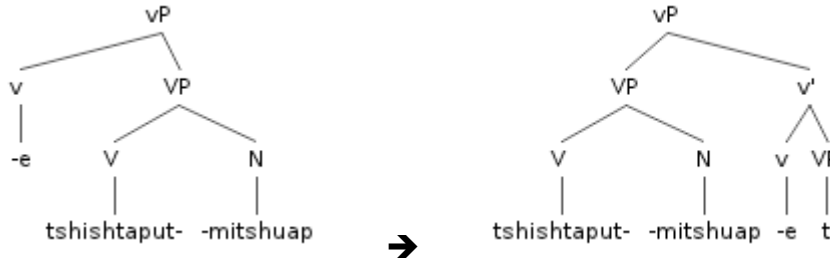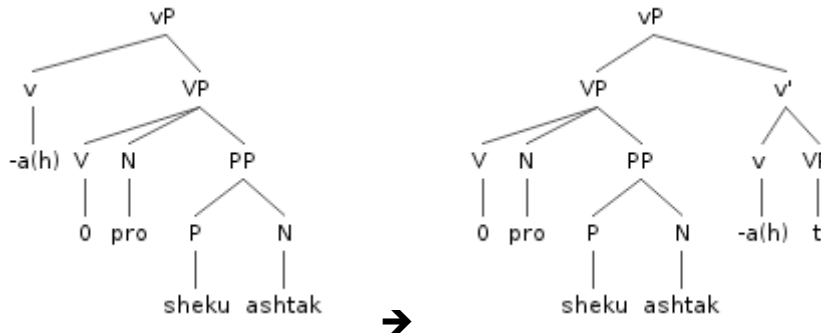Part 3: Recent syntactic analyses of Algonquian stem structure.

Branigan et al. (2005) on Innu-aimun – a representative example of current work in Minimalist Program/Distributed Morphology:

(1) *tshishtaputshimitshuapeu* VAI 's/he washes the floor'
tshishtaput(sh)-i-mitshuap-e-u
wash-EPEN-floor-do-3SG
[Branigan et al. 2005:79, ex. 5; glosses added by AD]

```
          vP                                    vP
         /  \                                  /   \
        v    VP                               VP     v'
        |    / \                             /  \    / \
       -e   V    N                          V    N  v   VP
            |    |                          |    |  |   |
      tshishtaput- -mitshuap         tshishtaput- -mitshuap -e   t
```
➔

(2) *shekuashtakaim* VTI 's/he hides s.t. underneath the boughs'
shek^u-ashtak-a(h) [stem]
underneath-boughs-TI.final
[Branigan et al. 2005:80, ex. 6; segmentation and glosses added by AD]

```
          vP                                         vP
         /  \                                       /   \
        v    VP                                    VP      v'
        |   /| \                                 /| \     / \
      -a(h) V N  PP                              V N  PP  v   VP
            | |  / \                             | |  / \ |   |
            0 pro P   N                          0 pro P   N -a(h)  t
                  |   |                                |   |
                sheku ashtak                         sheku ashtak
```
➔

Branigan et al also suggest a derivation for a complex Meskwaki example from Goddard 1990. Since it contains a derived initial it is of particular interest here:

(3) *ki·ši–ki·ke·nowe·nemaki*   'when I thought they were finished with the clan feast'
preverb *ki·ši–* 'finish' derived initial *ki·ke·now-* 'celebrate clan feast'
final *-e·nem* 'think of/about'; conjunct suffixes *-aki* 1st sg subj, 3 obj.

```
            vP                                      vP
           /  \                                    /   \
          v    VP                                 VP      v'
          |   /  \                               /  \    / \
       -e:nem V    CP                           V    CP  v   VP
             |    /|\                           |   /|\  |   |
             0 ki:$i- ki:ke:now                 0 ki:$i- ki:ke:now -e:nem  t
```
➔