

Person agreement prefixes across Algonquian: evidence for three separate paradigms

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This paper presents evidence suggesting that synchronically three distinct sets of person agreement prefixes (PAPRF) are found across Algonquian, illustrated in Table 1 for Arapaho: (i) PAPRF of alienable possession (AP), (ii) PAPRF of inalienable possession (IAP), and (iii) PAPRF denoting agreement on verbs (V).

Table 1. PAPRF in Arapaho

<i>Person</i>	<i>Inalienable</i>	<i>Alienable</i>	<i>V Agreement</i>
I	ne*-	net-	ne-
II	e*-	et-	e-
III	i*-	it-	∅-

*subject to extensive allomorphy

Evidence:

I. AP and IAP are segmentally different.

AP, compared to IAP, exhibit two properties across Algonquian: (i) they are regular, while IAP are subject to allomorphy and phonological idiosyncrasies, and (ii) they have an underlying consonant, /t/ or /d/ depending on the language. The following suggests that /t~/d/ in PAPRF is underlying rather than epenthetic (contra Cowell & Moss 2011; Goddard 2007, 2015; Newell & Piggott 2014, Oxford 2014): (i). The consonant quality (/t~/d/) is constant across languages; (ii). Epenthesis of /t~/d/ is unattested in Algonquian outside of the person prefixes; (iii). /t~/d/ in AP-PAPRF surfaces when there is no vowel hiatus in Arapaho, Passamaquoddy, Blackfoot. I analyze /t~/d/ as underlying and extra-syllabic.

II. V-PAPRF are not equivalent to either AP or IAP.

Differences between the possessives and V-PAPRF vary per language, but can include: (i) V-PAPRF lacks an overt prefix (Arapaho, Cree dialects, Wampanoag) or has a different morpheme in the 3rd person (Cheyenne); (ii) Differences in lexical specification for tone or stress (Cheyenne); (iii) V-PAPRF might not have underlying /t~/d/ unlike the AP (Arapaho); and (iv) V-PAPRF do not show morpho-phonological idiosyncrasies unlike the IAP (all surveyed languages).

Synchronic evidence is thus in favor of reconstructing three sets of markers (Proulx 1989) rather than one set (Goddard 2007, 2015; Oxford 2014; i.a.). This has implications for various issues to be explored in the talk: whether person agreement is clitic-like or affixal, vowel hiatus and its relation to morpho-syntactic domains, and reconstruction of verbal and nominal inflection.

References. Cowell, Andrew & Moss Sr, Alonzo. (2011). *The Arapaho language*. University Press of Colorado; Goddard, Ives. (2007). Reconstruction and history of the independent indicative. In H. C. Wolfart (ed.), *Papers of the 38th Algonquian conference*, 207–271. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba; Goddard, Ives. (2015). Arapaho historical morphology. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 345-411; Newell, Heather & Glynne Piggott. (2014). Interactions at the syntax-phonology interface: Evidence from Ojibwe. *Lingua* 150. 332–362; Oxford, William Robert. (2014). *Microparameters of agreement: A diachronic perspective on Algonquian verb inflection*. University of Toronto dissertation; Proulx, Paul. (1989). A sketch of Blackfoot historical phonology. *International journal of American linguistics*, 55(1), 43-82.