# Revisiting the é- Preverb

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#### Introduction

The morpheme in question for this talk is the é- preverb:

► I je é-gi-zhya-wat ibe that CNTR é-PST-go-3PL.CONJ over.there 'So they went over there.'

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The é- preverb in Potawatomi has been analyzed in a number of ways, most recently and most widely as **factive** 

#### Outline

- Previous Analyses
- Discussion of the conjunct
- Issue at hand
- 4 A proposal for é-

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#### Hockett

Hockett proposed that the é- preverb marks narrative style.

Pe-ki-nišok.məwat ?osen é-gi-nizhokmëw-at os-en é-PST-help.TA-3>3' 3.father-OBV 'He helped his father.' (Hockett 1939:140)

#### Welcher

Welcher proposed that the é-preverb and therefore é-conjunct has a different role in conversational and narrative discourse.

► Conversation Domain

n=denenda-n Mani **é-wi-gishnen-at** niw wdabyan-en 1=think.TI-0 Mary é-FUT-buy.TA-3>3' that.OBV car-OBV 'I think that Mary will buy the car.' (Welcher 2003:54(4))

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```

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"é- indicates that the proposition expressed by the dependent clause is either presupposed to be true...or that it is probable."

Narrative Domain

Ode yadsokan éspen **é-bmebtot** this story raccoon é-run.around-3.CONJ

'This story is about the Raccoon running along.' (Welcher 2003:93)

The preverb contributes its semantics as a marker of factivity in both domains.

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### Conjuncts

- ► Plain Conjunct
- ► Changed Conjunct
- ► é- Conjunct

Each have particular distributions and functions

The plain conjunct is the prototypical realization of conjunct morphology in the language family

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#### Conditionals

Gishpen **boni-mgek**, n=da-zhoshk'o if **snow.ii-conj** 1=MOD-go.sledding If it were snowing, I would be sledding (Welcher, 2003: 59)

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▶ Before-clauses

```
Kë-gzinthi-men bwamshë wisnë-ygo 2.FUT-wash.hands-1PL before eat-1PL.CONJ 'Let's wash our hands before we eat.'
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▶ Before-clauses

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► After clauses

g=da-gziyabdé **gi-gish-wisne-yen** 2=MOD-clean.teeth PST-finish.PERF-eat-2.CONJ

'You can brush your teeth after you eat.' (Lockwood 2017: 173)

The plain conjunct occurs in situations of hypotheticality

This contrasts with the distribution and semantics of the changed conjunct, which occur only in situations of non-hypotheticality Welcher [2003].

The changed conjunct is the verb form realized via Initial Change

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Plain	Changed
$\ddot{e} \to$	é
$o \to$	wé
$a \to$	no change
$\acute{e} \to$	no change
$i \to$	a
$o \to$	a

Table: Initial Change in Potawatomi

(cf. Costa 1996:43; Welcher, 2003:22-24; Lockwood, 2017:33-34)

The changed conjunct is the verb form realized via Initial Change

Complement to interrogative pronoun

Nithëpi ga-wabm-aygo when IC.PST-seeTA-1PL

'When did we see him?'

The changed conjunct is the verb form realized via Initial Change

Complement to interrogative pronoun

```
Nithëpi ga-wabm-aygo when IC.PST-seeTA-1PL 'When did we see him?'
```

► Complements to dubitative prounoun

```
Wagwendêk na ga-ming-o-gwén naké na
who.DUB NA IC.PST-give-PASS-DUB or NA
w-dedey-men o Alex
3-father-POSS.OBV that Alex
```

'I don't know who might have given them to her, maybe Alex's father.' Lockwood [2017]

The changed conjunct is the verb form realized via Initial Change

► Completive AspectFairbanks [2016]

```
i zhi yé i ga-gish-skono-yan i,

DEM there yé DEM IC.PST-finish-school-1.CONJ DEM,
é-gi-gbak'ëm-wat i skonwgëmêk
é-PST-close-3PL.CONJ DEM school.building
'After I went to school there [one year], they closed that school.'
2014-10-29-01 JT/LR
```

The changed conjunct is the verb form realized via Initial Change

► Participles

naganzé-thêk IC.lead-3PL.PTCP

'The leaders'

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▶ Relative Clauses

wi yé ode wa-ne-zhechké-yen FOC PC DEM IC.FUT-away-do-2.CONJ

'This is what you will do.' Lockwood [2017] BD 2015-10-05-01 132

## Conjunct

Changed Conjunct = non-hypothetical Plain Conjunct = Hypothetical

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## é-conjunct distribution

#### Complement Clauses as Clausal Elaborations

- n=gi-monéndan é-wabm-enan 1=PST-suspect.it é-see-1>2.CONJ 'I suspected to see you.'
- ▶ mbédo é-wi-mathi-yan hope é-FUT-leave-2.CONJ 'I hope to leave.'

#### Purpose Clause

W=gi-gkéndan-awa tso wa-zheto-wat 3=PST-know.it.TI-3PL.IND so.much IC.FUT-do.TI-3PL.CONJ na i sey é-bwa-bikbenaye-t o agem. na that hide é-NEG-break-3.CONJ that snowshoe 'They knew how much tension to put on the hide so the snowshoe wouldn't get broken.' JT 2016-01-11-01

### é-conjunct distribution

#### Adjunct Adverbials

- ▶ O. É-gi-gwthëbd-êk o n-dédéyëm oh. é-PST-taste-3.CONJ that 1-father è-gi-bon-shëm-gwiyak.
   é-PST-stop-feed-1PL.CONJ
   'Oh. When my father tasted it we stopped being fed that stuff [cod liver oil].' 2014-10-29-01 JT/LR
- N=gi-bon-dbathm-a-men é-wabm-ayak 1=PST-stop-talk.aboutTA-3OBJ-1PL é-see-1PL>3.CONJ é-bmë-bgëmsé-t. é-around-arrive.walk-3.CONJ 'We stopped talking about him when we saw him as he is walking up.'

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### é-Conjunct Distribution

■ Gishpen é-gi-bwa-to-wat w=gi-jagzana-wa na i if é-PST-NEG-have-3PL.CONJ 3=PST-burn.it-PL na DEM wa-je-bgwenéyak IC.FUT-je-have.hole-0 'If they didn't have one, they burned where the hole should be.' IT 2016-01-11-01

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wénithë é-gdas-yen what é-read-2CONJ What are you reading?

#### é-conjunct in narrative

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é- functions much like the plain conjunct of Ojibwe Fairbanks [2009]

Mech ga-yawagwén na=tso not.know EMPH=so.many IC.PST-be.3PL.CONJ.DUB those Neshnahék

Neshnabé PL

'I don't know how many Neshnabé people there were.'

É-gi-wébi'wé-wat.

é-PST-run.way-3PL.CONJ

'Then they ran away.' 2014-02-12-06 MJT/JT/LR

This sort of analysis expands what Welcher put forth in her dissertation, as well as cross-family observations about the conjunct Cyr [1991], Starks [1994].

#### Remaining Question

What then is a reasonable description and semantics of the é-preverb and é-conjunct?

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Previous Analyses

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#### What is the é-preverb?

I have proposals for dealing with the semantics of the é-preverb:

- ► Not just factive and not just narrative = Default
- Complementizer and Clause-Typing

### Not factive, not narrative

As we saw earlier, it is clear that the é-preverb does not presuppose the truth of the dependent verb in a way we would expect from combinatorial semantics of fact Kiparsky and Kiparsky [1968], Karttunen [1971].

What emerges from the distribution of the é-conjunct is that the é-preverb overlaps with the canonical uses of both the plain conjunct and the changed conjunct.

# Not just narrative, not just factive

- Non-Narrative Domain; prayer-like langauge nadmëw-shen ė-wi-mbwaka-yan help.TA-IMP.2>1 é-FUT-be.smart-CONJ.1 'Help me to be smart.'
- Gishpen é-gi-bwa-to-wat w=gi-jagzana-wa na i if é-PST-NEG-have-3PL.CONJ 3=PST-burn.it-PL na DEM wa-je-bgwenéyak IC.FUT-je-have.hole 'If they didn't have one, they burned where the hole should be.'

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### Not factive, not narrative

Additionally, the é-conjunct in narratives serves to provide the eventline structure, similar to the plain conjunct in Mille Lacs Ojibwe (Fairbanks, 2009)

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▶ Bama zhe wéwéne gi-bégwze-t o later EMPH proper PST-be.dry-3CONJ that é-gi-zagjepn-awat ni mine ngot zhi é-PST-take.it.out-3PL>3'.CONJ that and one there é-sa-wat (towat). é-put.in.a.certain.place/have-3CONJ (have.3PL) 'Once it was properly dry they took it out (of the form) and they put the other one there.' JT 2016-01-11-01

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Following Fairbanks's analysis, this leads us away from any notion that é- may be an realization of IC.

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### Default

From here, it seems that the é-conjunct has moved toward a default conjunct form:

 Verbal complementation take the é-conjunct form in everyday discourse as a default

w=gi-bodwéwêk ė-wi-thibakwé-wat 3=PST-make.fire-3PL.IND é-FUT-cook.over.fire-3PL.CONJ 'They built a fire so they could cook over fire.'

\*w=gi-bodwéwêk wi-thibakwé-wat 3=PST-make.fire-3PL.IND FUT-cook.over.fire-3PL.CONJ Intended: 'They built a fire to cook over it.'

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This analysis also goes along with clause-typing and complementizer analyses of the é-preverb cognate in other Algonquian languages.

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That also contradicts my previous assertaion that the é- is not a realization of IC

# Complementizer and Clause-typing

Following both Brittain's [a]-comp hypothesis 2013 and Cook's clause-typing analysis 2014, accommodating the é-preverb in Potawatomi allows us a complementizer definition

From this, é- is an invariant realization of IC

### Conclusions

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1. The é-preverb has become a default form to express the conjunct, bleaching the semantics of é-

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1. The é-preverb has become a default form to express the conjunct, bleaching the semantics of é-

2. It may also be a complementizer that is an invariant realization of IC, also bleaching the semantics associated with IC

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