

Advances in the study of Siouan languages and linguistics

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Edited by

Catherine Rudin & Bryan J. Gordon

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To Bob, whose knowledge was matched only by his
generosity.

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Preface

This volume presents a group of papers representing a range of current work on Siouan¹ languages, in memory of our colleague Robert L. Rankin, a towering figure in Siouan linguistics throughout his long career, who passed away in February of 2014.

Beyond honoring a beloved colleague, our aim in this volume is to bring a variety of issues in Siouan linguistics to the attention of the linguistic community. The Siouan language family is a large and important one, with branches geographically distributed over a broad swath of the North American plains and parts of the southeastern United States. This puts it in contact historically with several other families of languages: Algonquian, Iroquoian, Caddoan, Uto-Aztec, and Muskogean. Siouan languages are, or were historically, spoken by the members of at least 25 ethnic/political groups. One Siouan language, Lakota, is among the handful of indigenous North American languages with younger speakers today. Siouan languages have occasionally risen to prominence in general linguistics, for instance in the study of reduplication (Shaw 1980); and Omaha and Crow (Apsaalooke) have lent their names to two of the basic categories of kinship systems in anthropology. Nonetheless, the Siouan family has been underrepresented in the descriptive and typological literature, and most of the languages in the family are severely understudied. The majority of work on Siouan languages is unpublished, existing only in the form of conference papers or manuscripts.² This volume is a step toward making information on Siouan languages more broadly available and encouraging deeper investigation of the myriad issues they raise.

From the perspective of linguistic typology, Siouan languages have many notable features. Many of these features stand to challenge typological generalizations. Here we briefly sketch a few of the most characteristic features of the Siouan family.

¹ “Siouan” is not to be confused with “Sioux”, a controversial term referring to Lakota and Dakota people, rarely to Nakota/Nakoda people too, but never correctly to people of other traditionally Siouan-language-speaking communities.

² Many of these unpublished works are collected in the electronic Siouan Archive, maintained by John Boyle at the University of California at Riverside.

All Siouan languages possess a rich variety of applicative affixes, confirming Polinsky's (2013) observation that applicatives are common in North America and adding another language family to her list of applicative-rich families in the area. **Helmbrecht2006** divides the applicatives into three templatic slots: locative applicatives, benefactive applicatives, and applicative markers; all of the Siouan languages sampled by Helmbrecht possess at least two applicative morphemes.

All Siouan languages are strongly head-final, and the consensus among syntacticians working with Siouan languages is that all but the supraclausal projections (and even some of these) are underlyingly head-final in Siouan languages, contra Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry theory.

All Siouan languages have head-internal relative clauses. A series of strong claims regarding the typological implications of head-internal relative clauses (cf. Cole 1987; Murasugi 2000), including purported distinctions between "Japanese-type" and "Lakota-type" constructions (cf. Watanabe 2004; Williamson 1987; Bonneau 1992), propelled Lakota into the debates of theoretical syntax. It has been pointed out that head-internal relative clauses of the kind found in Lakota and other Siouan languages lack the island restrictions found in other languages. On the other hand, **Murasugi2000** argues that languages with head-internal relative clauses must also have head-external relative clauses, which is not true in Siouan languages.

All Siouan languages have verbal affixes which index subject possession of or relationship with the object. They vary with respect to contexts of obligatoriness of these affixes.

Many Siouan languages have grammaticalized systems of speaker-gender marking, with gender-specific morphology for speech-act markers, address terms, and kinship lexemes.³ Such usage varies depending on situational factors, however, especially in the case of speech-act markers; see for instance Trechter (1995).

Many Siouan languages have a modal CCV morpheme shape. This does not necessarily imply a preference for CCV phonetic realizations, but may indicate such a preference in the distant past. Another unusual prosodic feature is the preference for second-syllable stress in most Siouan languages. Hoocąk may be the only attested language with default third-syllable stress in the world.

Most Siouan languages have ejective stops. The Dhegiha branch is notable for a four-way glottal-state distinction in its stop series (voiced/lenis, tense/pre-aspirated, ejective and aspirated). Outside of the Dhegiha branch are many Siouan languages which have the unusual feature of a phonemic voicing distinction in

³ In the case of kinship terms, lexical choice is driven by the gender of the "ego" deictic center, which coincides with speaker gender when there is 1st-person inflection.

fricatives but not in stops.

Verbs play some typologically unusual, prominent roles in Siouan languages. Diachronically, many grammatical items which rarely grammaticalize from verbs in other languages tend to derive from verbs in Siouan languages. For instance, Rankin (1977) documents the derivation of classifiers and articles from verbs. In some Siouan languages, the source verbs and target grammatical items continue to exist in parallel with substantial semantic overlap. The Omaha positional article *tʰoⁿ* ‘obviative animate specific standing’, for instance, is homophonous with the root of *átʰoⁿ* ‘stand on’.

This diachronic tendency is mirrored by synchronic flexibility. Siouan languages tend to verb freely — to use nearly any open-class stem as a verb. Thus Lakota *wimačhaša* ‘I am a man’ is derived from the nominal stem *wičhaša* ‘man/person’ with the 1st-person stative pronominal *ma-*.

Dhegiha articles (which have many features in common with positional classifiers in e.g. Mayan languages; see Gordon, 2009) are homophonous with postverbal and postclausal functional items like subordinating conjunctions and aspect and evidentiality markers. They have considerable semantic overlap with them too, a fact which comprises another area of blurriness between nominal and verbal syntax: In Ponca, *niášhiⁿga-ama* may mean ‘the [proximate animate plural specific] people’, but also may mean either ‘they are people’ or ‘I am told s/he was a person’. Plurality is a part of the semantics of *-ama* in both the nominal and the first clausal interpretation. To make matters more interesting, these kinds of ambiguity are not always easily resolved by context alone, and may suggest a “simultaneity” (cf. Woolard 1998) at work as part of speakers’ competence.

This flexibility, that is, the ability of one and the same root to function in both nominal and verbal contexts, has led to some discussion on the status and quality of the noun/verb distinction in Siouan languages (see e.g. Helmbrecht, 2002, and Ingham, 2001).

Nominal arguments in general are not required in Siouan languages, thematic relations being signaled by pronominal or agreement markers within the verb — including zero markers. This makes Siouan languages relevant to debates about the existence of “pronominal argument” languages (Jelinek 1984) and to the related issues of whether there are languages with truly nonconfigurational or flat structure. The preponderance of evidence in Siouan is for the existence of hierarchical structure, specifically including a VP (for instance, West, 1998; Johnson, this volume; Johnson et al, this volume; and Rosen, this volume).

Although Siouan languages have many remarkable features in common, they vary on many others. Some Siouan languages have noun incorporation, while

others do not. Some Siouan languages have stress-accent systems, and others have pitch-accent systems. Dhegiha languages are notable in having as many as eleven definite/specific articles indexing features such as animacy, proximity/obviation (or case), posture/position, number, visibility, motion and dispersion; meanwhile other Siouan languages have no fully grammaticalized articles at all.

Some Siouan languages reflect longtime cultural presence on the Plains, while others are located as far east as the Atlantic Coast, and many more show cultural aspects of both regions. Dhegiha-speaking peoples (Quapaw, Osage, Kaw, Omaha and Ponca, and likely Michigamea as well (Kasak (this volume), Koontz 1995) likely lived at the metropolis at Cahokia, perhaps at a time before any of the descendant groups had separated, and have many Eastern Woodlands-style features of traditional governance and religion, in sharp contrast with the more Plains-typical cultural features of close Lakota and Dakota neighbors and relatives.

One seemingly minor but in fact quite significant issue in Siouan linguistics is the matter of language names and their spelling. Often this involves a self-designation in competition with a name imposed by outsiders. Even when an autonym gains currency among linguists there is sometimes no agreed spelling; so for instance the Otoe self-designation is written Jiwere or Chiwere. For the most part in this volume the choice of language designations has been left to the individual chapter authors. However, after a volume reviewer pointed out that the language of the Ho-Chunk or Winnebago people was spelled no less than ten different ways in various chapters, we encouraged authors to choose one of the two spellings used on the tribe's web site: Ho-Chunk or Hoocąk. Most have voluntarily complied. In a related move, we decided to retranscribe all Lakota data throughout the volume using the now-standard orthography of the *New Lakota Dictionary* (Ullrich et al, 2008).

The volume is divided into four broad areas (Historical, Applied, Formal/Analytical, and Comparative/Cross-Siouan) described in more detail in separate introductions to each part of the volume. Part I consists of five chapters on historical themes: Ryan Kasak evaluates the evidence for a relationship between Yuchi and Siouan; David Kaufman discusses the participation of some Siouan languages in a Southeastern sprachbund; Rory Larson summarizes current knowledge of Siouan sound changes; and Kathleen Danker and Anthony Grant investigate early attempts to write Hoocąk, Kanza, and Osage. Part II opens with Linda Cumberland's interview with Robert Rankin about his work with Kaw language programs. Jimm Goodtracks, Saul Schwartz, and Bryan Gordon present three different perspectives on Baxoje-Jiwere language retention. Justin McBride ap-

plies formal syntax to the solution of a pedagogical problem in teaching Kaw. This applied-linguistics section ends with Jill Greer's sketch grammar of Baxoje-Jiwere. Part III contains formal analyses of individual Siouan languages. David Rood proposes an analysis of /b/ and /g/ in Lakota using the tools of autosegmental phonology and feature geometry. John Boyle elucidates the structure of relative clauses in Hidatsa. Meredith Johnson, Bryan Rosen, and Mateja Schuck, in a series of three interrelated chapters, discuss syntactic constructions in Hoocąk including resultatives and VP ellipsis, which they argue show the language has VP and an adjective category. Part IV consists of three chapters which take a broader view of grammar, considering data from across the Siouan family. Catherine Rudin compares coordination constructions across Siouan; Bryan Gordon does the same with information structure and intonation, and Johannes Helmbrecht with nominal possession constructions.

All four of the areas represented by this volume are ones to which Bob Rankin contributed. His scholarly publications centered primarily around Siouan historical phonology, but included works ranging from dictionaries to toponym studies, from philological investigation of early Siouanists to description of grammaticalization pathways. He was deeply involved in language retention efforts with the Kaw Language Project. Other interests included archeology, linguistic typology, Iroquoian and Muskogean languages, and the history of linguistics.

Bob was a major figure in Siouan linguistics, a mentor to nearly all living Siouanists, and a mainstay of the annual Siouan and Caddoan Linguistics Conference meetings for decades. Trained in Romance and Indo-European linguistics, with a specialty in Romanian (Ph.D. University of Chicago 1972), he shifted gears soon after leaving graduate school, and became an expert in Siouan languages, especially the Dhegiha branch, with special focus on Kaw. From the mid 1970s through the end of his life, he devoted himself to Siouan studies, both practical and scholarly. His long association with the Kaw Tribe led to a grammar and dictionary of that language (see Cumberland, this volume), and he also produced a grammar of Quapaw, and briefly conducted field work on Omaha-Ponca and Osage. At the University of Kansas he directed dissertations on Lakota (Trechter, 1995) and Tutelo (Oliverio, 1996) as well as several M.A. theses on Siouan languages, and taught a wide variety of courses including field methods and structure of Lakota and Kansa as well as more theoretical courses in phonology, syntax, and historical linguistics. Perhaps Bob's greatest gift to the field was his encouragement of others. At conferences and on the Siouan List email forum, he was unfailingly patient and encouraging, answering all questions seriously, explaining linguistic terms to non-linguist participants and basic facts of Siouan

languages to general linguists with equal enthusiasm and lack of condescension.

Following his untimely passing, a special session was held at the 2014 Siouan and Caddoan Linguistics Conference to organize several projects in Bob's honor: The first of these was publication of the Comparative Siouan Dictionary, an immense project comparing cognates across all the Siouan languages, undertaken by Rankin and a group of colleagues in the 1980s. It had been circulated in various manuscript forms but never published. Thanks to David Rood (another founding member of the CSD project), with help from Iren Hartmann, the CSD is now available online (Rankin et al, 2015). The second project was a volume of Bob's conference papers and other previously unpublished or less accessible work, to be collected and edited by a group headed by John P. Boyle and David Rood; that volume, tentatively titled *Siouan Studies: Selected Papers by Robert L. Rankin*, is currently in progress. The third project was a volume of Siouan linguistic work in Bob's memory, which has taken the shape of the present volume.

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Part I

Historical Linguistics and Philology

Chapter 1

Reconstructing post-verbal negation in Kansa: A pedagogical problem

Justin T. McBride

Despite the fact that there are no L1 speakers of Kansa, and the handful of learners are mostly novice-range speakers, the Kaw Nation has been actively engaged in revitalization efforts for many years. The absence of speaker knowledge poses a major problem for curriculum developers insofar as the quality of Kansa pedagogical materials is often limited to what can be uncovered from analysis of documentary materials — mostly those of Dorsey and Rankin. These sources, though essential, are far from complete. For instance, they lack many constructions that potential language learners would want to know, including how to express what in English is captured by the word *wouldn't*. In such cases, syntactic analysis can be used to reconstruct certain areas of Kansa grammar. Kansa is a left-branching, head-marking language with canonical (S)OV word order. Several features of its syntax seem to complicate an X-Bar treatment of Kansa, but the placement of negation (NEG) in the post-verbal complex seems to violate a number of principles all at once. This gives rise to contradictory expectations for its location in different contexts. In this paper, I discuss one way of reconstructing Kansa NEG to fill a pedagogical need. While not arriving at any definite theoretical conclusion, I do arrive at a possible one, and conclude with a set of recommendations for curriculum developers dealing with this and other such problems. KEYWORDS: [Kansa, negation, modality, language revitalization, reconstruction, syntax in language pedagogy]

1 Introduction

Among the many problems plaguing the revitalization efforts of languages without L1 speakers is that a large number of the useful, conversational things that learners might want to say are simply unknown. These may include greetings and pleasantries, common expressions for introducing self and others, stating likes and dislikes, making and fulfilling requests for additional information, telling time, and so on — all of which people use with great frequency in their own L1s and expect to be able to say in an L2. In fact, language teachers usually want to

teach these sorts of conversational forms early on in classes as stock constructions that can build both competence and confidence in their learners. However, with no speakers around to ask, there may only be the products of linguistic research available as the next best thing. Perhaps there is a dictionary, a text series, or simply a set of field notes. Yet, even the most diligent field worker may not think to elicit very practical expressions such as ‘hello, my name is [blank],’ ‘I did not understand what you said; please repeat it,’ or ‘how do you say [blank] in the [blank] language?’

The case of the Dhegiha Siouan language Kansa (also known as Kanza or Kaw) is precisely as described above. Dorsey’s 1880s-era field work yielded a rather large set of slip files, two dozen texts collected from nine separate consultants, and hundreds of pages of ethnographic notes, all of which Rankin used in his own extensive work with the last Kansa speakers in the 1970s and early 1980s. Following the deaths of his consultants, Rankin continued working on Kansa for the rest of his life. Neither Dorsey nor Rankin intended their work to be used as-is for revitalization and curriculum development purposes, but this is what happened: Such efforts must begin somewhere, and their material was the logical starting point. Fortunately, Rankin was willing to contribute to this enterprise, and he often worked on Siouan language pedagogy side-by-side with other linguists (these included myself and several other contributors to this volume), both in the classroom and behind the scenes. Yet, even with Rankin — himself a lifelong educator — and a team of Siouanists at the head of Kansa language classes, the learner outcomes were often far less than could be expected of other beginning language classes; the source material was simply incomplete. As a consequence, many basic things remain unknown for Kansa and, accordingly, unused among language learners.

Consider a common English expression such as ‘She *wouldn’t* go,’ ‘Mike *wouldn’t* do that,’ ‘they *wouldn’t* give it to me,’ or the like. To my knowledge, there is no recorded translation of this expression in the available Kansa materials. I honestly cannot recall the exact circumstances of how this lacuna was discovered, but I remember that it came up in the Kaw Nation’s Thursday night community language class in Kaw City, Oklahoma, in the mid-2000s. Perhaps some thoughtful student simply asked, ‘How do you say, ‘she wouldn’t go,’ in the language?’ Surely I knew that the answer to the question would involve post-verbal negation and some use of both the potential and non-continuative enclitics, but I was flummoxed as to how to order these elements. Whatever the circumstances may have been, once it became apparent that I could not immediately provide an answer based on my working knowledge of Kansa syntax, I probably explained that

I would have to do more research and return with a definite solution later. Little did I know then that I *wouldn't* have a satisfying answer the next week, month, or even year!

Part of the problem lies in just how one would go about trying to find the answer. It would ideally involve reviewing the available texts and field elicitations with an eye toward finding how Dorsey, Rankin, or someone else may have recorded it. Those working on Kansa have, of course, done a great deal of secondary research like this; the lacunae are numerous, the learners are curious, and the available scholarly analysis is of high quality. Nevertheless, the construction does not appear in the materials. Failing that, the next step would involve reconstructing the form from a set of near-matches combined with knowledge of the language's syntax. Yet, syntax is one area where Kansa and the other Dhegiha languages are not always described in the greatest detail. Both Rankin's brief grammatical sketch of Kansa 1989 and his later sketch of Quapaw Rankin2005 discuss a variety of syntax topics, as does Quintero's (2004) book-length grammar of Osage. But all of these works are overviews of Dhegiha grammar, and are ultimately too general to offer fine-grained perspective on such a specific question.

In this chapter, I will attempt a basic generative syntactic analysis of Kansa post-verbal negation. Bear in mind that I am ultimately looking for a pedagogical solution, not a theoretical one. As such, I do not advocate any particular theory of formal syntax and feel fairly free to borrow liberally from several eras of transformational grammar all at once. I am fully aware that this juxtaposition of concepts may make my analysis problematic for strict syntacticians, and perhaps also for dedicated pedagogues who may find any such analysis tedious to begin with. I do this not to alienate potential readers or to break any new theoretical ground, but simply to predict an unattested enclitic order using the formal means within my disposal. I also hope that my analysis and the discussion that follows will help to shed some light on a few philosophical principles that I consider very important to anyone working in Siouan languages:

- Gaps in the available documentation of languages are not necessarily insurmountable challenges;
- Grammar must occasionally be reconstructed in order for it to be taught;
- Formal analysis is not, by mere virtue of its formality, better than other means of acquiring grammatical knowledge; yet

- Formal analysis of some manner or another can serve practical pedagogical purposes.

1.1 X-Bar considerations

Kansa, like other Mississippi Valley Siouan languages, particularly those of the Dhegiha branch, is head-marking with a canonical (S)OV word order (see, for example, Quintero (2004: 421) for the Dhegiha language Osage; Rankin2005 for Quapaw, also Dhegiha; and Cumberland (2005: 369) for Assiniboiné, a Dakotan language). Moreover, it appears to follow the same sort of left-branching syntactic pattern that Boyle (2007) described for Hidatsa (Missouri Valley Siouan). Although this paper is concerned with the syntax of the Kansa post-verbal complex, it is important to point out some grammatical features that complicate an X-Bar analysis of Kansa, including those as follows.

- (a) Left-branching: Tree structures for Kansa and the movement of elements within them appear to run counter to the right-branching patterns typical of X-Bar theory.
- (b) Radical pro-drop status: For the most part, only nominal subjects and objects appear independently in the sentence, the former presumably in the [SPEC, TP]; all else is handled by verbal inflection.
- (c) Concept of word: Just how much of enumeration and derivation is left up to morphology versus syntax is essentially still up for grabs; as a consequence, so, too, are the classifications of enclitics, auxiliaries, affixes.
- (d) Abstract tense: The TP in Kansa is at best misnamed given the language's general absence of tense marking, and the projection below the topmost Kansa CP is probably little more than an agreement checking level.

These features are crucial to any full description of Kansa syntax, and they have very interesting implications for syntactic theories as a whole. Nonetheless, while I take these points as fundamental assumptions for the analysis that follows, they are actually not altogether relevant for me to discuss in greater length given the narrow focus of this chapter.

1.2 Aspect

Tense may be absent in Kansa, but verbal aspect is quite developed. Figure 1 shows the general division of aspect in Kansa. The primary division is between

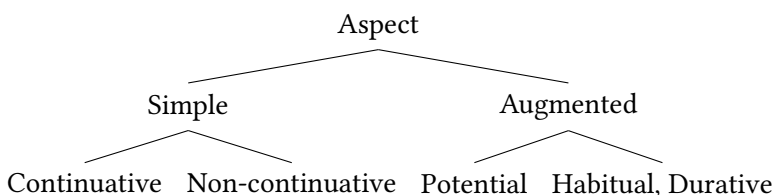


Figure 1: Kansa aspect

what I have termed simple and augmented aspect. Simple aspect is obligatory in all clauses while augmented is not. Simple aspect is further divided into continuative/imperfect (CONT) and non-continuative/perfect (NCONT) aspects, which are in complementary distribution. CONT is marked on verbs through a complex series of post-verbal enclitics (**Rankin2005** argues that these enclitics “are actually conjugated as fully-fledged auxiliary verbs” in the closely related Dhegiha language Quapaw; see also **Rankin2004** for a much more detailed discussion) that also carry with them a sense of the subject’s physical orientation in space. These include such categories as CONT-LIE, CONT-SIT, CONT-STAND, CONT-MOVE, etc. Moreover, these auxiliaries agree with the phi features of the verbal subjects. NCONT, on the other hand, is marked in two ways: A null form ($-\emptyset$) is used with 1SG, 1DU, and 2SG subjects; the verbal enclitic $-(a)be^{12}$ is used with 1PL, 2PL, and 3CN subjects. This suggests a person and number configuration as shown in Fig. 2. The augmented division includes potential (POT)³ on the one hand and several habitual (HAB) and durative (DUR) aspects on the other. HAB and DUR function syntactically in the same way as POT. I classify these as augmented due to the fact that they can be combined as needed with either simple aspect to generate compound aspects such as POT CONT, POT NCONT, HAB NCONT, etc. POT consists of the underlying enclitic *ce*, which only surfaces as such when no other post-

¹ I have written the initial vowel in parentheses to avoid a digression into what is occasionally known as ablaut in Siouan. Suffice it to say, this initial vowel surfaces only when the final vowel of the element to which it attaches ends in *-e*, presumably due to a $V1+V2=V2$ rule involving Kansa /e/ and /a/. For a more detailed treatment of this phenomenon throughout Siouan, see Rankin (1995).

² Both to save space and to preserve consistency with source material where appropriate, all Kansa words in this chapter are written only in the practical orthography. This system is phonological in nature, but uses fewer special characters, allows digraphs and trigraphs, and makes use of English-based capitalization and punctuation standards that potential language learners may regard as normal.

³ Note that POT is occasionally regarded in the Siouan literature as an irrealis marker (see Quintero 2004; 2009).

verbal elements — aspect or mood — follow it; this is very rare, but it does occur. It most often takes the shape of *ta* through a sequence of regular phonological changes.⁴ Though the phonology of this variation is understood, the mechanism behind it is not, a fact that raises some interesting questions about its enclitic status. Note that Figure 2 is concerned with the post-verbal arrangement of person and number considerations, and there are pronominal prefixes that are shared between numbers for the same person, including, for instance, for 1DU and 1PL and for 2SG and 2PL.

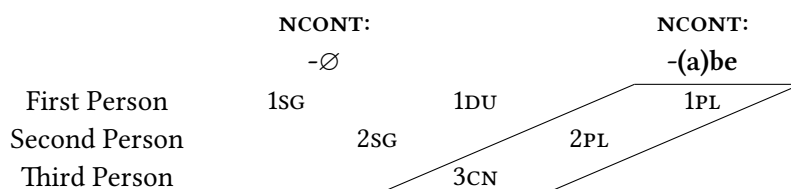


Figure 2: Person and number categories in Kansa with respect to NCONT marking

1.2.1 POT enclitic status

POT, unlike other post-verbal enclitics, is syntactically dependent on what comes before it (it is enclitic to the main verb, presumably as the head of a PotP) but phonologically dependent on what comes after it (its shape is determined by its proximity to the end of the clause). Furthermore, owing perhaps to its consonantal rather than vocalic onset,⁵ it does not interact phonologically with the main verb. As such, the POT enclitic is somewhat different from that of, say, NCONT.⁶

⁴ The so-called ablaut considerations mentioned in footnote 1 are presumably responsible for two allomorphs of the POT enclitic surfacing in different post-verbal phonetic environments. These forms include *ce* and *ta*, the former of which further exhibits routine spirantization of the initial stop before a front vowel.

⁵ The other augmented aspect enclitics, HAB and DUR, also feature consonantal onsets, a fact that may strengthen the notion of augmented aspect as a natural class in Kansa.

⁶ The fact is represented in the Kansa practical orthography by a space between the main verb and POT where no such space is left between the main verb and NCONT.

1.2.2 Aspect order

The clauses in Table 1 illustrate some representative combinations of the major aspects and the order in which they typically occur post-verbally.^{7 8 9}

suggestion for forming the linguistic content in the tables

- (1) *Wipághe tá miⁿkhe.*

Ø-wi-p-(g)aghe

ta miⁿkhe

3CN-2CN.PAT-1SG.AGT-1SG.CONT.SIT POT 1SG.AGT.make

V

POT CONT/NCONT

‘I will make them for you’ (KR, p. 192)

end of suggestion

Sentences (1-4) suggest the following canonical order of post-verbal aspect elements: V, POT, CONT/NCONT. This can be represented in tree form as shown in Figure 3.

2 The problem, in formal terms: NEG and aspect

Kansa syntax involves the use of post-verbal negative (NEG) enclitics, particularly as used in different aspect combinations. Kansa NEG has two separate forms: It appears either as *-(a)zhi* or *-mazhi*, the latter of which is only used with 1s subjects.

⁷ In this paper, I mark pronouns using AGT for agent and PAT for patient, without regard to the various inflectional realizations found throughout Dhegiha; the use of null pronouns in third person makes the classification as agent or patient irrelevant. I mark number using SG for singular, DU for inclusive dual, and PL for plural. I also use CN, after Kelly’s (1992) Hebrew gender convention, to represent so-called common number in third person where singular and plural have collapsed in Kansa.

⁸ All clausal examples in this paper come from sentences in McBride & Cumberland (2009), *Compiled Kanza texts*, or McBride & Cumberland (2010), *Kanza reader*, abbreviated CKT and KR, respectively. Corresponding page numbers appear after the English glosses.

⁹ The analysis of pronominals here differs from that presented either in Quintero (2004) or Rankin2005 where all 1SG.AGT and 2SG.AGT pronominals are represented by archiphonemic WA- and YA-, respectively, and phonological rules are needed to explain their phonetic realization. To simplify things, I have simply shown final realizations in the analysis.

Table 1: Order of post-verbal aspect elements

	V	POT	CONT/NCONT
(1) <i>Wipághe tá miⁿkhe.</i> 'I will make them.' for you (KR, p. 192)	\emptyset -wi-p-(g)aghe 3CN-2CN.PAT-1SG.AGT- 1SG.AGT.make	ta POT	mi ⁿ khe 1SG.CONT.SIT
(2) <i>Yuzé ta akhá.</i> 'S/he was about to take it.' (KR, p. 200)	\emptyset - \emptyset -yuze 3CN-3CN-TAKE	ta POT	akha 3CN.CONT.REST
(3) <i>Hne tábe.</i> 'You (PL) will have gone.' (KR, p. 192)	hn-(y)e 2PL.AGT-go	ta POT	-(a)be -NCONT
(4) <i>Ozhú tábe.</i> 'S/he would plant it.' (KR, p. 111)	o- \emptyset - \emptyset -zhu in-3CN-3CN-pour	ta POT	-(a)be -NCONT

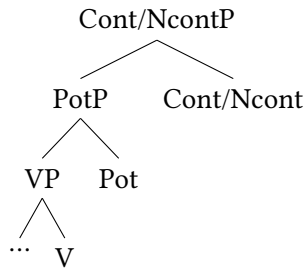


Figure 3: Order of post-verbal aspect elements

2.1 NEG with POT and CONT

When NEG is used in either CONT or POT CONT aspects, it appears consistently before both, as shown in the clauses of Table 2.

Table 2: Order of post-verbal NEG, CONT, and POT elements

	V	NEG	POT	CONT
(5) <i>Góⁿyazhi akhá.</i> 'S/he does not want it.' (CKT, p. 211)	Ø-Ø-go ⁿ ya 3CN-3CN-want	-(a)zhi -NEG		akha 3CN.CONT.REST
(6) <i>Ashkáⁿmazhi tá miⁿkhe.</i> 'I will not be stirring.' (CKT, p. 40)	a-shka ⁿ 1SG.AGT-move around	-mazhi -1SG.NEG	ta POT	mi ⁿ khe 1SG.CONT.SIT

These examples suggest a canonical order of V, NEG, POT, CONT, as seen in Figure 4.

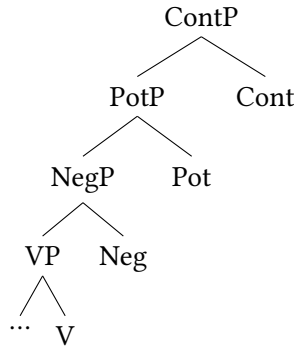


Figure 4: Order of post-verbal NEG, CONT, and POT elements

2.2 NEG with NCONT

However, when NEG appears with the phonetically realized NCONT *-(a)be*, it seems to fall after NCONT, as seen in the clauses of Table 3.¹⁰

Table 3: Order of post-verbal NEG and NCONT elements

	V	NCONT	NEG
(7) <i>Píbazhi</i> . 'S/he was bad.' (CWK, p. 208)	\emptyset - <i>pi</i> 3CN-be.good	<i>-(a)be</i> -NCONT	<i>-(a)zhi</i> -NEG
(8) <i>Shkáⁿbazhi</i> . 'S/he did not stir.' (KR, p. 180)	\emptyset - <i>shkáⁿ</i> 3CN-move.around	<i>-(a)be</i> -NCONT	<i>-(a)zhi</i> -NEG
(9) <i>Aⁿyáⁿkikiyabazhi</i> . 'We did not see each other.' (KR, p. 263)	<i>aⁿ(g)-i-\emptyset-kiki-ye</i> 1AGT-to-3CN-RECIP-see	<i>-(a)be</i> -NCONT	<i>-(a)zhi</i> -NEG

Here, the order appears to be V NCONT NEG. This contradicts the canonical orders seen above, as demonstrated in Figure 5.

(1-2)	V	POT	CONT	
(5)	V	NEG	CONT	⇐
(6)	V	NEG	POT	CONT ⇐
(3-4)	V	POT	NCONT	
(7-9)	V		NCONT	NEG ⇐

Figure 5: Contradictions of Kansa NEG placement

In short, the data suggest that NEG appears both before the slots reserved for POT and simple aspect and after the slot reserved for simple aspect. Note that there do not appear to be clearly identifiable examples of NEG with POT NCONT, the case that would best clarify the ambiguity of Kansa NEG placement and help me to answer the question I was posed about the Kansa equivalent of *wouldn't*. With no attested form in the corpus, it is difficult to say whether it is an ungrammatical form or simply a gap in what was recorded. How would the combination

¹⁰ The verb in (9) undergoes a complex phonological process that turns the pronominal *aⁿ(g)-* + the instrumental *i-* into *aⁿyaⁿ-*.

of NEG, POT, and NCONT look with a 3CN subject where *-(a)be* would most certainly surface? Would it appear as *tabázhi*, *-(a)zhi tábe*, *-(a)bazhi ce*, or something else entirely? What would such a form tell us of the syntax of Kansa negation? It seems that the Kansa equivalent of the English sentence ‘s/he would go,’ *ayé tábe*, would provide insight into how the equivalent of ‘s/he would not go,’ might look. Yet, the data do not steer us toward any clear solution.

2.3 NEG with person and number

One final consideration must be mentioned before commencing a proper examination of the problem set. Recall that the phonetic realization of NCONT is restricted to only 1PL, 2PL, and 3CN subjects. Thus, the remainder of forms, namely those with 1SG, 1DU, and 2SG subjects, will not clarify these issues. This can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Ambiguity involving NEG with null NCONT

	V	NCONT	NEG	NCONT
(10) <i>Kóⁿblamazhi</i> .	\emptyset - <i>k-(g)oⁿ-bl-(y)a</i>	- \emptyset ?	- <i>mazhi</i>	- \emptyset ?
‘I do not wish	3CN-1SG.AGT-want ₁	-NCONT	-1SG.NEG	-NCONT
it. (KR, p. 188)	-1SG.AGT-want ₂			
(11) <i>Phímàzhi</i>	<i>ph-(h)i</i>	- \emptyset ?	- <i>mazhi</i>	- \emptyset ?
‘I did not reach.	1SG.AGT-arrive.there	-NCONT	-1SG.NEG	-NCONT
there (KR, p. 92)				

3 Analysis

3.1 Enclitic placement

NCONT and NEG resemble one another more than they resemble POT, both syntactically and phonologically. This fact at least suggests they are members of a common grammatical class. For one, as neither independent words nor simple suffixes, NCONT and NEG seem to be subject to more restrictive placement considerations than the CONT auxiliaries in the post-verbal environment. This distinction seems to be reinforced by the fact that NCONT and NEG are phonologically dependent on preceding material. Secondly, their placement appears to be more restricted than that of POT.

Logically speaking, there are three environments in which NCONT or NEG may occur: 1) after POT; 2) after one another (e.g., NEG after NCONT); or 3) after the main verb. There have already been examples of the first two, but let us review all three for the purpose of classifying these environments.¹¹

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (12) <i>ahíbe</i>
3CN.AGT.MOVE.arrive.NCONT
s/he arrived there (KR, p. 92) | ← Environment 1: NCONT after V |
| (13) <i>shká^abazhi</i>
3CN.AGT.move.NCONT.NEG
s/he did not stir (KR, p. 180) | ← Environment 2: NEG after NCONT |
| (14) <i>ozhú tábe</i>
in.3CN.3CN.pour POT.NCONT
s/he would plant it (KR, p. 111) | ← Environment 3: NCONT after POT |

At this point, it is necessary to distinguish between the distributions of NCONT versus NEG. In the data above (as elsewhere in Kansa), at no time does NCONT appear after NEG. Also, recall the complementary distribution of NCONT and CONT, a distribution that is unlike that of NEG and CONT. On the other hand, (7-9) above demonstrate that NEG can appear after the NCONT enclitic. If one further stipulates that NEG follows the null realization of NCONT in (10-11), it is possible to claim that NEG in Environment 2 is required to attach to NCONT whenever possible. Furthermore, while NEG can appear with either POT (7-9) or CONT (5-6), it appears unable to come after either of these. Thus, the distribution of NCONT and NEG is as follows:

(15) Distribution of NCONT: Environments 1 and 3

(16) Distribution of NEG: Environments 1 and 2

NEG presumably arrives in these environments by means of head-to-head incorporation and/or excorporation as described by Roberts (1991).¹² It can either arrive at the verb (Env. 1) in continuative/imperfect aspect or at the the main verb plus NCONT (Env. 2) in non-continuative/perfect aspect. Such enclitic low-

¹¹ Concerning (12) *ahíbe*, Kansa has a class of motion verbs including ‘go’, ‘come’, etc. that include a motion prefix *a-* on certain forms. I have termed this MOVE in the gloss. Note that the semantics of these verbs does not preclude use of them in either continuative/imperfect or non-continuative/perfect aspect; both are completely grammatical.

¹² Roberts defines excorporation as “successive cyclic head-to-head movement where one head simply ‘passes through’ another, first incorporating and then moving on” (1991: 211).

ering derives a new verb. Thus, NEG appears to attach to the lowest verb in the TP as seen in Figures 6 and 7.

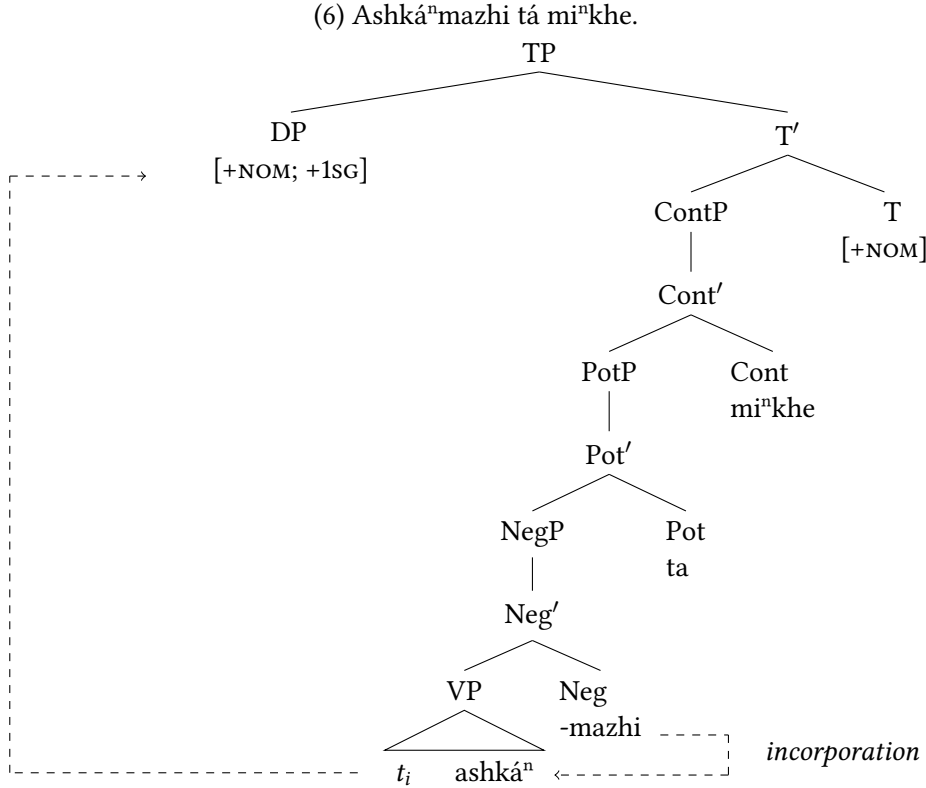


Figure 6: Tree of (6) NEG with CONT aspect

3.2 Feature expansion and prediction

This solution is not particularly satisfying for several reasons. The first is that feature checking does not appear to motivate the enclitic lowering. It is possible, however, to adjust for this simply by adding features that may or may not be checked through movement. We may assume, however, that if an enclitic of any type can move to check a nearby feature, it will do so. Such a process would account for all enclitic lowering. The second drawback is that if NEG lowers before NCONT, the order of enclitics will be incorrect. Therefore, NCONT must

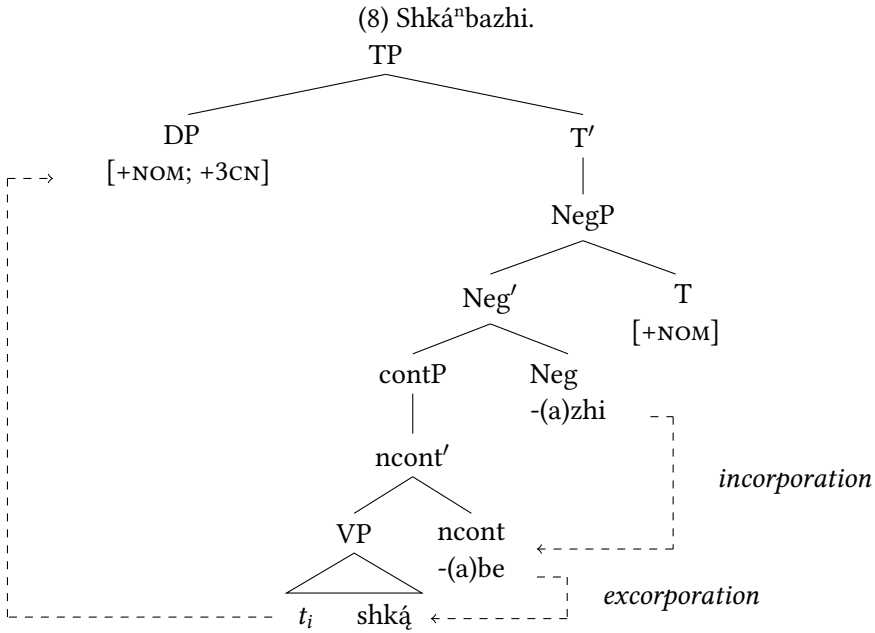


Figure 7: Tree of (8) NEG with NCONT aspect

somehow lower first. The third is that the status of the enclitics within the tree structures is not as clear as one would like. Are they really V heads, or are they just NEG, NCONT, POT, CONT heads? If they head their own projections, it would seem that their classifications together or separately would require a great deal of justification. On the other hand, classifying them all as V heads would require perhaps even more justification.

Nevertheless, these are exclusively theoretical concerns, and there are mechanisms within formal syntax that can be used to address them. My goal here is not to grind a theoretical axe, but merely to find a pedagogical answer to a student's question. Does my model do this? Yes: The predicted order of post-verbal elements in a Kansa sentence equivalent to English 's/he would not go' is as follows: V POT NCONT NEG, or *ayé tabázhi*. This consists of an inflected main verb, *ayé* (3CN.AGT.MOVE.go), followed by a compound enclitic *tabázi*, consisting of *ta* (POT), *-(a)be* (NCONT), and *-(a)zhi* (NEG).

I was happy with this possible solution, but – given the aforementioned theoretical concerns – not entirely so. Thus, when I presented an earlier version

of this paper at the 2011 Siouan and Caddoan Languages Conference, I put the question to several Omaha and Ponca Elders in attendance. While they seemed to indicate that such a construction would not be at all common in their respective languages, they agreed that the cognate form of Kansa *tabázhi* would be the preferred option. This does not confirm the Kansa prediction, of course, but it does seem to suggest that the analysis leading to my prediction was at least on the right track.

4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how syntactic analysis of textual data relating to a question put forth by an eager learner can be used to extend our knowledge of Kansa and fill in gaps in the source material. But numerous big conceptual questions remain, even beyond the theoretical ones mentioned above. For instance, how useful is this particular analysis and application if, as has been apocryphally suggested for Omaha-Ponca, the English expression may occur at a far higher frequency than the equivalent Kansa expression? With no L1 speech community around to offer guidance, perhaps there is no way to answer this question. On the one hand, the deployment of a form that would not have been used in earlier times is the very nature of language. On the other hand, if it pragmatically separates the L2 speakers of Kansa from L1 and L2 speakers of very closely related languages, its use may work against larger speech community goals privileging the taking of cues from still vital Siouan languages rather than English. On a different level, is the prediction of an order of post-verbal elements, even one seemingly matching cross-linguistic evidence, a sufficient stopping place for analysis? Perhaps the predicted result offers a false confidence in the approach taken. Put in a slightly more philosophical way, is extensive analysis done on a dormant language of any value on its own terms, or does it derive its true worth from practical application in revitalization efforts? Certainly from the perspective of potential learners, the language benefits when it can be put to greater use, regardless of what theoretical or applied linguists may say. As I mentioned earlier, there are many, many problems that plague such situations!

In spite of these challenges, work like this can be useful both to linguistic theory and for practical purposes. For starters, it can be used to show that even deep holes in the available documentation can be filled with a little theoretical elbow grease. This is comforting to know, and I hope that my analysis can show one way that it can be done. There are, of course, others. My speaking with the tribal Elders at the conference was what ultimately gave me confidence in my

solution. I was lacking this confidence after just looking at the problem from a theoretical point of view. Nevertheless, in order to frame the question properly so that it could even be asked (and later taught), I did require some preliminary reconstructive work. The mere formality of the theory underpinning that reconstructive work did not make my solution somehow correct, but neither did it make it unattainable. At the risk of closing this chapter perched atop a linguist's soap box, I would add that language teachers should not fear formal syntax; it is just one more arrow in their quiver, and I hope I have shown here that it can be put to service in solving practical pedagogical problems.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; AGT = agent; CN = common number; CONT = continuative/imperfect aspect; DU = dual; DUR = durative; HAB = habitual; MOVE = motion-verb prefix; NOM = nominative; NCONT = non-continuative/perfect aspect; PL = plural; PAT = patient; POT = potential; RECIP = reciprocal; REFL = reflexive; SG = singular;

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1 Reconstructing post-verbal negation in Kansa: A pedagogical problem

Roberts, Ian. 1991. Excorporation and minimality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(1). 209–218.

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