

Michif Determiner Phrases

by

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Abstract

Michif is a mixed language spoken in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and North Dakota in which the majority of the noun phrase is derived from French and the verb phrase is derived from Cree. This thesis provides an analysis of the structure of the determiner phrase (DP) in Michif, based on data from *The Michif dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree*, by Patline Laverdure and Ida Rose Allard (1983). Even though the majority of the DP is French, Cree contributes demonstratives and quantifiers. This thesis examines the use of articles, quantifiers and discontinuous constituents (where part of the DP appears to the left of the verb and the remainder is on the right). The syntax of the Michif DP is mixed, which two syntaxes at work in which the French-derived DP is embedded within the Cree-derived DP.

Dedication and Acknowledgments

In memory of those who supported me but could not be here at the end:

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Abbreviations

AI — animate intransitive
anim — animate
cj — conjunct
COMP — complementizer
DEF — definite article
DEM — demonstrative
f — feminine
Fut — future
II — inanimate intransitive
imp — imperative
inan — inanimate
INDEF — indefinite article
loc — locative
m — masculine
NEG — negator
non3 — non-third-person
obv — obviative
p — plural
pp — past participle
PREP — preposition
PRN — pronoun

Pst — past
PV — preverb
REL — relative clause marker
s — singular
TA — transitive animate
TI — transitive inanimate
Vol — volitional
1 — first person
2 — second person
3 — third-person animate
3' — third-person animate obviative
1p — first person exclusive
21 — first person inclusive
2p — second person plural
3p — third-person plural
0 — third-person inanimate
0p — third-person inanimate plural
X — unspecified
→ — direction of arguments

Chapter 1

Introduction

Michif is an Algonquian language spoken by a few hundred Métis people in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and North Dakota. The language apparently originated in the early 19th century as a result of the intermarriage of Cree women and French voyageurs. Michif is a contact language formed as a result of interaction between two different speech communities.

The goal of this thesis is to examine the structure of the Michif determiner phrase (DP) using a generative grammar framework. The determiner phrase contains various elements that form a nominal constituent. In Michif, these elements include demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, adjectives, articles and nouns. The specific framework used for this analysis follows the Minimalist programme set out by Chomsky (1995a, 1995b).

Michif syntax is derived from two parent languages: Plains Cree, a nonconfigurational language, and French, a configurational language (Rhodes 1986; Bakker 1992; Rosen 2007). Most verbal elements are inherited from Cree, and most nominal elements are inherited from French. Michif is a contact language but it is not considered a creole language.¹ Bakker (1992, 1994) instead classifies Michif as a mixed language, because it can be categorized as belonging to both of its parents' language families as a result of both languages' contributing to the lexicon and the grammar. Michif noun phrases follow the general structure of French noun phrases, and verb phrases follow the general structure of Cree verb phrases (Bakker 1992).

¹There is no consensus on the definition of creoles. For consistency, I adopt Bakker's (2008) structural definition in which a creole is made up of one identifiable language which contributes the majority of the lexicon, and one or more less identifiable languages which contribute the grammar.

It has been claimed that as a result of the French-derived nominal vocabulary, the underlying syntactic structure of the Michif DP is French (Bakker 1992:96, Bakker & Papen 1997:323). There are four hypotheses that can be proposed about the syntax of the Michif DP. First, the syntax of the DP is French. Second, the syntax of the DP is Cree. Third, the syntax of the DP is a combination of the syntax of both parent languages. Fourth, the syntax of the Michif DP is neither Cree nor French. I argue for the third hypothesis: the Michif DP is a combination of both French and Cree syntax.

This introductory chapter is organised as follows. Background on the origins of the Michif language is provided in section §1.1. Section §1.2 summarizes previous work on Michif and provides a brief description of the phonological and morphological systems. Section §1.3 discusses the nominal and verbal morphology. Section §1.4 discusses the Michif DP including the demonstrative phrase and adjectives. Section §1.5 situates the current theory on nonconfigurational languages and noun phrases. Section §1.6 provides a structural outline for the following chapters.

1.1 Situating Michif

Michif is a type of contact language often referred to as a mixed language (Bakker 1992; Bakker 1994). It is spoken by some Métis people in Manitoba, North Dakota and Saskatchewan. These Métis are descended from the intermarriage of French *voyageurs*, particularly those who worked for the North West Company, and Cree and Ojibwa women. The marriages were important for establishing and strengthening trade relationships between the European traders and the aboriginal groups (Brown 1980:173). During the early 1800s the Métis developed into a distinct group at the Red River Settlement in Manitoba where they spoke Cree, Ojibwa and French (Bakker 1992:266). They worked as trappers, buffalo hunters, traders and as low-level employees of the various fur trading companies (Brown 1980:172). These occupations led to the development of the Métis as a multilingual group whose descendents spoke Cree, English, French, Michif and Ojibwa (Bakker 1992:66). Recognition as an ethnic group by the federal government did not happen in Canada until

1982 (Peterson & Brown 1985:5). For more information on the French Métis dialects, also called Michif, consult Papen (1984, 1993) and for ethnolinguistic information consult Douad (1985).

It is difficult to determine the number of speakers of Michif in the past. Bakker (1992:1) hypothesizes that fewer than 1000 people ever spoke it at one time. According to the most recent Canadian census (2011) fewer than 500 people now speak Michif. The census does not take into account, however, that the Métis people use the term *Michif* to refer to their language whether it is a French dialect, such as that spoken in parts of northern Ontario and at St. Laurent, Manitoba (Papen 1984; Papen 1993), or the mixed language discussed here. The term Michif can refer to either the Métis people or their language.

The exact origins of Michif as a language are unclear; it is assumed to have become a distinct language by the 1820s (Bakker 1992). The expansion of the fur trade westward from the Great Lakes region to the plains increased the interaction of the *voyageurs* with local indigenous groups. It is thought that the Michif language developed in the Red River area of Manitoba in the early 19th century at the time when the Métis were forming into an independent ethnic group (Crawford 1985; Bakker 1992). Michif was spoken as a home language, meaning it was used only amongst community members and not with outsiders (Rhodes 1986:288). This limitation made it difficult to identify Michif as a distinct language. It was first mentioned in print in the 1930s (Bakker 1994:22) but the first data on the language were not published until the early 1970s (Crawford 1973; Rhodes 1977).

The Michif language is also called Méchif, Métchif or Métif. The term Métis is a French word that means ‘mixed origin’, applied to people who are of mixed heritage. In the early days of the settlement at Red River, the Métis were referred to as *Métif*, *half-breeds* or *bois brulés*. *Métif* is a dialect variant of *métis* which is pronounced [mičif] by the Métis (Rosen 2008:613). For the Métis, Michif refers to the language they speak regardless of whether it is Michif-Cree, Michif-French or Michif. For the purposes of this thesis, Michif only refers to the mixed language and Métis refers to the ethnic group.

Plains Cree and French are the parent languages from which Michif derives most of its vocab-

ulary and grammatical structure. There is also some borrowing of vocabulary items from Ojibwa and English. The majority of the verbs and the structure of the verb phrase are derived from Cree; French supplies the majority of the nouns and the structure of the noun phrase. Example (1) illustrates the combination of French and Cree in Michif; French-derived words are in bold type, and the translations (which are sometimes very free) are those given in the *Michif dictionary*. Michif interlinear glosses are my own.

- (1) a. ki-apihkawtay-w **aen** **tapi**
 Pst-be.braided.II-0 INDEF.m rug
 ‘She braids a rug.’ (lit: ‘a rug was braided’) (Laverdure & Allard 1983:50)
- b. awnshkow **la** **priyayr** kit-ayaw-n **apray la** **mes**
 sometimes DEF.f prayer 2-have.TI-non3 after DEF.f mass
 ‘Sometimes we say vespers after the last mass’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:348)
- c. **li** **zhenom** nihtaw atoushkay-w
 DEF.m young.man good.at.PV work.AI-3
 ‘The lad is ambitious.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:158)

1.2 Previous work on Michif

There is currently no reference grammar of the Michif language. Over the past thirty years, there have been several sociolinguistic works on the origins of Michif and the interactions of Michif’s parent languages (Crawford 1973; Bakker 1992; Bakker 1994). Other than Rosen’s (2007) thesis on Michif phonology, the only other large work on Michif is Bakker’s thesis (1992, published 1997), which is primarily sociolinguistic and sociohistorical. Bakker does, however, provide a brief grammatical sketch of Michif which enhances Rhodes’ (1977) initial description. Rosen has also written a couple of articles on the syntax of the Michif demonstrative (2003) and Michif stress assignment (2006).

1.2.1 Phonology

Traditionally, the phonology of Michif was described as being split between the phonological systems of French and Cree. This means that French vocabulary items had French phonology and Cree vocabulary items had Cree phonology. The two phonological systems had been described by Rhodes (1977, 1986), Papen (1984), Bakker (1992), and Bakker and Papen (1997). More recent work by Rosen (2006, 2007) finds evidence that Michif phonology is now merging the two parent phonological systems. The merged phonological inventory of consonants and vowels in Michif is illustrated in (2) and (3).

(2) Michif consonant inventory (Rosen 2007:142)

	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops	hp p b		ht t d		hk k g	
fricatives		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
affricates				htʃ tʃ dʒ		
nasals	m		n			
liquids			l r			
glides	w			j		

(3) Michif vowel inventory (Rosen 2007:161)

	Oral				Nasalised	
High	i	ɪ	y	u	ĩ	
Mid	e	ɛ	œ	ɔ	o	ẽ ã
Low		a	ɑ			ã

1.2.1.1 Fossilized liaisons

Within the dictionary, there are consonant initial spelling alternations in French-derived words that in French would be written as vowel initial. These spelling may be due in part to the fossilized liaison process inherited from French./ In French there is a liaison process that occurs between word final consonants and word initial vowels, a type of external sandhi. Final consonants in French are typically silent; however, when a word initial vowel follows, the latent word-final consonant is pronounced. For example, in French the final consonant of the plural definite article [le(z)] becomes articulated when followed by a word that begins with a vowel: [lezɔm] *les hommes* ‘the men’. In French, the elision is obligatory between a determiner *le* or *la* and a vowel-initial noun: [lãfã] *l’enfant* ‘the child’. Michif has fossilized elision both with the articles *li* and *la* and liaison of the final consonant of an adjective or article. The possible fossilized consonant variations are illustrated with the French-derived *awnfawn* ‘child’ in (4), where the latent final consonants of [li(z)] ‘the (pl)’, [ptsi(t)] ‘little’ and [æ(n)] ‘a (m.)’ and the consonant of [li/la] ‘the (m., f.)’ surface before the initial vowel of the following noun.

- (4) a. **lee** **zawnfawn** maeshkoutoonamawtou-wuk lee valentine
 DEF.p child exchange.AI-3p DEF.p valentine
 ‘The kids exchange valentines.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:16)
- b. **Li** **ptsi** **tawnfawn** kee-mawchi pimouhtay-w.
 DEF.m little child Pst-begin.PV walk.AI-3
 ‘The young child began to toddle.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:335)
- c. **Aen** **nawnfawn** d’ikol kishkayistam shi-amischikay-t.
 INDEF.m child PREP.school know.TI-3 COMP-read.AI-cj.3
 ‘A pupil is learning to read.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:245)
- d. **Lawnfawn** noo weeshakshin
 DEF=child NEG hurt.by.fall.AI-3
 ‘The child is unhurt.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:345)

According to Bakker, the initial consonants are part of the noun, not the result of a liaison rule, because of the inconsistency in initial consonants (not conforming to a liaison rule) and the fact that vowel-initial nouns borrowed from other languages do not appear with a liaison consonant.

The alternative consonants attested by Bakker appear with French-derived vowel-initial nouns, as confirmed by my corpus. For example, ‘a white bear’ can appear as *aen noor blawn* or *aen loor blawn* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:356) where the initial consonant is not determined by the consonant from the preceding article. In French *un ours* ‘bear’ appears only with the liaison consonant /n-/ not /l-/ thus illustrating that vowel initial consonants in French-derived nouns in Michif are not the result of a liaison rule. In the *Michif dictionary* the liaison consonants are written as part of the noun. In nouns derived from Cree or English there is no liaison consonant: the Cree-derived noun *aen enikoons* ‘an ant’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:23) does not appear with a liaison consonant, nor is there elision with English *li organn* ‘the organ’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:204) (versus French *l’orgue*).

1.2.2 Morphology

The grammatical sketches by Rhodes (1977), Bakker (1992), and Bakker and Papen (1997) provide brief descriptions of derivational and inflexional morphology. Weaver (1982, 1983) and Rosen (2007) provide a more in-depth overview of Michif verbal and nominal morphology. Currently, there is no work that focuses exclusively on inflexion or derivational morphology in Michif.

1.2.3 Syntax of the DP

Other than the grammatical sketches by Rhodes (1977), Bakker (1992), and Bakker and Papen (1997), the only substantive works on the Michif DP are Rosen’s (2003) work on demonstratives, and Rosen and Gillon (in press) on the behaviour of Michif mass nouns.

The majority of the elements in the DP are derived from French, but demonstratives and most of the quantifiers are from Cree (Rhodes 1977:6, Bakker 1992:82). It has been postulated by Bakker (1992) and Bakker and Papen (1997) that the structure of the Michif DP resembles that of French. There are, however, some notable differences between French DPs and Michif DPs, including the ordering of elements, the use of Algonquian gender, and the co-occurrence of articles and demonstratives. The important point is that the ordering of constituents within the Michif DP is fixed.

The ordering of elements is shown in (5), modified from Bakker (1992:82). Relative clauses can behave as DP modifiers, occurring at both the beginning and the end of a DP.

(5) DEM_{Cree} - Quantifier /Num- DET/POSS - ADJ - Noun - ADJ – DEM_{Cree}

1.2.4 Data

The *Michif dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree*, by Patline Laverdure and Ida Rose Allard (1983), forms the main source of my corpus. The dictionary is the work of two women from the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, compiled under the supervision of John Crawford, a linguist at the University of North Dakota. Due to the nature of the dictionary as a community-based project, the speakers used their own intuitions for the spellings of entries, resulting in alternate spellings. To represent the sound /a/ Allard used <a> and Laverdure used <ae>. The word ‘work’ is spelt *ouvrazh* and *oovraezh* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:359,360). The sound /e/ is spelled as <ae> and <ay>. Under the entry ‘much’ there are three possible spellings listed: *mihchet*, *mischet* and *mischayt* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185). Some other examples of spelling alternations are ‘food’ written either *li mawnzhee* or *li mawzhee* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:100); ‘sister’ written either *sueur* or *soer* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:298); ‘memory’ both *mimwayr* and *mimwaenr* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:175); and *le cheval* ‘horse’ written either *aen zhwal* or *aen zhwul* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:135). Other spelling variations between the two authors are explained in Crawford’s introduction to the dictionary. A detailed description of the spelling alternations that are encountered in the dictionary is provided by Rhodes (2013).

Further corpus material and grammatical judgments were provided by my work with Harvey Pelletier (HP) and Verna Demontigny (VD), who live in Brandon, Manitoba. They are both retirees in their sixties who have worked for the Manitoba Métis Federation. They both grew up near Binscarth, Manitoba, in a place called ‘The Corner’, where the displaced community of Ste. Madeline was relocated in the 1930s. The material from VD and HP was gathered by asking them to translate English phrases into Michif and to verify the grammaticality of existing examples from the *Michif*

dictionary.

It is possible that Michif has undergone significant changes since the 1980s. Initially, the phonologies of Michif's parent languages were analyzed as separate where French-derived words had French phonology and Cree-derived words had Cree phonology. The co-phonologies of Cree and French have subsequently merged as documented by Rosen (2007). If the phonologies have undergone change, then syntactic and morphological systems may have also undergone change. Some of the linguistic differences between the dictionary and the consultants are footnoted below, but they were not the focus of this study.

1.3 Morphology

The following section presents a description of Michif inflexional morphology. According to Rosen (2007), French nominal and adjective derivational morphology in Michif is no longer active. However, Michif still reflects some parts of French inflexional morphology, mainly in pronominal articles and possessives. Cree inflexional morphology also reduced in Michif in demonstratives and in the verbs.

1.3.1 Noun inflexion

Nominal inflexion in Michif is limited. Number and gender are marked either by articles or by Cree number morphology on the nouns, as illustrated in more detail in Chapter 2. Number is marked on some French nouns and on all Cree nouns. French-derived nouns appear with articles marking masculine and feminine gender which is inherited from French. Cree-derived nouns appear with Cree morphology (and sometimes with French articles as well), marking animate or inanimate gender. According to Bloomfield (1946:94), the animate gender class includes nouns that refer to people, animals, spirits, large trees, and "some other objects". This section focuses on the residual nominal inflexion including a discussion on how gender, number, obviation and possession are marked in Michif, followed by a brief description of adjective inflexion.

1.3.1.1 Gender

Michif combines the French and Cree gender systems. The four-way system applies to all Michif nouns regardless of whether the noun is from Cree, French or English (Bakker 1992:97). This four-way gender system was first observed to apply to English loans by Hogman (1981). In (6), the English-derived noun *trok* ‘truck’ is masculine, a gender derived from the French *camion* ‘truck’, and animate, because in Cree all vehicles are animate. The noun is marked by the masculine article *li* and the verb stem is transitive animate (TA).

- (6) Wiya **li** **trok** pamin-ayw pour la mail.
 PRN.3 DEF.m truck look.after.TA-3→3' PREP DEF.f mail
 ‘He’s the trucker for the mail.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:340)

French-derived nouns also have animacy, which appears in the type of verb stem and verb agreement affixes. In (7) the verbs are transitive; the animacy of the primary object triggers the type of verb stem selected. In (7a), the Cree-derived *cheehcheekoum* ‘wart’ is animate and occurs as the object of a TA verb.² *Portray* ‘picture’ (7b) is inanimate and masculine, occurring with a TI verb and the masculine article *li*. In (7c), *vaesh* ‘cow’ is marked for feminine by the feminine article *la* and has animate gender, triggering a TA verb. In (7d), the French-derived noun *koron* ‘crown’ is feminine, as shown by the third-person possessive *sa*, and it is an inanimate noun, triggering a TI verb.

- (7) a. **Aen** **cheehcheekoum** daw sa maen ayaww-ayw.
 INDEF.m wart PREP her.f hand have.TA-3→3'
 ‘She has a wart on her hand.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:351) (animate masculine)
- b. Awn kouleur d-awayhtae-n **li** **portray**.
 PREP colour 1-want.TI-non3 DEF.m picture
 ‘I want the picture in color.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:64) (inanimate masculine)
- c. Maree kee-sheekoupit-ayw **la** **vaesh-a**.³
 Mary Pst-strip.TA-3→3' DEF.f cow-obv
 ‘Mary stripped the cow after milking.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:319) (animate feminine)

² French *verrue* is feminine, but the Michif word is masculine, as shown by the masculine indefinite article *aen*. These gender differences between Michif and French do occur: this is an example of a Cree-derived word not appearing with the associated French gender.

- d. Kee-pakitinam **sa koron** li rway
 Pst-release.TI-3 his.f crown DEF.m king
 ‘The king abdicated his crown.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15) (inanimate feminine)

1.3.1.2 Number

As in French, gender and plural agreement in French-derived nouns is mainly orthographic and there are few phonological identifiers of gender or number on the noun itself. Michif French-derived nouns are not marked by inflexion for number as illustrated by (8a) singular and (8b) plural.

- (8) a. Kawya kouhpawchihtaw **la** shayz.
 NEG damage.TI-imp,2 DEF.f chair
 ‘Don’t damage the chair.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:20) (Michif)
- b. Daenrawn ashtaw **lee** shayz.
 PREP row put.TI-imp,2 DEF.p chair
 ‘Align the chairs.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:68)
- c. Arrang-ez **les** chaise-s⁴
 place-imp,2p DEF.p chair-p
 ‘Align the chairs.’ (French)

There is no phonological variation in French between the singular /ʃez/ *chaise* ‘chair’ and the plural /ʃez/ *chaises* ‘chairs’.

In Cree, nouns are inflected for animacy, number and obviation (9). There is no singular inflexion on the surface form of most nouns.

- (9) Cree number inflexion (Wolfart 1973:29)

	animate	inanimate
singular	(-a)	(-i)
plural	-ak	-a(h)
obviative	-a(h)	

In Michif, Cree-derived nouns may be inflected for number and animacy. *Noushishim* ‘my grandchild’ is inflected with the animate plural agreement *-uk* in (10a), and *tukwahiminawn* ‘chokecherry’

³The obviative suffix *-a* is discussed in section 1.3.1.3.

⁴All unreferenced French examples have been composed by the author.

is inflected with the inanimate plural *-a* in (10b).

- (10) a. N-oushishim-**uk** anikik.
 1-grandchild-3p those.3p
 ‘Those are my grandchildren.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:115)
- b. Awpachistaw li moulaen a vyawnd shi-peenipootaw-yen lee
 use.TI-imp.2 DEF.m grinder PREP meat COMP-grind.TI-cj.2 DEF.p
 tukwahiminawn-a.
 chokecherry-0p
 ‘Use the meat grinder to grind chokecherries.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:117)

French-derived nouns do not appear with Cree plural inflexion. Most French-derived nouns are marked for number agreement only through verbal agreement suffixes and French-derived articles

(11).

- (11) a. **Li** grawn garsoon kawahkashoo-w.
 DEF.m big boy be.skinny.AI-3
 ‘The boy is tall and skinny.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:299)
- b. **Lee** ptsi garsoon maytaway-**wuk** daw li groo troo disoor la beut.
 DEF.p little boy play.AI-3p PREP DEF.m big hole under DEF.f hill
 ‘The boys play in the cave below the hill.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:57)

Not all Cree-derived nouns appear with Cree plural inflexion: example (12) shows the animate noun *yawmoo* ‘bee’ with the plural definite article *lee*, but without the suffix *-uk*.

- (12) Ouchih-ayw lee yawmoo.
 hinder.TA-3→3’ DEF.p bee
 ‘He has an attraction for bees.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:57)

1.3.1.3 Obviation

Bloomfield (1946) describes obviation in Algonquian languages as a way to distinguish third-person animate referents in a stretch of dialogue. Obviation is important in free word order languages such as Cree that do not have morphological case to identify referents. In configurational languages word order is often used to mark referents. If two third-person referents occur within a clause, one referent is proximate and the other is obviative. An obviative referent is a third-person

referent that is backgrounded or less topical in the discourse. The obviative referent is the marked form.

In Plains Cree, third-person animate referents are marked for obviation but inanimate referents are not. Unmarked participants are considered proximate whereas marked participants are considered obviative. Weaver's work (1982, 1983) provides a more in-depth description of Michif obviation. French- and Cree-derived nouns are marked for obviation. As in Cree, obviative nouns in Michif are not marked for plurality. The Michif obviative agreement is /-a/, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. Zhawn kee-ouchih-ayw Irene-a shi-itoustayy-t daw sa
 John Pst-come.from.there.TA-3→3' Irene-obv COMP-go.to.AI-cj.3 PREP his.f
 maenzoon.
 house
 'John lured Irene to his house.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:167)
- b. aen pchi portray kee-outinem a li beebie-wa⁵
 INDEF.m little portrait Pst-take.TI-0 PREP DEF.m baby-obv
 'He took a snapshot of the baby.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:303)
- c. La fam di polls kee-natoupakim-aenw la feey-a
 DEF.f woman PREP police Pst-search.TA-3→3' DEF.f girl-obv
 'The policewoman searched the girl.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:235)

Cree-derived nouns have obviative forms in possessive constructions and in phrases with two or more animate referents (Weaver 1983). In Cree, obviation is required on animate nouns possessed by a third-person. The Cree-derived *moushoom-* 'grandfather' is marked for obviation and possession (14).

- (14) Nashpitaw-ayw oo-moushoom-a.
 resemble.TA-3→3' 3-grandfather-obv
 'He is a throwback to his grandfather.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:333)

Obviation in Michif is less often marked than in Cree. In (15) Michif *kanawr* 'duck' is unmarked whereas the Cree *sísîp-a* 'ducks' is inflected for the obviative. Since word order is free, the Michif sentence could also mean 'The ducks will shoot at him/them', but its Cree counterpart is not am-

⁵Nouns ending in a vowel add /-w/ before plural and obviative suffixes.

biguous.

- (15) a. Ka-pawshkishw-aywuk lee kanawr.
 Fut-shoot.TA-3p→3' DEF.p duck
 'they'll shoot at ducks' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:274) (Michif)
- b. ta-pâskisw-êwak sîsîp-a
 Fut-shoot.TA-3p→3' duck-obv
 'they'll shoot at ducks' (David Pentland, p.c. 2014) (Cree)

1.3.1.4 Possession

Possession is marked either by French-derived possessive adjectives, the preposition *di*, or by Cree inflexions. The Cree-derived affixes are shown in (16). The animacy of the possessor determines how possession is marked in Michif. Animate possessors use either French-derived possessive adjectives or the Cree-derived inflexional possessive system (16). French-derived possessive adjective agreement is discussed in Chapter 2.

- (16) Cree-derived Possessive Affixes (Bakker 1992:102)

	singular	plural
1	ni—	ni— —inân (exclusive) ki— —inân (inclusive)
2	ki—	ki— —iwâw
3	o—	o— —iwâw
obv	o—	—iyiw

In (17), *mama-* 'mother' and *oushishim-* 'grandchild' are inflected with the Cree-derived possessive prefixes *oo-* and *n-*.

- (17) a. Li garsoon nashpitaw-ayw oo-mawmaw-wa ay-nistaw-nakamou-t.
 DEF.m boy resemble.TA-3→3' 3-mother-obv COMP-understand.PV-sing.AI-cj.3
 'The son is endowed with his mother's singing talent' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:85)
- b. Niya bishkaym-ow n-oushishim.
 PRN.1 1-look.after.TA-1→3 1-grandchild
 'I am guardian of my grandchild.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:119)

If the possessor is inanimate, possession is marked by the preposition *di* (Rosen 2007:21).

- (18) la zãb di tab
 DEF.f leg PREP table
 ‘table leg’ (Rosen 2007:21)

1.3.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives in French agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify, at least orthographically. In Michif, adjective agreement is dependent upon position. Prenominal adjectives have agreement, but postposed adjectives do not agree for number (Rosen 2003). In (19a), the prenominal adjective *ptsit* agrees for feminine gender whereas the postnominal adjective *vayr* does not. This phenomenon is also shown in example (19b). Cree-derived nouns also appear with adjectives (19c); *pakwann* is pluralized with the plural article *lee*, but neither of the French-derived adjectives *roon* and *plat* have number or gender morphology

- (19) a. Mischayti-wuk lee ptsit moush vayr li swayr awn itee.
 be.many.AI-3p DEF.p little.f fly green DEF.m night PREP summer
 ‘There are many green flies at night in the summer.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:117)
- b. en tet blawn
 INDEF.f head white
 ‘white-headed’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:356)
- c. Deu sort di pakawnn ayaw-wuk; lee pakawnn plat aykwa lee pakawnn roon.
 two type PREP nut be.AI-3p DEF.p nut flat and DEF.p nut round
 ‘There are two kinds of hazel nuts: the flat cluster and the single round.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:128)

Not all prenominal adjectives within my corpus show gender agreement.

- (20) a. aen grawn vizaesh
 INDEF.m big face
 ‘a long face’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:165)
- b. en grawn baerb
 INDEF.f big beard
 ‘a long beard’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:37)

The rare examples of postnominal agreement are thought to be lexicalized expressions, leading to the conclusion that Michif lacks postnominal agreement of modifiers in the DP (Rosen 2003:43).

1.3.2 Verb inflexion

Michif verbs are constructed in essentially the same way as Cree verbs (Bakker 1992; Rosen 2007). Michif verb stems, being derived from Plains Cree, contain minimally an initial and a final, and at least one inflexional suffix. Some preverbs mark for tense/aspect or modes; other preverbs are adverbial. In Algonquian languages, verbs are grouped by transitivity and animacy (Bloomfield 1946:94).

Michif verbs, like Cree verbs, are classified as animate intransitive (AI), inanimate intransitive (II), transitive inanimate (TI) and transitive animate (TA). The form of the transitive verbs are determined by the animacy of the primary object or goal, as in (21). The subject is also marked on the verb by the agreement affix.

- (21) a. Kee-mischinmin-ayw awtist larzhawn
 Pst-hold.TA-3→3' some DEF=money
 'He withheld some of the money.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:358)
- b. Kee-michiminem awtiht ma pay.
 Pst-hold.TI-3 some my.f pay
 'She withheld some of my pay.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:359)
- c. en plenn boutay lee marb d-ayaw-awwuk
 INDEF.f full bottle DEF.p marbles 1-have.TA-1→3p
 'I have a jarful of marbles.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:149)

In some cases a verb will have two objects, referred to as its primary and secondary objects. The primary object is the recipient and the secondary object is the theme. The secondary object is not marked morphologically on the verb (Bloomfield 1946:95). In Michif, the recipient or beneficiary may appear in a prepositional phrase (Bakker & Papen 1997:100), as in (22b).

- (22) a. Wiyanuw gee-nawtamouw-ow li mawzhee.
 for.him 1.Pst-fetch.for.TA-1→3 DEF.m food
 'I went and got food for her.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:100)
- b. Pour wiya gee-nawtamouw-ow li mawzhee.
 for PRN.3 1.Pst-fetch.for.TA-1→3 DEF.m food
 'I went and got food for her.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:100)

Intransitive verbs are marked for one referent morphologically, with the verb class being determined by the animacy of the actor. An actor is defined as the agent-like argument or more generally the subject. Example (23) illustrates animate and inanimate intransitive stems.

- (23) a. La bwet misho-w.
 DEF.f box be.big.II-0
 ‘the box is big’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:41)
- b. Li zawbr mishikiti-w
 DEF.m tree be.big.AI-3
 ‘the tree is big’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:41)

Michif shares the person-number system characteristic of Algonquian languages (Bakker 1992). Instead of using a case system or word order to mark referents in a phrase, Algonquian verbs use the person hierarchy (24). Second person is ranked above first person, animate above inanimate, and proximate above obviative. The lowest-ranked argument is inanimate obviative. The person hierarchy inherited from Plains Cree is reflected in the verbal morphology.

- (24) Algonquian Person Hierarchy:
 $2 > 1 > X > 3 > 3' > 0 > 0'$ (Pentland 1999:235)

The non-TA verbal inflexion for both independent and conjunct orders in Cree is illustrated in (25). The prefixes mark first and second person in the independent order. AI, II and TI verbs have the same inflexions and mark for one referent, the subject/actor.

(25) Cree Non-TA verbal inflexion (after Wolfart 1973)

	Independent	Conjunct
1	ni—n	—yân
2	ki—n	—yan
1p	ni—nân	—yâhk
21	ki—nânaw	—yahk
2p	ki—nâwâw	—yêk
3	—w	—t/—k
3p	—wak	—cik/—kik
3'	—yiwa	—yit
0	—w	—k
0p	—wa	—ki

In TA inflexion, two referents and the direction are marked on the verb. Direction (direct or inverse) is important in determining which referent is the subject or object. If the object is more highly ranked than the subject, the inverse morpheme /-ikw-/ occurs in most in the verb inflexions as illustrated in (26b).

- (26) a. ni-wapam-a-wak
 1-see.TA-direct-1→3p
 'I see them' (Rosen 2007:55)
- b. ni-wapam-**ikw**-ak
 1-see.TA-inverse-1→3p
 'They see me.' (Rosen 2007:56)

The basic Cree TA paradigm is given in (27). There are also separate inflexions for unspecified subjects, inanimate subjects, obviative objects, et.

(27) Cree TA verbal inflexion (after Wolfart 1973)

	Independent				Conjunct			
	Direct	Inverse		Direct	Inverse			
	-3	-3p	3-	3p-	-3	-3p	3-	3p-
1	ni-âw	ni-âwak	ni-ik	ni-ikwak	-ak	-akik	-it	-icik
2	ki-âw	ki-âwak	ki-ik	ki-ikwak	-at	-acik	-isk	-iskik
1p	ni-ânân	ni-ânânak	ni-ikonân	ni-ikonânak	-âyâhk	-âyâhkik	-ikoyâhk	ikoyâhkik
21	ki-ânaw	ki-ânawak	ki-ikowaw	ki-ikonawak	-âyahk	-âyahkok	-ikoyahk	-ikoyahkok
2p	ki-âwâw	ki-âwâwak	ki-ikowâw	ki-ikowâwak	-ayêk	-âyêkok	-ikoyêk	-ikoyêkok
3		-êw		-ik		-ât		-ikot
3p		-êwak		-ikwak		-âcik		-ikocik
3'		-êyiwa		-ikîwa		-âyit		-ikoyit
	-1	-1p	1-	1p-	-1	-1p	1-	1p-
2	ki-in	ki-inân	ki-itin	ki-itinân	-iyan	-iyâhk	itân	itâhk
2p	ki-inâwâw	ki-inân	ki-itinâwâw	ki-itinân	-iyêk	-iyâhk	itakok	itâhk

This is not a complete list of all the verbal morphemes that Michif has inherited from Cree. While Michif may not have the same number of verbal inflexions as Plains Cree, it combines morphemes in the same manner as Cree and therefore the structure of the Michif verb is essentially Cree (Bakker 1992).

1.4 Syntax of the DP

The determiner phrase (DP) is a projection of the determiner. Boškovič (2005) theorizes that some languages have DPs and some languages have NPs. I am assuming the DP structure for Michif because there are overt determiners in the noun phrase. Within the structure of the DP is contained all the elements related to the nominal, including the noun itself. The Michif DP includes the functional categories of determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, pronouns, and numerals, as well as the lexical categories of the noun and the adjective. In syntactic structure, the determiner heads the DP. Michif determiners are the definite and indefinite articles which mark the noun for definiteness, gender and number.

1.4.1 Adjective position

Almost all adjectives are derived from French; adjectives may be preposed or postposed to the noun. A limited number of adjectives may be preposed. The prenominal adjectives are lexically conditioned and are the same set of adjectives that occur prenominally in French, such as *beau*, *grand*, *vieil*, etc.

- (28) a. Koushtawminawkwun la **vyay** maenzoon.
 look.fearsome.II-0 DEF.f old.f house.
 ‘The old house looks spooky’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:310)
- b. Tahkinay aen bwanaen **roozh** kishkem.
 always INDEF.m cap red wear.TI-3
 ‘He always wears a red cap.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:55)

In French, adjectives that can appear both prenominally and postnominally may have different meanings depending on their position, e.g. *un grand homme* ‘a tall man’ versus *un homme grand* ‘a great man’.

There are a few examples where a Cree preverb is used as a preposed adjective. In (29a), *cheepou* ‘pointed’, appearing in the preposed adjective position, is used to modify *vizaezh*. The same meaning can be conveyed in a Cree verbal construction (29b).

- (29) a. Aen cheepou vizaezh ayo-w.
 INDEF.m pointed.PV face have.AI-3
 ‘He has a triangular face.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:339)
- b. cheepouhkway-w
 have.pointed.face.AI-3
 ‘He has a triangular face.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:339)

In Michif, adjectives that are derived from English or from Cree deverbal nouns appear in postnominal position. The data given by Rosen (2003:43) lead to the conclusion that the syntactic position for the adjective is postnominal.

1.4.2 Demonstrative position

Demonstratives in Michif are derived from Cree (Rhodes 1977; Bakker 1992; Bakker & Papen 1997). The demonstrative paradigm is illustrated in section §2.2.3. Demonstratives in Michif can occur prenominally or postnominally like their Cree counterparts, but Michif does not allow demonstratives to appear on both sides of the noun simultaneously, as Wolfart observed in Plains Cree (quoted by Rosen 2003:43).

- (30) *kâ-sipwêhtê-yâhk awa ni-sîmis awa*
 COMP-leave.AI-cj.1p this.3s 1-younger.sister this.3s
 ‘when this little sister here of mine and I took off’ (Cree)

Rosen (2003) observes meaning differences in the word order of demonstratives as illustrated in (31). The prenominal demonstrative functions as a definite determiner. The rightmost position of the DP is a focus position also observed in French by Bernstein (2001). The postnominal demonstrative is used by the speaker to deliver contrastive information.

- (31) a. *li zê nôm awa stêt ê nivraŋ*
 DEF.m young man this.3s DEM=be.3 INDEF.m drunk
 ‘This young man here is a drunk’ (Rosen 2003:52)
- b. *Awa li zê nôm stêt ê nivraŋ*
 this.3s DEF.m young man DEM=be.3 INDEF.m drunk
 ‘this young man drinks a lot’ (Rosen 2003:52)

Rosen concludes that there is a functional projection of the demonstrative that merges between the DP and the NP. She calls this functional projection a demonstrative phrase (DemP). The demonstrative is generated in the specifier of the DemP and moves to the specifier of D to achieve the prenominal word order. The postnominal order is achieved through a scrambling mechanism which permits the movement of the NP to the specifier position of the DemP.

1.4.3 Quantifiers and determiners

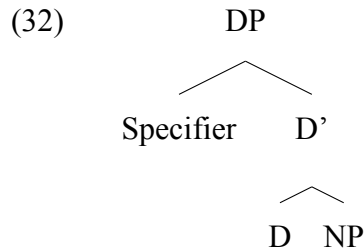
The noun may be modified by quantifiers or numerals, which appear in a prenominal position in the DP. These modifiers appear to share the properties of their parent languages. Cree-derived quantifiers behave as Cree quantifiers; French-derived quantifiers behave like French quantifiers. The position and function of quantifiers and numerals are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Articles in Michif are categorized as determiners. Possessives adjectives and articles occupy the same position in the DP, appear prenominally, and do not co-occur. The articles are derived from French. The position and functions of the articles as determiners are discussed in §2.5.

1.5 Situating the theory

In this section, I describe the theoretical perspective I assume in the rest of this thesis. The following describes the DP hypothesis assumed for the structure of the Michif noun phrase. This is followed by a description of nonconfigurational languages and the pronominal argument hypothesis which describes how argument structure might work in nonconfigurational languages.

1.5.1 DP hypothesis and split-DP hypothesis

For this thesis I adopt Abney's (1987) structure of noun phrases (NP), where the highest functional category of the noun phrase is the determiner phrase (DP), illustrated in (32). Functional categories provide structural positions that organize the syntactic relations in a phrase. In an NP structure, a D constituent does not project structure, but if D is a functional element it should project its own functional phrase. The D-level projects into the phrasal level instead of the N. The lexical determiner (D) is not the specifier of the lexical NP; rather the NP is the complement of the determiner phrase head. Determiners are referential, meaning they specify the reference of the NP. The properties of the D head select the NP, making it usable as an argument, and the properties of D are responsible for the distribution of a noun phrase.

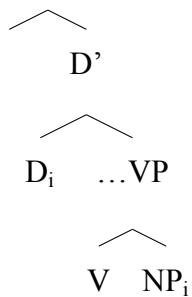


In order to avoid confusion, the lexical projection of the noun phrase, i.e. the noun, is referred to as NP. In the DP hypothesis, Abney (1987) proposes that other functional projections may form part of the noun phrase structure. The D head may also select for a quantifier phrase or an adjective phrase. The head (D) of the DP selects the syntactic category of the following phrase, which in the Michif noun phrase consists of the quantifier phrase (QP), the adjective phrase (AP), and the noun phrase (NP).

DP arguments, such as the subject and the object, are generated within the verb phrase (VP). The DP argument in the specifier of the VP moves to the specifier of a functional head, such as Spec T. In the split-DP hypothesis proposed by Sportiche (1998), the D and the NP are generated in two different positions. He proposes that the D is not generated in the verb phrase but externally in the specifier of a functional head of the verb phrase. The NP is generated verb phrase internally in its theta position. In this structure, modifiers are generated external to the verb in the specifier position of a functional head.

This proposal is further developed for nonconfigurational languages by Wiltschko (2002) looking at Mohawk, an Iroquoian language, and by Johns (2008) in Algonquian languages. The split-DP hypothesis allows the pronominal argument elements and the NP to retain their hierarchical relationship within the clause. In Wiltschko's structure, the D is generated outside of the noun phrase. The NP is generated in the VP and is linked to its modifier by the indexing morphology on the verb. In (33), the D is coindexed with its NP.

(33) ...DP (Wiltschko 2002:170)



1.5.2 Michif as a nonconfigurational language

Many Algonquian languages are considered to be nonconfigurational languages such as Fox (Dahlstrom 1987), Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (Bruening & Lin 2001), Blackfoot (Bliss 2012), Ojibwa (Rhodes & Kathol 1999), Swampy Cree (Reinholtz 1995) and Plains Cree (Wolfart 1996). Nonconfigurational languages are defined by the following characteristics: free word order, null anaphora, and discontinuous elements (Hale 1983). The subject and object relationship is established through agreement on the verb, so as to permit the subject and object to occur in any order within the phrase. Though one of Michif's parent languages is French, a configurational language (which means its word order is fixed), Michif is nonconfigurational.

Word order of the main constituents such as subject (S), object (O) and verb (V) in Michif is free in declarative phrases, as illustrated in (34) where all six possible word orders are shown. Unlike French, which is SVO, Plains Cree has free word order (Wolfart 1973, 1996; Reinholtz & Russell 1996). The free word order is permitted because the argument relationships are licensed by agreement on the verb, as is typical of nonconfigurational languages.

- (34) a. La vyay apihkawtem si zhveu
 DEF.f old.woman braid.TI-3 her.p hair
 ‘The old woman braids her hair.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:50) (SVO)
- b. li souri mouw-ayw aen shawhkwatamoo
 DEF.m mouse eat.TA-3→3’ INDEF.m hawk
 ‘A hawk eats mice.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:127) (OVS)
- c. moon boo=frayr ma soer-a wikim-ayw
 my.m brother-in-law my.f sister-obv marry.TA-3→3’
 ‘My brother-in-law married my sister.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:52) (SOV)
- d. la malajee’d paralaezee li pchi garsoon ayo-w
 DEF.f sickness=of paralysis DEF.m little boy have.TI-3
 ‘The little boy has polio.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:235) (OSV)
- e. kee-ouchipitam sa tet la torcheu
 Pst-pull.TI-3 his.f head DEF.f turtle
 ‘The turtle retracted his head.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:267) (VOS)
- f. Kee-shikoushkam-iyiw li shayaen soo zhardaen’d fleur
 Pst-ravage.TI-obv DEF.m dog her.m garden=of flower
 ‘Her flower garden is ravaged by dogs.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:252) (VSO)

The second key characteristic of nonconfigurational languages is the common occurrence of null anaphora where the agreement on the verb determines the argument structure, thus obviating the use of overt NPs. In (35a), there is no overt subject or object argument; in the transitive phrases (35b) and (35c) an overt subject or object argument is lacking, but the phrases remain grammatical.

- (35) a. wawpastam
 see.TI-3
 ‘he sees it’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:285)
- b. aen nariyael gi-wawpam-ow
 INDEF.m moose 1.Pst-see.TA-1→3
 ‘I saw a moose’ (Fleury 2000:11) (OV)
- c. Kischimanitou ki-wawpam-ik.
 great.spirit 2-see.TA-3→2
 ‘The great spirit sees you’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:21) (SV)

The final characteristic observed by Hale (1983) is the occurrence of discontinuous phrases, where constituents such as a numeral are separated from the rest of the DP by the verbal constituent.

Michif permits discontinuous constituents in the DP such as (36) where the numeral *naef* ‘nine’ is separated from the rest of the DP by the verb.

- (36) **naef** d-ayaw-n **lee** **bol**
 nine 1-have.TI-non3 DEF.p bol
 ‘I have nine bowls’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)

1.5.3 Pronominal argument hypothesis

The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) was developed by Jelinek (1984) to explain how argument structure works in nonconfigurational languages. This hypothesis states that theta-roles within the verb are assigned to pronominal arguments. The PAH is based on Hale’s (1983) characterization of nonconfigurational languages. Overt DPs are optional because they are adjuncts which are attached to arguments licensed by ‘pro’, thus permitting free word order. In Jelinek’s version of the PAH the agreement morphology is the pronominal arguments, whereas Baker (1996) proposes that the agreement morphology of the verb licenses null pronominal arguments. In essence, ‘pro’ is a placeholder for a noun or pronoun in languages with rich verbal agreement on the verb stem. The overt nominals function as adjuncts and are co-indexed with their ‘pro’ counterparts. The PAH has been used to explain many of the properties of nonconfigurational languages such as Algonquian languages. For the purposes of my thesis the PAH is relevant to the discussion of how arguments are organized in discontinuous phrases.

1.6 Outline of thesis

The remainder of the thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 focuses on the articles in Michif, illustrating how gender and number agreement of articles function. I discuss the position of articles in the Michif noun phrase, and propose that in order for the French-derived noun phrase to combine with a Cree modifier it must be a full DP. Chapter 3 looks at the functions and positions of strong and weak universal quantifiers, examining the position of the numeral quantifiers and providing an

analysis of quantifiers in relation to the DP. Chapter 4 explores the phenomenon of discontinuous noun phrases in Michif. I begin with a description of discontinuous noun phrases in Michif, and examine the different analyses proposed to explain this phenomenon in Algonquian languages. I argue for a split-DP analysis based on the evidence that discontinuous elements are preverbal and not preclausal. In Chapter 5, I present my conclusion that the Michif DP is a merging of both French and Cree syntax.

Chapter 2

Determiners in the Michif DP

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the position and function of Michif determiners, which include articles and possessive adjectives. In Michif, articles are classified as definite and indefinite determiners (Bakker 1992; Bakker & Papen 1997; Rosen 2003). French has three types of articles: definite, indefinite, and partitive, all of which precede the noun. In Cree, the preposed demonstrative has been claimed to function as a definite determiner (Cyr 1993b, 1993a, 1996). I show that the French noun phrase must be a full DP in order to adjoin to a Cree nominal modifier such as the demonstrative.

A determiner is defined as a word or a morpheme that occurs with a noun phrase to express reference such as the definiteness of the noun (Cyr 1993b). Definiteness can be defined as a way to indicate that a referent is known to the speaker (Cyr 1993b; Lyons 1999). A definite article appears with a referent that is already known to a speaker and the indefinite article is used to introduce a new referent into the discourse. In French, articles, demonstratives and possessive adjectives belong to the determiner class. In French they occupy the same syntactic position (L'Huillier 1999; Rowlett 2007). In Michif, I argue that possessives appear in the same syntactic position as articles. The determiners are the indefinite (INDEF) and definite (DEF) articles and possessive adjectives.

In section §2.2, I illustrate the position of the Michif article with respect to the noun phrase. I demonstrate as well the agreement properties of the articles. Section §2.3 focuses on the functions of definite articles in French and determiners in Cree, and compares them to the functions of Michif articles. In section §2.4, I examine the extent to which Michif articles mark definiteness. In section §2.5, I explore the question of where in the DP the articles of Michif appear. Section §2.6 is the conclusion.

2.2 Michif determiner and demonstrative agreement

Michif has inherited gender agreement features from both its parent languages (Rhodes 1977; Hogman 1981; Bakker 1992; Bakker & Papen 1997; Rosen 2003). Nouns agree for masculine or feminine gender, a feature derived from French, and animate or inanimate gender, a feature derived from Cree. Gender and number on French-derived nouns are marked by either the article or the possessive adjective. This section details the agreement marked by articles, possessive adjectives and demonstratives.

2.2.1 Definite and indefinite article agreement

The French-derived articles (1) agree for masculine and feminine gender in the singular and agree in number only in the plural. The article *lee* appears as both a definite and an indefinite article, or else definiteness is not feature of plural forms (Bakker 1992:98).

(1) Michif definite and indefinite articles

		singular	plural
Masculine	definite	li	
	indefinite	aen	
			lee
Feminine	definite	la	
	indefinite	en	

Example (2) shows that French-derived definite and indefinite articles mark gender and number for French-derived nouns.

- (2) a. **En** moush ayo-w dawn **li** let.
 INDEF.f fly be.AI-3 PREP DEF.m milk
 ‘There’s a fly in the milk.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:99)
- b. awnshkow **la** priyayr kit-ayaw-n apray **la** mes
 sometimes DEF.f prayer 2-have.TI-non3 after DEF.f mass
 ‘Sometimes we say vespers after the last mass.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:348)
- c. **Aen** vyeu zhwul d-ayaww-awnawn
 INDEF.m old.m horse 1-have.TA-1p→3
 ‘We have an old nag.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:187)
- d. Namoo tout **lee** zwayzoo nyawr **lee** zitornoo.
 NEG all DEF.p bird black DEF.p black.bird
 ‘Not all black birds are blackbirds.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:43)

In French, indefinites are pluralized with the article *des*.¹ The form *des* is either rare or non-existent in Michif (Bakker 1992, :98, Bakker & Papen 1997, :236). The article *lee* appears to mark plural and not definiteness (3), but definiteness is difficult to determine due to the nature of my data. In (3), the translations are used as an indication of the definiteness on the noun. *Lee lway* ‘laws’ is a generic noun which is treated as definite (3a). In French generic nouns are marked with a definite article (Rowlett 2007).

- (3) a. Saprawn ka-pimichaham-ahk **lee** Iway.
 necessary COMP-follow.along.TI-cj.21 DET.p law
 ‘We have to abide by rules.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15)
- b. Lee zarawnz soon boon pour kahkiyuw awiyek.
 DEF.p orange be.3p good PREP all someone
 ‘Oranges are good for everyone’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:203)

In Michif, *di* is either fossilized with mass nouns, such as *diloo* ‘water’, or more often functions as a preposition.

¹It has been postulated that there is no indefinite plural article in modern French. The indefinite plural is the merging of the preposition *de* and the definite article *les* (Rowlett 2007:74)

Articles optionally occur with Cree-derived nouns. In example (4a) *kimoutouwin* ‘loot’ appears without an article. Cree-derived nouns take either Cree plurals (/–a/ inanimate and /–ak/ animate), French-derived articles, or a combination of both. In (4b) the noun *tukwuhimmawn-* ‘chokecherry’ occurs with an article and Cree plural noun inflexion. *Pakawnnawhtik* ‘hazel bush’ (4c) is singular in Cree but the addition of the article *lee* makes it plural. A Cree-derived noun appears with an indefinite article in (4d).

- (4) a. Oustawpamihoo-w kimoutouwin.
 get.own.food.from.that.source.AI-3 stolen.thing
 ‘A fox is a predator.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:239)
- b. Kee-meechi-wuk kaykwawy ay-shkoupayi-k **lee** tukwuhimmawn-a.
 Pst-eat.TI-3p something COMP-be.left.over.II-cj.0 DEF.p chokecherry-0p
 ‘They ate the remainder of the chokecherry pudding’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:199)
- c. **lee** pakawnnawhtik i soon pa groo
 DEF.p nut.tree PRN.3p be.3p NEG big
 ‘The hazel bush is not big’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:128)
- d. **Aen** cheehcheekoum daw sa maen ayaww-ayw.
 INDEF wart PREP her.f hand have.TA-3→3’
 ‘she has a wart on her hand’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:351)

The majority of Michif nouns have the same gender as their French counterparts; however, there are some nouns that do not follow this generalization (Bakker 1992:97). For example, *une griffe* ‘claw’ is feminine in French but *aen grif* in Michif is masculine (Laverdure & Allard 1983:62). ²

2.2.2 Possessive agreement

Like articles, French-derived possessive adjectives agree with nouns for number and gender (5). Cree-derived nouns appear with French-derived possessives as well. In (5c), the deverbal noun *kipoupichikun* ‘closer’ is modified by the possessive *moo*.

- (5) a. kee-waypinik-ayw **see** zawnfawn
 Pst-abandon.TA-3→3’ her.p children
 ‘She abandoned her children.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15)

²In Michif Claw can also be *en grif* (feminine) also occurs.

- b. **ta** vee mitouni il i shayr
 your.f life much PRN.3m be.3 valuable
 ‘Your life is valuable.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:348)
- c. **moo** kipoupichikun awn fayr kee-peekoupayin
 my.m closer PREP iron Pst-break.II-0
 ‘My zipper broke.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:364)

The possessive adjective paradigm is illustrated in (6).

(6) French-derived possessives (after Bakker 1992:102)

	masculine	feminine	plural
1s	moo, mou	ma	mee
2s	too, tou	ta	tee
3s	soo, sou	sa	see
1p	not	not	noo, nou
2p	vot	vot	voo, vou
3p	leu	leu	leur

Neither French possessive adjectives nor Cree possessive inflexions co-occur with articles, but the possessed nouns are always definite.

2.2.3 Demonstrative agreement

Another method that indicates number and animacy on Michif nouns is the use of demonstratives. Michif demonstratives agree for animacy and number. Like Plains Cree, Michif demonstratives have a three-way distinction of distance from the speaker. The demonstrative paradigm of Michif is illustrated in (7).

(7) Demonstratives (after Rosen 2003)

		singular	plural	obviative
Animate	this	awa	ôkik	ônhin
	that	ana	anikik	anihi(n)
	yon	naha	nêkik	nêhi
Inanimate	this	ôma	ônhin	
	that	anima	anihi(n)	
	yon	nêma	nêhi	

Examples (8a), (8b) and (8c) illustrate the number and animacy agreement of the demonstratives.

- (8) a. sitay mon vyeu mawna **ena**
 DEM=be.Pst my.m husband used.to that.3
 ‘This is my former husband.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:101)
- b. Cheekaha **anima** la log pour li bwaw a feu.
 chop.TI-imp.2 that.0 DEF.f log PREP DEF.m wood PREP fire
 ‘Chop that log for firewood.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:61)
- c. Kwawshchipayin **nayma** li shawn.
 go.far.off.II-0 yonder.0 DEF.f field
 ‘It goes beyond that field.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:41)

French demonstratives do not make a distance distinction. They require the addition of a locative particle such as *là* (9a) or *ci* (9b) to make such a distinction.

- (9) a. J’ai besoin de ce livre là
 I=have.1 need PREP DEM.m book there
 ‘I need that book there.’ (French)
- b. J’ai besoin de ce livre ci
 I=have.1 need PREP DEM.m book here
 ‘I need that book here.’ (French)

French-derived demonstratives do not appear to be productive and potentially occur only in fossilized expressions (Bakker 1992:104). *Spraentawn* in (10a) is the fossilized form of the French *ce*

printemps ‘this spring’ in the equivalent phrase (10b).

- (10) a. Wee-ounawpaymi-w **spraentawn**.
 Vol-have.husband.AI-3 this.spring
 ‘She’s going to settle down this spring.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:290)
- b. Elle va trouver un mari **ce printemps**
 PRN.3f go find INDEF.m husband this spring
 ‘She’s finding a husband this spring.’ (French)

In summary, French-derived nouns are not inflected for number, animacy or gender. Articles and French-derived possessives inflect for number and gender. Demonstratives inflect for animacy and number. Cree-derived nouns optionally appear with articles.

2.3 The position of determiners

This section reviews the positions of determiners in the parent languages of Michif, followed by an examination of the position of determiners in Michif and the co-occurrence of these determiners with demonstratives.

2.3.1 French determiner position

In French there are three types of articles: definite, indefinite, and partitive. With minor exceptions, articles are obligatory with nouns. Articles appear with nominals that are in argument positions but do not appear with nominals in vocatives or in some non-argument positions (11). In some cases when a noun is the complement of another noun it does not require an article.

- (11) a. quelle fille!
 what.f girl
 ‘What a girl!’
- b. le gérant **de** théâtre travaille fort
 DEF.m manager PREP theatre work hard
 ‘The theatre manager works hard’ (French)

Definite articles occur with abstract nouns, such as concepts or ideas, common nouns and proper nouns (including places, groups of people and titles), as illustrated in (12). Definite articles do not occur with personal names except for some regional dialects (L’Huillier 1999).

- (12) a. J’étudie **la** linguistique.
 1=study.1 DEF.f linguistics
 ‘I study linguistics.’
- b. J’aime **les** chat-s
 1=like.1 DEF.p cat-p
 ‘I like cats.’
- c. Hier, j’ai visité **l’**Italie
 yesterday, 1=have.1 visit.pp DEF=Italy
 ‘Yesterday, I visited Italy.’ (French)

Definite articles mark definite features on nouns, as in (13), where the subject *livres* ‘books’ can be interpreted as a specific set of books (Lyons 1999).

- (13) J’ai lu **les** livre-s cet été
 1=have.1 read.pp DEF.p book-p DEM.m summer
 ‘I read the books over the summer.’ (French)

Indefinite articles mark an unspecified referent (14a) or a countable item in a set or category (14b). In a stretch of discourse, the indefinite article introduces a referent into the discourse. French count nouns appear with indefinite articles. When an indefinite article is used with a common noun, it refers to an entire set in a general sense and not a typical member of a set, as in (14c), where *un livre* ‘a book’ refers to an entire group of objects.

- (14) a. Il y a **un** chat dans la chambre
 PRN.3m there have.3 INDEF.f cat PREP DEF.f room
 ‘There is a cat in the room.’
- b. Il y a **des** chat-s dans la chambre
 PRN.3m there have.3 INDEF.p cat-p PREP DEF.f room
 ‘There are cats in the room.’
- c. **Un** livre contient des mot-s
 INDEF.m book contain INDEF.p word-p
 ‘A book contains words.’ (French)

Bare nouns are possible in French. The name of a language does not require a definite article when it appears in the object position after the verb *parler* ‘to speak’ (15a). No article appears in constructions with a complement noun that has adjectival value such as (15b) where *géographie* ‘geography’, a noun, modifies *livre* ‘the book’.

- (15) a. Je parle cris.
PRN.1 speak Cree
‘I speak Cree.’
- b. c’est mon livre de géographie.
DEM=be.3 my.m book PREP geography
‘This is my geography textbook’ (French)

Articles do not appear in constructions where an unspecified noun follows an adjective, a verb, an adverb or a noun of quantity combined with the preposition *de* (16).

- (16) a. le carafe est vide de café.
DEF.m carafe be.3 empty PREP coffee
‘There is no coffee in the carafe.’
- b. Il a été accusé de vol.
PRN.3 have be.pp accuse.pp PREP theft
‘He was accused of theft’ (L’Huillier 1999:325) NR - did not like previous example
- c. Il y a moins de chien-s dans la parc.
PRN.3m there have less PREP dog-p PREP DEF.f park
‘There are fewer dogs in the park.’
- d. J’ai acheté une douzaine de livre-s.
1=have.1 buy.pp INDEF.f dozen PREP book-p
‘I bought a dozen books.’ (French)

Articles are optional with cardinal numbers (17). Cardinal numbers cannot appear with indefinite articles or indefinite quantifiers (L’Huillier 1999:592).

- (17) a. J’ai six soeur-s
1=have.1 six sister-p
‘I have six sisters.’
- b. les six soeur-s sont dans la cuisine
DEF.p six sister-p be.3p PREP DEF.f kitchen
‘The six sisters are in the kitchen.’ (French)

In sum, French nouns, with some exceptions, require articles. Bare nouns appear in some non-argument positions. Articles are optional with cardinal numbers. There is some question of whether French definite articles mark semantic definiteness or only nounhood (Rowlett 2007:64).

2.3.2 Cree determiner position

Unlike French, Plains Cree is usually considered not to have a definite article. However, Cyr (1993b, 1993a, 1996) concluded that Montagnais and Plains Cree may in fact be definite article languages. Cyr analyzed usage frequencies of demonstratives in Plains Cree texts, looking at the position of the demonstrative and the function of the noun. According to Cyr, the use of a preposed demonstrative is linked to the definiteness of the noun: if a noun is definite, then a demonstrative is more likely to appear in a preposed position. Over time, preposed demonstratives have grammaticalized into functioning as definite articles in many languages.

2.3.3 Michif determiner position

Michif definite articles function similarly to French articles. They appear with common, abstract and proper nouns (18).

- (18) a. Awtist **lee** zhawn'd Canadaw **la** jig neemi-wuk
 some DEF.p people=of Canada DEF.f jig dance.AI-3p
 'Some Canadians dance the jig.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:150)
- b. saprawn ka-pimichaham-ahk **lee** lway
 necessary Fut-adhere.TI-cj.21 DEF.p laws
 'we have to abide by rules.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15)

The Michif indefinite articles *aen* and *en* occur with count nouns (19a) and with unspecified members of a set (19b), similar to French articles. Indefinite articles often appear in the initial entry of a noun in the *Michif dictionary*, e.g., *mink* - *aen foutroo* (Laverdure & Allard 1983:178). In my corpus indefinite articles are most often used to refer to a single item (19a) and in measure constructions where there is a reference to a measurable amount (19b,c).

- (19) a. **aen** wawrawn kee-ashto-w shi-ootin-imist
 INDEF.m warrant Pst-put.TI-3 COMP-take.TA-cj.X→3'
 'He swore a warrant for his arrest.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:351)
- b. miy-in **en** trawnsh di paen
 give.TA-imp.2→1 INDEF.f slice PREP bread
 'Give me a slice of bread.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:300)
- c. miy-in **en** plen chouyayr li poriy.
 give.TA-imp.2→1 INDEF.f full spoon DEF.m porridge
 'Give me a spoonful of porridge.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:310)

In non-argument positions such as nominal noun complements, French does not always require an article with a noun. This practice does not appear to hold in Michif; my corpus shows that Michif noun complements always do occur with an article. In sentences (20a) and (20b) the expression for 'blue jeans' requires a nominal complement which either appears with the preposition *di* or the definite article *li/la*. Sentence (20c) also contains a noun complement with a definite article. In the orthography, the noun preceding the complement has merged with the preposition *de*, contrary to French orthographic practise. Unlike French, where the preposition *de* is required, *di* in Michif (Bakker 1992:106).

- (20) a. kaykawt tout lee zhenn kishakaw-aywuk lee kilot **di** kwatoon bleu
 almost all DEF.p young wear.TA-3p→3' DEF.p pant PREP cotton blue
 'Most young people wear blue jeans.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:150)
- b. Kahkiyuw kishkaw-aywuk lee kilot **la** twel bleu.
 all wear.TA-3p→3' DEF.p pant DEF.f cloth blue
 'Everybody wears blue jeans.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:46)
- c. Il i awnter li Jiyawb pi la foond **la** mayr bleu.
 PRN.3m be.3 between DEF.m Devil and DEF.f deep=of DEF.f sea blue
 'She's between the Devil and the deep blue sea.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:40)

Nominal complements of verbs, nouns indicating quantity, and nouns behaving as adjectives do not appear as bare nouns in Michif. The adjectival expression *plaen* 'full' is derived from the French expression *plein de* 'full of' and the following French-derived nominal *sawbl* 'sand' occurs with a definite article (21a). The nominal complements of both the verbal and the nominal expressions of quantity in sentences (21b) and (21c) are also followed by definite articles.

- (21) a. La shayayr il i plaen **li** sawbl.
 DEF.f pail PRN.3m be.3 full DEF.m sand
 ‘The pail is full of sand.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:105)
- b. Zha bizwaen **lee** rouloo neu pour lee zhveu.
 1=have.1 need DEF.p roller new PREP DEF.p hair
 ‘I need new hair rollers.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:273)
- c. Gee-atawwaw-n en bwet **li** tea nwaenr.
 1.Pst-buy.AI-non3 INDEF.f box DEF.m tea black
 ‘I bought a box of orange pekoe.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:204)

Michif follows the pattern of French in one respect: nominal complements of adverbs of quantity do not require an article as illustrated in (22). However, the adverb appears with the fossilized preposition *de*.

- (22) Gee-oushipayha-nawn **koubaend** mil ay-kee-oushistaw-yawhk.
 1.Pst-write.TI-1p how.much=of mile COMP-Pst-make.TI-cj.1p
 ‘We wrote down the mileage we made.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:177)

As in French (23a), indefinite and definite articles occur to the left of the noun in Michif (23b).

- (23) a. **Les** livre-s sont sur **une** table.
 DEF.p book-p be.3 PREP DEF.f table
 ‘The books are on a table.’ (French)
- b. **En** sort di kord awpatan ay-oushtaw-hk **li** kawbl pi **li**
 INDEF.f type PREP string use.II-0 COMP-make.TI-cj.3 DEF.m rope and DEF.m
 sack awn balaezh.
 bag PREP jute
 ‘Jute is used to make rope and burlap.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:152) (Michif)

In both languages, when there is a preposed adjective the article precedes the adjective (24).

- (24) a. **le** **vieux** café est amer
 DEF.m old.m coffee be.3 bitter
 ‘Old coffee is bitter.’ (French)
- b. Piyaykwo-w **li** **vyeu** kawfee.
 taste.bitter.II-0 DEF.m old.m coffee
 ‘The old coffee is bitter.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:43) (Michif)

Ordinal numbers behave like pronominal adjectives, occurring between the determiner and the noun. They agree for gender as illustrated in (25b) and (25c). The position and agreement function of ordinals is the same as French ordinals, which occur with a definite article or demonstrative (25a). Ordinal numerals in French are either adjectives or function as pronouns.

- (25) a. Elle est **la troisième** fille.
 PRN.3f be.3 DEF.f third girl
 ‘She is the third girl.’ (French)
- b. **La deuziem** beus kee-takoupasto-w.
 DEF.f second base Pst-arrive.running.AI-3
 ‘He made second base.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:285) (Michif)
- c. Si **leu sizyem** garsoon.
 DEM=3.be their six boy
 ‘He is their sixth son.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:298)

In Michif only the ordinal number follows the article; cardinal numbers optionally (but usually) occur with definite articles and the article follows the number (26).

- (26) a. il ave **set lee** shayz
 PRN.3m have.3 seven DEF.p chair
 ‘There are seven chairs.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:290)
- b. Saprawn **trwaw** leevr chi-amihtaw-yen.
 necessary three book COMP-read.TI-cj.2
 ‘You have to read three books.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:49)

Payyek, the only Cree-derived cardinal number, does not seem to appear without a determiner. *Payyek* appears with possessives (27a), partitive expressions (27b), and definite articles (27c). In all cases in my corpus, when *payyek* appears with a definite article (27c), it has a partitive reading.

- (27) a. **Payyek moo** leevr namahtakoun.
 one my.m book NEG=be.II-0
 ‘I am minus one book.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:178)
- b. **Payyek di** saenk lee ptsit feey kee-nipoo-w.
 one PREP five DEF.p little.f girl Pst-die.AI-3
 ‘One of the quintuplets died.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:248)

- c. Peekoupayin **payyek la** ray'd roo.
 be.broken.II-0 one DEF.f spoke=of wheel
 'One of the wheel spokes is broken.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:310)

In (28), *payyek* appears with an article when the expression is not partitive. The behaviour of *payyek* in conjunction with articles suggests that articles are required with French-derived nouns. This idea will be further explored in section §2.5.

- (28) Li mood kee-mishi-nipah-ihchik par **payyek aen** nom.
 DEF.m people Pst-many-kill.TA-cj.X→3p PREP one INDEF.m man
 'Many people were slaughtered by one man.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:300)

French-derived *aen/en* does not need to occur with *peyyak* to mean 'one' (29).

- (29) a. II a sawn **aen** dway.
 PRN.3m have.3 without one.m finger
 'He is minus one finger.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:178)
- b. **En** grenn gee-meechi-n.
 one.f berry 1.Pst.eat.TI-non3
 'I ate one berry.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:140)

French-derived bare nominals do appear in Michif. In my corpus, most bare nominals were temporal nouns, nouns that refer to an amount or specific period of time including duration and frequency. In (30a,b) and (30c) the nouns *anee* 'year', *smenn* 'week' and *soupee* 'supper' appear without an article. *Anee* appears with a fossilized demonstrative form *ista*. Both *anee* and *soupee* appear with prepositions. In each case the noun is singular.

- (30) a. mischayt la pwee gee-ayaw-nawn **ista anee**
 much DEF.f rain 1.Pst.have.AI-1p DEM year
 'We had abundant rain this year.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:16)
- b. Larzhawn par **smenn** kaw-maenshtina-k pour lee gawzet oushawm mischayt.
 DEF=money PREP week COMP-use.up.TI-cj.3 PREP DEF.p journal too.much much
 'My weekly outlay for newspapers is too much.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:140)
- c. Awshkuw lee krep ni-mouw-awnawnik pour **soupee**.
 sometimes DEF.p crepe 1-eat.TA-1p→3p PREP supper
 'We sometimes eat griddle cakes for supper.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:117)

2.3.4 Co-occurrence of demonstratives and articles

Demonstratives appear in prenominal and postnominal positions. Demonstratives co-occur with definite articles in Michif as illustrated in (31).

- (31) a. Gee-amistaw-n **ooma la** smenn la gawzet di nouvel.
 1.Pst-read.TI-non3 this.0 DEF.f week DEF.f paper PREP news
 ‘I read this week’s issue of the newspaper.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:148)
- b. Kawya menishoushou avek **li** pchi koutoot posh **enima**
 NEG cut.self.AI-imp.2 PREP DEF.m little knife=of pocket that.0
 ‘Don’t cut yourself with that jack-knife.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:149)
- c. Takwashtaw **ounhin lee** zafayr.
 put.more.in.TI-imp.2 these.0p DEF.p affair
 ‘Combine these things’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:65)

Co-occurrence of demonstratives and articles is ungrammatical in French (32) and does not occur in Plains Cree because it does not have articles.

- (32) ***Cette la** fille est forte
 DEM.f DET.f girl be.3 strong.f
 ‘This the girl is strong.’ (French)

Demonstratives in Michif share some similarities with their Cree counterparts. They do not require an overt noun to be grammatical (33).

- (33) a. Katawashitay-wa **enehin**
 be.delicate.II-0p those.0p
 ‘Those are delicate.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:297)
- b. Madoon ouhpimaen ashtaw **anima** dawn la bwet ouhchi.
 Please elsewhere put.TI-imp.3 that.0 PREP DEF.f box from
 ‘Eliminate that thing from the box.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:70)

If the noun is Cree-derived, then an article is not required with a demonstrative. My corpus does not contain a Cree-derived noun with a demonstrative in a declarative phrase. In (34), *kawnipout* is a participle, not a noun; however, participles share some characteristics of nouns. In Algonquian languages, participles are relative clauses that contain both verbal and nominal morphology on

the verb stem (Valentine 2001:510; Johansson 2011). In Michif, relative clauses do have nominal properties in that they can take French determiners.

- (34) **ana** kaw-nipou-t nahinikawshoo-w a Rolla
 that.3 COMP-die-cj.3 be.burried.AI-3 PREP Rolla
 ‘The deceased was buried in Rolla.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:70)

Possessive adjectives appear with demonstratives. Example (35a) is a French-derived copula expression and example (35b) is a question. In French, the demonstrative pronoun *ce* (35c) refers to the possessed noun *signature* but does not appear next to the possessive. It would be ungrammatical for it to immediately precede the possessive as in example (35d).

- (35) a. sitay **mon** vyeu mawna **ena**
 DEM=be.Pst.3 my.m husband used.to that.3
 ‘This is my former husband’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:101) (Michif)
- b. Madoon keetwawm peema **anihin sa** mwenn?
 please again wind.TA-imp.2→3 that.obv his.f top
 ‘Will you rewind his top?’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:268)
- c. C’est ma signature
 DEM=be.3 my.f signature
 ‘This is my signature.’ (French)
- d. *Ce ma signature est
 DEM.3 my.f signature be.3
 ‘This my signature’

2.4 Determining definiteness

The Michif articles *li* and *la* are assumed to be definite determiners, but this is hard to confirm through the corpus derived from the *Michif dictionary*. Narrative texts are useful in analyzing the definiteness of articles. The introduction of a referent in text is with an indefinite article; all subsequent references are with a definite article or a demonstrative functioning as a determiner (Lyons 1999). In the case of Cree and Michif this would be a preposed demonstrative. The Michif text *The story of the Rabbit Dance* (Pelletier 2007) follows this pattern with respect to the introduction

of definite and indefinite articles. The referent *Michif saseur* ‘Michif trapper’ in (36) is introduced to the reader by the indefinite article *aen*.

- (36) ...den pchit vilaazh **aen** Michif saseur kii-wiihki-w Zhaak kii
 PREP=INDEF.f little.f village INDEF.m Métis trapper Pst-live.there.AI-3 Jacques Pst-
 ishinikaashoo.
 be.named.so.AI-3
 ‘...in a small Métis settlement, there live a Michif trapper by the name of Jacques.’ (Pel-
 letier 2007:1)

In the second text, *Fiddle Dancer* (Burton & Patton 2007), the referent *ifriipp* ‘baking tray’ is introduced in (37a) with the indefinite article *aen* and subsequent references use the definite article *li* (37b).

- (37) a. Mooshoom kii-mamakoone-w sa path sur **aen** **nifriipp**...
 grandfather Pst-knead.TA-3→3’ his.f dough PREP INDEF.m baking.tray
 ‘Mooshoom patted the dough down on a baking tray...’ (Burton & Patton 2007:12)
- b. Nikaan mooshoom kii-ahkinum **li** **friipp** daan li foornoo...
 first grandfather Pst-slide.TI-3 DEF.m baking.tray PREP DEF.m oven
 ‘Mooshoom slid the tray into the oven...’ (Burton & Patton 2007:13)

There are few texts in Michif, the majority of which are children’s stories written in English and translated into Michif; the intended audience is mostly English speakers learning Michif as a second language. The problem is that the translator may well be following English structures and word order. However, the possibility remains that in this data the definite article marks definiteness in Michif. The fact that Michif articles could be used to mimic the English definite/indefinite contrast indicates that Michif speakers are aware of the definiteness properties of articles.

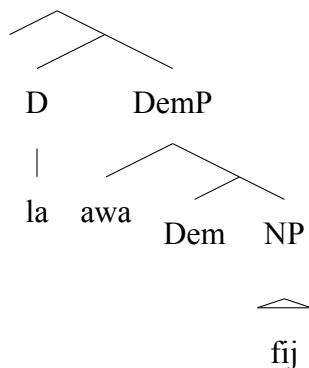
2.5 Analyses of the article position in Michif

It has been assumed by Rosen (2003) that the determiners in Michif are base generated in D. She establishes that demonstratives and determiners occupy different syntactic positions in Michif as a result of their co-occurrence. The D position is assumed to have a definiteness feature although it

has been suggested (Lyons 1999) that definiteness may be its own functional projection within the DP. For the purposes of this thesis, I take the position that definiteness is a feature of D.

In order to establish the position of Michif determiners, the positions of previous elements are reviewed. To recap Rosen's (2003) observations, pronominal adjectives are lexically conditioned and do not appear in postnominal positions. The syntactic position of the adjective is postnominal. Rosen (2003) posits that demonstratives are generated in the specifier position of the demonstrative phrase (DemP) rather than as a specifier of the DP, and then move to the specifier of the DP as a result of agreement features on the noun. The postnominal demonstrative is generated in the same position thus retaining her observation that only pronominal elements agree in Michif. She posits that the postnominal demonstrative is the result of a contrastive focus feature which occurs on the noun. Unlike the grammatical features, the focus feature is a weak feature; thus no movement is required to check features. When a focused element receives stress, the NP scrambles left so that the prosodic stress falls on the demonstrative. Example (38) is an illustration of the proposed base-generated positions of the Michif DP before the movement is applied.

(38) DP (Rosen 2003:54)



In Michif, demonstratives and the indefinite articles co-occur in copula phrases, as illustrated in (39). My corpus does not contain any phrases where they co-occur in a simple phrase.

(39) **Ouma en** tash di pousyayr.
 that.0 INDEF.f spot PREP dust
 'There's a speck of dust.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:309)

Demonstratives and definite articles have been shown to co-occur with French nouns. The definiteness feature is applied to demonstratives as well as determiners (Lyons 1999). Cyr (1993a; 1993b) suggests that preposed demonstratives behave as definite articles and have a definite feature in Montagnais and Plains Cree. Rosen (2003) assumes that preposed Michif demonstratives also behave as definite determiners even though they co-occur with determiners that also mark definiteness. In (40), the deictic information of the demonstratives is not applied in the English translation; in the translations the modified nouns appear with a definite determiner, not the equivalent English demonstratives. The preposed demonstrative marks definiteness, and it appears that the definite article is becoming bleached but it still has the ability to function as an article.

- (40) a. Tou dret gee-miy-ikawin awn prayzawn ana larzhawn.
 all right Pst-give.TA-X→non3 PREP gift that.3 DEF=money
 ‘The money was an outright gift.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:207)
- b. Katawashishi-w ana la feey.
 be.beautiful.AI-3 that.3 DEF.f girl
 ‘The girl is beautiful.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:268)

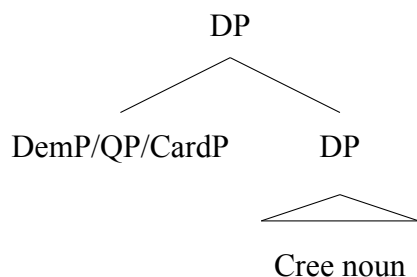
However, section §2.4 shows that the articles still have the ability to mark definiteness. Therefore I assume that both demonstratives and articles mark definiteness.

The Michif DP appears to be undergoing changes where preposed demonstratives seem to be moving to function as definite articles, and articles are moving towards becoming a nominalising head, little ‘n’. The underlying syntactic structure of Michif is Cree, though the syntax of the DP is usually said to be French; however, I assume the Michif DP is a combination of Cree and French (section §1.5.2). Michif meets the criteria of a nonconfigurational language. The syntax of the Michif DP is different from the French DP where some elements, such as numerals, either appear in a different syntactic position or behave differently, such as articles. I propose that the underlying Cree structure does not recognize the French-derived noun without an article. The article turns the French NP into a DP, thus permitting it to adjoin to the Cree DP structure. This is the result of French and Cree’s having different DP structures. Cree shares the characteristics of languages that permit left branch extraction (LBE), as described by Bošković (2005), which, as argued by Johnson

and Rosen (to appear), includes Algonquian languages. The characteristics of LBE languages are such that they have no true determiners, they permit free ordering of determiners and modifiers in the DP, and they permit null anaphora. Therefore nouns are already full DPs. French is not an LBE language because the DP requires constituents to have a rigid order; there are determiners, and no radical pro drop. The structure of the Michif DP is the result of a non-LBE language combining with an LBE language.

In Cree, demonstratives function as modifiers and adjoin to the the DP (Johnson & Rosen to appear). In Michif, demonstratives combine with Cree-derived nouns. Cree-derived modifiers combine with Cree-derived nouns because they are full DPs unlike French-derived nouns which are NPs until they merge with a DP head. Cree-derived nouns do not require an article but may optionally appear with one. The article can be adjoined to the structure of the Cree-derived DP below the modifier phrases and above the DP. Example (41) illustrates a Cree-derived noun phrase structure where the modifiers, such as the demonstrative, adjoin to the DP.

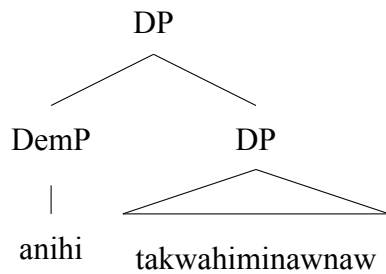
(41) Structure of a Michif Cree-derived DP.



This structure is similar to Reinholtz's (1996:231) structure for Swampy Cree where the demonstrative appears in the specifier of D. In her structure the demonstrative is analyzed as a specifier of the DP.

The DP *anihi takwahiminawnaw* 'those chokecherries' is assigned to the structure in (42). The Cree-derived noun is already understood as a DP and can combine directly with the demonstrative *anihi*.

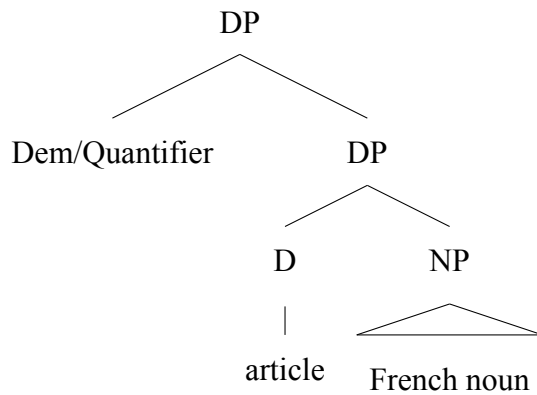
- (42) a. anihi takwahiminawn-aw
 those.0p chokecherry-0p
 ‘those chokecherries’ (VD 2014)



In order for the underlying Cree structure of the phrase to merge with a French-derived noun, the French-derived noun must become a DP. This accounts for the lack of bare French-derived nominals in Michif. For example, *payyek* is the only Cree-derived numeral in Michif and it never appears without an article; *un(e)* can mark cardinality without appearing with *payyek*. The numeral does not recognize the French-derived NP, but does recognize the noun once it becomes a full DP.

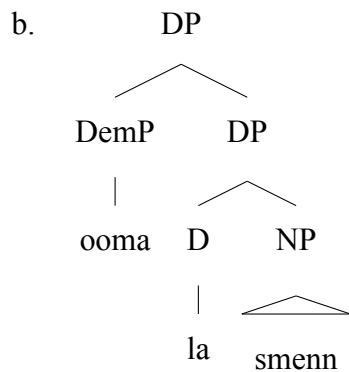
Another piece of evidence that French-derived nouns need to become complete DPs is that nouns in argument positions appear with articles or possessives that can co-occur with demonstratives. Demonstratives have a definiteness feature which may mean that the definite article is being semantically bleached of its definite features. In the cases where French-derived bare nominals occur, these nominals either behave as adverbials or time referents which are adjoined, not merged, into the DP structure. In order for French-derived nouns to achieve full DP status they need to merge with a D constituent such as a possessive or an article. Both can occupy the D position and have a definiteness feature. Example (43) illustrates how a French DP adjoins to the Cree DP where it can be modified by a Cree demonstrative or number. When French-derived nouns combine with Cree numerals or quantifiers, they appear with an article.

(43) Structure of a Michif French-derived DP

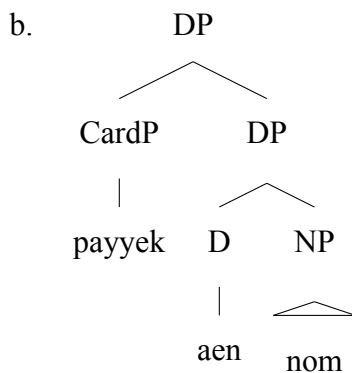


The following examples illustrate how the French-derived NP merges with the D to create a DP wherein the Cree-derived modifier attaches to the French DP. Following Abney (1987), the French DP can be expanded to include adjectives and the French-derived quantifiers.

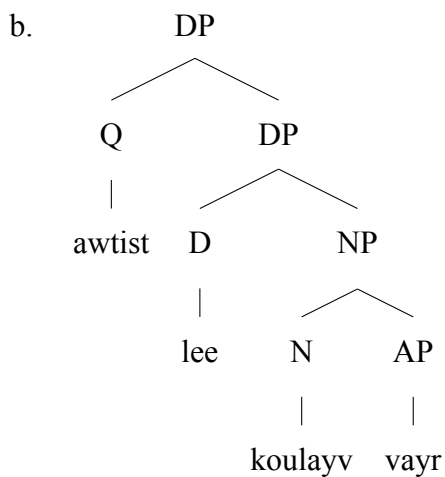
- (44) a. ooma la smenn
 this.0 DEF.f week
 'This week'



- (45) a. payyek aen nom
 one INDEF.m man
 'one man'



- (46) a. Awtist lee koulayv vayr
 some DEF.p snake green
 'a few grass snakes' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:115)



2.6 Conclusion

To sum up, Cree demonstratives, quantifiers and cardinals modify a DP. French APs appear in the NP. The Cree-derived noun is a DP and the French-derived noun is an NP. The French-derived noun is too small a piece of syntactic structure to combine with a Cree DemP, CardP or QP; a DP is

needed. This explains how French D elements appear with Cree demonstratives and quantifiers. In order for a French NP to combine with Cree demonstratives and modifiers the NP has to become a component that the Cree-derived modifiers can recognize. Cree-derived nouns are already considered to be DPs and combine with modifiers, but the French NPs require a D head to become DPs. This is the result of a non-LBE language combining with an LBE language.

Chapter 3

Quantifiers in the Michif DP

3.1 Introduction

Michif, like all Algonquian languages, has a class of indeclinable function words referred to as particles. Particles are members of an ‘elsewhere’ class that contains lexical items that are not classified as nouns, verbs or demonstratives. Research has shown that these particles do not behave as a homogeneous group. Work has been done on categorizing the functions of particles, such as Oxford’s (2008) grammatical study of Innu-aimun particles. This chapter focuses on particles that function as quantifiers within the nominal domain.

A quantifier is a modifier that refers to a number or quantity, either all the members of a set or some of the members in a set. In Algonquian languages such as Swampy Cree (Reinholtz & Russell 1995), quantifiers precede nominals but do not always appear with an overt nominal. Michif quantifiers were initially observed by Rhodes (1977) as being derived from French and Cree elements and are briefly described by Bakker (1992) and Bakker and Papen (1997).

Within the DP, Cree quantifiers precede nominal elements which include possessives, articles, adjectives and nouns. Quantifiers do not agree in number with the noun (Wolfart 1973, 1996; Reinholtz & Russell 1995). Cree nominal quantifiers are not required to occur with an overt nominal and can occur in a discontinuous phrase, whereas French nominal quantifiers agree in number and

gender with the noun they modify. French quantifiers can occur separately from the noun they modify, but they remain coreferential with the noun, as will be illustrated in section §3.2.

This chapter investigates Michif universal quantifiers, both strong and weak, in comparison to the forms in their parent languages. Section §3.2 provides definitions of the terms universal quantifier and strong quantifier, describes the functions of these quantifiers in Swampy Cree, French and Michif. Section §3.3 describes other nominal quantifiers. Section §3.4 examines negative quantifiers followed by section §3.5 on measurement, and section §3.6 on numerals. Section §3.7 provides an analysis of quantifiers and section §3.8 concludes the chapter.

3.2 Universal nominal quantifiers

A universal quantifier is defined as a modifier that refers to an entire set, meaning that when a set is modified all items in the set share the same property. In English, 'all' and 'every' are universal quantifiers. Algonquian universal quantifiers do not agree with nominals for number, gender or obviation in East Cree (Junker 1996), Innu-aimun (Oxford 2008), Ojibwa (Junker 1994b), or Swampy Cree (Reinholtz & Russell 1995). Temporal nouns do not occur with the same universal quantifiers in some Algonquian languages such as East Cree and Ojibwa (Junker 1994b, 1996, 2000). Universal quantifiers occur with mass nouns, and with singular and plural count nouns.

In Swampy Cree, when universal quantifiers appear with singular nouns they behave as strong nominal quantifiers. Reinholtz and Russell (1995) define strong quantifiers as those that have a singular referent with a distributive meaning. Further characteristics of strong quantifiers are: they are definite determiners that refer to a preexisting background set and they are truth conditioned, meaning they only appear in sentences that are exactly true. Strong quantifiers can be universal quantifiers in that they refer to the members of an entire set. However, it is the distributive feature, meaning it applies to each individual member of the set in a one to one ratio, that differentiates a strong universal quantifier from a weak quantifier.

In nonconfigurational languages, strong quantifiers are not possible according to Baker (1995).

He argues that while there are determiners that behave as quantificational elements, strong quantifiers and strongly quantified noun phrases are not possible: strong quantifiers require an overt nominal argument and cannot be coreferential to pronominal arguments licensed by agreement on the verb, thus resulting in ungrammaticality in a PAH language. However, Swampy Cree, which is claimed to be a PAH language by Reinholtz (1995), has strong quantifiers. According to Reinholtz (1999) and Reinholtz and Russell (1995), the Swampy Cree quantifiers *kahkinaw* ‘every’ and *pâhpêyak* ‘each’ are universal quantifiers. Universal quantifiers become strong quantifiers when the noun phrase has a singular noun and singular referent; they are strong only with singular count nouns. They produce a strong distributive interpretation, meaning that the strong quantifier refers to every referent within a set with a one-to-one distribution, as in (1).

- (1) **kahkinaw** wâskâhikan_i pro_i-kî-pasitêw
 all house it-Pst-burns
 ‘every house burnt’
 (not ‘all of the house burnt’) (Reinholtz & Russell 1995:395)

In Swampy Cree, a strong quantifier requires an overt nominal or it is ungrammatical, as in (2a) and (2b), whereas the plural form of the universal quantifier *kahkinaw* can function independent of an overt noun, as illustrated in (2c).

- (2) a. **kahkinaw awiyak** kî-sipwêhtêw
 all person Pst-left-3
 ‘everybody left’
 b. ***kahkinaw** kî-sipwêhtêw
 all Pst-left-3
 ‘everybody left’ (singular **kahkinaw**)
 c. **kahkinaw** kî-sipwêhtêwak
 all Pst-left-3p
 ‘everybody left’ (Reinholtz & Russell 1995:394)

In the examples of strong quantifiers, the quantifier *kahkinaw* occurs with the singular indefinite animate pronoun *awiyak* (2a); the meaning produced equates with universality, i.e. ‘everyone’. Strong quantifiers have the same distribution as their weak (plural) counterparts in that they occur

preminally and occur in discontinuous arguments; however, they cannot occur without an overt nominal, as shown in (2b).

The French universal quantifiers are *tout(e)/tous* ‘all’ and *chacun(e)/chaque* ‘each, every’. These French universal quantifiers are unlike those of Cree, in that *chacun* ‘each’ agrees for gender only (3a), and *tout* ‘all’ agrees for number and gender (3b). In French *tout* can be a noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb and determiner expressing the meaning of totality or ‘all’ in its plural form and ‘everything’ in its singular form (Bosquart 1998; L’Huillier 1999).

- (3) a. **chacune** des fille-s a reçu un livre
 each.f (*DEF.p)/INDEF.p girl-p have.3 receive.pp INDEF.m book
 ‘Each girl received a book’
- b. **toutes** les fille-s ont reçu un livre
 all.fp DEF.p girl-p have.3p receive.pp INDEF.m book
 ‘All girls received a book.’

Although *kahkinaw* in singular usage is a strong quantifier, the same cannot be said for *tout*. In conjunction with a singular count noun, *tout* refers to the whole of something (4a). This differs from the nominals modified by *chaque/chacun* which receive a distributive meaning in the singular (Junker 1994a; Baunaz 2011). In (4b), *chaque* refers to all of the individual girls within that particular set. Example (4c), with *chacun(e)*, has a more distributive meaning, where each girl receives a book one at a time. Quantifiers whose scope affects only the noun phrase occur preminally; postnominal quantifiers and floated quantifiers function as adverbs.

- (4) a. **toute** la famille a reçu un livre
 all.f DEF.f family have.3 receive.pp INDEF.m book
 ‘The whole family received a book’ (not ‘each family received a book’)
- b. **chaque** fille a reçu un livre
 each girl have.3 receive.pp INDEF.m book
 ‘Each girl received a book’
- c. **chacune** fille a reçu un livre
 each.f girl have.3 receive.pp INDEF.m book
 ‘Each girl received a book’

There are specific contexts in French where *tout* functions as a indefinite pronoun ‘everything’ in

the singular form or ‘everyone’ in the plural form. The indefinite pronoun can occur as a singular or plural argument (5a,b). In French, *tout* can separate from the nominal it modifies (5c). However a resumptive pronoun or a referent in a previous clause is required when *tout* is used as an indefinite pronoun referring to ‘everyone’. In French, *tout* precedes other determiners within a clause with some exceptions.

- (5) a. **tout** est mangé
all.m be.3 eat.pp
‘Everything was eaten’
- b. **Tous** vont venir pour la fête
all.mp go.3p arrive for DEF.f party
‘Everyone will come for the party’
- c. **Ils_i** sont **tous_i** invités à la fête
PRN.3mp be.3p all.mp invite.pp PREP DEF.f party
‘All of them are invited to the party’ (French)

In Michif, the Cree-derived strong quantifiers are *kahkiyuw* ‘every’ and *pahpayyek* ‘each’. The French-derived strong quantifiers are *tout* ‘every’ and *saekun* ‘each one’ or *chaeck* ‘each’.

3.2.1 Kahkiyuw/Tout

The Michif universal quantifiers *kahkiyuw* and *tout* correspond to ‘all’ in plural contexts and ‘every’ in most singular contexts. *Kahkiyuw* can modify singular and plural count nouns, as illustrated in (6a) with the plural noun *lee zawnfawn* and in (6b), a discontinuous phrase, with the singular noun *la famee*. In this particular context, *kahkiyuw* refers to a group in its entirety, hence the meaning ‘all of the family’, ‘the whole family’.

- (6) a. **kahkiyuw** lee zawnfawn didawn la maizoun ayaw-wuk pour la nwit
all DEF.p child PREP DEF.f house be.AI-3p PREP DEF.f night
‘All the children are in the house for the night’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:21)
- b. [**kuhkiyuw**]_{DPi} pakwawtay-w [la famee]_{DPi}
all hate.TA-3→3’ DEF.f family
‘He hates the whole family’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:356)

Tout occurs with plural count nouns derived from French and Cree, such as *mee tawnt* ‘my aunts’ in (7a) and *takwahiminawna* ‘chokecherries’ in (7b). *Tout* occurs with the singular count noun *li nawnfawn* ‘the child’ in (7c). Like Cree-derived quantifiers, French-derived quantifiers do not agree for gender, animacy, number or obviation.

- (7) a. **Tout** mee tawnt keeshiki-wuk
all my.p aunt be.big.AI-3p
‘All my aunts are adult.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:18)
- b. gee-mow-aw **tout** lee takwahiminawn-a dans li sac
1.Pst-eat.TA-1→3 all DEF.p chokecherry-0p PREP DEF.m bag
‘I ate every chokecherry in the bag.’ (VD 2014)
- c. **tout** li nawnfawn ki-shipwayhta-w
all DEF.m child Pst-leave.AI-3
‘Every child left’ (VD 2014).

The indefinite pronouns *kaykwuy* ‘something’ and *awiyek* ‘someone’ combine with *kahkiyuw* to produce the meanings ‘everyone’ and ‘everything’. In Cree, the indefinite pronoun *awiyak* is proximate singular and plural, and *awiya* is obviative (Wolfart 1973). Quantifiers occur with both plural (8a) and singular (8b) animate indefinite pronouns. Though the combination of these quantifiers with the indefinite pronoun *li mood* is not found in the *Michif dictionary*, *kahkiyuw* does occur with the French-derived indefinite pronoun according to my consultants. In example (8c), the verb has plural agreement producing a meaning of universality: *kahkiyuw li mood* refers to a whole group leaving at the same time, not the group leaving over a period of time.

- (8) a. **kahkiyuw awiyek** la pwee dawaystam-wuk
all someone DEF.f rain want.TI-3p
‘All the people want rain.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:21)
- b. **kahkiyuw wiyek** weehkishtam la mwel di pakawnn.
all someone like.TI-3 DEF.f marrow PREP nut
‘Everybody likes nutmeats’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:196)
- c. **kahkiyuw li mood** ki-shipwayhta-wak
all DEF.m people Pst-leave.AI-3p
‘Everyone left the room.’ (lit: ‘All of them left the room together’) (VD 2014)

Kahkiyuw modifies both the singular (9a) and plural (9b) inanimate indefinite pronouns. Unlike the Plains Cree forms *kikway* ‘everything-0’ and *kikway-a* ‘everything-0p’ (Wolfart 1973), the plural features of the Michif pronouns are determined by verbal agreement only. This is due to the reduced nominal morphology in Michif.

- (9) a. **kahkiyuw kaykwuy** shouhkakihtay-w
 all something be.expensive.II-0
 ‘Everything is expensive’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:89)
- b. **kahkiyuw kaykwuy** kee-kisheeshtaen-wa dawn li grou vawn
 all something Pst-throw.II-0p PREP DEF.m big wind
 ‘Things hurtled all over in the high wind.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:137)

In the *Michif dictionary*, there are no examples of *tout* with the Cree-derived indefinite inanimate and animate pronouns; however, my consultant confirmed that the forms *tout awiyek* ‘everyone’ and *tout kaykwuy* ‘everything’ do occur in her dialect.

In (10a) *tout* occurs with the French-derived indefinite expression *li mood* in the meaning ‘everyone’. The noun *mood* is marked by the singular definite article, but the verbal agreement morphology is the plural *-wak*. With the plural article the sentence is ungrammatical. On the other hand, in French, plural agreement on the verb is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (10b,c).

- (10) a. **tout** li mood ki-shipwayhta-wak
 all DEF.m people Pst-leave.AI-3p
 ‘Everyone left the room’ (lit: ‘all of them left the room’) (VD 2014) (Michif)
- b. **tout** le monde est arrivé
 all DEF.m people be.3 arrive.pp
 ‘All the people arrived’ (French)
- c. ***tout** le monde sont arrivés
 all DEF.m people be.3p arrive.pp
 ‘All the people arrived’

In plural contexts, *kahkiyuw* does not require an overt animate pronoun; it can function as an independent DP licensed by a pronominal argument on the verb. In both (11a) and (11b) the quantifier occurs preverbally without an overt noun.

- (11) a. **kahkiyuw** aen awtamoobil ayaww-aywuk.
 all INDEF.m car have.TA-3p→3'
 'Everybody has a car' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:55)
- b. **kahkiyuw** kee-nootinitou-wuk daw la dawns.
 all Pst-fight.AI-3p PREP DEF.f dance
 'A free-for-all fight took place at the dance.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:103)

Like *kahkiyuw*, *tout* does not require an overt nominal when an argument of the verb is plural. Compare (12a), where *lee zawnfawn* 'the children' is the subject, with (12b), which shows that no nominal is required in the same context.

- (12) a. **tout** lee zawnfawn ki-shipwayhta-wak
 all DEF.p children Pst.leave.AI-3p
 'All the children left' (VD 2014)
- b. **tout** ki-shipwayhta-wak
 all Pst.leave.AI-3p
 'All left/All of them left' (referring to the children) (VD 2014)

Kahkiyuw requires an overt noun when the nominal argument is singular. When I tried to drop the noun in a singular context the consultant would produce plural agreement on the verb with both *tout* and *kahkiyuw* (13b,c). The plural lacks the sense of a one-to-one distribution where chokecherries are eaten all at once and not one at a time. Distributivity is a characteristic of strong quantifiers as defined by Reinholtz and Russell (1995). Like the Cree quantifiers, Michif quantifiers behave as strong quantifiers with singular nominal arguments and weak quantifiers with plural arguments.

- (13) a. gee-mow-aw **tout** lee takwahiminawn-a dans li sac¹
 1.Pst-eat.TA-1→3 all DEF.p chokecherry-0.p PREP DEF.m bag
 'I ate every chokecherry in the bag.' (VD 2014)
- b. kahkiyuw gee-mow-awwak
 all 1.Pst-eat.TA-1→3p
 'I ate every one' (referring to the chokecherries in the bag, lit: 'I ate all of them') (VD 2014)
- c. tout gee-mow-awwak
 all 1.Pst-eat.TA-1→3p
 'I ate every' (referring to the chokecherries in the bag, lit: 'I ate all of them') (VD 2014)

¹In Plains Cree, *takahwiminân* 'chokecherry' can be either animate or inanimate; since it occurs here as the object of a TA verb, the inanimate plural suffix *-a* (instead of animate plural *-ak*) is probably a recording error, carried over

According to Rosen and Gillon (in press), Cree-derived quantifiers do not make a distinction between French-derived mass nouns and count nouns. They illustrate this using the weak quantifier *mistayi* ‘a lot’ and the strong quantifier *pahpayyek* ‘one by one’ or ‘each’. *Tout* appears with French-derived mass nouns (14a) and Cree mass nouns (14c). As Rosen and Gillon (in press) also observe, French-derived mass nouns occur with singular articles and possessives in Michif (14d), and it appears that Cree-derived mass nouns such as *li kimutiwin* ‘loot’ (14c) can occur.

- (14) a. **Tout** soo galawn soo narzhawn-iyiw kee-mashkam-aenw.
all her.m boyfriend his.m money-obv.poss Pst-take.away.from.TA-3→3’
‘She took all her boyfriend’s money’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:103)
- b. **Tout** li vyeu bitaen ka-maenshchishay-nawn.
all DEF.m old clothing Fut-burn.up.TI-1p
‘We’ll incinerate all the old clothing’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:142)
- c. **tout** li kimutiwin ki-wahtataw-n.
all DEF.m loot 1-take.home.TI-non3
‘I took every stolen good home’ (VD 2014)
- d. **Kuhkiyuw** sa visel il i porsilinn.
all her.f dishware PRN.3 be.3 porcelain
‘Her dishes are all porcelain.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:236)

In examples (15a) and (15b) it is unclear if *kahkiyuw* is a proform or an adverb.

- (15) a. **kahkiyuw** outina
all take.TI-imp.2
‘Take everything’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:87)
- b. **kuhkiyuw** awpachistaw
all use.TI-imp.2
‘Use it all’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:20)

According to Reinholtz and Russell (1995) Swamp Cree *kahkinaw* is a nominal quantifier and does not have adverbial properties such that it can modify time or place adverbials. In Michif, however, according to my consultant *kahkiyuw* can be used with a noun, and the result is an adverbial phrase such as *kahkiyuw plaes* meaning ‘all places’ or *tout li plaes* ‘every place’.

from the *Michif dictionary*’s consistently inanimate usage.

3.2.2 Chaeck/Saekun/Pahpayyek

The other group of universal quantifiers in Michif are *pahpayyek*, *saek/chaek*² and *chaekun/saekun*,³ all meaning ‘each’. With a plural noun the quantifiers have universal reference to a group. *Pahpayyek* is the Cree-derived form for ‘each’; it is a reduplicated form of *payyek* ‘one’, literally ‘one by one’. *Chaekun* and *saek* are derived from the French *chacun* ‘each one’ and *chaque* ‘each’. In French *chaque* functions as an invariable determiner and *chacun* is the pronominal form (Bosquart 1998). *Chaque* occurs only pronominally without a determiner, and *chacun* occurs in the singular with the overt referent optional. Like their Cree-derived counterparts, the French quantifiers have a distributive meaning where each member in a set is referenced rather than a collective group.

Saek and *saekun* can occur with overt singular count nouns derived from French (16a) and Cree (16b). Though my consultant stated that *pahpayyek* means ‘each’ she did not produce any phrases where *pahpayyek* occurred with an overt nominal.

- (16) a. Sarah amista-w **saekun** leevr
Sarah read.TI-3 each.one book
‘Sarah reads each book’ (VD 2014)
- b. Sarah ki-miy-ayw **saek** koohkoum aen prayzawn
Sarah Pst-give.TA-3→3’ each.one grandmother INDEF.m gift
‘Sarah gave each grandmother a gift’ (VD 2014)

In example (17a), *saekun* modifies the overt nominal *feey* ‘girl’ which is understood as either ‘each of the girls’ or ‘each girl’. In French *chacun* cannot be pluralised, so it cannot be used with a plural agreement on the verb. In Michif, however, (17b), (17c) and (17d) lack an overt nominal and can be understood as proform DPs that are referentially linked to a verb via plural agreement. The pronominal forms with singular agreement are ungrammatical in Cree and I could not elicit the pronominal forms with singular agreement in Michif.

- (17) a. **saekun** feey outshi-wak aen leevr
each girl receive.AI-3p INDEF.m book
‘Each girl receives a book’ (VD 2014)

²*saek* and *chaek* are spelling variations of the French *chaque* ‘each’ which appear in the *Michif dictionary*

³*saekun* and *chaekun* are spelling variations of the French *chacune* ‘each one’ which appear in the *Michif dictionary*

- b. **shaekun** aen leevr outshi-wak
 each INDEF.m book receive.AI-3p
 ‘Each receives a book.’ (lit: ‘They each receive one book.’) (VD 2014)
- c. aen leevr **shaek** outchi-wak
 INDEF.m book each receive.AI-3p
 ‘Each one receives a book’ (VD 2014)
- d. aen leevr **pawpayyek** outshi-wak
 INDEF.m book each.one receive.AI-3p
 ‘Each one receives a book’ or ‘each of them receives a book’ (VD 2014)

Reinholtz (1999) states that when the Cree quantifier particles function as pronouns they are understood as plural, as illustrated in (17d) and (18) where *pawpayyek* has the meaning ‘each (of them)’.

- (18) Sarah amista-w pawpayyek
 Sarah reads.TI-3 each.one
 ‘Sarah reads each one’ or ‘Sarah reads each one of them’ (VD 2014)

Rosen and Gillon (in press) state that some quantifiers such as *pawpayyek* modify French-derived mass nouns in measure constructions, as illustrated in (19a) and (19b). French-derived mass nouns without a measure construction, as in (19c), are ungrammatical when preceded only by *saekun*, but a Cree-derived mass noun, such as *kimutiwin* ‘loot’, may appear with the quantifier *pawpayyek*; a partitive construction is not necessary, as illustrated by (19d).

- (19) a. gee-minihkwaw-n **saekun** ver di let
 1.Pst-drink.AI-non3 each glass PREP milk
 ‘I drank each glass of milk’ (VD 2014)
- b. kii-minihkwe-w lii ver diloo **paahpeyak**
 Pst-drink.AI-3 DEF.p glass water one.by.one
 ‘s/he drank the glasses of water one by one’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:29)
- c. *gee-minihkwaw-n **saekun** di let (VD 2014)
- d. gii-waapahten anihi kimutiwin-a **paahpeyak**
 1.Pst-see.TI-non3 those.0p loot-0p one.by.one
 ‘I saw the stolen goods one by one’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:37)

3.2.3 Summary

The universal quantifiers pattern like Cree quantifiers. The French-derived universal quantifiers retain some of the features of French, thus *saekun* can only modify singular nouns. With the exception of *saekun*, the French-derived and Cree-derived quantifiers do not agree for number, gender and obviation. It appears that Michif universal quantifiers follow the patterns observed in Cree universal quantifiers described by Reinholtz (1995, 1999) and Reinholtz and Russell (1995); Cree quantifiers can occur in discontinuous phrases and do not require an overt nominal in order to modify a noun phrase. French-derived and Cree-derived universal quantifiers pattern as strong quantifiers, with an overt nominal required when the noun is singular.

3.3 Other nominal quantifiers

Weak quantifiers modify some members of a set and do not have a distributive meaning. Weak quantifiers are indefinite, and introduce a referent into the discourse. *Many, a lot, a few* and *some* are some English quantifiers. In contrast to strong nominal quantifiers, weak quantifiers can function without an overt nominal, as observed by Reinholtz (1999) for Swampy Cree *mihcêt* ‘many’, *âtiht* ‘a few’ and the plural forms of *kahkinaw* and *pâhpêyak*. This phenomenon can render some phrases ambiguous.

3.3.1 Mischayt/Mishtahi

Mischayt is a Cree-derived quantifier that expresses the notion of ‘much’, ‘many’, ‘a lot’. The French equivalent is *beaucoup* ‘a lot’. *Mischayt* can occur with mass nouns (20a), indefinite DPs (20b), count nouns (20c), and in discontinuous constructions (20d).

- (20) a. **mischayt** li mawzhee d-ayaw-nawn
 much DEF.m food 1-have.TI-1p
 ‘We have an an abundance of food’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15)

- b. **mischayt** li moond mawyahkamikishitou-wuk la bwaysoon ouschi.
 much DEF.m people do.wrong.AI-3p DEF.f alcoholic.drink from
 ‘Liquor leads many people astray.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:28)
- c. **mischayt** lee grenn akiki-wak dawn li bois
 much DEF.p berry grow.AI-3p PREP DEF.m wood
 ‘Many berries grew on the bush’ (VD and HP 2014)
- d. lee farmee’d pataek [**mihchet**]_{DPI} atawway-wuk [lee sack awn balaezh]_{DPI}
 DEF.p farmer=of potato much buy.AI-3p DEF.p bag PREP burlap
 ‘Potato farmers buy a lot of gunny sacks’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:119)

Mischayt is ungrammatical in constructions involving singular count nouns, as illustrated in (21).

It is also problematic with French mass nouns which occur in singular form only.

- (21) ***mischayt** la grenn akiki-w dawn li bois
 much DEF.f berry grow.AI-3 PREP DEF.m wood
 ‘much berry grows in the woods’ (VD and HP 2014)

Mistahi occurs only with plural nouns (22a). Rosen and Gillon (in press) note that *mistahi* is ungrammatical with French-derived mass nouns because they cannot be pluralized (22b). However, in the *Michif dictionary*, *mistahi* appears with a French-derived mass noun as illustrated in (22c) without a measure or a partitive. There seems to be no apparent distinction in Michif between *mischayt* and *mistahi*.

- (22) a. **Mishtahi** lee rasinn awpachitawniwun chi-nawtawihou-hk.
 much DEF.p herb be.used.II-0 COMP-be.cured.AI-cj.X
 ‘Many herbs are used for medicines for curing.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:131)
- b. ***mishtayi** lii diloo
 much DEF.p water
 ‘lots of water’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:28)
- c. **mishtahi** li mawzhee ashtay-w
 much DEF.m food be.placed.II-0
 ‘We had plenty of food’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:232)

3.3.2 Awtist/Cheuk

The quantifiers meaning ‘some’ are the Cree-derived *awtist* or *awtiht* and the French-derived *cheuk*. *Cheuk* is perhaps derived from the French quantifier *quelque* ‘some’. *Awtist* occurs with a plural noun, *lee tukwahiminawna* ‘chokecherries’ (23a), and *cheuk* occurs with a plural verb (23b).

- (23) a. **Awtist** lee tukwahiminawn-a noo mitouni kee-peeniki-pichikawtay-wa
 some DEF.p chokecherry-0p NEG much Pst-chop-be.coarse.II-0p
 ‘Some chokecherries are coarsely mashed.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:64)
- b. Cheuk shawr kee-shaykeewaystahikawshou-wuk daw li garazh kwayesh
 some car Pst-be.recalled.AI-3p PREP DEF.m garage right
 ay-ah-ischik.
 COMP-place.TA-cj.X→3p
 ‘Some cars were recalled for minor adjustment’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:254)

Awtist also occurs with mass nouns (24a)⁴ and in a discontinuous phrase (24b).

- (24) a. **Awtiht** li mood aen menitoo ayaw-aywuk ashpeehchi li
 some DEF.m people INDEF.m great.spirit have.TA-3p→3’ than DEF.m
 Bon Jeu-w-a
 good god-obv
 ‘Some people have a god other than God’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:112)
- b. Bæčis⁵[**a•tiht**]_{DPi} ki•mi•čišu-w [su māži]_{DPi}
 John some Pst-eat.AI-3 POSS food
 ‘John ate some of his food’ (Rhodes 1977:17)

In the case of mass nouns, *cheuk* and *awtist* both can produce a partitive reading, as illustrated with *morseau’d paen* ‘a piece of bread’ (25a) and *l’awrzhawn* ‘money’ (25b).

- (25) a. il ave *cheuk* morseau’d paen ayshkwapit
 PRN.3 have.Pst several pieces=of bread be.left.AI-cj.3
 ‘There were several pieces of bread left.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:290)
- b. **Awtist** l’awrzhawn’d la Maenrik kee-ayaww-ayw.
 some DEF=money=of DEF.f America Pst-have.TA-3→3’
 ‘She had a few greenbacks.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:117)

⁴ In French *le monde* patterns as an indefinite pronoun when it occurs with *tout*, and otherwise as a mass noun.

⁵The given name Jean-Baptiste becomes *Bachees* in Michif; Rhodes (1977) translates it as ‘John’.

3.3.3 Aen pchi braen/Apischeesh

Aen pchi braen or *apischeesh* is used to indicate a small amount, i.e., ‘a little bit’ or ‘some’. According to my consultants, *aen pchi braen* is considered archaic and is not much in use. According to one consultant *aen pchi braen* is used more to refer to food and drink. Both *aen pchi braen* and *apischeesh* can occur with plural count nouns as in (26).

- (26) a. **aen pchi braen** lee sigaret d-ayaww-awwuk
 INDEF.m little bit DEF.p cigarette 1-have.TA-1→3p
 ‘I have a few cigarettes’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:94)
- b. **apischeesh** lee sigaret d-ayaww-awwuk
 little DEF.p cigarette 1-have.TA-1→3p
 ‘I have a few cigarettes’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:94)

Aen pchi braen can occur with mass nouns, and in the data it appears most frequently in phrases which produce partitive readings in the English translation, as in (27b,d).

- (27) a. mouhchi yawnk **aen pichi braen** li kawndee miy-in
 only just INDEF.m little bit DEF.m candy give.TA-imp.2→1
 ‘Just give me a wee bit of candy!’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:353)
- b. **Aen pchi braen** nawat gee-miy-ikawin **larzhawn**
 INDEF.m little bit by.comparison 1.Pst-be.give.TA-X→non3 DEF=money
 niya
 PRN.1
 ‘I got the least money’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:162)
- c. **Apischeesh** li paen d-awaym-ow
 little DEF.m bread 1-have.need-TA-1→3
 ‘I need a piece of bread’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:183)
- d. **Apischeesh** li sel takwashtaw dawn too cake.
 little DEF.m salt add.TI-imp.2 PREP your.m cake
 ‘Mix a little salt in your cake.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:180)

Identifying partitives in Michif is difficult because the *de* and *des* phrases that mark partitives in French do not exist in Michif (Bakker 1992), except for some fossilized forms such as *diloo* ‘water’ (28).

- (28) Noo mooshahkinam **diloo** ooma li laenzh
 NEG pick.up.TI-3 water this.0 DEF.m cloth
 ‘This cloth is not absorbent’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:16)

3.3.4 Summary

Weak quantifiers do not agree for number, gender or animacy just like their Cree counterparts; however, unlike in Cree *mischayt* and *mistahi* appear to be synonymous. The French-derived and Cree-derived quantifiers meaning ‘some’ and ‘a little’ appear with mass and plural count nouns. French-derived quantifiers are more likely to occur in French-derived nominal constructions such as partitives.

3.4 Negative quantifier expressions

French has negative quantifiers such as *personne* and *aucun* ‘no one’, with some exceptions of negatives modifying indefinite pronouns, but Michif does not. In order to provide the negative meaning of a quantifier, Plains Cree uses sentential negation (29a). As Junker (2000) observed, East Cree does the same (29b). *Noo* and *kawya* are two Michif negators which appear with the quantifiers *tout* and *mistahi*.

- (29) a. osâm mistahi ki-kitimâkisi-nânaw **êkâ awiyak** ê-wâhkôm-âyahk
 too.much much 2-be.poor.AI-21 NEG someone COMP-have.kin.TA-cj.21→3
 ‘We are altogether too poor, since we have nobody for a kinsman’
 (Wolfart 1996:396) (Plains Cree)
- b. **Namui** waach **peyakw** awaash-ach nipaa-uch
 NEG even one baby-3p sleep.AI-3p
 ‘Not even one of the babies is sleeping.’ (Junker 2000:5) (East Cree)
- c. **Noo tout** lee poul wawwi-wuk li zaff avik li kalipay jeur.
 NEG all DEF.p chicken lay.AI-3p DEF.m egg with DEF.m shell hard
 ‘Not all chickens lay hard shelled eggs.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:125) (Michif)
- d. **kawya** [**mishtahi**]_{DPi} ashtaw [li sel]_{DPi}
 NEG much put.TI-imp.2 DEF.m salt
 ‘Don’t put in much salt’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185) (Michif)

Indefinite pronouns in Michif can occur with the non-sentential negator *nama* to produce ‘nothing’ (30a) and ‘no one’ (30b), like the Cree forms *nama kîkway* ‘nothing’ and *nama awiyak* ‘no one’.

- (30) a. **Nama kaykwuy** gee-oushistaw-n anoush.
 NEG something 1.Pst-do.TI-non3 today
 ‘I did nothing today.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:194)
- b. **Nam ouwiyek** miyayhitem chi-moushtayaw-t a lawntour lee zoot.
 NEG someone like.TI-3 COMP-be.bare.AI-cj.3 PREP around DEF.p other
 ‘No one likes to be bare around anyone else.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:35)

The equivalent of French *rien* ‘nothing’ does occur in Michif as the indefinite negative pronoun *aryaen* ‘nothing’ (31). It appears most often in a prepositional phrase or oblique phrase.

- (31) Kee-keehkawstou-wuk pour aryaen.
 Pst-quarrel.AI-3p PREP nothing
 ‘They got into a fight over nothing.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:283)

3.5 Measurement

Units of measurement are nouns in Michif, as in French, but they function as quantifiers, appearing before mass nouns with the preposition *di* (32a,b) and before plural count nouns with a definite article (32c,d).

- (32) a. **En shayayr** doo nawta.
 INDEF.f bucket of=water fetch.TI-imp.2
 ‘Get a bucket of water.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:52)
- b. **En tonn** di fwaen gee-atawwa-nawn.
 INDEF.f ton PREP hay 1.Pst-buy.AI-1p
 ‘We bought a ton of hay.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:336)
- c. **En kwart** lee grenn isoon shayr.
 INDEF.f quart DEF.p berry PRN.3p=be.3p expensive
 ‘A quart of berries is expensive.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:247)
- d. **Aen baree** lee pataek gee-yaww-awwuk.
 INDEF.m bushel DEF.p potato 1.Pst-have.TA-1→3p

‘I got a bushel of potatoes.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:53)

Michif has inherited some special measurement nouns from French, which has, for example, *cuillerée* ‘spoonful’ (from *cuillère* ‘spoon’), but it also uses translations of the English equivalents, with the adjective *plen* ‘full’ modifying the noun of measurement.

- (33) a. **En plen cheuyayr a tea li seuk gee-astaw-n daw moon**
 INDEF.f full spoon PREP tea DEF.m sugar 1-put.TI-non3 PREP my.m
 porridge.
 porridge
 ‘I put a teaspoonful of sugar on my cereal’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:328)
- b. **En plen cheuyayree li seuk ashtaw.**
 INDEF.f full spoonful DEF.m sugar put.TI-imp
 ‘Put in a spoonful of sugar.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:310)
- c. **En plenn boutay lee marb d-ayaw-awwuk.**
 INDEF.f full bottle DEF.p marbles 1-have.TA-1→3p
 ‘I have a jarful of marbles.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:149)
- d. **Yeank en plen peup di hawr roozh d-ayaw-n.**
 only one.f full pipe PREP herb red 1-have.TI-non3
 ‘I have only one pipeful of kinnikinnik.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:230)

No Cree-derived examples of measurement quantifiers were found.

Numerals can appear with French-derived mass nouns but only in the specific context of measurement or, as Rosen and Gillon (in press) observe, when numeral quantifiers appear with French-derived mass nouns in the context of something being measured, as in (34).

- (34) **deu butey diloo**
 two bottles water
 ‘two bottles of water’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:27)

3.6 Numeral quantifiers

Michif numeral quantifiers are derived from French, with the exception of *payyek* ‘one’, which is derived from Cree (Rhodes 1977; Bakker 1992). In French, numerals are classified as adnominal quantifiers or determiner quantifiers which means they occur only in the nominal domain (Doetjes

1997). In Algonquian languages such as Innu-aimun (Oxford 2008), numerals can also pattern as adnominal quantifiers.

The ordering of numerals in the Michif DP is different from that of French. In French, numerals occur between the determiner and the noun. Only definite nouns appears to be marked by a determiner, as illustrated in (35a) and (35b) where the possessive *mes* and the determiner *les* occur before the numeral. Sentence (35c) lacks a determiner because the DP is indefinite.

- (35) a. Mes **six** livres sont sur la table.
 my.p six book.p be.3p PREP DEF.f table
 ‘My six books are on the table.’
- b. Les **quatre** chaise-s sont dans la cuisine.
 DEF.p four chair-p be.3p PREP DEF.f kitchen
 ‘The four chairs are in the kitchen’
- c. J’avais **cent** livre-s.
 I=have.Pst hundred book-p
 ‘I had a hundred books’ (French)

Swampy Cree numerals such as *nîso* ‘two’ may precede the noun (36a), occur without an overt NP (36b), or occur in a discontinuous phrass (36c), as noted by Reinholtz (1999).

- (36) a. kî-nipah-êw **nîso** pinêsis-a
 Pst-kill.TA-3→3’ two bird-obv
 ‘He killed two birds.’
- b. kî-nipah-êw **nîso**
 Pst-kill.TA-3→3’ two
 ‘He killed two.’
- c. **nîso** kî-nipah-êw pinêsis-a
 two Pst-kill.TA-3→3’ bird-obv
 ‘He killed two birds.’ (Reinholtz 1999:223) (Swampy Cree)

Michif quantifiers pattern like to Cree and French with respect to position. Unlike the French equivalents, in Michif the numeral is followed by the definite article. Numerals can occur without an overt nominal (37b) and they can occur in discontinuous constituents (37c) as discussed in section §4.2.3. In (37d), the nominal *pyaes* ‘dollars’ is preceded by a numeral quantifier but lacks a

definite article because the DP is indefinite.

- (37) a. **Trwa** lee zom kee-weechih-aywuk daw la shawnbr
 three DEF.p men Pst-help.TA-3p→3' PREP DEF.f room
 'Three men assisted him into the room.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:28)
- b. **Jiznaef** d-ayaw-n
 nineteen 1-have.TI-non3
 'I'm nineteen' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)
- c. **naef** d-ayaw-n **lee bol**
 nine 1-have.TI-non3 DEF.p bowl
 'I have nine bowls' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)
- d. Saprawn li shawnzh chi-ayaw-uk pour **saenk** pyaes.
 necessary DEF.m change COMP-have.TA-cj.1→3 PREP five dollar
 'I need change for a five.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:59)

Contrary to the descriptions provided by Bakker (1992) and Rhodes (1977) in which the possessive follows the numeral, my consultant produced a form with the possessive preceding the nominal quantifier, *mi saenk tarte* (38b). In conversation with Nicole Rosen, who was present at the time of elicitation, we discussed the possibility that this was a direct translation of the English phrase.

- (38) a. ma sueur gee-mow-ew **saenk** mi tarte
 my.f sister Pst-eat.TA-3→3' five my.p pie
 'My sister ate my five pies.' (VD 2014)
- b. lma seuer gee-mow-ew mi **saenk** tarte
 my.f sister Pst-eat.TA-3→3' my.p five pie
 'My sister ate my five pies.' (VD 2014)

Payyek and the French-derived indefinite article *aen* or *en* can co-occur, as illustrated in (39).

- (39) a. Li mood kee-mishi-nipah-ihchik par **payyek aen** nom.
 DEF.m people Pst-many-kill.TA-cj.X→3p PREP one INDEF.m man
 'Many people were slaughtered by one man.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:300)
- b. **Payyek en** plawnsh di kawr kee-wawkawhkatoutay-w.
 one INDEF.f board PREP barrel Pst-be.warped.II-0
 'One lag on the barrel warped' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:159)

Unlike other numerals, *payyek* consistently occurs with an indefinite article or a possessive unless

it modifies a relative clause (40a) (where the relative clause is marked by the French-derived relativiser *ki*) or a Cree-derived nominal such as *kimutiwin* ‘loot’ (40b). When *payyek* occurs with a definite article (40c) or a possessive (40d), it receives a partitive reading.

- (40) a. Wiya **payyek ki** la pat tayraen
 PRN.3 one REL 3=have NEG land
 ‘He is one of the landless’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:159)
- b. **peejek** kimutiwin
 one loot
 ‘one stolen good’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:11)
- c. Wiya **payyek li** zheuree daw la koor.
 PRN.3 one DEF.m jury PREP DEF.f court
 ‘She is one of the jury at the trial’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:152)
- d. **payyek ma** grous dawn gee-manipitamoohkaw-n
 one my.f big.f tooth 1.Pst-pull.loose.TI-non3
 ‘I had one of my bicuspid extracted’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:41)

The French-derived indefinite articles also function as the number ‘one’. Masculine *aen* and feminine *en* can only select single count nouns, and with frequency or duration nominals indicate a single amount, as shown in (41a) and (41b) respectively.

- (41) a. Tout lee fam maryee nakishkawtou-wuk **en fway** par simenn.
 all DEF.p woman marry.pp meet.AI-3p one.f time PREP week
 ‘All the wives meet one day a week.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:357)
- b. Kawya **en minwit** pataha.
 NEG one.f minute late.TI-imp.2
 ‘Don’t be late one minute.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:178)

In French, cardinal numbers do not function as adverbials, unlike other quantifiers such as *tout*, and they occur with count nouns (Doetjes 1997). Numerals greater than *un(e)* ‘one’ appear with plural count nouns whereas ‘one’ occurs only with singular count nouns. Rosen and Gillon (in press) found that French-derived mass nouns do not occur with numeral quantifiers (42a) whereas *payyek* does occur with Cree-derived mass nouns. Example (42b) shows that French-derived Michif quantifiers pattern like French quantifiers with mass nouns.

- (42) a. ***trwaa** lii mañzhi
 three DET.p food
 ‘three food’ (Rosen & Gillon in press:27) (Michif)
- b. ***cing** pain-s
 five bread-p
 ‘five breads’ (French)

Cree-derived mass nouns modified by numerals do function as count nouns as in (43).

- (43) **peeyek** kimutiwin
 one loot
 ‘one stolen good’ (not ‘one’ kind of stolen goods’) (Rosen & Gillon in press:35)

Numerals may be modified by other quantifier particles. In order to express notions such as approximation and entirety, numerals can be modified by quantifiers such as *api pray* ‘approximately’, *nanduw* ‘about’, *tout* ‘all’, and *kahkiyuw* ‘all’ (44). However, the quantifier *kahkiyuw* may be separated from the object phrase *dooz lee pomme* (44c). Numerals and other quantifiers demonstrate the ability to behave as discontinuous elements; Chapter 4 will show that the discontinuous element remains in a prenominal position. In (44c), however, *kahkiyuw* is postnominal, so it is more likely functioning as an adverb.

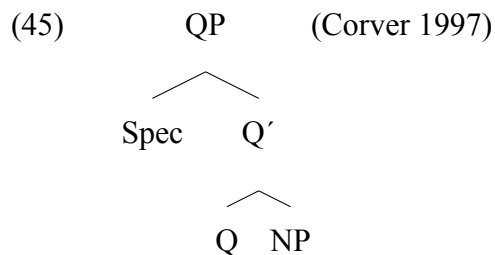
- (44) a. **nanduw**⁶ *sawn* lee poul da-ayaww-awuk
 about hundred DEF.p chicken 1-have.TA-1→3p
 ‘I have about a hundred chickens’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:15)
- b. Sarah kitamaw-êw **kahkiyuw** *dooz* lee pomme
 Sarah eat.all.TA-3→3’ all twelve DEF.p apple
 ‘Sarah ate all twelve apples’ (VD 2014)
- c. *dooz* lee pomme **kahkiyuw** Sarah ki-mow-êw
 twelve DEF.p apple all Sarah Pst-eat.TA-3→3’
 ‘Sarah ate all twelve apples’ (VD 2014)

In sum, numeral quantifiers occur preminally and in discontinuous phrases. Numerals occur with count nouns and in partitive constructions with French-derived mass nouns. Unlike the French-derived numerals, the Cree-derived *payyék* can occur with Cree-derived mass nouns.

⁶*nanduw* can be replaced with *api pray*

3.7 Analyses

The position of the quantifier in the DP in Michif is to the left of the noun and its article. The cardinal numerals occupy the same position as the quantifier. They are a functional class of particles that select a DP. Corver (1997) concludes that QP is a functional projection of the nominal phrase from which Doetjes (1997) derives a structure for French in which the quantifier selects a nominal head.



The head in a quantifier phrase can select for the NP, AP or another QP. In French, Doetjes (1997) argues that adnominal quantifiers occupy the head of the QP. Therefore, she proposes a structure similar to Abney's (1987). Cardinal numbers (CardP) select for NPs the same as the nominal quantifiers. Since Michif numeral quantifiers behave similarly to those in French, they likely occupy the same syntactic positions as French quantifiers. A quantifier that modifies another quantifier is adjoined rather than merging below the DP. Quantifiers select an NP or possibly an empty NP (Abney 1987; Corver 1997).

A problem for Algonquian languages observed by Junker (1994a) is that universal quantifiers can create ambiguous meanings when they are used to modify nominals in transitive phrases. Quantifiers lack agreement morphology for number, gender, obviation and possession, and are insensitive to the person hierarchy. These characteristics of quantifiers result in different possible interpretations of a phrase, as illustrated in (46). The Ojibwa sentence can be interpreted in three manners which are illustrated in (47), where the quantifier *kakina* modifies the subject, object or both.

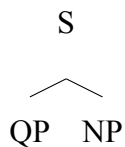
(46) kakina o-wâbam-âwân pebens-an ininiw-ag
 all 3-see.TA-3p→3' baby-obv man-3p
 'all the men see the babies' (Junker 1994a:2)

(47) Possible interpretations of (46)

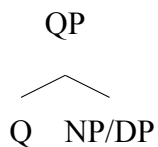
- a. All the men see the babies.
- b. the men see all the babies.
- c. all the men see all the babies. (Junker 1994a:2)

Junker (1994b) proposes the tree structure illustrated in (48), with a QP that has the quantifier as its head and is the maximal possible projection. Junker (1994a) posits that in Algonquian a universal quantifier is adjoined to the phrase unlike the French tree structure (49) where the noun phrase is the complement of Q.

(48) Algonquian (Junker 1994b:12)



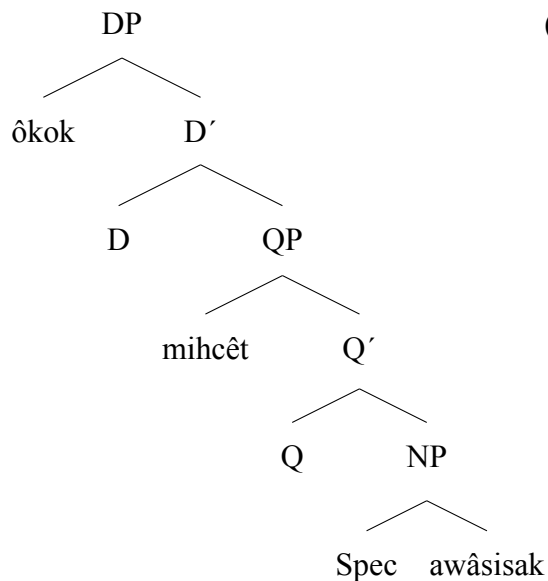
(49) French (Junker 1994b:12)



In (48), the tree accounts for some of the variations in position of quantifiers in relation to the nouns they modify. However, adjunction does not account for the quantifiers always occurring before the noun. This structure could predict the quantifier's appearance to the right of the noun. As noted, this structure works for quantifiers in PAH languages. However, it becomes problematic in cases where the universal quantifier cannot be indexed to a pronominal argument (Reinholtz & Russell 1995; Reinholtz 1995; Reinholtz 1999). As previously mentioned, in Plains Cree the universal quantifier modifies a singular NP when it is a strong quantifier and has a distributive

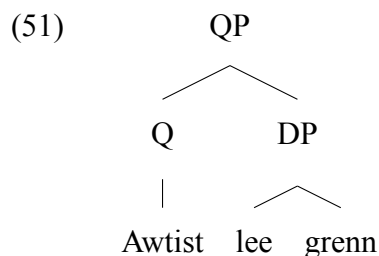
meaning. Reinholtz and Matthewson (1996) propose a slightly different structure for quantifiers in Swampy Cree, in which the quantifier is in the specifier of the QP and the demonstrative is the specifier of the DP. The QP is merged with the DP, not adjoined.

(50) (Reinholtz & Matthewson 1996)



- a. ôkok mihcêt awâsis-ak
 these.3p many child-3p
 ‘Many of those children’

I propose the following structure for Michif QPs, where the quantifier or the numeral is the Q head and is merged with the DP. This arrangement is different from Reinholtz and Matthewson’s structure in that the quantifier is in the head position, not the specifier; therefore, the DP is the complement of Q.



- a. Awtist lee grenn
 some DEF.p berry
 ‘some berries’

With Cree nominals, the article is optional and since the Cree-derived noun is already a complete DP, it takes the quantifier as its complement, as illustrated in (52).

- (52)
-
- a. mischayt (lee) takwahiminawn-a
 much (DEF.p) chokecherry-0p
 'lots of chokecherries'

Following Bakker (1992), I treat numerals as occupying the same syntactic position as quantifiers because they precede articles and possessives. When numerals are modified, the modifier's position is flexible. Like the quantifier, the numeral appears as the head of the QP (53).

- (53)
-
- a. trwa lee zom
 three DEF.p men
 'Three men'

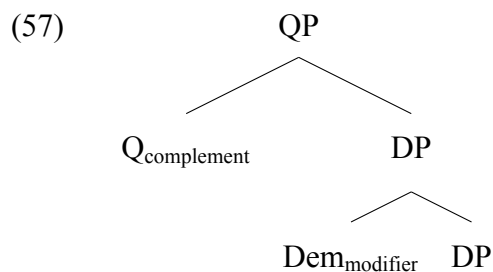
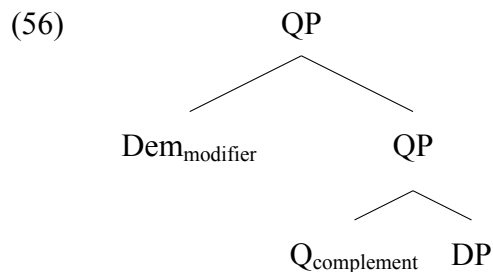
Unlike Reinholtz and Matthewson (1996), who analyse demonstratives as occupying the specifier position of the DP, I treat demonstratives as heads. In section §2.5, I showed that demonstratives are modifiers due to the co-occurrence of demonstratives and determiners. I also showed that in order for a Cree element to merge with a French-derived noun phrase it must be a full DP. Therefore neither the quantifier nor the demonstrative can be a specifier of a DP; it needs to function outside the DP. If the Michif noun phrase is the combination of an LBE language, French, with a non LBE

language, Cree, then following from Bošković (2005), the demonstratives can be modifiers of the QP or of the DP. Though my corpus has no examples of a demonstrative appearing with a quantifier, my consultants produced the examples in (54) and (55) in which the demonstrative can appear both pre- and postnominally.

(54) li pwesonyeen **mischayt** kee-kawschitin-ayw lee pwesoon **anihi**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish those.3'
 'The fisherman caught many of those fish' (VD and HP 2014)

- (55) a. **mischayt anihi** kee-kawschitinayw lee pwesoon
 b. **mischayt** kee-kawschitinayw **anihi** lee pwesoon
 c. **anihi mischayt** kee-kawschitinayw lee pwesoon

The trees in (56) and (57) illustrate that Q takes DP as its complement and the demonstrative is a modifier of either the QP or the DP.



Therefore neither the quantifier or the demonstrative can appear without a DP. This permits the co-occurrence of quantifiers or demonstratives and an article.

3.8 Conclusion

Michif weak and strong quantifiers pattern similarly to Cree quantifiers with some exceptions, such as weak quantifiers not agreeing for animacy or number. Quantifiers appear in a prenominal position. However, measurement expressions and numerals do not pattern the same as those in the parent languages from which they are derived. The DP is the complement of the quantifier. This structure permits the co-occurrence of quantifiers and articles.

Chapter 4

Discontinuous determiner phrases

4.1 Introduction

One of the hallmarks of a nonconfigurational language is the occurrence of discontinuous constituents. These characteristics were introduced in section §1.5.2. This chapter examines discontinuous DPs in Michif. Discontinuous DPs are modifiers, either a quantifier or a determiner, separated from a noun by an element that is not part of the nominal constituent, such as a verb. Discontinuous DPs have been described in Fox (Dahlstrom 1987), Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (Bruening & Lin 2001), Blackfoot (Bliss 2012), Ojibwa (Rhodes & Kathol 1999), Swampy Cree (Reinholtz 1995) and Michif's parent language, Plains Cree (Wolfart 1996). In each of these languages there are restrictions on where a discontinuous constituent may occur. In the languages listed, the discontinuous element occurs to the left of the rest of the discontinuous noun phrase, most often before the verb. A recurrent explanation for the existence of discontinuous elements is the possibility that they are a part of the information structure, either topic or focus (Reinholtz 1995; Lochbihler 2009; Johnson & Rosen to appear).

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: I begin with a description of Michif discontinuous modifiers and a comparison to structures in the source languages, with a brief description of some problematic data in section §4.2. Section §4.3 provides a distinction between dislocation and

discontinuous syntactic structures, and the possibility that discontinuous structures are a variation of quantifier float. It also examines proposed analyses of discontinuous elements in Algonquian languages such as Jelinek's Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH).

4.2 Discontinuous modifiers

In Michif, nominal elements such as quantifiers, demonstratives and numerals can be discontinuous from the rest of the DP, but articles and possessives cannot. Of the parent languages, Cree permits discontinuous elements while French does not. In Michif, however, French-derived quantifiers and numerals can be discontinuous.

4.2.1 Quantifiers

Plains Cree permits discontinuous quantifiers in DPs whereas French finds these structures ungrammatical. In example (1a), Plains Cree shows a discontinuous DP with a quantifier; the equivalent French example (1b) is ungrammatical.

- (1) a. êkota **mihcêt** ni-nipah-âwak **nisk-ak** mîna **sîsîp-ak**
 there much 1-kill.TA-1→3p goose-3p and duck-3p
 'Over there i killed a lot of geese and ducks' (Wolfart 1996:39) (Plains Cree)
- b. ***beaucoup** j'ai tué **les** oie-s et **les** **canard-s**.
 much 1=have.1 kill.pp DEF.p goose-p and DEF.p duck-p
 'I killed a lot of geese and ducks' (French)

In Michif, modifiers sometimes appear separately from the rest of the DP in a preverbal position, making the DP discontinuous. These nominal modifiers are quantifiers or numerals, not adjectives. Recall that quantifiers are members of the functional class referred to as particles. The position and definition of quantifiers within a Michif DP are discussed in section §3.6. Example (2) shows the quantifier *apisheesh* 'small, little' in a continuous phrase, where it occurs to the left of the determiner and the noun; it also has a partitive reading.

- (2) **Apisheesh li paen** d-awaym-ow
 small DEF.m bread 1-have.need-TA-1→3
 'I need a piece of bread' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:183)

Example (3) illustrates a discontinuous DP in an imperative clause where the quantifier *awtiht* 'some' occurs ahead of the verb and the overt object follows; the object is modified by a locative phrase.

- (3) **awtiht** menisha **lee brawnsh** daw li zawbr ouschi
 some cut.off, TI-imp.2 DEF.p branch PREP DEF.m tree from
 'Lop off some of the branches from the tree' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:166)

In example (4a), the phrase has SVO order; the subject *li pwesonyeen* occurs before the discontinuous quantifier *mischayt*. Example (4b) shows that a discontinuous quantifier can modify a possessive DP. Finally, in (4c) the locative or oblique phrase *li risarv ouschi* follows the discontinuous constituent. All of these examples contain both an overt subject and object. While it is possible that *mischayt* could function the adverb meaning 'a lot', *mischi* is the form that appears in the preverb position

- (4) a. li pwesonyeen **mischayt** kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee pwesoon**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish
 'The fisherman caught many fish' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:96)
- b. Bæčis **a•tiht** ki•-mi•čišu-w **su māži**
 John some Pst-eat.AI-3 his.m food
 'John ate some of his food' (Rhodes 1977:17)
- c. lee pstit vil alawntour **mishtahi** oushah-aywuk **larzhawn** li
 DEF.p little.p village surrounding much make.TA-3p→3' DEF=money DEF.m
 risarv ouschi
 reservation loc.from
 'The outlying towns make a lot of money from the reservation' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:206)

Sentence (5) contains an imperative clause with the negator *kawya*. The negator occurs at the beginning of the clause, and so has scope over the entire phrase, whereas the quantifier *mishtahi* refers only to the object. If the negator in (5) held scope only over the verb, *mistahi* would be

functioning as an adverb and not as nominal quantifier. The important thing to note is that the quantifier appears in a preverbal position, not a preclausal position. In some languages, such as Fox, discontinuous elements occupy the left periphery in a preclausal position (Dahlstrom 1987). Even within so-called nonconfigurational languages, there is a syntactic structure.

- (5) kawya **mishtahi**¹ ashtaw **li** **sel**
 NEG much put.TI-imp.2 DEF.m salt
 ‘Don’t put in much salt’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185)

With morphologically intransitive verbs that occur with an object, it is possible for the object to appear in a discontinuous construction. In (6), *lee sack awn balaezh*, the object DP, is in a discontinuous structure where the quantifier *mihchet* appears ahead of the verb.

- (6) lee farmee’d pataek **mihchet** atawway-wuk **lee** **sack awn balaezh**
 DEF.p farmer=of potato much buy.AI-3p DEF.p bag PREP burlap
 ‘Potato farmers buy a lot of gunny sacks’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:119)

Thus morphological transitivity has no bearing on the ability of a noun phrase to be discontinuous.

4.2.2 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparative and superlative quantifier constructions can be discontinuous from the nouns they modify. Example (7) illustrates a continuous DP with *nawut apisheesh* ‘least’. It appears that the modifiers can be analyzed as a single constituent in which one is a comparative particle forming either a superlative or a comparative.

- (7) gee-miy-ikawin nawat apisheesh larhzawn
 1.Pst-give.TA-X→non3 by.comparison a.little DEF=money
 ‘I got the least money’ (VD and HP 2014)

In (8a), the modifiers *apisheesh nawat* have moved to the left of the verb. No examples have been found in the *Michif dictionary* to show that comparative or superlative quantifiers can be split in a discontinuous structure, with one element occurring preverbally and the other postverbally.

¹*mishtahi* can be replaced with *mischet*

However, according to my consultants *apisheesh* and *nawat* are separable, as shown in (8b).

- (8) a. **Apisheesh nawat** gee-miy-ikawin larzhawn niya
 little by.comparison 1.Pst-give.TA-X→non3 DEF=money PRN.1
 ‘I got the least money’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:162)
- b. **apisheesh** gee-miy-ikawin **nawat** larzhawn
 little 1.PST-give.TA-X→non3 by.comparison DEF=money
 ‘I got the least money’ (VD and HP 2014)

Comparatives that have a Cree quantifier, such as *apisheesh*, or a French quantifier, such as *pchi braen*, occurring with a comparative particle, such as *nawat*, are attested in discontinuous structures as illustrated in (8) and (9). The overt subject *niya* in (8a) and (9a) follows the discontinuous DP; the comparative particle *nawat* precedes or follows the quantifiers in (9a) and (9b) respectively

- (9) a. **aen pchi braen nawat** gee-miy-ikawin larzhawn niya
 INDEF.m little bit by.comparison 1.Pst-give.TA-X→non3 DEF=money 1s
 ‘I got the least money’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:162)
- b. **Nawat mischet kiya** kit-ayaw-n lee vote
 by.comparison much PRN.2 2-have.TI-non3 DEF.p vote
 ‘You got the most votes’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:184)

The independent personal pronoun *kiya* in (9b) occurs between the comparative modifiers and the verb. Independent personal pronouns are used only for emphasis because person agreement is marked on the verb stem, making overt pronouns unnecessary.

4.2.3 Numerals

Another group of nominal modifiers that have been shown to become discontinuous are numerals. In the Swampy Cree example in (10a) *nisto* ‘three’ occurs to the left of the verb and *aríkisak* ‘frogs’ follows the verb. However, in French the numeral *trois* separated from its noun *chaises* by the verb is ungrammatical, as shown in (10b).

- (10) a. **Nisto kî-kwâskoti-wak aríkis-ak**
 three Pst-jump.AI-3p frog-3p
 ‘Three frogs jumped’ (Reinholtz 1999:207) (Swampy Cree)

- b. *Je **trois** ai acheté **chaise-s**
 PRN.1 three have.1 buy.pp chair-p
 ‘I have bought three chairs’ (French)

The DP *si lee sueur* is an example of a continuous numeral phrase in a DP (11).

- (11) **si lee sueur** d-ayaww-awwuk
 six DEF.p sister 1-have.TA-1→3p
 ‘I have six sisters’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:298)

Discontinuous numerals appear preverbally and the remaining elements of the DP follow the verb, as is consistent with previously discussed nominal modifiers. In both (12a) and (12b), the numerals *kaetravaen jis* and *naef* occur preverbally and the nouns *li mood* and *lee bol* occur postverbally. In each case, it is the object DP that is discontinuous.

- (12) a. **kaetravaen jis** gee-ayaww-awwuk **li mood** la promyear zhournee
 eighty ten 1.Pst-have.TA-3p→3’ DEF.m people DEF.f first day
 li zhoor di lawn
 DEF.m day PREP year
 ‘I had 90 people over on New Year’s Day’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)
- b. **naef** d-ayaww-n **lee bol**
 nine 1-have.TI-non3 DEF.p bol
 ‘I have nine bowls’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)

No examples of discontinuous subject DP have been found in the *Michif dictionary*.

4.2.4 Demonstratives

In Michif’s parent language, Plains Cree, demonstratives can be discontinuous from the nouns they modify. The demonstrative occurs to the right or the left of the noun. Depending on its location in relation to the noun the meaning of the phrase can change but in discontinuous DPs the modifiers appear to precede the noun (Reinholtz 1995). DPs with discontinuous demonstratives are disallowed in French (13c).

- (13) a. **Ôhi** nipah-êwak **sîsîp-a**
 these.obv kill.TA-3p→3' duck-obv
 'They killed these ducks' (Wolfart 1996:393) (Plains Cree)
- b. **Awa** kî-kâhcitin-êw **nâpêw** okimotiskw-a
 this.3 PST-catch.TA.3→3' man thief-obv
 'This man caught the thief' (Reinholtz 1999:223) (Swampy Cree)
- c. ***Cette** a acheté **fil**e un livre.
 this.f have.3 buy.pp girl INDEF.m book
 *'that has bought girl a book' (French)

(14) is an example of a continuous DP with a demonstrative in Michif.

- (14) Saprawn ay-sheeshtatoushkay-hk **ooma li** **leevr** ay-oushtaw-hk.
 be.necessary COMP-work.hard.AI-cj.X this.0 DEF.m book COMP-make.TI-cj.X
 'Making this book requires arduous labor.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:25)

The *Michif dictionary* did not provide any examples of discontinuous demonstratives; however, based on example (15a) consultants derived a few examples of demonstratives appearing postnominally (15b), prenominally (15c) and discontinuously (15d). My consultants' initial translation of 'The fisherman caught many of those fish' is given in example (15b) with a postnominal demonstrative *anihi* 'those' which, as previously discussed in §1.4.2, is at a possible focus position within the DP. According to my consultants, *anihi* can appear in any part of the phrase and still refer to the fish. The implications of the behaviour of the demonstrative *anihi* are not discussed in this thesis but are a subject for further research.

- (15) a. li pwesonyeen **mischayt** kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee** **pwesoon**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish
 'The fisherman caught many fish (Laverdure & Allard 1983:96)
- b. li pwesonyeen mischayt kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee** **pwesoon** **anihi**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish those.obv
 'The fisherman caught many of those fish.' (VD and HP 2014)
- c. mischayt kee-kawschitin-ayw **anihi** **lee** **pwesoon**
 much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' those.obv DEF.p fish
 'they caught many of those fish.' (VD and HP 2014)

- d. mischayt **anihi** kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee pwesoon**
 much those.obv Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish
 'they caught many of those fish.' (VD and HP 2014)
- e. **anihi** mischayt kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee pwesoon**
 those.obv much Pst-catch.TA-3→3' DEF.p fish
 'they caught many of those fish' (VD and HP 2014)

4.2.5 Articles and possessives

Articles and possessives appear to the right of demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals in the Michif DP. In Cree, possession is marked by prefixes and suffixes on the possessed noun (§1.3.1, example (15)), not by separate possessive pronouns, so discontinuous possessives are impossible. In French discontinuous possessives are ungrammatical as shown in (16b). Plains Cree has no articles and in French discontinuous articles are ungrammatical as illustrated in (16c). Possessive adjectives, which belong to the same class as definite determiners, must appear next to the possessed noun in French except when a preposed adjective intervenes.

- (16) a. Marc mange ses/les carotte-s
 Mark eat.3 his.p/DEF.p carrot-p
 'Mark eats his/the carrots'
- b. *Marc **ses** mange carotte-s
- c. *Marc **les** mange carotte-s (French)

In (17a), the possessive *su* 'his' appears next to *māči* 'food' and the quantifier *a•tiht* 'some' appears in a prenominal discontinuous position to the left of the verb. In elicitation, I asked my consultants if the possessive *su* could appear next to *atiht* to the left of the verb in a discontinuous structure such as (17b); they indicated that this was ungrammatical.

- (17) a. Bæčis **a•tiht** ki•-mi•čišu-w **su māži**
 John some Pst-eat.AI-3 his.m food
 'John ate some of his food' (Rhodes 1977:17)
- b. *Bæčis **a•tiht** **su** ki•-mi•čišu-w **māži** (Michif)

In (18a) the plural article *lee* appears next to the noun *pwesoon* ‘fish’ and the quantifier *mischayt* ‘many’ occurs in a discontinuous position to the left of the verb. My consultants rejected (18b) as ungrammatical. The article *lee* must appear next to the noun it modifies and cannot be discontinuous.

- (18) a. li pwesonyeen **mischayt** kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee** **pwesoon**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3’ DEF.p fish
 ‘The fisherman caught many fish’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:96)
- b. *li pwesonyeen **mischayt** **lee** kee-kawschitinay-w **pwesoon**

4.2.6 Ambiguous data

Intransitive verbs, relative roots and adverbial quantifiers can lead to some ambiguous interpretations of phrases that may or may not be discontinuous. In the data collected from the *Michif dictionary*, some of the discontinuous constituents are ambiguous: it could be posited that some of the nominal quantifiers are functioning as adverbial modifiers, particularly in intransitive phrases. In Swampy Cree, adverbial phrases do not occur in discontinuous constituents (Reinholtz 1999); when adverbial phrases such as *âskaw-kîsikâw* ‘some days’ are separated into independent elements, they are interpreted separately (19).

- (19) **Âskaw** Cîmi mîna atoskê-w **kîsikâw**
 sometimes Jimmy NEG work-3 daytime
 ‘Sometimes Jimmy doesn’t work in the daytime.’ (Reinholtz 1999:209)

Some Algonquian languages have restrictions on the type of verb that accepts a discontinuous DP. As Bliss (2012) observes, in Blackfoot AI verbs cannot take discontinuous constituents. In Cree, however, AI verbs can occur with discontinuous DPs, as in (20), where *itohtêt* is an AI verb preceded by a discontinuous demonstrative *ana* ‘that’.

- (20) tânitê **ana** kâ-itohtêt-t **nâpêw**
 where that.3 Pst-go.AI-cj.3 man
 ‘where has that man gone?’ (Pentland 1984:37) (Swampy Cree)

In examples (21a) and (21b) the quantifiers *mawchi* and *mitouni* appear discontinuous with the subject DP; however, in each case it could be construed that the quantifier has an adverbial function modifying the AI verb. In (21a), the noun follows the verb and the adverbial quantifier *mitouni* modifies the verb. In (21b), *mawchi* cannot be adverbial, since if it were an adverb the phrase would be interpreted as ‘there aren’t tramps a lot’.

- (21) a. mitouni taywo-w ma tet
 much ache.II-0 my.f head
 ‘I have a headache.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:17)
- b. mawchi nama-tay-wuk lee tramp, lee hobos
 many NEG-be.AI-3p DEF.p tramp, DEF.p hobo
 ‘There aren’t very many old time tramps.’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:338)

In (22a) the modifier *dooz* ‘twelve’ could be construed as a discontinuous constituent modifying the DP *sa pchit bawnd di poulay* ‘the brood of chicks’. However, the Cree verb *ihtasi-* ‘be so many’ is a relative root (Wolfart 1973) which requires a quantifier as its antecedent. The numeral quantifier *dooz* must therefore precede the verb, along with the possessor *la poul* ‘the hen’. The same verb occurs in (22b) with the question particle *tawmawykouhk* to indicate quantity; the particle is only modifying the verb.

- (22) a. la poul **dooz** ku-htashi-yiw sa **pchit bawnd di** poulay
 DEF.f hen twelve Pst-be.so.many-AI-obv her.f small brood PREP chickens
 ‘the hen had a brood of twelve chicks’² (Laverdure & Allard 1983:52)
- b. Tawmawykouhk ay-tashi-yayk daw vot maenzoon?
 How.much COMP-be.so.many.AI-cj.2p PREP your house
 ‘How many in your household?’³ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:136)

4.2.7 Summary

To sum up what I have described thus far, in Michif, DPs containing demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals have the ability to be discontinuous. Adjunct DPs, articles and adjective phrases did

²lit: ‘the hen’s brood of chicks were twelve’. or ‘twelve is how many they are, the hen’s brood of chicks’.

³lit: ‘how much is how many you are in your house?’.

not appear in discontinuous structures in any of the data collected but that does not necessarily mean that they do not occur; their ability to be discontinuous or not would have to be confirmed with fieldwork. Possessive adjectives and articles cannot be discontinuous. In Cree DPs, determiners, quantifiers and numerals are known to appear in discontinuous structures, as described for Plains Cree by Reinholtz (in Wolfart 1996) and Swampy Cree (Reinholtz 1995; 1999). In Cree, discontinuous elements can span multiple clauses, with the exception of adverbial and relative clauses, through focus movement (Reinholtz 1995). Discontinuous elements spanning multiple clauses is unattested in Michif. French does not have discontinuous structures though it does have right and left dislocated structures. Michif seems to have right dislocated structures but whether they appear only with French-derived verbs has yet to be determined.

4.3 Possible analyses

There are many possible ways to analyze discontinuous DPs. Section §4.3.1 compares discontinuity to dislocation, followed by a discussion of why discontinuous DPs are not quantifier float in section §4.3.2. The pronominal argument hypothesis was one of the earliest proposals to explain discontinuous elements, is examined in section §4.3.3. Section §4.3.4 looks at Dahlstrom's (1987) flat structure. Focus movement and left branch extraction are discussed in sections §4.3.5 and §4.3.6. Finally, a brief look at the Split-DP hypothesis is presented in section §4.3.7.

4.3.1 Dislocation vs discontinuity

Discontinuous structures are not dislocated structures. Michif makes use of both types of syntactic structures. Discontinuous DP structures are available in Plains Cree; on the other hand, French has dislocated DPs. In order to clarify the difference, a dislocated structure is described as having a constituent moved outside of a clause to the left or right with a copy remaining in its place within the clause. In a discontinuous structure, however, a modifier is separated from the element it modifies leaving no copy behind. Right and left dislocation occur in Canadian French; the noun phrase can

move to the right or the left of a phrase leaving behind an expletive pronoun in its spot. According to Cowper (1979), right dislocation is productive in Canadian French and produces a focus effect on the dislocated constituent and left dislocation structure has a topicalising effect on the DP constituent. In French, the rightmost element in the DP receives focus (Bernstein 2001). I am using Dahlstrom's (1995) definitions of topic and focus: topic is part of the information structure, a way of keeping track of existing information within a discourse ('what the sentence is about'), whereas focus determines new, contrastive information introduced into the discourse. In the French example (23a), *il* is an expletive pronoun occupying the subject position of the phrase with the overt subject moved to the right; (23b) is an example of the same phrase showing left dislocation. Example (23c) shows right dislocation in Michif; the pronoun *il* is referring to the antecedent DP *li ptsi garsoon* that has moved out of the clause to the right.

- (23) a. **Il_i** est dehors, **le chien_i**.
 PRN.3 be.3 outside, DEF.m dog
 'The dog is outside'
- b. le chien_i, il_i est dehors (French)
- c. **il_i** a bon apichee pour lee seukrazh **li ptsi garsoon_i**.
 PRN.3 have.3 good appetite for DEF.p sweet DEF.m little boy
 'the boy has a good appetite for sweets.' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:24) (Michif)

Although the internal structure of the DP is quite rigid, the DP itself has a flexible position with respect to the rest of the clause in Michif. In (23c), the Michif structure conforms to that of French right dislocation with the expletive pronoun preceding the following clause.

4.3.2 Quantifier float/stranding

Quantifier float or stranding offers another way to explain discontinuous quantifiers when the quantifier is not adjacent to the referring DP. Floated quantifiers have a similar appearance to discontinuous quantifiers in Michif and Cree, in that discontinuous quantifiers do not have adverbial functions marking time, frequency or place but instead are used to mark the degree or quantity of a nominal

(Reinholtz & Russell 1996). In English, as seen in (24a), the continuous DP *All the girls* is the subject argument of the VP; the quantifier resides in the specifier of the DP. In (24c) the DP *the girls* is separated from its quantifier *all*; the quantifier appears to have floated or been stranded to the right of the DP. The DP moves into a higher position out of the vP into the specifier of the TP; *had* is the head of the TP raising to check the tense feature. Examples (24b) and (24c) illustrate the two possible options for the DP: either the entire DP *all the girls* moves to the specifier of the TP, or the complement quantifier *all* is stranded; *all* is referentially linked to the DP but remains merged at the level of the vP. The point, which is made by Lochbihler (2009), is that in some languages, such as English, the quantifier can occur to the right of its DP, meaning the DP argument moves leaving behind the quantifier, a non-argument DP constituent.

- (24) a. **All the girls** had bought books
 b. [**All the girls**] had bought books
 c. [**The girls**]_i had [**all**]_i bought books

As illustrated by Lochbihler (2009) in Ojibwa, the quantifier cannot move to the right of its DP, as shown in (25c). Instead it is the adjoined constituent of the DP, the quantifier, that moves. Lochbihler assumes that the quantifier is adjoined to the DP in Ojibwa; therefore when the DP argument moves, as in (25a) and (25a), it cannot exclude the adjoined constituent without becoming ungrammatical. Similar restrictions appear in other Algonquian languages, such as Fox (Dahlstrom 1987), where the modifiers (e.g. possessives, demonstratives and quantifiers) appear to the left of the nominal in discontinuous constituents. In tree constructions, quantifiers either merge or adjoin higher in the DP than the nouns, meaning they c-command their nominal, as observed by Reinholtz and Russell (1995) in Swampy Cree.

- (25) a. **kina gegoo** gii-miij-un
 every thing Pst-eat-obv
 ‘S/he ate everything’
 b. gii-miij-un **kina gegoo**
 c. ***gegoo kina** gii-miijun (Lochbihler 2009:4) (Ojibwa)

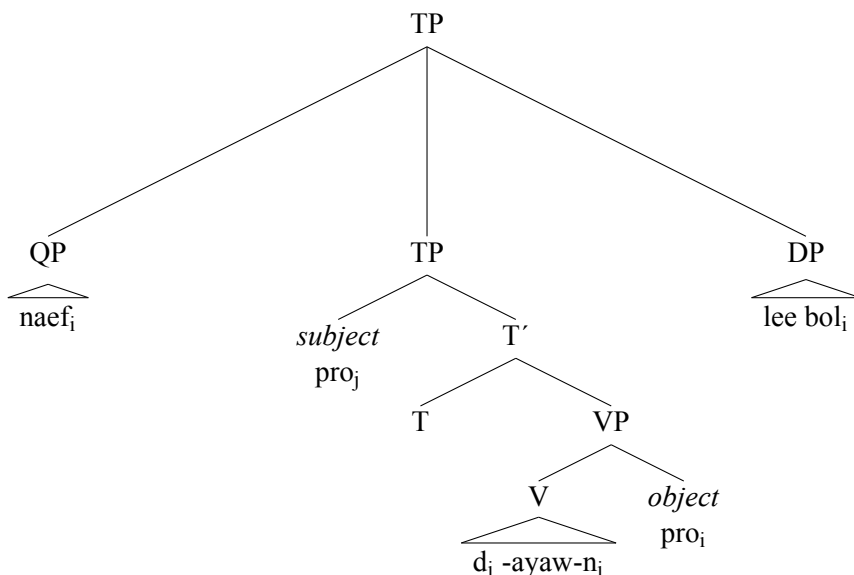
Rightward movement of the quantifier is unattested in Michif. I was unable to elicit quantifiers appearing to the right of the noun from my consultants, except when the modifiers were occurring before a verb, in which case they were functioning as adverbials. The point of this section is to illustrate that discontinuous elements are not the same as quantifier float, and the ordering of elements in discontinuous constituents is restricted in Algonquian languages where it is the modifier that occurs to the left of the nominal.

4.3.3 Pronominal argument hypothesis

One of the first analyses to account for discontinuous elements in a nonconfigurational language was advanced by Jelinek (1984). She suggests that overt NPs are adjuncts which are licensed by a thematic *pro* or a pronominal argument by agreement on the verb. In Jelinek's analysis, a pronominal argument on the verb is referentially linked to the two elements of the discontinuous DP which are considered independent adjuncts. Example (26) illustrates a PAH analysis for a Michif phrase using *i* to co-index the discontinuous arguments referentially linked by agreement to *pro* on the verb.

- (26) [naef_i]_{DP} [d-ayaw-npro_i]_{VP} [lee bol_i]_{DP}
 nine 1-have.TI-non3 DEF.p bowl
 'I have nine bowls' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:192)

(27) Discontinuous PAH tree



The PAH predicts that the individual elements are independent of each other, since they are independent adjuncts; however, it has been pointed out by Reinholtz (1995, Swampy Cree), Lochbihler (2009, Ojibwa), Bliss (2012, Blackfoot), and LeSourd (2004, 2006, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy) that the PAH does not account for the ordering of nominal elements within the DP. The Michif data support the assertion that the elements in a discontinuous DP follow the ordering of a continuous DP, with the modifiers preceding the nominal. The PAH predicts that only arguments which are coreferential with a pronominal argument can be discontinuous which is problematic for secondary objects and adjuncts. Secondary objects may be discontinuous in Michif, as illustrated in (28a). Adjuncts are also not licensed by pronominal arguments but may be discontinuous in Algonquian languages such as Fox (Dahlstrom 1987) and Blackfoot (Bliss 2012), as illustrated in (28b). The PAH cannot account for discontinuous constituents in these situations.

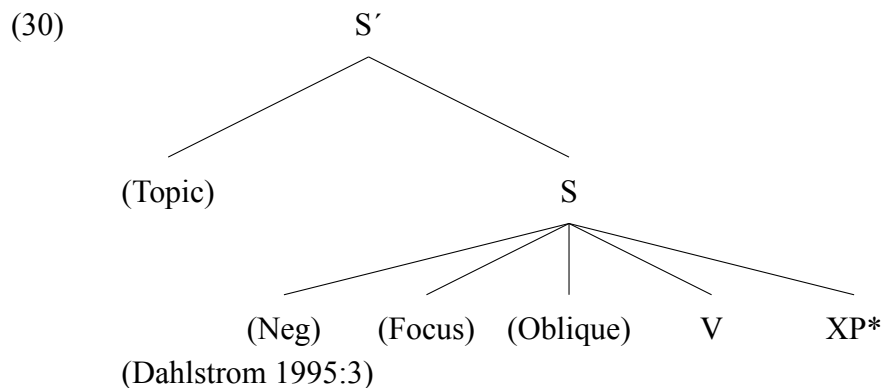
- (28) a. **en bouchee** miy-in **too kawndee**
 DEF.f bite give.TA-imp.2→1 your.m candy
 ‘give me a bite of your candy’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:42—43) (Michif)
- b. **nîna=kêhi** âkwi kékôhi ašenokini
 PRN.1=and NEG something be.missing.II-0.NEG
 ‘as for me, nothing is missing’ (Dahlstrom 1995:7) (Fox)

4.3.4 Flat structure

Dahlstrom (1987) rejects the PAH's assertion that discontinuous DPs are two separate DPs that are referentially linked. In her account of discontinuous DPs in Fox, the verb separates the DP into a modifier and an intermediate part of the DP, D'. Dahlstrom's schema for discontinuous elements (29) accounts for a unified DP analysis as opposed to the two separate co-referenced DPs that is proposed by the PAH.

(29) [_S...Modifier... V...N'] (Dahlstrom 1987)

Dahlstrom (1995) expands her flat structure analysis; (30) illustrates the addition of the syntactic functions of negators and obliques, and the discourse functions of topic and focus. The XP represents additional constituents. Flat structure refers to the lack of a hierarchy between phrasal elements within a schema. Topic is external to the S (or the clause phrase) whereas focus occupies a position before the verb within the phrase. It is in the focus position that discontinuous modifiers are placed. It is important to note that the left edge of the phrase in Algonquian languages has specialised discourse functions (Dahlstrom 1995; Reinholtz 1999).

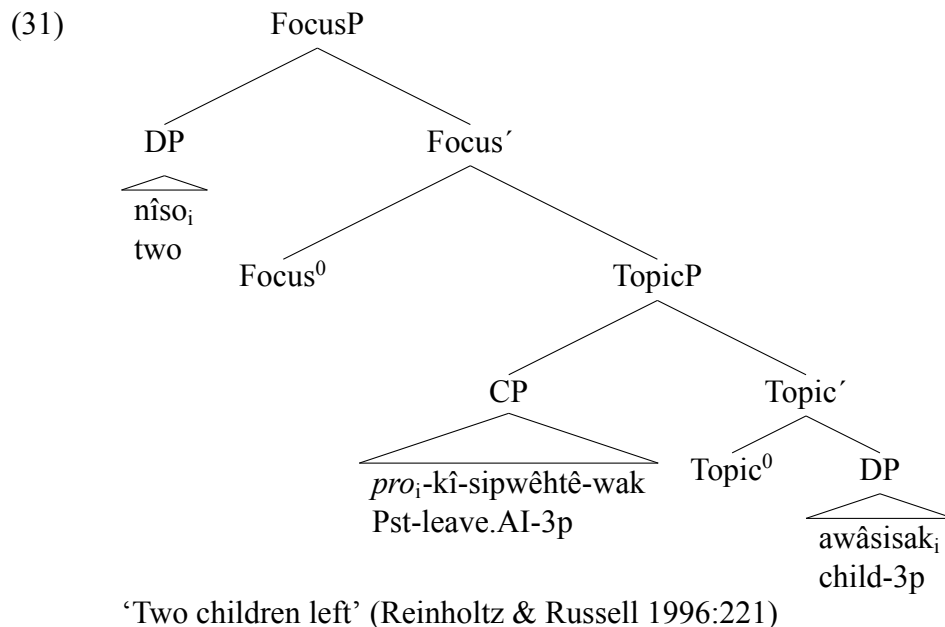


An initial problem for assessing this proposal is that the nature of my corpus makes it difficult to determine which elements are topic and focus. The corpus provides individual phrases with definitions rather than a continuous narrative or dialogue. In Michif, the discontinuous modifier would appear in the focus position between the negator and the verb. It has been established by Rosen (2003) that focused demonstratives appear to the right of the noun. Since discontinuous

constituents must appear to the left of the noun, this poses a conflict for the demonstrative position. If the demonstrative appeared in Topic, it would be in a sisterhood relationship with the rest of the phrase, meaning it would be modifying the entire phrase. Any phrasal constituent can appear in the XP (argument phrase), predicting that there could be two quantifiers, two demonstratives, or both a demonstrative and a quantifier appearing in the discontinuous DP, one element in the focus position and one in the XP position with the rest of the DP. I showed in §3.2 that strong nominal quantifiers cannot co-occur, so this template would need a mechanism to prevent two strong quantifiers appearing together. Dahlstrom's template as it stands cannot account for the discontinuous elements in Michif.

4.3.5 Focus movement analysis

Reinholtz (1995, 1999), and Reinholtz and Russell (1995 1996) maintain that Swampy Cree is a nonconfigurational language with the characteristics of pronominal argument languages, meaning that DPs are not contained in an argument position; however, they argue against applying the PAH to the analysis of discontinuous DPs. Instead, they consider a movement analysis for the modifiers in the discontinuous constituents. Observations of Swampy Cree discontinuous elements show that the modifiers often occur preverbally in focus position, which is the left periphery in Swampy Cree. In Cree, the discontinuous modifier occurs when emphasis is placed on a phrase or where new or contrastive information is provided by the speaker. Reinholtz (1999) proposes focus movement to account for discontinuous quantifiers and demonstratives: the demonstrative or quantifier moves from its merged position in the DP into the specifier of focus. The remaining elements in the DP remain in Topic position and the CP is in the specifier of Topic. Example (31) illustrates the proposed focus-movement model by Reinholtz and Russell (1996): the modifier *nîso* 'two' moves to the specifier of Focus and the DP *awâsisak* remains in Topic.



Focus movement is a plausible explanation for discontinuous DP constituents in Michif; however, it has not been shown that these discontinuous elements receive a focus interpretation. This model predicts that the demonstrative will be the highest element in the phrase, and provides an account for the movement of demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals from the rest of the DP. However, as shown in section §1.4.2, a postnominal demonstrative in the Michif DP is in a focus position; therefore a prenominal demonstrative in a discontinuous DP cannot be due to focus movement. This model assumes that all prenominal modifiers can move. Prenominal adjectives therefore could move into a focus position, but there is no evidence to suggest that prenominal adjectives can be discontinuous. A discontinuous DP follows the same prenominal ordering as a continuous DP, with prenominal adjectives following the determiners in Michif. The determiner and the prenominal adjective would have to move together, which would be ungrammatical.

In the Michif data the discontinuous elements occur in a preverbal position but do not appear to have moved to a focus position or pre-clausal position. The data in (32) pose a problem for the Reinholtz and Russell (1995) analysis.

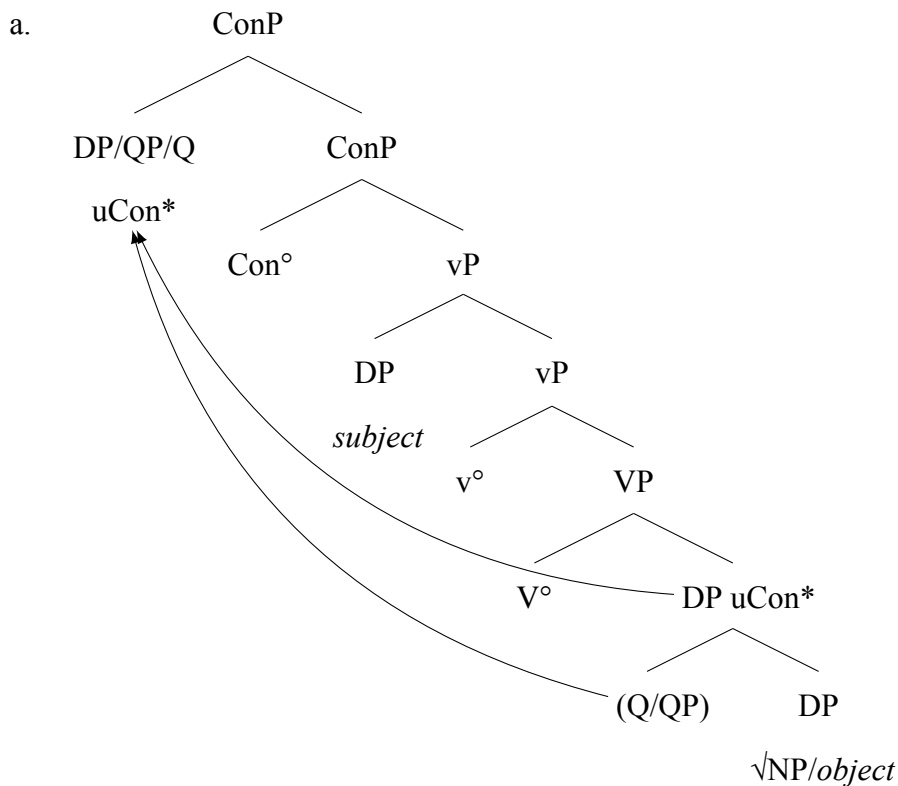
- (32) a. *kawya* ***mishtahi*** *ashtaw* ***li*** ***sel***
 NEG much put.TI-imp.2 DEF.m salt
 ‘Don’t put in much salt’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185)
- b. *li* *pwesonyeen* ***mischayt*** *kee-kawschitin-ayw* ***lee*** ***pwesoon***
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3’ DEF.p fish
 ‘The fisherman caught many fish’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:96)
- c. *li* *risarv* *ouchi* *lee* *pstit vil* *alawntour* ***mishtahi*** *oushihaywuk*
 DEF.m reservation from DEF.p little village surrounding much make.TA-3→3’
larzhawn
 DEF=money
 ‘the outlying towns make a lot of money from the reservation’ (VD and HP 2014)

In (32a) the negative *kawya* occurs ahead of the discontinuous quantifier *mishtahi*. One possibility is that the negative only has scope over the quantifier and both occur in the [spec FocusP] position; however, it would have to be determined that the quantifier is a polarity-sensitive item to license a negative reading. Only imperative verbs occur with the negative *kawya* (Wolfart 2010), so the word seems to hold scope over the entire phrase. Another piece of data suggests that discontinuous elements occur in a preverbal position: in example (32c) an oblique phrase and an overt subject precede the discontinuous quantifier. In Reinholtz’s analysis either the subject or the oblique would occupy the focus specifier position, but it is unclear what position the discontinuous quantifier would occupy because CP occupies the topic specifier position. The discontinuous quantifier is not a complement so it cannot occur in the focus head position. Unlike Cree, it appears that the discontinuous elements in Michif are in a pre-verbal position rather than a focus position as suggested by Reinholtz (1999).

Lochbihler (2009) also considers focus movement as an explanation for the appearance of discontinuous elements. Her explanation considers a feature-driven analysis for motivating or licensing movement to a syntactic focus position that targets both arguments and non-arguments. Lochbihler assumes that quantifiers, numerals and demonstratives are DP adjuncts and that Ojibwa is a configurational language. She claims that the entire DP or its adjuncts receive a strong focus or contrastive feature (uCon) that needs to be checked by moving to the focus specifier position, which accounts for either a DP or a quantifier receiving a focus reading. Treating the demonstratives and

quantifiers as adjuncts within the DP predicts that they can occur in any order within the DP, but this does not account for the ordering relationships of elements within the Michif DP. The major difference between Reinholtz and Russell's and Lochbihler's analyses is that Reinholtz and Russell (1995) treat the DP as occurring in non-argument positions whereas Lochbihler's (2009) account permits the DP to occur in adjunct and argument positions in relation to the rest of the phrase.

(33) Focused DP or QP

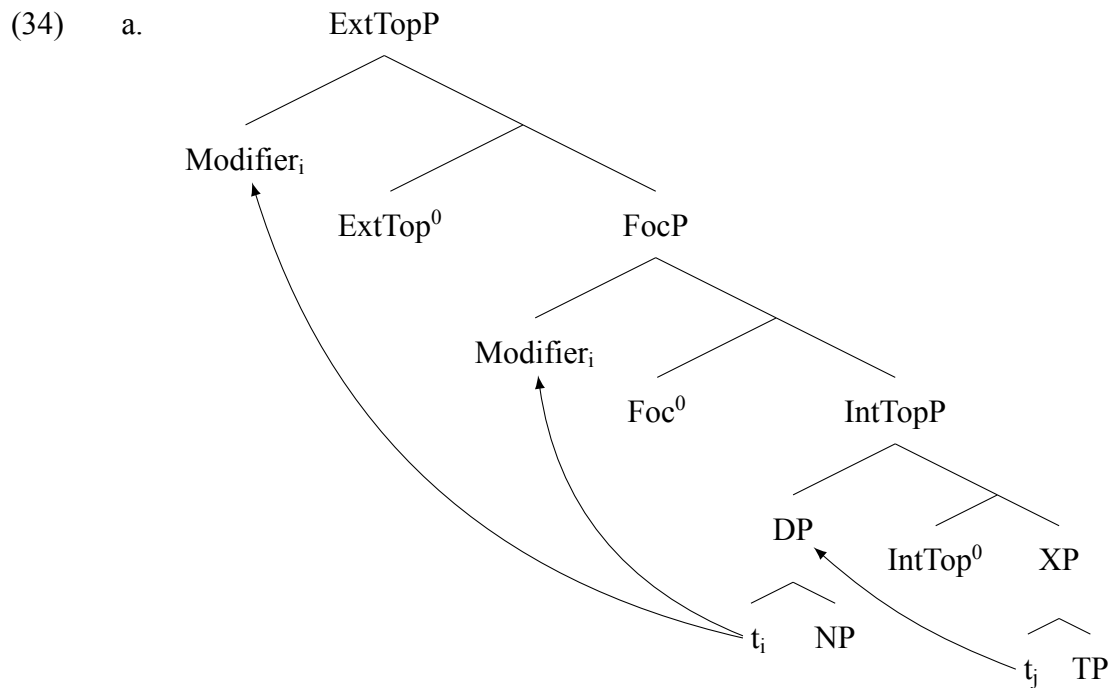


(Lochbihler 2009:8)

With a few modifications, Lochbihler's analysis is almost identical to Reinholtz and Russell's; therefore I hold the same objection for both focus-movement analyses which is that discontinuous elements in Michif receive a focus interpretation.

4.3.6 Left branch extraction and focus movement analysis

Building on Reinholtz (1996) and Reinholtz and Russell's (1996) idea that discontinuous elements are the result of focus movement, Johnson and Rosen (to appear) propose that moved elements, specifically the demonstrative (which they refer to as the determiner), target the specifier of either topic or focus positions. As illustrated in (34), there is an internal (IntTop) and an external (ExtTop) topic; the tree is consistent with the organisation of the left periphery in Menominee, with the discontinuous element moving to the specifier of external topic or focus. The specifier of the internal topic retains the preverbal DP argument and the external topic is characterized as either being a position for a left-dislocated element or a possible non-argument. In this analysis, Topic and Focus layers can be reordered depending on the language. Though Johnson and Rosen do not clearly explain what is meant by internal and external topic, it is clear that the external topic does not need to be an argument of the verb.



(Johnson & Rosen to appear:ex. 18)

Johnson and Rosen consider that discontinuous elements are an example of left branch extraction (LBE) because of the shared properties of Algonquian languages and LBE languages. In LBE, it is only the left-most DP constituent that moves, as in the Menominee discontinuous DP structures discussed by Johnson and Rosen (to appear). They also assert that the demonstratives and quantifiers of Algonquian languages share the same characteristics as determiners in LBE languages, following Bošković's LBE criteria. Bošković (2005) developed several criteria for determining LBE. Firstly, these languages do not have overt determiners or articles but rather lexical items such as quantifiers and demonstratives which occupy the adjective position. Secondly, these elements have the ability to 'stack' in prenominal positions similar to adjectives in English e.g., *the fat fluffy white cat*. Finally, these elements are freely ordered. Bošković states that languages without true determiners have adjectival elements that behave like determiners and that these languages are LBE.

Upon closer examination of the data, Michif poses some problems for the LBE criteria. The first criterion mentioned by Bošković is potentially a problem because on the surface it appears that Michif does have overt determiners. Example (35) contains both indefinite and definite articles *en* and *li*. However, the co-occurrence of the determiners with demonstratives is the result of combining an LBE language, Cree, with a non-LBE language, French. In order for the French elements to interface with Cree elements such as the quantifiers and demonstratives, the French noun phrase has to be a complete DP.

- (35) **en** mouche ayo-w dawn **li** let
 INDEF.f fly be.AI-3 PREP DEF.m milk
 'there is a fly in the milk' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:99)

The second characteristic in the typology is the stackability of DP elements. Michif permits stacking of these elements. Demonstratives co-occur with determiners (36a) and possessives (36b). Multiple quantifiers can co-occur with articles (36c).

- (36) a. **awa la** fij
 this.3 DEF.f girl
 'this girl' (Bakker 1992:103)

- b. **la** faem **ana**
 DEF.f woman that.3
 ‘that is the woman’⁴ (Bakker 1992:103)
- c. **yaenk payyek aen** norawnzh d-awayim-ow
 only one INDEF.m orange 1-want.TA-1→3
 ‘I only want one orange’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:201)

However, Michif does not share the final LBE criterion of freely ordered constituents. Within the DP, the ordering is strict: demonstratives occur to the left of the noun, and always precede quantifiers, which in turn precede determiners, adjectives and possessives. Example (37) shows that if the ordering of nominal elements is reversed the DP is ungrammatical.

- (37) ***la** awa fij
 DEF.f this.3 girl
 ‘*the this girl’ (Rosen 2003:40)

However, once the French-derived noun phrase is analyzed as its own DP that interfaces with the Cree elements, the Cree elements can be freely ordered with respect to the French DP. Demonstratives in Michif can appear pre- and postnominally, like the demonstratives in Menominee and Cree discussed by Johnson and Rosen (to appear). Using Bošković’s (2005) criteria, Michif determiners do not have adjectival status but they are modifiers of the DP. Therefore discontinuous elements in Michif could be the result of LBE nominal constituents interacting with non-LBE nominal constituents.

Johnson and Rosen’s addition of Topic to the analysis creates multiple landing sites at the left edge which provides a possible solution to the problem posed by the occurrence of overt subjects, but according to their analysis the external topic position is a non-argument position. If the subject is an adjunct rather than an argument, it could move to the specifier position of the topic and the discontinuous quantifier could move to the focus specifier position. Currently, there are no data to suggest that quantifiers and numerals receive a focus reading in Michif, but it is likely that overt

⁴Bakker translates this as ‘that woman’; however, he also states that postnominal demonstratives are used in identifying constructions.

nominals are arguments, not adjuncts, in Michif .

It is unclear whether the discontinuous elements move to a pre-verbal or a pre-clausal position. In refuting the focus movement analyses in section §4.3.5, I showed that discontinuous elements are potentially pre-verbal and not pre-clausal with the example in (38). The negative *kawya* holds scope over the whole clause including the discontinuous quantifier *mistahi* ‘much’. If these discontinuous constituents are indeed pre-verbal then discontinuity is not an example of LBE since that is a phenomenon that occurs outside of the verbal domain, in the clausal domain.

- (38) *kawya mishtahi ashtaw li sel*
 NEG much put.TI-imp.2 DEF.m salt
 ‘Don’t put in much salt’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185)

Another problem Michif poses for Johnson and Rosen’s analysis is the ordering restrictions on the elements contained in the DP. If the modifiers are adjuncts, then this model predicts that postnominal adjectives can move into discontinuous positions. However in Michif, postnominal adjectives are ungrammatical in prenominal positions, as illustrated in (39). However, this problem is solved by treating the French noun phrase as a DP that merges with the Cree-derived DP. Therefore the French nominal elements are not predicted to be discontinuous, only the Cree nominal elements.

- (39) a. *la fij vɛr*
 DEF.f girl green
 ‘the green girl’ (Rosen 2003:43)
- b. **la vɛr fij*
 DEF.f green girl
 ‘the green girl’ (Rosen 2003:42)
- c. **vɛr la fij*
 green DEF.f girl
 ‘the green girl’ (Rosen 2003:42)

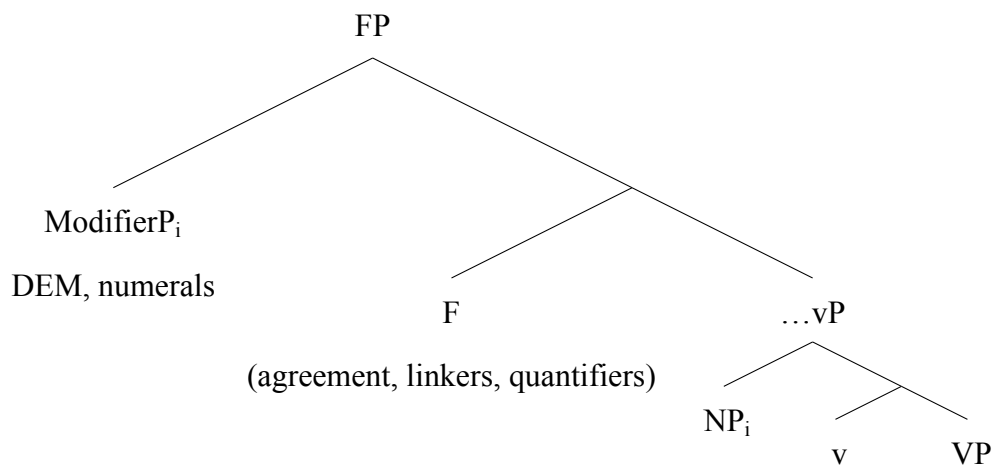
In Algonquian, the left edge periphery is theorized to contain positions reserved for the information structure: topic and focus. The order of these positions varies between languages. In Plains Cree, Muehlbauer (2003) observes that the topic materializes in the far left peripheral position,

followed by focus; in Swampy Cree the order is reversed. It has not been determined in Michif whether the DP elements (quantifier, numeral and demonstratives) receive a focus interpretation only in discontinuous structures or if focus happens in continuous structures as well. According to Rosen (2003) demonstratives do receive a contrastive focus feature but only postnominally, not prenominally, whereas prenominal demonstratives do not receive focus and potentially have determiner characteristics. This behaviour of prenominal demonstratives could be the reason that my corpus from the *Michif dictionary* contains only quantifiers and numerals in discontinuous DPs.

4.3.7 Split-DP analysis

Focus movement does not account for the data where in languages in which discontinuous elements do not receive a focus interpretation, such as Blackfoot. Bliss (2012) argues that Blackfoot quantifiers do not always receive a focus interpretation or appear in a preverbal focus position. She posits a split-DP analysis where NPs merge internally at the vP and modifiers merge in the specifiers of functional heads outside the vP. The discontinuous constituents are all licensed within the clause and must be referentially linked with the verb. In Blackfoot, discontinuity is licensed by quantifiers, linkers and agreement. In Michif quantifiers and linkers (prepositions and locatives) do not appear morphologically on the verb. Bliss's (2012) analysis predicts that nouns and their modifiers are in locally bound relationships and that they are restricted to a single clause.

(40)



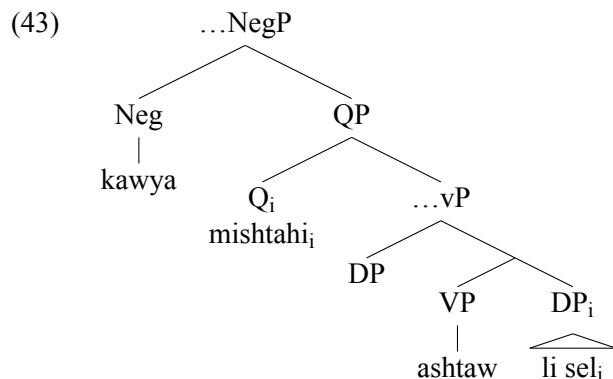
In Blackfoot only transitive animate verbs can have discontinuous objects, but in Michif intransitive verbs can also have discontinuous objects as in the case of (41a) and (41b). Bliss's (2012) split-DP analysis argues for an agreement licensing discontinuity which would not predict a discontinuous object of an AI verb. Unlike Blackfoot, Michif does not require the presence of a licenser in discontinuous phrases.

- (41) a. Bæčis **a•tiht** ki•-mi•čišu-w **su māži**
 John some Pst-eat.AI-3 his.m food
 'John ate some of his food' (Rhodes 1977:17)
- b. lee farmee'd pataek **mihchet** atawway-wuk **lee sack awn balaezh**
 DEF.p farmer=of potato much buy.AI-3p DEF.p bags PREP burlap
 'Potato farmers buy a lot of gunny sacks' (Laverdure & Allard 1983:119)

Michif does not share the same characteristics of the Blackfoot verb, e.g., quantifiers appear as complements to DP and have no linkers. I do not have evidence that discontinuous expressions are clausally bound. However, I do have evidence that the discontinuous elements occur preverbally and not at clause boundaries. In (42) both an oblique phrase and an overt subject appear ahead of the discontinuous element *mishtahi*.

- (42) li risarv ouchi lee pstit vil alawntour **mishtahi** oushah-aywuk **larzhawn**
 DEF.m reservation from DEF.p little village surrounding much make.TA-3p→3' DEF=money
 'the outlying towns make a lot of money from the reservation' (VD and HP 2014)

The split-DP hypothesis presents itself as a possible solution for explaining discontinuous phrases. Demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals merge above the DP whereas articles and adjectives merge within the French-derived DP. This model permits the discontinuous elements to be in a local relationship with the VP as is the case with Michif where it appears that the discontinuous DP is in a pre-verbal, not pre-clausal, relationship. I assume that the functional projection above the vP is QP licensed through agreement on the verb. Example (43) is a possible analysis of a discontinuous phrase in Michif using the split-DP model.



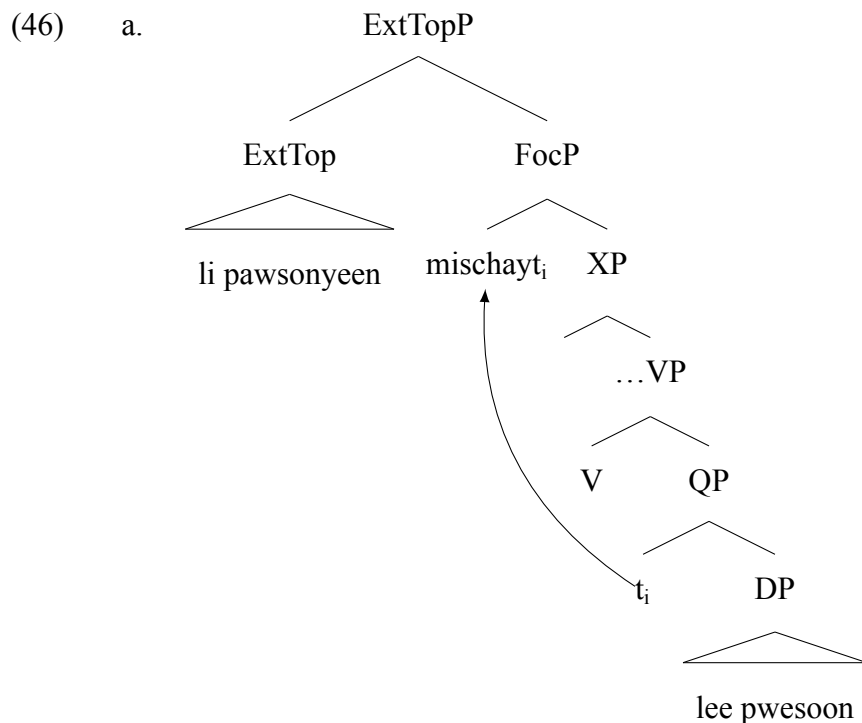
- (44) kawya **mishtahi** ashtaw **li** **sel**
 NEG much put.TI-imp.2 DEF.m salt
 ‘Don’t put in much salt’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:185)

However, as has been shown in chapter 3 quantifiers and numerals do not agree with the noun-only demonstratives do. There is no clear motivation for generating the QP externally to the VP. While the Split-DP hypothesis offers a solution for some aspects of Michif DPs, it creates more questions than it answers.

4.3.8 Analysis

Of the possible analyses presented, the focus-movement analyses presented by Johnson and Rosen’s (to appear) is the most preferable. This model creates two positions in the left periphery for the movement of discontinuous elements. This solves the problem of phrases such as (45) where there is a subject, *li pwesonyeen* ‘the fisherman’, followed by a discontinuous object, *mischayt lee pwe-soon* ‘many fish’. The subject would appear in the head of the external topic position whereas the discontinuous quantifier would move from its position within the QP to the head of the focus position; XP represents the rest of the phrase. The mechanism that would permit the subject to appear in the external topic position is unclear.

- (45) li pwesonyeen **mischayt** kee-kawschitin-ayw **lee** **pwe-soon**
 DEF.m fisherman much Pst-catch.TA-3→3’ DEF.p fish
 ‘The fisherman caught many fish’ (Laverdure & Allard 1983:96)



Although none of the analyses present a clear explanation for the discontinuous DPs in Michif, treating Michif as an LBE language and creating positions in the left periphery comes the closest to a solution. It accounts for an overt subject appearing ahead of the discontinuous constituent by creating an extra position in the left periphery.

4.4 Conclusion

In Michif, noun phrases containing demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals are able to become discontinuous from the noun they modify. The nominal elements that do not appear to be discontinuous are articles, adjectives and possessives which are the nominal elements derived from French. The discontinuous constituents appear in a pre-verbal position. The ordering restrictions in Michif pose problems for most models that attempt to describe discontinuous elements such as the focus-movement models described by Reinholtz (1999) and Lochbihler (2009). Focus-movement models treat discontinuous constituents as receiving a focus reading and moving to the left edge periphery of the clause. This does not appear to be the case in Michif. While the split-DP analysis

does not treat discontinuous elements as the result of focus movement, it relies on referential agreement of the the discontinuous constituents. The discontinuous constituents in Michif do not have agreement properties. Of the analyses examined in this chapter, Johnson and Rosen's (to appear) model provides a possible solution because it creates multiple positions in the left periphery which would permit an overt subject appearing before a discontinuous constituent.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to examine the structure of the DP in Michif. The Michif DP shares many features with the parent language that contributed the majority of the nominal elements, French. In the places where Cree has contributed category elements to the DP, the Michif elements acquire the behaviours associated with those Cree elements.

Michif articles appear preminally and mark the French-derived nouns for number and gender. Unlike French articles, Michif articles appear with nouns in non-argument positions. There are very few cases where nouns appear without an article or possessive in Michif. After cardinal numbers, nouns optionally appear without articles, except after *payyek*. *Payyek*, the only cardinal number derived from Cree, does not appear in my corpus without a article or possessive; it requires the French NP to become a full DP before it can appear with a Cree-derived nominal modifier or quantifier. In that case, it is possible that the noun inherits underlying number marking. Bare nominals, when they occur, appear to be temporal nouns that refer to a specific time or event, or they are nominals that are functioning as verbal modifiers. A possible explanation for articles occurring is that they are nominalizing particles rather than determiners. However, a nominalizing analysis would no be possible without the creation of extra syntactic layers to account for number and possessive features. Rather, an analysis that focuses on the combining of an LBE language, Cree, with a non-LBE language, French, is to be preferred. In order for the French noun to be

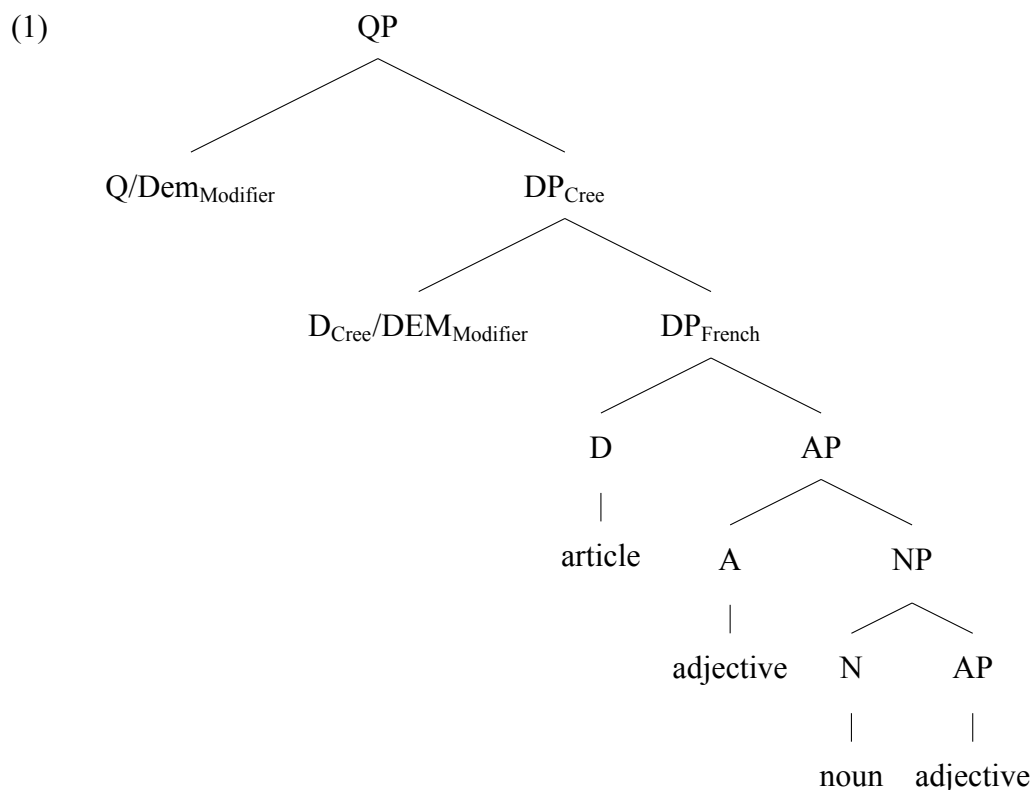
understood by the Cree syntax it has to be a full DP and not an NP.

Michif quantifiers pattern like Cree quantifiers in that they are not marked for agreement. Weak quantifiers can appear without overt nominals. The French-derived quantifiers retain some of the patterns of their parent language. Quantifiers appear to the left of the nominal they modify, as in both French and Cree. The quantifiers of Michif do differ somewhat from the quantifiers of their parent languages, but not enough to say that their behaviour is alien to that of their parent language. The DP takes the QP as its complement rather than having the QP appear as a specifier of the DP.

Michif permits quantifiers, numerals and demonstratives to be discontinuous from the rest of their noun phrases. Dislocation structures and quantifier stranding do not offer an adequate explanation for the appearance of discontinuous constituents. I have shown that like the majority of Algonquian languages, Michif poses problems for the PAH, specifically with the ordering restrictions of the DP. Like the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis, Dahlstrom's (1995) flat-structure model does not account for the ordering restrictions in the Michif DP nor does the focus-movement model advanced by Reinholtz (1999) and Lochbihler (2009). Johnson and Rosen's (to appear) data from Menominee support the idea that discontinuous elements are the result of either topic or focus movement and that discontinuous phrases are the result of Left Branch Extraction. There is no reason to assume that the discontinuous elements in Michif receive a focus or topic reading; the discontinuous elements occur preverbally, to the left of the DP but not preclausally. A split-DP model may account for discontinuous constituents but it relies on the quantifiers' and nouns' being referential as a result of agreement. An analysis of discontinuous constituents must take into account that the discontinuous elements appear to be pre-verbal rather than pre-clausal. Of the analyses examined, Johnson and Rosen's model provides the closest solution, albeit an imperfect one.

In the Michif DP, there are two syntaxes at work, Cree and French. Figure (1) illustrates a possible structure of the Michif DP where the French syntax integrates itself into the syntax of the Cree DP. The demonstrative is treated as a modifier in this structure, the only Cree-derived modifier that agrees with the noun. The quantifier is the complement of the Cree-derived or French-

derived DP. The French-derived DP contains the nominal constituents derived from French, such as the articles, preposed and postposed adjectives, and nouns. The French-derived quantifiers merge outside of the DP along with the Cree-derived quantifiers. The demonstrative is a modifier of DP or QP. It cannot act as a modifier within the French DP once the French DP has merged with the Cree DP. The Michif DP shows that the same syntactic category in two different languages can interface with one another. In the case of Michif, the French DP fits into the larger Cree DP.



In examining the structure of the Michif DP, I proposed that it retains a syntax wherein Cree-derived elements behave like their Cree counterparts and French-derived elements behave like their French counterparts; however, this syntax is merging, with the French constituents merging with the Cree to create a single syntax. The corpus derived from the *Michif dictionary* is shown to reflect two systems that have merged together. Nevertheless, it has also been shown that Michif is developing differences from its parent languages; how Michif is diverging from the syntax of its parents is a matter for future research.

5.1 Future research

This thesis is an initial examination of elements within the Michif DP using a written corpus. Future research must include a more in-depth examination to determine the changes that have occurred in Michif over the last thirty years. Michif syntax is held to be mixed, but further analysis of the DP could show how Michif syntax is diverging from that of its parent languages. The present corpus is mainly focused on the dialect of Michif spoken at the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota; further endeavours should look at the Michif spoken in communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta as well.

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Appendix A

Consent forms

A.1 Informed consent form

Michif Determiner Phrases Informed consent form

[Note: The hard copy of this form will be printed on Linguistics Department letterhead. We do not have a digital version of the letterhead.]

Research Project Title: Michif Determiner Phrases, MA Thesis

Principal investigator: Kathleen Strader, Department of Linguistics, University of Manitoba (email: XXXXX@XXXXX.XXX, phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX)

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Description of the research: This research project is part of an MA Thesis on Michif Determiner Phrases

Tasks: In these sessions, you may be asked to translate English words and sentences into Michif, translate Michif words and sentences into English, comment on the meaning of Michif sentences, and comment on the contexts in which Michif sentences could be used.

Remuneration: None

Recording: During the session, the principal investigator will be recording your voice with a digital audio recorder for research use. The principal investigator will also be making typed transcripts of these sessions.

Confidentiality: The recordings and transcripts will be used by the principal investigator only. You can request copies of these materials at any point.

- If you authorize the further use of these materials, you will be asked exactly how they can be used, whether you want any parts of the recordings to be deleted, and whether you want to remain anonymous or to be identified as the speaker.
- If you choose not to authorize the further use of these materials, the data will be destroyed. All copies of the data on the audio recorder and on the principal investigator's computer will be permanently deleted. (If you wish, you will be given a copy of the data before it is deleted.)

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their

legal and professional responsibilities.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit.

Your continued participation in this project should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at XXX-XXX-XXX. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Please answer the following questions:

yes no I have read this form and I understand my rights as a participant in this research project.

yes no I give permission for my voice to be recorded during the session and for written transcriptions of my speech to be used for the research project.

yes no I would like to be informed of how I can see the results of this research project.
(if yes, please give email/phone: _____)

yes no I agree to be contacted for possible future research projects on the Mchif language after completion of the MA thesis

Participant's Name _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

A.2 Release from recording form

Michif Determiner Phrases Release form for recordings

This form gives you control over any future use of the recordings that were made for this project.

Research Project Title: Michif Determiner Phrases, MA Thesis

I require the following passages to be deleted before any use is made of the recordings:

Provided that the above deletions are made (choose one option):

1. I release the recordings to the public domain
2. I release the recordings under a Creative Commons 3.0 license with the following restrictions:
 - none
 - share-alike
 - no derivative works
 - non-commercial
3. I retain full rights in the recordings

If you choose option 2 (with restrictions) or option 3, please also answer the following:

I grant Kathleen Strader and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Manitoba permanent non-exclusive royalty-free license to:

use the **audio-recordings** or portions of the audio-recordings

- yes no for any purpose related to academic research or teaching
- yes no and authorize them to grant other academics the same license with the same conditions
- yes no and authorize them to make the recordings available to the general public

transcribe the audio-recordings and use the transcription or portions of the transcription

- yes no for any purpose related to academic research or teaching
- yes no and authorize them to grant other academics the same license with the same conditions

yes no and authorize them to make the transcriptions available to the general public

I want to be identified publicly as the speaker in the recording / the creator of the text.

I want to remain anonymous and do not want to be identified publicly as the speaker / creator.

Participant's Name _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

Explanation of the choices on the Informed Consent form

You are asked to choose one of the following options:

- **Option 1: Release the recordings to the public domain.** This means you give up all rights over the recordings. Anyone in the world can use them for anything they want.

- **Option 3: Retain full rights.** This means you will continue to own the copyright to your speech in the recording. Nobody can do anything with the recording without your explicit permission. (The items in the big box let you give that explicit permission to the researchers for various purposes.)

- **Option 2: Creative Commons license.** Under this option, you continue to own the copyright to your speech in the recording, but you give everyone in the world the right to copy it freely and use it under certain conditions.

- You will always be given credit as the creator. (If you ask to remain anonymous, then please specify how else you want to require people to attribute the recording to you, for example, a pseudonym.)
- If you choose the “**no derivative works**” option, you give people the right to copy the recording, but they cannot make changes to it or incorporate parts of it in their own work.
- If you choose the “**share-alike**” option, you give people the right to copy the recording and to incorporate parts of it in their own work.
- The “**noncommercial**” option means that people can’t use any part of your recording if they’re trying to make money off of it.

If you choose either option 3 (retaining full rights) or option 2 (Creative Commons), we ask you to consider giving the researchers some or all of the additional permissions in the box.

- If you do check any of the “yes” boxes, you’ll be giving us permission to do that thing – specifically a “permanent non-exclusive royalty-free license”.

- **Permanent** = you can’t change your mind in the future and take the permission back.
- **Non-exclusive** = you are free to give the same permission to whoever else you want.

- **Royalty-free** = we aren't going to pay you any money for it.
- The option “**for any purpose related to academic research or teaching**” covers uses such as playing the recording at an academic conference, including a graph of the measurements as part of a journal article, using a sentence from the transcription as an example.
- The option “**to grant other academics the same license with the same conditions**” means that we can pass the same permission on to colleagues in other universities or colleges. For example, if another researcher is writing a paper on Michif and some of the sentences that you provided are relevant to their paper, we could pass those sentences on to the other researcher and they could include them in their paper.
- The option “**available to the general public**” means that we can use the materials in a way that anybody in the world could hear it, for example, by putting the sound-files on a public website.