



Discourse Particles in Menominee

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Road Map

1. Background

1. Particles in Menominee
2. Discourse particles
3. Clause structure
4. *taeh*

2. Research Question/Methods/Results

3. Discourse Particle subcategories and behavior

1. Extra-clausal
2. First position
3. Second position
4. Any position



Particles in Menominee

- Bloomfield uses 'particle' as a catch-all grammatical category for all the words in Menominee that don't inflect
- Cover a wide range of functions: adverbial, locational, adjectival, discoursal
- Subcategories: quantifiers, discourse, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, complementizers, locatives, question particle, negators, modals, evidentials, manner, etc.



What is a discourse particle?

(19) An updated definition of discourse markers:

Any linguistic expression, whether it be a word, particle, lexicalized phrase, affix, TAM/inflectional system, or other expression, may serve as a discourse marker, or discourse-marking device, if it operates at both local and global levels of discourse (i.e., bracketing power) and operates on different planes of discourse (i.e., serves some discourse function), contributing to either textual coherence or interpersonal/epistemic meanings, or both simultaneously.

Fairbanks (2016) p. 41

- Particles that situate the sentence within the larger discourse



Research Question

- The current database of Menominee particles created by Monica Macaulay has around 75 discourse particles
- Is it possible to subcategorize these particles based on syntactic position?
- Model: Fairbanks (2016)
 - Discourse markers in Ojibwe
 - Categorized discourse markers based on both semantics and syntax
 - Divided particles into two syntactic categories: Initial position and second position



Methods

- Searched for each of the discourse particles in a database of texts
 - Bloomfield (1928, 1962, unpublished notes)
 - Elicitation by Monica Macaulay
- Noted the position in the clause where each particle appeared
- Many of the particles did not appear at all in any of the texts



Results

- Menominee discourse particles have a wider range of possible syntactic positions than Fairbanks found for Ojibwe
 - 4 particles usually appeared in an extra-clausal position
 - 13 particles showed a strong preference for clause-initial position
 - 2 particles showed a strong preference for second position
 - 12 particles could occur anywhere in the clause
 - ~40 particles had no data



Clause structure schema

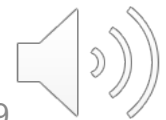
- Menominee makes discourse-pragmatic distinctions by using a set of preverbal positions
- Schematization of the major preverbal constituents:

[External Topic [Focus [Internal Topic [V ...]]]]



Taeh

- Particle that coordinates clauses, meaning ‘and’ or ‘but’
- Has been established as a second position particle
- (1) *Kemēnen **taeh** eneh ācemon.*
I.give.you and that story
‘And I give this story to you’ (NTM 223)
- (2) *metaēmohsan **taeh** āwewan, eneh sayāēkehekotuaq*
woman.OBV but they.are.OBV that they.frighten.them.IC
‘But it was only the women who had frightened them.’ (PHK 129)
- Can be used as a diagnostic for the position of other elements in the clause
- (3) ***Taq,** kan **taeh** wenah okēs- kēsawahinowāwan.*
of.course NEG and they PAST-they.don’t.put.on.warm.clothes
‘Of course, they didn’t wear warm clothes.’ (MLO 016)



Discourse Particles: Extra-clausal

MENOMINEE	ENGLISH
ātaq	well then, and so
nahāw	(1) well, well then, then; (2) you're welcome; (3) yes, okay, all right, come on, let's
taq	(1) well, well then; (2) of course, naturally
oh, ōh	(1) may one ask?, may one assume?, I should say - can one ask?; (2) yes, I see, oh, I take it; (3) whew!

Examples

- (4) **Nahāw**, *eneq-peh mesek wanākāēhkon kew-aqsekaenatuaq*,
well.then then also bark.OBV HAB-they.pick.it.up.by.hand
'So, then they would also gather bark,' (MLO 006)
- (5) **Ōh**, *awēh-anohkīw 's menīkānēwek*," *ewāh*.
oh DIST-he.works AOR it.is.a.town she.says.so
'"Oh, he's gone to town to work," she said.' (NRS 138)
- (6) **Taq**, *okīqsowawan 's kēsekehatuaq*,
well.then their.son AOR they.bring.him.to.maturity
'Well then, when they had brought their son to maturity,' (HMM 001)
- (7) **Ātaq**, *kotaeqnas kāēh nekot anāmeahāew-kēsekat nenaw-īm*,
well.then somewhere so.much one Sunday going.to-I.am.at.the.place
'Well, I will stay here for about a week,' (CTM 006)

Behavior

- Indicated by pause (comma in text or pause in recordings)

- (8) **Ātaq,** kawen pōc okew-pemāenemanan apāehnīhsaeh.
well.then not at.all he.didn't.pay.attention.to.them boy
'But the youth paid no attention at all to them;'
The Man Who Married a Deer-Woman, pp. 542-543

- Behavior when co-occurring with *taeh*

- (9) **Nahāw,** omanak taeh nāpān, ayom oskēh-mesāhkataewaew
well.then in.that.direction but on.the.other.hand this young-he.fasts
"Well, but on the other hand, as for this young faster –" (PF 047)
- (10) **Taq,** eneq taeh 's nūsiahkawak;
well.then then but AOR I.have.not.sufficient.means.to.get.it
'But then I didn't have enough money to buy it;' (BB 004)

Discourse Particles: 1st position

MENOMINEE	ENGLISH
kah-mecet	come to think of it, after all
keskenapetok	were you not supposed to?, can it be that you have not?, but I thought ...!
netowak	I wonder, I wonder whether
cemekat	as it would seem
pāpēhtōqs*	even after that, as even a greater outrage or excess
nāwenāqs	maybe, perhaps, possibly
kawenakat	by some chance, maybe, possibly
penah	(1) for instance;(2) why don't you (do something)?, do it already!;(3) come, do, do please;(4) leave it alone, anyway!, never mind
cīn	just this, this one by contrast
kamenah	again, there you are again!, what with the usual way of things, what with your usual way
nāqs	may it be, let it be, one hopes, I hope, can it be?
nanāh-pakāc	in great shape, splendid, you really like it
kanewen	then, the story goes



Examples

- (11) **Nāwenāqs** *men eneq nekot pas kayēs-yōh-pīnat!*
maybe also it's.that one might PAST-you.brought.her.back.home.from.there
'Perhaps you would have taken one home with you from there!' (CTM 024)
- (12) “**cīn** *kekāta-naeqnaw mamāceqtaw*”
cīn you.are.going.to.kill.him person
“you who really think you are going to slay human beings!” (YSS, pp. 564-565)
- (13) **Cemekat** *kan onāepānan.*
as.it.would.seem not she.does.not.sleep
'It seems that she is not sleeping.' (SS, TZ)
- (14) **Kawenakat** *nāp kāekōh āeqtawan mīcehswan?*
maybe for.your.part something you.have food
'Haven't you perhaps something in the way of food about you?' (RW, pp. 302-303)

Positioning

- Extra-clausal and 1st position particles can co-occur
 - Both must appear before the preverbal constituents of the clause
 - (15) “...**taq cīn** enoh mamāceqtaw kekāta-naeqnaw!”
well cīn this person you.are.going.to.kill.him
“[So come now, let us fight,] you who are by way of slaying men!” (YSS, pp. 564-565)
 - Possible ordering preference of extra-clausal particles
 - Not enough evidence to make conclusions
 - (16) “**Nahāw, taq,** kena-kocēqtaq kāeh;”
well.then well we.will.try at any rate
“Very well, at least we shall try;” (LGR, pp. 125-126)
 - (17) “**Ātaq, taq,** nepes-nōcpenaehāw kāeh; osām nekēs-tapānāw.”
well.then well I.come.to.follow.her at.any.rate too.much I.loved.her
“However it be, I have come to follow her; I loved her too much.” (LGR, pp. 125-126)
 - (18) **Ōh! hāw,** neseq, kenaw-wēhtamon.
oh all.right uncle I.will.tell.about.them
“Oh, all right, uncle, I'll tell of them.” (SR2 283)



Positioning

- Some overlap in categories
- Extra-clausal particles occasionally appear to occur in first position
 - Evidence: co-occurrence with second position particles
 - (19) “*Taq* *ōh* *taeh, nohseh,* *āekāeyan?*”
well.then I.see but my.grandchild you.are.called.so
“Oh, then what is your name, grandchild?” (HRN 026)
 - (20) ***Taq** kaeh* *tāepenīhtuaq* *enes ‘s* *semākenehsēwetuaq.*
well at.any.rate they.are.satisfied here AOR they.are.soldiers
Well they were content that they were soldiers.
(Forty-Nine Dance, p. 15; Menominee Stories & Legends 1975).
- Without another particle present to compare to, it can be impossible to tell whether particle is extra-clausal or in first position

Discourse Particles: 2nd position

MENOMINEE	ENGLISH
cīnap*	is there any chance of it? is it entirely excluded?
kāeh	(1) so much, so far, no more, enough, just; (2) at any rate, of course

Examples

- (21) *Tāq-nakah cīnap aw- ehpāheyan ahkēw māeqsik?*
where cīnap IRR-you.run.from.me earth it.is.big
'Where could you possibly run to escape me, big as the earth is?' (23.129)
- (22) *Nahāw, eneq k̄ah nāwenāqs nena-pemātesem!*
well it's.that at.any.rate maybe I.will.live
'There; now perhaps I shall live!' (TAT, pp. 84-85)
- (23) *“Ātaq, taq, nepes-nōcpenaehāw k̄ah; osām nekēs-tapānāw.”*
well.then well I.come.to.follow.her at.any.rate too.much I.loved.her
'However it be, I have come to follow her; I loved her too much.' (LGR, pp. 125-126)
- (24) *“Omāeq- k̄ah- nakah kayēs-enem-esiat.”*
it.is.this.way-at.any.rate-direction PAST-that.he.went
'Why, in that direction he went.' (HWC, pp. 88-89)

Co-occurrence with *taeh*

- *Kāeh* precedes *taeh* when they appear in the same clause

- (25) *Nahāw, eneq kāeh taeh 's tasēkeyah*
well.then then at.any.rate but AOR we.are.busy.at.something
's *tāep- wēkew- pōsehakeh māec-awāehsaeh;*
AOR attaining-nevertheless-we.load.him.on.the.vehicle big- bear
'Well, but then we were faced with trying to get the big bear loaded on the wagon;'
(HKB 037)

- Only one example
- Still, indicates that *kāeh* has a strong preference for second position

Discourse Particles: can occur anywhere

MENOMINEE	ENGLISH
ānow	(1) in vain; (2) isn't it so?; (3) to be sure, nevertheless, although, after all
ceyāw	anyway, nonetheless, though one may not like it
nāsap	kidding, in fun, insincerely, without really meaning it
pāhpes	(1) so it turns out, as it turns out, in due time; (2) ever
new	(1) emphatic, contrast; (2) precision, selective
pōc	(1) anyway; (2) certainly, definitely, actually; (3) even this
kanapac	maybe, perhaps
wēkew	(1) in spite of obstacles or interference, nevertheless; (2) contrarily
nās	(1) let it be, no matter; (2) just for a while; (3) please
nenaq	as you should know, as I see it, I tell you
neciakah	anyway, in spite of, notwithstanding, nonetheless
konemāw	(1) maybe, perhaps, possibly; (2) or

Examples

- (26a) **wēkew** *kāeh* *nekōtāēs* *newīhkihonaw* 's *pōsehakeh*.
nevertheless at.any.rate at.one.time we.manage.him AOR we.load.him.on.the.vehicle
'nonetheless we finally managed to load him onto it.' (HKB 038)
- (26b) *Mēkāhkow-enāēniwak* **wēkew** *new* *kew-* *anāmaehkatowak*,
prize-fighters nevertheless EMPH HAB-they.shake.hands
āec-kanah 's *kew-wāēpakanāhtituaq*.
before AOR HAB-they.start.beating.each.other
'Prize fighters shake hands, regardless, before they start hitting each other.' (23.132)
- (27a) **Pāhpes** *kah-* *metāahnokon* *ayāwek*,
so.it.turns.out later-ten.days be
'So it turns out that when ten days had passed,' (SR2 103)
- (27b) *Eneq* *kāeh* *new* **pāhpes** 's *kēs-* *kasēwāet* *kēmāten*.
then at.any.rate EMPH so.it.turns.out AOR PAST-escape male.friend
'And so, right then, our friend escaped.' (TAT 094)

Positioning

- Can appear in many different positions within clause
- However, almost all have to occur before the verb
 - Exception: *new*, which can appear in any position except first
 - Emphatic is tightly bound to the constituent it follows
 - (28) *eneq taeh new men new māwa new kākōh 's mayākāenehtakwah.*
that and EMPH also EMPH all EMPH anything AOR it.seems.strange
'so that all of it now seems strange.' (PF 029)
 - Exception: *ānow*
 - (29) *Hāw, eneq saqyaeh 's pas pōneqtayah ānow.*
'We should stop now, don't you think?' (MF, 3/8/05)
 - (30) *kew- esēwāewen taeh wenah ānow new.*
HAB-order.so and he to.be.sure EMPH
'And, to be sure, he orders that.' (CAN 038)

Positioning

- Can appear in preverb space and as freestanding particles

- (31) *Nahāw, eneq k̄āeh taeh 's tasēkeyah*
well.then then at.any.rate but AOR we.are.busy.at.something
's *tāep- wēkew- pōsehakeh māec-awāehsaeh;*
AOR attaining-nevertheless-we.load.him.on.the.vehicle big- bear
'Well, but then we were faced with trying to get the big bear loaded on the wagon;
(HKB 037)

- (32) *Kenaw-nāsap-new-mēnekonawak. / Nāsap new kenaw-mēnekonawak.*
'They will give it to us first.' (13.66)

- In second example, particle can appear either before or after preverb

Possibilities for future research

- Classify discourse particles by semantic class, modeled after Fairbanks (2016)
- Connections between semantic class and syntactic position?
- Relationship of discourse particles to focus, and more broadly, information structure
- Investigate syntactic positions of other particle subcategories





Thank you!

