

## Accompaniment in Blackfoot and Yine

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### 1. Introduction

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#### *Purpose:*

- describe properties of associative construction in Blackfoot and Yine
- offer a preliminary unified analysis

#### *The Languages:*

- Blackfoot: Algonquian, Alberta, Montana. Siksika dialect.
- Yine: Arawak, Peru. Urubamba dialect.

#### *The Associative Construction:*

- (1) My daughter worked with my son  
       ↑  ↑  
       “subject”                              “associate”

- two participants co-operate in carrying out the action denoted by one verb
- valency increasing morphology introduces “associate” participant
- associate is grammatically an object but semantically subject-like
  - cf. ‘causative of involvement’ (Dixon 2000); ‘sociative causative’ (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002); ‘associative / comitative applicative’ (Valenzuela 2003, Peterson 2007)
  - possible areal feature in South America (Guillaume and Rose, in press)

#### *Background: Core argument cross-reference on verbs*

#### **Blackfoot:**

- person, number and gender features of maximally two core arguments cross-referenced in verbal affixes; their respective roles are indicated through direct/inverse morphology
- verbal suffixes (“finals”) indicate transitivity of verb and animacy of S or O
  - Animate Intransitive (AI): S is animate
  - Inanimate Intransitive (II): S is inanimate
  - Transitive Animate (TA): O is animate
  - Transitive Inanimate (TI): O is inanimate

**Yine:**

- A/S argument: prefix
- O argument: suffix

(2) nsatoka  
 n- satoka  
**1sgA-** arrive  
 'I arrive'

(3) nniklu  
 n- nika -lu  
**1sgA-** eat **-3sgMO**  
 'I eat it'

## 2. Associative formation

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**Blackfoot**

- Transitive Animate verb final (-m) plus preverb *ohpok-* 'with'
  - both must be present for associative reading

(4) Nitána a'po'takiwa. *Without associate*  
 n- itán -wa a'po'taki -wa  
 1 daughter-3sg work (AI)-3sg  
 'My daughter worked.'

(5) Nitána iihpoká'po'takiimiiwa nohkóyi. *With associate*  
 n-itán -wa ii- **ohpok-**á'po'taki -m -yii - wa n-ohko -yi  
 1-daughter-3sg PAST- **with-** work(AI) -**TA** -3:4-3sg 1- son -4sg  
 'My daughter worked with my son.'

**Yine**

- verbal prefix *him-*

(6) talpinata *Without associate*  
 t- halpi -na -ta  
 3sgf- swing -DUR -V  
 'She was swinging (in a hammock).'

- (7) *tumalpinatlu* *With associate*  
 t- **him-** halpi -na -ta -lu  
 3SGF- **ASSOC-** run -DUR -V -3sgm  
 'She was swinging with him (in a hammock).'

### 3. Associative properties

#### *Blackfoot*

- associates must be sentient

- (8) Na Mianni iihpoko'toomiwa ni otapiimi.  
 ann-wa M ii- ohpok-o'too -m -yii-wa ann-yi ot- atapiim -yi  
 DEM-PROX.SG Mary PST-with - arrive-TA-DIR-3SG DEM-OBV.SG 3- doll -OBV.SG  
 'Mary arrived with her doll.'



Associate is non-sentient ✗



Associate is sentient ✓

- associates must demonstrate volitional control
- (9) Omahkmatapiwa iihpokmiistapokska'simiwa ni Pokaakii.  
 omahk-matapi-wa ii- ohpok-miistap-okska'si -m -yii-wa ann -yi Pokaakii  
 big -person-3SG PST-with -away -run -TA-DIR-3SG DEM -OBV.SG Pokaakii  
 'The giant ran away with Pokaakii'



Associate lacks volitional control ✗



Associate demonstrates volitional control ✓

- associates cannot serve as associate of object

(10) Nitohpokayaaksihtaikimiwa na John omiksi maanipokaaiksi.

Nit-ohpok-yaakihtsiki -m -yii -wa ann -wa John om -iksi maanipokaa-iksi  
 1- with -wrap.in.blankets -TA-DIR-3SG DEM -PROX John DEM-PL baby -PL  
 'I wrapped babies in blankets with John.'



Associate of primary agent ✓



Associate of theme ✗

- Simple Reciprocal (Levin 1993) interpretation not available
  - no thematic duality

(11) Na John iihpokaakohkimaamiwa ni Pokaakii.

Ann-wa John ii- ohpok- waakohkimaama -m -yii -wa ann-yi Pokaakii  
 DEM-PROX John PST-with- argue -TA-DIR-3SG DEM-OBV Pokaakii  
 'John argued with Pokaakii (against someone else).'



\* Simple reciprocal interpretation

*Summary: Blackfoot associative properties*

- associates must be sentient and volitional (agentive role)
- no object associates (non-agentive role barred)
- no simple reciprocal interpretation (non-agentive role barred)

**Yine**

- associate not restricted to sentient or animate (neither are subjects)

(12) (wanna halpokotatkalu ... hikanopna) rumansatanrupna  
 (wanna halpokotatkalu ... hikanopna) ru- him- hansata -nu -lu -pa -na  
 (they prepared ... their skirts) 3SGMA- ASSC- dance -PRSP -NOMZ -PURP -3PL  
 '(they prepared ... their skirts) in order to dance with them'

(13) hixo nikchinni rumapoka wa mapkakletunanu  
 [ hixo nikchi -ne -ni ]<sub>ASSOC</sub> ru- him- hapoka [ wa mapkakletu -nanu ]<sub>SUBJ</sub>  
 much game -PL -AFCT 3SGMA-ASSOC- arrive ART bad.shot -DSTR  
 'the one who used to be a terrible shot arrived with lots of game meat / made lots of game meat arrive'

- Instrument associates are not possible

(14) \*shishyapi rumerkanro  
 [ shishyapi ]<sub>ASSOC</sub> ru- him- herka -nu -lo  
 scrub.brush(f) 3SGMA- ASSOC- wash -PRSP -3SGFO  
 'He will wash/do washing with a scrub brush.'

cf.

- (15) shishyapiyma rumerkanro  
 [ shishyapi -yma]<sub>PP:INSTR</sub> r- him- herka -nu -lo  
 scrub.brush -COM 3SGMA-ASSOC- wash -PRSP -3SGFO  
 'With a scrub brush, he will do washing with her/he will help her do washing'

- flexible interpretation in the absence of biasing context
  - unique to associatives

- (6) tumumetanno  
 tu- him- himeta -nu -no  
 3SGFA- ASSOC- get.drunk -PRSP -1SGO  
 'She will get drunk with me / I will get drunk with her.'

- (7) tumujhanno  
 tu- him- hijha -nu -no  
 3SGFA- ASSOC- search -PRSP -1SGO  
 'I will search with her / She will help me search / I will help her search'

- if a theme/patient is present, it must be shared by the subject and the associate

- (16) wala numnikna  
 wala n- him- nika -na  
 3SGF 1PLA-ASSOC- eat -3PL  
 'I eat this (bird) with them (sharing the same meal).'

*Comparable to Blackfoot:*

- no object associates attested in Yine corpus
- reciprocal reading also unattested
  - but note: *numakatsretanni* 'my teammate' (cf. *hakatsreka* 'kick')

*Summary: Yine associative properties*

- associates must be Actors in the event (no Instruments)
- interpretation of roles heavily influenced by factors outside the grammatical structure
- associate shares patient/theme with subject
- no object associates or reciprocal interpretation

Interim conclusion: Associate is notional subject
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#### 4. Obligatory spatio-temporal overlap

- *Blackfoot*: associatives are ungrammatical if the location (16) and time (17) of subject's and associate's action is not identical

(17) Na Maanikapi iihpokooyimi ni Pookaki.

ann-wa Maanikapi ii- ohpok-ooyi -m -yii -wa ann-yi Pookaki  
 DEM-PROX.SG Maanikapi PST-with- eat -TA-DIR-3SG DEM-OBV.SG Pookaki  
 "Maanikapi ate with Pookaki." (at the same table)

(18) \*Na Maanikapi iihpokooyimi ni Pookaki.

ann-wa Maanikapi ii- ohpok-ooyi -m -yii -wa ann -yi Pookaki  
 DEM-PROX.SG Maanikapi PST-with- eat -TA-DIR-3SG DEM -OBV.SG Pookaki  
 "Maanikapi ate with Pookaki." (in different homes)

(19) \*Na Maanikapiwa iihpokssinakimiwa ni Pookaki.

ann-wa Maanikapi-wa ii-ohpok-ssinaki -m -yii -wa ann-yi Pookaki  
 DEM-PROX.SG Maanikapi -PROX.SG PST-with- wipe.hand -TA -DIR-3SG DEM-OBV.SG Pookaki  
 "Maanikapi cleaned the kitchen with Pookaki." (where Maanikapi cleaned part of the kitchen in the morning, and Pookaki finished cleaning the kitchen at night)

- *Yine*: associative construction entails shared location and time (unlike corresponding plural subject)

(20) Wane mapa hohne numumkamtyalu wa Solji.

wane mapa hohi -ne n- him- himka -m -ta -ya -lu wa Solji  
 there three day -PL 1SGA- ASSOC- sleep -NON.DUR -V -APPL -3SGMO ART NAME  
 'I slept with him for three days there in Solji.'

(21) numumkamtyalu

n-him-himka-m-ta-ya-lu

1SGA-ASSOC-sleep-NON.DUR-APPL-3SGMO

'I slept with him there'

→

wumkamtyatka

w- himka -m -ta -ya -tka

1PLA- sleep -NON.DUR-V -APPL -PERF

'We slept there'

Interim Conclusion: Associate is notional subject of *same event* as subject

#### 5. Summary

- one simple event is involved (full spatio-temporal overlap; shared theme)
- like other applicatives, associative construction introduce a new participant that is treated as a grammatical object ...
  - cross-referenced like O

- ... however, it has subject-like properties
  - the associate must conform to semantic restrictions on subjects
  - potentially mapped onto A argument
  - ban on object associate
  - reciprocal interpretation is not available (no Theme to reciprocate with)

## 6. Proposed Analysis

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- associatives in Blackfoot and Yine represent a type of applicative that relates an ACTOR thematic role to the event
- following Pyllkanen (2008), either a subtype of Type 7, or a new Type.
  - high applicative: relates an individual to a single event
  - introduces an Actor - prototypically an external argument

## Abbreviations

AFCT - affected; APPL - applicative; ASSOC - associative; CMPV - completive; COM - comitative; DEM - demonstrative; DIR - direct; DSTR - distributive; DUR - durative; INV - inverse; NOMZ - nominalizer; OBV - obviative; PERF - perfective; PROX - proximate; PRSP - prospective; PST - past  
PURP - purposive

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