What is interesting about demonstratives in Blackfoot?

> "The number of individual forms of demonstratives is enormous… almost all predictable forms are attested. Such as have not been recorded must certainly be of rare potential appearance, but the completely random pattern of the unattested forms rules out the likelihood that there are real gaps in the morphological pattern."
> (Taylor 1969, p213)

➤ Questions
The attested number of demonstratives in Blackfoot is too large to be considered a fixed, closed class of functional items. How, then, are demonstratives formed? What rules and restrictions are there on which demonstratives may appear? If demonstratives are compositional, how can certain exceptions be explained?

➤ Claim
Aside from a small number of lexicalized forms, Blackfoot demonstratives are constructed compositionally from a closed group of morphemes following a strict template. The invisibility morpheme -*hka* sometimes appears in exception to this, but this is a mark that that morpheme is more flexible than has been previously assumed.

➤ Demonstrative Morphemes

ROOT	DIM	RSTR	INFL	POSITION	DERIV
am	sst	o	wa	hka	o'ka
ann			yi	ma	ayi
om			iksi	ka	
			istsi	ya	

- Deictic roots
- "Diminutive" (BB: pity)
- Restricted (near speaker)
- Inflection (#, obviation, animacy)
- Position, motion, visibility
- Derivational (verbs, nouns)

Logically possible forms: **3 x 2 x 2 x 5 x 5 x 3 = <u>900</u>**

Assumptions: there must be a root, but no other morpheme is necessary. Only one morpheme of each type may appear. Morphemes must follow this order.

➤ Methodology
The broad search for varied demonstrative forms was conducted through analysis of existing Blackfoot texts and the OLD (Online Linguistic Database). The search therefore spanned a number of dialects and time periods. Further search was done by setting up specific contexts to elicit other possible forms from our consultant (BB).

Are there any restrictions or patterns in the ways demonstratives may be formed?

1. Obligatory deictic root
The deictic root serves as the demonstrative head; it is the only necessary part of the demonstrative.

(1)   *Kiwa **ann** otanistssi, maataokitsiihtaawaatsiks.*
kiiwa **ann** ot-waanisttsi-hsi   maat-a-okitsiihtaa-waatsiksi
VOC   DEM 3-do.smthg.AI-CONJ NEG-IMPF-have.bad.intent.AI-NFRM
'And yet when he acted, it was not with bad intentions.'

DemP
      /\
   Dem
   ann
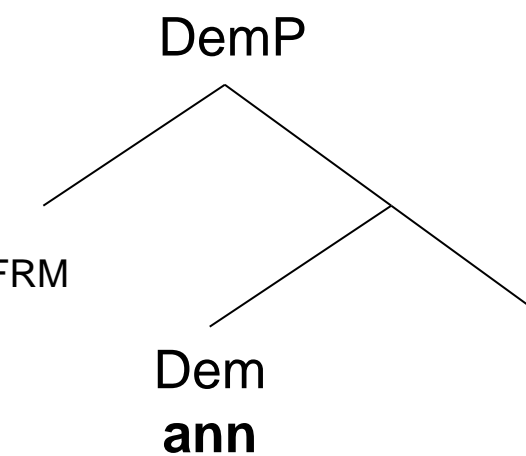
2. Strict morphemic template
Morphemes belong to specific categories that occupy different slots in a demonstrative 'template'. The order of these slots is fixed.

ROOT	DIM	RSTR	INFL	POSITION	DERIV	
ann	Ø	Ø	wa	ka	o'ka	= **annakao'k**

3. Necessary inflection
More of a syntactic than a formation restraint: demonstratives must mirror all inflection of their referent noun. This is most visible with the plural suffixes; the singular -*wa*/-*yi* suffixes are often elided. Some singular demonstratives appear to have only restrictive -*o*. This may be because inflection was elided, or because the demonstrative serves as a locative with no nominal referent.

(2)   ***amiksi** ksikihkinaiposaa**iksi***
am-**iksi**   ksikk-ihkinai-pokaa-**iksi**
DEM-**PL.AN** white-head-child-**PL.AN**
'the white-headed eagle's young ones'

(3)   ***Amo** itoohkonowa annam Philip.*
'They found Philip over **here**.'

4. Template gap restrictions
Positional markers always occur after inflectional markers or -*o*.

Attested: amohk, amoihk, amokssk, amisk, annohk, annahk, annihk, omahk, omihk, amoma, amima, annoma, anniksima…

Derivational markers almost always occur after positional markers. There are some exceptions, but unlike non-derived dems, there are more *with* positionals than without. What motivates this frequency?

Attested: amohkayi, annimayi, annahkayi, annihkayi, anniksiskayi, annomaok, annakaok, annikoka, annayaok…
Exceptions: annao'ka, omoka (om-o'ka?), omak (om-wa-o'ka?)

5. Remote root + Restricted = bad
The remote root *om-* designates that a referent is far away from both speaker and addressee, while the restricted vowel -*o* marks that the referent is near the speaker. The combination contradicts itself. However:

(4)   ***Omohk** annahk Heather niito'to.*
om-o-hka   ann-wa-hka H ni't-o'too
DEM-RSTR-INVS DEM-3-INVS H only-arrive
'Heather came alone.'

What exceptions are there to compositionality?

➤ Lexicalization
Some demonstratives have been lexicalized to mean something more specific than the combined meanings of their parts.

annoma – "around here"
annama – "the late (i.e. deceased)…"
annohka – "now"   (Frantz 2009)

➤ -*hka*
The invisible marker sometimes appears in places where straightforward invisibility is not a possible interpretation:

❖ **That's the man who broke my window!**

*Oomak anna**hk** ninaa ipooniim nitsiksistsikoomisstaan!*
om-wa-o'ka ann-wa-**hka** ninaa-wa ii-opooni-m   nit-ksiistsikoommstaan
DEM-3-VRB   DEM-3-**INVS** man-3   PST-shatter.TI-THM 1-window

Context: The man who broke your window is in the street in front of you. You're pointing at him when you say this.

*Anna**hk**o'k anna**hk** ninaawa**hk** ipooniim nitsiksistsikoomisstaan!*
ann-wa-**hka**-o'ka ann-wa-**hka** ninaa-wa-**hka** ii-opooni-m   nit-ksiistsikoommstaan
DEM-3-**INVS**-VRB   DEM-3-**INVS** man-3-**INVS** PST-shatter.TI-THM 1-window

Context: You're listening to a friend's description of a man. You realize it's the same man who broke your window. The man is not present.

The invisibility marker -*hka* appears on the demonstrative both when the man is present and when he is not. In the case of true invisibility, the positional marker undergoes concord on the noun.

Taylor (1969) suggests that nominal concord is obligatory for all positional markers, but this is not representative of my data.

Frantz (2009) suggests that -*hka* can function as a relative clause marker, but the distribution he suggests for this function does not match both of the cases here (both would be relative clauses).

[annahk] may have been lexicalized, or -*hka* may be polysemous, or apply invisibility in an alternate way (individual/event-level visibility).

➤ Future research

- Continue gathering corpus data to discover more possible forms

- Test the hypothesized formation restrictions—this will create a more accurate picture from the 900 logical possibilities

- Investigate the phenomenon of nominal concord with positionals

- Look further into the meaning and usage of -*hka*

References: Frantz, D. 2009. Blackfoot Grammar, 2nd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.   Proulx, P. 1988. The Demonstratives of Proto-Algonquian. *IJAL* 54(3): 309-330.   Taylor, A. 1969. A Grammar of Blackfoot. PhD. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.