CHAPTER 6

Concluding Remarks

6.1 Summary

6.1.1 Applicative Constructions: Description and Explanation

The construction known variously as double-object, double-goal and benefactive in Algonquian linguistic literature (Bloomfield 1979, Todd 1971, Grafstein 1984, Wolfart 1973) is an applicative construction, displaying cross-linguistically attested applicative properties. These are:

1. the appearance of extra morphology on a verb (the applicative morpheme -au, analyzed as a prepositional affix)

2. the addition of an NP argument bearing an oblique thematic role, such as benefactive or goal(in the examples discussed in this thesis, the applied object is represented within the verb complex by the TA theme sign -aa, associating with an animate adjunct which bears an oblique thematic role)

3. the extra argument (the applied object) will behave more like a surface direct object than the underlying object (the applied object was shown to be proximate rather than obviative; it participates in the reversal of object and subject triggered by the TA inverse theme sign; it triggers animacy and number agreement)

The properties of the Innu-aimun applicative construction have been described in some detail. However, these properties have not yet been explained adequately. I have suggested that the nominal affix representing the underlying object within the verb complex does not receive structural

Case, for reasons which remain to be determined. I also suggested that there may be a connection between the underlying object losing its ability to specify the animacy of its adjunct and the underlying object's loss of object properties. However, until a d-structure is proposed for Innu-aimun, and until Case-assignment in Innu-aimun is understood, the properties described in this thesis will remain largely unaccounted for. The fact that applicative constructions cannot be derived from intransitive verbs suggests that Case availability and/or theta role assignment will feature prominently in understanding these constructions.

6.1.2 Causative Constructions

The causative morpheme -i derives TA verbs from AI verbs and -it derives TI[2] verbs from II verbs. Transitive verbs may not be causativized, perhaps, assuming a biclausal analysis of causative constructions, because the verb lacks Case to license the object of the embedded clause. It would be theoretically desirable to account for the properties displayed by causative constructions in terms of Case availability. It has not been possible to do this in this thesis. It may be that it would be more productive to look

at the causative morphemes within the subset of morphemes to which they are traditionally assigned, transitive finals, rather than analyzing them as verbal affixes. As a transitivizer, the causative morpheme would not be expected to be contained within stems which are already transitive.

6.1.3 The Nature of Nominals and the Question of Configurationality

Preparatory to discussing applicative and causative formation in Innu-aimun within a generative framework, it was assumed that Configurationality was a linguistic universal. It was suggested that the strict constituent order observed within the verb complex might represent configurationality in languages such as Algonquian which display flexible word order, complex verbs and optional NPs. This assumption in turn is dependent on the assumption that Case and theta roles are assigned to morphology within the verb complex and that overt NPs are adjuncts (following Jelinek (1984) and Halle and Marantz (1992)).

It was proposed that, for example, the TI theme sign -am represents an inanimate obviative object (when the subject is third person), and that -e represents an inanimate proximate object (when the subject is first or

second person). The TA theme sign -aa was proposed as the animate proximate object, while it was suggested that -e represents an animate obviative object within the verb complex. The properties of the adjuncts match up with properties of the nominal affixes within the verb complex, so that the association between argument and adjunct is restricted. The nominal affixes can be thought of as lexically void, but containing features of animacy, person and number.

6.1.4 Applicative Constructions Derived From Various Types of Transitive Verbs

It was proposed that applicative constructions can be derived from TI verbs, TI^2 verbs and COT verbs and that there is only one type of applicative construction in Innu-aimun, derived by means of the applicative morpheme -au.

6.2 Questions Arising

A number of problems have arisen which require further investigation.

1. Case Parameters

In this thesis the theory developed by Baker (1988), that there are three Case Parameters, was discussed with

reference to Innu-aimun. It seems that Innu-aimun verbs have a maximum of one structural Case to assign to the applicative affix argument, and that the applicative underlying object is licensed by some other means. No suggestions have been made in this thesis as to what alternative means might be available. This is an area which requires further investigation.

2. Restrictions on Causativization of Transitive Verbs

Data has been presented to show that a morphological causative cannot be derived from any transitive verb. However, no explanation for this has been put forward beyond suggesting that the problem may be one of Case not being available. This is not consistent with the suggestion that the applicative underlying object is able to receive an unspecified non-structural Case. Example (26a) is repeated here as (92).

(92) **Nimaatishuaau paakueshikan.**

ni-maatishu-aa-u-ø	paakueshikan-ø
1-cut-TAth-SUBsg/OBJ3-OBJsg:TA	bread-PROX_SG(an)
'I'm cutting bread.'	

The addition of the applicative morpheme -au makes the addition of another NP possible.

(93) **Nimaatishamuaau paakueshikana naapess.**
ni-maatish-am-**au**-aa-u paakueshikan-a
1-cut-TIth-**APP**-TAth-SUB1sg/OBJ3:TA bread-OBV_AN

naapess-ø
boy-PROX_SG(an)

'I am cutting the bread/s for the boy.'

If paakueshikan(a) can appear in (93), the ungrammaticality of (94) is difficult to account for.

(94) ***Nimaatishiaau paakueshikana naapess.**
ni-maatish-**i**-aa-u paakueshikan-a
1-cut-TIth-**CAUS**-TAth-SUB1sg/OBJ3:TA bread-OBV_AN

naapess-ø
boy-PROX_SG(an)

'I make the boy cut bread.'

As shown in the previous chapter, the only way to transitivize a transitive verb is by using a phrasal causative.

(95) **Nituutuaau tshetshii maatishaat paakueshikana.**
ni-tuutau-aa-u tshetshii maatish-aat
1-make_s.o._do_s.t.-TAth-TA to eat-TAconj3

paakueshikan-a
bread-OBV_AN

'I make him/her cut bread.'

This restriction is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, as discussed earlier, Baker's theory of general

Case-assigning properties predicts that Innu-Aimun should allow the causativization of transitive verbs; if there is Case available to license the additional NP in an applicative constructions, the same case-assigning strategies should be available to the extra NP in a causativized transitive construction. Secondly, it is clear from example (95) that there are no semantic restrictions prohibiting transitive verbs from being causativized. The restriction must therefore be structural. If the answer does lie in the availability of Case, then the hypothesis proposed by Baker would require some modification to account for languages such as Algonquian. Clearly, this question requires further investigation.

3. COT-derived Applicative Constructions

As stated earlier, only one example of a COT-derived applicative constructions has been included in this thesis. Further research is required to identify other verbs of this type.

4. Configurationality and the Nature of NPs

A number of problems arose in postulating nominal affixes. The nature of the inverse TA theme sign remains

unclear. Also, there remains the problem that TI^2 verbs do not have any morphology which can be identified as an object, yet nevertheless have an object. Further investigation into the nature of NPs and adjuncts in Algonquian may shed some light on the problem of configurationality.

6.3 The Way Ahead

This thesis has dealt only with a very restricted quantity of data. Only clauses involving third persons have been included so as to avoid the complication of describing different types of verbal morphology. In addition, only the present tense has been considered, and only verbs from the Independent Order. Obviously, a great deal more could be learned about valency increase in Innu-aimun if there was a wider variety of data. Nevertheless, with the data selected for this thesis it has been possible to examine, for example, the object status of NPs and the transitivity status of verbs. It is hoped that the questions raised in this thesis will form the basis of further research in this area.