

Referential-Access Dependency in Penobscot

Abstract

This dissertation presents an analysis of pronominal features that eliminates the need for stipulated pronominal feature hierarchies. The main claim is that pronominal features have an internal syntax: they derive through the iteration of a simple structure, a Core contrasted with its Periphery, starting with the inherent first-iteration Core referent, Speaker (1st person). Complete interpretations of pronominal features thus derive compositionally, by reading off successive nodes of Core-Periphery structure. These iterations evolve asymmetric interpretational dependency relations, termed *referential-access dependency*, which elegantly capture not only the familiar 1 » 2 » 3 hierarchy, but also the hierarchical 3rd person split known as the Proximate-Obviative contrast, found in the Algonquian family of languages native to North America.

Drawing relevant data chiefly from Penobscot, an Eastern Algonquian language, the Core-Periphery model is shown to offer a unified account for the syntactic and discourse functions of the Proximate-Obviative contrast, and for a new observation: its interpretational and distributional constraints robustly parallel those holding over the English Independent-Dependent clause-type contrast. The Core-Periphery derivational parallel established between Proximate » Obviative and [1 2] » 3 hierarchy-rankings then explains another new observation regarding the Algonquian transitive Inverse system: use of the Inverse with configurations of 3rd person acting on 1st or 2nd person is only consistently obligatory for one morphological clause-type, the Independent. The evidence for a deep 2 » 1 hierarchy in Algonquian is reviewed and shown to be limited and contradictory, and is preliminarily linked instead to a

broader pattern of antihierarchic phenomena. Constructional sensitivity thus underlines the derivative nature of hierarchy effects.

Also revised is the standard view that Algonquian transitive verb stems agree for the grammatical gender of their object. A simpler, light-verb-based analysis is offered, giving an account for the self-contradictory traditional categories *Animate Intransitive + Object* and *Objectless Transitive Inanimate*, and showing so-called stem-agreement for grammatical animate objects to actually be a dative-accusative syncretism construction, and that for grammatical inanimate objects a type of antipassive. Both therefore simply exemplify cross-linguistically common constructions associated with their respective objects.

Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>ix</i>
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction and layout	1
1.2 Theoretical preliminaries	7
1.3 Algonquian-specific terminology	11
1.3.1 Proximate and Obviative	11
1.3.2 NA and NI	12
1.3.3 Other Algonquian-specific terms and categories	13
1.4 Stylistic use of pronouns	14
1.5 Sources, citation conventions, and problems	14
1.6 Orthography and phonology	16
1.7 Abbreviations	16
1.7.1 Abbreviations used by the author	16
1.7.2 Abbreviations used in works cited	18
2 Transitivity in Algonquian Argument Configuration Morphosyntax: Light Verbs, Dative-Accusative Syncretism, Relational Predicates, and Antipassivization	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.1.1 Overview	23
2.1.2 Layout	24
2.2 Morphosyntactic background	27
2.2.1 Affixal verbs	27
2.2.2 Contrast with standard Algonquianist model(s)	32

2.2.3	Stem-agreement: the traditional view of Algonquian transitive verbal stems	35
2.3	Transitive Animate (TA) as head-marking dative-accusative syncretism	38
2.3.1	Overview	38
2.3.2	DAS and animacy of notional direct objects	40
2.3.3	DAS and property-denoting notional direct objects	45
2.3.4	DAS and double-marking (marking competition) constraints	52
2.3.5	The syntax of TA constructions: DAS and the head/dependent-marking parameter	55
2.3.6	TA as a head-marking DAS pattern: morphosyntactic evidence	60
2.3.7	TA as a head-marking DAS system: interpretational evidence for TA-markers	63
2.3.7.1	Overview	64
2.3.7.2	Applicatives	67
2.3.7.2.1	Applicative TA-markers in <i>-(a)w</i> : productive	69
2.3.7.2.2	Applicatives in <i>-(a)w</i> : closed-class	76
2.3.7.3	Other Relational Predicates	84
2.3.8	Summary and transition	93
2.4	TIs as antipassives, and TA~TI derivational relations clarified	93
2.4.1	Antipassives	93
2.4.2	N-Peripheral Marking: Secondary Objects (Instrumentals) and TI notional direct objects	95
2.4.3	Secondary Objects: a closer look	100
2.4.4	N-Peripheral Marking and the Chamorro Oblique	112
2.4.5	Secondary Objects as Instrumentals: the etymology of the N-element	116
2.4.6	TI stems as antipassives	119
2.4.7	LVs characterizing TI constructions	124
2.4.8	Antipassives can drop their notional object: OTIs explained	131

2.5	TA~TI interpretational asymmetry explained	138
3	Referential Access Dependency: Pronominal Feature Structures, the Proximate-Obviative Contrast, and Clausal Dependency	140
3.1	Introduction	140
3.1.1	Overview	140
3.1.2	Layout	143
3.2	Very elementary topology: the Core-Periphery system	143
3.3	Iteration/cyclicity	145
3.4	Core-Periphery structures and pronominal features	147
3.5	Referential access dependency	151
3.5.1	What is referential-access dependency?	151
3.5.2	Referential access dependency vs. referential dependency, and c-command	155
3.6	Interpretational and distributional constraints on clausal dependency	157
3.6.1	Preliminaries	157
3.6.2	Interpretational constraints on clausal dependency	159
3.6.3	Distributional constraints on clausal dependency	162
3.7	Basic pronominal features	166
3.7.1	Preliminaries	166
3.7.2	Interpretational constraints on pronominal feature structures	167
3.7.3	Distributional constraints on pronominal feature structures	169
3.8	The Proximate-Obviative contrast	171
3.8.1	Preliminaries	171
3.8.2	Interpretational constraints on the Proximate-Obviative contrast	175
3.8.3	Distributional constraints on the Proximate-Obviative contrast	183
3.9	Problems and summary	187

4	Pronominal Features in Configuration	189
4.1	Introduction	189
4.1.1	Overview	189
4.1.2	Layout	190
4.2	Algonquian Inverse syntax and clause-types	192
4.2.1	Overview	192
4.2.2	PWN elements	193
4.2.3	Possessor morphology	203
4.2.4	TA Theme Signs	204
4.3	Direct and Inverse	212
4.3.1	Overview	212
4.3.2	The Inverse as A-movement	213
4.3.3	Motivating the [3[1 2]] Inverse: PCC constraints on the Idp	221
4.3.4	Unidirectionality of variation in clause-type-sensitive use of the Inverse	233
4.4	Ferretting out hidden pronominal feature hierarchies: RAD and PCC	238
4.5	Apparent 2 » 1 effects in Algonquian desubstantiated	243
4.6	Non-scopal evidence for Direct and Inverse syntax	250
4.6.1	Overview	250
4.6.2	The Direct: almost but not quite another layer of antipassive	253
4.6.3	Impersonal Agent Direct	255
4.6.4	The Direct as a derivant of the DO light verb	263
4.6.5	The "lexical" Inverse: almost but not quite a passive	271
4.6.5.1	Inverse Spatial	272
4.6.5.2	Inverse Reflexive	279
4.6.6	Summary	283
5	References	284

Acknowledgments

The blessing, of course, is that there are too many to name.

My love and thanks go first to those who got me talking: my family. Or rather, to my ever-expanding families, from Portland to Bandung and back, with many stops in between. Without them all I would not have tumbled and mumbled my way into linguistics, and without their love, advice, and constant cheerleading, I would not have made it this far.

My deep thanks go to my thesis advisor, Cedric Boeckx, who tolerated with much patience my tenacious inability to operate within any kind of formal system; this work's deficiencies come only from where I did not take his advice. To his fellow committee members I owe equally much: to Norvin Richards, Jr., for years of generosity of time, patience, and attention (plus a hefty amount of last-minute help); to Jay Jasanoff, for enticing me here in the first place (dosas make good bait), and then keeping me on an even keel, and to C.T. James Huang, for listening when I went on and on about the lovely great parallels between polysynthetic and isolating syntax. All four have gone out on a wide variety of limbs for me, time and again. One couldn't ask for a more reliably supportive crew.

In this vein, thanks too to other teachers: to Lynn Nichols, Ken Hale, Richard Rhodes, and Karl Teeter for early and timely encouragement, and also to my Algonquianist colleagues Philip LeSourd, Robert Leavitt, David Costa, and Roy Wright, for generously sharing their thoughts, interests, and opportunities.

I am especially grateful for the efforts and advice of Mary Violette, Cheryl Murphy, and Alison Diamond at Harvard, and of Mary Grenham at MIT: they are the ones who make everything happen.

I particularly wish to thank my fellow grad students: Ruixi Ai, for his immense knowledge of the literature, and for introducing me to *tonghao*; N. Gülşat Aygen, for being a model of strength, and for encouraging me to take my ideas further, always further; Claire Bown, for being my partner in documentary linguistic crime, and for being the one who

always shows me the professional way; Yaroslav Gorbachov, for embodying geniality, for his tidy notebooks so worth emulating, and for delightfully sharing a keen taste for any and every little philological tidbit; Soo-Yeon Jeong and Ju-Eun Lee (my two *nunas*), Dominika Baran (my *jiejie*), and Balkız Öztürk (my *abla*, who also taught me to salsa, think about bare noun phrases, and find my way around İstanbul), for meeting my neverending need for more elder sisters and the special brand of advice they give; Sverre Johnsen and Sasha Nikolaev, for remembering that I am in their department, despite all evidence to the contrary; Masakazu Kuno, for showing me how to stop blithering and get work done; Beste Kamali, for calming talks, and resolute patience with me forgetting she is not in fact my *abla*; Hironobu Kasai and Takaomi Kato, for not just believing (in) but actively seeking out my grammaticality judgements in English; Hsiu-Chen Liao, for that one day when I chewed her ear off laying out my whole dissertation on the whiteboard; Patrick Liu, for amiable chats on matters tonal; Aleksandra Makarova, for catlike care and humor; Clemens Mayr, for getting me to present, finally; Andrew Nevins (who is no longer a grad and never was one in our department but will always be in my cohort nonetheless), for endless enthusiasm and encouragement; Vesä-Matti Santeri Palviainen, for bailing me out again (and again), and for being my friend even after being my roommate; Karl Peet, for a kind ear in those early years; Keith Plaster, for setting me up with fine Old Irish distractions; Gabriel Poliquin, for showing that it can be done with a cool head, and for recommending Ottawa's finest jail; Adam Szczegielniak, for providing a space to be less serious, always; and Patrick Taylor, for finding and sharing the endless amusements that our field offers.

While they are too many to name, I cannot forget that fine bunch who've taught me so much: my undergraduate students have well earned my thanks for their energy and interest, and especially for their patience with the occasional tangent or two.

Much love too to that bucket of healthy miscreants, Patrick Chew, Shweta Narayan, Nathaniel Smith, Wesley Leonard, David Mortensen, Laura Buszard-Welcher, and Zack Weinberg, at my campus-away-from-campus, UC-Berkeley. Thanks especially to Pat for feeding my soul and housing my body, and carting me to and from the airport innumerable times.

Dengan penuh hati saya juga berterima kasih kepada Rida serta suaminya Merdy, yang selalu peduli, dan selalu mendukung. Much thanks as well to my Cornell sisters: to Mien Wong, for her crisp words and her firm kind certainties, and to Tang Fang, for the care she takes and the chirpy uplifting phonecalls she regularly makes. And to Elliott Drabek, Xueying Cheng, Yan Liang, and Xiang Li, I share my glad amazement that we have all kept together after all these years since our first cavortings at Tsinghua. More recently, to Song Yang, *ua koj tsaug ntau*, for music, always music (she knows which band), for poetry, and for a much-needed escape last fall. Especially recently, my thanks go to S. Mithu Lahiri, whose spark keeps a tired (and tiring) linguist fed and running.

Much love and thanks to Shirin Asgharzadeh Fozi and Melody (Paicæ) Yayin Chang, who have each given me more love, patience, and support through this long process than I can ever begin to convey here.

My gratitude goes out to all of my fine roommates (past and present), and especially to the four who have seen me through this last and hardest of years: to Gjergji Bakallbashi, for reminding me that life is to be enjoyed, my friend; to Rina Klanfer, for courage, and for many rides to fun places and people; to Beatrice Ward, for her heart full of art; and to Amy Pechukas, for her friendship, fearlessness, and tolerance of noisy midnight cooking episodes and frequent bouts of semi-conscious lecturing on the joyful details of Algonquian grammar. Special thanks to ur-roommate Sarah Krichels Goan, who saw fit to bring me in right where I belong.

Let me not forget either my somewhat shorter roommates, Butch Cassidy, Sundance, and Tobey, who have always provided just the right amount of scurrying fluffy distraction.

To Richard Garrett and Martha Young, for getting me started with Penobscot (and for feeding and housing me for four summers to boot), it can simply be said: I would not be here without you. Thanks too to their fellow Wellingtonians Steve Cayard, Angela DeRosa, Amber Reed, and Lucy Cayard, for all our fine times and talks, for keeping me well in the woods.

My deepest heartfelt thanks go to everyone at *panawahpskek* (Indian Island), for their openminded and warm reception of a far-from-easy-to-accept outsider. Particular thanks is

owed to Barry Dana, for seeing fit to bring me in, and to Carol Dana and her family, for then taking me into their home at length. Same again to John Neptune and Patrick Almenas for sharing their hospitality and warmth, and to Bonnie and Les Newsom, for being the ones who never fail to make it all come together.

To the young workers of the Penobscot language revival effort, particularly Maulian Dana and Gabriel Paul, I owe more than I can express, as their demands of me not only nudged me towards the foundational ideas of this dissertation, but also taught me how to be a documentary linguist in the fullest human sense; *kči-wəliwəni*. *Kci woliwon* as well to everyone at Sipayik (Pleasant Point), especially Madonna Soctomah and Dolly Dana, for their hospitality and hard work in starting me on another adventure.

Finally, I dedicate all the good bits that follow to Dr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., and to the host of Penobscot elders who worked with him and others to ensure that their linguistic heritage would survive. They, more than anyone else, made this work possible, and are an inspiration to me always.