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« Range ton baloney, il y a de l'original! » : regard sur l'alimentation en contexte anicinabe

Laurence Hamel-Charest

Département d'anthropologie

Université de Montréal

L'alimentation des membres des Premières Nations est souvent un sujet au cœur d'études traitant de leurs problèmes de santé. Mais au-delà de cette dimension médicale, que savons-nous vraiment de leur alimentation? Gibier, repas santé, malbouffe, où se situent leurs pratiques alimentaires contemporaines? Quelle place occupent la chasse, la pêche et la cueillette? Que traduit la consommation de nourriture transformée d'un point de vue social et culturel? Qu'en est-il des connaissances nutritionnelles diffusées par la santé publique? Qu'est-ce qui est considéré comme bon à manger ? Une réalité alimentaire complexe s'observe dans un contexte où le mode de vie a changé, des campagnes de sensibilisation font la promotion de saines habitudes de vie et l'accès à d'autres cultures culinaires est possible. Des pratiques, des connaissances et des croyances anciennes associées à l'alimentation ont persistées, alors que d'autres sont disparues ou se sont transformées. Cette communication propose une réflexion sur l'univers culinaire contemporain d'une communauté anicinabe (algonquine) du Québec. Basé sur des résultats de recherche préliminaires d'une étude doctorale en cours, le portrait qui sera dressé mettra en lumière divers facteurs pouvant influencer les choix alimentaires de ces mangeurs : âge, considérations pratiques, normes sexuelles, etc. Le lieu de consommation doit aussi être pris en compte puisqu'en ville, sur la réserve ou dans le bois, les pratiques et les normes alimentaires se transforment laissant ainsi transparaître un rapport différent à ces territorialités. Mais des aliments transcendent ces facteurs différentiels. Quels sont-ils?

The Earliest Records of the Montagnais Language: A Reassessment

David Pentland

Department of Linguistics, University of Manitoba

The first contacts between Europeans and the Algonquians north of the St. Lawrence River in the sixteenth century were very poorly documented – the only surviving linguistic data are a single phrase in what may have been a Montagnais-Basque pidgin and a handful of isolated words. Only after a hundred years of intermittent contact were any textual materials published, beginning with Enemond Massé's translations of some prayers in 1632; a brief sketch of the Montagnais language by Paul LeJeune and some additional prayers were included in the Jesuit *Relation* for the year 1634 (LeJeune 1635).

Although these materials have been available for nearly 400 years, few linguists have paid any attention to them. Trumbull (1873) briefly discussed Massé's translation of the Lord's Prayer, but said nothing about the phonology. Michelson (1939) correctly listed most of the relevant sound changes, and noted that the missionaries wrote <k> or <kh> before front vowels where Montagnais has /č/ in contrast to Cree/k/, but then wrongly concluded that <khi> was simply a peculiar spelling of /či/; the language was therefore a dialect of Montagnais similar to that still spoken in the Saguenay region, except that it had /r/ instead of modern /l/. Cooper (1945) observed that the missionaries wrote <ts> or <t(h)> for *k in suffixes and <ss> or <st> for *sk, but <k(h)> elsewhere; he concluded that the language had allophones of /k/ before all vowels (as in Cree) but Montagnais-like reflexes in suffixes and *sk. He suggested that this dialect disappeared later in the seventeenth century, being replaced by an ancestor of the modern dialect.

A reassessment of the entire seventeenth-century corpus shows that Cooper was on the right track, but not entirely correct. Massé and LeJeune recorded two or more dialects of Old Montagnais in which *k before front vowels had not yet merged with *č, which was always written <(t)ch>; *sk had become /s(t)s/ or /sty/ and word-final *k was probably /ts/ or /ty/, but elsewhere [k] and [ky] were still only allophones of /k/. A few decades later [ky] began to merge with *č, eventually leading to the dialects still spoken in the same region; there is no need to assume (with Cooper) dialect replacement, nor (with Michelson) that there has been little change since first contact.

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(Ir)realis dubitative in the Cree Dialect Continuum

Rose-Marie Déchaine, Department of Linguistics, University of British Columbia

Monique Dufresne, French Department, Queen's University

Charlotte Reinholtz, Languages, Literatures & Cultures Department, Queen's University

Within the Cree dialect continuum, eastern varieties of Cree maintain the dubitative as an inflectional suffix (East Cree, Innu-Montagnais, Naskapi). However, western varieties show a split, with some dialects retaining dubitative inflection (Attikamek, Woods Cree, Moose Cree), and other dialects reanalyzing the dubitative suffix as a particle, e.g. Plains Cree êtokwê, Woods Cree itokī. The reanalysis of the dubitative has syntactic and semantic consequences. In principle, there are three surface patterns: (i) dubitative inflection by itself, e.g. Innu-Montagnais; (ii) dubitative inflection and/or a dubitative particle, e.g. Eastern Swampy Cree, (iii) the dubitative particle by itself, e.g. Plains Cree. In addition to this morphological reanalysis, there is also dialect variation regarding the contexts in which a dubitative form is used. Taking Drapeau's (2005) treatment of epistemic modality in Innu-Montagnais as a starting point, we show that dialect variation in deployment of the dubitative is best understood in terms of how it is integrated into the realis or irrealis part of the system. Diagnostics for (ir)realis include temporal reference, polarity, hypotheticality, modality (both speaker-oriented and agent-oriented) and prospectiveness (Michael 2014). Applying these diagnostics to Cree dialects confirms Drapeau's (2005) insight that modality is subsumed under irrealis. For the dubitative, this correctly predicts that it can occur in realis contexts (with evidential force) or irrealis contexts (with modal force).

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Résurgence autochtone et réconciliation « autocritique » : Séjours de sensibilisation à la culture anicinape et à la pédagogie de la terre – Kitcisakik

Joseph Friis

Alexandra Arellano

Université d'Ottawa

Située à une centaine de kilomètres au sud de Val-d'Or, au cœur de la réserve faunique de La Vérendrye, la communauté des Anicinapek de Kitcisakik, réfractaire à l'idée d'être confinée au système de tutelle propre aux réserves autochtones, « occupe » une fraction de ses terres ancestrales. Les quelques 400 membres de cette communauté ont conservé un mode de vie semi-nomadique où l'utilisation du territoire occupe une place centrale. Néanmoins, sans statut légal, la communauté vit dans des conditions d'extrême précarité, les habitations sont démunies d'eau courante et d'électricité et les allocations gouvernementales arrivent au compte goutte. Contraints à la sédentarisation progressive, le savoir traditionnel en est menacé.

Depuis plus de 8 ans, afin de partager, renforcer et revitaliser la culture locale, créer des opportunités d'emplois, et améliorer la transmission intergénérationnelle des connaissances et les savoir-faire traditionnels, des membres de la communauté ont mis sur pied ce qui est aujourd'hui le comité touristique intergénérationnel de Kitcisakik, offrant des séjours de sensibilisation d'une durée de 3 à 10 jours. Ces voyages éducatifs et d'immersion culturelle se sont développés principalement avec des groupes scolaires et universitaires allochtones et sont devenus des opportunités privilégiées d'apprentissage, favorisant non seulement la compréhension de la situation sociohistorique des peuples autochtones, mais surtout la prise de conscience de la distinction culturelle et épistémologique du savoir autochtone. À cet égard, les étudiants ont l'opportunité de participer à des activités culturelles, spirituelles et d'engagement communautaires.

À la lumière de cadres théoriques postcoloniaux autochtones, cette recherche participative communautaire vise, sur la base de témoignages des membres de la communauté et d'étudiants ayant participé à cette initiative, à explorer les pratiques des séjours de sensibilisation à la culture anicinape comme expériences favorisant la transmission du savoir traditionnel. Cette réflexion s'engage dans une discussion critique envers le concept de réconciliation et repositionne l'accès au territoire au centre de la résurgence autochtone. Ce cas de tourisme éducatif est par ailleurs imaginé comme une activité soutenant l'occupation des terres ancestrales.

Instrumental Nouns in Miami-Illinois

David J. Costa

Myaamia Center at Miami University

Miami-Illinois has an extremely common nominalization construction taking the ending *-aakan*. While there are matches for this construction elsewhere in Algonquian, it is far more common in Miami-Illinois than in its sister languages, suggesting the construction has been greatly expanded within Miami-Illinois. Nouns with *-aakan* are most often used to form instruments, though they also sometimes form simple abstract nouns. Defining the exact morphological environment of this construction is problematic; most *-aakan* nouns are straightforwardly formed off TI stems, though they also can be formed off TA stems, AI stems, noun stems, and sometimes apparently initials. This paper will examine the *-aakan* construction in Miami-Illinois, looking especially at its semantics, morphological conditioning, and how it compares with analogous constructions elsewhere in Algonquian.

The Prominence of Speech-Act Participants:
A study of diachronic change in Algonquian Person Agreement

This work considers the role of *pragmatic* factors in Algonquian agreement in the Independent and Conjunct indicative, focusing on the prominence of Speech-Act Participants (often *to the exclusion* of Non-Participants) in both the syntactic and morphological domains of the language family.

Oxford (2014; 2015) found that the theme sign *-ekw* is being gradually extended to 3-SAP Conjunct mixed forms and that its extension is conditioned by both number and person features of the local participant in a 2pl > 1pl > 2sg > 1sg cline.

A study of secondary sources shows that this cline of change is found in other shifts in agreement patterns, such as central agreement. In Proto-Algonquian 3→SAP forms, the central suffix agrees with the third person actor (Goddard 2000). However, many daughter languages, including Woods Cree (Starks 1992), Odawa (Valentine 2001), Southern East Cree (Junker & Mackenzie 2011-2014), Mi'kmaw (Fidelholtz 1999; Quinn 2012), Cheyenne (Goddard 2000), Plains Cree (Ahenakew 1987), Delaware (Goddard 1969), Massachusett (Goddard & Bragdon 1988) and Arapaho (Cowell & Moss 2008), index the speech-act participant goal *to the exclusion* of the third person actor. Like the extension of the inverse, the shift seems to be gradual and conditioned by both person and number of the local participant in a 2pl>1pl>2sg>1sg cline.

The same pattern of change occurs in an unrelated pattern of agreement, i.e. third person number marking. While some daughter languages have neutralized third person number distinction across verbal paradigms, others have maintained a 3sg:3pl contrast. Regardless of the direction of the shift, it generally follows a 2pl > 1pl > 2sg > 1sg cline. This analysis presents an alternative to the Algonquian person prominence hierarchy/ies (Hockett 1966; Comrie 1981; DeLancey 1981; Macaulay 2009), arguing for the distinction between discourse Participants and Non-Participants as an important determiner of person agreement in Algonquian.

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Le mouvement des pow wow chez les Innu au Québec : Algonquiens contemporains, enjeux identitaires et échanges culturels

Véronique Audet

Centre d'innovation des Premiers Peuples (CIPP)

Cercle Kisis (Québec et Gatineau)

Avec les pertes, les ruptures et les traumatismes engendrés par la colonisation au Québec, les peuples autochtones cherchent aujourd'hui à retrouver leur identité, leur culture, leur spiritualité et leur fierté. Le mouvement des pow wow offre cette possibilité qui est au cœur de son expansion. Ce mouvement culturel et spirituel origine des Plaines de l'Ouest et s'étend à travers l'Amérique du Nord depuis un peu plus d'un siècle. Dans la province de Québec, le mouvement est relativement nouveau et s'étend du Sud-Ouest vers le Nord-Est depuis les années 1990, et rejoint de plus en plus de personnes et de communautés chaque année. Les Innu, des Algonquiens dont les territoires ancestraux sont situés au Nord-Est du Québec et au Labrador, ont organisé leur premier pow wow annuel dans la communauté la plus au Sud-Ouest en 2007. De plus en plus, des gens de toutes les communautés innues embrassent ces célébrations intertribales en tant que spectateurs, danseurs, chanteurs au tambour ou participants aux cérémonies spirituelles.

Toutefois, certains Innu craignent la perte de leur culture locale innue héritée de leurs ancêtres, celle de chasseurs-cueilleurs nomades algonquiens, aux mains de cette nouvelle culture pan-autochtone. Il y a des débats vigoureux et intéressants parmi eux à propos de ce qu'est la culture innue ou non, et si la culture des pow wow est nôtre ou non. Ils affirment que c'est une culture autochtone d'Amérique du Nord, venant de l'Ouest, partageant de nombreux éléments avec eux, dont plusieurs sont communs à la famille culturelle et linguistique algonquienne, plutôt que d'Europe d'où ils ont également hérité beaucoup à travers les rencontres et la colonisation. Cependant, informés par des prophéties ancestrales de l'histoire orale, certains racontent que ces cérémonies viennent de l'Est (de l'Amérique du Nord), et que, quelques siècles avant l'arrivée des Européens, elles ont été envoyées à l'Ouest afin de les protéger de la destruction coloniale. Et qu'aujourd'hui, les Autochtones de l'Ouest les retournent à l'Est. Ce sont des enjeux fascinants concernant l'identité contemporaine, les frontières et les échanges culturels parmi des peuples autochtones qui se rencontrent et tentent de guérir de l'expérience partagée de la colonisation.

*Gikinoo'amawaag Eko-Niizhing-Biboon Gikinoo'amaaganag Ji-Anishinaabebiigewaad:
Teaching Students Anishinaabemowin Rhetoric and Composition*
Margaret Noodin
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

If first year courses are producing sufficient comprehension and speaking skills, second year students should progress to creation of their own discourse based in the contemporary Anishinaabemowin as used by the speakers in their local community and wider diaspora. Typically, they also acquire proficiency in the dialect, syntax and style of a version considered “classis” in one or more heritage communities or archives. This is different from the construction of more formal, polished narratives. In this paper, I look at ways to teach Anishinaabemowin writing and rhetoric as separate from listening and speaking with attention to an indigenous framework for the narrative construction process including: identifying connections to the past, following narrative protocols, contextualizing content, drafting, editing, revising and performing. With a focus on performance, whether that be within a circle of listeners or on a page, the final product mixes intentionality with audience interaction in ways that are more dynamic and less didactic than the final product of a composition course in English. The paper will also consider genres of the past and present including, sociography, biography, word images and lyrics. Particular attention will be paid to the use of primary linguistic field texts as literary resources.

Clause combining in Plains Cree and Michif

Peter Bakker, Aarhus University, Denmark

Robert A. Papen, Université du Québec Montréal

Plains Cree is an Algonquian language spoken in the Northwestern Plains. It is a polysynthetic language. Michif is a mixed language that combines Plains Cree verb phrases with French noun phrases spoken in the central Plains. The verbal structure in Michif is, except for some minor details, identical to Plains Cree, and hence also polysynthetic. There are a number of structural differences between the two languages, among others in constituent order and in the formal marking of nominals.

In Plains Cree, there are two sets of verbal paradigms, with no overlap in the forms of the person-marking affixes. One set is roughly used in main clauses (called the independent order) and the other is used in subordinated clauses or when a nominal element is focussed (the conjunct order). The latter order is relevant for clause combining. Conjunct order prefixes are used and person marking is suffixing.

There are only a few distinct prefixed conjunct order markers, which hence have a fairly general meaning. More concrete meanings can be created by additional markers, for instance placed between the prefixed conjunct markers *kâ-* and *ê-* and the verb (e.g. *-mêkwa-* "while", as in: *Number range CHAPTERkâ-mêkwâ-mâyi-kîsikâk* "while it was bad weather"), or a separate particle: *tânisi ê-isiyîhkâsocik* "how they are called").

The same two verb classes are found in Michif. The additional markers are also found, but the particles are much more common than the infixed markers in Michif. In addition, Michif also uses a number of subordinators from French, and this has an impact on the structure of the language. In our paper we will investigate the impact of French on clause combining in Michif, by comparing Michif with developments in Cree. For this purpose we use different datasets: monologue texts in both Plains Cree (from the 1930s collected by L. Bloomfield) and late 20th century (collected by Ahenekeew) and Michif; elicited materials from Michif speakers and (a more limited number of) Cree speakers, and examples sentences from a Michif dictionary compiled by native speakers (Laverdure & Allard 1983). The impact of French on the Michif language seems to have strengthened developments that started in Cree. Not only are a limited number of French conjunctions in use, but a few Cree particles have also been reanalyzed as specifiers of the clause-combining properties of Cree.

Whereas the semantic and logical relations between the action of the main and subordinate clauses are imprecise in Cree, the French subordinators allow a more precise specification of the connection between the states of affairs expressed in the clauses. When comparing Cree texts from different time periods, it is clear that Cree clause combining techniques have changed as well between the 1930s and the 1990s, towards less synthetic verb forms.

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La figure de maître animal est centrale dans la pensée religieuse des Innus d'Unamen Shipu. Dans la littérature, on apprend que ces figures religieuses permettent aux Innus de penser et de vivre leurs rapports aux animaux et au territoire à travers notamment la notion de respect. Certains auteurs comme Vincent (1991) et Jérôme (2011) ont aussi souligné que les Innus ont conceptualisé leur rapport au gouvernement de la même façon que celui aux maîtres des animaux. En me basant sur la littérature et mes expériences de terrain chez les Innus d'Unamen Shipu à l'automne 2016 et l'été 2017, je souhaite exposer les différentes ramifications de cette figure dans la cosmologie et l'histoire récente des Innus. En effet, les maîtres des animaux se sont manifestés à des moments critiques dans l'histoire innue : lors de famines mais aussi lors de la sédentarisation. D'autre part, avec l'adoption de la religion catholique, les Innus ont aussi rapproché certaines figures chrétiennes avec les maîtres des animaux comme Dieu et le maître du caribou (Jauvin, 1988) ou Sainte-Anne et la femme renarde (Gagnon, 2007). Aujourd'hui, on utilise des analogies avec le gouvernement et les cours de justice pour expliquer les rencontres des maîtres dans la tente tremblante. Il semblerait aussi que ce rapport avec les entités maître ait aussi teinté le rapport des Innus envers ces institutions. Finalement, parallèlement aux transformations de l'organisation sociale innue, les manifestations et la compréhension des maîtres des animaux s'est elle aussi transformée. La figure de maître des animaux a guidé la vie des Innus à l'époque du nomadisme et continue toujours de le faire – mais de façon différente – dans un contexte contemporain transformé par la sédentarisation et la généralisation du travail salarié.

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Derivational paradigms: A tool for learning vocabulary (and epistemology)

The word structure of Algonquian languages is famously rich and complex, and though the linguistic principles of word formation are well understood they still pose major challenges to language learners. Facilitating vocabulary learning is an essential part of successful language teaching; in this context we explore how the concept of a “derivational paradigm” (Bauer 1996) — which groups morphologically related word forms together — can be used as a teaching resource for vocabulary expansion. Our goal is to provide language learners with tools allowing them to form new words with confidence, and in doing so to reveal the epistemology (theory of knowledge) embedded in the lexicon of Algonquian languages (Ratt 2001, Daniels-Fiss 2008, McLeod 2016). Examples here are in Nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree), but the approach works with any Algonquian language. The neo-Bloomfieldian stem template of [INITIAL-MEDIAL-FINAL] defines three derivational paradigms: (1) derivational paradigms based on roots (*qua* “initials”, e.g. *miyo-* ‘good’), (2) derivational paradigms based on valency suffixes (*qua* “finals”, e.g. *-êyim* ‘by mind’), and (3) derivational paradigms based on nominal classifiers (*qua* “medials” e.g. *-âst-* ‘wind’). In addition to being a useful teaching tool, derivational paradigms can be used to test formal linguistic claims about prosodic minimality, root and stem syntax, and event structure semantics. Derivational paradigms can be fruitful language laboratories for language learners, language teachers, and linguists.

(1)	[<i>miyo-si</i>]- <i>wak</i>	AI	they are good/nice/pretty/handsome beautiful
	[<i>miyo-h</i>]- <i>ê-wak</i>	TA	they put s.o. in a good position
	[<i>miyo-m</i>]- <i>ê-wak</i>	TA	they speak well of s.o.
(2)	[<i>asw-êyim</i>]- <i>ê-wak</i>	TA	s/he guards against s.o.
	[<i>it-êyim</i>]- <i>ê-wak</i>	TA	s/he thinks thus of/about s.o.’
	[<i>saw-êyim</i>]- <i>ê-wak</i>	TA	‘s/he cherishes s.o.’
(3)	[<i>it-âst-an</i>]	II	‘it is blown there’
	[<i>oht-âst-an</i>]	II	‘it is blown from there’
	[<i>pêt-âst-an</i>]	II	‘it blows this way’

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Nominal classification in Michif

Michif (ISO 639-3: crg), a contact language of the northern Great Plains, has been described as having two grammatical gender systems applied to each noun—French-derived masculine/feminine and Cree-derived animate/inanimate (e.g., Papen 1986:147). As in its source languages, both gender and animacy in Michif are covert categories, with no obvious phonological clues indicating a noun’s gender or animacy value. Grammatical gender is instead manifested through agreement with features such as demonstratives and articles (Examples 1–4):

(1) Feminine Animate:

<i>la</i>	<i>pchit</i>	<i>fii</i>	<i>awa</i>
DET.F.SG	little	girl	DEM.AN.SG
‘this little girl’			

(MHF; 2013-09-13)

(2) Masculine Animate:

<i>li</i>	<i>pchi</i>	<i>gaa</i>	<i>awa</i>
DET.M.SG	little	guy	DEM.AN.SG
‘this little guy’			

(MHF; 2013-09-13)

(3) Feminine Inanimate:

<i>ta</i>	<i>meezoñ</i>	<i>ooma</i>
2.POSS.F	house	DEM.IN.SG
‘your house here’		

(VID; 2013-09-13)

(4) Masculine Inanimate:

<i>li</i>	<i>kaab</i>	<i>ooma</i>
DET.M.SG	rope	DEM.IN.SG
‘this rope’		

(MEF; 2013-09-13)

While frequently attested in constructions such as these, Michif gender has only recently begun to receive dedicated attention in linguistic research (e.g., Gillon & Rosen *in press*, Sammons forthcoming, Strader 2017), but see also (Hogmen 1981, Papen 2003 for exceptions). This study contributes to this line of research in presenting a corpus-based analysis of gender assignment in Michif, drawing its evidence from a recently assembled collection of spontaneous spoken Michif (Sammons 2011–2013). We consider 1,203 occurrences of nominals extracted from this corpus for which gender and animacy are both retrievable, and compare these against the corresponding gender and animacy values of their source language equivalents, as well as against natural gender and animacy assignment patterns. Analysis of these data suggests that both animacy and gender have been maintained as active categories in contemporary spoken Michif, applying consistently to new lexical items in ways that neither follow from natural gender nor default to a single gender or animacy value.

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49^e Congrès des Algonquistes
Proposition de communication

« Ces Indiens se plaignent pour rien » :

Les agents indiens et la gestion des écoles de jour indiennes à Kitigan Zibi (1879 - 1953)

Anny Morissette Ph.D.

Professeure adjointe | Assistant Professor

École d'études de conflits | School of Conflict Studies

amorissette@ustpaul.ca

Au Québec, les agents des affaires indiennes n'ont pas fait l'objet de recherches extensives, non plus que l'étude de la gestion des écoles de jour indiennes. Avec pour mission d'assimiler les Amérindiens au sein de la société canadienne, les agents indiens ont veillé aux opérations de 31 écoles de jour indiennes dans la province. Au-delà de l'image de tyrans et de dictateurs associés à ces acteurs coloniaux présents dans les réserves, on sait peu de chose sur les tâches, les responsabilités, les obstacles rencontrés par les agents indiens dans leur application des politiques indiennes et l'administration des écoles de jour. Les traces écrites de la bureaucratie scolaire indienne sont nombreuses et témoignent d'une lourdeur administrative qui semble avoir compliqué le rôle des agents indiens ainsi que le déroulement des activités des écoles de jour. L'exploration des sources écrites permet de dresser non seulement le portrait du rôle d'intermédiaire officiel du gouvernement des agents indiens mais aussi d'entrevoir la nature de la relation et des interactions entre les agents indiens et les acteurs autochtones impliqués dans l'éducation des enfants amérindiens ou le fonctionnement des écoles indiennes. Pour comprendre les répercussions négatives de écoles de jour sur l'individu, la famille, les liens sociaux et progresser dans la guérison et la réconciliation, il s'avère crucial de retracer l'historique et le modus operandi de ces établissements.

À partir d'une recherche basée sur les microfilms de l'agence de Maniwaki de la série des dossiers relatifs aux écoles du département des Affaires indiennes des années 1879-1953 (BAC : RG-10), nous retracerons l'histoire administrative des écoles de jour indiennes à Kitigan Zibi et entendons montrer le sentiment des agents indiens envers les Anishinabeg ainsi que les moyens exercés par ces derniers pour faire entendre leur opinion en matière d'éducation et d'administration scolaire.

Aanji'zaagibagaa: Changing Blooms

Nathon Breu

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Revitalization sometimes extends beyond linguistic analysis and archival work. This project is an example of how one group is working to connect traditional indigenous knowledge and western science related to monitoring our environment, while also ensuring the history, language, and culture is preserved. In Minowaki / Milwaukee, Wisconsin we have united two educational institutions, the Indian Community School of Milwaukee, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and the USA National Phenology Network to monitor a selection of plants significant to the Anishinaabeg to track changes to the bloom cycle. We are also working to integrate Anishinaabemowin and Anishinaabe traditional knowledge into the material posted on the national website. The presentation will review the names used locally and provide information about each plant created by teachers of Anishinaabemowin at each school. It will also review how we worked with the Indigenous Phenology Network to confirm data and with the USA NPN to change the content on the website to reflect current use and include Anishinaabemowin. One significant change was to find all references to indigenous usage in the past tense and updated the text to reflect continual use of both the plants and indigenous language. Lastly, the presentation will include the results of a qualitative assessment designed to measure knowledge of both the plants and language throughout the project.

On confirming the Split Phonology Hypothesis (SPH) for Michif

Robert A. Papen

Université du Québec à Montréal

Michif is a Bilingual Mixed Language involving Plains Cree and Canadian Métis French. In Michif, noun phrases are mostly derived from French, verbs are massively derived from Cree.

Most linguists who have studied Michif (Bakker 1997; Bakker and Papen 1997; Papen 2003, 2005, 2014; Rhodes 1977, 1986, 2008) propose that Michif phonology is split, i.e. that French-derived words maintain French phonemes and obey French phonological rules and Cree-derived words maintain Cree phonemes and phonological rules. Thus the SPH. Rosen (2007) maintains that Michif phonology is an amalgam of French and Cree phonemes and that all essential French phonological rules are either identical to Cree rules or no longer function in Michif. One of Rosen's crucial arguments against the SPH is Liaison, a well-known French phonological rule (ex. *mon ami* 'my friend' [mɔ̃.na.mi]). She maintains that Liaison no longer functions in Michif, that etymological French Liaison consonants have been reanalyzed as word-initial and therefore that all French-derived nouns in Michif are consonant-initial. Bakker and Papen (*op.cit.*), Bakker (*op.cit.*) and Rhodes (*op.cit.*) agree with Rosen.

In this paper, I will propose a reanalysis of Liaison in Michif, begun in Papen (2003). I will argue that Bakker's, Rhodes' and Rosen's position is empirically unfounded; that obligatory Liaison still functions as in French, that most exceptions can be satisfactorily explained, that Liaison only applies to French-French sequences, optionally to French-English sequences and never to French-Cree or Cree-Cree sequences. Therefore, that Michif phonology is, at least partially, split.

I will point out some crucial and overlooked data concerning Métis French. I will then propose a more contemporary take on French Liaison. I will also review the type of arguments that have been proposed against Liaison, including recent work by Pritchard & Shwayder (2014). Finally I will present data both from the *Michif Dictionary* (Laverdure and Allard 1983) and from the *Canadian Michif Dictionary 2013* (Fleury 2013) as well as data from my 2016 fieldwork with Norman Fleury, which definitely show that (obligatory) Liaison is alive and well in Michif, thus strongly supporting the SPH and laying to rest Rosen's hypothesis of a unified phonology for Michif.

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Ontologies of Domestication: Reindeer, Dogs, and Tamed Bears

Robert Brightman, Reed College

For an American anthropology whose explicit or implicit comparativism is increasingly endangered, Parisian neo-structuralism affords a stabilizing resource. Philippe Descola's project is founded on the question "Why is a particular social fact, belief, or custom present in one place but not in another?" In his writing, ontological types co-occur with particular modes of human-nonhuman interrelation and license particular subsistence practices. Animism, for example, enjoins relations based on "sharing," "exchange," or "predation," and selects foraging as signature subsistence mode. Animist ontology would thus be antipathic to the "protective domination" exemplified by pastoralism. Except where it isn't—most notably in Siberia where animism and reindeer domestication indisputably co-exist. Descola proposes that analogization of "protection" from *spirit*-reindeer relations to *human*-reindeer relations here displaced antipathy and licensed experiments with domestication. While conforming more narrowly to animist type, boreal forest Algonquians also traffic with domestication. The first case is the dog which occupies incongruous statuses as draught animal, pollution vector, sacred food, sacrificial victim, and dream guardian. Siberians and Algonquians both postulate game ruler beings who experience wild species as domesticated, as, for example, when the Cree bear spirit knows bears as its "dogs." The second case is tamed wild animals, particularly bears. In 1810, an Ojibwe band adopted a bear cub but abandoned it for the winter. Unenthusiastic about this separation, the cub eventually established a recurrent summer membership. Affection and play co-existed with formal offerings. The cub was addressed as "my friend" and with the descriptive name *makōs* 'bear cub,' but also referred to as *awakaan*, a noun denoting war captives and pets; in each capacity it was exempt from harm. Algonquian dogs and tamed bears parallel Siberian reindeer in exemplifying mixtures and blends of relations divided across binaries of autonomy/control, equality/hierarchy, and exteriority/incorporation.

An examination of Michif gender
Dr Nicole Rosen, Dr Carrie Gillon
University of Manitoba

Michif is a mixed language resulting from intense language contact between French and Plains Cree. In this talk, we discuss Michif and its gender system. We argue that language contact has not lead to wholesale adoption of features from the introduced language French, but instead Michif behaves like Cree. Focusing on gender, we show that Michif maintains the animacy system of Cree and that the sex-based gender is largely fossilized.

French has a sex-based (m/f) gender system and Plains Cree has an animacy system. Michif appears to have elements from both: m/f is marked on the articles; animacy is marked on the demonstratives (1).

Michif

- (1) a. **la** **fiiy** **ana** b. **la** **rob** **anima**
 ART.F girl DEM.AN ART.F dress DEM.IN
 ‘that girl’ ‘that dress’
- c. **li** **garsoo’n** **ana** d. **li** **shapoo** **anima**
 ART.M boy DEM.AN ART.M shampoo DEM.IN
 ‘that boy’ ‘that shampoo’

However, we argue that the sex-based gender system has limited productivity. In Michif, the m/f system still appears to be active for semantically m/f referents. However, arbitrary feminine referents often default to masculine.

Michif

- (2) a. en/ae'n gurnouy b. en/ae'n tahkweminaan
ART.F/ART.M frog ART.F/ART.M chokecherry
'a frog' 'a chokecherry'

We argue that this asymmetry in behaviour reflects an asymmetry in the contribution of each source language, with the ancestral language Plains Cree having a stronger influence.

While Michif has some features that are the result of contact of two very different systems, it nevertheless behaves like other Algonquian languages. Michif has slotted much of the French vocabulary into Plains Cree grammar, with surprisingly few extra French features. Our findings suggest a lack of evidence of structural mixing in this ‘mixed languages.’ Instead, the grammar resembles its ancestral language rather closely.

Mitchikanibikok Inik Sense of Self and Remembering in the context of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement

Drawing from interviews carried out over the course of the last ten years with Mitchikanibikok Inik community members (also known as the Algonquins of Barriere Lake), this presentation explores what elders remember of the past and of their childhood before residential school. It asks what this reveals about their sense of self and how this “fits” with the historical trauma framework (Waldram 2004; Gone 2013) that was encouraged in the context of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (2007-2015). As a unique and not entirely unproblematic settlement (Niezen 2013; Reynaud 2017), the IRSSA has contributed to shaping our collective memory of residential schools along with a lay understanding of Aboriginal history in Canada. In this presentation, I highlight that elders remembered their childhood in the bush as guided by respect and freedom. For them, the value of respect connects to a sense of self akin to what Ferrara (2004) calls the “composite self” for the Cree: a sense of self that is reciprocally embedded in the individual, in nature and in the collective. This shapes their narratives of the past and the *kekegan* (understood here as “values” or “support system”) participants described and which they use by “being out there on the land”. Leaning on this support system that provides a strong basis for the composite self, participants always balanced their memories of suffering and hardships with memories of resistance and resilience. Drawing from emic concepts such as *kekegan* and “going back *kopâmwîn*”, I argue it is futile to approach the past and the history of residential schools within an exclusive framework that focuses either on the individual trauma or on the collective historical trauma. As comes across clearly in their narratives shared outside official IRSSA spaces, Mitchikanibikok Inik survivors make use of a *bricolage* approach to the past, borrowing from trauma and historical trauma discourses while also moving beyond.

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On Michif gender shift

A number of Algonquian languages (e.g. Mesquakie, Cree, Ojibwe, Goddard 2002, Wolfart 1973, 1996, Mathieu 2012a, 2012b) allow with nouns a process of gender shift from inanimate to animate to express individuation. The input noun is a mass or collective noun (inanimate) and the output is a single unit. This is a process seen in singulative languages and Mathieu (2012) argues that Ojibwe has an underlying/residual singulative system expressed by gender shift. In this paper, we are interested in Michif, a language that combines elements of Cree and French. In particular, we are investigating whether Michif too expresses gender shift along the lines described above. There is recently been a boom in studies on grammatical gender and our work is part of this tradition. We show that gender shift is creative in Michif and how the animacy gender system interacts in this case with the sex-based gender system of French in the context of Strader's (2017) theory of the Michif noun phrase. Data comes from fieldwork and grammars while the theoretical context is that of minimalism and Distributed Morphology.

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New Approaches for Aiding Fluent Comprehenders to Regain the Ability to Speak Their Language

Ben Levine, Speaking Place

“I know I have this language in me. I can understand what people say, but no matter what I try, I still can’t speak it.” This familiar lament drew us to explore why it was so difficult for some adult minority language community members simply to relearn their language on their own using conventional approaches. Fluent Comprehenders (FCs) are people who understand to a considerable extent their heritage language but are unable to speak it. This designation covers a variety of situations, from those who were once fluent and lost speaking ability through lack of practice or opportunity to speak, to those who were actively or traumatically prevented in childhood from continuing to speak.

This report relates our experience helping a number of individuals regain speaking ability, drawing upon earlier work with French-Canadian Heritage/Franco-Americans of New England to develop the methodology we are now using with Passamaquoddy people in Eastern Maine. In the process, we found that some FCs can spontaneously regain speaking ability, while others require a variety of interventions and learning resources and only gradually regain speaking ability. We are currently working with a number of Passamaquoddy fluent comprehenders who have regained their language and are making encouraging progress to becoming fluent speakers.

Many tribes have a significant number of FCs. These people offer hope for language revival, as they generally already possess the ability to recognize and reproduce their language’s sounds and have vocabulary and grammatical understanding. They hold cultural knowledge from a quickly vanishing generation of speakers. Thus investment now in FC research and methods development could have significant impact on the future of some endangered languages.

Title

“It never disappeared”: Analysis of the nature and the status of the knowledge involved in the current and historical practice of the shaking tent among the Eenouch of Waswanipi.

Abstract

The shaking tent is an important ritual in the Algonquian world and a classic topic in the anthropological literature regarding the study of the religious practices and the cosmological world of the Algonquians. The ritual was first documented by missionaries as early as the 17th century. Five generations of anthropologists and observers then documented and studied it over a period of more than a century, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 21st, among at least nine Algonquian First nations. The current practice of the shaking tent among the Eenouch of Waswanipi and new theories in anthropology are encouraging a new generation of anthropologists to update the ethnographic data of this ritual and to continue its analysis.

In this talk I propose a contemporary analysis of the shaking tent as it is practiced today within the Eenouch of Waswanipi. I focus my argumentation on the “transformative continuities”(Bousquet et Crépeau 2012) of the ceremony. My arguments are based on a contextual analysis of my ethnographic data on the period between 1960 and today, which are in continuity with those of Feit collected and analysed on the period between 1910 et 1950 (Feit 1994, 1997). I will demonstrate that this actual practise of the shaking tent confirms the practice of the ceremony never disappears as Feit stated earlier. I will argue mostly that the knowledge of the shaking tent never disappeared either. Thus, knowledge and practise must be distinguished at least for the analysis to understand the nature of the shaking tent itself, the relation between humans and non-humans in its specific context of and the contemporary concerns at stake, mostly regarding its protection.

This paper is based on the ethnographic data of the ritual I collected in 2009 and 2016 among the Eenouch of in Waswanipi through two observations of the ceremony and several interviews and discussions. This paper also draws on the research note I published before my doctoral fieldwork (Wattez 2014).

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Space/Time Parallelism in Meskwaki

In Meskwaki, the relative root *tan-/taš-*, all inanimate demonstratives, certain free particles, and certain verb forms refer either to time or to space. Only context disambiguates reference to time from reference to space for these morphemes and words. Consider the following examples:

- (1) ... kenwe·ši=meko e·h=**taši**-kohtamowa·či i·tepi·=’h=a·wa·či e·nemi-’ši-nehki·niči.
waninawe=ke·h=meko e·h=**taši**-mama·twe·wa·či, ...

“[F]or a very long time they were afraid to go in the direction in which (the Meskwakis) had disappeared. What’s more, on each and every side they were moaning ...”

The first *taši* in (1) marks a stretch of time; the second *taši* marks an area of space.

- (2) aškači e·h=owi·kinitehe e·h=pye·hpahoči.
we·kone·h=ke·hi=’**niye** wi·kiya·pi.

After a while he arrived on the run at the place where they had lived.
But the wickiup that had been there was gone!

- (3) e·h=pi·ne·škesiwa·či mena·škono·ni aniwe·we.
we·kone·hi=’nahi **i·niye** še·ški e·h=mačimači-wi·seniwa·tehe.

In contrast to before, they had plenty of fresh meat.
Gone now were the times when they only had crummy meals!

In (2), the inanimate demonstrative *i·niye* is paired with an inanimate noun and refers to a place. In (3), *i·niye* is paired with an aorist past verb and refers to a time.

Also note that in (2) the aorist past verb *e·h=owi·kinitehe* refers to a location: ‘the place where they formerly lived’. In (3), the aorist past verb *e·h=mačimači-wi·seniwa·tehe* refers to a time: ‘back when they had crummy meals’.

- (4) ki·h=we·we·ne·neta=meko **na·hina·h**=wi·h=pemiha·yani ahpemeki
You will determine how high up in the air you will go

- (5) na·hkači we·we·ne·neta·pi=mekoho **na·hina·hi** wi·h=nepa·ki.
Also, one determines the time when one will sleep.

In (4), the particle *na·hina·hi* refers to distance. In (5), in a similar construction, it refers to time.

I propose to discuss these and other examples of space/time parallelism in Meskwaki.

The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Language Portal: Who Uses it and How?

Robert Leavitt, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton

Julia Schulz, Speaking Place, Inc.

Newell Lewey, MIT

The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Language Portal, now five years old, is generating increasing interest and use as an online platform and resource for a variety of scholarly and community purposes. Funded by an NSF-DEL grant and recently updated through a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA), it is changing the way linguists build dictionaries and contextualize linguistic data and how students learn language, and is bringing new visibility and stature to the language. The Portal was developed by a team from Speaking Place, including linguist-educator Robert Leavitt, co-author with David Francis of the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary; documentary filmmaker Ben Levine; and language educator Julia Schulz, in collaboration with a University of New Brunswick, Fredericton software development team. The Portal links three distinct types of data: lexical, video, and audio. Drawing on these interlinked databases—the 19,000-word Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary, 100 videos of speaker-driven natural group conversation, and approximately 60,000 audio recordings of words and example sentences—the Portal offers search functions that exploit links among video transcriptions and subtitles, dictionary entries, audio recordings, and English keywords, thus offering access to contextualized data for exploring culture and worldview.

The presentation reviews the technology behind Portal functions and how the Portal is being used by linguists, geographers, historians, ethnobiologists, language learners and teachers, and by tribal members living far from the community. It has changed the way some linguists do their work and has spurred language revival efforts, including a Passamaquoddy immersion preschool and a program to help fluent comprehenders reacquire their language. It has also inspired portals for other endangered languages.

From beavers to land: building on past debates to unpack the contemporary entanglements of Algonquian family hunting territories

Des castors au territoire: partir des débats historiques sur les territoires de chasse familiaux algonquiens pour comprendre leurs enchevêtrements contemporains

Mélanie Chaplier, UCLouvain / McGill

Colin Scott, McGill

This presentation emerges from our recent experience editing a special issue in the journal *Anthropologica* on the contemporary nature of the Algonquian Family Hunting territories (FHT). Indeed, a little more than thirty years after the landmark issue that raised the question “who owns the beaver?” (Morantz & Bishop, 1986), we deemed necessary to renew the perspective by taking into account the significant, and at times unsettling, changes that occurred on Algonquian lands as they entered the 21st century. Building on the work of our predecessors, we will describe the multiple ways in which the FHT institution became a highly political matter, embedded in a wide range of activities – land claims negotiation, resource exploitation, environmental impact studies, and socio-economic development – while remaining central to everyday hunting practices on the land. In so doing, this issue will describe the role of the FHT as an institution in the midst of resource exploitation and important societal shifts, questioning the contemporary forms of these territories and their greater integration into the politics of development. As our focus will built on the case of the Cree of Eeyou Istchee, we will open a few comparative notes with their Southern neighbours. Our final objective will be to rephrase the ethnological study of the FHT in terms of territorial entanglements (Poirier & Dussart, 2017).

Names and Naming Formulae in Literary Plains Cree

H.C. Wolfart

University of Manitoba

Beginning with a survey of the limited contexts in which Plains Cree discourse exhibits personal names, we review the major patterns by which proper names are formed and then examine some of the ways in which they are integrated into sentences and texts.

Personal names play a key part in the formal confirmation of authenticity that typically appears at the opening or conclusion of an orally transmitted historical document. They are normally restricted to the formulaic frame and do not recur within the text itself.

More generally, the sparing use made of personal names, in historical and myth texts alike, reflects two cultural traits which may well be linked: the pervasive reliance on kin terms and pronominal reference in lieu of proper nouns, and the strict prohibition against proper names in reference to certain kin types (e.g., a woman's son-in-law) and to the dead. The inherent power of names that is suggested by these linguistic-and-social avoidance rules (and by the naming rituals themselves) also manifests itself, perhaps most strikingly, in the performative use of names.

Developing corpora for endangered languages: An example from Sauk

This presentation reports on the development of a spoken corpus of Sauk (ISO 639-3: sac), a highly endangered Algonquian language spoken in central Oklahoma. The corpus is based on a collection of approximately 23 hours of historical and contemporary recordings of spontaneous spoken Sauk ranging from the early 1990s to the present. It includes narrated children's storybooks, conversation, interviews, oral histories, and personal narratives told by members of the last generation raised in Sauk-speaking households. Until recently, many of these resources were "locked" in earlier, often analog formats, and were generally inaccessible for use in study and revitalization at a time when resources such as these would be particularly useful in supporting community-based language programs.

This text-searchable, digital corpus is currently being developed through an NSF-funded project focused on digitizing, transcribing, and mobilizing these materials for local language initiatives using current methods and best practices from documentary linguistics. The project has consulted with the remaining two first-language speakers of Sauk to review historical Sauk language materials in the collection, using both ELAN (Wittenburg *et al.* 2006) and SayMore (Hatton 2013) software tools to create oral annotations and corresponding written transcriptions. In this presentation, we discuss approaches to challenges encountered in this process. We also share how the final, transcribed corpus is now entering into community language programs, contributing to the creation of new educational resources and advancing the development of an expanded Sauk lexical database.

Corpus development has typically been viewed as an academic undertaking, often requiring the technical resources of a larger institution and producing outputs of primary relevance to an academic audience. This paper demonstrates, however, that the technical barriers to spoken corpus development can be overcome by communities interested in pursuing similar projects, and that the rewards of corpus development can be surprisingly diverse.

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The Paradox of Partial Similarity; The Morphology and Syntax of Unami Secondary Object Marking and Other Clones the N-endings.

The n-endings (characterized by -n(aa), Eastern -n(e)) are used in many Algonquian languages in the inflection of TI verbs in the independent order. In Unami (Delaware) they are used for the objective paradigm of the TI; for definite secondary objects of AI+O and TA+O verbs; for oblique complements (of stems with a relative root); and for the subordinative mode. The subordinative mode (with or without a pleonastic preverb |əlī| ‘{so}’) makes subordinate clauses that are complements of higher verbs or other predicates. Without this preverb it makes complements of, for example, *want*, *let*, and *be difficult*, or of sentence-initial /ná/ ‘then’ and other particles. With this preverb it makes complements of, for example, *say*, *tell*, *know*, *think*, *see*, and *hear*, and is used in purpose clauses and after focus-fronted nominals. It may also be used for a main-clause verb, either as the equivalent of ‘let (first or third person subject) do so’ or as a statement of the speaker’s immediate intent.

Examples of these uses of the n-endings (from the texts of Ira D. Blanchard, C.F. Voegelin, and Ives Goddard) will show that although exactly the same n-ending inflection is used for all of them, it is evident that they cannot be said to share a uniform function. A single morphological process marks multiple grammatical categories. A thread of similarity between these categories might be traced or imagined (perhaps something extremely vague and generic like ‘additional deixis’), but they are nevertheless distinct and cannot be considered expressions of a single grammatical category.

Such paradoxes of partial similarity pose a fundamental problem for the formal analysis of morphology, suggesting that looser and more contingent connections between components than heretofore accepted may have to be recognized

ALGONQUIAN: DICTIONARIES AND LINGUISTIC ATLAS PROJECT: PROGRESS REPORT 2

Following a presentation made at the Algonquian Conference in Winnipeg in 2015, we give a progress report on the Algonquian Dictionaries project. The goal of this project is to continue developing a collective digital infrastructure and a collaborative research model building on information and communication technologies to document Aboriginal languages of the Algonquian family and to offer online resources for the communities in question.

The project focuses on the enhancement of existing dictionaries in order to make them viable for the long term in the digital economy, and aims to address the following needs:

- thematic multimedia dictionaries: research on categorisation methods
- morpheme dictionaries with a historical perspective, dialectal relationships; applications for the creation of terminology, development of a text parser
- bilingual dictionaries: standardisation of English and French keywords, issues of synonymy, homonymy and polysemy
- unilingual dictionaries: definitions in an Aboriginal language
- connections between dictionaries, grammars and text corpora (oral, transcribed and written)
- pedagogical tools: online lessons for first- and second-language, resources for language teachers, training of Aboriginal lexicographers, online courses
- database structure with multimedia integration and exports in multiple formats: books, apps, online
- documentation and conversational resources; addition of Algonquian dialects to the Linguistic Atlas: www.atlas-ling.ca

We showcase some of the developments that took place in the last two years with participating Dictionaries/Groups from various languages*, seeking feedback from our audience. We also raise a few questions about multimedia components, open-source, data stewardship, and long-term maintenance of not-for-profit resources.

* Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe), Atikamekw, Blackfoot, East Cree, Fort Severn Cree, Innu, Michif, Moose Cree, Oji-Cree, Plains Cree, Naskapi, Nishnabemwin, Swampy Cree.

Note: this presentation will be bilingual (French or English) / Ceci sera une présentation bilingue.

"The trouble and expense of holding an election". Algonquin selection of representatives at the turn of the 20th century

Leila Inksetter

As of the mid-nineteenth century, Canadian federal legislation defined the way political representatives were to be selected by First Nations. These laws were incorporated into the Indian Act of 1876, which became the defining piece of legislation that still determines the way political representatives are to be selected by Canadian First Nation bands. The uniformizing consequence of the Indian Act on First Nation traditional political structures has been adeptly described. However, the historical processes involved in the implementation of elections in First Nation bands are less known.

Although the legislation existed in the nineteenth century, it remained mostly unapplied to northern Algonquian communities for a long time. In western Quebec, most Algonquin bands maintained a traditional system of recognizing chiefs until the twentieth century, where chief's status was transferred patrilineally and was recognized by band members. However, in the Abitibi and Timiskaming bands, located on the Quebec-Ontario border, elections were demanded and were organized by band members against the opinion of the Department of Indian Affairs, which saw the process as an unnecessary expense. Thus, the initiative of introducing an elective process for the selection of political representatives rests with these communities. This initiative was first ignored by the Department of Indian Affairs, before being formally recognized several years later. This presentation examines the motivations that led these communities to choose elections under the Indian Act as a desirable way of selecting representatives at the turn of the twentieth century.

What Plains Cree teaches us about negation

Plains Cree (PC) has two forms of negation (NEG) — *nama* and *êkâ* — which occur at the left of the clause, and whose distribution is conditioned by a complex interplay of factors. *Êkâ* NEG occurs in nonveridical clauses (e.g. imperatives, 1a) and subordinate clauses (e.g. complement and adjunct clauses, 1b). *Nama* NEG is the elsewhere case (1c), occurring with root (veridical) clauses, polar questions, constituent negation, negative answers, and negative predicates. (1) converges with Lacombe's (1874) findings, but challenges Bloomfield's (1928) analysis. More broadly, the placement of PC NEG at the left-edge of the CP challenges Horn's (1989) [2001] claim that natural language NEG is always and only a predicate operator. **Syntactically**, various tests — tense-marking, scopal interaction with indefinites, cross-clausal scope, CP ellipsis — confirm that PC NEG conforms to the *Scope Principle* (A has scope over B if A c-commands B and the interpretation of B depends on A). **Semantically**, PC NEG diagnoses two semantic properties: veridicality (Giannakidou 1998) and [\pm HUMAN] indefinites (the latter is a novel finding). **Pragmatically**, PC data support the claim that NEG is conditioned by the *Question Under Discussion* (Tien et al. 2016): this correctly predicts a partition between presentative clauses (with *nama* NEG) and cleft clauses (with *êkâ* NEG). **Typologically**, PC NEG is positioned high in the clausal domain, converging with the findings of Christensen (1986) and Brandtler (2012) on Swedish, but but challenging analyses that position NEG low (Collins & Postal 2014). Sells (2000) argues that high NEG yields double negation, while low NEG yields negative concord; PC data supports this view, as it lacks NEG concord.

(1) distribution of plains cree negation

a.	[CP: +NEGATION, +AVERIDICAL]	→	<i>êkâ</i>
a.	[CP: +NEGATION, +SUBORDINATE]	→	<i>êkâ</i>
a.	[XP: +NEGATION]	→	<i>nama</i>

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The Ungava Naskapis meet the Canadian Bureaucracy

Toby Morantz

McGill University

In the current climate of presentism and polarization regarding Indigenous/Canadian relations, this paper examines the history and changing socio-economic position of the Naskapis of the Ungava region. It chronicles their journey from caribou hunters and masters of the Ungava interior to unskilled labourers in the mining industry of Schefferville. It centers on the decisions made by government officials and Naskapis in the post World War II period. Its purpose is solely to look at the circumstances under which these decisions were made, to understand better the options enacted and those not. The story here begins in the early 1800s with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records and later draws on federal government correspondence, largely from the 1950s. What followed was a series of government edicts that both encouraged the Naskapis to continue living on the land but concurrently promoted settlement and schooling, precipitating a series of removals, some voluntary, in the mid-1950s. The role of Ottawa bureaucrats in their dealings with the Ungava Naskapis will be measured against the wider history of Canadian-Indigenous relations to the 1960s, viz. dependency, assimilation, paternalism, Indigenous peoples responses, Christianity and community development.

Developing a Database of Algonquian Language Structures

This presentation provides a report on a project to develop an online database of comparative Algonquian grammar. The database is intended to be complementary to existing online resources such as the Algonquian Linguistic Atlas (<http://www.atlas-ling.ca/>) and various dictionaries and text collections. The scope of the project is limited to elements of grammatical structure: phonology, inflectional morphology, and syntax. The goal of the project, from a linguistic perspective, is to represent the grammatical structures of each language in a consistent and coherent format, including the connections among pieces of data both *within a language* (e.g. a Shawnee verb form, its component morphemes, and the other Shawnee forms that contain these morphemes) and *across languages* (e.g. a Shawnee verb form, its Proto-Algonquian parent, and its cognates in other languages). The most immediate purpose of the database is to facilitate comparative research on Algonquian grammar. In the longer term, we hope that it can be made useful to a broader audience, but our current focus is simply on working out the database organization that is necessary in order to represent the synchronic and diachronic grammatical facts in a way that accurately captures their complex interrelationships and incorporates the insights of the key descriptive literature (e.g. Bloomfield 1946, 1962; Goddard 1969).

In this presentation we describe the organization of the database, which consists of (1) a set of languages, (2) phoneme and cluster inventories in each language, (3) paradigms of verb forms and nominal forms in each language, with morphemic segmentation, allomorphy rules, and illustrative examples, and (4) a “structural survey” that hosts non-paradigmatic grammatical data such as syllable templates and word order patterns. Phonemes, clusters, verb forms, nominal forms, and morphemes can all be linked to their diachronic parents, thus allowing a database user to view pan-Algonquian cognates and historical derivations. Tables of inflectional paradigms can be generated on-the-fly according to parameters set by the database user (e.g. which languages, verb classes, orders, and modes to include). A filterable bibliography of Algonquian linguistics is incorporated into the database and all data records are linked to the relevant sources.

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An overview of Meskwaki evidentiality

Amy Dahlstrom

Meskwaki exhibits an evidential system of the ‘scattered’ type (Brugman and Macaulay 2015:224), in that the elements indicating evidential features do not occur in a single paradigmatic slot but rather appear in disparate parts of the clause. For example, the hearsay evidential is expressed by a second-position enclitic =*ipi*, a grammaticalized form of the Animate Intransitive verb *i-* ‘say thus to’ with the inflectional suffix *-pi* expressing X, an unspecified subject; the inferential evidential, on the other hand, is expressed through inflecting the verb of the clause with the plain interrogative inflectional paradigm:

- (1) *oškinawe-he-hanipi ke-hekwičini.*
 oškinawe-h-e-h-ani=**ipi** IC-kehekwi-čini.
 young.man-DIM-OBV=HRSY IC-lose.O2.as captive 3/PART/3’
 It was a young teenage boy, it's said, who gave him the slip.
- (2) *nesekokwe-nima-hi-na mahkwani*
 nes-ekokwe-ni=ma-hi=i-na mahkw-ani
 kill-3’>3/**PLAIN.INTERR**=after.all=that.ANIM bear-OBV
 ‘A bear (obv) must have killed that guy (prox), after all.’
 [inference through tracks in the snow and signs of struggle]

The present paper presents a description of the Meskwaki system, considering it in the context of recent work on evidentials in other Algonquian languages, including Blackfoot (Bliss and Ritter 2015), Cheyenne (Murray 2016), Cree (Blain and Déchaine 2007; James et al 2001), and Mi’kmaq (Inglis 2003).

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Title: Perspectives from Ganawandemaw: Protection of Language Revitalization and Language Ideologies in the Great Lakes Region

Presenters: Susan Wade and Patricia T. Nájera

Affiliation: University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

Student(s): PhD candidates

Email: sdwade@uwm.edu and ptnajera@uwm.edu

Postal address: UW- Milwaukee, PO Box 413, Electa Quinney Institute, Bolton Hall – 187, Milwaukee, WI 53211

Audio-Visual Equipment: N/A

This paper presents the perspectives of two graduate students experiences and interpretations with their work on the Ganawandemaw Grant: a trans-disciplinary investigation of language preservation with Anishinaabemowin speakers and teachers with a range of dialects and fluency. Ganawandemaw is a verb that connotes a spectrum of animacy of all life and it symbolizes the ideas of protection and preservation. Language speakers from the Great Lakes region were invited to share their perspectives about the nature and environmental knowledge within the Anishinaabe language. This presentation will focus on site specific analysis of multi-variate levels of discourse analysis from an intersectional lens to interpret gender hierarchies, dialect competition, content variation, and language preference.

Prior to learning about the complex interdependence of the connections between humans, plants, animals and aquatic systems, the language speakers shared their experiences in the built environment of schools and playgrounds, spaces where they experienced discrimination and racism for speaking their native languages. Listening and reflecting on the stories of loss, promotion of an English only policy on the playground, the school bus, or in the classroom resulted in resilience and motivation of some language speakers in the Great Lakes watershed.

The graduate students transcribed specific segments of recorded conversations. During the course of transcribing and translation, the researchers were left with an appreciation for the difficulty in picking up nuances of language such as pauses, different dialects, and meanings of words. One conversation dealt with butterflies, *memengwaa* in Ojibwemowin. This conversation is an example of the complicated nature of language revitalization. The discussion that followed from the question “What do you call a butterfly that is black and orange and eats milkweed?” led to a lively conversation about the word for a Monarch butterfly. How does a community with an endangered language negotiate and create a new word? What is the process for creating new vocabulary? Both of these perspectives provide insight from two graduate students about the lessons learned with language preservation and the environment.

Archaic and Historic Population Clusters in Eastern North America

Grant Karcich

Ontario Archaeological Society

Human cranial data gathered from 35 northeastern North American populations were combined to show genetic distance between them. Populations sampled were from Archaic (circa 3,000 years ago), Middle Woodland (circa 1,500 years ago), and Late Woodland (circa 800 years ago) sites, as well as, from historic groups of known Iroquoian and Algonquian affinity. Our analysis show that some historic population groups extend back into the Archaic. The three Archaic populations examined suggest that some demographic features became established in this period in the northeast.

Nine craniometric variables were obtained from the literature or provided by colleagues. Each population consisted of a minimum of 5 individuals. Bias associated with small sizes and differences in sample sizes across groupings was adjusted for with RMET 5.0. Male and female data values were pooled after within-sex z-score standardization and Euclidean distances were generated between populations.

Our analysis also show that multiple but distinct population clusters had formed within Iroquoian and Algonquian groups, suggesting a long developmental time period for the evolution of each linguistic phyla. Our study also found that the Ontario and New York Archaic populations, show the lowest population distance, and therefore close affinity to two historic Algonquian groups, one to a Chippewa population in the upper Great Lakes, and the other to a Lenape population along the Delaware River in New Jersey. In addition, historic Algonquian populations from New York and Maine also form a close cluster with both the Ontario and New York Archaic populations. This suggests that regional continuity in eastern North America may have been in play for the historic Algonquian speaking people stretching back to the Archaic.

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A Morpho-Syntactically Tagged Corpus for Plains Cree

We present the first version of a morpho-syntactically tagged corpus of Plains Cree, which consists of 142,196 tokens (of which 93,066 word tokens). The corpus comprises several Plains Cree texts edited by H. C. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew, which have been analyzed and hand-verified on the basis of a finite state transducer designed for Plains Cree (Snoek et al. 2014; Harrigan et al. 2017), which recognizes the word classes and a majority of inflectional forms in modern Plains Cree. Integrated within the Korp interface (Borin et al. 2012), one can search this corpus for usage contexts of Plains Cree words based on a number of search criteria, e.g. lemmas or morphological features, English glosses, and regular expressions combining any of the aforementioned.

When a word, lemma, or morphological feature is searched, all instances of that form or feature are presented in their sentential contexts. When individual words are selected, information is given on the original text (down to subsection level) from which the sentence is drawn as well as several linguistic features of the word itself: the lemma, the inflectional information, and the English dictionary gloss (when a matching translation has been found in Wolvengrey 2001). In addition to presenting usage contexts of search items, various forms of statistical information can also be created, e.g. the frequencies of various word forms pertaining to some lemma, or the frequencies of occurrences within various texts where the search item was found. Various search capabilities and the form of the output will be demonstrated in the presentation.

The analyzed Plains Cree corpus allows for quantitative analysis of the morphosyntax of Plains Cree. The Korp interface presents this information in context and, though available yet only upon individual arrangement, the corpus is a potential resource for speakers, linguists, and students alike.

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Computational modelling of Plains Cree syntax: A Constraint Grammar approach to verbs and arguments in a Plains Cree corpus

Katherine Schmirler, University of Alberta

Antti Arppe, University of Alberta

Trond Trosterud, University of Tromsø

Lene Antonsen, University of Tromsø

In this talk, we present the ongoing development of a Constraint Grammar (CG) parser for Plains Cree and make use of this parser to analyse the order of verbs and arguments in a 70,000-word corpus. CG uses morphological and syntactic information to parse sentences (e.g. Karlsson, 1995), making it ideal for the modelling of Plains Cree, as its rich morphology is used to identify relationships between verbs and arguments where linear order cannot (e.g. Wolfart, 1996). The rich morphology of the language generally allows for the straightforward identification of verbal arguments, though some ambiguity remains. In tandem with a morphological analyser (Harrigan et al., forthcoming; Snoek et al., 2014), the CG parser analyses syntactic relationships within a corpus of Plains Cree and allows for the examination of phrase order on a larger scale than previously possible for most indigenous languages in Canada.

At this stage of development, the CG parser is able to model 93% of the relationships between verbs and arguments as manually coded in a 3,000-word subset of the corpus. When applied to the larger corpus, the most common phrase orders can be investigated. The results verify what has been found for Plains Cree in prior qualitative studies. For example, the analysis reflects qualitative descriptions of how topic and focus influence word order; the relationships between direct and inverse non-local verbs and their proximate and obviative arguments clearly reflect the descriptive literature (e.g. Dahlstrom, 1995; Wolvengrey, 2011). Such findings present opportunities for more in-depth computational research into word order in a Plains Cree corpus, such as the relationships between word order and features and information structure. Continued development of such computational models also benefits language tools such as linguistically analysed texts, spell checkers, grammar checkers, and language-learning applications.

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La langue atikamekw aujourd'hui

Véronique Chachai*, Marie-Odile Junker**, Nicole Petiquay* et Katie Martinuzzi**

*Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw, **Carleton University

Nous présentons ici les résultats d'une enquête linguistique sur l'usage, l'importance et le statut de la langue atikamekw pour les Atikamekw, conduite en 2014 à l'initiative du Conseil de la Nation Atikamekw. Cette enquête fait suite à celle conduite en 2001 (Papen et Reinwein, 2002) avec 261 sujets. Le questionnaire fut administré en atikamekw dans les trois communautés (Opitciwan, Manawan et Wemotaci) ainsi qu'à La Tuque, au Québec à 437 locuteurs et locutrices âgés de 14 à 78 ans et représentatifs de la population (représentativité de 8%). Version abrégée et modifiée de la précédente, mais portant sur un plus grand nombre de sujets, elle consistait en une trentaine de questions portant sur une auto-évaluation des compétences linguistiques, une évaluation de celles des générations d'ascendants et de descendants, l'utilisation des langues, la compétence de communication intergénérationnelle et les attitudes par rapport à la langue.

La compilation des réponses nous permet de brosser un portrait de la vitalité et des dangers qui guettent la langue atikamekw, ainsi que des désirs de la population quant au futur de la langue. Nous situons nos résultats par rapport à l'enquête précédente et dans le contexte canadien des langues menacées de disparition.

Référence :

Papen, Robert et Joachim Reinwein (2002) Enquête sur l'état de la langue atikamekw, Rapport préliminaire. Université du Québec à Montréal.

Blackfoot Pitch Contour: An Instrumental Investigation

This paper augments previous investigations of Blackfoot word prominence with acoustic measurements. We argue that prosody in Blackfoot is better characterized by pitch contours, rather than individual accented syllables, and we describe two pitch contour shapes.

Word prominence in Blackfoot is often equated with lexical accent, which is associated with a raised F_0 (Frantz 2017; Van Der Mark 2003) and marked in the orthography (Frantz 2017; Frantz and Russell 1995). In contrast, Taylor (1969) describes several different word melodies, depending on where accent falls within a word. Our study confirms there are multiple pitch contours in Blackfoot.

We examined 48 words spoken by a native speaker of Montana Blackfoot. We measured the F_0 of accented and unaccented vowels in two, three, and four syllable words. There are two major pitch contours, depending on whether the word-final syllable is accented.

The pitch of an unaccented final syllable falls within a low narrow range (53–68Hz). Plotting the pitch ranges of unaccented syllables shows there is a pitch declination throughout the word towards this target. The pitch of accented syllables is always higher than the line of declination. The difference in F_0 between the pitch peak and the word-final target is greatest when accent falls on the initial syllable, and is smallest near the end of the word. When the final syllable is accented, it has a higher pitch range of 88–114Hz and pitch movement is nearly flat throughout the word.

We analyze pitch contours in Blackfoot as an interaction between lexical pitch accent location and pitch declination towards a final low boundary tone. When lexical accent and the low boundary fall on the same syllable (e.g. the final syllable), lexical accent supersedes and the resulting pitch is higher than the normal low boundary tone.

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Building a catalogue of Variation in Contemporary Blackfoot (VCB)

As is the case for many endangered Indigenous languages (Hildebrandt et al 2017), a comprehensive investigation of variation in the Blackfoot language is lacking. Recent literature mentions and/or describes some differences between and within dialects, individual speakers, and generations (e.g. Bliss & Glougie 2010; Frantz n.d., 2017; Frantz & Russell 2017; Genée & Junker under review; Miyashita & Chatsis 2013), without making an attempt at either a systematic investigation of the linguistic variation itself or the social correlates of this variation. Such an investigation is obviously desirable, not least because speakers attach great importance to variation and have prescriptive judgements about it (Chatsis et al 2013; Kaneko 2009; Miyashita & Chatsis 2015).

In this paper we report on our work in building a catalogue of Variation in Contemporary Blackfoot (VCB) from published sources and our own fieldwork. Our fieldwork for the Algonquian Linguistic Atlas project (<http://atlas-ling.ca>) has yielded a wealth of new comparative data, such as the following few examples:

- (1) [ks] ~ [ts]
niksissta ‘my mother’: [niksís:ta], [nitsís:ta]
noapsspiksi ‘my eyes’: [nowáps:piksᵢ], [nowáps:pitsᵢ]
- (2) [k] ~ [ks]
(ni)tsiiki’taamssi ‘I’m happy’: [tsikíʔta:ms:ᵢ], [tsiksíʔta:ms:ᵢ]
- (3) [iç] ~ [is:]
ihkitsika ‘seven’: [içkítsika], [is:kítsika]
kitaisttsisstomihpa? ‘Are you sick?’: [kitést:si:stomᵢçpa], [kitést:si:stóms:pa]
- (4) Shortened 1st person prefix
nitsiiki’taamssi ‘I’m happy’: [nitsi:kíʔta:ms:ᵢ], [tsikíʔta:ms:ᵢ]
- (5) [æ] ~ [ɛ]
Aisootaawa ‘It’s raining’: [æsu:ta:], [ɛsu:ta:]
Aipottaistsi ‘airplanes’: [æpot:ɛ:sts], [ɛpot:ɛ:sts]
- (6) Stem-final (“non-permanent”) consonants
no’tsiistsi ‘my hands’: [noʔtsí:sts], [noʔtsís:sts]
kookoowayi ‘your house’: [ku:kú:waj], : [ku:kú:wan]

Social and linguistic correlates of this variation will be the subject of future work. We present some of our evidence and discuss methodological issues in the collection, assessment, and analysis of the variables in question.

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Comment parler des défunt(e)s en cri des Plaines?

Vincent Collette

First Nations University of Canada, Regina

The aim of this talk is to describe and analyze the linguistic mechanisms used to refer to a deceased person in Plains Cree, an Algonquian language spoken in Saskatchewan and Alberta. As mentioned by Stivers, Enfield & Levinson (2007:1) person reference stands at an interdisciplinary crossroad between anthropology, psychology, cognitive neuroscience, and social theories. However, they remark paradoxically, even though person reference is a central topic in humanities it is also one that is quite neglected. According to Brown (2006:173) “[r]eferring to persons, unlike referring to inanimate objects and animals, is a socially delicate operation, since persons are circumscribed by social identities, hierarchical status, and taboos in ways that are highly variable across cultures.” Thus, if we assume that referring to a living person often requires tact and in some cases circumspection, this will prove even more important when referring to a deceased person. There are basically four ways to refer to a deceased person in Plains Cree: a) use of personal names (*Mary*) or a bare kinship nouns (*nikâwiy* ‘my mother’); b) participial kin nouns (aka periphrastic constructions; *kâ-kî-okâwîyân* ‘the one I used to have as a mother’); c) noun with the preterit suffix *-(i)pan* (*nikâwîpan* ‘my late mother’). Although speakers use all strategies in a single discourse, the participial noun and the preterit noun are not synonymous. There exists a very subtle pattern that is linked to levels of deference and circumspection the speakers wishes to establish. Participial nouns are highly frequent and constitute the most conventional way to refer to a deceased person in Plains Cree, while preterit nouns are rare both in texts and orally. Nevertheless, in written texts, preterit nouns occur frequently: a) with verbs related to the mental domain (e.g. weep, smudge, pray); b) with verbs describing the actions of a powerful person (as in the case of conjuring); c) in situation where extra circumspection is needed (as when mocking a deceased person); and d) show a certain level of lexicalisation (for instance while *nimôsomipan* ‘my late grandfather’ refers to a real person the preterit noun *môsomipan* means ‘Grandfather Spirit’).

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Title: Revisiting Prosodic Prominence in Saulteaux Ojibwe

Ojibwe demonstrates left-to-right iambic parsing^{e.g.1,16,17,14} but analyses differ regarding primary stress assignment and the source of word-final prominence. I examine both issues in Saulteaux Ojibwe using novel data from my fieldwork in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Impressionistically, I find no evidence of primary or secondary stress. Instead, I propose iambic foot structure is independent of stress and present a new view of word-final prominence.

The Traditional Approach^{1,15,12,13,2,16,17,14} assigns primary stress to the antepenultimate foot, raising issues for the claim that primary stress is restricted to a maximal three-syllable window at the word edge.¹¹ Contrastingly, Hayes⁶ bypasses this problem by assigning primary stress to the antepenultimate footed syllable – disallowing degenerate feet and making peripheral feet extrametrical – yielding different predictions (1).

(1)	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Hayes</u>	
	(maká)(te:)(wa:)	(mákə)(te:)<wa:>	‘black’
	(opín)	(ópín)	‘potato’

Vowel length is contrastive in Ojibwe. Thus, I consider only pitch and intensity possible cues of stress.^{see}
¹⁸ Certain syllables are louder and/or higher-pitched, but their location is unpredictable under either approach. Pronunciation also differs between utterances and speakers. Some lexical items lack any prominence other than final prominence.

A claim that Saulteaux may entirely lack iambic foot structure is countered by the observation that vowel deletion is only possible in the weak position of a foot. While rare/optional in Saulteaux, more rampant deletion is observed in other dialects like Eastern Ojibwe, which often deletes all weak vowels in an utterance. Evidence therefore points to active foot structure independent of prosodic prominence.^{e.g.5,3,4,20,7,10,8,9}

As for word-final prominence, some claim it is a phonetic boundary phenomenon,⁶ while others point to it as evidence for degenerate feet.¹⁴ Because neither primary nor secondary stress appear as predicted, I offer it is, in fact, final primary stress. Given the impressionistic nature of my stress analysis, this result should be considered preliminary until a systematic acoustic study can be conducted.

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“Credit where credit is due”: How to handle attribution, copyright, and intellectual property in on-line digital resources for Algonquian languages.

How can we best handle attribution and intellectual property rights in large collaborative multi-media web-based language projects for endangered Indigenous languages? Our discussion draws on digital and Indigenous notions of attribution and intellectual property, as they both challenge conventional Western interpretations of authorship (August 2007; Oguamanam 2017; Woodmansee & Jaszi 2004; McCall 2011; Thomas 2005; Battiste & Youngblood Henderson 2000; Fitzpatrick 2011). We discuss how we are attempting to navigate the issues from both perspectives in our web resources for Algonquian languages (<http://atlas-ling.ca>), in particular the related Blackfoot Language Resources project (<http://blackfoot.atlas-ling.ca>). We show that the digital environment allows us to move beyond colonial and print-based notions of authorship to a more appropriate model of attribution that respects contributors and their relationships with their audiences and communities and the environments within which their knowledge is located and generated (Bastien 2004; Bear Nicholas 2017).

With respect to copyright we argue that existing Creative Commons licences (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>) are not suitable to formalize rights to all types of content on our websites.

With respect to attribution we build on the discussion in the sciences, where current work is now often carried out by dozens, sometimes hundreds of people in very large labs (Biagioli & Gallison 2003). We propose a modified version of the Contributor Roles Taxonomy (CRediT) developed by the Consortia Advancing Standards in Research Administration Information (CASRAI 2015; <http://docs.casrai.org/CRediT>) to account for these varying types of contributions in large science projects. We show that this model is more responsive to Indigenous notions of authorship and intellectual property rights and demonstrate how we implement this on our websites.

The inherently unfinished nature of many digital projects (Kirschenbaum 2009) allows us to be responsive to the changing needs of our contributors and developing conceptions of authorship and intellectual property in the community.

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Entre Nuhtshimit et Nitassinan: narrer et nommer le territoire chez les Pekuakamiulnuatsh, Innus du Lac Saint-Jean
Şükran Tipi
Département d'anthropologie, CIÉRA Université Laval

Tandis que les noms de lieux en langue autochtone ont depuis un certain temps été au centre de l'attention des chercheurs qui s'intéressent au lien qu'entretiennent différents premiers peuples avec leur environnement (Boas 1934, Basso 1996, Collignon 1996, Hunn 1996, Carlson 2008), très peu d'attention a été accordée jusqu'à maintenant à la manière dont les individus de ces groupes font référence à leurs territoires ancestraux ou traditionnelles dans leurs langues respectives.

D'une perspective d'analyse issue de l'anthropologie linguistique, les différentes désignations du territoire et leur utilisation à l'intérieur du discours ne participent pas uniquement d'une richesse linguistique encore bien présente aujourd'hui, mais suggèrent surtout une relation multidimensionnelle au territoire. Si Keith Basso (1996) utilise le concept d'*interanimation* pour analyser la perception des Apaches de l'espace qui les entoure, Thomas F. Thornton rappelle l'importance d'inclure la dimension sociale et relationnelle aux analyses de données linguistiques discursives, car "place and space are human constructions and relational fields, not just geographic determinants" (2008:6).

Nous souhaitons présenter certains résultats d'une enquête intergénérationnelle sur la territorialité des Pekuakamiulnuatsh qui s'insère dans un partenariat de recherche avec la communauté de Mashteuiatsh, et lors de laquelle une soixantaine d'entrevues ont été menées, ainsi que plusieurs activités de discussion et de validation, totalisant une centaine de participants parmi les Innus du Lac Saint-Jean. Les résultats de l'enquête révèlent au passage comment certaines formes d'expression linguistique acquièrent une signification sociale de par leur usage dans l'interaction verbale et amènent des éléments de réponse à des questions inspirées par les domaines de l'anthropologie linguistique et de la géographie culturelle : Quelles sont les moyens linguistiques dont se servent les Pekuakamiulnuatsh pour exprimer leur rapport au territoire? Quels sont les facteurs culturels et contextuels qui semblent influencer sur leur choix d'utilisation de certaines désignations de l'espace en langue innue?

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A New Approach to Stress in Southern East Cree

A number of works have identified extrametrical syllables or feet at the right edge of words in Algonquian languages (Brittain 2000; Hayes 1995; Piggott 2004). This renders most final syllables ‘invisible’ to stress assignment, resulting in primary stress on the penult or antepenult. Examples (1) and (2) below demonstrate one issue in the extrametricality hypothesis for past analyses of Southern East Cree stress. In (1), an extrametrical hypothesis holds up, but in (2) there is final stress, even though we might expect the heavy syllable *mees* to be stressed here.

(1) (na.**mée**.)pii ‘sucker fish’

(2) mees.(ka.**núu**) ‘road’

In this paper, instead of positing extrametricality, I present an analysis that fits SE Cree stress assignment into the typological class of languages that prefer iambs with light unstressed syllables and heavy stressed syllables. This typological preference for (LH) iambs is manifested in various ways cross-linguistically; indeed, some Algonquian languages reduce unstressed syllables and strengthen stressed ones in order to produce such feet (Hayes 1995). In SEC, I argue that primary stress is assigned so that an optimal (LH) iamb can be constructed while maintaining faithfulness. When words consist only of heavy syllables, stress is assigned word-finally, as in (3), and there is no evidence for extrametricality.

(3) pii.naa.**tfk^w** ‘wooden clothespin’ (Brittain 2000:204)

This analysis is presented primarily in an Optimality-Theoretic framework, but the phonological generalizations observed here are not tied to one theory and can be implemented in various ways. Positing a preference for (LH) iambs, and word-final stress otherwise, accounts for most data presented in Brittain (2000), and some less straightforward cases (disyllabic words, derived/compound nouns) are discussed in light of this hypothesis. Through reanalyzing SEC, this paper provides a new perspective on stress in Algonquian languages.

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An In-depth Exploration of an Algonquian Classifier

Allison Sanders

Andrew Cowell

University of Colorado

Algonquian languages have inherited classificatory medials from Proto-Algonquian (Bloomfield 1946), including medials for string-like, sheet-like, stick-like etc. These are verb classifiers (Grinevald 2000, 2002), with elements of nominal incorporation (Mithun 1999, Valentine 2001, Cowell 2008) and thus the classificatory noun incorporation subtype of verb classifiers (Mithun 1999, Aikhenvald 2000). The range of semantics of these classifiers is not well-described for most Algonquian languages. Here we investigate in depth the ‘string-like’ classifier in Arapaho.

Preliminarily, we note that the medial is extremely flexible in usage, as in other Algonquian languages (Valentine 2001, Wolfart 1996): intransitive subjects, transitive and di-transitive objects, and instruments.

Our main focus is the classifier’s semantic range, and extensions to modern objects. Continuous, single, long, and flexible objects, round in cross-section, are prototypical (ropes, vines, individual roots for threading, electrical cords). There are increasingly diverse extensions of the prototype: flat objects (tape measures); stiffer objects (wires); hollow objects (hoses, arteries); animals (snakes); webs (nets); and composite objects which are string-like as a whole (chains, trains, lines of cars). Finally, the classifier can be used for objects much longer than prototypical objects of a class: Dachunds, very tall people, and very long cars (older-model Oldsmobiles). This last usage usually includes a joking component (typical of extreme or semi-contradictory extensions of categories (Mithun 1999)). Notably, at the margins of the prototype, use of the classifier medial is optional, whereas for central members, it is obligatory. This argues for stronger semantic force at the margins, as well as for a prototype as opposed to exemplar model.

We find that *masses* do not fall under this category: hair, noodles, bundles of roots attached to a plant.

Finally, we note usage-base restrictions: classificatory verbs exist for common features of string-like objects (long, short, frayed, tangled), but not for less prototypical features (old, new, yellow, heavy). With the latter, non-classificatory verbs are used. This raises questions about the “classificatory” nature of the medials, and suggests that string-like objects have bundles of prototypical *possible* features associated with them.

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*À propos de marqueurs du temps et de l'aspect dans la langue algonquine
(Anicinabemowin)*

Jacques Leroux

Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal

Un retour récent sur des récits de création du monde dits « *atisokan* », recueillis en 1990 et 1991 auprès de vieux locuteurs de Kitcisakik, révèle des particularités propres au dialecte du lieu en regard de certaines unités grammaticales qui, en apparence, auraient des emplois assez divers. Ces unités sont généralement présentées comme des « préverbes » (ang. : "*preverbs*"), parfois comme des « particules enchâssées » ou des « modalités ». On attribue à certaines d'entre elles des emplois syntaxiques liés à la subordination d'un verbe en les traduisant par des expressions comme « celui qui... » ou « celui que... », mais si cette traduction est idoine, elle nous trompe si on envisage ces unités comme des monèmes fonctionnels, car l'examen du corpus de Kitcisakik donne à penser qu'il s'agit toujours (du moins dans ce dialecte) de modalités indiquant des temporalités d'état passager ou permanent qu'il faut comprendre en fonction de constructions participiales que l'on tentera de bien discriminer ici. Ces particules se présentent aussi comme des modalités indiquant de façon extrêmement précise des rapports d'antériorité, de simultanéité ou de postériorité entre des faits d'expérience relatés par la phrase ou par rapport au présent de l'énonciation. Si, en empruntant la terminologie d'André Martinet, on considère ces unités comme des modalités, on essaiera de dégager ici qu'elles jouent un rôle plus important qu'on le pensait en regard de l'expression de l'aspect (concept que l'on revisitera aussi en rapport aux théories de Gustave Guillaume).

Phonology of word-level accent in Arapaho

This study addresses the long-standing issue of word-level stress/accent in Arapaho (see Cowell & Moss 2008; Goddard 2016; Bogomolets 2016). I show that stress and phonological wordhood in Arapaho interact in a non-straightforward way, and make several proposals in the paper which further our understanding of the phenomenon. **Firstly**, I argue that Arapaho is an accent system with non-culminative word-level accent, i.e. multiple prominent peaks are allowed within a Phonological Word (PW), cf. (1):

- (1) **θíí.ko.néʔ**
'skull'

Secondly, I show that the accentual patterns in the language can be accounted for with the formal model proposed in Halle & Idsardi (1994), and I propose the following parameter settings which derive the word-level accent in Arapaho:

- (2) Line 0: Project:L Edge:RRR Head:L
Line 1: Edge:LLL Head:L

I argue that the parameter settings in (2) are sufficient to account for metrically unpredictable lexical accent in Arapaho, as well as for multiple accents within a PW and for default penultimate accent found in some cases. **Thirdly**, I propose that accent in the language has to be analyzed as a PW-level phenomenon, which I support by a number of arguments: (a) every element satisfying the minimal word requirement must bear at least one primary accent; (b) no other domains for accent-placement can be identified (e.g. no metrical feet); (c) phrasal accent is sensitive to the accent-placement on the PW level. **Finally**, I show that accent-clash resolution strategies suggest that three levels of prosodic structure are present in Arapaho: Phonological Word, Composite Group (CG), and Phonological Phrase (PPh), as accent-clashes in each of these levels receive a different treatment, as illustrated in (3):

(3)

Clash occurrence	Repair strategy
PW level	one of the clashing accents gets deleted
CG level	one of the clashing accents gets shifted (both clashing accents preserved)
PPh level (the juncture between two CGs)	no repair occurs (accent clashes tolerated)

To summarize, this paper provides a number of novel observations regarding the phonological nature of accent in Arapaho, and it proposes a simple parametric analysis for all the attested accent patterns in the language.

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Word count: 277 (narrative text)

Toward a Description of Numeral and Verbal Classifiers in Ojibwe
Cherry Meyer

This research is the continuation of a project to give a more complete and current description of classifiers in Ojibwe. I present new data as a result of fieldwork with speakers at the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians who come from Manitoulin Island. Classifiers in Ojibwe are morphemes bound to numerals or verbs that may co-occur with a noun and denote a particular property (of the referent) of that noun. Classifiers are generally described as being of two types, though they may or may not behave differently in a language. The first type are mensural classifiers, i.e. those used for measurements. These may be for distance or weight, as well as units for mass or count nouns.

1. Mensural Classifiers

- a. ngo-**diba'iganhs** zaabobiis
one-inch string
'one inch of string'
- b. ngo-**dibaabiishkoojigan** gegoonh
one-pound fish
'one pound of fish'
- c. ngod-**shkimut** piinik
one-bag potatoes
'one bag of potatoes'

The second type are sortal, i.e. those that denote a property (of the referent) of the noun that is inherent, such as shape, flexibility and material.

2. Sortal Classifiers

- a. bezhgwa-**minak** sabaab
one-round ball.of.yarn
'One (round) ball of yarn'
- b. bezhiigw-**aatik** koosman
one-long.narrow squash
'one (long & narrow) zucchini'

This data sheds light on various aspects of the description of classifiers in Ojibwe including providing a more complete inventory of classifiers, more accurate semantics, their pronominal use, the relation between number and count/mass nouns with classifiers, and ruling out morphemes that resemble classifiers semantically yet behave differently under certain conditions.

Le système « direct-inverse » des langues algonquiennes : un type d'alignement

Dans la tradition descriptive algonquiniste, les langues algonquiennes sont célèbres pour présenter dans leurs paradigmes verbaux un système dit « inverse » ou « direct-inverse ». Ce phénomène morphosyntaxique a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions (voir références dans Agnès 2013), tant concernant son analyse (Hockett 1992, Klaiman 1992) qu'au sujet de sa portée typologique (Givón 1994). La terminologie idiosyncratique développée autour de la notion d'« inverse » tend par ailleurs à isoler les langues algonquiennes, en restreignant les occasions de comparaison dans une perspective typologique avec d'autres langues du monde. Malgré son succès, la légitimité de l'« inverse » a souvent été remise en question au sein même du système algonquien (Zúñiga 2006) et certains linguistes travaillent à une nouvelle approche (Oxford 2014, 2017). Dans la lignée des travaux de Rose (2003) et Guillaume (2009) sur des langues amérindiennes du sud, mes recherches m'ont amenée à redéfinir ce phénomène en termes de voix et d'alignement. Cette terminologie, issue de la typologie contemporaine, permet entre autres la comparaison du système algonquien avec d'autres langues partageant ces paramètres. L'objectif de cette présentation est de proposer une analyse de l'« inverse » comme un type d'alignement, dépendant notamment de la nature des personnes impliquées dans le procès : personnes du discours (ou « proprement dites » selon la terminologie de Benveniste, aujourd'hui *Speech Act Participants*) ou troisième personne (« non-personne »). Je présenterai dans un premier temps la logique de ce phénomène dans les langues algonquiennes, avant d'introduire les notions que je propose de mettre en œuvre, appuyées par une analyse comparative avec d'autres systèmes linguistiques, notamment le géorgien. L'analyse de l'« inverse » en termes de voix et d'alignement permet selon moi d'uniformiser les notions intervenant dans la description des langues algonquiennes et partant de les rapprocher de la tradition typologique actuelle.

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This paper focuses on word-initial and word-internal obstruent plus resonant sequences. One such sequence is seen in [p̥alamu] ‘salmon’ and two are in [s̥amak̐nis] ‘warrior.’ There is an audible schwa between obstruent and resonant. Linguists have analysed the obstruent-schwa-resonant-vowel sequence in Mi’kmaq as being two syllables (Hewson 1986, Fidelholtz 2003, Olson 2012), but the orthography, developed by a Mi’kmaq linguist and non-Indigenous linguist, writes consonant clusters *plamu*, *smaknis* even though schwa is written in other environments (cf. Francis and Hewson 2016). Our paper asks the question, “Are these sequences in one or two syllables?” We recorded 11 speakers pronouncing a series of Mi’kmaq words containing various consonant sequences including obstruent plus resonant sequences. We transcribed the recordings and measured schwa duration using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2016). We also investigated syllable patterns and schwa distribution in CC and CCC sequences using words from the Mi’kmaw-English Lexicon (Mi’kmaw Kina’matnewey 2014, about 3000 words) as a springboard for discussions among the authors, since Mi’kmaq is the first language for all but the first author. We argue that these obstruent-schwa-resonant-vowel sequences are in a single syllable. The pre-resonant schwa within these onset clusters is a phonetic phenomenon of tongue movement when transitioning between the segments. It is shorter in duration than epenthetic schwa and is optional when the transition between obstruent and resonant doesn’t require tongue movement; e.g., [ʊp̥m̐etuk^h] ‘at the side of the road’ has no measurable schwa between *p* and *m*. Syllable patterns appear to allow complex onsets in Mi’kmaq, suggesting that possibility in other Algonquian languages. Also, what is considered the *k^w* phoneme may actually be analyzed as a sequence. Noting that *k^w* is not in the Proto-Algonquian inventory (Bloomfield 1946), these conclusions thus have potential implications for analysis of *k^w* and other labialized phonemes in other Algonquian languages.

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Verbal obviation in Ktunaxa

In Ktunaxa (aka Kutenai), obviative marking, realized as *-s*, occurs on verbs. Morgan (1991) and Dryer (2007) suggest that it is triggered by obviative subjects. However, verbal obviation co-occurs with proximate subjects (1a), and conversely, obviative subjects can co-occur with non-obviative verbs (1b).

- (1) a. pałkyi(-s) haqwił-s-i
 woman(-OBV) dance-OBV-IND
 'The woman danced'.
 b. Pałkyi-s haqwił-ni
 woman-OBV dance-IND
 'The woman danced'.

Verbal obviation does not co-occur with 1st and 2nd person subjects (2).

- (2) *hun/*hin haqwiłsi.
 hun/hin haqwił-s-i
 1.SBJ/2.SBJ dance-OBV-IND
 Intended: 'I/you dance.'

Focusing on the distribution of verbal obviation in subordinate clauses, we show that when subjects in both the matrix and the subordinate clause co-refer, verbal obviation is ungrammatical (2a), and obligatory when the subjects do not co-refer (2b).

- (2) a. *Małij upx-ni k pro_j haqwił-s
 Mary know-IND COMP pro dance-OBV
 Intended: 'Mary_i knows that she_j danced.'
 b. Małi upx-ni k haqwił-*(s) pałkiynintik
 Mary know-IND COMP dance-OBV women
 'Mary_i knows that the women danced.'

With a 1st or 2nd person subject in the matrix clause and a 3rd person subject in the subordinate clause, verbal obviation is optional (3).

- (3) Hu/Hin wukat-i k unaxu-(s) nukiy-(s)
 1/2.SBJ see-IND COMP fall-(OBV) rock-(OBV)
 'I/You saw that the rocks fell.'

We hypothesize that verbal obviation encodes disjointness between the event denoted by the verb and its embedding context. Disjointness is only marked for events that involve 3rd person participants, and it is mediated through the relation between third person arguments across clause boundaries. In the absence of a 3rd person argument in the immediately embedding context, verbal obviation encodes disjointness between an event with a third person participant and the conversational context, such that it is determined by pragmatic factors. Based on distributional evidence, we argue that verbal obviation instantiates the anchoring function located in INFL (Wiltschko, 2014).

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Acquiring possessive constructions in Northern East Cree

Ryan Henke

Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

This study presents the first examination of the first-language acquisition of possessive constructions in Northern East Cree (NEC). It analyzes transcripts sampled from approximately one year of video-recorded sessions involving one adult and one child, from the age of about 25 to 37 months, which were collected by the Chisasibi Child Language Acquisition Study (Brittain et al., 2007). Examining more than 5,000 individual utterances, this study finds that the adult predominantly expressed possession through morphological inflection, but the child employed a periphrastic strategy that circumvents inflecting possessed nominals.

In linguistic descriptions of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects (e.g., Dahlstrom, 1991; Junker et al., 2012; Wolfart, 1973), discussion of possession tends to focus on nominal inflection. I call this the *morphological strategy* for possession, where the possessed nominal takes a range of inflectional affixes. However, NEC also permits a little-described *periphrastic strategy* for expressing possession, where a possessor is paired with a demonstrative representing the possessee. This circumvents the morphological strategy for inflecting full nominal possesseees.

Results show that the adult produced 190 possessive constructions, of which 152 (80 percent) involved the morphological strategy. She inflected possesseees for a variety of grammatical categories, including person, number, gender, and obviation. In contrast, the child produced 110 possessives, of which only five (4.5 percent) used the morphological strategy. Instead, 102 (92.7 percent) of child possessives used the periphrastic strategy. She employed this approach despite adult input, where possessive inflection abounds.

These results have potential implications for both first- and second-language acquisition research. This includes establishing benchmarks for L1 acquisition in understudied languages; examining relationships between acquisition and caregiver speech; and devising and testing bootstrapping strategies for second-language learners of indigenous American languages, where native English speakers have been observed reducing morphology and leaning on periphrasis when learning polysynthetic languages (e.g., Holton, 2009, Morgan, 2017).

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Rediscovering Our Shared Humanity: Insights from a Foreign Medical Doctor's Mid-Twentieth-Century Encounter with Northern Algonquian People and Stories

Abstract Submitted for the 49th Algonquian Conference 2017

“Nanusk’s Stone” is *wihtiko* story recounted among the *Mooso Sibi Ililiwak* of southwestern James Bay. In the mid-1900s, Cree elders Willie Frenchman and Samuel Iserhoff shared this story with a foreign medical doctor who included it in an unpublished compilation of stories shared by his Cree and Anishinabe patients in the James Bay watershed. Like other Algonquian *wihtiko* stories, “Nanusk’s Stone” explores the lines between madness and monstrosity, humanity and inhumanity.

For many non-Algonquians, the encounter with such *wihtiko* stories, or the incidents or phenomena behind them, provoked another layer of questions about the lines between humanity and inhumanity. In other words, misperceptions of Algonquian *wihtiko* concepts and phenomena sometimes fostered, or intersected with, a dehumanization of Algonquian people themselves. This was especially true at the height of European neo-imperialism when the power of race as a concept was most deeply entangled in a Euro-centric race for imperial power.

Since the post-war period, the challenge for many Algonquians and Algonquianists has been to re-humanize – or deconstruct dehumanizing views of – Algonquian and other Indigenous peoples: to cultivate a deeper understanding and appreciation of their human experience and their insights into human experience. Amidst increasing decolonization efforts, however, a new challenge has arisen, that of maintaining sight of the humanity of those deemed – accurately or not – to be proponents of racial paradigms and imperial projects.

The as yet unknown medical doctor who recorded “Nanask’s Stone” and other stories prefaced his as yet unpublished collection with another story: his own conversion from detached expectations of Algonquians’ cranial measurements and mental capacities to a close relationships and a deeper appreciation of the humanity he shared with them. An examination of his own account of this conversion, the relationships he formed and the stories he collected speaks to fundamental questions about our shared humanity.

Dr. Cecil Chabot
Director, Newman Centre of McGill
Lecturer, First Peoples Studies, Concordia University
cecil.chabot@mcgill.ca
Cell: 613-894-6283

Recursion in Algonquian Nominals

Introduction Majority of clauses in Algonquian languages consist of only a verb form, with participants marked on the verb via agreement, clitics, or incorporation, but not with overt nominals. The ‘marked’ status of the overt nominal expressions in polysynthetic Algonquian languages has led some to propose that nominals are not organized recursively (Kathol & Rhodes 2000 for *Ojibwe*). On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that nominals should be analyzed as hierarchical structures consistent with the principles of X-bar syntax in *Maliseet Passamaquoddy* (LeSourd 2004). This paper proposes that (1) in another Algonquian language, *Arapaho*, there is recursion within nominals, and (2) contra Kathol & Rhodes 2000, *Ojibwe* shows evidence for recursion in nominals as well. In addition, we suggest that the restriction on word order among different nominal elements in Algonquian can be captured in a *Cyclic Linearization* model (Fox and Pesetsky 2005, Simpson and Park 2016 for Korean genitives, Syed 2017 for Bangla nominals).

Data We claim that nominals in *Arapaho* have recursive structure, which is evident from examples like (1) where the possessor DP (bolded) occurs as a component of a larger DP:

- (1) [[**he-isonoon-in** **b<e>etee-t**]_{DP} hit-ooθitoo]_{DP}
 2S-father-12POSS <IC>be.holy-3S 3S-story
 ‘Our holy father’s story’

It can be shown that *recursion* exists in *Ojibwe* nominals (contra Kathol & Rhodes 2000) from examples like (2), where two conjoined DPs can be embedded under the possessor DP: (DP (DP and DP)):

- (2) mewnzha [[aw n-mishoomis]_{DP} gaa-zhiwebzinid [niw w-dedeman miinwaa niw w-doodooman]]_{DP}
 long.ago that 1S-grandfather what.happened that 3S-father and that 3S-mother
 ‘What happened to my grandfather’s father and mother, long ago.’ (Valentine 2001, 530)

Fixed order among nominal elements There is a strict linear ordering among the elements of a nominal system in Algonquian, e.g *Dem-Mod-Poss-N* in *Arapaho*. Interestingly, this order must be preserved even in discontinuous constituents (LeSourd 2004, Jonhson & Rosen 2011). We suggest that an account in terms of *Cyclic Linearization* readily explains this, where the order of the moved element that creates the discontinuous DP is checked within an already recorded ordering of the elements before movement.

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Word count 262 (narrative text)

The Potawatomi particle *na*: How and where to use it

This paper provides the first investigation of the particle *na* in Potawatomi using archival material (Hockett, 1940, 1937; Lockwood, to appear). I show that *na* partially follows the function of its Ojibwe cognate *naa* as a semantically dependent proposition strengthener (Fairbanks, 2016), and that *na* is restricted to two structural positions.

Fairbanks states “*naa* strengthens or magnifies the overall propositional content of a speaker’s utterance” 2016, 137. However, I do not adopt Fairbanks’s analysis wholesale. Instead, I reexamine the host for *na* given its contexts of use, and bring in new facts about the distribution of *na*. I find that *na* strengthens a constituent of the overall proposition, rather than the entire proposition.

Fairbanks argues that Ojibwe *naa* is a propositional strengthener, a hedge, an increaser of one’s sense of emotion, an indicator of surprise or unexpectedness, a temporal strengthener, and a strengthener of conditionals to imperatives. Most, if not all, of these contexts of use also appear in Potawatomi. Yet, Fairbanks’s analysis contradicts itself by dividing *naa* into contexts of use while claiming that it applies generally at the utterance level. I claim that these six contexts of use instead show that *na* is not targeting the whole proposition, but only part of it. Furthermore, I find that multiple instances of *na* in a single sentence challenge Fairbanks’s analysis because only one *na* is needed to strengthen the whole proposition.

I argue that *na* is locally applied, and these loci follow the syntactic distribution of *na*. The particle *na* surfaces (immediately) after the verb, or it surfaces somewhere before the verb and after another particle or noun. Thus, *na* strengthens the immediately preceding word, and these six contexts of use fall into one of two loci, which can both be present in the case of multiple instances of *na*.

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Eastern Algonquians and the Basque Country in the 21st century

Peter Bakker

Aarhus University, Denmark

In the 16th and early 17th centuries, Basque whalers, traders and codfishers were in contact with indigenous groups of the Northeast coast (Labrador, Québec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia), mostly with Inuit, Innu and Mi'kmaq. These relationships have been amply documented, especially in the past 40 years or so, in archaeological findings in (especially) Labrador and Québec, in reports of oral literature, historical documentation and European notarial archives. There was also some linguistic impact, in the form of half a dozen Basque loans into Mi'kmaq and the presence of dozens of Basque toponyms along the East Coast, and a Basque-Algonquian pidgin around 1600.

In the past ten years, the friendly contacts between the Basques and Algonquians (and possibly also the Hurons) have become part of the public consciousness of the Basques. In my presentation I will discuss a few major events, including a Basque-Mik'maq sailing tour from Québec City to Red Bay, Labrador, in 2006 in a home-made Basque shallop named "Beothuk", four conferences devoted to contacts across the Atlantic and locally famous musical clowns who sing songs like "we are Mi'kmaq" in Basque, and an exhibition at the Alboala shipyard with ample attention for Basque-Mi'kmaq contacts. Several Innu and Mik'maq have been invited for speaking tours in the Basque Country, and relationships have been re-established after 400 years. These, starting with the 'Apaizac obeto' expedition (a historical quote in Basque from the mouth of an Innu) are remarkable events that have not received much attention in the New World yet.

The structure of VOS/VSO alternations in Ojibwe

As most recently noted by Dahlstrom (2017), in Ojibwe, it is difficult to unequivocally identify a single “basic” word order. However, a growing consensus has contended that the appearance of “non-configurational” word order in Ojibwe is in fact a function of systematic syntactic and information structural constraints (Tomlin and Rhodes, 1992; Sullivan, 2016; Dahlstrom, 2017). While these constraints have been described in some detail, minimal work has been done on the structures that underlie this variation, particularly with respect to differences between verbs with direct/inverse marking. In this paper, I advance a structural blueprint for these cases.

There is agreement that VOS and VSO orders, shown in (1), dominate with discourse neutral transitive animate direct and inverse verbs respectively.

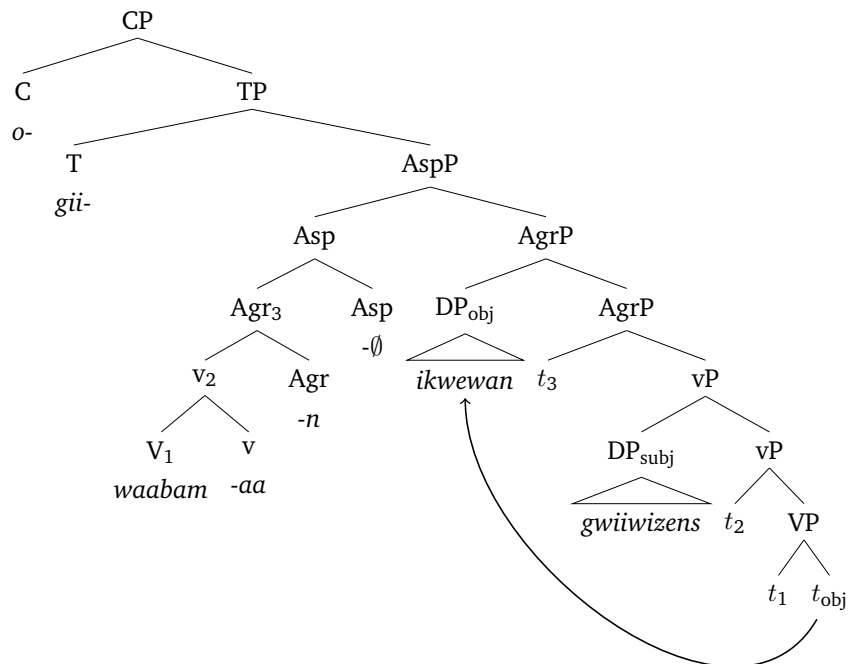
- (1) a. o-gii-waabam-aa-n ikwe-wan gwiiwizens
3-PAST-see-DIR-OBV woman-OBV boy
‘the boy (prox) saw the woman (obv)’
b. o-gii-waabam-igoo-n gwiiwizens-an ikwe
3-PAST-see-INV-OBV boy-OBV woman
‘the boy (obv) saw the woman (prox)’

The surface-level generalization of the alternation is that the obviative argument is preferentially right-adjacent to the verb. The proposed structural analysis that captures this fact is given in (2) and (3). The novel portion of the analysis is the claim that the difference between direct and inverse marked verbs is whether the object or subject moves to the Agreement Phrase (AgrP). In both cases, the obviative marked argument moves to this position, leading to obviative agreement morpheme *-n* to be marked on the verb, and deriving the VOS or VSO word order.

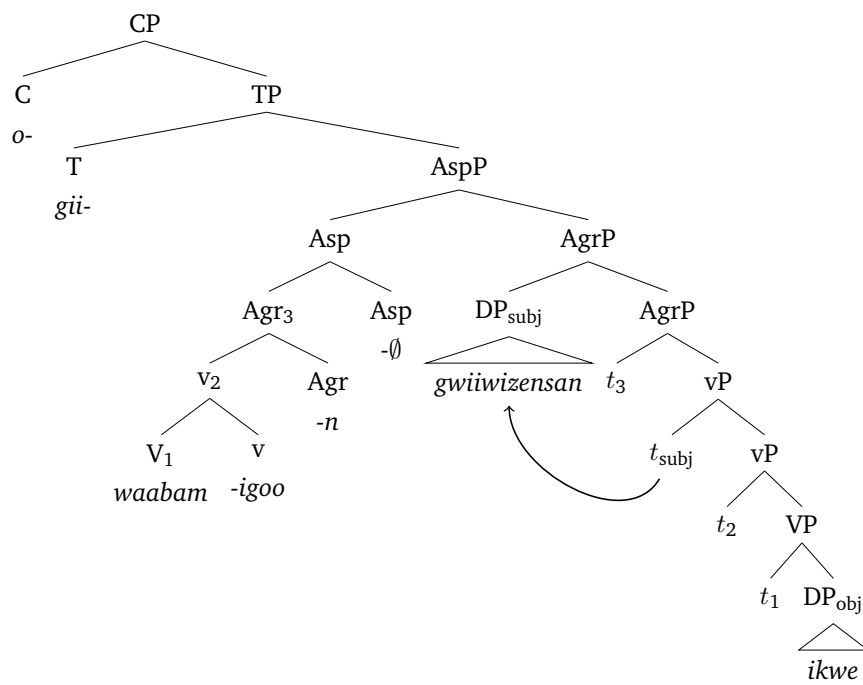
The remainder of the analysis follows existing claims. Head Movement rolls up the verb to the Aspectual Phrase (AspP), collecting appropriate suffixal morphology and leaving the person marker and tense as prefixes (Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2008; Newell and Piggott, 2014). Direct and inverse marking, realized as morphology on *v*, is the consequence of default or impoverished agreement (Thivierge, 2017; Oxford, 2017).

Word Count: 300, including examples

(2) *Direct VOS via Object Shift*



(3) *Inverse VSO via in situ object*



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Exploratory study on verbal morphological frequency in Northwestern Ojibwe

Daniel Paul Stoltzfus, Université du Québec à Chicoutimi

The verbal construct is of central importance to the Ojibwe language. Yet, very little research has been previously done in regards to the frequency of different verbal constructs and of different verbal morphological elements, specifically of the frequency of preverbal modifiers, initials, medials and finals (excluding personal prefixes, agreement markers, complementizers and tense markers) in Ojibwe. The objectives of this exploratory study were to try to identify a) the most common verbal constructs in Northwestern Ojibwe by manually identifying and then analyzing all the verbs in two literary works in Ojibwe; b) to then determine the most common verbal morphemes (preverbal modifiers, initials, medials and finals) within these constructs; c) to compare the frequency of the conjunctive mode with the independent mode; c) to compare our results with the order that verbal constructs, verbal morphological units and the independent and conjunctive orders are presented in several teaching manuals of Ojibwe. Finally, a comparison was also made to verbal frequency in dialogues in Ningewance (2004a) and Ningewance (2004b) in order to explore possible frequency differences in regards to verbs and verbal morphology between spoken and written forms of Ojibwe.

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A Civil War Soldier's Letter

Richard A. Rhodes

University of California, Berkeley

In a letter dated December 21, 1863, Sgt. Charles Allen, of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters, Company K, stationed at Camp Douglas in Chicago, recounts an incident in which he was subpoenaed to appear in court in Detroit. There are a number of points of interest about this letter and the incident which it recounts. First, the letter is in Odawa. Sgt. Allen wrote it to his family in Omena, Michigan. Second, the case for which he was subpoenaed had to do with a bartender serving alcohol to Indians, including Sgt. Allen, at the time an illegal act with serious consequences. Third, we can find the case described in the letter in a contemporary newspaper account in the Detroit Free Press (Dec. 18, 1863) and in district court documents.

Sgt. Allen died of wounds received at the Battle of the Wilderness May 6, 1864. This letter (along with two others) survived only because they were part of his mother's application to the War Department for survivor benefits.

We will present a facsimile of the letter and devote much of the paper to the translation and a linguistic and philological analysis of the text. For example, the spelling system Sgt. Allen used had spellings based on English orthographic conventions. This evidences the fact that he was Protestant educated. (19th century Catholic spelling of Odawa and Ojibwe followed French orthographic conventions.) This is consistent with the history of the place he came from. There is at least one clear calque in the text, the word *ji-bapagwadaajimoonagog* '(that) I have a really wild story for you all', suggesting the Sgt. Allen's English was very good, and so on.

We chose to present the December 21 letter rather than either of the other two because its contents dovetails with contemporary records.

When direct and inverse are asymmetrical

Direct and inverse verb forms are typically morphologically symmetrical. For example, in the Plains Cree TA independent forms in (1) (Wolfart 1973), the corresponding direct and inverse inflections differ only in the choice of theme sign (-*a*: DIR, -*ikw* INV).

- (1) DIRECT (SAP→3) INVERSE (3→SAP)
- | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| 1pl→3sg | ni-...- a :-na:n | 3sg→1pl | ni-...- ikw -na:n |
| 1pl→3pl | ni-...- a :-na:n-ak | 3pl→1pl | ni-...- ikw -na:n-ak |

While such symmetry is often found, there are many exceptions. For example, in the Meskwaki dubitative forms in (2) (Goddard 1994), the inverse forms mark the number of the third-person argument (3sg-Ø, 3pl -*iki*) while the direct form does not; in addition, the direct and inverse forms show different allomorphs of the 1pl central suffix (-*pena*: versus -*ena*:).

- (2) DIRECT (SAP→3) INVERSE (3→SAP)
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------|---|
| 1pl→3 | ne-V-a:- pena :-toke | 3sg→1pl | ne-V-ekw- ena :-toke |
| | | 3pl→1pl | ne-V-ekw- ena :-toke:h- iki |

Morphological asymmetries between direct and inverse inflections are attested in independent mixed forms in Delaware (Goddard 1969), Massachusetts (Goddard & Bragdon 1988), Meskwaki (Goddard 1994), Kickapoo (Voorhis 1974), Potawatomi (Hockett 1966), Miami-Illinois (Costa 2003), and Shawnee (Andrews 1994), as well as in independent non-local forms in Blackfoot (Frantz 2009) and conjunct non-local forms in Southern East Cree (Junker & MacKenzie 2011–2014). This presentation surveys these instances of asymmetry and shows that, while their details vary, there is nevertheless a consistent pattern: when direct and inverse forms are morphologically asymmetrical, it is usually the case that the direct form explicitly indexes *only the higher-ranked argument* while the corresponding inverse form explicitly indexes *both the higher-ranked and lower-ranked arguments*, as in the Meskwaki examples in (2) above. This asymmetry suggests that the lower-ranked argument in an inverse form (the actor) is more accessible to agreement than the lower-ranked argument in a direct form (the goal)—a conclusion that contributes to our understanding of the inverse construction.

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Morphosyntax in Algonquian and ASL: Insights from Comparison

Understanding morphosyntax in Algonquian languages and American Sign Language (ASL) has long been hindered by quite limiting comparisons to English. Following fruitful comparisons with Navajo (Kegl 2013, Fernald 2016), we draw data from Penobscot, Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, Mi'kmaw, and ASL, to observe the following parallels:

(a) Radical head-marking of argument structure

In these languages, transitivity and its subtypes are generally always morphologically visible. Hence TA/TI Finals vs. largely applicative-derived ditransitive TAOs vs. semantically constrained bare AIOs; obligatory overt marking of causative-inchoative alternations; primary- vs. secondary-object verbal indexing of Agent-Goal-Theme argument structure; and extensive verbal indexing of non-core arguments (via Relative Roots and incorporated adpositions, with restricted roles for actual adpositions and locatives: hence ASL's benefactive FOR and near-equivalent Passamaquoddy-Maliseet 'ciw, Mi'kmaw *wjit* being the only major core prepositions in their respective systems).

(b) Inverse-and-impersonal voice-morphology, tied to argument-prominence marking

ASL only allows one "role prominent" element per verbal clause—like Algonquian proximates—with transitive-verb morphology alternating to reflect which role is prominent, without suppressing either argument. No English-like passive occurs: only this inverse, and a pure impersonal disallowing any overt Agent phrase.

We briefly examine further Algonquian-ASL parallels underscoring the verb-centric, polysynthetic character of ASL: nominal lexicons built heavily from (often nonce-) nominalized verbal stems; large sets of semantically-rich bound-lexemes (e.g. -HOUSE, etc.) derived often by phonological reduction from standalone equivalents; and a verbal shape-classifier system with bound but distinctly analyzable classifier roots (vs. Athabaskan, with classifier roots monomorphemicized with handling/motion/stance predicates).

Algonquian and ASL morphosyntaxes are obscured when English remains their primary point of comparison. Our preliminary observations suggest that collaboration between Algonquian and ASL researchers offers rich potential for deepening our understandings of these linguistic systems.

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Modal Motivations: the case of Plains Cree Conjunct types

Atticus G. Harrigan (Student) & Antti Arppe (Non-Student)

galvin@ualberta.ca

arppe@ualberta.ca

Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta

4-23 Assiniboia Hall, University of Alberta

Edmonton, Alberta

T6G 2E7

Plains Cree has gained a considerable amount of attention from linguists over the last century. Bloomfield (1930) provided what is likely the first comprehensive linguistic description of the language in the early 20th century. Since then, linguists such as Ellis (1971), Wolfart (1973), Russell (2008), Wolvengrey (2011), Cook (2014), and Dahlstrom (2014) have given descriptions of the morphology, syntax, phonology, and phonetics of the language. While each of these works are rigorous and invaluable, they have all approached the language from a qualitative or theoretical point of view. This paper provides one of the first quantitative approaches to describing the morphology of Plains Cree since Wolfart and Pardo (1973), presenting a morphological analysis of the 93,000 word Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus. Focusing on the subtypes of the Conjunct order, this paper investigates the influence of particular morphological features on the occurrence of particular Conjunct subtypes. Beginning with a univariate analysis, we determine significant associations between morphological features and specific Conjunct subtypes. Based on the significant associations, a mixed-effects regression was performed which evaluated the extent to which morphological features can be used to predict which Conjunct subtype a lemma is likely to occur in. Results of this analysis are presented, generally showing that certain person inflection and preverbal marking (especially preverbs encoding modality) help predict the likelihood of a lemma occurring in a particular Conjunct subtype. The extent to which morphological features are significant is presented, followed by an assessment of our mixed-effect models, especially as compared to the a random-effect only model, accounting only for lemma preferences for Conjunct subtype.

Presentation Requirements: Projector.

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