

THE STRUCTURE OF MICHIF RELATIVE CLAUSES *

Daiho Kitaoka and Kathleen Strader
University of Ottawa

1. Introduction

This paper explores the structure of relative clauses in Michif, a contact language derived from Plains Cree and French, see example (1)¹.

- (1) La poliss de faam ki-natoonik-ew ana la fii **kaa**-nakiin-at.
DET police PREP woman PST-search.AI-3 DEM DET girl REL-stop.TA-CJ.3→3'
'The police woman searched the girl who she stopped.' (NF 2015)

We propose that Michif relatives are derived in a similar way to English relative clauses mediated by the preverb *ka-*, contra Bakker (Bakker 1997), who suggests that these relative clauses are nominalizations. We argue for the clausal status of the relative clause and argue against the nominalization analysis. Furthermore, we claim that *ka-* is within the CP domain. This paper contributes to the comparative study of relative clauses amongst Algonquian languages (cf. Johansson 2011). We aim to further the understanding of syntax of the preverb *ka-*.

After briefly describing the Michif syntax related to relative clauses in section §2, we demonstrate that Michif relative clauses are not nominalizations, see section §3. In section §4 we analyse the behaviour of *ka*. We conclude in section §5.

2. Brief sketch of Michif

Michif is a contact language derived from Plains Cree (Algonquian family) verbs and French nouns. As with the majority of Algonquian languages, the word order in Michif is

*Our deepest thanks go to the following for their valuable comments and suggestions: Brandon J. Fry, Jila Ghomeshi, Éric Mathieu, Andrew McKishnie, Dennis Ott, Will Oxford, Anna Parenteau, the audience of the Manitoba Algonquian Reading Group, the first Prairies Workshop on Language and Linguistics (2014) and the Annual Conference of Canadian Linguistic Association 2016. We also thank the second author's language linguistic consultant, Elder Norman Fleury, for sharing his language. All remaining errors are ours.

¹Abbreviations: AI - animate intransitive, CJ - conjunct, CN - conjunct nominal COMP - complementizer, DET - determiner, DEM - demonstrative, FUT - future, IC - initial change II - inanimate intransitive, IMP - imperative, IMPF - imperfective, INV- inverse INDEF - indefinite article, IPC- indeclinable particle, LOC - locative, NEG - negator, NZM - nominalization, O - object OBV - obviative, P - plural, PREP - preposition, PROG - progressive, PROX- proximate, PURP - purposeful, PST - past, REL - relative clause marker, S - singular, TA - transitive animate, TI - transitive inanimate, 1 - first person, 2 - second person, 3 - third-person animate, 3' - third-person animate obviative, 3'' - third-person animate further obviative, 0 - third-person inanimate, → - direction of arguments

relatively free (see Bakker 1997, Rosen 2007 and Strader 2014 for Michif).

2.1 Verbal modes

Michif has three verb orders or modes: independent, imperative and conjunct. Each has its own inflectional paradigm as noted by Bakker (1997), Rosen (2007), and Strader (2014). Independent order is used primarily in declarative clauses; imperative order is used for commands; and conjunct order is used in *wh*-questions and embedded structures. We discuss in this paper the conjunct order exclusively (see Bakker (1997) for a brief discussion of the independent order in Michif and Cook (2015) for a discussion of independent order in Plains Cree). The conjunct paradigm is marked by one of three conjunct preverbs *ee-*, *shi-/chi-* or *ka-*². According to Bakker (1997), the conjunct mode is primarily for embedded clauses or subordinate clauses, however, it has been observed by Cook (2015) that the conjunct order verb can appear as matrix clauses in Plains Cree. The canonical relative clause marker is the preverb *ka-* (2a)³; the preverb *ee-*⁴ is the complementizer (2b); and the preverb *shi/chi* marks future conjunct (2c) (Bakker 1997, Rosen 2007).

- (2) a. Aatiht lii freez ni-kii-mow-aawaak koohkoom kaa-peeykimawisho-t.
 some DET.P strawberry 1-PST-eat.TA-1→3.P grandmother REL-berry.picking.AI-CJ.3
 ‘I ate some of those strawberries that grandma picked.’ (NF 2015)
- b. Weehtam-∅ ay-kee-toutuh-k.
 tell.TI-3 COMP-PST-do.TI-CJ.3
 ‘He admitted that he did it.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)
- c. Awnkoor kawya shi-hashpawchistam-awn lee zenstriksyoon.
 wish NEG PURP-hear.TI-CJ.1 DET.P instruction
 ‘I hope I don’t mishear the instructions.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983:190)

Michif retains the French-derived relative pronoun forms *kili*, derived from the French form *qu’il est* and *kila*, derived from the French form *qu’il a*. These forms are fossilized and mostly precede French-derived verbs, see example (3).

- (3) Ooshipayhikawtay-w kili-garawnchee.
 write.AI-3 REL-3.guarantee
 ‘He is a certified accountant.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983:53)

In (3), French-derived verb *garawnchee* ‘guarantee’ is relativized by the pronoun *kili* instead of the form *ka-*. However, this form is not discussed in this paper.

²Michif relative markers have the forms *ka-*, *kaa-* or *kaw*. *The Michif dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree* varies the spelling between *ka-* and *kaw-* forms to mark relative clauses. In the data gathered by Kathleen Strader during fieldwork, she transcribed the relative marker as *kaa-*.

³All glosses of the *The Michif Dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree* have been added by Kathleen Strader.

⁴In the *The Michif dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa Cree* the conjunct marker *ee-* is written as *ay-*.

2.2 Verbal morphology

The conjunct order preverb and the subject prefix are in complementary distribution where only the independent order has subject prefixes. The basic template of the Michif verb is illustrated in example (4).

- (4) a. Independent order: Subject Person « Tense « **Verb stem** « subject/object agreement
 b. Conjunct order: « Tense « **Verb stem** « subject/object conjunct agreement

The Michif verb stem is primarily derived from Plains Cree (Bakker 1997, Rosen 2007). Like other Algonquian language, such as Plains Cree, Ojibwe, etc, verbs are grouped by transitivity and animacy (Bloomfield 1946). Verbs are classified as animate intransitive (AI), inanimate intransitive (II), transitive animate (TA) and transitive inanimate (TI). The form of the transitive verb is determined by the animacy of the primary object or goal, see example (5).

- (5) a. Kee-mischinmin-ayw awtist larzhawn.
 PST-hold.TA-3→3' some DET=money
 'He withheld some of the money.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983:358)
 b. Kee-michiminem-∅ awtiht ma pay.
 PST-hold.TI-3 some my pay
 'She withheld some of my pay.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983:359)

In (5a), since the object *larzhawn* 'the money' is grammatically animate, the animate verb stem *-mischinimin-* 'hold' is used whereas in (5b), the object *pay* 'pay' is inanimate therefore the inanimate verb stem *-michiminem-* is used. The subject is marked on the verb by the agreement suffix, as in (2a). Subject person agreement prefixes appear on the verb in the independent order only.

Intransitive verbs are marked for one referent morphologically; the animacy of the subject determines the verb class, see example (6).

- (6) a. Li zawbr mishikit-w.
 DET tree be.big.AI-3
 'The tree is big.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983:41)
 b. La bwet misho-w.
 DET box be.big.II-0
 'The box is big.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983:41)

In example (6a), *zawbr* 'tree' is animate therefore the animate verb stem *mishikit-* 'be big' is employed. *Bwet* 'box' (6b) is inanimate therefore the inanimate verb stem *misho-* 'be big' is employed.

2.3 Nominal morphology

Michif has limited nominal morphology which is primarily derived from Plains Cree which includes possession (7a), obviation (7b), and plural (7c).

- (7) a. oo-hkoom
3-grandmother
'her/his grandma'
- b. oo-hkoom-a
3-grandmother-OBV
'the grandma'
- c. oo-hkoom-anan
3-granmother-3.P
'their grandma'

We illustrate that relative clause verbs in Michif take verbal morphology only, rather than nominal morphology.

3. Michif relative clauses are not nominalizations

In this section, we argue that Michif relative clauses, as below in (8), are not clausal or agentive nominalizations.

- (8) Aatiht lii freez ni-kii-mow-aawaak k-oohkoom
some DET.P strawberry 1-PST-eat.TA-1→3.P grandmother
kaa-peeykimawisho-t.
REL-berry.picking.AI-CJ.3
'I ate some of those strawberries that grandma picked.' (NF 2015)

3.1 Past studies

As a result of observed nominal properties by Frantz (2009) for Blackfoot and Bakker (1997) for Michif, it has been argued that relative clause structures are nominalizations. Typologically some speakers employ nominalization strategies such as participial constructions as observed in Blackfoot (Frantz 2009), Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001), or Meskwaki (Goddard 1987). Parenteau and Strader (2014) explored the nature of Michif relative clauses and posited that they have nominal properties not verbal. Johansson (2011, 2012) identifies two relative clause strategies crosslinguistically among Algonquian languages: participial constructions and preverb constructions. Participial constructions involve nominal forms on verbs meanwhile preverbal constructions use the conjunct preverb. However, this division is not as clearcut as posited. For instance in example (9), Ojibwe uses both participial

and preverbal constructions between dialects of Nishnaabemwin and Roseau River Ojibwe respectively.

- (9) a. Giw ngoji **debendaagziisgog** anishinaabeg.
 Giw ngoji **debendaagzi-siw-d-ig** anishinaabeg
 those.prox anywhere IC+belong-NEG-3.CJ-AN.P Indian.3P.PROX
 ‘Those Indians who don’t belong anywhere.’ (Valentine 2001:581)
 (Nishnaabemwin)
- b. **Gaagii-bi-izhaawaad.**
Gaa-gii-bi-izhaa-waa-d
 REL-PST-towards.speaker-go.to-CJ.3→1
 ‘The ones who came.’ (Roulette 1997:23)
 (Roseau River Ojibwe)

In (9a), the relativised verb *debendaagzi-* ‘belong’ employs a participial form *isiwdig* with initial change. Initial change (IC) is a phonological process that occurs with verb stems that are in the conjunct form where the initial vowel changes. The verb *-izhaa-* ‘go’ in (9b) uses the preverbal strategy which employs the relativizer *gaa-* and conjunct agreement *-d*. Michif employs a preverbal strategy in relative clauses, as illustrated in (8), however we argue that it is not nominalization.

3.2 Agentive nominalizations

Michif relative clauses are not agent nominalizations. Baker and Vinokurova (2009) identify five diagnostics to identify headless relative clauses (HRC) as agentive nominalizations: nominalizations cannot be formed from unaccusative verbs; no tense, aspect or mood (TAM) marking; nominalizations do not appear with adverbs; nominalizations do not appear with negation and cannot be formed from passive constructions. We illustrate that Michif relative clauses do not follow the first four criteria. The final criteria is not applicable in Michif because it does not possess traditional passive constructions or morphology.

Firstly, according to Baker and Vinokurova (2009) unaccusative verbs cannot be modified by nominalizing morphology. However, in Michif, HRCs are formed from unaccusative verbs. The unaccusative verbs *-kishiswawshi-* ‘be angry’ and *-nipou-* ‘die’ do appear with the relativizer *ka-*, see (10).

- (10) a. Kawya ouhpim-i awiyek **kaw-kishiswawshi-t.**
 NEG set.up.TA-IMP.2→3 someone REL-be.angry.AI-CJ.3
 ‘Don’t incite someone who is angry.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983:146)
- b. Awiyek **kaw-nipou-t** daen simichayr nahinikash-oow.
 someone REL-die.AI-CJ.3 PREP cemetery burry.in.ground.AI-3’
 ‘When a person dies he is buried in the cemetery.’
 (Laverdure and Allard 1983:52)

Secondly, agent nominalizations are derived from VP therefore they are not marked for TAM; nevertheless, Michif relative clauses include tense, see (11) where *kee* marks the verb *itayistam* ‘value’ for past tense.

- (11) Lee dipawns mishtahi ashpeeshchi kaw-kee-itayistam-awhk.
 DET.P spending much little.by.little REL-PST-value.TI-CJ.21
 ‘The overhead is more than we expected.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)

Finally, agent nominalization are not predicted to appear with negation or adverbs. In (12a), the conjunct negator *kawya* precedes *-sheetawaw-* ‘be.stiff’. There are specific negators in Michif that only appear with conjunct order verbs such as *kawya* and *ekwa*, (see Wolfart ((Wolfart 2010)) for more details). *Mitouni* ‘much’ is the adverb scoping over the verb *-weeshakahou-* ‘be painful’ in (12b).

- (12) a. Kipaha-∅ pi pawshatayna-∅ tee main **kawya** ka-sheetawaw-ki.
 close.TI-IMP.2 and open.TI-IMP.2 you hand NEG REL-be.stiff.II-CJ.0.P
 ‘Flex the hands to work out the stiffness.’
 (Laverdure and Allard 1983:97)
- b. Lee kloo **mitouni** ka-weeshakahou-kwuk.
 DET.P boil much REL-be.painful.AI-CJ.3.P
 ‘Boils are very painful.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983:386)

Michif has nominalized forms derived from Plains Cree which are not relative clause forms, instead these are verbs with nominalizing suffixes. The four Cree-derived suffixes are *-kun* (instrument), *-win* (abstract inanimate nouns), *-sh/hk* (repetitive actions) and *-hk* (unspecified actors), which are added to the verb to create a noun. These nominalized forms do not appear with tense, aspect, mood or conjunct mode inflection but do appear with nominal morphologies such as French-derived determiners and possessive adjectives, as in (13).

- (13) **Aen** pakamahikay-shk ena.
 INDEF hit.AI-NZM DEM
 ‘He is a hitter.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983:47) (Agent nominalization)

Michif suffixes *-sh/hk* nominalizations follow Baker and Vinokurova’s (2009) diagnostics for agent nominalizations, however, relative clauses are not agent nominalizations.

3.3 Clausal nominalizations

Michif relative clauses are not clausal nominalizations either because they are not inflected for nominal morphology. In some languages, relative clauses are assumed to be clausal nominalizations because they share properties of nouns. Although Michif does not have apparent

clausal nominalizations, we compare Michif relative clauses to clausal nominalizations in other Algonquian languages, such as Blackfoot (Bliss 2014) and Ojibwe (Mathieu 2014). Bliss (2014) argues that Blackfoot has two types of clausal nominalizations: bare nominalization, (see 14a) and *-hp* nominalizations, (see 14b). These nominalizations are clausal because they contain conjunct and TAM markers; however they have nominal plural suffixes.

- (14) a. áyo'kaiks
a-yo'kaa-**iksi**
IMPF-sleep.AI-3.P
'the ones who sleep' (Bliss 2014:92)
- b. dómiihkka'o'pists
a-omii-hkaa-**hp**-isti
IMPF-fish-acquire-CN-P
'things we fish (for)' (Bliss 2014:90) (Blackfoot)

Meanwhile in Michif, relative clauses do not have nominal morphology, see (15), the suffixes marking number are verbal.

- (15) Ni-myeu-stae-nawn ay-shi-myeu-pamih-ikou-yawhk.
1-good-arrage.AI-1.P COMP-PST-good-take.care.TA-INV-CJ.3→2.P
kaw-kee-weekawaw-**yawhk**
REL-PST-invites.TA-CJ.2.P→3'
'We enjoy her hospitality.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983) (Michif)

Mathieu (2014) investigates agent nominalizations in Ojibwe; however, he argues that these are clauses not nominalizations. His criteria are: full verbal agreement affixes appearing on the verb; full argument structure including agent and patient arguments; and initial change which is an indication of operator movement, see example (16).

- (16) Niiin aw **gaa**-waabm-aa-**d** waawaashkeshw-an.
I that wh.PST(IC)-see-3→3'-CJ deer-OBV
'I am the one who saw the deer.' (Valentine 2001:590) (Ojibwe)

Michif relative clauses follow the criteria of Mathieu (2014). In example (17), the Michif relative clauses are inflected with a full range of person agreement including 2nd person plural, 3rd person obviative and 1st person plural.

- (17) a. Ni-myeu-stae-nawn ay-shi-myeu-pamih-ikou-yawhk
 1-good-arrange.AI-1.P COMP-PST-good-take.care.TA-INV-CJ.3→2.P
 kaw-kee-weekawaw-**yawhk**
 REL-PST-invites.TA-CJ.2.P→3'
 ‘We enjoy her hospitality.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)
 (Person agreement)
- b. Saprawn ka-meeshaham-**ahk** li piyoon.
 necessity REL-repair.TI-CJ.1.P DET gable
 ‘We’ll have to mend the gable.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)
 (Person agreement)

Michif relative clauses have full argument structure, see (18), in which both agent and patient are marked on the verb stem by the agreement suffix *-ahk*. In the case of (18), the inanimate patient *lway* ‘law’ is determined by the TI verb stem *-pimichaham-* ‘follow’.

- (18) Ka-pimichaham-ahk lee lway.
 REL-follow.TI-CJ.21 DET.P law
 ‘We are the ones who follow the rules.’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)

Michif does not have initial change but as discussed in the following section *ka-*, which corresponds to initial change, initiates A-bar dependencies such as *wh-* movement and focus movement. Thus relatives clauses in Michif are not agent nominalizations nor clausal nominalizations.

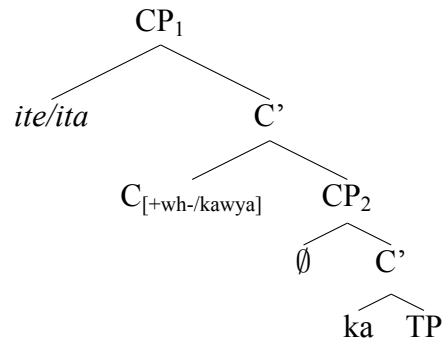
4. Relative clauses are full CPs

Michif relative clauses are full CPs as discussed in section §3.2. *Ka-* is located in the CP as illustrated in section §4.2. The *ka-* prefix precedes tense, appears with negation and adverbs, and full person morphology.

4.1 Location of *ka-*

Following Cook (2015) and Brittain (2001), we assume that Michif relative clause constituents are comprised of a two layered CP, see (19).

(19)



CP₁ houses the relative pronouns, wh features and negation (*kawya*). Michif has different negators depending on the verb mode, the negator *kawya* appears with imperative and conjunct mode only (Wolfart 2010). Based on Cook's (2015) diagnostics of conjunct markers in Plains Cree, *ka-* is a head in CP₂. The preverb *ka-* selects TP as its complement and affects the clause typing. The preverb *ka-* precedes tense maker, as in (20).

- (20) Wiya kaw-kee-mawchi-staw-t.
 3.PN REL-PST-start-put.there.AI-CJ.3
 'He is the founder.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983) (Tense)

However, *Ka-* follows relative pronouns *ita/ite* and the conjunct negator *kawya*, as in examples (21a) and (21b).

- (21) a. Lee zanimoo touhtahik-i **ita** li fwaen kaw-ayaw-k.
 DET.P animal take.AI+O-IMP.2 REL.LOC DET grass REL-be.AI-CJ.3
 'Take the cattle to the grass-land.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983:116)
 (Relative pronoun)
- b. Akwawna li=fawntaes **kawya** awiyek
 that.PN DET=fancy.shirt NEG Someone
kaw-miyaymaw-t.
 REL-like.appearance.AI-CJ.3'
 'That's the stuffed shirt that no one likes.'
 (Laverdure and Allard 1983:351) (Negation)

Therefore, we argue for a two layer CP. We assume that the relative pronouns are in Spec, CP₁ and the negator is located in the C₁ head. The preverb *ka-* appears in the head of CP₂.

4.2 Function of *ka-*

The preverb *ka-* has three possible functions: focus, wh-questions and relative clauses. The functions of *ka-* also suggest that the relative clause is a CP. The preverb *ka-* mediates A-bar

dependency for instance, focus (22a), *wh*- questions (22b) and relative clause (22c). The preverb *ka-* is an overt example of the λ feature in Adger and Ramchand (2015).

- (22) a. Wiya kaw-atawmim-iht.
 3.S REL-accuse.TA-3'→3''
 'He is the one accused.' (Laverdure and Allard 1983)
 (Focus)
- b. Kaykway ka-mawisho-yan? Lii freez, lii frambeez,
 what REL-pick.AI-CJ.2 DET.P strawberry, DET.P raspberries,
 takwahimanan-a, lii pweer ...
 chokecherry-P, DET.P Saskatoon berries
 'What did you pick? Strawberries, raspberries, chokecherries, saskatoon-berries...'
 (NF2015) (Question)
- c. Aatiht lii freez gi-mow-aawaak koohkoom
 aatiht lii freez ni-kii-mow-aawaak k-oohkoom
 some DET.P strawberry 1-PST-eat.TA-1→3.P grandmother
 kaa-kimawisho-t.
 kaa-peeykimawisho-t
 REL-berry.picking.AI-CJ.3
 'I ate some of those strawberries that grandma picked.' (NF 2015)
 (Relative clause)

Mathieu (2014) argues that initial change (IC) in Ojibwe and A-bar dependency correlate. According to Mathieu, initial change, which we assume corresponds to relative clause marker *ka-* in Michif, appears in relative clauses, focus and *wh*- movement in Ojibwe. In Michif, *ka-* appears in the same three environments as IC in Ojibwe⁵. If *ka-* mediates A-bar dependency, then it predicts that *ka-* appears multiply in long distance movements. IC in Passamaquoddy, which corresponds to *ka-* in Michif, supports our prediction of long distance *wh*- movement as shown in (23a). Similar data for long distance movement can be found in Plains Cree with the preverb *ee-* which is also used in relative clauses or *wh*- questions in Plains Cree, see (23b).

- (23) a. Wen nemiy-ot etoli-mata-at newu (po)mawsuwinu?
 who IC.see-CJ.2 IC.PROG-fight-CJ.3 four.OBV.P person.OBV.P
 'Who did you see attack four people? (Bruening and Lin 2001:24)
 (Passamaquoddy)

⁵Michif does have initial change (p.c. Dale McCreery). We do not have examples or details about IC in Michif.

- b. **Awîna** ê-itwê-yan ê-itêyihitam-an John ê-ocêm-ât?
 who CJ-say.AI-2 CJ-say.TI-2 John CJ-kiss.TA-3
 ‘Who did you say you think John kissed?’ (Blain 1997:186)
 (Plains Cree)

Since the Michif verb complex is derived from Plains Cree, we assume that long distance wh- movement is possible in Michif as it is in Plains Cree and Passamaquoddy. This prediction is possibly borne out in example (24). Example (24) has two possible interpretations. The first possibility is that *awina* ‘who’ is the subject of *-oushihis-*. The second possibility is that *awina* ‘who’ is the subject of *-mawchistaw-* ‘assemble’ in which case this should be an example of long distance movement. The conjunct marker *shi-* introduces an A-bar dependency. *Mawchistaw-* is ‘tattooing’ and *keestawan oushihis-* is the expression for ‘remake’ or ‘restart’.

- (24) Awina keestwawm kay-mawchistaw-t la dawntel shi-oushihis-t?
 who again.IPC REL-assemble.AI+O-CJ.3 DET lace CJ.FUT-make.AI+O-CJ.3
 ‘Who will restart the tattooing of the lace?’ (Laverdure and Allard 1983)
 (Michif)

In sum, the location and function *ka-* indicate that relative clauses are CPs.

5. Conclusion

We argue that Michif relative clauses are not nominalizations based on their morphosyntactic properties. We argue that relative clauses in Michif are full clauses. The function and location of *ka-* indicate that it is a head within the CP structure. We argue for a dual layer CP structure wherein the *ka-* is located in the lower C head.

References

- Adger, David, and Gillian Ramchand. 2015. Merge and move: Wh-dependencies revisited. *Linguistic Inquiry* : 161–193.
- Baker, Mark C., and Nadya Vinokurov. 2009. On agent nominalizations and why they are not like event nominalizations. *Language* 85: 517–556.
- Bakker, P. 1997. *A language of our own: the genesis of Michif, the mixed Cree- French language of the Canadian Métis*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Blain, Eleanor. 1997. *Wh-constructions in Nêhiyawêwin (plains cree)*. Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia.
- Bliss, Heather. 2014. Assigning reference in clausal nominalizations. In *Cross-linguistic investigations of nominalization patterns*. ed. Ileana Paul, 85-117. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1946. Algonquian. In *Linguistic structures of native america*. ed. Cornelius Osgood, 85–129. New York, NY: Viking Fund Publications.
- Brittain, Julie. 2001. *The morphosyntax of the algonquian conjunct verb: A minimalist approach*. Series: Outstanding dissertations in linguistics. New York, NY: Garland Publisher.

- Bruening, Benjamin, and Vivian Lin. 2001. Discontinuous QP and LF interference effects in Pasmamaquoddy. In *UMOP 25: The proceedings of SULA (the semantics of under-represented languages in the americas)*. eds. Kim, Ji-Yung, and Adam Werle, 20–28. Amherst, MA : University of Massachusetts.
- Cook, Clare. 2015. *The clause-typing system of Plains Cree*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Frantz, Donald. 2009. *Blackfoot grammar*. Toronto, On: University of Toronto Press.
- Goddard, Ives. 1987. Fox participles. In *Native American languages and grammatical typology*. 105–118. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Johansson, Sarah. 2011. Towards a typology of Algonquian relative clauses. *WSCLA* 16: 1–13.
- Johansson, Sarah. 2012. Relative clauses, or clause-sized nominalizations? a consideration for blackfoot. *Working papers of the linguistics Circle of the univerisity of Victoria* 21(2): 1–15.
- Laverdure, Patline, and Ida Rose Allard. 1983. *The michif dictionary: Turtle mountain chippewa cree*. Winnipeg, MB: Pemmican Publications.
- Mathieu, Éric. 2014. Nominalizations in Ojibwe. In *Cross-linguistic investigations of nominalization patterns*. ed. Ileana Paul, 3–24. Amsterdam, NY: John Benjamins.
- Parenteau, Anna, and Kathleen Strader. 2014. In *Headless relative clauses in ojibwe and michif*. Paper presented at the 1st Prairies Workshop on Language and Linguistics. Brandon University, Brandon MB. March 1, 2014.
- Rosen, Nicole. 2007. *Domains in Michif phonology*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.
- Roulette, R. 1997. Dibaajimom gaagii-izhi-bimaadiziwaad anishinaabeg mewinzha – Interview with Stanley Nelson. . Video. Oral History of the Treaty 1- Video Project. Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre. Winnipeg MB..
- Strader, Kathleen. 2014. *Michif determiner phrases*. MA thesis, University of Manitoba.
- Valentine, J. Randolph. 2001. *Nishnaabemwin reference grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wolfart, H. C. 2010. Choice and balance in Michif negation. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 55(1): 115–129.