-dim	Local	–	subject, action	action
Active	sfv-dim	Non-Local	–	subject, action	both
+ IN	sfv-dim	Non-Local	(IN)	IN, ?	IN
II VERBS					
Stative	sfv-dim	Non-Local	–	subject? state?	?
Active	sfv-dim	Non-Local	–	subject, action	both
+ IN	NO DATA	Non-Local	(IN)	NO DATA	NO DATA
TI VERBS					
Mixed Set	NO DATA	Local	Non-local	NO DATA	NO DATA
Non-Local Set	TS-dim	Non-Local	Non-Local	subject, object, event	all
TA DIRECT VERBS					
Local set	DIR-dim	Local	Local	subject, object, event	event
Mixed Set	DIR-dim	Local	Non-Local	subject, object, event,	event, object
Non-Local Set	DIR-dim	Non-Local	Non-Local	subject, object, event	all
TA INVERSE VERBS					
Local Set	INV-dim	Local	Local	subject, object, event	event
Mixed Set	INV-dim	Non-Local	Local	subject, object, event,	subject, event
Non-Local Set	dim-INV	Non-local	Non-Local	subject, object, event	all

LeSourd's (1995) discussion of the diminutive suggests that the verbal diminutive is constrained in terms of what component of a clause can be modified and that there is some correlation between specific modification patterns and verb class. As Table 5.3 illustrates, the results of my investigation show that the diminutive is free to be construed with subjects, verbs, and objects (in transitives) for all four verb classes, and it can modify finals. When no contextual cues are available, certain modification patterns are preferred over others, depending on whether local or non-local persons are participating in the speech act.

In this chapter, I have illustrated that the verbal diminutive is located to the right of the stem final vowel in intransitive constructions and the theme sign in transitive constructions, except in the inverse form of TA verbs which have non-local arguments. I have also shown how speech act participation interacts with the verbal diminutive, not only in determining the location of the diminutive suffix, but also in how the diminutive is interpreted. I also discussed cases where the verbal diminutive has no apparent semantic function, and offered the possibility that the presence of the diminutive suffix in these cases might be a result of agreement relations with other diminutivized elements in the clause. Finally, I provided data illustrating how the particle diminutive *apishîsh* has the ability to diminutivize verbs.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This thesis commenced with an introductory chapter, describing the general features of the diminutive and specific features of Algonquian grammar. It also familiarized the reader with some logistical, historical, ethnographic, and linguistic information about CMN and EC, as well as acquainting the reader with the topics that were to be investigated in this thesis. The literature pertaining to diminutive research in Algonquian was summarized in this chapter, as well. Some theoretical issues surrounding diminutive morphology were addressed in Chapter 2, the discussion of which revealed more specific details about the Algonquian diminutive. The results of the investigation were then discussed in chapters 3-5, and are summarized below.

6.1. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This investigation began in Chapter 3 with the diminutivization of particles in NEC. The research objectives were to a) describe the distribution of the NEC diminutive with respect to particle classes and b) determine whether the observed distribution patterns in NEC paralleled those in other CMN dialects. The dialects chosen for comparison in this thesis were Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun and Betsiamites Innu-aimun. The results show that the particle diminutive suffix takes the form of *ish*, *-îsh*, or *-sh* (e.g., ***mwâshtish***, 'a little too late'; ***mishtahîsh***, 'a fair bit'; ***pâtimâshîsh***, ' a little later'). Of the 19 possible classes of

particles in NEC, diminutives have been confirmed for only five (Location, Time, Quantity, Quantity/Time, and Interjections), making the distribution of the diminutive among particle classes only slightly more extensive in NEC than in ShIA and BIA, for which diminutives are attested in only four classes. Only the classes corresponding to adverbs of space, time, and quantity were compatible with the diminutive in all three dialects.

Chapter 4 examined the productivity of the NEC nominal diminutive with respect to Gender, countability, and the concrete-abstract quality of nouns. The nominal diminutive suffix takes the form of *-(i)sh* in simple diminutives (e.g., *âihkunâ**ush***, 'cookie'; *mâchishku-**chish***, 'small frog') and *-shish/-shîsh* in double diminutives (e.g., *shîpî**shish***, 'stream' or 'creek'; *amishku**shîsh***, 'black water bug'). Overall, the nominal diminutive is quite productive. Data shows that the diminutive is not restricted by Gender in NEC. It does not discriminate between mass and count nouns, applying to both freely. The diminutive may be restricted to concrete nouns, as diminutives of abstract nouns remain unattested. This chapter also examined the semantic reach of lexicalized diminutives. It was found that diminutives have become lexicalized for objects belonging to both the natural (e.g., *wâpihchâ**shîsh***, 'white arctic fox') and the man-made world (e.g., *uchâpâ**nish***, 'car'), extending well beyond the bird and insect terms that were initially observed.

In Chapter 5, I described, for each verb class, the position of the NEC diminutive suffix within the verb stem, the morphophonological effects that affixation of the diminutive causes, and which element(s) of the clause (subject, object, action/state) the diminutive modifies. The verbal diminutive suffix takes the form *-(i)shi* (e.g., *nipâ**shiu***, 'S/he takes a nap' or 'The little one sleeps'; *nichî utâmihuki**shi**shiu*, 'The baby hit me'). For intransitives, the diminutive is positioned between the stem final vowel and person inflection (e.g.,

*iyâpish-ikât-**â-shi-u***, 'S/he has skinny legs). For transitive constructions, the unmarked position is to the right of the theme sign and to the left of person inflection (e.g., *âpih-**â-shi-u***, 's/he opens it a little'). In TA diminutives, however, a marked position surfaces in inverse non-local verbs, which has the the diminutive positioned to the left of the theme sign (e.g., *kupit-**ish-ik**-û*, 'S/he (obv) pulls him/her down a little'). The marked position, however, is only attested in the speech of Consultant A. For Pqmy, the element of the sentence that is construed with the diminutive depends on verb class: the subject in intransitive verbs and the object in transitive verbs (LeSourd 1995). For NEC, diminutive modification patterns are not class-specific in that the the diminutive is free to modify subjects, objects (of transitives), and actions/states of verbs in any verb class. How the diminutive is interpreted depends on pragmatics and whether the argument(s) of the diminutivized predicate are SAPs or non-SAPs. It was also found that, in order to form stative intransitive diminutives, a diminutive suffix and an initial with diminutive semantics is required (e.g., ***apish**âpishchi**shiu***, 'It (mineral) is small'), though exceptions were observed for II stative diminutives. Four stative II verbs containing a diminutive suffix did not have an initial associated with diminutive semantics (recall the verbs referring to geographical locations from §5.3.2.3: e.g., *iyâtiwâkimîu**shi**yich*, 'They are inlets'). Diminutivization of an action/state can occur in the absence of the diminutive suffix, by means of the particle *apishîsh* (e.g., *Tâpâwâwâch **apishîsh** kushtâu*, 'He was not scared again at all [of the giant beaver].'). Finally, it was shown that there are cases where verbal diminutives do not contribute semantically to the clause overtly (e.g., *Kâmâkunimwâtuyâu**sh**uyû*, 'He [Chihkâpâsh] grabbed onto the tail of the beaver.').

Semantically, the NEC diminutive contributes a range of meanings. For all three parts of speech, the most common meanings associated with the diminutive are small quantity or size. Some of the more specialized meanings are limited to particular parts of speech. Hyponymy (e.g., *shûyân*,'money' vs. *shûyânish*,'**lunch** money') and the notions of "youth" and "lower relative status" are diminutive effects which are attested only for nominal diminutives. For a subset of particles, the diminutive has a mitigating effect ('sort of X', 'quite X', or 'more or less X'), where the diminutive conveys a somewhat diminished quantity or intensity without creating a sense of "smallness". Recall the example of *wâshkichîsh* which is translated as 'quite a while ago'. The length of time the particle refers to is not short, but is relatively shorter than that conveyed by the non-diminutive particle ('a long time ago'). The diminutive is also exploited for pragmatic purposes, especially in child-directed speech. For example, the nominal diminutive *sâchihîwâwinish* can mean 'little love'; however, when used in child-directed speech, it is not associated with diminutive semantics and is translated simply as 'love'.

Finally, a theoretical-oriented goal of this research was to determine to what extent the Algonquian diminutive behaves like inflectional or derivational morphology. In the literature, it is treated as derivational by some (Ojibwe, Pentland 1988) and inflectional by others (PC, Wolfart 1973). My research does not favor one analysis over the other. In this thesis I looked at the position of the diminutive relative to neighbouring inflectional morphemes within a word and whether it the addition of the diminutive suffix resulted in a change of lexical category. The NEC nominal diminutive does not carry a Gender feature of its own, and patterns with languages like Russian, whose diminutive affixes take on the features of the noun to which it affixes. Thus, the NEC diminutive is category-preserving morphol-

ogy. Because category-preservation is a property that has been associated with both derivational and inflectional morhphology, we cannot know, at this point, which one the NEC diminutive is. As far as morpheme position, the NEC diminutive patterns with inflectional morphology. Morphemes occurring to the right of inflection or between other inflection morphemes are, generally, regarded as being inflectional. The NEC verbal diminutive is positioned between two inflectional morphemes – the theme sign (for transitives) or the stem final vowel (for intransitives) and person inflection – suggesting the NEC diminutive behaves like inflectional morphology. Likewise, the position of the nominal diminutive to the right of inflection in possessives (e.g., *nit-awâsh-i-mîch-**im-ish***, 'child tax allowance') suggests the diminutive is inflectional.

6.2. Topics for Future Research

Though the main purpose of this thesis was to describe the morphosyntactic, semantic and phonological effects of the diminutive for NEC specifically, an important secondary goal was to survey and provide a summary of the observations regarding the Algonquian diminutive that are scattered throughout the literature. Bringing these various observations into one venue not only paints a more cohesive picture of the Algonquian diminutive, it also brings to the forefront a myriad of research topics. Some questions which were raised but not pursued in this thesis, questions that future research may endeavor to answer, are summarized below.

6.2.1. Topics Arising from the Diminutivization of Particles

- **Productivity**: Not all particles are able to undergo diminutivization. What properties are shared by those particles belonging to the subset of particle classes that are not compatible with diminutivization? What properties are shared by the subset of particles that cannot undergo diminutivization within a class? Why do these properties inhibit diminutive productivity?

- **The Particle Classification System**: The current dialect-specific classification systems that divides particles into groups may have skewed the results. Do the various classification systems used to classify particles accurately reflect the types of particles found across Algonquian languages? Can particles across Algonquian languages be analyzed such that a universal classificatory system can be developed? Would a reanalysis of NEC diminutivized particles within a new classification system provide more robust results and/or verify or contradict the findings of this thesis?

- **Allomorphy**: The particle diminutive suffix exhibits allomorphy, yet none of the preceding segments accompanying each allomorph form a natural class. What phonological properties condition the allomorphy exhibited by the particle diminutive suffix?

6.2.2. Topics Arising from Nominal Diminutives

- **Productivity**: The data sample used to investigate diminutivization of mass nouns was small and did not yield any grammatical diminutives. Is the nominal diminutive restricted to concrete nouns? Would a larger data sample reveal the answer? It

has been observed that nouns can undergo diminutivization by means of suffixation and/or sound symbolism. What properties are shared by the subset of nouns that undergo diminutivization by means of sound symbolism? What properties are shared by the subset of nouns that undergo diminutivization by means of sound symbolism and affixation?

- **Inflection vs. Derivation**: This thesis has not been able to determine conclusively whether the Algonquian diminutive is inflectional or derivational. Is the Algonquian nominal diminutive categorically inflectional or derivational?

6.2.3. Topics Arising from Verbal Diminutives

- **Stem allomorphy**: Diminutivization results in the deletion of the nasal-final segment of II *n*-stems and /n/-final TI stems, but not AI *n*-stems. In all three subclasses, the otherwise absent third person morpheme *-u* surfaces in diminutivized forms. What conditions AI *n*-stems to preserve their pre-diminutive form? Conversely, what conditions nasal deletion in II *n*-stems and /n/-final TI stems? Is the presence or absence of third person inflection in the surface form surface of intransitive *n*-stems and /n/-final TI stem diminutives conditioned by the preceding nasal?

- **Modification Patterns**: Only diminutivization of the incorporated noun in incorporating AI constructions are attested. Can the subject and/or action/state of incorporating AI verbs be modified, as well? This investigation revealed that the NEC diminutive suffix has scope over finals. How can we account for this syntactically? In light of the fact that not all finals are modified by the diminutive, what are the condition-

ing factors for final modification? A local–non-local distinction within the person paradigm affects how verbal diminutives are interpreted. Can this be accounted for syntactically? Does this distinction arise in other areas of NEC grammar and in dialects other than PC and Potawatomi? The majority of the verbal data collected for this thesis are diminutives of affirmative declaratives inflected for IIN. What patterns can be observed for diminutives in the Conjunct and Imperative orders?

- **Position of Suffix**: The marked position of the diminutive suffix with respect to the theme sign in inverse non-local TA diminutives is not consistently attested. Can this be attributed to dialect variation within the NEC speech community in Chisasibi? What linguistic – and/or social – factors condition the marked position?

- ***apishîsh***: The particle *apishîsh* is a lexicalized diminutive that has the ability to diminutivize verbs even when the verb has a diminutive suffix. One context in which *apishîsh* surfaces is when the action/state requires modification but the verbal diminutive is being used to modify one of the accompanying arguments. Does *apishîsh* consistently surface under these conditions? Why is it not the case that the argument takes a nominal diminutive suffix, leaving the verbal diminutive free to modify the action/state, rendering *apishîsh* unnecessary? Is *apishîsh* in competition with the diminutive suffix?

6.2.4. Cross-Category Topics

- **Semantically Vacuous Suffixes**: There were several examples of particles, nouns, and verbs bearing a diminutive suffix that does not supply any diminutive meaning.

What is the purpose of a diminutive suffix in these cases? Do diminutives enter agreement relationships with other diminutives?

- **Initials with Diminutive Semantics**: Stative AI and a subset of II verbs require a diminutive suffix and an initial with diminutive semantics to form grammatical diminutives. A subset of nouns require the initial *apish-*, specifically. What properties are shared by the subset of nouns and verbs that require both morphemes to derive a grammatical diminutive? Why is this combination of morphemes required to derive a grammatical diminutive?

- **A Universal Diminutive Suffix**: In this thesis I treat diminutivization in NEC as though there were three diminutives (particle, nominal, and verbal). Are the particle, nominal and verbal diminutives separate suffixes or allomorphs of a single diminutive suffix that applies across categories?

- **Diminutives in Other Dialects**: This thesis focused mainly on the NEC diminutive, while touching on WN, ShIA, BIA, PC, and Pqmy. How does the diminutive in other Algonquian languages and other CMN dialects compare to the NEC diminutive?

- **Non-Diminutive Research**: Numerous observations about diminutive behaviour may have implications for other aspects of Algonquian grammar. What effect, if any, do the findings in this thesis have on the analysis of hierarchical relationships within the person paradigm, finals, theme signs, and Algonquian word formation?

This research – and the pursuit of future diminutive research involving EC specifically, and Algonquian in general– is relevant for several reasons. First of all, diminutivization is

a morphological process that is used frequently in everyday speech by EC speakers. Researchers have observed spontaneous speech which makes use of the diminutive. Brittain et al. (2007) report the occurrence of diminutive forms in the speech of Cree-learning children as young as 2;2 years. While doing fieldwork, MacKenzie (p.c.) heard three spontaneous instances of the diminutive:

i) A teenager on the Cree TV program "Mamuitâu" said in SEC, "*nika nîmi**shin***" ('I will dance **a little**')

ii) A young adult at the Val d'Or airport said (subdialect unknown), "*apishîhsh nichîreadu**shin***" ('I read **a little**'); and

iii) An older SEC female speaker said to her older husband, "*chi wîmîtshishû**shin** â*" ('Do you want to eat **a little**?').

Its common use, therefore, makes the diminutive a doorway through which linguists can access the rules of grammar that underlie Algonquian language.

Secondly, the results of this research will be incorporated into the descriptive grammar of East Cree which Marie-Odile Junker (Carleton University) and Marguerite MacKenzie (Memorial University of Newfoundland) are currently compiling in partnership with the Cree School Board of Québec.

In conclusion, Algonquian is an intricate and fascinating language that merits further understanding. I hope the themes discussed in this thesis have compelled the linguistic community to continue much needed research in the field of Algonquian linguistics.

APPENDIX
Verb Paradigms

Table 6.1: Paradigm for *â* , *e*, and *i*-stem AI verbs

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	SFV	PERSON (Suffix)	NUMBER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
***â*-stem: *nipâu* ('sleep')**							
1	*ni*	*nip*	*â*	*n*			'I am asleep'
2	*tshi*	*nip*	*â*	*n*			'You are asleep'
3	–	*nip*	*â*	*u*			'S/he is asleep'
3′	–	*nip*	*â*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) is asleep'
1pl	*ni*	*nip*	*â*	*n*	*ân*		'We are asleep'
21pl	*tshi*	*nip*	*â*	*n*	*ân*		'We are asleep'
2pl	*tshi*	*nip*	*â*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) are asleep'
3pl	–	*nip*	*â*	*u*	*at*		'They are asleep'
***e*-stem: *tshîtûteu* ('leave')**							
1	*ni*	*tshîtût*	*e*	*n*			'I am leaving'
2	*tshi*	*tshîtût*	*e*	*n*			'You are leaving'
3	–	*tshîtût*	*e*	*u*			'S/he is leaving'
3′	–	*tshîtût*	*e*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) is leaving'
1pl	*ni*	*tshîtût*	*e*	*n*	*ân*		'We are leaving'
21pl	*tshi*	*tshîtût*	*e*	*n*	*ân*		'We are leaving'
2pl	*tshi*	*tshîtût*	*e*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) are leaving'
3pl	–	*tshîtût*	*e*	*u*	*at*		'They are leaving'
***i*-stem: *mûpu* ('visit')**							
1	*ni*	*mûp*	*i*	*n*			'I am visiting'
2	*tshi*	*mûp*	*i*	*n*			'You are visiting'
3	–	*mûp*	*i*	*u*			'S/he is visiting'
3′	–	*mûp*	*i*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) is visiting'
1pl	*ni*	*mûp*	*i*	*n*	*ân*		'We are visiting'
21pl	*tshi*	*mûp*	*i*	*n*	*ân*		'We are visiting'
2pl	*tshi*	*mûp*	*i*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) are visiting'
3pl	–	*mûp*	*i*	*u*	*at*		'They are visiting'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Table 6.2: Paradigm for *u*, and *n*-stem AI verbs

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	SFV	PERSON (Suffix)	NUMBER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
***u*-stem: *natau* ('hunt')**							
1	*ni*	*nata*	*u*	*n*			'I am hunting'
2	*tshi*	*nata*	*u*	*n*			'You are hunting'
3	–	*nata*		*u*			'S/he is hunting'
3′	–	*nata*	*u*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) is hunting'
1pl	*ni*	*nata*	*u*	*n*	*ân*		'We are hunting'
21pl	*tshi*	*nata*	*u*	*n*	*ân*		'We are hunting'
2pl	*tshi*	*nata*	*u*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) are hunting'
3pl	–	*nata*		*u*	*at*		'They are hunting'
***n*-stem: *takushinu* ('arrive')**							
1	*ni*	*takushi*	*n*				'I am arriving'
2	*tshi*	*takushi*	*n*				'You are arriving'
3	–	*takushi*	*n*	*u*			'S/he is arriving'
3′	–	*takushi*	*n*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) is arriving'
1pl	*ni*	*takushi*	*n*	*n*	*ân*		'We are arriving'
21pl	*tshi*	*takushi*	*n*	*n*	*ân*		'We are arriving'
2pl	*tshi*	*takushi*	*n*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) are arriving'
3pl	–	*takushi*	*n*	*u*	*at*		'They arriving'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Table 6.3: Paradigm for II verbs

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	SFV	PERSON (Suffix)	NUMBER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
â-stem: *uâpâu* ('be white')							
3sg	–	*uâp*	*â*	*u*			'It is white'
3pl	–	*uâp*	*â*	*u*	*a*		'They are white'
3′sg	–	*uâp*	*â*	*nu*			'It (obv) is white'
3′pl	–	*uâp*	*â*	*nu*		*a*	'They (obv) are white'
e-stem: *tshîtâpûteu* ('float away')							
3sg	–	*tshîtâpût*	*e*	*u*			'It floats away'
3pl	–	*tshîtâpût*	*e*	*u*	*a*		'They float away'
3′sg	–	*tshîtâpût*	*e*	*nu*			'It (obv) floats away'
3′pl	–	*tshîtâpût*	*e*	*nu*		*a*	'They (obv) float away'
n-stem: *âpatan* ('be useful')							
3sg	–	*âpat*	*an*				'It is useful'
3pl	–	*âpat*	*an*		*a*		'They are useful'
3′sg	–	*âpat*	*an*	*nu*			'It (obv) is useful'
3′pl	–	*âpat*	*an*	*nu*		*a*	'They (obv) are useful'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Table 6.4: Paradigm for the TI verb *uâpatamᵘ* ('see')

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	TS	PERSON (Suffix)	NUMBER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
1	*n*	*uâpat*	*e*	*n*			'I see it'
2	*tsh*	*uâpat*	*e*	*n*			'You see it'
3	–	*uâpat*	*am*	*ᵘ*			'S/he sees it'
3′	–	*uâpat*	*am*	*inu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) sees it'
1pl	*n*	*uâpat*	*e*	*n*	*ân*		'We see it'
21pl	*tsh*	*uâpat*	*e*	*n*	*ân*		'We see it'
2pl	*tsh*	*uâpat*	*e*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) see it'
3pl	–	*uâpat*	*am*	*u*	*at*		'S/he (obv) sees it'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Table 6.5: Direct Paradigm of the TA verb *uâpamâu* ('see')

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	TS	PERSON (Suffix)	NUM-BER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
Local Set							
2>1	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*i*	*n*			'You see me'
2pl>1	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*i*	*n*	*âu*		'You (pl) see me'
2sg/pl>1pl	*ni*	*uâpam*	*i*	*n*	*ân*		'You (sg or pl) see us'
MIXED SET							
1>3	*n*	*uâpam*	*â*	*u*			'I see him/her'
2>3	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*â*	*u*			'You see him/her'
1pl>3	*n*	*uâpam*	*â*	*n*	*ân*		'We see him/her'
21pl>3	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*â*	*n*	*ân*		'We see him/her'
2pl>3	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*â*	*u*	*âu*		'You (pl) see him/her'
Non-Local Set							
3>3′	–	*uâpam*	*e*	*u*			'S/he sees him/her'
3′ >3″	–	*uâpam*	*e*	*nu*		*a*	'S/he (obv) sees him/her'
3pl>3′	–	*uâpam*	*e*	*u*	*at*		'S/he (obv) sees him/her'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Table 6.6: Inverse Paradigm of the TA verb *uâpamâu* ('see')

	PERSON (Prefix)	ROOT/ STEM	TS	PERSON (Suffix)	NUM-BER	OBVI-ATION	GLOSS
Local Set							
1>2	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*iti*	*n*			'I see you'
1>2pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*iti*	*n*	*âu*		'I see you (pl)'
1pl>2sg/pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*iti*	*n*	*ân*		'We see you (sg/pl)'
Mixed Set							
3>1	*n*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*			'S/he sees me'
3>2	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*			'S/he see you'
3>1pl	*n*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*un*	*ân*		'S/he sees us'
3>2pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*	*âu*		'S/he sees you (pl)'
3>21pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*un*	*ân*		'S/he sees us'
3pl>1	*n*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*	*at*		'They see me '
3pl>2	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*	*at*		'They see you'
3pl>1pl	*n*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*un*	*ânat*		'They see us'
3pl>2pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*	*âuat*		'They see you (pl)'
3pl>21pl	*tsh*	*uâpam*	*ik*	*un*	*ânat*		'They see us'
Non-Local Set							
3′ >3	–	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*			'S/he (obv) sees him/her'
3′ >3pl	–	*uâpam*	*ik*	*u*	*at*		'S/he (obv) sees them'

(Source: ShIA; Clarke and MacKenzie (2006))

Bibliography

ACKEMA, P., and A. NEELEMAN. 2004. *Beyond Morphology: Interface Conditions on Word Formation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ANDERSON, S.R. 1982. Where's morphology? *Linguistic Inquiry* 13: 571–612.

—— 1985. Inflectional morphology. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, ed. by T. Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ARONOFF, MARK. 1976. *Word Formation in Generative Grammar.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

BAKER, MARK. 1988. *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BARAGA, FREDERIC. 1878. *A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language, for the Use of Missionaries and Other Persons Living Among the Indians (2nd Edition).* Montréal: Beauchemin & Valois.

BARNUM, FRANCIS. 1970. *Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuit Language as Spoken by the Eskimo of the Western Coast of Alaska.* London & Boston: Ginn & Company Publishers.

BEARD, ROBERT. 1998. Derivation. In *Handbook of Morphology*, ed. by A. Spencer and A. Zwicky, 44–65. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

BERKES, FIKRET, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 1978. Cree fish names for Eastern James Bay, Québec. *Arctic* 31.4: 489–495.

BLAIN, ELEONOR. 1997. Wh-Constructions in Nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree). Doctoral Dissertation, University of British Columbia.

BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. 1946. Algonquian. In *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, ed. by Harry Hoijer, 85–129. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology.

——. 1962. *The Menomini Language.* New Haven & London: Yale University.

BODOR, PÉTER, and VIRÁG BARCZA. 2007. Acquisition of diminutives in Hungarian. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 231–262. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

BOOIJ, GEERT. 2005. *The Grammar of Words*. New York: Oxford University Press.

BRANIGAN, PHIL, JULIE BRITTAIN, and CARRIE DYCK. 2005. Balancing syntax and prosody in the Algonquian verb complex. In *Papers of the Thirty-sixth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by H.C. Wolfart, 75–93. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

BRITTAIN, JULIE. 1996. Two negative morphemes in Sheshâtshît Montagnais (Innu-aimun) *apû* and *ekâ*. In *Papers of the Twenty-seventh Algonquian Conference*, ed. by David H. Pentland, 25–36. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——. 1997. The conjunct in Sheshatshit Montagnais. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 42: 253–285.

——. 2000. A metrical analysis of Southern East Cree. *International Journal of American Linguisitics* 66.2: 181–217.

——. 2001. *The Morphosyntax of the Algonquian Conjunct Verb: A Minimalist Approach*. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics Series. New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc.

——. 2006a. Diminutives in Naskapi. Fieldnotes, Kawawachikamach.

——. 2006b. Diminutives in Northern East Cree. Fieldnotes, Chisasibi.

——. 2006c. Nouns in Naskapi. Fieldnotes, Kawawachikamach.

——, MARGUERITE MACKENZIE, CARRIE DYCK, and YVAN ROSE. 2005. The Chisasibi child language acquisition study. *Cree School Board Education Symposium 2005 (Languages: Paths to Student Success)*, Val d'Or.

——, MARGUERITE MACKENZIE, WILL OXFORD, CARRIE DYCK, and YVAN ROSE. 2007. Preliminary observations on acquiring (East) Cree as a first language. Presentation made at the *Thirty-Ninth Algonquian Conference*, York University.

BURZIO, LUIGI. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach*. Reidel: Dordrecht.

CLARKE, SANDRA, DEBORAH JAMES, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 1993. Preverb usage in Cree/Montagnais/Naskapi. In *Papers of the Twenty-fourth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by William Cowan, 32–45. Ottawa: Carelton University.

——, ——, and ——. 1996. Indirect evidentials in the Cree/Montagnais/Naskapi of Québec/Labrador. In *Papers of the Twenty-seventh Algonquian Conference*, ed. by David H. Pentland, 133–151. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——, ——, and ——. 2001. Evidentials in Cree/Montagnais/Naskapi. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 67.3: 229–263.

——, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 2004. Montagnais. In *International Handbook on Inflection and Word Formation, Vol.2*, ed. by Geert E. Booij, Christian Lehmann, Joachim Mugdan, and Stavros Skopeteas, 1411–1422. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

——, and ——. 2006. *Labrador Innu-aimun: An Introduction to the Sheshatshiu Dialect*. Department of Linguistics, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

COETZEE, ANNA, and JOAN KRUGER. 2004. The Afrikaans diminutive 1: A morpho-semantic grammar. *Tydskrif vir Taalonderrig/Journal for Language Teaching* 38.2: 316–332.

CREE SCHOOL BOARD (ed.) 2006. *About CBS*. Online version: www.cscree.qc.ca. Mistissini: Cree School Board.

DAHLSTROM, AMY. 1991. *Plains Cree Morphosyntax*. New York: Garland Publications.

DENNY, PETER, and JOSÉ MAILHOT. 1976. The semantics of certain abstract elements in the Algonquian verb. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 42.2: 91–98.

DRAPEAU, LYNN. 1979. Aspets de la morphologie du nom en montagnais. Doctoral Dissertation, Université de Montréal.

——. 1991. *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*. Sillery: Presses de l' Université du Québec.

DRESSLER, W. U., and L. MERLINI BARBARESI. 1994. *Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German, and other Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

DYCK, CARRIE. 1995. *Nouns with the Diminutive Suffix -hah in Cayuga*. Fieldnotes.

——, JULIE BRITTAIN, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 2006. Northern East Cree accent. In *Proceedings of the 2006 Canadian Linguistics Association Annual Conference.*, ed. by Claire Gurski and Milica Radisic. Online version: http://ling.uwo.ca/publications/CLA2006/Dyck_Brittain_MacKenzie.pdf.

EDWARDS, MARY. 1954. *Cree: An Intensive Language Course*. Meadowlake: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission.

ELIAS, DAVID LYNDON. 2005. *Tigre of Habab: Short Grammar and Texts from the Rigbat People*. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University.

ELLIS, C. DOUGLAS. 1971. Cree verb paradigms. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 37: 76–95.

——. 1983. *Spoken Cree (Revised Edition)*. Edmonton: The Pica Press.

FABVRE, BONAVENTURE. 1695. *Racines montagnaises, compilées à Tadoussac avant 1695*. Québec: Université Laval.

GODDARD, IVES. 1979. *Delaware Verbal Morphology*. New York & London: Garland Publications.

——. 1988. Post-transformational stem derivation in Fox. *Papers in Contrastive Linguistics* 22: 59–72.

——. 1990. Primary and secondary stem derivation in Algonquian. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56.4: 449–483.

GORDON, RAYMOND G. JR. (ed.) 2006. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth Edition*. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com. Dallas: SIL International.

HALLE, MORRIS, and ALEC MARANTZ. 1993. Distributed morphology. In *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge: MIT Press.

HASLER, LAUREL ANNE. 2002. Sustained and shifting obviation in a Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun story. In *Papers of the Thirty-third Algonquian Conference*, ed. by Hans Christoher Wolfart, 232–250. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——. 2006. *Report from Innu Particle Workshop*, October 2005, Carleton University. Unpublished manuscript, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

HOCKETT, CHARLES F. 1964. The Proto Central Algonquian kinship system. In *Explorations in Cultural Anthropology: Essays in Honor of George Peter Murdock*, ed. by Ward H. Goodenough, 239–257. New York: McGraw-Hill.

JANCEWICZ, BILL, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 1988. Preverbs in Naskapi: Function and distribution. In *Papers of the Twenty-ninth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by David H. Pentland, 150–169. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

JUNKER, MARIE-ODILE. 1996. Comment quantifier en cri de l'est. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 23: 3–4.

——. 1998. Quantification distributive en cri. In *Actes du seisième congrès international des linguistes*, ed. by Bernard Caron. Oxford: Elsevier Sciences (CD-ROM).

——. 2000. *Quantification in East Cree and Linguistic Relativity.* Winnipeg: Voices of Rupert's Land.

——. 2003a. East Cree dependant nouns and disjoint reference. *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* 28.1: 11–13.

——. 2003b. East Cree relational verbs. *International Journal of Algonquian Linguistics* 69.3: 307–329.

——. 2003c. La grammaire des relations: Constructions possessives et obviation en cri de l'est. In *CLA Annual Conference Proceedings/Actes du congrès de l'ACL*, ed. by S. Burelle and S. Somesfalean, 145–155.

——. 2003d. A view on the "mind": East Cree cognition words. *Cognitive Linguistics* 14.2-3: 167–194.

——. 2004a. Focus, obviation, and word order in East Cree. *Lingua* 114.3: 345–365.

——. 2004b. Les primitives semantiques universelles en cri de l'est. In *Papers of the Thirty-fifth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by Hans Christoph Wolfart, 163–185. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——. In Press. Semantic primes and their grammar in polysynthetic language: East Cree. In *Studies in Cross-linguistic Semantics*, ed. by Cliff Goddard. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

——, and LOUISE BLACKSMITH. 1994. Reduplication in East Cree. In *Actes du vingt-cinquième congrès des Algonquinistes*, ed. by William Cowan, 265–273. Ottawa: Carleton University.

——, and LOUISE BLACKSMITH. 2001a. E asichaa yimuutech chekwaan, peyakw awen kaa aayimuumaakanuut ekw maak aniyuuh ihutuwin ayimunwin - weu e pehtaakuhch. In *Papers of the Thirty-second Algonquian Conference*, ed. by Hans Christoph Wolfart, 264–268. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——, and LOUISE BLACKSMITH. 2001b. Obviation, coreference and relational verb forms in East Cree. In *Papers of the Thirty-second Algonquian Conference*, ed. by John D. Nichols, 258–263. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 2003. Demonstratives in East Cree. In *Actes du trente-quatrième congrès des algonquinistes*, ed. by Hans Christoph Wolfart, 201–216. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

——, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE. 2004. Les noms composés en cri de l'Est. In *Le nom composé dans X langues*, ed. by Pierre Arnaud, 101–115. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

——, and MARGUERITE MACKENZIE (eds.) 2006. *The Interactive East Cree Language Website*. www.eastcree.org. Ottawa: Cree School Board of Québec & Carlton University.

——, MARGUERITE MACKENZIE, and LOUISE BLACKSMITH. 2004. East Cree southern pronouns. In *Papers of the Thirty-fifth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by Hans Christoph Wolfart, 187–205. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

JURAFSKY, DANIEL. 1988. On the semantics of the Cantonese changed tone. *Berkley Linguistics Society* 14: 304–318.

——. 1996. Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive. *Language* 72.3: 333–378.

KATAMBA, FRANCIS. 1993. *Morphology*. London: MacMillan.

KIEFER, FERENC. 2001. Morphology and pragmatics. In *The Handbook of Morphology*, ed. by A. Spencer and A. Zwicky, 272–279. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

KINKADE, DALE. 1991. The decline of native languages in Canada. In *Endangered Languages*, ed. by Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck, 157–176. Oxford: Berg.

KORECKY-KRÖLL, KATHARINA, and WOLFANG U. DRESSLER. 2007. Diminutives and hypocoristics in Austrian German. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 207–230. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

LACOMBE, P.A. 1874. *Grammaire de la langue cris*. Montréal: Beauchemin and Valois.

LARSON, RICHARD K. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 19.3: 335–391.

LAURE, PIERRE. 1727. *Apparat français et montagnais*. Ottawa: Archives Deschatelets.

LECARME, JACQUELINE. 2002. Gender polarity: Theoretical aspects of Somali nominal morphology. In *Many Morphologies*, ed. by Paul Boucher, 109–141. Somerville: Cascadilla Press.

LESOURD, PHILIP S. 1995. Diminutive verb forms in Passamaquoddy. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 61.1: 103–134.

LEVINE, BETH, and MALKA RAPPAPORT HOVAV. 1995. *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph Twenty Six. Cambridge: MIT Press.

LIEBER, ROCHELLE. 1980. *On the Organization of the Lexicon*. New York: Garland Press.

——. 1989. On percolation. *Yearbook of Morphology* 2: 95–138.

LIN, YEN-HWEI. 2004. Chinese affixal phonology: Some analytical and theoretical issues. *Language and Linguistics* 5.4: 1019–1046.

MACKENZIE, MARGUERITE. 1973. La palatisation des vélaires dans les dialectes Cris au Québec. *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec* 3.3-4: 71–76.

——. 1980. *Towards a Dialectlogy of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi*. Doctoral Dissertation, Univeristy of Toronto.

——. 1992. Negative markers in East Cree and Montagnais. In *Papers of the Twenty-third Algonquian Conference*, ed. by William Cowan, 274–284. Ottawa: Carleton University.

——. 1996. Diminutive suffixes in Cree dialects. Presentation made at the *Twenty-eighth Algonquian Conference*, University of Toronto.

MARRERO, VICTORIA, CARMEN AGUIRRE, and MARÍA JOSÉ ALBÁ. 2007. The acquisition of diminutives in Spanish: A useful device. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 155–181. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

MATHIEU, ERIC. 2006. *Phases at the Word Level: Evidence from Ojibwe*. Manuscript.

MEINHOF, CARL. 1912. *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*. Hamburg: Friederichsen.

MINISTER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, and NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT (eds.) 2007. *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence 2006*. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, and GOVERNMENT SERVICES CANADA (eds.) 2002. *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and The Northeastern Quebec Agreement 1998-1999*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

——, and GOVERNMENT SERVICES CANADA (eds.) 2003. *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 2001*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

NAUGHTON, JAMES. 2005. *Czech: An Essential Grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.

NEEPOSH, E., D. MOAR, R. SALT, MARGUERITE MACKENZIE, and BILL JANCEWICZ (eds.) 2004. *Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary, Southern Dialect: Cree-English, Vol.1*. Chisasibi: Cree School Board.

NEUFELDT, VICTORIA (ed.) 1997. *Webster's New World College Dictionary (Third edition)*. New York: Macmillan.

NORRIS, MARY JANE, and LORNA JANTZEN. 2002. *From Generation to Generation: Survival and Maintenance of Canada's Aboriginal Languages Within Families, Communities, and Cities*. Online version: http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/ra/fgg_e.pdf. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs.

OXFORD, WILL. 2007. *Towards a Grammar of Innu-aimun Particles*. Master's Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

PALMOVIĆ, MARIJAN. 2007. The acquisition of diminutives in Croatian. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 73–88. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

PENTLAND, DAVD H. 1988. More new modes in Old Ojibwe. *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguisitics* 13.3: 47–51.

PENTLAND, DAVID H. 1974. Diminutive consonant symbolism in Algonquian. In *Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference*, ed. by William Cowan, 237–252. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

PERLMUTTER, DAVID. 1978. Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis. In *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkley Linguistics Society, Vol.4*, ed. by J. Jaeger *et al.*, 157–189. Berkeley: Berkley Linguistics Society.

PRESTON, RICHARD. 1981. East Main Cree. In *The Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, Subarctic*, 196–207. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

PROTASSOVA, EKATERINA, and MARIA VOEIKOVA. 2007. Diminutives in Russian at the early stages. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 13–42. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

SALT, LUCI, ELSIE DUFF, MARGUERITE MACKENZIE, and BILL JANCEWICZ (eds.) 2004. *Eastern James Bay Cree Dictionary, Northern Dialect: Cree-English, Vol. 1.* Chisasibi: Cree School Board.

SAVICKIENĖ, INETA. 2007. Form and meaning of diminutives in Lithuanian child language. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & and Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 13–41. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

SILVY, ANTOINE. 1678. *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec.

SOUMAN, AGNITA, and STEVEN GILLIS. 2007. A longitudinal study of the acquisition of diminutives in Dutch. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition &

Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 183–206. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

SPENCER, ANDEW. 1991. *Morphological Theory: An Introduction to Word Structure in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

STARKES, DONNA. 1992. *Aspects of Woods Cree syntax*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manitoba.

STARKS, DONNA. 1982. *Subordination in Montagnais*. Manuscript, Winnipeg.

STUMP, GREGORY. 1998. Inflection. In *The Handbook of Morphology*, ed. by A. Spencer and M. Zwicky, 13–43. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

SWAIN, ERIN. in preparation. *Stress in Northern East Cree*. Master's Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

THOMADAKI, EVANGELIA, and URSULA STEPHANY. 2007. Diminutives in Greek child language. In *The Acquisition of Diminutives: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Ineta Savickienė and Wolfgang U. Dressler, Language Acquisition & Language Disorders, Vol. 43, 89–124. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

URBANCZYK, SUZANNE. 2006. Reduplicative form and the root-affix asymmetry. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24.1: 179–240.

VALENTINE, RANDOLPH J. 2001. *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar*. Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.

VOORHIS, PAUL. 1985. Kickapoo diminutives. *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* 10.2: 11–15.

WATKINS, E.A. 1938. *Dictionary of the Cree Language*. Toronto: General Synod of the Church of England in Canada.

WIERZBICKA, ANNA. 1984. Diminutives and depricatives: semantic representations for derivational categories. *Quaderni di Semantica* 5: 123–30.

WILLIAMS, E. 1981. On the notions "lexically related" and "head of a word". *Linguistic Inquiry* 12: 245–274.

WILTSCHKO, MARTINA. 2004. On number in Halkomelem Salish or the problem with "the two man". In *Proceedings of WSCLA IX*, ed. by C. Ravinski and Y. Chung, 143–158. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Working Papers in Linguistics.

WOLFART, HANS CHRISTOPH. 1973. Plains Cree: A grammatical study. In *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Part 5*, ed. by Hans Christoph Wolfart, New Series 63. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

WURM, STEPHAN A. (ed.) 1996. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing*. Paris & Canberra: UNESCO Publishing/Pacific Linguists.