

Roundtable: what is the morphological status of “initial, medial, final”?

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We wanted to bring Algonquianists together to talk about some issues in the morphology or morphosyntax of verb stems. In particular, we are interested in the status of morphologically complex internal components of primary stems, the DERIVED INITIALS and DERIVED FINALS discussed by Goddard 1990.

Part 1: Basic examples (from Meskwaki):

(1) Primary Stems

Stem → Initial ((+ Medial) + Final)

(2) *nep-* ‘die’ AI [stem Initial]

(3) *ine-nem-* ‘think thus about’ TA
in- ‘thus’ + *-e-nem-* ‘think of/about’ [stem Initial Final]

(4) *ki-škikwe-šw-* ‘cut (someone’s) head off’ TA
ki-šk- ‘severed’ + *-ikwe-* ‘neck’ + *-šw-* ‘cut’ [stem Initial Medial Final]

(5) *sa-kinaniwe-* ‘stick one’s tongue out’ AI
sa-k- ‘partly visible’ + *-inaniw-* ‘tongue’ + *-e-* ‘be’ [stem Initial Medial Final]

(6) Secondary Stems:

Stem → Stem/Theme + Secondary.Final (“theme” = stem + theme sign)

(7) *sa-kinaniwe-htaw-* ‘stick one’s tongue out at’ TA
sa-kinaniwe- ‘stick one’s tongue out’ + *-htaw-* applicative [stem Stem Sec.Final]

(8) *sa-kinaniwe-hta-ke-* ‘stick one’s tongue out at people’ AI
sa-kinaniwe-htaw- ‘stick tongue out at’ + *-eke-* antipassive [stem Stem Sec.Final]

Derived initials and derived finals:

(9) *nepwa-hka-we-nem-* ‘think (someone) is smart’ TA
initial *nepwa-hka-w-* + final *-e-nem-* ‘think of/about’
initial from stem *nepwa-hka-* ‘be smart’ + “extensional *w*” [Goddard 1990:453]

(10) *ina-pam-* ‘look at (someone) so’ TA
initial *in-* ‘thus’ + final *-a-pam-* ‘look at’
final derived from full stem *wa-pam-* ‘look at’ by deletion of initial C