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Accessibility and detechnicalization: towards a richer reciprocity between language research and revitalization

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1. Language revitalization and academic linguistics

• Practical language revitalization and academic linguistic research maintain a quietly uneasy relationship.

• Superficially, the priorities of documentary and theoretical-analytical work are often very different from those of revitalization work, which creates an unspoken (and sometimes subtly tense) divide between outside researchers and community language workers.

• This need not be so: teaching work in Eastern Algonquian revitalization has led directly to two significant points of theoretical-analytical progress, which in turn have folded back into real improvements in the overall revitalization effort.

(a) A more predictive/productive account of the assignment of Algonquian grammatical "animate" gender to a certain set of semantic inanimates (like 'spoon' and 'snot')---a typically intimidating feature for heritage learners.

(b) Recasting transitive verbal "stem-agreement" (for animate vs. inanimate object) in simpler and less Algonquian-specific terms. For animate objects, "stem-agreement" is now analyzed as a light-verb-mediated, head-marking version of dative-accusative syncretism. For inanimates, it is reanalyzed as an antipassive-like verbal form, where the notional object is introuced as an oblique.

• These two insights---combined with a solid commitment to learner-anxiety management, careful presentational minimalism, and real detechnicalization---have fed directly into a new, simple and accessible pedagogical approach now being successfully applied to Penobscot, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, and Mi'kmaw.

2. Accessibility and detechnicalization

• Academic linguistic research promises to help revitalization by uncovering understandings of the language that will aid efforts to maintain/revive them.

• But delivery on these promises can be minimal or even negative: well-meaning linguists can hinder revitalization---alienating heritage learners and/or native speakers---if what they offer to the community is effectively inaccessible.

• Recurrent problem in Algonquian revitalization: insufficient/ineffective *detechnicalization*.

• A common academic-side excuse for teaching with technical terms like "animate/inanimate", "(in)transitive", "obviative", etc. is that this will help learners in the long run: opening doors to read the linguistic literature, to use the dictionary and grammar charts, and to help them work in the linguistic field themselves.

• But I suspect that the main reason is just that it's easier for us linguists to ask people to wade through our "linguistese" just to get to their own language.

• This forces two extreme choices: either do pure immersion---or learn it this academic way that's easy for us.

• This isn't intentional: we all naturally explain things the way we first learned to understand them.

• But to make "linguistese" a precondition to language reclamation is just to keep on privileging academic priorities over the needs of everyday learners. If we want genuinely equal collaboration, the first thing we should do is stop asking people to simply become us.

• So: genuine and effective detechnicalization is not a nicety: it's an obligation.

• But often a pedagogical presentation is only superficially detechnicalized, with no careful rethinking/retelling of the underlying story.

• Even when a revitalization course is jargon-free, it's still often a step-by-step walk through a thick-description grammar. With little design attention paid to exactly which minimal, actually learnable sequence of linguistic points might most readily develop practical conversational competence.

• Reaching an audience well requires time and careful, engaged attention first to what that audience's own priorities, norms, and familiar points of reference actually are.

• Retelling the story on their terms (not one's own) calls for a critical and creative questioning of one's models (categories and analyses)---a willingness to take it all apart and put it back together again from the ground up.

• As scientists, that is what we should already always be doing. So a deeply audience-centered approach to revitalization pedagogy can also drive real scholarly progress.

• In academia, we can often get away with spouting whatever tangled narrative we like, learners be damned.

• But revitalization needs learners to actually learn; and so we have to develop a model that offers a thoroughly clear and simple path into the language.

• In this way, revitalization curriculum design can be a catalyst for improving the current analytical model.

3. Productivity vs. predictability in Animate gender assignment

Background:

Animate (NA) vs. *Inanimate (NI)*:

a nominal gender distinction in Algonquian languages, realized as selectional and/or agreement effects in key nominal-argument tracking morphology:

(1) Animate vs. Inanimate (*Pb: Siebert 1996/PD, glosses CQ*)

Animate		**Inanimate**	
owa phenəm	'this woman'	*iyo pənahpəsk*^{w}	'this rock'
(i)yok phenəmok	'these women'	*(i)yòlil pənahpskol*	'these rocks'
wəlíhpokəso	'Animate tastes good'	*wəlíhpokat*	'Inanimate tastes good'
nəmohα	'I eat h/her/it (Animate)'	*nəmìčin*	'I eat it (Inanimate)'

Q: **Is a (fully) predictive account for Animate/Inanimate status possible?**
A: **No. (Or so the literature still generally says, with a few exceptions.)**

Q: **Why not?**
A: **Because NA/NI appears to originate from semantic animacy, but shows all the signs of having formalized away from it:**

(a) Many grammatical NAs fall well outside of the core domain of familiar semantic animates:

èmkʷαn	'spoon'	(*Penobscot; PD*)
màkikʷ	'nasal mucus, snot, catarrh'	
məlǝčess	'mitten'	
kὰwi	'porcupine quill'	
tálαkan	'wedge'	

(b) Most plants are NI...despite being describable w/ terms translating as 'live', 'grow', and 'die':

pemawsuwikil <pĕm´-au-sŭ-wi´-kil> 'Living things' / 'Trees and plants' (*PsmMl: Chmb1899:39*)

cf. *pomawsuwiw* NI verb 'it is alive'

Psi-te keq hokek Laks nukcoktehson; tehpu wawikon pemawsuwik.
' *Every part of Laks's body is smashed; only his backbone [NI!] is still alive. (LM)'*

mehcinewiw NI verb 'it dies, it is dead'

pomikon NI verb 'it is growing, keeps growing'

(Note that (b) challenges the received---and possibly imposed---notion (never confirmed by native speakers, but having wide currency elsewhere) that (a)-type words are somehow conceived of as "alive" in some culture-specific way. See Dahlstrom 1995:65, Goddard 2002:225 for further questioning of that view.)

• Animate is generally agreed to be *marked* category, with Inanimate as the *elsewhere*.

• So, what determines those "unpredictable" Animates?

→ Discussions of Animate gender assignment standardly recognize areas of semantic generalizability, but emphasize an ultimately arbitrary, unpredictable character.

(e.g. LeSourd 1993:9 re Passamaquoddy, Costa 2003:205 re Myaamia, Cowell & Moss 2008:53 re Arapaho).

• A common problem we manufacture for ourselves: positing a (straw-man) category, and then complaining that Animate membership is inconsistent within it.

[*utensils*]:	"Forks and knives are Inanimate, but spoons are Animate!"
[*berries*]:	"Blueberries are Inanimate, but raspberries are Animate!"
[*clothing*]:	"Pants are Inanimate, but shirts are Animate!"
[*body parts*]:	"Hands are Inanimate, but elbows are Animate!"

Possible solution: looking very critically at

(a) *exactly* what putative categories might best characterize the data, and
(b) what kind of processes might give rise to them.

(*We'll see that all of the above Animates are not nearly as random as they might first appear.*)

Why this matters: the standard story intimidates would-be learners with "unpredictable Animates", and frustrates them by imposing the technical terms "Animate" and "Inanimate"---and then making them essentially meaningless/mysterious.

• An account that offers even partial productivity encourages learners from day one.

→ At least three accounts push the "semantic correlates" aspect much further:

"...[T]he animate category is best viewed as having a subset of central members, with semantic extensions connecting most of the other members of the category, [i.e., as _radial categories_ (Lakoff 1987)]. The extensions connecting peripheral members with more central members are semantically motivated---that is, once you know them, they make sense---but the membership of the category is not semantically predictable." (Dahlstrom 1995:52, re Meskwaki)

"In Penobscot at least, it appears that animacy is determined largely by analogy between individual words, rather than by one elusive, overarching semantic feature that all members of the class "animate" share..... Animacy-assigning analogies are not random; they seem mainly (but not exclusively) to be made along the semantic lines of intrinsic function *and* texture. *Although exceptions exist, this characterization accounts for the overwhelming majority of animate nouns attested in the language." (Quinn 2001, re Penobscot)*

"In every case the nouns in ([examples]) are inanimate when used for the generic and the ordinary, and animate when used for the special or the unusual."
"The basic meaning of the animate gender is a function of the contrast with the inanimate gender. Looking at the animates by themselves and attempting to connect the dots does not reveal it." (Goddard 2002:214; 224, re Meskwaki)

Today's proposal:

• We acknowledge the contrastive function of NA vs. NI, but note that NA membership seems far more internally consistent/constrained than a broad "special/unusual instance of..." criterion would suggest. We still aim to "connect the dots" between NAs, but again *not* by seeking one single shared feature, but instead by following a radial categories approach.

• Dahlstrom 1995 presumes [central vs. peripheral] membership. Could just be ongoing process of analogical attraction---creating *centerless clusters* rather than core-vs.-periphery systems---limited by not by prototypes but just by definable constraints on *how* that analogical process may proceed.

(Cf. Quinn 2001: "....it will never be possible to describe perfectly tidy semantic "classes" of animate nouns. But this is to be expected, since these "classes" result from the analogical process, and do not determine them.")

• New here: a renewed focus on how this process results in a very structured *productivity* of NA assignment (esp. for loans, etc.; cp. D1995:61-62). I.e. we extend the "*once you know them, they make sense*" observation in a key direction: "*once they make sense, you can make more of them*".

Overall picture: synchronic competence in NA assignment is *emergent*: not the setting of a single rule, but a structure (constantly) built up.

The work itself:

• An exhaustive survey of current lexicographic documentation + preliminary field research, covering four Northeastern-area Eastern Algonquian languages:

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet	[field notes (Sipayik; Sakomawi Malihk), *pmportal.org* online dictionary]
Mi'kmaw	[field notes, unpublished ms. dictionary, + published dictionaries]
Penobscot	[Siebert/Speck field notes, in-process *Penobscot Dictionary* digital ms.]
Western Abenaki	[Laurent 1884, Masta 1932, Day 1994, inter alia]

• For these languages at least, all evidence suggests that the Animate gender category is in fact quite *dynamically synchronically productive*---and far more predictable than not.

• Where in-depth native-speaker consultation is still possible (PsmMl, Mw), preliminary data suggests that speakers have a *robust and largely consistent* knowledge of the gender assignment of novel items---designata for which they know no pre-existing word---and of foreign-word designata in general.

• Adding observations from extant Pb and WAb corpora data, we conclude that this productivity does not come from some elusive single semantic "deep thread" that connects all grammatical Animates.

• Instead, it comes from a network of emergent clusters or "families" that systematically (and quite restrictedly) attracts semantically related new members. (*cp. Dahlstrom 1995, Quinn 2001,Wittgenstein 1953*)

→ We can (and probably should) abandon the still-standard view of Algonquian gender as "ultimately/largely arbitrary".

• Otherwise we will miss a crucial chance to investigate potentially very enlightening questions about how categorization (linguistic or otherwise) works as a cognitive process.

• And we will continue to convince a significant chunk of heritage learners that their language is too hard for them to reclaim.

The "family"-based model:

• For all four languages surveyed, the following "family" categories of Animates are extremely robust, being *nearly exceptionless*.

people, animals, spirits, luminaries,
+ *representations* of these (pictures, glyphs, playing cards-gaming pieces/balls, [coins])
substantial trees (*e.g. pine but not [alder]*)
fluid containers
thorns-quills-feathers-scales/flakes
gum-swellings-substantially squishy fruits/berries-root vegetables-[bread products]
net-{rope/cord}
shirt-jacket/coat{}
[wheels-disks]
snowshoe-[footwear]-handwear
breechcloth/diaper

• "Families" marked in [*brackets*] are ones *systematically* absent in at least one language surveyed; to be discussed below.

• These groupings are NOT uniform across all Algonquian languages, though there does appear to more overlap than not. *(Bloomfield 1962:28-36: Menominee; Goddard 2002: Meskwaki, Algonquian overall)*

-"Families" come and go: note two robust NA categories totally absent in the 4 surveyed, but found in another Algonquian language, Munsee: (*O'Meara 1996: 405, 401, 538; 35, 414, 414*)

[*books-paper-documents*] *pámbiil* 'book, paper, letter', *mbáypul* 'Bible', *noospépul* 'newspaper'

[*vehicles*] *amóoxol* (NA/NI) 'boat', *ahtamóombiil* 'car', *káal* 'train car'

Evidence for "family" effects: dual animacy and variable animacy

Dual animacy: - same stem shows meaning differences in NA vs. NI use
- tracks established "families"

Pb *wətəhαkan* NA: 'fin" (cf. NA *wələkʷan* 'wing': FEATHER/FAN)
NI: 'paddle, oar'

Pb *kəlósəwαkan* NA: 'speech wampum; large, long belt of wampum, as used for intertribal treaties' (GLYPH/CORD)
NI: 'a word, the word; speech, talk'

Pb *pəko* NA: 'chewing gum' (cf. *màkikʷ* 'nasal mucus, snot, catarrh': GUM/CLOT)
NI: 'gum, pitch (in sap form, or when used to pitch a canoe)'
(cp. *kəlamótikan* 'adhesive, glue, mucilage')

Pb *apeskʷ[h]ám[]αkan* NA: 'lacrosse [*or generic*] ball: BALL'
NI: 'lacrosse game'

(cp. Costa 2003:208: NA *ahkihkwa* 'drum' NI *ahkihkwi* 'kettle'; NA *mihtekamina* 'June bug' NI *mihtekamini* 'acorn')

Variable animacy: - same stem shows NA/NI variation
- tracks the margins/fuzzy edges of established "families"

Pb *mskíhkəwimin* 'strawberry'

generally <u>NA</u>...	but:	<u>NIpl</u> *mskihkəwímin<u>al</u>* for 1 speaker	(SDMC:998)
	+ one	<u>NIpl</u> diminutive *mskihkəwíminsal*	(PD)

• In Pb, smaller berries (e.g. *sàhtal* 'blueberries') are uniformly NI; larger, squish-prone berries (and soft-peeled fruits) are uniformly NA.

Strawberries generally predicted to be NA (as they are): but the much smaller wild berry may fall below that threshold---hence especially the NI diminutive attestation.

• Variability around the margins of robust "families" is expected; we predict to occur only for "borderline designata" of this kind.

• Dual animacy shows suggestive similarities to the English *mass* vs. *count* system.

• English *mass/count* is [*productive, largely predictable, meaning-constraining*], but still tied closely to *idiosyncrasy in lexicalization*:

COUNT	*(a) speech* (= lecture!)	
MASS	*speech* (= general act)	[*I heard a speech ≠ I heard speech*]
COUNT	*(a) drive* (= golf!)	
MASS	*drive* (= motivation!)	[*she's got a drive ≠ she's got drive*]
		[*she's got a game ≠ she's got game*]

• Algonquian dual animacy reflects a similar pattern: exact lexical meaning is as unpredictable as history so often can make it---but the *range* of possible unpredictable meaning is nonetheless sharply semantically constrained by the system. *(cp. aspect stability in verbal idioms)*

Evidence for dynamic synchronic productivity: Passamaquoddy-Maliseet and Mi'kmaw

• Only some preliminary/anecdotal---but quite suggestive---data re Animate status of English words (and/or newer or unfamiliar designata).

a. Q: [*re plurals*] What about "thermos"? A: Thermos-*ok*.
Q: And "syringe"? A: Syringe-*ok*. (*Psm: 200605_-MA*)

b. [*speaker looking directly at basket of unfamiliar fruit*]: What are those? (*Psm: 200605_-ML*)
[Before CQ can even answer ("Dates"), speaker 1 starts discussing with speaker 2, referring to them using <u>*NA*</u> morphology.]

c. Q: [*re plurals*] What about "dates"? A: [*w/ no hesitation;* <u>*NA*</u> *pl.*] Dates-*ig*. (*Mw: 201407_-MAM*)

d. Q: [(*in discussion of wòt [NA] vs. yùt [NI] 'this'), and indicating a can of soda*] And this?
A: wòt. (*Ml: 20150729-RP*)

e. Q: [*handing over bag of dried apricots*] Can you describe these for me? (*Ml: 20150729-DB*)

A: Kespahtekil [= *NI dried ones*]...[*seeing that they're apricots*]...
....no, I should say "*kespahsicik*" [= *NA dried ones*]

Q: So, [*NA pl.*] "*apricots*-ək"? A: Yes.
Q: And "*dates*-ək"? A: Yes.

[Conversation continues: another speaker volunteers as directly related example: "*cherries*-ək"...noting, "You can't say [*NI pl.*] *cherries*-əl", and confirming correctness of CQ-offered "*peaches*-ək".]

Upshot:

Formal experiments still needed; but speakers seem to show a robust and largely consistent knowledge of the gender assignment of novel, recent, and foreign (mainly English) word designata.

• The "family"-based model explains why diachronic change in gender assignment across Algonquian proceeds not simply on an individual lexeme-by-lexeme basis, but by *semantic cluster*.

• SHOE (and boots, etc.) is generally NI across Algonquian, remains NI in WAb and Caniba/Kennebec (E. Abenaki)...but from Penobscot east/northward, it's consistently NA:

NI:	WAb *Mkezenal*	[= *NI* pl.]	'Shoes; moccasins'	(L84:26; cp. *Potsal* 'Boots')
	Cn/Kb *ne makesenar*	[= *NI* pl.]	'mes souliers' (Aub:482)	
	+ most other Algonquian....			

NA: Pb *màhksən* 'shoe' PsmMl *pkoson* 'shoe' Mw *mg'sn* 'shoe'

• Appears to be an area-specific innovation, perhaps motivated by analogy to terms for 'snowshoe', which are generally NA across Algonquian.

• More diachronic semantic-cluster changes: (*full data available in Quinn 2015*)

WAb, Pb, PsmMl <u>NA</u> vs. Mw <u>NI</u>:	*BREAD (& comparable products), COIN*
WAb, Pb, PsmMl <u>NI</u> vs. Mw <u>NA</u>:	*LEAF, BELT/SCARF, KNIFE*

• Cases of systematic, clustered gender shifts across languages, regions, and even dialects suggest that the determination of the formal NA property applies primarily over semantic groupings within the lexicon, rather than solely over individual lexemes.

Lots of interesting questions remain:

• Falsifiability and confirmation bias, methodologies for testing "families"?

• Animacy assignment: an emergent system based on acquisitional strategies?

• Historical comparison of shared/"cognate" NA assignment = "categorizational isoglosses"?

• Formal modeling: semantic (re restrictions on what can be NA) and syntactic modeling (how dual animacy works)?

Pedagogical/revitalization significance:

• Till now, NA-assignment of this kind has been presented as a largely arbitrary, brute-force-memorized system.

• Recognizing that there is more predictability than not greatly helps in learning both correct lexeme-specific gender and the complex morphosyntactic phenomena that build off of it, and demystifies what too often becomes a baffling and intimidating obstacle for would-be new speakers.

4. Applicative and antipassive: simplifying transitive verbal morphosyntax

• Algonquian verbs have famously complex and difficult morphology. That's a problem for heritage learners, such as the Penobscot students I first worked with 15 years ago.

❖ But the real problem is that this is not actually true.

• I learned Penobscot verbal morphosyntax through the standard model: opaque, jargon-laden, and "chart-tastic". Such that even my detechnicalized presentation of the transitive verb system was a struggle for students. This pushed me to look for a simpler but still accurate alternative.

• So I started from the simplest form: which, it turns out, is the impersonal (a notional "passive"), in contrast to the more complex "active":

tákamɑ	's/he is hit'
nətákamɑ	'I hit him/her'

This led me to a new analysis, one that simplifies teaching the transitivity system, and also links its core patterns to those found a wide variety of human languages.

Background:

• Since Bloomfield 1946's foundational work (and earlier), the last morphological element of Algonquian transitive stems---the *transitive Final*---is said to agree for the grammatical [±NA] feature of the (primary) object:

Transitive Animate (TA):	nəkəlápilα	'I tie NA, tie NA up, tether NA'
Transitive Inanimate (TI):	nəkəlápiton	'I tie NI'

• Parallel "stem-agreement" is also found for intransitive-stem Finals.

Animate Intransitive (AI):	mkaséwiko	'NA is black'
Inanimate Intransitive (II):	mkaséwikən	'NI is black'

Claim:

• Transitive Final "stem-agreement" is not simple [±NA] feature agreement, but **differential object marking:** (*DOM: Aissen 2003, inter alia*)

Transitive Animate: **dative-accusative syncretism (DAS)**

cf. Spanish (specific) animate objects: "accusative' *a*

Hindi-Urdu definite/animate objects: "dative-accusative" *-ko*

Transitive Inanimate: **antipassivization**

cf. Inuktitut peripheralized object: antipassive verb + instrumental object

• This DOM effect was not obvious because Algonquian languages are strongly *head-marking*. DOM is better known from *dependent-marking* systems, where its effects appear (more saliently) in nominal case- and adposition-marking rather than on the verb.

Preliminaries

• Algonquian verb-stem polysynthesis is just serialization of phonologically ***affixal*** lexical and functional elements.

Stem:	*wəčkawαpekihlα-*	'(animate) swings along in this direction' (PD:1996)
Initial:	wəčkaw-	'hither'
Medial:	-αpek-	'swing; cord'
Final:	-(i)hl.α	'NA move, change'

• The suffixal verbal elements known as ***Finals*** are the key ones here.

Finals: - determine stem syntactic category

- introduce all core (= non-oblique) arguments

- have an internal structure themselves, **-[*Root.LV*]**:

(a) External light verb (*.i, .ən*) = predicate hosting (and matching) outermost/only argument

(b) Internal Root (*-ek-*) = naming event, introducing internal arg

-[ek.*i*]	'NA is ... fabric, hide, sheet'	wasáp<u>ek.*o*</u>	'NA is a [of] thin fabric'
-[ek.*ən*]	'NI is ... fabric, hide, sheet'	wasáp<u>ek.*ən*</u>	'NI is a thin fabric, hide'

• This -[*Root.LV*] affixal verb, the Final, is the simple foundation of Algonquian verb-stem polysynthesis.

(2) General -[*Root.LV*] pattern across transitives (a, b) and intransitives (c, d)

a. TA -[ən.α] 'do to NA by hand'

nəpìsənα
'I insert NA [by hand]'
nə-pis-[ən.α]-(w)
1-into-[by_hand.DIR]-W [*DIR = NA-patient LV*^{NA}]

b. TI -[ən.əm] 'do (to NI) by hand'

nəpísənəmən
'I place NI in, inside, I insert NI'
nə-pis-[ən.əm]-əne
1-into-[by_hand.LV^{NA}]-N [here: *NA-agent LV*^{NA}]

c. AI -[*Root*.e] 'NA do with *Root*, do *Root*-associated activity'

mánαtakʷe
'NA gathers, collects evergreen boughs'
man-[*αtakʷ*.e]-(w)
removed-[*evergreen_bough*.DO^{NA}-]-W

d. II -[*Root*.e] 'NI exist as *Root*, be (spatial) state of *Root*'

mkʷìhtəkʷe
'NI is a red river'
məhkʷ-[*əhtəkʷ*.e]-(w)
red-[*river*.LV^{NI}]-W

- Traditional model, however, complicates this:

TA/TI *Root*	= end of the entire TA Final	= -*ən.*
TA/TI *LV*	= quasi-stem, quasi-inflectional "*Theme Sign*"	= -.*ɑ*, -.*əm*

... despite "Theme Signs" having identical argument-introducing and feature-matching functions as those of intransitive LVs.

(*cp. Armoskaite 2011, Bliss, Ritter, & Wiltschko 2012, inter al.*)

- New model: treat transitive and intransitive Final complexes alike, as -[*Root.LV*]. (*cf. Frantz 1991:56*)

- After this -[*Root.LV*] complex, all subsequent verbal morphology is the same across the board.

→ A major simplification gained, both in technical analysis and for practical teaching.

• Standard model: descriptively baroque, explanatorily problematic, and pedagogically intimidating system of 4 tidy categories (+ TA/TI Theme Signs) and two "mismatch" types:

TA, TI, AI, II	= *a tidy four-way system, but...*
OTI, AI+O	= *...transitives without objects; intransitives with objects*

• New model: reach the 4+2 system's descriptive coverage more simply, as the interaction of a single -[*Root.LV*] element with independent (and cross-linguistically identifiable) morphosyntactic phenomena.

Transitive Animate (TA) stems as (head-marking) dative-accusative syncretism constructions

DAS: the marking of (notional) direct objects being in certain cases identical to that of (notional) indirect objects.

= the most well-known type of differential object marking

- Poster children for dependent-marking DAS: Hindi-Urdu *-ko* and Spanish *a*.

(3) Hindi-Urdu (Butt 1995, Mohanan 1990): dative-accusative case-particle *-ko*

a. Dative *-ko* for goal (Mohanan 1990:85:40a)

ilaa-ne	mãã-ko	yaah haar	diyaa
Ila-E	mother-D	this-N necklace	give-PERF

'Ila gave this necklace to the mother.'

b. Obligatory *-ko* for animate object (Mohanan 1990:80:32, 33)

ilaa-ne	bacce-ko / *baccaa		uṭʰaayaa
Ila-E	child-A	child-N	lift/carry-PERF (= rise-CAUSE-PERF)

'Ila lifted the child.'

ilaa-ne	haar	uṭʰaayaa
Ila-E	necklace-N	lift/carry-PERF (= rise-CAUSE-PERF)

'Ila lifted a/the necklace.'

❖ Characteristically, DAS is sensitive to the animacy of the notional direct object:

(4) Spanish (Bleam 2000:161-2); cf. Hindi-Urdu above

a.	Ví a la mujer I.saw a the woman 'I saw the woman'	*Ví la mujer I.saw the woman
b.	Ví a-l gato I.saw a-the cat 'I saw the cat'	*Ví el gato I.saw the cat
c.	*Ví a la mesa I.saw a the table 'I saw the table'	Ví la mesa I.saw the table

(5) Penobscot:a [±NA]-sensitive alternation is clear...but is it DAS?

❖ DAS is sensitive to the individuation/specificity of the notional dir. object (cf. Ramchand 2008):

(6) Hindi-Urdu *-ko*: specificity (?=individuation) constraints (Mohanan 1990:80:ft30)

a.	ravii	(ek) gaay	k^{h}ariidnaa	caahtaa	hai
	Ravi-N	(one) cow-N	buy-NF	wish-IMPERF	be-PR
	'Ravi wishes to buy a cow (with no particular cow in mind).'				
b.	ravii	(ek) gaay-<u>ko</u>	k^{h}ariidnaa	caahtaa	hai
	Ravi-N	one cow-<u>D</u>	buy-NF	wish-IMPERF	be-PR
	'Ravi wishes to buy a (particular) cow.'				

(7) Spanish: parallel examples exist, but very involved, see Bleam 2000:166-186

• Pb: unindividuated direct obj. doesn't trigger TA; enters as incorporated Root (rarely: bare noun).

(8) Penobscot incorporation of unindividuated NA notional direct object (PD:251)

mán*esse*	man-*ess*.e-(w)
'NA gathers *clams/shellfish*'	removed-*clam*.DO^{NA}-W

❖ DAS is blocked when in competition with a "real" Goal:

(9) Hindi-Urdu *-ko*: anti-double *-ko* constraint (Mohanan 1990:85:40c)

ilaa-ne	mãã-ko	baccaa /*bacce-ko	diyaa
Ila-E	mother-D	child-N / child-A	give-PERF

'Ila gave a/the child to the mother.'

(10) Spanish anti-double-dative constraint (Anagnostopoulou 2003:292:(382))

Te	lo	/	*le	dí.
Cl-2DAT	3-ACC{Acc/-animate}	/	*Cl-3ACC{Dat/+animate}	gave-1sg

'I gave it to you / *I gave him to you.'

(11) Penobscot DAS competition: NA Theme argument shifted to *secondary object* = no TA pattern

nəmílα*nal* nətémisal	nə-m-l.α-*əne-al*	nə-em-s-al
'I give NA my dog' (PD:280)	1-give-Appl.DIR-*N-obv*	1-dog-DIM-obv

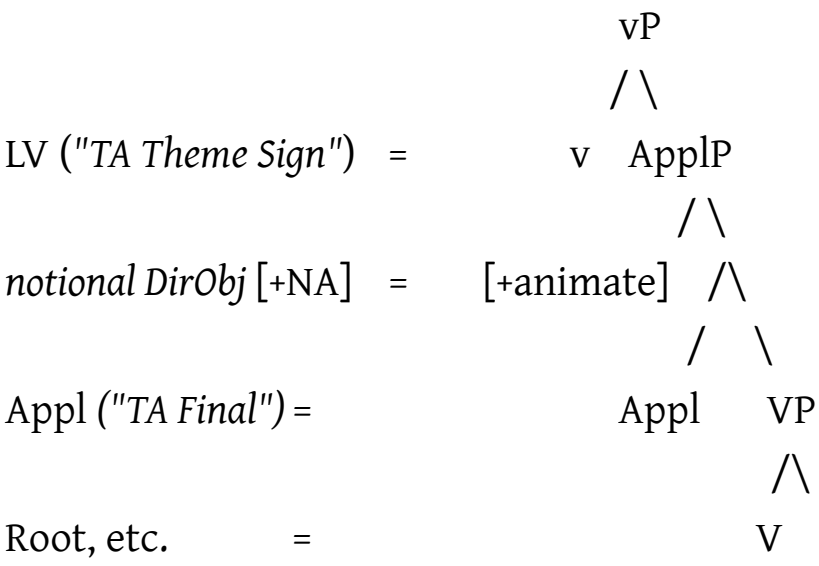
Upshot: Penobscot TA exhibits three significant parallels with dependent-marking DAS patterns...

Q: ...but where is the adposition/case-particle, the dative element?

A: Algonquian languages are chiefly head-marking (Nichols 1986).

DAS in a head-marking language should manifest as something like a **dative-Applicative** (12).

(12) "Appl" syntax = TA syntax



• Hence we find that all dative-Applicatives are in fact TA:

(13) dative Applicative

nətakitámawα	nə-ak-m-t.am-aw.α-(w)
'I read it for NA'	1-count-by_voice-Nmlz.LV^{NA}-Appl.DIR-W

cf.	nətákitam	nə-ak-m-t.am-əp
	'I count'	1-count-by_voice-Nmlz.LV^{NA}-P
	nətákimα	nə-ak-m.α-(w)
	'I count NA; I read NA (NA's intentions, ideas)'	1-count-by_voice.DIR-W

• And non-dative TA elements, such as directional-Appl...

(14) directional-Applicative

nókihke	nə-wək-əhk.e-əp
'I bark [howl, chatter, whoop...]'	1-bark-make.DO^{NA}-P
nokíhkαl̲α	nə-wək-əhk.e-l̲.α-(w)
'I bark at NA' (cf. O'Meara 1990:72)	1-bark-make.DO^{NA}-Appl.DIR-W

(15) directional-Applicative

nəkəmótənαmα	nə-kəmot-ən.e-m.α-(w)
'I steal from NA'	1-thieving-by_hand.DO^{NA}-Appl.DIR-W

...and semantically barer causatives/transitivizers:

(16) causative

nəníwihalα	nə-niw-h-al.α-(w)
'I dry NA'	1-dry-change-Appl.DIR-W

(17) transitivizer

nəkəmótənaɬα	nə-kəmot-ən.e-ɬ.α-(w)
'I steal NA'	1-thieving-by_hand.DO^{NA}-Appl.DIR-W

...and semantically richer causative-Means:

(18) causative-Means

nətakéhkimα	nə-akehk-m.α-(w)
'I instruct NA, teach NA'	1-teach-by_voice.DIR-W

(19) causative-Means

nətàmamα	nə-təm-am.α-(w)
'I bite NA off'	1-sever(ed)-by_mouth.DIR-W

(20) causative-Means

nətàmənα	nə-təm-ən.α-(w)
'I break NA in two, in half (by hand)'	1-sever(ed)-by_hand.DIR-W

....are all predicates similarly associated w/causativity, event-initiation/process rather than result.

• All of these = high(er) syntactic position in Ramchand 2008 event-phase syntax:

	[DP *init*	[DP *proc*	[DP *res* [XP]]]]	
event phase:	*initiation*	*process*	*result*	
TA elements:	✓	✓	✗	*(no resP, Path Finals ever (Quinn 2009b,c))*

❖ Penobscot TA elements have semantics of dative-Applicative-type predicates (= event-initiation/process-phase), and so situate their NA object arguments high up.

• Structurally high introduction may satisfy a "more discourse-marked" feature of NAs.

• I.e. high = more D-linked, non-high = less D-linked. (*cf. Diesing 1990, object shift, etc.*)

Transitive Inanimate (TI) stems as (head-marking) antipassive-instrumental constructions

• Antipassives have two chief components:

(a) oblique-instrumental object = *-mik* in (21a)

(b) structurally detransitivized (unergativized) verb = **-si** in (21a)

(21) West Greenlandic antipassive (Bittner 1987:194; italics mine)

a.	Jaaku ujaqqamik tigusivuq	Jaaku ujarak-*mik* tigu-**si**-vu-q
	'Jacob took stone.'	Jacob(A) stone-*INS* take-**ap**-intr.indic-3sgA
b.	Jaakup ujarak tiguaa	Jaaku-p ujarak tigu-a-a
	'Jacob took stone.'	Jacob-E stone(A) take-tr.indic-3sgE/3sgA

❖ Algonquian TIs show evidence of both components.

Component 1: Oblique-instrumental object

The TI head-marks its direct object via a special morphological complex:

(a) N-element *-ən(e)*

(b) plural (etc.) morphology tracking N-indexed arg, e.g. *-al* 'NI pl' (="peripheral endings")

(22) wətalíhto*n̲al* akʷitənóhsisal

wə-tal-h-t.o-*ən̲e-al*	akʷit.ən-(w)-hs-s-al
3-there-cause-T.LV^{NA}-*N̲-NIpl*	soak.LV^{NI}-W-DIM-DIM-NIpl

'he's making small canoes' (SDMC)

- But this morphological complex is not unique to TI objects; also used for ditransitive and (effectively) transitive <u>*secondary objects*</u> (*"AI+O" explained...*)

(23) N-Peripheral marking for secondary objects (ditransitive and "AI+O")

a. Secondary objects: TA+O (=ditransitive) (transferee Themes)

nəmílα<u>*n*</u>*al* nətémisal	nə-m-l.α-<u>*əne*</u>*-al*	nə-em-s-al
'I give NA my dog' (PD:280)	1-give-Appl.DIR-<u>*N*</u>*-obv*	1-dog-DIM-obv

b. Secondary objects: "AI+O" (= intrans + ScdObj) (locational (i) or transferee (ii) Themes)

i.

nətehsíkαpawi<u>*n*</u> iyo	nətehsíkαpawi*n* owa	
nə-tehs-kαpaw.i-<u>*əne*</u> iyo	nə-tehs-kαpaw.i-<u>*əne*</u>	owa
1-atop-stand.LV^{NA}-<u>*N*</u> this^{NI}	1-atop-stand.LV^{NA}-<u>*N*</u>	this^{NA}
'I am standing on this [NI]'	'I am standing on [this] NA'	

ii. àhtαmα wəkisi-aláhkew<u>*əna*</u>*l.*

ahtαmα wə-kis-əl-αhk.e-[w]-<u>*əne*</u>*-al*

not_at_all 3-able-Xmanner-throw.DO^{NA}-NEG-<u>*N*</u>*-obv*

'he could not throw it' (kesihlαt (GD):18)

(24) Secondary objects: '<u>with</u>' gloss explicitly suggesting an instrumental-oblique

a.	nətakámα*<u>n</u>al*	nə-tak-am.α-*<u>ən</u>e-al*
	'I hit NA *<u>with NA(obv)</u>*' (PD:447)	1-hit-Appl.DIR-*<u>N</u>-obv*
b.	nətákamα	nə-tak-am.α-(w)
	'I hit NA, strike NA' (PD:447)	1-hit-Appl.DIR-W

• Crosslinguistically, obliques for both ditransitive Theme and antipassive objects are common.

(25) Chamorro: oblique for ditransitive Theme (25a), antipassive object (25b).

a. Ditransitive: oblique Theme (Chung 1998:51-52:(64); italics mine)

Ha-na'i si nana-ña *ni* buteya-n ketchap.
agr-give mother-agr *Obl* bottle-L soy.sauce
'He gave his mother the bottle of soy sauce.'

b. Antipassive: oblique Theme/notional direct object (Chung 1998:38:(35); italics mine)

Asta pa'gu ti man-hóhonggi yu' *nu* ennao ädyu i siñát ginin i chächaflik.
until now not agr.AP-believe.Prog I *Obl* that the sign from the dying.one

'Even now I still don't believe in those signs from the dead' ([cited from] Cooreman 1983:184)

(26) Halkomelem: oblique for ditransitive Theme (26a), antipassive object (26b).

a. Ditransitive: oblique Theme (Gerdts and Hinkson 2004:244:(55))

niʔ	*cən*	*ʔaːm-əs-ət*	*kʷθə*	*swəẏqeʔ*	*ʔə*	*kʷθə*	*pukʷ.*
AUX	1SUB	gave-DAT-TR	DET	man	OBL	DET	book

'I gave the man the book.'

b. Antipassive: oblique Theme/notional direct object (Gerdts and Hinkson 2004:244:(53))

niʔ	*q̇ʷəl-əm*	*ʔə*	*tᶿə*	*sceːɬtən.*
AUX	bake-MID	OBL	DET	salmon

'He cooked/barbecued the salmon.'

• Penobscot: homophony of secondary object and TI object markers suggests it may be realizing a head-marking version of Chamorro, Halkomelem (etc.) oblique: TI obj looks like antipassive obj.

• Since TI objects can't be NA, while all secondary objects can, oblique-instrumental is likely a general strategy for a variety of ousted/peripheralized arguments.

In sum: TI object indexing looks suspiciously like antipassive object indexing: possibly an oblique-instrumental, in head-marking form.

Component 2: TI verb itself is an antipassive-like form

Antipassive is an *agentive intransitive*; this can come about through two possible structural paths:

(a) *minimal* = simple -[*Root.LV*] (*cf. Bittner and Hale 1996*)

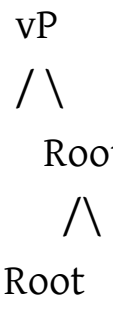
(b) *derived* = re-deriving TA to make a *complex* Root for -[*Root.LV*]

(27) TI stem syntax = *unergative-antipassive* = *v[unergative]*
|
Root/Root complex/nominalized complex

a. Minimal (basic unergative)

LV^{NA} (*unergative*) =

Root (Root, nominal) =



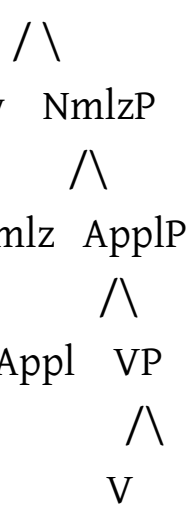
b. Derived (derived, rebuilt unergative)

LV^{NA} (*unergative*) =

T-element (*nominalizer/re-Rooter*)=

Appl *("TA Final")* =

Root =



- Explains two different TA-to-TI patterns: "deleting" vs. "augmenting"

a. "Deleting" TA-to-TI

-n-aw.α	'do to NA by viewing, view NA as...'
-n.am	'do [to NI] by viewing, view [NI] as...'
nólinawα 'I like NA's looks; I like NA's behavior; I approve of NA'	nə-wəl-n-aw.α-(w) 1-good-view-Appl.DIR-W
nólinamən 'I admire NI [like the looks of NI]'	nə-wəl-n.am-əne 1-good-view.LV^{NA}-N

❖ TI here comes not from deleting TA -aw, but simply never adding it: just bare -[*Root.LV*].

= **minimal** structure

b. "Augmenting" TA-to-TI

nəkàlamα	nə-kəl-am.α-(w)
'I hold NA in my mouth'	1-bound-by_mouth.DIR-W
nəkəlátamən	nə-kəl-am-t.am-ən
'I hold NI in my mouth'	1-bound-by_mouth-Nmlz.LV^{NA}-N

❖ TI here adds a **t-element**, which acts as a nominalizer/detransitivizer/Root-izer, supplying a derived Root for -[*Root.LV*].

= **derived** structure (cf. English transitive *devour* detransitivized to unerg as ***do*** *devour**ing***)

• T-element: nominalizer (like *-ing*), a D, or just Root-re-former?

(28) TI stem *pakahət-* 'bite (NI)' (28a) same as Root-ized Initial *pakahət-* 'biting' (28b):

a.	wə*pákahət*on	wə-*pake-h-al-t*.aw-əne
	'he bites it (inan.)'(S:38:twds end)	3-*bite-change-Appl-Nmlz*.LV^{NA}-N
b.	*pakáhət*ahsəm	*pake-h-al-t*-ahsəmW
	'biting dog' (S:38:twds end)	*bite-change-Appl-Nmlz*-dog
c.	*mát*ahsəm	*mat*-ahsəmW
	'bad dog; shaggy dog' (PD:254)	*bad/rough*-dog
	*mɑ̀l*səm	*mɑl*-ahsəmW
	'wolf' (PD:260)	*quasi*-dog

Pattern asymmetry explained:

• DAS restricts TAs to one pattern---all TAs must have an Appl-type element.

• TIs, not constrained by DAS, have no comparable requirement (t-element is distinctive to TIs, but not required for all), and so show the two different logical possibilities (minimal vs. derived).

Why there are "objectless" TIs

• Problematic traditional category "*objectless TI*" (OTI) is simply this: antipassives readily drop their objects.

(29) Kaqchikel: (29a) transitive vs. (29b) antipassive w/o object (adapted from Brown et al. 2006:174)

a.	xqatz'ët ri achib'äl	x-ø-qa-tz'ët	ri achib'äl
	'we saw the picture'	PERF-3sABS-1pERG-see	DET picture
b.	xojtz'eton	x-oj-tz'et-on	
	'we saw'	PERF-1pABS-see-AP	

(30) Algonquian OTI construction/alternation (*PD:186, 187*)

Stem kəlatam- 'hold with mouth/teeth' has a canonical TI form, but it can be used without an object:

TI:	nəkəlátamən	nə-kəl-am-t.am-ən
	'I hold NI in my mouth'	1-bound-by_mouth-Nmlz.LV^{NA}-N
OTI:	nəkàlatam	nə-kəl-am-t.am-(əp)
	'I hold with [my] teeth, in [my] mouth'	1-bound-by_mouth-Nmlz.LV^{NA}-P

• Penobscot "*objectless TI*" is just the intransitiv[ized]-verb component of the antipassive, with no oblique object.

Mystery: Given the same minimal inflection (3s "W"), TA and TI collocations have exactly opposite readings.

(31) Minimally inflected TA: "impersonal passive"

...tákamα	tak-am.α-(w)
'...he was struck' (awehsohsak:12)	hit-Appl.DIR-W

(32) Minimally inflected TI: agentive intransitive (traditionally: OTI)

číksətam	čik-əsət.am-(w)
'NA listens, listens and obeys'	silent-listen.LV^{NA}-W

→ TA Appl introduces just the NA *internal* arg; rest is licensed through LV, giving rise to the impersonal-Agent "passive" reading.

→ TI-antipassive LV only introduces its NA *external* argument Agent; absence of optional oblique object argument gives agentive intransitive reading.

• *Asymmetry unexpected in a stem-agreement account; follows from present model.*

Overall results:

• Recasting "stem-agreement" as feature-driven constructionality offers a new perspectives/ approaches re agreement phenomena in general (structure vs. simple feature-matching).

• Simplifying account of Algonquian gender-sensitive transitivity patterns, explaining several traditionally problematic categories and phenomena, using entirely non-language/family-specific categories.

• This in turn is much easier for learners, since there is no longer

(a) self-contradictory jargon like "objectless transitive" and "object-taking intransitive"

(b) [TA-TI-AI-II]: now just [NA-NI] as applied to Finals in general

(c) no separate complex of [TA/TI + Theme Sign]: all just fall into the -[*Root.LV*] pattern, after which subsequent morphology is identical for all stems

5. Informing the current pedagogical approach

• How have these two analyses fed directly back into revitalization teaching?

• First, some key points in the overall curriculum design.

• Core principle: seriously acknowledge adult-learner linguistic performance anxiety, via an ongoing group/collective approach.

• Teach affix-based patterns (= *the most frequently-used forms*) via simple MODEL-forms, that show new patterns simply as extensions of the already familiar. (*vs. abstract-parts-and-rules*)

• Avoid the norm of teaching full paradigms exhaustively before introducing new ones, through paradigm minimalism = teaching just the **2s** and **1s** forms, then moving on to the next.

• Introduce all the essential patterns as soon as possible (= *corollary to the above*).

• Instead of going from simple to complex, work from the simplest version of the most complex, and then backtrack.

• Radical minimalism---lesson-targets of one to two lines only---allows us to keep the lessons entirely oral: freely sharable through "coffeeshop learning".

Overall design:

• Brief oral lessons...

• ...that introduce at most 2-3 sentences of new information

• ...selected as model-words/phrases that

(a) individually realize a key step within a clear progression of essential language patterns

(b) have immediate everyday communicative use.

(An optimal path of this kind can only be found through rigorous attention to the entire ecosystem of core lexicon, morphosyntax, phrasal constructions, discourse norms, etc. So it's not just a question of picking some simple topics and starting from there: that "easy" approach can be very costly, since it denies beginners the immediately motivating communicative skills that are the only thing that will keep them coming back.)

• The list below looks like the content of one lesson; it's actually almost the complete initial course.

• Each (full horizontal) line is the target content of one complete 5-minute lesson.

awen na? - ___ na.	kekʷ ni? - ___ ni.
kəya na kikawəss?	- αhα, nəya na nikawəss.
kolitəhαsi?	- αhα, nolitəhαsi.
ahtα kolitəhαsiw?	- ahtα nolitəhαsiw.
kekʷ weči-wəlitəhαsian?	- ___, ni weči-wəlitəhαsia.
kekʷ weči- ahtα- wəlitəhαsiwan?	- ___, ni weči- ahtα -wəlitəhαsiwa.
mili ni.	mile ni.
kəmilin ni?	kəmilαn ni?
kəmilələn ni.	kəmiləkon ni.
kekʷ weči-milian ni?	- ____, ni weči-miləla ni.
kekʷ weči- ahtα -miliwan ni?	- ____, ni weči- ahtα -miləlowa ni.

awen na?	- ___ na.
'Who is that?'	'That's ____.'
kekʷ ni?	- ___ ni.
'What is that?'	'That's ____.'

• From day 1, learners can learn the language using the language; can pick up nouns on their own.

• Introduces NA vs. NI contrast in simplest form: NA for people/animals, NI for most things.

kəya na kikawəss?	- αhα, nəya na nikawəss.
'Is that your mother?'	'Yes, that is my mother.'

- Introduces non-English pattern of pronominals-by-affixes (*k*- '2', *n*- '1'), alongside free 2s + 1s.
- Limiting to [YOU and ME] for basic minimal conversation, w/o pronominal "paradigm overload".
- Important daily-life function: identifying people, talking about kinship (based on previous *na*).

kolitəhαsi?	- αhα, nolitəhαsi.
'Are you happy?'	'Yes, I am happy.'

• Continues *k-* 'YOU', *n-* 'ME' pattern (from *kikawəss*, *nikawəss*), now for events, too: 'be happy'.
• Everyday check-in conversation, good for use with children (= common revitalization priority).

• MODEL form easily extends by simple comparison, which learners can do on their own:

kolamalsi?	- αhα, nolamalsi.	[FEEL GOOD]
kəmαčehla?	- αhα, nəmαčehla.	[LEAVE]
kkatohpi?	- αhα, nəkatohpi.	[HUNGRY]

Course priority, however, just is mastering the single model form above. So the key to these later extensions is simply, "Say it like that one phrase you already know cold."

ahtɑ kolitəhɑsiw?	- ahtɑ nolitəhɑsiw.
'Are you not happy?'	'I'm not happy.'

• Reinforces the previous.

• Introduces negation concord before English-based learners can develop a habit of not using it.

kekʷ weči-wəlitəhαsian?	- ___, ni weči-wəlitəhαsia.
'Why are you happy?'	- ___, that's why I'm happy.

- 2s and 1s dep-clause forms introduced *ASAP*, lest learners start overapplying indep-clause *k-*/*n-*.
- Provides fundamental conversational tool of asking and explaining WHY.

- *Ties back to first-lesson material: kekʷ 'what?' and ni 'that (thing)'.*
- *Simple Q&A parallelism: [kekʷ weči-] 'from what...?' = 'why?' → [ni weči-] 'that's why...'*

kekʷ weči- ahtα- wəlitəhαsiwan?	- ___, ni weči- ahtα -wəlitəhαsiwa.
'Why are you not happy?'	- ___, that's why I'm not happy.

• Reinforces two previous patterns at once: negative concord *-w-*, and WHY construction.

• Adds more conversational utility---esp. as a common expression of concern/sympathy.

mili ni.	mile ni.
'Give me that.'	'Give h/her that.'

• Very useful everyday language: pass-me-the-salt dinnertime use, general requests.

• With two simple goal/theme forms,

[give-ME ____], [give-H/HER ____]

lays the foundations for the entire (di)transitive argument structure marking system....

kəmilin ni?	kəmilɑn ni?
'You give me that?'	'You give h/her that?'

• Builds off of previous *mili* and *mile*, adding only two things:

k(ə)-	'2'
-n	'N [here: tracks Theme/thing-given]'

...of which the first is already model-established; so only the N-element is truly new.

• These forms hold the complete core set used in (di)transitive argument structures: constructional markers of Goal, Theme, and Agent.

kəmilələn ni.

'I give you that.'

kəmiləkon ni.

'She gives you that.'

• Introduced explicitly as just "flipping" the previous models, i.e. reversing Agent and Goal roles:

kəmil[i]n → FLIP → kəmil[əl]ən

kəmil[α]n → FLIP → kəmil[əko]n

• Attention can focus on the LVs/Goal-markers, since all else remains the same (± schwa) as the previous.

= learning through form-to-form contrast, without any complex parsing out of all the bits and pieces

• With just these four forms mastered, learners know the entire core set of elements used in (di)transitive argument structures:

kəmilin	'you give me it'	kəmilɑn	'you give h/her it'
kəmilələn	'I give you it'	kəmiləkon	's/he gives you it'

• Other forms are just simple extensions, based on one of these four models.

kəmilin	'you give me it'	
kəmilinal (wɑwanal)?	'You're giving me them (the eggs)?'	[NIpl]
kəmilin	'you give me it'	
kəmilinena ni?	'You're giving us that?'	[ME>US]

• The next curriculum sequence explores those extensions: key here is that we've already set learners up for that, using only four wordforms.

• They also now know all the core morphology for simple monotransitives, since each type uses only a subset of the ditransitive pattern:

kəmilα*n*	'you give h/her it'	*ditransitive: use full GIVE model*	
kəwičohkemα	'you help h/her'	*NA-obj:*	*just omit Theme-marking N*
kəwičohketam*ən*	'you help it'	*NI-obj:*	*just use fixed stem-form [wičohketam]; keep N = tracking 'it'*

• So by doing the "hardest" form (ditransitive GIVE) first, learners are already set up to have LESS to learn as they go forward, i.e. just subsets/small adjustments to the already familiar.

[-Root.LV, TA=DAS, TI=antipassive] model makes explicit the links between these three patterns, allowing this much simpler, minimalist presentation, where each new form reinforces and is reinforced by those learned previously.

kekʷ weči-milian ni?	- ___, ni weči-miləla ni.
'Why do I give you that?'	'___, that's why you give me that.'

• Reinforcing several patterns at once: WHY-construction, its dep-clause *-an/-a* endings, plus new Goal-marking elements.

• Again, useful everyday speech functions.

kekʷ weči- ahtα -miliwan ni?	- ___, ni weči- ahtα -miləlowa ni.
'Why don't I give you that?'	'___, that's why you don't give me that.'

• Reinforcing all the previous patterns, adding negative concord back in.

• Pragmatically useful: allows a learner to begin to make negotiations.

• Dep-clause models also feed back into "subset" monotransitive forms; learners now easily grasp

kekʷ weči- ahtα -wičohkemiwan?	- ___, ni weči- ahtα -wičohkeməlowa ni.
'Why don't you help me?'	'___, that's why I don't help you.'

• So this again is the full set of actual target forms, split over eleven 5-minute lessons.

awen na? - ___ na.	kekʷ ni? - ___ ni.
kəya na kikawəss?	- αhα, nəya na nikawəss.
kolitəhαsi?	- αhα, nolitəhαsi.
ahtα kolitəhαsiw?	- ahtα nolitəhαsiw.
kekʷ weči-wəlitəhαsian?	- ___, ni weči-wəlitəhαsia.
kekʷ weči- ahtα- wəlitəhαsiwan?	- ___, ni weči- ahtα -wəlitəhαsiwa.
mili ni.	mile ni.
kəmilin ni?	kəmilαn ni?
kəmilələn ni.	kəmiləkon ni.
kekʷ weči-milian ni?	- ____, ni weči-miləla ni.
kekʷ weči- ahtα -miliwan ni?	- ____, ni weči- ahtα -miləlowa ni.

• Omitted: one final lesson introducing a discourse particle (evidential, topic-shift, etc.)

• It's clear how the [*-Root.LV, TA=DAS, TI=antipassive*] model informs this. What about the NA-assignment analysis?

• Our relative confidence about NA-assignment allows us to minimize its presence in the first series of lessons: there's now no rush to start memorizing what we can later learn patterns for.

Algonquian language courses usually intimidate students on the first day by starting with gender as manifested in noun plurals---"Every noun has an inexplicable feature which you must memorize!"---and giving little of immediate conversational use: as many languages attest, explicit pluralization is not the most crucial conversational tool.

• Even so, we can see that *na* and *ni* permeate the initial lessons, especially *ni*.

When the time comes to introduce which words use na *and which use* ni*, the two forms themselves are already familiar, established elements. The opaque/misleading category terms "animate/inanimate" become unnecessary, since learners can label nouns (and verbal Finals, etc.) directly as "NA" and "NI"-words, with those labels each already connected in their minds with NA 'who' and NI 'what' from the very first lesson.*

6. Conclusion

• Thoroughly engaging with revitalization pedagogy challenges---especially when one commits to a detechnicalized, maximally accessible presentation---can inspire helpful shifts in perspective/ priorities in technical analysis.

• Which can then return the favor, in the form of equally helpful new approaches to teaching/ learning.

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