

Variation in TA theme signs

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Sources

PA Bloomfield 1946; Goddard 1967, 1979a, 2000, 2007;
Proulx 1990; Pentland 1999

Arapaho Cowell & Moss 2008

Blackfoot Frantz 1991, 2009

Cheyenne Goddard 2000

Cree Wolfart 1973 (Plains Cree); Ellis 1971 (Moose Cree)

Delaware Goddard 1979b

Kickapoo Voorhis 1967

Maliseet-Passamaquoddy Sherwood 1983

Massachusetts Goddard & Bragdon 1988

Menominee Bloomfield 1962

Meskwaki Goddard 1994

Mi'gmaq Proulx 1978

Mi'gmaq (Listuguj) Manyakina 2012; Quinn 2012;

Coon & Bale 2013; Hamilton 2013; Conor Quinn, p.c.

Miami-Illinois Costa 2003

Ojibwe Bloomfield 1958; Valentine 1994, 2001

Penobscot Voorhis 1979; Quinn 2006

Shawnee Andrews 1994

Allomorphy

In the PA independent order, the direct theme sign **-a·* was unlauted to **-e·* before the absolute formative **-w* (i.e. in absolute forms whose sole indexed argument is 3rd person) (Goddard 2007).

Some allomorphy is not indicated in the tables. In particular, the inverse theme sign sometimes has an allomorph that reflects **-/eko/* rather than **-/ekw/*. The **-/eko/* allomorph may have arisen due to analogy with forms in which underlying **-/ekw+e/* regularly gives surface *-eko*, e.g. conjunct 3'-3s **-/ekw+et/* → *-ekot* (Wolfart 1973:57).

TA Independent

	PA	Shawnee	Miami-Illinois	Meskwaki, Kickapoo	Menominee	Cree	Ojibwe (Bloomfield)	Ojibwe (Valentine)	Delaware	Massachusetts	Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	Penobscot	Cheyenne	Arapaho	Blackfoot (independent)	Blackfoot (conjunctive)
3-3'	<i>-a·~e·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-e·</i>	<i>-e·</i>	<i>-æ·</i>	<i>-e·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·~e·</i>	<i>-ǎ·~a·</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-α</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-e·</i>	<i>-i·</i>	<i>-a·</i>
3'-3	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-ae</i>	<i>-éi</i>	<i>-ok</i>	<i>-yi</i>
1-3	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-ǎ·</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-α</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>
2-3	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-ǎ·</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-α</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o·</i>	<i>-a·</i>	<i>-a·</i>
3-1	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-ae</i>	<i>-éi</i>	<i>-ok</i>	<i>-yi</i>
3-2	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-ae</i>	<i>-éi</i>	<i>-ok</i>	<i>-yi</i>
2-1	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i·</i>	<i>-ə~i·</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-e</i>	1s <i>-í</i> 1p <i>-éi?e·</i>	<i>-ok</i>	<i>-ok</i>
1-2	<i>-eθ</i>	<i>-el</i>	<i>-el</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>-it</i>	<i>-in</i>	1s <i>-in</i> 1p <i>-igo·</i>	<i>-əl</i>	<i>-ən~əš</i>	<i>-əl</i>	<i>-əl</i>	<i>-at</i>	1s <i>-éθ</i> 1p <i>-e·</i>	<i>-o·</i>	<i>-o·</i>

Arapaho forms are from the NON-AFFIRMATIVE paradigm. Inverse *-éi* has the word-final alternant (?) *-e?*. **Blackfoot** independent 3-3' *-i·* reflects the **-e·* alternant of the PA direct theme sign (PA medial **e·* > Blackfoot *i·* [Berman 2006:266]). A *y* is added (giving *-yi·*) after a stem ending in a vowel other than *a* (Frantz 2009:54).

TA Independent inanimate actor forms

	PA	Shawnee	Meskwaki, Kickapoo	Menominee	Cree	Ojibwe	Delaware	Massachusetts	Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	Penobscot	Cheyenne
0-1	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-ae</i>
0-2	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-ae</i>
0-3	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ikw</i>	<i>-igw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	<i>-kw</i>	<i>-əkw</i>	
0-3'			<i>-ekw</i>	<i>-ekw</i>		<i>-igw</i>					<i>-ae</i>

Forms are sparsely attested for **Miami-Illinois** (Costa 2003:313) and **Arapaho** (Cowell & Moss 2008:127). **Blackfoot** disallows inanimate actor forms (Bliss, Ritter & Wiltschko 2014)

TA Conjunct

	PA	Miami-Illinois	Shawnee	Meskwaki, Kickapoo	Menominee	Moose Cree	Ojibwe (Bloomfield)	Ojibwe (Manitoulin)	Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	Penobscot	Mi'gmaq (Proulx)	Plains Cree	Ojibwe (Parry Island)	Mi'gmaq (Listuguj)	Cheyenne	Delaware	Arapaho	Massachusetts	Ojibwe (optional at Parry Island)	Blackfoot (subjunctive)
3-3'	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a·	-a	-α	-a	-a·	-a·	-a	-o	-a·	-o·	-ã·	-a·	-a·
3'-3	-ekw	-ekw	-ekw	-ekw	-ekw	-ikw	-ikw	-igw	-kw~Ø	-əkw	-kw~Ø	-ikw	-igw	-gw~ə~Ø	-ae	-əkw	-éi	-əkw	-igw	-otsi
1-3	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	1s -Ø 1p -e·	-ã~Ø	-a~Ø	-a·
2-3	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-a~Ø	-Ø	-a~Ø	2s -Ø 2p -o·	-ã~Ø	-a~Ø	-a·
3-1	-i	-i	-i	-i	-e	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	1s -i 1p -ikw	1s -i 1p -igw	1s -i 1p -ugsi	1s -aʔé 1p -ae	1s -i· 1p -əkw	3p-1s -í 3s-1s -éi 3-1p -eiʔe·	-əkw	-igw	-otsi
3-2	-eθ	-el~eh	-el~eh	-en~eh	-en~eh	-it~is	-in	-in~ih	-əl~s	-əs	-ul~əs	2s -is 2p -ikw	2s -ih 2p -igw	2s -əs 2p -ugsi	2s -at 2p -ae	-əkw	-éi	-əkw	-igw	-otsi
2-1	-i	-i	-i	-i	-e	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-e	-ə	1s -í 1p -éiʔe·	-i·	-i	-ok
1-2	-eθ	-el	-el	-en	-en	-it	-in	1s -in 1p -igo·	-əl	-əl	-ul	-it	1s -in 1p -igo·	-ul	-at	-əl	1s -éθ 1p -e·	-ən	1s -in 1p -igo·	-Ø

PA and daughters: The direct theme sign has the alternant -Ø when a vowel-initial suffix follows (cf. Goddard 1979b:87). The *-a· in such forms is restored when a following consonant-initial or semivowel-initial suffix is added (e.g. negative *-w). Plains Cree has extended *-a· to some contexts where PA had -Ø (Dahlstrom 1989).

PA: 2nd-person object theme sign *-eθ occurred both prevocally (1s-2s *-eθ-a-n) and preconsonantly (3s-2s *-eθ-k). The daughter languages have developed distinct allomorphs in these two positions due to sound changes that affect consonant clusters differently from single consonants (e.g. Shawnee *θ > l, but *θk > hk).

Ojibwe: Manitoulin, Parry Island, and optional Parry Island forms are from Valentine 2001:295.

Massachusetts: For 3-1s there is an optional alternate form with -i·. There is one attestation of a 3-2p preterit form with -ən (Goddard and Bragdon 1988: 555-6).

Listuguj Mi'gmaq: Quinn (2012) proposes that the -ugsi theme sign reflects inverse *-ekw + reflexive *-esi.

Blackfoot: The SUBJUNCTIVE paradigm (Frantz 2009) seems to at least partially reflect the PA conjunct while the INDEPENDENT and CONJUNCTIVE paradigms both reflect the PA independent (David Pentland, p.c.).

Delaware: In earlier Unami, 0-1s is attested with -i·, but modern dialects have -əkw (Goddard 1979b:134-5).

TA Conjunct inanimate actor forms

	PA	Kickapoo	Maliseet-Passamaquoddy	Mi'gmaq (Proulx)	Cheyenne	Delaware	Massachusetts	Meskwaki, Menominee	Cree	Ojibwe
0-1	-i	-i	-i	-i	1s -aʔé 1p -ae	1s -i· > -əkw 1p -əkw	-əkw	-ekw	-ikw	-igw
0-2	-eθ	-en~eh	-əl~s	-ul~əs	2s -aʔe 2p -ae	-əkw	-əkw	-ekw	-ikw	-igw
0-3	-ekw	-ekw	-kw~Ø	-kw~Ø	-ae	-əkw	-əkw	-ekw	-ikw	-igw
0-3'								-ekw		-igw