

# Look!

## DIRECTIVE INTERJECTIONS ACROSS THE ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

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# LOOK!

Are the directive interjections in the Algonquian language family genetically linked, geographically linked, both, or neither?

I argue that ...

- directive interjections in the Algonquian languages are drawn from verbs.
- the directive interjections are genetically linked in Eastern and Central languages, but not in the Plains languages.
- the Central languages underwent additional interjection borrowings among themselves via secondary contact.

Roadmap:

- 1 Interjections and Family Structure
- 2 Data and Methodolgy
- 3 Findings
- 4 Discussion

# **INTERJECTIONS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE**

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  - ▶ Primary interjections: typically a single word, phonologically small, and often have segments that are not found in the rest of a language's phonological inventory [Ameka, 1992].
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  - ▶ Secondary interjections: can be more than one word or drawn from another lexical category [Ameka, 1992].
- How are interjections related across languages?
  - ▶ They are culturally specific and therefore do not need to be shared crosslinguistically (e.g. English *gee* and *wow* vs Polish — [Wierzbicka, 1992]).
  - ▶ They do not need to be the in the same language family (e.g. English *oh* vs. German *ach*) [Reber, 2011].
  - ▶ Some might be universal (e.g. *huh* [Dingemanse et al., 2013]).

# FAMILY STRUCTURE

- [Goddard, 1994] claims that:
  - ▶ The farther west one goes, the older the language is:
    - Blackfoot >Cree, Arapaho >Cheyenne, Menominee >Ojibwe-Potawatomi, Meskwaki, Shawnee, Miami-Illinois >Eastern Algonquian.
  - ▶ Only the Eastern languages are genetically related.
  - ▶ There has been significant secondary contact along the Algonquian languages.
    - Eastern Algonquian vs. all other Algonquian languages
    - Cree and Ojibwe
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    - Eastern Algonquian vs. all other Algonquian languages
    - Cree and Ojibwe
    - Arapaho and Menominee
- Rhodes (2021) argues that the Core Central languages (Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Meskwaki, Sauk, Kickapoo, Miami-Illinois, and Shawnee) form a genetic relation [Rhodes, 2021].



# **DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

Bilingual books and dictionaries in eleven Algonquian languages:

- From the Eastern Algonquian languages, I collected data from Maliseet [LeSourd, 2007] and Lenape [Adams, 1997, Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021].
- From the Central Algonquian languages, I collected data from Cree [Wolvengrey, 2007, Wolvengrey, 2013], Innu [Oxford, 2007], Ojibwe [Fairbanks, 2016, Treuer, 2001], Potawatomi [Forest County Potawatomi Community, 2014], Menominee [Macaulay, 2012], and Meskwaki [Goddard and Thomason, 2014].
- From the Western Algonquian languages, I collected data from Arapaho [Cowell et al., 2014], Cheyenne [Chief Dull Knife College, ], and Blackfoot [Frantz and Junker, 2021, Russell, 1997]).

# METHODOLOGY

- We first searched the English translation.
- I then did a second in the Algonquian language.
- Listed these interjections with contextual information known to be relevant to interjections crosslinguistically (e.g. speaker, addressee, emphasis, etc.).
- I extracted from the list all of the forms having to do with the directive interjection *look!* and related directives (e.g. *listen!*, *hark!*, *behold!*, *lo!*, etc.) and summons interjection *hey!*.

# FINDINGS

# EASTERN ALGONQUIAN

Maliseet uses the directive interjection *Ipá* ‘Look!, Hey!, Here’ and *Akí* ‘You see, So! Well! And you see’.

## (1) Maliseet

- a. *Ipá. Túwihpútik npúnōmon.*  
Look table.loc 1.put.it  
Look! I’ll put it on the table. [LeSourd, 2007, pp.152-153[17]]
- b. *Ipá ckúwìpt keqsèy.*  
Hey bring.2sg>1sg something  
Hey! Bring me something. [LeSourd, 2007, pp. 160-161[68]]
- c. *Ipá ckúwìpt*  
Hey bring.2sg>1sg  
Here, bring me something. [LeSourd, 2007, pp. 156-157[41]]

## (2) Maliseet

- a. *Ákí yùkt opōsísok.*  
Look these sticks  
Look at these sticks. [LeSourd, 2007, pp. 158-159[60]]
- b. *Akí young man-op tahálu.*  
You.see young man-would like  
You see, he was a young man, more or less. [LeSourd, 2007, pp. 76-77[17]]

# EASTERN ALGONQUIAN

The Lenape dialect of Delaware only has the directive interjection *pëna* ‘Look!’ [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021].

## (3) Delaware

Pëna yushe kèku.

Look this something

Look at this. [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021, sec. Moni Ta Nëni]

# CENTRAL ALGONQUIAN

Innu uses *mâ* 'Look!' [Oxford, 2007] and *ne ma* 'look' [inn, nd] as an directive interjection.

- (4) Innu
  - a. *mâ*  
'Look!' [Oxford, 2007]
  - b. *ne ma eshi-pimutet.*  
'Regarde comment il marche.'  
'Look at how he walks.' [inn, nd]

Plains Cree uses *î, îh* 'Look, behold' and *mah* 'Hark! listen' as a directive interjection [Wolvengrey, 2013]. *î, îh* can also be used as an interjection of surprise meaning 'my goodness, good heavens, oh no!'.

- (5) Plains Cree [Wolvengrey, 2013, 4]
  - a. *î, îh*  
'Look, behold; my goodness, good heavens, oh no!'
  - b. *mah*  
'Hark!, listen'
  - c. *na/nah*  
'here, take it'

# CENTRAL ALGONQUIAN

Southwest Ojibwe uses *inashke, nashke, shke, ke, ina, na* ‘Look!, See!, Listen!’  
[Fairbanks, 2016, 45-54].

- (6) **Nashke** maakigiyaan.  
AT I.am.healing.over  
‘Look where I am healing over!’ SW Ojibwe [Fairbanks, 2016, 46]

Potawatomi uses *ne, nekwshe* ‘Look!’ [Forest County Potawatomi Community, 2014].

- (7) **wnekwshe** o thit!  
Look! that anus  
‘Look at the asshole! (person)’ Potawatomi  
[Forest County Potawatomi Community, 2014, 62]

- (8) a. **Nahi**  
‘Well!, Hey!, Listen!’  
b. **Chîhchê!**  
‘Look at that!, How cute!, How strange!’ Meskwaki  
[Goddard and Thomason, 2014]

- (9) **naah**-enoh ociiw.  
‘Look at that fly.’ Menominee [Macaulay, 2012, p. 100]



# PLAINS ALGONQUIAN

There are three directive interjections in Arapaho listed in [Cowell et al., 2014]: *Nónii* (with children), *Yeh* (disgust), and *Héii*.<sup>1</sup>

- (10) Arapaho [Cowell et al., 2014]
- a. **Nónii** neniisóónehe',  
Look, my dear child, p.484
  - b. “**Yeh**, neiteh’éího-ho’, yóhou=ni’oxúhu’!  
“Look, my friend, it cooked just perfectly! p.339
  - c. “**Héii**, nookóuu, nenééni-t.  
“Look, it’s White Crow. p.216
  - d. “Héii, bí3iwó ceixotii-’!” nii-hók Nih’oo3oo.  
“Hey, bring food here!” says Nih’oo3oo. p.171
  - e. Héii, heeyeih-neeto3íne-noo.’  
‘Yes! I’m almost frozen to death.’ p.189
  - f. “Hee,” hee3-oohok.  
“Yes,” said Nih’oo3oo to the coyote. p.133

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<sup>1</sup>The form listed in the Arapaho dictionary for ‘look!’ is *Nónii* [Adamits, nd].

# PLAINS ALGONQUIAN

As for Blackfoot, the directive interjection is *Asaa*, ‘Look’. Note resemblance to the summons interjection *ássa* ‘Hey! Look here!’.

(11) Blackfoot [Frantz and Junker, 2021]

- a. *Asaa*  
‘Look’
- b. *Ássa*  
‘Hey!; Look here!’

As for Cheyenne, the directive is *ótahe/átahe* ‘Listen!, Look!, Attention!, Shh!’ [Chief Dull Knife College, ].

(12) Cheyenne [Chief Dull Knife College, ]

- a. **Ótahe**, hóovéhe, áestsé’òhtse!  
Shh, friend, listen!
- b. **Ótahe**, nevá’eséstse tséhetanevéstse hová’éhe tsésáa’e’toestse,  
Ho’néoxháaestse.  
I wonder who is a man, who is not afraid of anything, Bravewolf (is the one).

# SUMMARY

**Table 1.** Algonquian Directives and Summonses

	Plains			Central						Eastern	
	Bla	Ara	Che	Cre	Inn	Men	Mes	Oji	Pot	Mal	Len
Look!	asaa	heii nónii yeh	átahe/ ótahe	mah îh, î	mâ ne ma	naah	nahi chíchê	in(ashke)	ne(kwshé)	akí. ipá.	pěna
Hey!	ássa	héii, 3ih= hííwo' hóéii		êy, ay, êhêy, hêy		hêy, hê, êy	shêy  hâhâw	hey	hêy	nehé ipá	

- Directive interjections have overlaps in meaning with summonses (e.g. Blackfoot, Arapaho, Maliseet).
- Multiple directives sensitive to age of addressee (e.g. Arapaho and Meskwaki), sensory type (visual, auditory), and speaker disposition (e.g. Arapaho *yeh*).

# DISCUSSION

# VERBAL ORIGIN

**Claim 1:** A directive interjection is derived from a verb in Delaware, Maliseet, and Blackfoot.

*pëna* ‘look!’ was drawn from the verb *pëna*.

(13) Delaware (Lenape)

- a. mpënakuk  
n-pënaw-ëk-w-àk  
1-look.at.one-inv-3-pl.anim  
‘They look at me.’ [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021]
- b. Pënaw  
pënaw-Ø  
look.at.one-imper.sg  
‘Look at him; look at her’ [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021]
- c. mbënamën TV naxa awëlink.  
n-**pënam**-ne TV naxa awëlink.  
1-**look.at.it**-inan TV three hour  
‘I watched TV for three hours.’ [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021]
- d. Pëna yushe kèku.  
**Pëna**-Ø yushe kèku.  
**Look.at.it**-imper.sg this something  
‘Look at this.’ [Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021, sec. Moni Ta Nëni]

# VERBAL ORIGIN

*Ipa* might have been drawn from *-api-*.

(14) Maliseet [Language Keepers, 2016]

- a. **Ipa** not el-**apit** kukec.  
look ic.there-look.3sg game.warden  
Look how that game warden is looking around.
- b. Ma-te l-**apiw** 'tahtuwalotek.  
not there-look 3.dish.loc  
He is not looking at his dish.

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*Aki* surely was a verb.

(15) Maliseet [Language Keepers, 2016]

- a. **Aki** yut!  
look this/her  
Look at this!
- b. **Akiyan**  
look.2sg  
Look at h/! Look at them!
- c. **Akiyuhk**!  
look.2pl  
Look at h/! Look at them!

# VERBAL ORIGIN

Blackfoot *Asaa* 'Look' likely was a verb.

(16) Blackfoot [Frantz and Junker, 2021]

- a. *Asaa* 'Look'
- b. *issamm vta* 'look'
- c. *ssa'tsi vti* 'look'
- d. *ssapi vai* 'look'



# VERBAL ORIGIN

Upshot: These data suggest that directive interjections in the Algonquian languages are of the secondary type.

- Interjections are frequently derived from imperative verbs crosslinguistically [Libert, 2020].

**Claim 2:** Directive interjections are genetically linked in Eastern and Central languages. They drew their directive interjections from PA *\*ipanahi* 'see it'.

# GENETIC LINK

Most of the Central Algonquian languages – except the Cree-Naskapi-Innu dialect continuum – have a particle that looks like the Lenape interjection *pēna*.

- (17) Ojibwemotawishin **bina!**  
speak.Ojibwe.to.me DM  
'Speak Ojibwe to me damn it!' Ojibwe [Fairbanks, 2016, 132]  
(feeling: since you speak the language)
- (18) **bné** wes-ibe wi-zhyan, bonikweshen,  
quit farther FUT-go.VAI.IMP.2SG leave.VTA.IMP.2SG>1SG  
'Quit! Go farther away! Leave me alone!' Potawatomi[hoc, 1940, 2.7:61, line 3]
- (19) Pīhtikaenon, **penah!**  
Come in already! Menominee [Macaulay, 2012, p. 157]
- (20) **Pena!**  
'O.K. now, please, why don't you, could you, you'd better; why don't I, may I, I'd better (particle, interjeciton)' Meskwaki [Goddard and Thomason, 2014, 141]

At least for Potawatomi, this form was a directive interjeciton.

(21) PInI ‘behold, lo’ Potawatomi [Lykins, 1844, Matthew 25:5-6]

- a. E’pwamshIpianIt ni we’shkwi wunIncIn, caye’k ki note’  
c-before-come.3obv that.obv ic.young man.obv all those those  
npe’k,  
sleep.3pl  
‘While the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept.’
- b. IcI e’iaptItpukuk okinotanawa otI e’kcI  
then=and c-be.midnight.3 3-pst-hear.vti1.3pltoo3 this c-big-  
notakwtunuk, **PInI**, owe’shkwiwut shiI pie’wak; Shiak  
holler.3 behold that-ic.young.one.3sg now come.3pl go.imp.2pl  
we’nkwe’skowuk.  
ic.meet.imp.2pltoo3  
‘And at midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go  
ye out to meet him.’

# GENETIC LINK

PA *ipanahi 'see it' >				
a.	PB	*assa	> Bla	asaa
b.			> Ara	heii, nónii
c.			> Che	ótahe
d.	PC	*mahi	> Inn	mâ, ne ma
e.	PC	*mahi	> Pla	mah, î, îh
f.	PMen	*penah	> Men	naah
			>	penah
g.	POP	*bina	> Oji	ina(shke)
			>	bina
h.	POP	*bina	> Pot	ne(kwshé)
			>	bné
i.	PMes	*pena	> Mes	nahi
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## SECONDARY CONTACT

**Claim 3:** The Central languages are geographically linked via language contact among themselves.

How it happened?

- *Pini* had a wide set of meanings (wider than just the directive interjection meanings).
- Potawatomi speakers then took on the directive interjection *ne* from Ojibwe following a known prestige hierarchies [Rhodes, 1992, Rhodes, 2008, Rhodes, 2020]:
  - ▶ Cree > Ojibwe and Menominee > Potawatomi

- (22)
- a. ne, nekwshe  
‘Look!’ Potawatomi [Forest County Potawatomi Community, 2014, 92, 94, 248]
  - b. nú/núkushú  
‘look’ Potawatomi [Gaillard, 1868, 220]

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		*bina <sub>2</sub>	>	bné
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		*pena <sub>2</sub>	>	pena
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Upshot: Central languages borrowed their directive interjections via a prestige hierarchy.

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# ARAPAHO AND CHEYENNE

Verbal origins and secondary contact do not explain the directive interjection forms in Arapaho and Cheyenne.

(23) Arapaho [Adamits, nd]

- a. Nonii ‘Look!; how cute!’
- b. Nei’oohoot- vti ‘look at s.t.’
- c. Nei’oohootoo ‘look at it!’
- d. Nei’oohow- vta ‘look at s.o.’

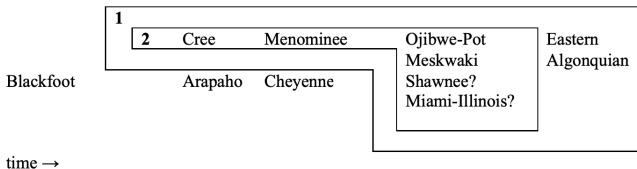
(24) Cheyenne [Chief Dull Knife College, ]

- a. **Ótahe**,
- b. -vé’hoom ‘look at s.o.’
- c. Vé’hoom-a! ‘Look at him!’
- d. -vé’hóóhta vti ‘look at s.o.’
- e. Vé’hóóhtótse! ‘Look at it!’
- f. **Otá**’- emphatically, very much

Lakota has wǎŋ! (used by men) and má (used by women) ‘Look!, Why!, Here!, Say!, Gee! See!’ [Lakota Language Consortium, 2021].

# CONCLUSION

**Table 2.** Directive interjections relations **1:** Interjection PA *\*ipanahi* verb > *panah* interj. **2:** Secondary contact Cree *mah* > Ojibwe *na*, Menominee *nah* > Potawatomi *ne* ? Meskwaki



- All the Algonquian languages draw their directive interjections from a verb.
  - ▶ The forms in Central and Eastern languages are genetically related (Box 1).
  - ▶ Maliseet and Blackfoot developed a new verb.
- Arapaho and Cheyenne developed something new.
  - ▶ Cheyenne may be using an emphatic preverb/initial as its base.
- Central language shared a new directive interjection via secondary contact (Box 2).
- Directive interjections are closely related to summonses.
- Directive interjections are sensitive to the age of the addressee, sensory type (visual, auditory), and emotion of the speaker.

IGWIYEN.<sup>2</sup> THANK YOU. MERCI.

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



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# GENETIC LINK

*pini* was attested more widely and more recently than 1844 for Potawatomi.<sup>3</sup>

(25) *pini* ‘behold’ (Gaillard, n.d. , Matthew 12:46-47)

- a. JESOS tchi mikwa epèm kinonat nichinaben, **pini**, ouikaneïg,  
Jesus but talk.3sgtoo3obv people.obv look 3.brother.pl  
okièyin ke [S]akitch kikokapwiwakopin, ewi kin[o]nauwat.  
3.mother.obv and outside waiting to talk.3pltoo3  
‘While he yet talked to the people, behold, his mother and his brethren  
stood without, desiring to speak with him.’
- b. Ngot tchi otinan JESOSan, **pini** ke’kiye’ ipidji kikanug  
one but 3.say.3sgtoo3obv Jesus.obv look 2.mother and 2.brother.pl  
Takitch kokapwäg kinitauwapimikog.  
outside stand.3pl 2.want.to.see.3pltoo2sg  
‘Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand  
without, desiring to speak with thee.’

(26) *pinê* ‘  
‘to exhort’ [Gaillard, 1868, 212]

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<sup>3</sup>Gaillard may be over using ‘behold’ (Gaillard, n.d.). I know that the earliest date for this could have been in the 1848s, but it was likely after that.

# PROCESSES

For PA \*ipanahi this would be the result of the following processes at play:

- Loss of verbal behavior (decategorization) – all languages, except Maliseet ika
- Freezing in the imperative form – Lenape pëna, Maliseet ika
- Loss of its semantic meaning (desemanticization) – all of Core Central, Plains Cree mah, Lenape pëna, Maliseet ika
- Earlier verb meaning still present, though not the primary meaning (persistence) - Lenape pëna, Blackfoot assa
- There is phonological reduction – Innu mâ, Plain Cree mah, Ojibwe ina.
- Exits alongside what it took the place of ???; creates polysemy (layering) – Core Central, e.g. Potawatomi pini and ne
- Command to speaker belief (subjectification)

[Brinton and Traugott, 2005, 290]