

Arapaho, the English of Algonquian: V-C movement and its effects on agreement paradigms

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Most Algonquian languages have two verbal agreement paradigms which mainly correspond to different clause types, but the exact details of their distribution vary from language to language. One paradigm involves suffixal agreement (1a), and the other involves agreement in the prefix and in the suffix (1b).

(1) a. SIMPLE: {stem}-{theme marker}-{AGR₁} b. COMPLEX: {AGR₂}-{stem}-{theme marker}-{AGR₁}

There is no consensus on how to analyze these paradigms (see Brittain 2001 and Richards 2004 for competing views). This talk focuses on Arapaho, an outlier in the Algonquian family. The environments where (1a-b) occur in most Algonquian languages seem to be reversed in Arapaho; what is the elsewhere paradigm in most of Algonquian (COMPLEX), is the marked paradigm in Arapaho. Although this seems like *prima facie* evidence against a unified analysis of the COMPLEX/SIMPLE alternation, we will argue that, in fact: (i) the Arapaho/Algonquian split can be explained with a single account where the alternation correlates to presence or absence of V-C movement (following Richards 2004), and (ii) variation in the availability of movement across clause types in Algonquian is similar to the differences in the availability of V-C movement in Germanic. In doing so, we show that there is a parallel between V-C movement across unrelated and superficially completely different languages and we pave the way towards a deeper understanding of head-movement.

The phenomenon. The SIMPLE paradigm (traditionally *conjunct order*) is typically restricted to a small set of clause types, while the COMPLEX one (traditionally *independent order*) is the elsewhere case. The distribution for Arapaho vs. other Algonquian languages is summarized in (2).

	<i>Wampanoag</i>	<i>Cree-Mont-Naskapi (CMN)</i>	<i>Arapaho</i>
COMPLEX:	<elsewhere>	<elsewhere >	negative clauses; interrogative clauses; modal clauses
SIMPLE:	relative clauses; <i>when/if</i> -clauses; embedded <i>wh</i> -questions	negative clauses; subordinate clauses; <i>wh</i> -clauses; focus	<elsewhere>

We compare Wampanoag and Arapaho more closely. In Wampanoag, simple agreement occurs in embedded clauses (3a) and complex is used in matrix clauses (3b). In Arapaho, a matrix indicative CP requires simple (4a) while complex occurs in marked syntactic environments (4b).

(3) a. nâw-uquv-âk-up see-INV-2PL-PRET “... that they saw you (pl).”	[SIMPLE] [embedded]	b. ku-nâw-uk-uwo-pan-eek 2-see-INV-NON.1PL-PRET-PL “They saw you (pl).” (Wampanoag; Richards 2004)	[COMPLEX] [matrix]
(4) a. n<on>óóhob-é3en IC.see-1>2 “I see you.”	[SIMPLE] [matrix]	b. ne-ihoow-nóóhob-é3 1-NEG-see-1>2 “I don’t see you.” (Arapaho; Cowell & Moss 2008)	[COMPLEX] [negative]

The contrast between (3) and (4) seems to indicate that separate analyses of the correlation between the clause types and agreement paradigms are needed for Wampanoag and Arapaho. However, we will argue that on an abstract level the SIMPLE and COMPLEX paradigms do have a common source across Algonquian: COMPLEX agreement appears when V-C movement occurs, while SIMPLE agreement marks the absence of V-C movement. We show that this correlation is not arbitrary and in fact finds a close cross-linguistic parallel in the distribution of V-C movement (V2) in Germanic.

Analysis. In Richards' (2004) analysis of Wampanoag, he assumes multiple AGR heads can be present on different functional heads in the clause and that an AGR head is only present at PF if the verb “picks it up” by head-moving to it or through it on the way to a higher head (cf. Phillips 1998). Thus (3b) starts out as (5a), and the COMPLEX pattern arises because the verb head-moves successive cyclically via Pol⁰, picking up AGR₁, on its way to C⁰, where it also picks up AGR₂ and can be a host for the agreement proclitic CL₃.

(5) a.	$[_{CP} \text{ CL}_3 [_{C'} [_{C} [_{C} \text{ AGR}_2] [_{TP} \text{ T } [_{\text{PolP}} [_{\text{Pol}} \text{ AGR}_1] [_{vP} v [_{vP} V]]]]]]$	[COMPLEX]
	$\text{ku} \quad \quad \quad \text{eek} \quad \quad \quad \text{pan} \quad \quad \quad \text{uwô} \quad \quad \quad \text{uq} \quad \quad \quad \text{nâw}$	
	b. $[_{CP} \text{ CL}_3 [_{C'} [_{C} [_{T} [_{\text{Pol}} [_{v} [\quad V] v] [_{\text{Pol}} \text{ AGR}_1]] T] [_{C} \text{ AGR}_2] [_{TP} \dots]]$	

