

Argument mapping in Mi'kmaw

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How are arguments introduced and mapped to grammatical positions in Mi'kmaw? We build on insights from Piggott (1989), Wiltschko (2014), and Harley (2017) and use a corpus of over 150 verb stems in 1500+ clauses. We propose that Mi'kmaw verb stems index an internal or external argument and three functional categories, little *v*, Animacy agreement, and Voice, introduce the other argument and then map the arguments to grammatical positions. We illustrate active, passive, and antipassive constructions. For verb stems that index an internal argument, either a causative or non-causative external argument is introduced. Transitive constructions with little *v* -*a*' add a causer to verb stems with an internal argument (Sylliboy et al. 2020). The causer is mapped to subject in active (1a) and antipassive (1b) constructions and is unspecified in a passive construction (1c). The internal argument is mapped to object in active constructions, subject in passive constructions, and is unspecified in antipassive.

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| <p>1. a) <i>Tewa'tu kutputi.</i>
 tew-a'-t-u-Ø kutputi
 out-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s chair(IN)
 'I am taking the chair outside.'</p> | <p>b) <i>Tewa'tekey.</i>
 tew-a'-t-eke-y kutputi
 out-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s chair(IN)
 'I am taking [stuff] out
 [on credit].'</p> | <p>c) <i>Tewa'lut l'mu'j.</i>
 tew-a'-l-u-t l'mu'j
 out-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-3s dog(AN)
 'The dog is being taken out.'</p> |
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Transitive constructions with little *v* -*i* add a non-causative external argument to verb stems indexing an internal argument. The external argument is mapped to subject in active (2a) and antipassive (2b) constructions and is nonspecific in a passive construction (2c). The internal argument is mapped to object in active constructions, subject in passive constructions, and is unspecified in antipassive.

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| <p>2. a) <i>Kisitu kutputi.</i>
 kis-i-t-u-Ø kutputi
 made-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s chair(IN)
 'I made the chair.'</p> | <p>b) <i>Kisitekey.</i>
 kis-i-t-eke-y kutputi
 made-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s chair(IN)
 'I made [things].'</p> | <p>c) <i>Kisiut tu'aqn.</i>
 kis-i-l-u-t tu'aqn
 kis-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-3s ball(AN)
 'The ball is made.'</p> |
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In contrast to these, little *v* -*a* constructions add an internal argument to stems that index an external argument. The external argument is mapped to subject in active (3a) and antipassive (3b) constructions and is unspecified in a passive construction (3c). The internal argument is mapped to object in active constructions, subject in passive constructions, and is unspecified in antipassive.

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| <p>3. a) <i>Kesatm suliewey.</i>
 kes-a-t-m-Ø suliewey
 like-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s money(IN)
 'I like money.'</p> | <p>b) <i>Kesatekey.</i>
 kes-a-t-eke-y suliewey
 like-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-1s money(IN)
 'I am having an affair.'
 (lit. I like [stuff/people])</p> | <p>c) <i>Kesalut l'mu'j.</i>
 kes-a-l-u-t l'mu'j
 like-<i>v</i>-An-Voice-3s dog(AN)
 'The dog is loved.'</p> |
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This argument-building and mapping system works without exception throughout the language. This represents a fresh analysis of Mi'kmaw which accounts for transitivity and grammatical voice in a way that the traditional Bloomfieldian analysis (Inglis 1986, Fidelholtz 1999, McCulloch 2013) cannot. Most Algonquianists (cf. Goddard 1974, 1990) adopt the Bloomfield analysis of verb stem as root/initial-final and finals as indicators of transitivity and animacy of the object in transitive clauses. This is in spite of reported mismatch between the verb

morphology and the syntax (Wolfart 1973, Dahlstrom 2014, Hamilton 2015, Oxford 2017). Our proposed analysis illustrates how, without exception, the syntax corresponds with morphology.

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