

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DOCUMENTING CONVERSATION IN NEW VARIETIES OF POTAWATOMI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

BY
CORINNE KASPER

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2025

Copyright © 2025 by Corinne Kasper
All Rights Reserved

For our language

It's like we're all swiss cheese: our holes are in different areas.

You stack 'em up, and you can't see through anymore.

—Carla Collins

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
ABSTRACT	xiii
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 A Background of Potawatomi	1
1.2 Theoretical Assumptions	6
1.3 Documenting Conversations	13
1.3.1 Methods	13
1.4 Orthography and Glossing	14
1.5 Outline	15
2 GRAMMATICAL PRELIMINARIES	18
2.1 Phonology	18
2.2 Parts of Speech	23
2.2.1 Pronouns and Demonstratives	23
2.2.2 Prenouns and Preverbs	24
2.2.3 Nouns	25
2.2.4 Verbs	28
2.2.5 Particles	29
2.3 Description of the morphosyntax	29
2.3.1 Clause Structure	30
2.3.2 Word Order	31
2.4 Summary	33
3 INDEPENDENT ORDER	34
3.1 Introduction	34
3.1.1 Brief Outline of the Independent Order	34
3.1.2 Structure of the Chapter	40
3.2 Distribution of the Independent	41
3.2.1 Monoclausal Constructions	41
3.2.2 Multiclausal Constructions	50
3.3 Syntax and Semantics	64
3.4 Discussion	65
3.5 Summary	66

4	CONJUNCT ORDER	67
4.1	Introduction	67
4.2	Syntactic and Semantic Dimensions of the PC and CC	69
4.2.1	Plain Conjunct	70
4.2.2	Changed Conjunct	77
4.2.3	Functions of the Plain and Changed Conjunct	87
4.3	The <i>é</i> -conjunct	90
4.3.1	Elided Material	101
4.3.2	Discussion	102
4.4	Conclusion	103
4.4.1	Discussion	103
5	WORD ORDER	105
5.1	Introduction	105
5.2	Negation	107
5.3	Pragmatically Neutral Subjects and Objects	110
5.3.1	Postverbal Subjects	111
5.3.2	Postverbal Objects	115
5.3.3	Postverbal Arguments	129
5.4	Adverbs	132
5.5	Obliques	137
5.6	Multiclausal sentences	147
5.7	Maintaining the pragmatics of word order	148
5.7.1	Rejected Sentence	149
5.8	Conclusion	151
6	WORD ORDER II: TOPIC AND FOCUS	153
6.1	Introduction	153
6.2	Topic	154
6.3	Focus	160
6.4	Discourse Markers	165
6.4.1	Thé	166
6.4.2	Yé	168
6.4.3	Gé	169
6.5	Conclusion	177
7	CONCLUSION	179
7.1	Future Research	181
	REFERENCES	183

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Map of the Potawatomi Nation	2
-----	--	---

LIST OF TABLES

1.1	Orthographic Conventions	15
1.2	Glossing Abbreviations	17
2.1	Consonant Inventory (cf. Lockwood, 2017: 15)	19
2.2	Vowel Phonemes	19
2.3	Diphthongs	19
2.4	Initial Change in Potawatomi	22
2.5	Personal Pronouns	24
2.6	Demonstratives	24
2.7	Nominal Inflection of Grandfather(s)	27
2.8	Discourse Markers	29
2.9	Lewis’s Word Order Template (2016) (cf. Lockwood, 2017: 161)	31
3.1	Personal Pronouns	36
3.2	Inflectional Paradigm for VTI <i>wabdan</i> ‘see something’	37
3.3	Particles for the independent	51
5.1	Lewis’s Word Order Template (2016)	105
5.2	Contemporary Word Order Template	151
6.1	Left-Periphery Word Order Template	154

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Iw kwshē gwiyen thak shna gégo ga zhetthgéyék bwadwéwadmimothêk

There is no world in which I could have written this dissertation without the deep and profound support of a mass of Potawatomi speakers, teachers, and learners. There are many speakers responsible for the stability of the language today, but I express my profound gratitude to the teachers in Prairie Band and Forest County for offering so much and providing our people with so much. Though I did not learn directly from all of them, I need to thank Pom Hubbard, Mary Jane Thunder, the late Jim Thunder, the late Billy and Mary Daniels, the late Lillian Rice, and Miksikweben, the late Cecelia Jackson. My time spent with those speakers, Pom and Jim especially, has challenged me and changed my life forever. To the late speakers of my own community, particularly Julia Wesaw and Cecelia Topash, I will try my best to honor our specific sound.

To my Uncle (Kevin/Zadi), *migwêthh*, *wéwéně*. I always aspired to live my life making you proud and I would not be here if you hadn't've brought me to language classes when I was twelve and they were in the portable trailers the education department used to be housed in. If you had not explained the inclusive and exclusive first persons on the way to class one day, I think my life would look very different. You were the first person to explain Potawatomi to me, and I really would not be who I am without you. You brought me along so I could just start hanging out and showing up, and eventually I became "that real nice girl who always comes to stuff." I never understood how you had such a good grasp on who all everyone was, but in the last 15 years of learning the language, I've realized what it means and what you gain from showing up and hanging out.

To my fellow language workers, you gave me a home and made me feel like I wasn't alone. I am forever indebted to your knowledge and guidance. Bmejwen Kyle Mallot, your lessons in the language have been incredible and more valuable than I think you realize. Getting to interact with you at the office or bother you on Facebook messenger is a privilege that I hold dear, and I wouldn't know anywhere near as much about our language if it weren't

for you and Carla. Dejonay ‘Skëbgeshnokwé’ Morseau, Anthony ‘Tibtabs’ Tibbitts-Warren, Kayla Villegas, Kat ‘Gbégizhgokwé’ Lowell, and Rhonda ‘Mskwathigwék’ Purcell-Corkins, you inspire me everyday and I’m immensely proud and honored to call you my friends and work alongside you. To the Forest County Potawatomi crew: Donald, Noden, Owen, Tes, Nita, Lateachia, Malcolm, Sarah Jane, Pwagen, and especially Wgemagizhek, you inspire me daily to work harder and do more for our people. To the Mshkoteniyek, your hospitality and care has shaped me into a better Bodéwadmi kwé. Jayme ‘Sas’ Mitchell, Alberto ‘Mentoke’ Tinajero, Ella ‘Ashte’ Garcia, Keo-ke-mo-kwe Hubbard, Shobwas Hubbard, Lyman Shipshee, Cindy Leclere, and Brennah Simon, you have taught me so much and made Kansas feel like home. Nomkiwash Potts, Sogi Leclere, and Robert Lewis, I hope I can make you proud. I owe you three so much, you’ve been some of my greatest teachers and advocates and central to some of my fondest memories. To my fellow neshnabs, Kabl ‘Psakwné’ Wilkerson, Taylor ‘Nibikwé’ Jackson, Sage, Amy Jo, Madalene, Margaret, Wazi, Sahbi, Maxim, Wasjewen, Wkenodan, Mike Medawis, migwëth.

Carla Collins, since I was 15 years old, you have been one of the strongest forces in my life and an incredible leader in our community. You are the reason I love our language the way that I do. Thank you for letting me sleep on your couch in Crandon, for taking me to the hospital when I ate too many bananas, for teaching me how to bead, for telling the funniest stories, for letting me be myself, for inspiring me, for giving so much of yourself. Your impact is outstanding, your determination is resolute, your vision is clear, and your sense of purpose is steadfast. I have to give you all of the credit in the world. I don’t know how to express my gratitude to you, but I will try every single day to honor you. *Wémkwëmikwé, thak gégo ga kenomëwyen, ktthepitëndagwet ma. Ggaténmen miné gpiténmen.*

My dissertation committee: Amy Dahlstrom, Lenore Grenoble, and Monica Macaulay, you have made me a better researcher and Algonquianist. Thank you for believing in me and pushing me to do and be better. I couldn’t have finished this without your faith in me. Especially Amy, thank you so much for all the time and effort and work you put

into helping me on these revisions. I really could not have done this without you. To the faculty at UChicago: Karlos, Itamar, Sharese, Ming, and Erik, you have been supportive and incredibly helpful in thinking through analyses and research methods. To the faculty and staff I encountered while at Dartmouth College: Laura McPherson, Jim Stanford, Tim Pulju, Vera Palmer, Michelle Warren, Sara Chaney, Bernie Perley, Angela Parker, and Kapi'olani Laronal, you all encouraged me in my studies, laid the groundwork for my trajectory in the field of linguistics, and demystified the academy for me.

To my fellow linguists, Laura Welcher, Hunter Lockwood, Lindsay Marean, and again, Robert, I couldn't have done this work without your documentation and scholarship. Truly, Robert, you mean so much to me and your guidance makes me a better scholar and Potawatomi. You have met every annoying request I make of you with patience and kindness.

To my loved ones and support system, you made this bearable even when I thought I wouldn't make it through. Z, Gabe, Taylor, Nomkiwash, Brittany, Kutay, Peter, Sanghee, Naomi, Sophia, Joyce, Lena, Mattie, Anwaar, Beck, Coach Sarah, Rina, Elise and Kayuri, you have all pushed me to do my best and you've made me happy. Sami and Sophie, I love you and thank you.

For my family: Mom, Casey, Michael, Uncle, Michaelann, Bootie and Franto, Todd and Natalie, Gmowen. I love you and I hope to make you proud. Getting scolded in Potawatomi with the phrase *ya neshkéna ktensena* as a child has become one of my favorite memories, and the child-directed speech made me a better linguist and speaker of Potawatomi. Thank you for teaching me and telling me about the language, even when you only just informed me last month that you spoke Potawatomi before you were five with Michael Bhouktou and Cecelia, Michaelann. This work is for grandma and grandpa, and Dad. I miss you and I love you.

Some financial support has made this research possible as well. The Graduate Studies Enhancement from the Mellon Mays Graduate Initiatives Program and additional funding through GRAIL and the Hanna Holborn Gray Dissertation Completion Fellowship made

this all easier. Additionally, I must thank some institutions that did not directly support me financially but helped me conduct research. Those institutions are *Bodwéwadmimwen Éthë ték*, the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation, Forest County Potawatomi, and *Éthë Bodwéwadmimwat* at the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians.

Dissertations are kind of hard to write, but this was very fun to do. Ahaw. Migwetth. Iw.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides the first documentation and description of naturalistic conversation data in Potawatomi. The varieties of Potawatomi analyzed come from new speakers of the language. By definition, none of these speakers possess complete heritage grammars, but they are all under the age of 50, conversationally proficient, devoted to the practice of language revitalization in the Potawatomi Confederacy, and vital participants in the Potawatomi speaking community. As such, this dissertation provides a first description of contemporary spoken Potawatomi and situates these speakers within the field of new speaker literature.

This dissertation presents data on the use of the independent order morphology, conjunct order morphology, pragmatically neutral word orders, and topic and focus as well as discourse markers in order to illustrate the ways that Potawatomi speaking communities work together to maintain the language. I argue that speakers maintain traditional Potawatomi as documented in earlier literature as well as their own inherited varieties of the language in ways that strengthen the communicative prowess of the language after it underwent rapid shift in the wake of genocide, Indian Removal and displacement, the boarding school era, Indian Reorganization, and the termination era. The varieties documented here show some expected contact induced changes, but they maintain the language in a manner that suggests speakers utilize linguistic resources available to them as given in L1 input. I argue that the functions of the morphosyntactic realizations of the conjunct order are shifting, but the speakers are not changing the language in ways that are illegible to fluent speakers. The innovations in these data are reflective more of the frequency of tokens and morphosyntactic distribution rather than outright simplification of the grammar.

This is the first documentation of naturalistic conversations in Potawatomi and the first large scale investigation of Potawatomi in new speaker communities. New speakers are the largest group of Potawatomi users by number, and this dissertation works to validate the language in maintenance. Importantly, I define what constitutes contemporary Potawatomi as grammatical or correct as determined by these groups of highly proficient speakers.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation documents and describes the grammar of Potawatomi conversations in the context of language revitalization efforts. This is the first sketch of Potawatomi grammar specific to naturalistic conversations. Earlier work on Potawatomi documented conversational discourse, but only in elicited forms and situated within narratives (Buszard 2003). The varieties that I investigated are spoken by Potawatomi people in Kansas and Michigan. This dissertation has three main objectives: (1) to provide a description of naturalistic conversations, (2) to describe Contemporary Potawatomi spoken by the most proficient young speakers, and (3) to provide a definition and framework for analyzing groups of speakers who fall outside of the typical definitions of L2 and heritage speakers. The goals are interesting and important not only for documentation purposes, but also because there is a gap in the literature for the definition of new speakers in the context of Native American language revitalization practices. The question becomes, how is the language maintained when there are few native speakers around and how do new speaker varieties share grammatical features similar to or distinct from documented L1 Potawatomi?

In the introduction, I provide a background on the Potawatomi language, including the history of language loss and maintenance, I discuss my theoretical assumptions pertaining to the definition of new speakers, explain why documenting conversations is interesting, describe the methods, explain the orthography and glossing conventions, and provide an outline of the chapters.

1.1 A Background of Potawatomi

It is necessary to provide both a background of the Potawatomi language and a brief history of the Potawatomi people. Figure 1.1 provides a map produced for this dissertation illustrating both modern community locations and historical territorial boundaries (Wilkerson 2025).

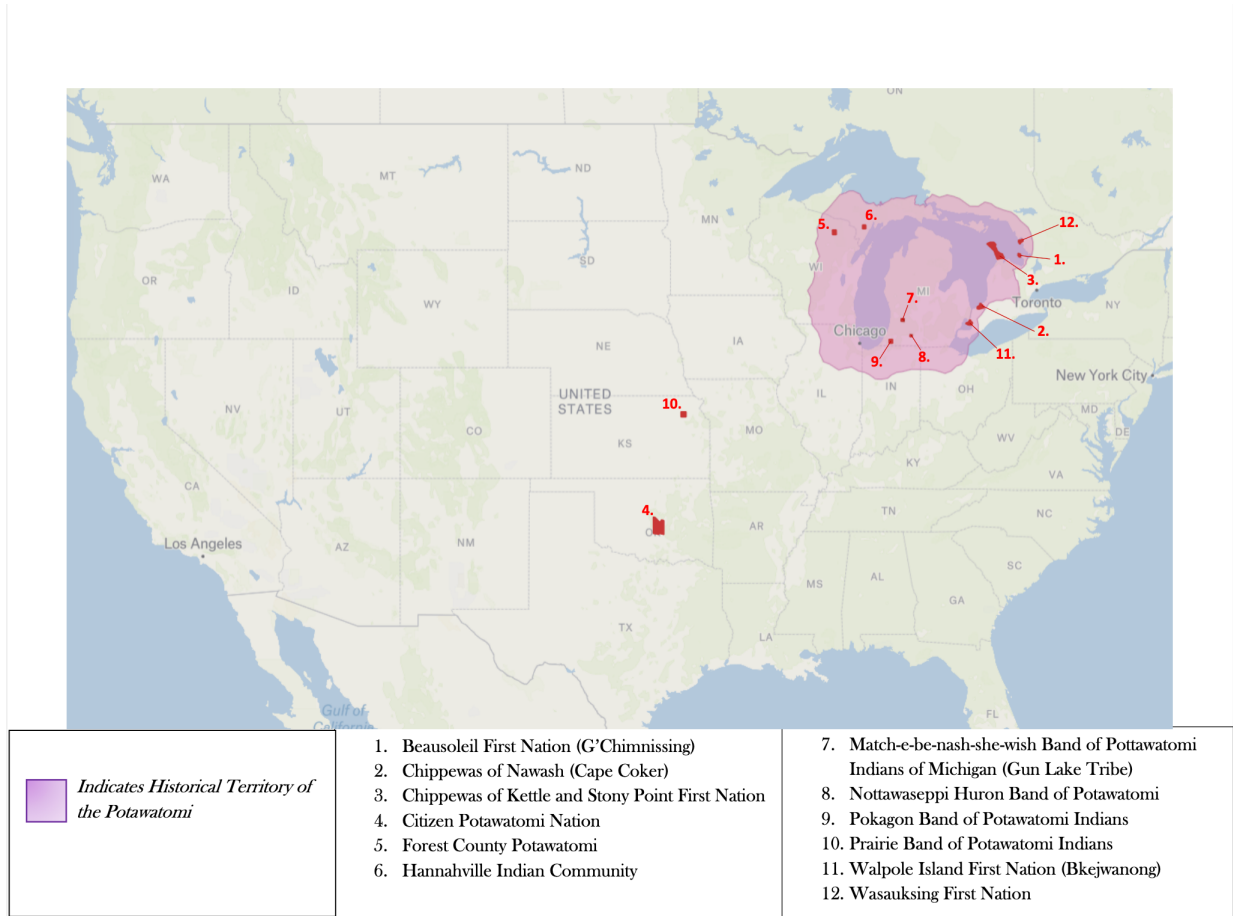


Figure 1.1: Map of the Potawatomi Nation

I begin now with an overview of the Potawatomi language *Bodwéwadmimwen*. Potawatomi is an Algonquian language spoken in the Great Lakes region. It is closely related to Ojibwe, and it is in the Ojibwe-Potawatomi branch of the Algonquian language family (Goddard 1994). In addition to this close genetic relationship, Potawatomi had a great deal of contact with Fox (Meskwaki) which affected the grammar and lexicon of the language (Costa 2013; Lewis 2020). At this point, Potawatomi is critically endangered, with fewer than five fluent L1 speakers of the language. It is for this reason that I investigate the grammars of new speakers. The future of the language will be based on the grammars of these speakers who are proficient but do not have Potawatomi as an L1.

Much like many other Native American languages, Potawatomi has undergone a great deal of shift. Beginning in 1795, the United States started the process of seizing land from

Potawatomi people with the Treaty of Greenville. Following the Indian Removal Act of 1830, between 1832 and 1867, the Potawatomi signed twenty-three land-cession treaties with the United States (Wetzel 2015). Of those, the 1833 Treaty of Chicago had the most staggering impact on the Potawatomi Nation. The Potawatomi relinquished more than 5,000,000 acres of land west of the Mississippi and a number of smaller tracts in Michigan as a result of the negotiation tactics employed by the Indian agents. The exact details of the treaty are unknown according to the government as the treaty negotiation journal was left blank over a critical period of four days from September 22 to September 25, after which time a group of Potawatomi signed the treaty on September 26, 1833. The means by which the negotiations were made were likely coercive or fraudulent according to oral history. The impact of the treaty was different for the Woodland Potawatomis, those living to the east of Lake Michigan in the woodlands, and the Prairie Potawatomis living in the prairies to the west of Lake Michigan. By and large, the Prairie Potawatomi were removed west of the Mississippi while the Woodland Potawatomis staunchly opposed the removal component of the treaty. Some of the Woodland Potawatomis, such as the Catholic Potawatomis of the St. Joseph River Valley, negotiated their right to remain in Michigan, but were promised lands already occupied by Odawas in Northern Michigan, far from where they were located.

It was the Treaty of Chicago that served as the inflection point in the scattering of Potawatomis. The Potawatomi forced westward from the Great Lakes were eventually all placed on a reservation in Kansas. The 1861 Treaty split the Kansas group into two. One group accepted allotments and were forced to pay taxes, but without the supplies promised to them for farming for a two season grace period, they had no income and their allotted lands were taken. That group eventually signed the 1867 treaty and acquired reservation land in Indian Territory. The group that kept their land holding communally remained in Kansas but were later forced to accept allotments under the Dawes Act of 1887. Still others fled removal, ending back up in Wisconsin, Michigan, and even into Ontario. By the time of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, there were recognized bands of Potawatomi in

Kansas (Prairie Band), Oklahoma (Citizen Band), Wisconsin (Forest County), and Michigan (Hannahville Indian Community). The so-called remnant bands of Potawatomi in southern Michigan, being too litigious for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were not reorganized under the IRA. Those three bands of Potawatomi (Pokagon, Huron, and Gun Lake) were federally recognized in the 1990s.

Following the treaty period, Potawatomi children, like many Native Americans, were sent to Indian boarding schools away from their families and cultures in an effort to eradicate their traditional ways and purportedly assimilate them into the greater American society. Soon the Potawatomi language began to shift drastically. Further, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the ensuing boilerplate constitutions being ratified coincide with the time that the last native speakers were born. The IRA forced an assimilationist narrative in many communities that resulted in the rapid dissolution of durable language communities. For some Potawatomis, the new relationship to the federal government marked the language as a hostile feature of tribal governance and identity in the sovereign to sovereign relationship (Wilkerson and Kasper 2025).

Though there are no precise data available on the peak number of Potawatomi speakers before language shift, treaty records attest to the fact that the majority of Potawatomis indeed spoke Potawatomi. This means that there were approximately 6,000 Potawatomi speakers in the 1800s and by 1996, there were 52 fluent speakers accounted for across the Potawatomi Nation (Buszard-Welcher 1997). Today, there are fewer than 5. The landscape of Potawatomi has shifted drastically in the past 30 years. In terms of language revitalization efforts, there is little to be said of the work until the 1970s with the advent of the Wisconsin Native American Language Project (WNALP). WNALP helped establish a standard orthography and curricula for second language learners for the first time. In the 1990s, after the Native American Languages Act of 1991, itself an amendment to the 1974 Native American Programs Act, there began a great push for the maintenance and revitalization of Potawatomi. In the mid 90s, the Potawatomi tribal governments began forming language

departments.

Even though some tribes at the time were yet to be federally recognized, all of the communities recognized the need to sustain the linguistic heritage. For many Potawatomis, the ability to be Potawatomi is inherently tied to having a language. Multiple Forest County Potawatomi speakers have been cited as saying something which can be paraphrased as, "Without our language, we are no longer Potawatomi." For others, the tie between language and identity is inherent to our political sovereignty, and this is made apparent in interactions between the federal government and Potawatomi sovereigns. In the May 1994 Senate Committee of Indian Affairs Hearing to restore federal services to the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, this is made abundantly clear. Senator John McCain asks the treasurer, Rae Daugherty, what ways the tribal traditions are still carried on. Ms. Daugherty, the daughter of two fluent speakers born in the 1800s, replies, "We have an annual traditional pow wow, we make black ash baskets, we teach the language, we have dancing, singing, drumming. We have feasts, we have a ghost supper, we do many things that have been traditional throughout our lifetime." In response, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell says that a group who has preserved all of that, including the language, has been and always will be Indian (S. Rep. No. 103-266, 1994). The tie between a distinct linguistic practice and sovereignty cannot be overstated, and that is the very underpinning of my research program. I aim to demonstrate that the Potawatomi language remains a distinct linguistic practice in our communities. For many it provides only a symbolic tie to identity and cultural heritage, but for a sizable contingency, the language is a fully formed communicative code.

The revitalization of Potawatomi as a viable form of communication comes in part from collaboration across communities. Beginning in 2013, the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians sent two advanced Potawatomi learners to Forest County, Wisconsin to apprentice under fluent speakers. They went up north to learn everything they could so that they could help fill in the gaps in knowledge held by teachers in Dowagiac, MI. After their contracts as apprentices were up, they returned to Michigan and began teaching the community and their

own apprentices. Since then, they have helped reestablish Potawatomi as a spoken language in the community. Recently, there have been several Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grants aimed specifically at strengthening communicative proficiency through immersion programs for the most advanced speakers in multiple communities. This is the first time in years that speakers have been able to consistently and effectively communicate in the language across dialects.

Though the departments were established gradually, every Potawatomi band in the United States now has at least one program or department devoted to language revitalization. What’s more, after decades of work, communities are now seeing the results of their efforts. There is now a sizable community of Potawatomi speakers proficient enough to carry on conversations. These speakers are able to produce language in a way that sustains sociolinguistic diversity across communities. This is the result of tireless efforts from community members over the past 30 years.

Though the communities are scattered, there was a great deal of interaction between the removed and unremoved communities. Those connections still exist and eleven communities across the United States and Canada comprise the Potawatomi Confederacy as of 2023. The preamble of the Articles of Confederation states “We, the Bodéwadmi Confederation of Tribal Nations, represent a diverse network of Potawatomi tribal nations and desire to work collectively toward furthering principles and policies that promote Tribal Sovereignty” (Bodéwadmi Confederacy 2023). One of those principles has been and will continue to be maintaining our Potawatomi language

1.2 Theoretical Assumptions

Though Potawatomi is the hereditary language of some 50,000 ethnically Potawatomi people across North America, the language is critically endangered with fewer than five living L1 fluent speakers. However, there are four particularly relevant groups of language users: native speakers, heritage speakers, L2 speakers, and new speakers. New speakers are the

focus of this study, but each of the four must first be defined in order to understand new speakers fluencies, grammars, and the importance of the community of practice in informing grammatical norms.

In the context of Potawatomi revitalization, native speakers are sought out as teachers and their language varieties are the target for language learning and teaching. These native speakers are often referred to as fluent speakers or fluent elders. They are seen as the most traditional speakers using the most conservative forms of the language compared to less proficient speakers (Grinevald and Bert 2011). However, this category is socially constructed as the notion of nativeness is difficult to operationalize in both empirical research and teaching practices since it is an abstraction of cultural reproduction based on intergenerational transmission of the language used to naturalize the national imaginary (O'Rourke et al. 2015). Nevertheless, these native speakers are important in establishing a baseline for research comparison and acquisition target in contemporary Potawatomi speaking communities. In this context, childhood acquisition and native grammatical judgments and intuitions are assumed to represent the most well formed Potawatomi.

In a narrow sense, all fluent speakers of Potawatomi exhibit some tendencies common across heritage languages, though this is to be expected in any endangered language (Polinsky 2018). Moreover, all fluent speakers of Potawatomi have acquired the language in manners consistent with heritage language acquisition since in the time since the treaty period, Potawatomi has not been the dominant language of the larger society. I contend with the following definitions of heritage languages and speakers.

- (1) A language qualifies as a heritage language if it is spoken at home or otherwise available to young children, but crucially it is not the dominant language of the larger society (Rothman 2009).
- (2) A heritage speaker is a bilingual raised in a home where the dominant language of the broader community was not spoken (Valdés 2000). Moreover, they are asymmetrical bilinguals whose dominant language in adulthood is no longer their home language

Benmamoun et al. (2013). Heritage speakers have some command over their home language, but competencies are expected to differ in comparison to native monolinguals of a similar age in the homeland (Rothman 2009).

Given these definitions, all fluent elders are heritage speakers of Potawatomi. However, the fluent elders' metalinguistic judgments and speech are taken to represent the most well-formed varieties of Potawatomi regardless of potential divergent attainment (Polinsky and Scontras 2020). Given the genocidal and assimilationist policies of the United States government, there no longer exists a baseline variety where Potawatomi is the dominant language of an area spoken by monolingual individuals and fluent elders are accurately portrayed as the most competent group of speakers. In the case of fluent speakers of endangered languages, it is important to distinguish them from the more typical immigrant heritage speakers because Indigenous languages do not have the luxury of a homeland variety whereas many immigrant communities do. In those heritage cases, the baseline language is the diaspora variety spoken by first-generation immigrant communities. Immigrant heritage speakers receive input through intergenerational transmission of diasporic varieties, which may deviate from the homeland varieties of monolingual speakers as a result of both language contact and attrition. Again, fluent speakers of Potawatomi can be deemed heritage speakers, but there are no monolingual speakers against which to compare them. Fluent elders learned the language in childhood but against the backdrop of language shift. All of the living fluent elders were born at a time when bilinguals were shifting to English and English monolingualism was emerging as a community norm. The last reported Potawatomi monolinguals were elderly individuals living on the Prairie Band reservation in the 1950s (*Termination of Federal Supervision over Certain Tribes of Indians, Part 11: Sac and Fox, Kickapoo and Potawatomi Tribes: Joint Hearing Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 83rd Cong. 1954). Still, fluent elders today are called upon to establish a baseline for the language, and it is their pedagogical impact that shapes the contemporary grammar of Potawatomi.

Aside from native speakers, there are true heritage speakers who acquired the language in childhood, predominantly from their grandparents' generation. These individuals are not all identified as speakers but some may participate in revitalization efforts, often as learners themselves. The heritage speakers used the home language before attending English medium schools, and they are all in their 50s or older. In the context of heritage speaker literature, they are simultaneous bilinguals who shifted to English as their dominant language earlier than the fluent elders. Although these younger heritage speakers are interesting and important as their perception, comprehension, and phonologies are consistent with other heritage speakers, they are not the main group at issue in this dissertation.

Necessarily, new speakers are not native speakers since they are identified by their roles as learner, but they do share experiences with heritage speakers in terms of some childhood exposure and there are clear parallels between new speakers and heritage speakers given the trajectory of Potawatomi as a minority language. However, new speakers are not heritage speakers. In defining new speakers, they must meet the following criteria for inclusion in this category. (1) New speakers are ethnically Potawatomi with shared cultural and linguistic ties to the language. They fall under a broad definition of heritage speakers, but they lack sustained early childhood exposure to the language that would give them the competencies exhibited in the data (Polinsky 2018). (2) They are conversationally proficient in Potawatomi and capable of communicating with each other in the language for long stretches of time. In other words, their language abilities go beyond standard introductions and greetings still commonly used. (3) They use the language frequently outside of the formal classroom setting (Carty 2017). (4) Likewise, they devote much of their lives to language revitalization and specifically to increasing their competency in a manner that strengthens community ties. (5) They have shared learning experiences. They all learned the language in classroom settings either from fluent elders or more proficient learners and teachers. Additionally, they participate in immersion events with other new speakers and fluent elders where conversation is utilized as a pedagogical tool. (6) Most importantly, new speakers participate in a shared

community of practice which hold shared norms around language usage.

This last point, about a shared community of practice, expands upon earlier research on new speakers which did not definitively answer whether or not new speakers either form a distinct community (O'Rourke et al. 2015) or coalesce around a consensus of shared language norms (Rodríguez-Ordóñez et al. 2022). Distinct to the community of Potawatomi new speakers is in fact a shared consensus on use and grammatical forms, something that was not found in other new speaker studies in comparison to variationist studies of dominant languages (Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2021; Rodríguez-Ordóñez et al. 2022; Lantto 2017; Kasstan 2019). I assert that specific to the revitalization of Potawatomi, new speakers share grammatical norms in ways that shape the trajectory of language change and maintenance. Further, their language usage indexes not only regional or tribal belonging but also validates the contemporary grammars representative of the largest group of Potawatomi speakers today.

For the purpose of this dissertation, I distinguish L2s from new speakers. Potawatomi L2s do not need to be ethnically Potawatomi, but the majority of second language learners are. The L2s learn the language after the critical period and exhibit L1 interference as expected. However, the main goal for L2s is mastery of traditional Potawatomi, but they exist outside of the well-connected groups of speakers that I refer to as new speakers.

New speakers are different from L2 speakers in that they come together to understand authentic Potawatomi from a community-based perspective. The speakers here exhibit common grammatical forms recognizable across their disparate home communities. The language they learn and use is not only what has been documented in Potawatomi grammar (Hockett 1939b,a, 1948a,b,c; Buszard 2003; Lockwood 2017; Lewis 2016, 2020; Kasper 2023), but importantly it also comes from interaction with fluent elders across communities as arbiters of correctness that may in fact differ from documented Potawatomi. In this dissertation, I show that while new speakers remain faithful to the input received from fluent elders, they also share innovations in terms of discourse functions, relative frequency of grammatical forms, and understandings of the sociolinguistic salience of certain pragmatic or grammat-

ical features. The reason for this is that the goals of these language revitalization efforts are designed to increase the communicative competency of new speakers to re-instantiate Potawatomi as a useful code across domains. What becomes important is that we sound like each other to each other. This is to say that the grammars represented here are specific to new speakers. Inclusion in this group goes beyond “newness” to show that exploiting the grammatical resources available to use creates a stable network of speakers who share norms of speech as well as metalinguistic and sociolinguistic judgments on what indexes “proper” Potawatomi or “sounding Potawatomi.” The innovations and conservation of the grammar discussed in this dissertation is stable within these groups. However, this does not mean that all new speakers share a single dialect.

For the most part, there is a dialect division between speakers in the north and in the south. New speakers are able to identify local identity based on phonology, lexicon, verbal morphology, and some word order differences. Orthogonal to the question of local identity, though, is that the functions of the independent, conjunct, and word orders have emerged as markers of new speakers. These shared norms are created through participation in these speech communities and sustained contact within and across these northern and southern communities.

Returning to the question of how new speakers differ from L2 speakers, we may say that an important axis of differentiation is social uniformity. In participating in the language revitalization scene together, the new speakers form community-based consensus on what constitutes authentic Potawatomi. They share grammatical features and practices of speech that mark them as distinct from any L2 learner. The identities of these speakers then is defined based on their participation in the community of practice. It is not that any form of Potawatomi, whether prescriptively correct or not, falls in line with their in-group definitions of contemporary Potawatomi. The language they speak has to conform to community norms and community-wide grammatical conventions. An L2 learner may follow perfectly the grammars outlined in academic texts, but it is not always legible to these communities of

new speakers. Following perfectly the documented grammar results in sounding strange to these speakers. Only when learners of Potawatomi are able to remain in contact with each other and communicate frequently do they come to understand the language ideologies that work to create these linguistic practices. There are more new speakers than represented in the data, but the main point is that they create not only social but linguistic practices in speaking with each other. The language these speakers use is reflective of the continued survival of the language. What is most important here is that they **sound** like each other in the grammars they employ.

In proposing that the participants in my study are all new speakers, I acknowledge that the categories of new speaker and heritage speaker overlap in the ways they contend with the political realities of language endangerment. All of these speakers have ethnic and cultural ties to Potawatomi with different levels of exposure to the language in childhood. Like many new speakers, their speakerhood is a byproduct of the mobilization of language revitalization beginning in earnest in the 1990s. Importantly, these speakers are the most proficient speakers of Potawatomi across the confederacy. Their grammars match very well the input from fluent speakers in both childhood and pedagogical settings. Crucially, though, within the communities of speakers, these people are viewed as legitimate and authentic speakers of Potawatomi. It is their grammars that will be reproduced in the generation of speakers acquiring it now as children, often the children of these people. As such, this means that this dissertation takes a variationist approach to documenting contemporary Potawatomi. This variety of Potawatomi is equally as important to Potawatomi people as the variety documented by linguists a century ago.

These new speakers are maintaining the language in ways more consistent than previously assumed in language contact literature (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Heine and Kuteva 2008; Aalberse et al. 2019). Despite all efforts of the federal government to extinguish our culture and linguistic heritage, these new speakers show it could not destroy our language vitality as a whole. The speakers possess holistic understandings of Potawatomi as a system

and are able to assign social meaning to producing well-formed Potawatomi. Moreover, they exist in a linguistic ecosystem that allows them to recover and make new social meaning of linguistic variables across social categories such as gender and locale. As it stands, this dissertation is in part a political project to reaffirm the validity of Potawatomi as a reemerging communicative code. Our language is still living and its domains of use are always expanding. This serves as a resource to point to as a means of authenticity and legitimacy.

1.3 Documenting Conversations

Potawatomi conversations have not been documented in naturalistic settings to date. Discourse analysis is an especially appealing endeavor because it provides a fuller picture of Potawatomi grammar; Mithun (2015) asserts “Even seemingly straightforward grammatical structures cannot be understood fully without a consideration of their uses in their discourse contexts.” By doing so with new speakers specifically, this is an interesting endeavor for both documentary linguistics and language maintenance and change. This type of work is theoretically important because it provides a large-scale investigation of the ways that speakers operationalize community practices of language maintenance in spontaneous speech.

1.3.1 *Methods*

The data in this dissertation come from some of the most proficient speakers of Potawatomi. The speakers are all ethnically Potawatomi and reside either on or near the border of the Prairie Band Reservation or in or near the Pokagon Band 10-county service area. The majority of the speakers are enrolled in the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation.

Through participant observation, I collected the conversation data used in this dissertation. Beginning in 2023, I recorded conversations with 10 new speakers of Potawatomi, four male and six female ranging between 25 and 49 years old at the time of recording.

In total, there are over six and a half hours of conversations and each conversation ranges from approximately 10 minutes to 90 minutes long. They were recorded in Mayetta, KS and Dowagiac, MI in relatively quiet environments. The conversations took place in casual settings, but in buildings on reservation or tribal land. One conversation took place in a speaker's house. I then transcribed and glossed the conversations for discourse analysis. In the examples, the data is coded with an initial. The speakers from the north are coded with the initials C, B, T, S, K, M, and N.¹ The speakers from the south are coded with the initials A, D, and NP.

There is a long history of distrust for academic institutions and linguists specifically in these communities. As a result, I do not provide complete transcriptions of the conversations here. In consenting to being recorded and included in my dissertation, many of the speakers expressed hesitation about being able to be identified. For that reason, I anonymize the data as best I can. This is especially important in light of recent issues in other tribal communities with access to data and breaches of security.

1.4 Orthography and Glossing

Across the disparate bands of Potawatomi, there is no single standard orthography. Many communities today utilize a system based on traditional Potawatomi writing with expanded phonetic contrast in vowels for ease of reading and writing by learners. The system used in this dissertation is referred to as the traditional system, and it is the standard orthography used by the Pokagon Band government. Table (1.1) outlines the correspondence between IPA and the writing system.

For glossing, I follow the Leipzig glossing conventions. Prefixes and suffixes are marked with a hyphen and clitics are denoted with an equal sign. The list of abbreviations in the glosses I use are in table (1.2).

1. I am speaker N.

Consonants		Vowels	
Traditional	IPA	Traditional	IPA
b	[b]	i	[i]
p	[p]	e	[ɪ]
d	[d]	ê	[ʊ]
t	[t]	ë	[ə]
g	[g]	è	[ɛ]
k	[k]	é	[æ]
,	[ʔ]	o	[o]
m	[m]	a	[ɑ]
n	[n]		
z	[z]		
zh	[ʒ]		
sh	[ʃ]		
h	[h]		
th	[dʒ]		
tth	[tʃ]		
gw	[gw]		
kw	[kw]		
y	[j]		
w	[w]		

Table 1.1: Orthographic Conventions

1.5 Outline

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Potawatomi grammar generally. In that chapter, I describe all of the grammatical forms that will be explored in the analytical and descriptive chapters of this dissertation. For the most part, this chapter provides the grammatical preliminaries necessary to understand the rest of the dissertation.

Chapter 3 discusses the distribution and functions of the independent order in contemporary Potawatomi conversations.

Chapter 4 provides the distribution and functions of the conjunct order. In this chapter, I present the data and then propose a new analysis for the conjunct.

Chapter 5 is an investigation of word order. I show that, in general, the new speakers robustly maintain the pragmatically-based word order patterns seen in L1 Potawatomi, but there are also some emerging changes in the new speaker data.

Chapter 6 is about the role of topic and focus in new Potawatomi. In this chapter, I discuss the pragmatic function of preverbal arguments and describe the strategies for maintaining distinctions between topic and focus in the context of language revitalization.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation. In the conclusion, I present language maintenance and faithfulness as a sociolinguistically salient marker of language proficiency. I also end the dissertation with a discussion of further work needed.

Abbreviation	Meaning
>	separates subject from object gloss
>	outranks
0	inanimate
1	I, first person
12	we inclusive, first person inclusive
2	you, second person
3	it/she/he, third person animate
3'	third obviative
ADVRS	adversative particle
AFP	additive focus particle
C	complementizer
CONJ	conjunct order
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct alignment
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic particle
FOC	focus
FUT	future
IC	initial change
IMP	imperative order
INDEP	independent order
INV	inverse alignment
LCL	local
LOC	locative
MOD	modal
NEG	negative, negator
OBV	obviative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PTCP	participle
PST	past
Q	polar question particle
REL	relative root/preverb
SG	singular
TOP	topic
VAI	animate intransitive verb
VII	inanimate intransitive verb
VT A	transitive animate verb
VTI	transitive inanimate verb

Table 1.2: Glossing Abbreviations

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMATICAL PRELIMINARIES

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the pieces of Potawatomi grammar that are relevant to the analyses to come.

In what follows, I outline the basic structure of Potawatomi. I provide a very basic overview of phonology, parts of speech, pronouns, preverbs, nouns, and verbs. More details on the phonology and parts of speech can be found in Hockett (1939a); Buszard (2003); Lockwood (2017). I outline the clause structure of Potawatomi. I finish the chapter with a discussion of discourse functions and the pragmatics of word order.

2.1 Phonology

The phonological system of Potawatomi has been investigated a number of times because of the especially interesting system of vowel syncope (Hockett 1948a; Gathercole 1978; Hayes 1995; Lockwood 2017). For brevity, I only present the phoneme inventory here and briefly describe the sound change processes present in contemporary varieties.

The phoneme inventory is summarized in Tables 2.1-2.3 below. Potawatomi has 18 consonants and six phonemic vowels. The consonants have a fortis/lenis distinction that is represented in the orthography as if it were a voicing contrast. What appear to be voiceless consonants are acoustically geminates and their voiced counterparts are shorter. There are seven oral stops, two nasal stops, five fricatives, two affricates, and two approximants. The consonants are written using the traditional writing system in Table 2.1.

Vowels in Potawatomi are either weak or strong. The strong vowels are /i:, ɛ:, o:, ɑ:/ and the weak vowels are /ə, ɔ/. Strong vowels are consistently longer than weak vowels and stressed weak vowels lengthen (Gathercole 1978). This distinction is important to the vowel syncope process discussed later in this section as strong and otherwise long vowels are not subject to deletion. There are five phonemic vowels, but allophonic variation is represented in

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p, b	t, d				k, g	'
Nasals	m		n				
Fricatives			s, z	sh, zh			h
Affricates				tth, th			
Approximants	w				y		

Table 2.1: Consonant Inventory (cf. Lockwood, 2017: 15)

the spelling system. The phonemes are presented in Table 2.2 with their allophonic variation and associated spelling conventions.

Phoneme	Allophones	Graph
/i:/	[i]	i, ëy
/ɛ:/	[ɛ:], [ae]	è, é
/ə/	[ə], [ɪ], [ʊ], [ɐ]	ë, e, ê, è
/o:/	[o:]	o
/o/	[o]	w, ëw
/ɑ:/	[ɑ:]	a

Table 2.2: Vowel Phonemes

In addition to these vowels, speakers produce two diphthongs in certain words and morphological environments where an approximant follows the grapheme ⟨é⟩. They are important in the orthography and the linguistic representations for speakers.

Phone	Graph
[eɪ]	éy
[ɑʊ]	éw

Table 2.3: Diphthongs

There are six well described phonological processes in Potawatomi that the speakers produce in this dataset (see Hockett 1948a; Gathercole 1978; Hayes 1995; Lockwood 2017).

1. Nasal place assimilation: [n] becomes [m] before labial stops

- (3) bmosé
walk.VAI.INDEP.3
‘He walks’

- (4) m=bëmsé
 1=walk.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I walk’
- (5) n=gi-bmosé
 1=PST-walk.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I walked’

Examples (3)-(5) show that the 1st person proclitic *n=* surfaces as *m=* before the bilabial stop [b] at the beginning of the verb *bmosé* ‘walk’. The nasal proclitic does not assimilate to a bilabial when there is intervening tense, as seen in (5).

2. Lenis-fortis neutralization: also known as word-final devoicing, underlyingly lenis consonants are fortified word-finally

- (6) w=gi-kedo
 3=PST-say.VAI.INDEP
 ‘He said’
- (7) n=gi-ket
 1=PST-say.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I said’

As a result of the word-final vowel alternation in the verbs in (6) *kedo* and (7) *ket*, we see lenis-fortis neutralization in *ngi ket* ‘I said’ where the lenis consonant /d/ present intervocalically in *wgi kedo* ‘he said’ surfaces as the fortis /t/ word-finally.

3. Palatalization: [d] becomes [dʒ] before /i:/, /y/, and sometimes /ə/ in some morphological environments such as in the relative root /od-/ ‘from there/reason why’

- (8) wdanmet
 REL.wind.blows.VII.0.INDEP
 ‘wind blows from a certain place’
- (9) wthe-
 REL-
 ‘from/because’

(10) wthëgé
REL.leak.VAI.0.INDEP
'it leaks'

(11) wthë-yegwan
REL-in.the.direction
'toward'

4. Prenasalization: borrowed words with initial stops are prenasalized

(12) mbëdé
butter
'butter'

5. Syncope: based on metrical stress patterns and syllabification, unstressed weak vowels are deleted.

(13) Word (X)
Colon (.X)
Foot (.X) (.X) (X)
ənə fənɑː bɛː
,nesh'na,bé
person.ANIM
'Indian'

Underlying forms are parsed from left to right into iambic right-headed feet. The heads of iambic feet receive secondary stress. In the case of multiple feet in a word, two iambic feet are parsed into a left-headed trochaic structure called a colon (Hayes 1995: 221) from right to left. Primary stress is assigned to the head of the first colon from right and secondary stress falls on the heads of the iambic feet. Unstressed weak vowels are then subject to deletion but unstressed strong vowels are not. This is the process shown in (13). In the new speaker varieties, this is called vowel deletion, and it is most apparent in stems with differing morphological affixes.

(14) nəgibəmosɛ
 n=gi-bmosé
 ‘I walked’

(15) nəbəmosɛ
 mbëmsé
 ‘I walk’

In (14) and (15), the stressed weak vowels differ such that /o/ surfaces in *ngibmosé* and /ə/ surfaces in *mbëmsé*. This is the result of the TAM morphology affecting the syllabification and footing.

6. Initial change: verbs undergo an ablaut process that affects the left-most vowel in the changed conjunct and participle forms.

Plain	Changed
ë →	é
w →	wé
o: →	wa
a →	no change
é →	no change
i →	a

Table 2.4: Initial Change in Potawatomi
 (cf. Costa 1996: 43; Buszard 2003: 22-24; Lockwood 2017: 33-34)

All six of these phonological processes are attested in the new speaker data, but there is an additional phonological process previously undescribed but present in data from Gathercole (1978); Hockett (1937, 1948a). Though there needs to be acoustic work done to fully capture the ongoing phonological process, speakers from Kansas simplify word initial consonant clusters via deletion or reduction in ways that northern speakers do not. Compare the forms below:

(16) bdêkthigen ‘fork’ North

(17) dekthégen ‘fork’ Kansas

(18) n’netthiwénmo ‘I am happy’ North

(19) tthiwénmo ‘I am happy’ Kansas

Though Kansas speakers articulate some parts of word initial clusters, they can differ from northern speakers, and the process of reduction varies. The CC consonant cluster of (16) is simplified to a single consonant by Kansas speakers in (17). In the first syllable with the complex CCC onset of (18), the Kansas speakers delete it entirely in (19). Moreover, there are onsets represented orthographically in both the north and south that are perceptively distinct. Take for instance the two examples in (20) where the person proclitics are written in both communities.

(20) a. gdebanen ‘I love you’ North

b. kdēbanèn ‘I love you’ South¹

In speech, the complex onset of (20b) is reduced. Further acoustic analysis is necessary to determine the mechanism of this phonological process.

2.2 Parts of Speech

Potawatomi has three parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and a large class of uninflected items referred to as particles (see Bloomfield 1946: 93-97 for a presentation of Algonquian parts of speech). Additionally, there are pronouns, prenouns, and preverbs, which are also uninflected. I begin with those here.

2.2.1 *Pronouns and Demonstratives*

Potawatomi has a set of personal pronouns that are used emphatically in the data. Like other Algonquian languages, Potawatomi distinguishes two 1st person plural pronouns based on the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee.

1. This example is presented in the Prairie Band orthography to show they represent the complex onset in the written form.

nin	I	ninan	we, exclusive
gin	you	ginan	we, inclusive
		ginwa	you guys
win	he/she/it	winwa	they

Table 2.5: Personal Pronouns

Potawatomi also has a set of demonstrative pronouns. They agree with the noun they modify in gender and number. They make a three-way deictic distinction of proximal, medial, and distal.

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Inanimate			
Singular	odë	i	é'i
Plural	nodë	ni	é'ni
Animate			
Singular	odë	o	ago
Plural	godë	gi	é'gi

Table 2.6: Demonstratives

The distribution of demonstratives is more complicated than this suggests; the deictic center does not have to be the speaker's location. The syntax, semantics, and social meaning of the demonstratives is not directly correlated with physical proximity to the speaker. Proximal demonstratives can be used to modify nearby items, but they can also be used to express an abstract sense of closeness. The medial demonstratives are the default form. Often they are used as definite articles and translated as such while other times they are used and not translated at all. Distal demonstratives, like the proximal set, indicate both further physical distances as well as an abstract sense of distance (Lockwood 2017: 58-60).

2.2.2 *Prenouns and Preverbs*

Prenouns and preverbs are bound morphemes that attach to nouns and verbs respectively. They are indicated in the glosses with hyphens but often treated as separate words in traditional writing systems (Lockwood 2017: 63). Some can attach to either nouns or verbs,

while others are affixed to one or the other only.

- (21) a. *ktthe-mokman*
big-knife
'White person'
- b. *ktthe-níedagwe-t*
really-thought.of.VII-0.INDEP
'It's important.'
- c. *ktthe-wesnago*
big-day.before.yesterday
'Three days ago'
- (22) *bgwëttth-nene*
wild-man
'Bigfoot'
- (23) *gi-wép-miktthéwi*
PST-begin-work.VAI
'He started working.'

In (21), *ktthe-* 'big/really' is flexible and attaches to both nouns and verbs in (21a) and (21b) respectively. *Wesnago* 'yesterday' is categorized as a particle in the Forest County Potawatomi (FCP) dictionary (2014: 122) and *ktthe-* is prefixed to it in (21c). In (22), the prenoun *bgwëttth-* 'wild' attaches to nouns only. In (23), the preverb *wép-* 'begin/start' only attaches to verbs across the data.

2.2.3 Nouns

Potawatomi nouns are divided into two classes based on their grammatical gender: inanimate and animate. Nouns can take inflectional and derivational suffixes. There are seven categories of nominal morphology.

Plurality is marked suffixally on nouns and the gender determines the realization. Inanimate plural nouns receive a suffix $-(V)n$ and animate nouns take a suffix $-(V)k$.

- (24) a. *winsés*
hair.INAN
'hair'

- b. winsés-en
hair.INAN-PL
'hairs'
- (25)
- a. mzenis
doll.ANIM
'doll'
 - b. mzenis-ëk
doll.ANIM-PL
'dolls'

The locative is primarily used to indicate a location. The suffix is homophonous with the animate plural $-(V)k$.

- (26)
- a. odan
town.INAN
'town'
 - b. odan-ëk
town.INAN-LOC
'in/to town'

The obviative in Potawatomi is a syntactic process used to disambiguate two animate 3rd persons in a clause. In clausal syntax, it is a device used to identify the theta role of 3rd person arguments. It is also found in cases of nominal possession where the possessor and possessee are both 3rd persons. The obviative suffix is homophonous with the inanimate plural and it neutralizes contrast in number.

- (27)
- a. gigos
fish.ANIM
'fish'
 - b. gigos-en
fish.ANIM-OBV
'fish/fishes (obviative)'
- (28)
- a. n=gëyé
1=mother
'my mom'

- b. w=gëyé-yen
 3=mother-OBV
 ‘his/her mom(s)’

Potawatomi marks possession on nominals with a person proclitic and plural suffixes. A suffix $-(V)m$ may be used to further mark possession as well.

- (29) n=shonya-m
 1=money.INAN-POSS
 ‘my money’

Some nouns are inalienably possessed, such as kinship terms. I provide an inflectional paradigm for ‘grandfather(s)’ in Table 2.7. This shows the relative ordering of possessive and plural morphology as well.

Possessor	Singular	Plural
<i>nin</i> ‘my’	nmeshomes	nmeshomsëk
<i>gin</i> ‘your’	gmeshomes	gmeshomsëk
<i>win</i> ‘his/her’	wmeshomsen	wmeshomsen
<i>ninan</i> ‘our (exclusive)’	nmeshomsenan	nmeshomsenanëk
<i>ginan</i> ‘our (inclusive)’	gmeshomsenan	gmeshomsenanëk
<i>ginwa</i> ‘your (plural)’	gmeshomsewa	gmeshomsewak
<i>winwa</i> ‘their’	wmeshomsewan	wmeshomsewan

Table 2.7: Nominal Inflection of Grandfather(s)

In the case of possessed animate nouns, 3rd person possession requires the possessed be marked obviative. This is shown in the lines for *win* ‘his/her’ and *winwa* ‘their’ in Table 2.7.

Diminutives are a derivational morphology category. Diminutives change the meaning of the noun they attach to in a number of ways. They can add the meaning that the noun is physically smaller or they may have specialized definitions which are distinct from the noun they derive from. They are formed with a suffix $-(V)s$.

- (30) a. wdabyan
 car.ANIM
 ‘car’
 b. wdabyan-és
 car.ANIM-DIM

‘toy car/small car’

- (31) a. shonya
money.INAN
‘money’
- b. shonya-s
money.ANIM-DIM
‘coin’²

Pejoratives are formed with a suffix *-(V)sh*. It is the only category of nominal inflection that is not produced in the dataset. However, it is a productive suffix for new speakers, just not in these data.

- (32) a. migwéwen
gift.INAN
‘gift’
- b. migwéwn-esh
gift.INAN-PEJ
‘damn gift’

This section presented the basic inflectional and derivational affixes present in documentary descriptions of the language and in the new speaker data to come. At this point, I turn to verbs.

2.2.4 Verbs

Potawatomi verbs are separated into four verbal classes based on transitivity and the animacy of the subject of intransitive verbs or the object of transitive verbs: (1) Inanimate Intransitive, bearing an inanimate subject and no object; (2) Animate Intransitive, agreeing for an animate subject and no object; (3) Transitive Inanimate, having an animate subject and inanimate object; (4) Transitive Animate, with both an animate subject and object. Any verb in Potawatomi may be inflected into one of three verbal orders: Imperative, Independent, or Conjunct. Speaking very broadly, the imperative order is used for commands,

2. Coin is animate while money is inanimate. The diminutive in this meaning also causes gender shift.

independent for main clauses, and conjunct for embedded or subordinate clauses. The functions of the independent order are discussed in chapter 3 and the functions of the conjunct order are discussed in chapter 4.

2.2.5 *Particles*

The third part of speech in Potawatomi is the indeclinable class of items referred to as particles. The functions of particles are incredibly varied and the associated definitions were unexplored until recently. Lockwood (2017: 61) follows Oxford in assuming eight classes of particles: adnominals, prepositions, adverbs, focus particles, question particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections (Oxford 2007). Lewis further defined a class of particles as discourse markers contributing to textual coherence or socio-pragmatics. In his dissertation, he outlines 10 sentence-initial particles (Lewis 2020). I do not provide an exhaustive list of particles, but I outline the functions of the discourse markers in Table 2.8:

i(w)	temporal deictic
=gé	additive focus, marking topic
=yé	identity focus marker
=wi	adversative marker
=the	contrastive marker
=së	conclusivity/marking incongruence, assertiveness, emphasis
=gshe	exclusive focus
=më	indirect evidential
=ma	clarification in assertiveness, mirativity, softening commands
mine	coordinator, adverb, adjective comitative

Table 2.8: Discourse Markers

2.3 Description of the morphosyntax

Though Potawatomi has a complex morphosyntactic structure, in this dissertation, I focus on two overarching structures in the language. The structures I investigate as sites of language change are inflectional verbal orders and broadly the distribution and functions of word orders.

2.3.1 Clause Structure

The Potawatomi clause consists minimally of a verb, with all verbs being finite, and may optionally contain overt arguments of the verb and adjuncts. The morphological realization of ϕ -features depends on which order, or formally distinct supergroup of inflectional morphology, the verb is inflected into. I present the three verbal orders, imperative, independent, and conjunct, in (33), (34), and (35) respectively (see Bloomfield (1946); Oxford (2019) for more on “order” in the Algonquianist tradition).

- | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| (33) nosé-k
walk-IMP.2PL
(You guys) Walk! | You guys walked | |
| (34) g=gi-nosé-m
2=PST-walk-2PL | (35) é-gi-nosé-yék
é-PST-walk-CONJ.2PL | (when) you guys
walked |

Example (33) illustrates the imperative order: person agreement is realized via a suffix, and it encodes the imperative. Its distribution broadly follows that of any command form, but it has no negative associations with politeness, as is the case for English. The verb in (34) illustrates the independent verb order. The person agreement is realized through a person proclitic and a person and number suffix. One finds the independent in matrix clauses, polar questions, and simple out-of-the-blue statements and “ordinary statements” (Bloomfield 1946: 96). Cook (?) analyzes the independent order in Plains Cree as occurring in indexical clauses, i.e. clauses evaluated relative to the speech situation, not anchored elsewhere in the clause, as opposed to the conjunct order, which are anaphorically linked to another item in the clause. The verb in (35) is inflected in the conjunct order. Morphologically, conjunct order expresses agreement via portmanteau suffixes, encoding both person and number. We will return to the issue of independent and conjunct order clauses in chapters 3 and 4.

Conjunct verbs have varied distributions, showing up in complement clauses, adverb phrases, relative clauses and all throughout narrative discourse in main clauses as well (Buszard 2003). The conjunct is divided into the plain conjunct, changed conjunct, and

the *é*-conjunct. Plain conjunct verbs bear conjunct order suffixes only and express some degree of hypotheticality or averidicality. The changed conjunct verbs not only bear conjunct order suffixes but undergo a phonological ablaut called initial change in the Algonquianist tradition. Changed conjunct verbs encode presupposition or veridicality. Initial change also appears on participles. The final form of the conjunct is the *é*-conjunct, which combines the conjunct order suffixes with a prefixed *é*- complementizer. The *é*-conjunct displays a range of functions and should be considered an elsewhere form (Kasper 2023).

2.3.2 Word Order

In Potawatomi, any combination of subject, verb, and object is attested and no order is basic (Lockwood 2017). Nevertheless, speakers universally reject the notion that it has a free word order. Instead, Potawatomi word order is pragmatically conditioned. The order provided in Table 5.1 comes from Lewis (2015; 2016) and is based on narratives Charles Hockett collected in the 1930s (Hockett 1937). Though Lewis’s template is generally correct, Lockwood provides some differences based on data from Wisconsin collected in the early to mid 2010s from contemporary speakers (Lockwood 2017: 160). One difference Lockwood illustrates is that adverbs can follow the focus position, rather than preceding focus (171). That may illustrate one of the following possibilities: adverbs have a freer ordering than previously thought, particular adverbs behave differently, or the examples where the adverb precedes the focus position are just exceptions.

Topic	Negation	Adverb	Argument Focus Oblique	Verb	Subject Object Second Object Oblique
-------	----------	--------	---------------------------	------	---

Table 2.9: Lewis’s Word Order Template (2016) (cf. Lockwood, 2017: 161)

I adopt this template in Table 5.1 as the baseline for my analysis even though it does not capture the full complexity of adverbs.

- (36) [TOP o neshnabé] [ARGFOC ni wiwen] [OBL wdokman] é-gi-yot
 [that Indian] [OBV.DEM wife] [3.knife] C-PST-use.3.CONJ
 é-gi-pegshek i dégpeznet
 C-PST-fall.0.CONJ that what.tied.with
 ‘That Indian used his knife on his tied up wife to cut it.’ [JS 1.35] (cf. Lewis 2016: 3).

The sentence in (36) illustrates the Potawatomi word order of topic, argument focus, oblique, verb. In this example, *o neshnabé* ‘that Indian’ must be taken to be the topic while *ni wiwen* ‘his wife’ and *wdokman* ‘his knife’ must be taken as argument focus and oblique respectively. All three of these overt arguments occur before the verb on which they are commenting. This is not necessarily always the case for obliques, as they can fall after the verb.

- (37) [ADV nso-pon] n=gi-o-dnez-men [OBL zhi]
 three-winter 1=PST-go-stay.there-1PL.INDEP there
 ‘We stayed there three years.’ (cf. Lockwood 2017: 166)
- (38) A, i=the mine é-gi-wép-skono-yak [OBL zhi “public school.”]
 ah then=CNTR and C-PST-begin-school-1PL.CONJ there public school
 ‘So then we started to attend the public school.’ [2014-10-29-01 JT/LR]

The obliques in (37) and (38) provide contrasting examples to (36), in that the obliques are postverbal. The oblique, *zhi*, in (37) is licensed by a relative root *den-* ‘in a certain place’ (Lockwood, 2017: 166).

- (39) é-gi-ndewabmat [SUBJ o neshnabé] [OBJ ni séksiyen]
 C-PST-look.for.3>3’.CONJ that Indian that.OBV girl.OBV
 ‘When the Indian was looking for the girl.’
- (40) é-tso-wdapmat [OBJ wdopwagnen] [SUBJ kewezi]
 C-so.much-puff.3>3’.CONJ 3.pipe.OBV old.man
 é-ktthe-bgeshnowat wmimik
 C-really-flew.down.3PL pigeons
 ‘As the old man puffed his pipe so many times, pigeons flew down.’ (cf. Lewis (2016): 18)

Examples (39) and (40) show the pragmatically neutral postverbal position of subject and object. Postverbal positions are not topic or focus so the subject and object in those examples are neutral in that regard. Additionally, the freer word order of subject and object are exemplified here. Example (39) illustrates VSO order while (40) shows VOS order, both neutral and well-formed for L1 varieties. Interestingly, the subject and object are unaccompanied by a demonstrative in (40) while the demonstratives appear in (39). Postverbal subjects and objects are often accompanied by a demonstrative or determiner in the new speaker data, as we will see in chapter 5. In fact, it is often taught as a rule that demonstratives occur alongside any postverbal argument but not before a preverbal argument. That is to say, learners systematize the presence or absence of a demonstrative as an additional heuristic for distinguishing topic and focus versus a pragmatically neutral argument.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided the reader with an introduction to Potawatomi grammar. §2.1 and §2.2 provide an overview of the phonologies and parts of speech referenced in the new speaker data. §2.3 describing morphosyntax contains information particularly relevant to understanding the data and analyses in the rest of the dissertation chapters. §2.3.1 is relevant to the discussions in chapters 3 and 4 while §2.2.5 and §2.3.2 provide background on the issues contained in chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 3

INDEPENDENT ORDER

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the use of the independent order verbal morphology in new speaker conversation data, building on comparable work from Buszard (2003), Lewis (2020), Kasper and Lewis (2022), and Fairbanks (2009). Buszard-Welcher proposes that the independent order in the context of “everyday discourse” occurs in main clauses (Buszard 2003: 53). That statement rings true in general, but it is important to note that her everyday discourse data come from elicitation and quoted speech in narratives for the most part, both of which may be pragmatically distinct from truly naturalistic conversational contexts. The independent order forms I describe in this chapter come entirely from conversations between new speakers, as described earlier in the methods section of chapter 1.

Before I discuss the new speaker independent order verbs, I first provide a grammatical introduction to the independent order and Potawatomi verbal inflection. I do this by outlining the morphological form, syntactic distribution, and a general meaning associated with independent order verbs as cited in L1 speech as a point of reference.

3.1.1 Brief Outline of the Independent Order

Potawatomi, like many Algonquian languages, has three verbal orders: the independent, the conjunct, and the imperative (see Oxford (2019) for an overview of Algonquian verbal morphology and orders). Order is an Algonquianist term for the formally distinct super groups of inflectional morphology. Any verb can be inflected in the independent or conjunct, and all verbs with animate subjects can be inflected into the imperative order. Further, Potawatomi has four verb classes that have verb class specific morphology across the three verbal orders. The verb class is often derivationally encoded by a stem-final morpheme and

co-constituted with class specific inflectional morphology while the verbal orders are just parallel sets of inflectional morphology within which all verb classes occur.

As for verb classes, all verbs belong to one of four morphological classes instantiated by a stem-final morpheme based on transitivity and the animacy of the subject for intransitive verbs and the animacy of the object for transitive verbs. Thus, the classes are as follows: Inanimate Intransitive, predicated of an subject with inanimate gender and no object; Animate Intransitive, having an animate subject and no object; Transitive Inanimate, where the object is of inanimate gender; and finally, Transitive Animate whose objects are animate. The realization of agreement morphology on the verbs differs according to the order, but the contrasts in argument structure are present across the orders. Now, I turn to describing the independent order in Potawatomi.

Morphosyntax

The relevant grammatical features identified in this chapter are tied to the morphological realizations of the independent order. In brief, the independent order realizes its ϕ -features via a person proclitic and person and number suffixes. I provide a paradigm for the Animate Intransitive verb *mathi* ‘leave’, below as it illustrates both the person proclitics and some of the suffixes that appear across verb classes as well.

- (41)
- a. n=mathi
1=leave.VAI.INDEP
‘I leave.’
 - b. g=mathi
2=leave.VAI.INDEP
‘You leave.’
 - c. mathi-wak
leave.VAI-3SG.INDEP
‘He leaves.’
 - d. n=mathi-men
1=leave.VAI-1PL.INDEP
‘We (exclusive) leave.’

- e. g=mathi-men
2=leave.VAI-1PL.INDEP
'We (inclusive) leave.'
- f. g=mathi-m
2=leave.VAI-2PL.INDEP
'You guys leave.'
- g. mathi-wêk
leave.VAI-3PL.INDEP
'They leave.'

Additionally, some 3rd person inflection has two possible realizations. For example, Animate Intransitive 3rd singular and plural subjects show up in a number of ways. As illustrated in (41c) and (41g), there are suffixes in the form of *-wak* for singular and *-wêk* for the plural. However, 3rd person suffixes *-Ø* for the singular and *-k* for plural are also found, as seen in example (42) and (43).

- (42) mathi
leave.VAI.3SG.INDEP
'He leaves.'

- (43) mathi-k
leave..VAI-3PL.INDEP
'They leave'

In general, the Potawatomi independent order inflectional system, nominal possession, and the personal pronoun system are strikingly similar (see Harley and Ritter (2002); Hammerly (2018) for the facts of Ojibwé feature geometries). They utilize shared morphemes in the proclitics and suffixes. This is especially evident in plural possessives and transitive verbs. For comparison, I first provide a paradigm for the personal pronouns below:

nin	1SG	ninan	1PL.EXCL
gin	2SG	ginan	1PL.INCL
		ginwa	2PL
win	3SG	winwa	3PL

Table 3.1: Personal Pronouns

Potawatomi, like other Algonquian languages, has a prominence hierarchy for grammatical persons that can be invoked to explain which pronominal proclitics appear in nominal and verbal inflectional morphology and which theme sign appears in verbal morphology. For Potawatomi, this is a person and animacy hierarchy instantiated as $2 > 1 > X > 3 > 3'$ where speech act participants, 2 and 1, outrank the non-referential subject, X, of an impersonal verb construction (see Oxford 2017 for a discussion across the family), and X outranks the proximate 3rd person 3, which in turn outranks the obviative 3rd person, 3'. This plays out in the pronouns as well where the highest ranking participant is encoded at the beginning of the pronoun, as seen in *ginan* ‘we (inclusive)’, and the specific form of the plural that expresses speaker or non-speaker appears on the person and number suffixes.

The prominence hierarchy seen above applies not just to independent pronouns but also to the inflectional morphology on independent order verbs. In Table 3.2, I provide a paradigm for the transitive inanimate verb stem *wabdan* ‘see something’.

Subject		Subject	
nin	nwabdan	ninan	nwabdamen
gin	gwabdan	ginan	gwabdamen
		ginwa	gwabdanawa
win	wwabdan	winwa	wwabdanawa

Table 3.2: Inflectional Paradigm for VTI *wabdan* ‘see something’

As can be seen in Table 3.2, the proclitics *n=*, *g=*, and *w=*, expressing 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, appear on the Transitive Inanimate verb forms, as well as the suffix *-wa* expressing plural in the 2nd plural and 3rd plural subject agreement. The only difference between the independent pronoun paradigm and the Transitive Inanimate paradigm is that the two 1st plural forms indicate the plurality of the subject with the suffix *-men*, not with the suffix *-nan* seen in the associated pronouns.¹ However, the suffix *-nan* does mark 1st plural elsewhere in the inflectional system, on Transitive Animate agreement in the independent order (44) and on possessed nouns (45).

1. See Goddard (1967) for Proto-Algonquian sources of *-men* and *-nan*.

- (44) a. n=wabm-ëgw-nan
 1=see.VTA-INV-1PL
 ‘He sees us (exclusive).’
- b. g=wabm-ëgw-nan
 2=see.VTA-INV-1PL
 ‘He sees us (inclusive).’
- (45) a. n=okmes-nan
 1=grandmother-1PL
 ‘Our (exclusive) grandmother’
- b. g=okmes-nan
 2=grandmother-1PL
 ‘Our (inclusive) grandmother’

To this point, it should be clear that independent order verbs that have at least one animate argument show ϕ -features on a person proclitic and accompanying person and number suffixes. Beyond animate subjects, which require person proclitics, inanimate intransitive verbs do not have animate subjects and only show agreement suffixally where the suffixes agree with the number features of the associated inanimate subject. There are two sets of agreement suffixes for inanimate intransitive verbs, a simple set illustrated in (46) and an augmented set illustrated in (47), both with the verb stem *té* ‘be somewhere’.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(46) a. <i>té</i>
 be.somewhere.VII.0
 ‘It is somewhere.’</p> <p>b. <i>té-non</i>
 be.somewhere.VII-0PL
 ‘They are somewhere.’</p> | <p>(47) a. <i>té-mget</i>
 be.somewhere.VII-AUG.0
 ‘It is somewhere.’</p> <p>b. <i>té-mged-on</i>
 be.somewhere.VII-AUG-0PL
 ‘They are somewhere.’</p> |
|---|--|

The forms in (46) and (47) are in free variation, but the augment suffix *-mget* is often used to distinguish homophonous VII and VAI forms, such as *débwé* ‘it is true/he tells the truth’ where *débwémget* ‘it is true’ uses the augment to clearly mark the verb class. Likewise, new speakers use the 3rd person singular suffix *-wak* in *débwéwak* ‘he tells the truth’ to distinguish

the verb as animate intransitive.²

For the purposes of this chapter, it will also be useful to know the negation system specific to the independent order. Beyond the inflectional morphology expressing the arguments, the data in this chapter also show examples of negation. Negation in the independent is bipartite consisting of the negative particle *ttho* ‘no, not’ before the person proclitic and verb and a suffix *-si* which occurs between the verb stem and number suffixes.³ The example (48) below illustrates the position of these negative morphemes with respect to the verb and its inflectional affixes. Additionally, the reader may note that the phonological form of the final vowel in the verb stem alternates between *a* in the independent indicative and *ẽ* in the negative forms. This is a morphophonological phenomenon across the language.

- (48) *ttho w=wabdẽ-si-nawa-n*
not 3=see.VTI-NEG-3PL-PL.OBJ.INDEP
‘He doesn’t see those.’

To this point, I have focused on providing a background so that the reader can easily identify independent order morphology, but I have not provided any comparative examples in the parallel orders. For now, I will direct the reader to identify anything else as simply not the independent.

As for the verbal order distribution, the independent is said to have a particular syntactic distribution. Previous analyses have claimed that either the independent or conjunct verb move to C (Halle and Marantz 1993; Campana 1996), but more recently Johnson (2016) argued that the verb never raises to C. Similarly to Johnson, I have argued that the independent verb does not raise to C; and moreover, the syntax of the independent verb is without the CP layer, which may itself help to explain the distribution (Kasper and Lewis 2022). The independent shows up in matrix clauses, polar questions, and any out of the

2. Both Northern and Southern speakers use the augment suffix for VII forms, but Kansas speakers will pluralize the augment such that it surfaces as *-mget-non* rather than *-mged-on*.

3. For Inanimate Intransitive the negative suffix surfaces alongside what looks like the plural suffix such that number is neutralized resulting in what appears to be a *-snon* suffix: *gméyasnon* ‘it’s not raining’ (Lockwood 2017).

blue simple statements. In fact, Bloomfield calls the independent the form used in “simple statements,” (1946: p. 96). Its distribution and function in narratives is different from the way it is used in conversations, but the focus of the current work is on its conversational use.

Functions of the Independent

It is not the morphological form alone which distinguishes the independent order from the conjunct or imperative orders. Both conjunct and independent can occur in main clauses and since that is the case, the difference between the two sets of inflection is their discourse functions as well.⁴ As mentioned earlier, the independent may be the form for out of the blue statements frequent in elicitation settings. In other words, the independent need not be discursively linked to anything higher in the clause; and moreover, it cannot be embedded the same way that conjunct clauses are, as seen in chapter 4.⁵ The independent order itself says nothing of presuppositions nor veridicality, as the conjunct order verbs do (Kasper 2023). It is just the verb form used most frequently by new speakers across all genres of speech, but especially in conversations. There is little to capture semantically beyond its syntactic distribution and morphological form.

3.1.2 Structure of the Chapter

Since the reader is now familiar with the grammatical and syntactic preliminaries of the independent order, it is appropriate now to outline the remainder of this chapter. In §2, I describe the distribution of the independent order for new speaker conversations. There, I begin with monoclausal sentences before moving on to multiclausal structures focusing on the role of the independent therein. I discuss at length the various types of monoclausal and

4. See Cook 2014 for a discussion the semantic/syntactic clause-typing distinction between indexical and anaphoric clauses and their relationships to discourse functions in Plains Cree.

5. Buszard (2003) analyzes the verbal orders under a mental spaces framework Fauconnier (1994), independent order verbs are not space openers existing in the reality space and time space of the mental spaces framework. The independent is purely compositional in meaning.

biclausal environments that we find the independent in. In §3, I propose a loose definition for the syntax and semantics of the new speaker independent order verb. Further, I describe the discourse functions of the independent in these new speaker speech communities. Then, I define the independent order’s relationship to matrix clause structure in the syntax of new speaker Potawatomi. Section 4 includes a discussion on why the new speaker independent has its meanings and distributions. There, I focus on elicitation, pragmatic felicity, exposure, and cognitive load. I conclude with a summary in §5.

3.2 Distribution of the Independent

The majority of the verbs in the new speaker data are inflected for the independent order. In this section, I describe independent verbs in both monoclausal and multiclausal constructions. I begin first with the monoclausal instances, focusing on main clauses, turn taking, polar questions, and answers to questions. Then I discuss the independent in multiclausal constructions, beginning with complements to subordinating particles, its function as a main clause, and then looking to multiple instances of an independent verb in a single sentence.

3.2.1 *Monoclausal Constructions*

As mentioned earlier, the majority of verbs in the data set are in the independent order. In this section, I show that the independent appears in main clauses, as answers to polar questions, as predicates of polar questions, answers to Wh-questions, as parts of short narratives, and in any other context where a speaker could utter a single verb in their turn. First, I look to the independent in main clauses and out of the blue statements, a term which I borrow from Sullivan’s discussion of the conjunct (2016).

Main clauses & out of the blue

Though the independent order verbs occur in out of the blue monoclausal statements, there are not many examples in this data set. However, the few examples there are do occur at the beginning of conversations, when changing the topic, or when code-switching back to Potawatomi. Examples (187) and (50) are both out-of-the-blue utterance that occur conversation initially.

- (49) ahaw um n=wi- n=wi-o-yathdan
ok um 1=FUT 1=FUT-go-tell.story.VTI.SG
'Ok, um I'm gonna tell a story.' [N]

- (50) g=wi-zhya-m zhi Téyma-k
2=FUT-go.AI-2PL there Tama-LOC
'You guys are gonna go to Tama.' [N]

In order to start the conversation, the speaker in (50) uses the independent order verb to get her interlocutor's attention by bringing up a piece of information irrelevant to what she was talking about with someone else. Additionally, it is clear the phrase is abrupt because both speakers laugh in response to it. Aside from the beginning of conversations, the independent is used in (51) to manage the topic of conversation. (51a)-(51c) are consecutive utterances from one conversation. In the first line, N is explaining why she does not want to participate in a language introduction special at the Prairie Band pow wow, and C uses the independent order in (51b) to manage the topic of the conversation. It is the same conversation represented in (52) as well, where B uses the independent order to switch back into Potawatomi across turns in (52c).

- (51) a. n=gi-dbě'm-ago-k o Prairie Band Language
1=PST-pay.VTA-INVR-PL.INDEP that Prairie Band Language
'Prairie Band Language paid me.' [N]

b. n=gi-kitthkwégené
1=PST-hurt.neck.VAI.INDEP
'I hurt my neck.' [C]

- c. odëwpi né
 now Q
 ‘Right now?’ [B]
- (52) a. ‘Can you get shingles twice?’ [B]
- b. ‘I will break out a little bit here sometimes.’ [C]
- c. mskwa-mge-t zhi
 be.red.VII-AUG-0.INDEP there
 ‘It’s red there.’ [B]
- d. ‘Is it?’ [C]

All four of the examples in (187)-(52) illustrate that the independent order does not need to be anchored higher in the clause or discourse for new speakers. This section is relatively short since the data is limited. In the next section, I focus on monoclausal independent verbs in turn taking, which itself may be an abrupt style of talking akin to the out of the blue statements above.

Turn Taking

The independent order shows up across speakers when taking turns. The data below show examples of speakers responding to personal pronouns, noun phrases, and backchanneling, as well as in response to other full verb phrases. I begin with independent order verbs in response to personal pronouns accompanied by discourse markers.

- (53) a. ninan gé=zhë
 1PL.EXCL AFP=EMPH
 ‘Us too.’ [N]
- b. n=wi-nimedi-men
 1=FUT-dance.AI-1PL.INDEP
 ‘We’re gonna dance.’ [C]
- c. éhé konëgé
 yes yes
 ‘Yes certainly.’ [N]

- d. minë wi-gzhaté-mget
and FUT-be.hot.VII-AUG.0.SG.INDEP
'And it'll be hot.' [C]

The speaker C responds to N's assertion of 'us too!' with both laughter and then an independent order response. Immediately following that, N backchannels and C continues by using the independent as a main clause.

Speakers do not only reply with the independent order to backchannelling or emphatic personal pronouns. They also provide the independent order as a response to noun phrases, as illustrated below where the first noun phrase is an answer to a question much earlier in the discourse, provided below. The relevant independent order verbs are in bold.

- (54) a. nithë etsë
how amount
'How many...' [M]
- b. dbêgné-k
measure.II-0.CONJ
'cost?' [N]
- c. mdatso mëkwéy
ten beaver.hide
'Ten dollars' [M]
- d. nishwabtek nsetth um ngotwatso mëkwéy
20 and um six beaver.hide
'Um 26 dollars.' [N]
- e. ooh hoo hoo **méskedé-mget** ma
oh hoo hoo be.expensive.VII-AUG.0.INDEP EVID
'Oh hoo, **that's really expensive.**' [M]
- f. **méskdé-mget**
be.expensive.VII-AUG.0.INDEP
'**It's expensive.**' [N]

As mentioned earlier, the independent can be used to respond to backchannelling. In the example below we see another instance of that, but in this case it is also clearly used as a form of clarification in the form of a polar question. This demonstrates that the independent order is the form used for polar questions.

- (55) a. éhé éhé éhé éhé
 yes yes yes yes
 ‘Yes, yes, yes, yes.’ [DW]
- b. g=nestetëw né
 2=understand.VTA.LOCAL.INV Q
 ‘Do you understand me?’ [N]

Finally, there is one more monoclausal independent order use to discuss in this turn taking subsection. The independent is often used in response to another speaker’s own use of an independent verb. We see this below where one interlocutor provides a sentence and the other confirms the truth of it by saying the same indicative phrase with inflectional morphology relevant to her as a speech act participant. Then, they go on to repeat the phrase while laughing. The example is provided below and partially replicated from the data in (50) as well.

- (56) a. gé ginwa g=gi-zh g=wi-zhya-m zhi Téymëk
 AFP 2PL 2=PST-go 2=FUT-go.VAI-2PL.INDEP there Tama.LOC
 ‘You guys went- you guys are gonna go to Tama.’ [N]
- b. n=wi-zhya-men zhi Téymë
 1=FUT-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP there Tama
 ‘We’re gonna go to Tama.’ [C]
- c. n=wi-zhya-men zhi Téymë
 1=FUT-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP there Tama
 ‘We’re gonna go to Tama.’ [N]
- d. n=wi-zhya-men zhi Téymë
 1=FUT-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP there Tama
 ‘We’re gonna go to Tama.’ [C]

The function of the response in (56b) is for W both pedagogical and conversational. She provides a correction to the form of the oblique uttered in (56a) to one without a locative morpheme in (56b) and also she asserts the truth of the content in (56a), particularly in response to the focused argument *gé ginwa* ‘As for you guys.’ It is unclear if W would have had the same response to (56a) without the presence of the *gé* discourse marker, especially since N did not ask a question.

Further, (56c) and (56d) are a part of a joke, but it appears that the use of the independent order in (56c) has a number of functions. First, the morphology works to show contrast with the previous utterance, noting that both speakers say ‘We exclusive of you will go to Tama.’ It functions only as an indicative assertion, and it does not participate in what I will later discuss as “talking-qua-pedagogy.’ This is to say that neither speaker is asking for clarification on the grammatical form of the phrase, lexical choice, nor the content of the phrase. They are both just repeating the same phrase back and forth with different referents as participants in their inflectional agreement, and they both use the independent for these turns.

Speakers use the independent order in concurrent turns not just for clarification (55) and contrastive focus (56). They also use the independent in more prototypical turns as well. For example, the speakers in (57) use the independent productively and proficiently. The example below shows that new speakers may respond to an independent indicative phrase with another one. The pragmatics of the verb may also influence the use of the order as well.

- (57) a. gaga n=zéges
 almost 1=be.scared.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I’m a little scared.’ [A]
- b. um wi-mnopkwe-t
 um FUT-taste.good.VII-0SG.INDEP
 ‘Um, it’ll taste good.’ [N]

The response in (57a) is situated after the speakers were talking about making a type of food they ate earlier in the week. It is a culturally specific dish cooked only at that time of year and C uses the imperative order to tell A to make the dish after she had said she would try to do it that night. In response to the command, A replies, ‘I’m a little scared,’ and C assures her it will taste good. Based on the use of the independent in both (56b) and (57b), it seems that the independent may have a discourse function of clarifying an assertion or lowering the stakes, similar to the way that a discourse marker may be used to assuage worries or clarify a misunderstanding.

At this point, the reader has seen that the independent occurs in monoclausal constructions at the beginning of a string of discourse somewhat out of the blue, in response to a number of pronouns and nouns, backchannelling, and most frequently in response to other independent verbs. The discourse function of each of these will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Now, I turn to the use of monoclausal independent order sentences in response to questions, which is a larger subset of the data here.

Answers to questions

The data here show that the most frequent manner in which new speakers answer questions with a full VP is by using the independent order. We see this in answers to polar questions, small questions such as *gin thé* ‘and you?’, and content questions. There are, of course other strategies for answering questions besides using a full VP. New speakers respond to questions with *éhé* ‘yes’ and *ttho* ‘no’, noun phrases, or adverbs which themselves can contain VPs within their syntactic structures. As an example of a response without an independent order verb, the speaker in (58b) answers ‘yes’ to the polar question in (58a)

- (58) a. um dbekok né g=gi-mthendes
 um last.night.CONJ Q 2=PST-challenge.REFL.INDEP
 ‘Um, did you work out last night?’ [M]
- b. éhé éhé
 yes yes
 ‘Yeah, yes.’ [N]

Speakers also answer questions with noun phrases and adverbs, but I will not illustrate that here for the sake of space. In contrast, the verb phrase answers are most frequently inflected for the independent order. I show an example below where the independent verb is provided as an answer to a polar question. The details of the morphology in the embedded clauses will be discussed in the chapter on the conjunct. For now, the important morphology is in the answer to the polar question (59a) in (59b).

- (59) a. g=nedwéndan né è-wi-mith-yen odë tum? uh odë
 2=want.VTI-SG.INDEP Q C-FUT-eat.VTI-2SG.CONJ this tum uh this
 mshkekisen
 pill
 ‘Do you want a Tums? Uh this pill.’ [C]
- b. um n=menpedan i
 um 1=like.taste.VTI-SG.INDEP that
 ‘Um, I like how it tastes.’ [N]

The speaker in (59b) answers the polar question with an independent order verb, and it may violate some of Grice’s Maxims of quantity and manner because the answer is more informative than necessary and ambiguous as to whether or not she wants to eat a tums. In responding to a polar question, the most informative and relevant response is often ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The independent order clause does not clearly answer the question but it is the verbal order utilized in taking turns. In violating Grice’s Maxims, the speaker utilizes the independent as an indexical clause that does not need to be anchored to anything structurally higher. Later, once C has a Tum in hand to offer, she asks a similar polar question to that of (59a). At that point, we see the answer ‘yes,’ exemplified in (60):

- (60) a. g=nedwéndan né
 2=want.VTI-SG.INDEP Q
 ‘Do you want it?’ [C]
- b. éhé
 yes
 ‘Yes.’ [N]

Aside from polar questions, speakers respond to the combination of personal pronouns followed by the discourse marker *thé* with independent order verbs in the answers. First, pronouns plus *thé* have come to mean something akin to ‘and you?’ when combined with *gin* and ‘as for X?’ when paired with another pronoun, X. It is taken as a question and answered as such, as evidenced below.

- (61) a. Gin thé?
 you CNTR
 ‘And you?’ [N]

- b. ngodëk uh n=gi-gwedemothgé-men nin miné T mine
 one.time uh 1=PST-go.fishing.VAI-1PL.INDEP me and Thigwék and
 W
 Wabgizhek
 ‘One time me and T and W went fishing.’ [D]

In the greater context, the speaker in (61a) had earlier said *iw ga zhëwébêk égi gwedemotheéyak* ‘That’s what happened while we were fishing,’ before both speakers laugh and then she says, ‘And you?’ in (61a). Though in the context, there are some interruptions by way of laughter and some English fillers, the fact remains that D replies with an independent order verb in (61b). Additionally, the topic of the conversation then shifts to D, T and W rather than N and some men in her fishing story. It is appropriate for D to provide a full independent verb phrase in response to the question N posed. One use of the independent is in response to these *gin thé* types of questions.

Finally, the independent order is used when answering content questions. For clarity, the verbal complement to Wh-words is inflected for the conjunct order, and the specifics of the conjunct order formation will be discussed in chapter 4. The verbal answer to content questions for these speakers is almost exclusively independent verbs. In this section on monoclausal independent utterances, I do not mention any biclausal responses; those are saved for the coming section on multiclausal constructions. However, I provide an example of a standard response in example (62).

- (62) a. Nithë ga-zhetthgé-yen dbekok?
 how IC.PST-do.VAI-2SG.CONJ night
 ‘What did you do last night?’ [N]
- b. n=gi-zhya-men zhi okanké
 1=PST-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP there go.to.town
 Intended: ‘We went to town.’ [M]

Despite the slight phonological error in the form of *okanké* rather than *odanëk*, resulting in a translation ‘We went there, he goes to town,’ the relevant pieces of inflection are the proclitic and suffix indicating the independent order on the verb *zhya*. In this case, the

speaker intended to utter a single monoclausal phrase, but misspoke. Importantly, she used an independent order verb as an answer to the question in (62a).

As an intermediate summary, new speakers use monoclausal independent verb phrases to introduce new topics, in turn taking, and to answer a variety of question types. Now, I turn away from the monoclausal constructions to focus on biclausal constructions and complementation.

3.2.2 *Multiclausal Constructions*

In this section, I discuss the distribution of the independent order in a variety of multiclausal constructions. For the most part, the new speakers mirror the prototypical conversational structure of biclausal constructions seen in L1 data (Buszard 2003). First, however, I contend with the independent order as used for complements to subordinating particles. Then, I go on to discuss the prototypical biclausal construction where the verbs in the sentence are hierarchically related in the syntax and discursively connected to each other.

Complements

Potawatomi has a number of subordinating particles whose complements may be full clauses. As implied by the term subordinating, these particles often require an embedded clause with conjunct inflection on the verb. However, that is not always the case; some of the subordinating particles may take either the independent or conjunct and others only select for the independent. Though the terminology may be misleading, there is precedent for calling these particles subordinating from Buszard-Welcher, and at the time of her study, subordinating may have been more accurate a descriptor for a greater number of these particles (Buszard 2003: p. 21). At this point, I first turn to the particles which select for the independent.⁶

6. Some of the particles which select for the independent order may be better analyzed as conjunctions.

Particle	Free translation
nesh=thé	‘but’
i(w)=thé	‘then’
gishpen	‘if’
abdék	‘have to’
=thé	‘and/and so/then/but’

Table 3.3: Particles for the independent

New speakers in this data set productively use the set of particles in in Table 3.3. These are not the only particles new speakers use, but they are the ones that select for independent order verbal complements. For instance, the particle *anaké* ‘or’ (discussed in chapter 4) may be used with a verb in either the independent order or the conjunct order; see also chapter 6 for discussion of other particles which are not restricted to cooccurring with a particular inflectional paradigm. Other particles are addressed in chapter 6. I begin now with *nesh=thé* ‘but’, which is represented in the orthography as a single word. Generally, the enclitic *=thé* marks contrast for comparatives, semantic opposition, and it is used alongside a number of subordinating constructions (Lewis 2020: p. 176). The particle combination *nesh=thé* requires that its complement be inflected in the independent order. Further, the verb always follows *nesh=thé* due to the fact that the clitic *=thé* is a second position enclitic and *nesh* is in the initial position. Below, I present an example of *neshthé* followed by the independent for a new speaker.

- (63) nesh=thé ttho n=medagwëndë-si-n i
but not 1=like.VTI-NEG-SG.INDEP that
‘But I don’t like that.’ [M]

The verb in (63) follows the prototypical form where *nesh=thé* selects for the independent and the particle immediately precedes the verb complex. This is not the only word order pattern of the particle and the verb we see though. For a point of comparison, I will briefly show that an adverb can intervene between *nesh=thé* and the verb.

- (64) nesh=thé um bwamshé ga-pon nyéw penothéyek
but um before 1C.PST-winter four kids

n=de-sa-k
 1=PRS-have.VTA.DIR-3PL.INDEP
 ‘But, um, before last year, I have four kids.’ [A]

The verbal complement of *nesh=thé* is *ndesak* ‘I have them’ and there is an intervening adjunct. In all instances where the particle *nesh=thé* appears alongside a verb, that verb observes the morphosyntactic restriction that it must be inflected for the independent order.

Moreover, an independent verb may co-occur with the clitic *=thé* by itself as well, which I provide an example of below.

- (65) gishpen g=wi-tadi-m thé n=wi-tadi
 if 2=FUT-gamble.VAI-2PL.INDEP CNTR 1=FUT-gamble.VAI.INDEP
 ‘If you guys gamble, then I’ll gamble.’ [C]

In (65) above, *thé* contrasts the two propositions. It introduces the conditional consequent similarly to the English function for ‘then’ in if-then statements. In the examples shown thus far, it appears that *thé* is a particle marking semantic opposition that almost exclusively triggers the independent for new speakers. This is an innovation in the documented history of the language as *=thé* did not have selectional requirements for independent order morphology on verbs at an earlier point (cf. Lewis 2020: ch. 7).

When the *=thé* enclitic is hosted by *i(w)*, the complement to *i(w)=thé* has a variety of meanings, which are determined at least in part by the verbal morphology used. In the case of new Potawatomi, there is a strong preference for the complement to inflect in the independent order. Most frequently, we see this is in the form of *ithé miné* clauses to mean ‘and then.’ This is to say that *ithé miné* plus the independent order temporally links the clausal complement to earlier discourse. This is clear given the context of (66d). Even though this comes from a conversation, the speaker is providing a brief narrative of events while she was fishing one time. Based on this, we see that the independent occurs in strings of discourse accompanied by discourse markers that work to structure temporal sequences.

- (66) a. giwnadzé
 be.crazy.VAI.3SG.INDEP

‘He’s crazy.’ [D]

- b. yeah éhé éhé éh’e nesh=thé w=gi-gwedemothgé beshotth
yeah yes yes yes but 3=PST-fish.VAI.INDEP close.by
‘Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, but he fished close by.’ [N]
- c. o nene
that man
‘That man’ [D]
- d. i=thé miné w=gi-bmebyé
then=CNTR and 3=PST-around.come.3SG.INDEP
é-wi-nanaw-nibne-t béshotth zhi zék miné béshotth zhi
C-FUT-middle-stand.AI-3SG.CONJ close.by there Zach and close.by there
nin
me
‘Then he came up and stood next to Zach and next to me.’ [N]

Next, I return to discuss the structure of *gishpen* ‘if’ accompanied by the independent. In earlier work, I described conditional *gishpen* clauses as only containing conjunct verbs in L1 data (Kasper 2023). However both modern L1 speakers and new speakers alike now use the particle *gishpen* alongside either the conjunct or the independent to express conditional antecedents. We saw an example earlier in (65), but I provide another below.

- (67) gishpen g=wi-zhya-m zhi Topiki n=kwéyé
if 2=FUT-go.VAI-2PL.INDEP there Topeka 1=stay.VAI.INDEP
‘If you guys go to Topeka, I’ll stay here.’ [C]

In (67), the particle *gishpen* does the majority of the heavy lifting to express the English ‘if,’ and the independent order follows. We see here that the independent is an accepted complement to *gishpen* now. This change in accepted complement may be the result of a reanalysis akin to closest conjunct agreement, where the verb closest to the particle *gishpen* is understood as the complement to the particle. Take for instance the linear order of clauses in (68), which was spoken by an L1 speaker.

- (68) gishpen gé=nish nen-wêk winwa w=gi-nsa-wa-n
if AFP=two man-PL they 3=PST-kil.VTA.DIR-3PL-OBV
è-ked-wat
C-say.VAI-3PL.CONJ

‘If two men claimed they got (the deer).’ [JT] (Thunder, Sr. 2023: p. 8)

In example (68), the complement to *gishpen* ‘if’ is *ekedwat* ‘say’, but the oblique argument of ‘say’ includes an independent order verb to the left of it. As a result of the linear ordering, it appears that *gishpen* can co-occur with independent order verbs as complements. Alternatively, should we take a language contact approach, a simple solution to the issue of independent order verbs in conditional antecedents from new speakers arises. The indicative in English is acceptable in conditional clause antecedents today whereas historically, conditionals required the use of the subjunctive. Should this be a pattern borrowing from English, new speakers may be reanalyzing the independent as an indicative clause available for conditional antecedents.

Finally, I focus on the subordinating structure of ‘have to’ clauses that new speakers employ. The example below provides a string of discourse where one speaker replies ‘We have to speak Potawatomi more,’ after earlier having said, ‘It’s not good, the way we’re speaking.’ There are a number of ways Potawatomi speakers can express obligation such as ‘have to,’ but the most common form in the data set is by using the subordinating particle *abdék* followed by an independent order verb, which is the form illustrated below in (69).

- (69) a. mégwa n=de-neshnabémo-men
more 1=PRS-talk.indian.VAI-1PL.INDEP
‘We are talking more Indian language.’ [N]
- b. abdék shna n=wi n=wi-bodwéwadmimo-men
have.to EMPH 1=FUT 1=FUT-speak.Potawatomi.VAI-1PL.INDEP
‘We have to speak Potawatomi.’ [C]
- c. abdék shna mégwa n=wi-bodwéwadmimo-men
have.to EMPH more 1=FUT-speak.Potawatomi.VAI-1PL.INDEP
‘We have to speak more Potawatomi.’ [C]

The speaker in (69b)-(69c) provides the same independent morphology for the complement to the subordinating particle *abdék* in both utterances, one after the other. The only differences between the two is a restart of her saying ‘We will speak Potawatomi’ in (69b)

and the addition of the word *mégwa* ‘more,’ in (69c). Additionally, both instances of complements to ‘have to’ use the future tense on their independent verbs as well. While using the future morpheme alongside *abdék* is fairly common practice, it is not exclusively the future that co-occurs with ‘have to.’ The independent order verb complement to *abdék* in (70) bears no tense morphology; and though the lower clause does, that particular collocation of *e-* and *wi-* will be discussed in greater length in the chapter on the conjunct.

- (70) *abdék shna n=nedwéndan é-wi-yo-yan i chapstick*
 have.to EMPH 1=want.VTI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-use.VTI-1SG.CONJ that chapstick
 ‘I have to want to use chapstick.’ [C]

Though new speakers often use the independent order as complements to particular discourse markers and so-called “subordinating particles,” the most common type of complex sentences are formed by using the independent as the matrix clause. This phenomenon is discussed at greater length in the next subsection on biclausal constructions.

Biclausal Constructions

Now, I move on to the most prototypical examples of biclausal constructions for new speakers. In multiclausal sentences, the independent is almost always the matrix verb. As a result, the majority of biclausal constructions for new Potawatomi conform to the following order:

- INDEPENDENT VERB > COMPLEMENTIZER > CONJUNCT VERB > CONJUNCT VERB

Most often new speakers use the independent verb and allow other verbs to be embedded under it. I illustrate this with a straightforward example in (71) that conforms to the order outlined above.

- (71) *n=medagwénda-n é-wi-wthanda-ygo*
 1=like.VTI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-cook.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘I like it that all of us cook.’ [M]

In the example above, we see that the main clause is in the independent while the embedded clause is not. In fact, the speaker pauses between the matrix clause and the

embedded conjunct clause in a manner that looks more like the following example (72), perhaps offering an insight into the syntactic structure of embedding CPs for this speaker. However, this will be described in greater detail in the chapter on the conjunct.

- (72) a. n=medagwénda-n...
 1=like.VTI-SG.INDEP
 ‘I like it...’ [M]
- b. é-wi-...
 C-FUT-
 ‘for to...’
- c. wthanda-ygo
 cook.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘We cook’

Moreover, this practice of using the independent as the matrix clause holds for utterances with more than one verb as well. We see two examples of multiclausal constructions below. Each uses different forms of the conjunct for the embedded clauses, but the main clauses stay in the independent, and once embedding occurs, speakers elect to then stay in the conjunct.

- (73) n=medagwénda-n é-wi-gbésh-ygo é-dgwagê-k
 1=like.VTI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-campVAI-12PL.CONJ C-be.autumn.VII-0SG.CONJ
 ‘I like all of us to camp in the fall.’ [M]
- (74) mdagwéndan é-wi-neto-yan a-the-gigéno-yan
 like.VTI-SG C-FUT-learn-1SG.CONJ MOD-C-cook.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I like to learn how to cook’ [A]

Though the examples paid attention to in this subsection have all been independent indicative, the speakers in this data set do still conform to using the independent as the matrix clause even when it is negated. I illustrate this below in (75) where the main independent clause is negated and still takes a conjunct clause complement.⁷

- (75) ttho n=medagwéndë-si-n i è-wi-dagnë-man o gigoyes
 not 1=like.VTI-NEG-SG.INDEP that C-FUT-touch.VTI-1>0.CONJ that little.fish
 ‘I don’t like to touch that little fish.’ [M]

7. Additionally, there is a mismatch between the gender agreement on the embedded clause and the gender of the object, but I do not investigate that in this dissertation.

Thus far all the examples have been matrix clause control predicates. Additionally, all of the independent verbs in this subsection have been Transitive Inanimate verbs, taking an inanimate singular object. As it stands, these types of sentences could also allow for long distance agreement or raising to object. As a point of comparison, see the morphology in the following elicited new speaker sentences where the main clause object is co-referential with the subject of the embedded clause.

- (76) g=zhigénm-en é-thagaksem-en
 2=hate.VTA-LOC.INV.INDEP C-burn.the.food.VTI-2SG.CONJ
 ‘I hate (you) that you burned the food.’ [C]

Further, this phenomenon can also occur with two Transitive Animate verbs in a sentence, as evidenced below.

- (77) g=gi-métsen-esh é-gi-shegnon-an
 2=PST-miss.VTA-LOC.DIR.INDEP C-PST-call.VTA-1>2.CONJ
 ‘You missed my call’
 Lit: ‘You missed me when I called you.’ [C]

Though new speakers provide these grammatical structures in elicitation, there is no conversation data with these forms as of yet. Further, there is a tendency for speakers to use verbs of emotion or control predicates as main clauses that embed other verbs. However, those are not the only verbs in the data set. In the next example, the speaker uses ‘be smart’, an intransitive verb, as the matrix clause inflected in the independent.

- (78) n=de-mbwaka é-gzibine-man ni baskeman
 1=PRS-be.smart.VAI.INDEP C-wash-VTI-1SG.CONJ those clothes
 ‘I am smart for washing my clothes.’ [W]

Further, the position of the independent as a main clause for new speakers is even more evident in multiclausal constructions where not only are the two verbs inflected for different arguments, but also they belong to different verb classes. The speaker in example (166) uses independent morphology on the inanimate intransitive verb ‘be hot’ and the *é*-conjunct

for the embedded ‘when we dance,’ which is an animate intransitive verb. Though there are alternatives to this ordering of the verb phrases in L1 and new speech alike, the status of word and constituent order will be discussed at greater length in the chapter on word order. At this point, the example below provides evidence for the new speaker propensity toward not only using the independent as the main clause, but also for preferring independent clauses sentence-initially.

- (79) wi-gzhatémge-t é-nimedi-yak
 FUT-be.hot1.VII-0SG.INDEP C-dance-1PL.CONJ
 ‘It’ll be hot when we’re dancing’[W]

Within these prototypical biclausal constructions, where the independent verb serves as the finite matrix clause, particles may intervene between the independent verb and the embedded clause. This is the case with polar questions, as evidenced in the previous section. As it stands, when a verb is in first position, all polar question particles follow an independent verb in the data set. This is the case for all multiclausal examples with yes/no questions. We saw an example earlier in (59a), but I provide another similar example below in (80) where the second position question particle follows the independent verb.

- (80) g=wi-tadi né pidro wèth-ksenya-k
 2=FUT-gamble.VAI.INDEP Q pidro IC.from-be.cold.II-0.CONJ
 ‘Are you going to play Pidro up North?’ [N]

The only examples of polar questions in the conversation data thus far come from sentences using the independent indicative.

Asyndetic Relations and Coordination

The prototypical multiclausal constructions involve at least two verbs; one of which is an embedded conjunct verb of some sort. However, new speakers often utter long strings of discourse only utilizing independent morphology for multiple verbs. Even though there may not be any embedding of an overt CP structure, these utterances construct hierarchically

related syntactic dependencies. Often, these strings of independent verbs are temporally or causally related, similar to the phenomenon of clause chaining in languages of New Guinea (Longacre 2007). However, since the morphology on each verb is the same in these scenarios, it is not truly clause chaining. Instead, new speakers have the ability to coordinate two clauses without an overt coordinator (asyndetically), either temporally or causally, and we often see this with the use of independent verbs. It is not without precedent to say that verb phrases in Potawatomi may be asyndetically related, as there is evidence from earlier work on Potawatomi as well as evidence from other Algonquian languages (Lewis 2020: p. 333; Kasper 2023; see Fairbanks 2016: for Ojibwe). Additionally, new speakers often coordinate verbs inflected in the same order by use of discourse particles or conjunctions, which is a less common strategy in L1 data when coordinating verbs. This subsection concerns these two phenomena, coordination and the asyndetic relationship between independent clauses.

Though there is a great deal of coordinating independent verbs with conjunctions and particles in this data set, I first turn to asyndetic coordination. Speakers sometimes coordinate independent structures without the use of any intervening particles or conjunctions to indicate the relationship. We see this in example (81) below where the speaker is discussing what he did while fishing.

- (81) mbesëk n=gi-zhya-men n=gi-to-men Wabgizhëk
lake.LOC 1=PST-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP 1=PST-use.VTI-1PL.INDEP Wabgizhëk
w=thiman-en zhi mbesëk
3=canoe-PL there lake.LOC
‘We went to the lake and we used W’s canoes there in the lake.’ [D]

Notably, nothing intervenes between the first independent verb *ngi zhyamen* ‘we went’ and the second one *ngi tomen* ‘we used’ to make it clear that they are coordinated or related. It is a sequencing construction which indicates their relationship. This same speaker also goes on to use a similar construction later in the conversation as well. However, this time, there is backchannelling from the interlocutor between the two independent verbs. This example is provided below, with the backchannelling as well.

- (82) a. n=gi-gwedemothgé-men
 1=PST-go.fishing.VAI-1PL.INDEP
 ‘We went fishing.’ [D]
- b. ahaw
 ok
 ‘Okay.’ [N]
- c. n=gi-babwithgé-men
 1=PST-wait.VAI-1PL.INDEP
 ‘We waited.’ [D]

Even with the comment from the interlocutor the two independent clauses are related in such a way that leads to the interpretation, ‘We went fishing and/so/then we waited.’ Similarly, we see constructions like this with other speakers in the data set, where they express temporal or causal relations between independent verbs without the presence of a conjunction or discourse marker. For example, the speaker in the following example uses two different independent verbs in a row to explain part of why she likes camping in the fall.

- (83) uh tkéya-mget tkéya-mget ttho=wi
 uh be.cool.VII-AUG.0.INDEP be.cool.VII-AUG.0.INDEP not=ADVR
 gzhaté-mge-snon
 be.hot.VII-AUG-NEG.INDEP
 ‘Uh, it’s cool, it’s cool so it’s not too hot.’ [M]

It is without the use of a conjunction or coordinator that the speaker in (83) is able to express a discourse relationship between the two independent verbs. This is an operation that can be accomplished with an overt coordinator or discourse marker, but the speaker elects to express the relationship asyndetically in this example. Though this phenomenon occurs throughout the language across different new speakers, it is by no means the most common form of coordination. Rather, speakers most often rely on discourse markers and conjunctions to show temporal or causal relationships holding between verb phrases. This is most often the case with series of independent order verbs in a sentence.

Though I earlier discussed the use of the independent as complements to particles and certain discourse markers, I return briefly to that here to focus on the distribution of con-

Though that may be true for L1 speakers, new speakers rely very much on overt conjunction to coordinate clauses. In fact, it is *mine* which is used to express ‘and’ in order to link two independent clauses. Though not the most common use of *mine*, it is clear that it functions to mono-syndetically link two clauses. For instance, the use of *mine* below clearly links the two clauses below.

- The two clauses in (84) are clearly syntactically related even with the coordinator *miné* because the lower clause *mathi* ‘he leaves’ is within the scope of tense in the higher clause, denoting a structural dependency, at least in the translation. The practice of using tense only on the first verb of a sequence of verbs and then applying it to all sequential verbs is common among Potawatomi teachers and thus new speakers alike. Though this particular tense scenario is possible for new speakers, it is, once again, not the only method by which speakers use tense across coordinated phrases. The following example serves both to show that tense may be overt in both clauses and that a different speaker once again uses *miné* to coordinate two independent verbs in a single sentence.

- It is evident that the biclausal construction like the one in (85) was chosen among other options that would mean roughly the same thing. For instance, it would have been possible

to express an almost identical meaning with a sentence such as *nwi yé zhi byéwǵēmǵok éwimthendzéyan gnebetth* ‘I’ll stay here at the hotel to work out’ where the alternative form of the lower clause is inflected in the conjunct order instead of the independent order. This is to say that asyndetic coordination of independent clauses with or without an overt conjunction is productive in the grammars of new speakers though less frequent than in the documented L1 grammar. Moreover, the most productive coordinator, and thus the most common type of temporal linkage and coordination between independent clauses occurs when using the discourse markers *ithé miné* together between independent clauses.

I already discussed the prevalence of these *ithé miné* plus the independent constructions in the subsection on complementation, but for the further edification of the reader, I turn again to this method of coordination now. As noted earlier, L1 speech uses *ithé miné* plus the conjunct specifically to mark temporal sequences of events. When *ithé miné* is used alongside the independent in narratives, the discourse function of the independent serves to background events while the function of the discourse particles is to sequence commentary, not temporal events (Buszard 2003; Lewis 2020). However, the majority of new speakers use independent alongside those discourse markers to show temporal sequencing akin to ‘and then,’ in their translations, where the central function of *iw* to demarcate time is exploited across verbal orders. However, it is important to note that there is no comparative analysis of *ithé miné* in naturalistic conversations. So, it may be that this is common in L1 conversations as well. Either way, it is clear that the discourse function of the particles supersedes that of the verbal orders and functions as a temporal sequencer at the core of the particle cluster in new speech. The speaker in example (86) uses this structure without the additional *miné* four times in a string of discourse where the interlocutor offers small assurances of understanding and backchanneling between some of her utterances.

- (86) a. n=gi-bmosé zhi Treadmill iw=thé n=gi-nēpto
 1=PST-walk.VAI.INDEP there treadmill then=CNTR 1=PST-run.VAI.INDEP
 zhi uh aptē dbegen
 there uh half measure

- ‘I walked on the treadmill and then I ran for half a mile.’ [C]
- b. ahaw, ahaw
 ok ok
 ‘Ok, ok.’ [N]
- c. i=thé n=gi-bmosé quarter dbegen
 then=CNTR 1=PST-walk.VAI.INDEP
 ‘And then I walked a quarter mile.’ [C]
- d. ahaw ahaw
 ok ok
 ‘Ok, ok.’ [N]
- e. iw=thé n=gi-nëpto a quarter um dbegen
 then=CNTR 1=PST-run.VAI.INDEP a quarter um measure
 ‘And then I ran a quarter mile.’ [C]
- f. ahaw
 ok
 ‘Ok.’ [N]
- g. éhé
 yes
 ‘Yep.’ [C]

Based on W’s continual use of the *ithé*, it is clear that the role of the discourse marker is to link the independent verbs syndetically. Further, the discourse markers play a large role in the ability of new speakers to temporally relate two verbs. They occur frequently in the data in very productive manners alongside the independent. However, new speakers still also asyndetically link independent clauses to show temporal and causal relationships, but clearly the role of the coordinator is growing.

Comments

In the final subsection of the distribution of the independent verb, I focus on one small use of the independent. Speakers will sometimes offer a comment after an utterance that is not syntactically related to higher clauses, but may serve as a small assertion to the truth of the previous statement. This happens most frequently when a speaker utters a phrase and

then comments ‘I think (so),’ using an independent order verb. This also strongly mirrors constructions where speakers say something and then clarify what it is called by saying *zhenkazo* ‘he is called’ or *ezhnekazot* in the conjunct. That is a frequent form of clarification in L1 speech directed at new speakers.

In the case of these ‘think so’ comments; however, it is just the independent verb construction that is utilized for new speakers. Example (87) below is one such example where the speaker finishes a sentence with *ndenéndēm* ‘I think so.’

- (87) gé ga zhe eshtthegé-k um é-zhetthgé-ygo
 AFP IC.PST PST do.something.VAI-0.CONJ um C-do.something.VAI-1PL.CONJ
 n=denéndēm
 1=think.so.VAI.INDEP
 ‘It already did something um we do it, I think’ [C]

Though there are some errors, which the speaker goes on to correct, this is not the only type of sentence that ends with ‘I think so.’ Rather, speakers will use this sort of construction to express either doubt about something happening or to assert their confidence in the previous statement. This often occurs when a speaker is asking how to say something or what is going to happen.

3.3 Syntax and Semantics

Broadly speaking, the independent order occupies the position of matrix verbs in the grammars of new speakers. It is the prototypical form of the verb when speakers produce a main clause and other verbs may then be embedded under it. One possibly troubling fact is that independent order verbs may serve as complements to subordinating particles and can thus be definitionally, subordinate. However, I propose that particular particles now place a morphosyntactic restriction on their complements such that they require complements to be inflected in the independent order rather than the conjunct. Additionally, the syntactic restrictions of the particle *gishpen* ‘if’ have undergone a change and now *gishpen* selects for either the independent or the conjunct. Borrowing from work on the complementizer system

of Potawatomi, this further implies that *gishpen* is not a complementizer since it does not require a CP layer alone. Instead, it is clearly a particle that selects for either the independent order VP or the conjunct order CP (Kasper and Lewis 2022).

The role of the independent order verb in new speaker varieties is to introduce new information as a main clause. The data in this chapter demonstrate the rigidity of the independent as a matrix clause structure. These main clauses do not require linking to anything higher in the syntax or previously mentioned in the discourse. As such, when introducing novel utterances, new speakers elect to use independent morphology on their verbs, and this further interacts with the roles of word order and discourse markers to be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Additionally, with every turn, speakers choose the independent so long as the verb is not anchored specifically to what their interlocutor immediately said. In essence, the independent is less semantically marked and structurally independent in the syntax for new speakers.

3.4 Discussion

This chapter illustrates that the majority of verbs in the data are inflected for the independent order, which differs from L1 data on longer strings of discourse. Though there is a syntactic explanation for this, the context of Potawatomi learning also explains why the independent occurs as often as it does. The predominant verb form taught to learners has been the independent verb order.

Concretely, the input received from teachers is directly observed in new speaker production of conjunct and word order constructions. First, the pedagogical approach to verb orders and multiclausal sentences is to teach the independent morphology and a partial distribution of independent clauses before teaching the conjunct order at all. Following that approach, embedded clauses and content questions come after. Later still, if at all, are main clause conjuncts and other felicitous appearances of conjunct verbs outside of complement clauses. Often a teacher will say one could use the conjunct anywhere depending on the

context without providing much other evidence or grammatical explanation. It is not the case that a teacher would or should tell a class that the conjunct can occur where a referent is anchored higher in the clause, or where needed for a connective or situational/temporal immediacy, nor when performing particular dependent clause functions. This may then be to say the cognitive load of the conjunct is relatively heavy for the instructors to teach. As such, the input is limited to easily explainable contexts, and then the cognitive load for producing the independent is lower as compared with other orders.

3.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the nature of the independent order in new speaker grammars. First, I provided background on the morphosyntax of the independent verb. Then, I went on to discuss the distribution and functions of the independent order in both monoclausal and biclausal constructions. Through this, we saw that speakers rely on independent order for main clauses especially. Additionally, the data show that coordinating particles have undergone syntactic changes such that they now either optionally allow or only select independent order verbal complements. The independent is a more straightforward order that typically expresses a greater level of pragmatic neutrality in the new speaker grammars. In terms of pragmatics, I return to the function of the independent to encode new information in the chapters on discourse markers and word order. In the next chapter, I turn to the conjunct order distribution and functions.

CHAPTER 4

CONJUNCT ORDER

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the distributions and functions of the conjunct order in new speaker varieties of Potawatomi. Again, order is an Algonquianist term used to distinguish the formally distinct supergroups of inflection that verbs may agree for. In the case of the conjunct order, agreement is realized on sets of portmanteau suffixes which encode ϕ -features. There are some morphological differences between the Northern and Southern dialects in the realization for those features of transitive animate verbs. For the most part, the transitive animate verbs inflected in the conjunct order showing the relevant dialectal differences are infrequent and speakers are either able to understand the different regional forms or adapt to their interlocutor's speech and use their conjunct form if there's any confusion. The realizations of conjunct suffixes is less important to the analyses to come than the overall use of the conjunct.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the independent order forms main clauses in conversational discourse. The conjunct order verbs are not used in prototypical main clauses of conversations. Based on the small amount of literature that investigates conversational contexts in Algonquian languages, this is to be expected (see Cyr 1991: for data on Innu-Aimun; see Spielmann and Chief 1986; Spielmann 1987, 1988: for Ojibwe). In conversations, we expect to find the conjunct order in subordinate clauses most frequently. However, the conjunct order itself has a discourse function across the Algonquian language family, and elicitation sessions do not always lend themselves to pragmatically felicitous uses of the conjunct. Speakers and teachers express this same sentiment by pointing to a need for greater context or greater description of the scene before being able to provide a certain form. Often, teachers and speakers say, "It makes sense in the [context of the] conversation."

Due to the fact that the conjunct is heavily dependent on discourse context to appear in

main clauses, the conjunct needs to be explained in different environments outside the classroom. Given that the classroom is a locus of language learning and speech for new speakers, this is a pedagogical issue, but we see the results of that in conversations with less advanced or beginning learners. Still, the fact remains that the conjunct in traditional L1 Potawatomi has specific semantics and discourse functions which can explain the distributions. Given that this is the first attempt to document naturalistic conversations, this background information is useful. The speakers here have less exposure to the conjunct in classroom settings due to the structure of classes and the need to provide felicitous forms in out of the blue contexts of language classes where learners ask L1 speakers how to say something. It is almost always possible to use the independent order instead of the conjunct, especially when there is no established discourse context. The speakers in these data have mostly come to understand and use the context based on their interactions with proficient speakers. This is to say that the semantic and pragmatic functions of the conjunct are hard to explain in classrooms, but as we will see, new speakers have maintained many of the functions of the conjunct.

The speakers here show that there is a fairly strict set of parameters within which the conjunct order may appear. These parameters match those of native speakers, as documented in earlier literature. By matching the speech of native speakers, new speakers are able to maintain the distribution of the conjunct in their speech, but they might not use the conjunct as frequently as it could be used. New speakers often express this sentiment by saying something that can be paraphrased as, “You can basically always use the conjunct when you’re having a conversation, but that’s not how the fluent speakers I learned from did it when they taught me,” or “Well, this one speaker *only* used the conjunct.” Regardless of what went undocumented in conversational discourse for L1 speakers, what matters now is the ways new speakers use the conjunct as a system across communities.

Before I outline the structure of this chapter, I again present the three subtypes of the conjunct: (88) the plain conjunct (PC); (89) the changed conjunct (CC), so called because it

undergoes the ablaut process referred to as Initial Change (IC); (90) the *é*-conjunct, which is prefixed with a complementizer *é*-.

- (88) gi-gméya-k
PST-rain.VII-0.CONJ
'If it rained.'
- (89) ga-gméya-k
IC.PST-rain.VII-0.CONJ
'When it rained.'
- (90) é-gi-gméya-k
C-PST-rain.VII-0.CONJ
'That it rained.'

The definitions are not as simple as the glosses in (88)-(90) make it seem, but they are appropriate as an introduction. The first half of this chapter describes the PC and CC and the second half details the *é*-conjunct, as it is the most commonly occurring form.

The chapter proceeds as follows: first, I describe the syntactic distributions of the PC and CC before discussing their functions. In detailing the PC and CC, I show that there are some ongoing changes in their frequencies and distributions as compared with L1 speech. Then, I propose an analysis of their emerging functions pertinent to the changes. I also provide insight into why this is interesting from a language maintenance standpoint. In the second half of the chapter, I outline the uses of the *é*-conjunct and its role in multiclausal sentences. I conclude the chapter with definitions for all three types of the conjunct and its role in the syntax.

4.2 Syntactic and Semantic Dimensions of the PC and CC

The parameters for the distribution of the plain and changed conjunct are rigid for new speakers. Plain conjunct and changed conjunct are both found in subordinate clauses. When the PC or CC occur in main clauses, they reflect the subjectivity of the speaker or accomplish a particular syntactic goal.

4.2.1 Plain Conjunct

The PC occurs the least frequently of the three sub-types of the conjunct. The speakers in this study use the PC in ‘before’-clauses, ‘after’-clauses, conditional antecedents, and very infrequently in main clause contexts which exploit the irrealis function of the PC for metalinguistic aims. Before providing examples of the contexts listed above, it is important to note the semantic force of the PC. The PC encodes the hypothetical or situations which are otherwise irrealis or averidical in conversations (Buszard 2003; Cyr 1991; James 1982; Cook 2014; Kasper 2023). Based on that, new speakers use the PC to express hypothetical contexts in the constructions listed above. Further, the irrealis and averidical nature of the PC is exploited infrequently for a metalinguistic purpose, detailed at the end of this subsection.

Before-Clauses

The prototypical expression for ‘before’-clauses is *bwamshë* ‘before’ followed by a verb inflected for the conjunct order. Though *bwamshë* ‘before’ is composed of the conjunct order negation preverb *bwa-* and the adverbial *mshe* ‘yet’, it has been analyzed by speakers as a freestanding subordinating particle that always takes a conjunct verb, particularly a plain conjunct verb. We see this in examples (91)-(94).

- (91) Bwamshë skono-yan n=gi-mnêkwé i tiwabo
before school.VAI-1SG.CONJ 1=PST-drink.VAI.INDEP that tea
‘Before going to school, I would drink tea.’ [N]
- (92) mine bwamshë nê-mba-yak n=gi-mithn-en ni Fig Newtons
and before go.and-sleep.VAI-1PL.CONJ 1=PST-eat.VTI-PL those Fig Newtons
‘And before we would go to bed, I would eat Fig Newtons.’ [C]

Often, new speakers place *bwamshë* ‘before’ and the conjunct verb at the left edge of the clause, as seen in (91) and (92), but it can also show up in the opposite order. The ‘before’ clause may occur to the right of the matrix clause, as seen in (93) and (94).

- (93) mdatso nsetth nyéw é-gi-tsë-pongez-yan n=gi-mnêkwé
ten and four C-PST-REL.so.many-be.an.age.VAI-1SG.CONJ 1=PST-drink.VAI

i tiwabo bwamshë skono-yan é- wpi
 that tea before go.to.school.VAI-1SG.CONJ C- time
 ga-wawabdë-man i MTV
 IC.PST-watch.VTI-1SG.CONJ that MTV
 ‘When I was 14, I drank tea before going to school, whe- at the time when I watched
 MTV.’ [N]

- (94) Abdék shna n=wi-giwé bwamshë nkweshkwë-nan
 have.to EMPH 1=FUT-go.home.VAI before meet.VTA-1>2.CONJ
 ‘I have to go home before I can meet you.’ [T]

Examples (93) and (94) illustrate that a PC clause can occur to the right of the main clause. (93) is even an exact correlate to the ‘before’-clause in (91). The same speaker uttered both in the same conversation, providing evidence that either position is available for a ‘before’ clause. Additionally, these *bwamshë* structures do not require any overt TAM morphemes to garner a specific temporal reading.¹ The PC verb encodes the irrealis, and as a result, the whole clause is evaluated in the future with respect to the main clause and the perspective of the PC clause is considered hypothetical, regardless of the TAM morphology present.

After Clauses

The verbal structure of ‘after’ clauses resembles that of ‘before’ clauses in that they both use the PC. In contrast with ‘before’ clauses, new speakers do not make use of any subordinating particles in ‘after’ clauses, as there is no freestanding ‘after’ particle present in the language. Regardless, new speakers always produce ‘after’ clauses in the same format: a past tense morpheme followed by the preverb *gish-* and then a verb inflected in the conjunct order.

- (95) G=da-nkweshkwën gi-gish-giwé-yan
 2=MOD-meet.VTA.LOC.DIR PST-finish-go.home.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘After I go home, I can meet you.’ [T]

1. In a prescriptive sense, there should not be any TAM following *bwamshë* as tense precedes the negative preverb *bwa-*, which is the first part of *bwamshë*, in the conjunct order.

due to the fact that English and Potawatomi do not have a one to one mapping and this English translation is better for the elided content following the focused argument *Junior*. An alternative would be ‘(I saw) Junior after Senior died.’ In either case, the ‘after’ clause in (96) conforms to the prototypical structure and the speaker relies on the TAM prefix rather than the veridicality of the changed conjunct to indicate the past orientation. In comparison to analyses of L1 texts, this is unexpected, but so too is the fact that ‘after’ clauses always contain the past prefix in new speaker data. L1 data show that ‘after’ clauses do not need to include the past tense *gi-*, and as a result of this fixed form, new speakers have in part reanalyzed the functions *gi-gish-* as a collocation such that it is a sole marker of ‘after’ in PC clauses. Moreover, the fossilization of ‘after’ forms using *gi-gish-* necessarily keeps the verb in the PC. In this manner, it is not the PC which marks hypotheticals or the irrealis because the new speakers are relying on a fixed form where *gi-gish-* itself means ‘after’ to some extent.

Other Subordinators and Contexts

Some subordinators require a PC complement in L1 data. Those subordinating particles include *bédo* ‘wish that’ and *gishpen* ‘if’. In L1 Potawatomi, PC verbs are used to form conditional antecedents either with an overt ‘if’ word *gishpen* or without it. For the grammars represented here, *gishpen* necessarily subordinates a conditional antecedent when it is used; there are no ‘if’-clauses without the particle *gishpen*. Typically, a conditional antecedent is followed by a consequent, but there are few if-then statements in these conversations that also use the plain conjunct, so the data relevant to this section are limited. As we saw in the chapter on the independent order, the force of *gishpen* overtakes the functions of the verbal order that it subordinates; and relatedly, not all conditionals co-occur with a consequent. I provide an example of an ‘if-then’ statement that includes both an antecedent and part of a consequent.

- (97) a. Gishpen mégwa miktthéwi-yen shodë uh n=wi- pidro mégwa...
 if still work.VAI-2SG.CONJ here uh 1=FUT- pidro still
 happen-ëk
 happen.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘If you’re still here working, uh, I will- if pidro still...happens?’ [N]
- b. Mhm. Mégwa g=wi-tadi-men pidro wpi
 Mhm still 2=FUT-play.cards.VAI-1PL pidro time
 byé-giwé-yan
 come-go.home.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘Mhm. We’ll still play pidro when I come back home.’ [C]

The grammatical form of the consequent expressed by the speaker in (97a) is a bit unusual in that it is the fragment of an independent order verb *nwi* ‘I will’. Additionally, the speaker utters another conditional in the form of *wi happenëk* ‘if it happens’, and the speaker is unsure of using said verb as it is in English. Regardless, the speaker uses both *gishpen* and a PC verb to form the antecedent and then begins to use an independent order verb by saying *nwi-* before backtracking and changing the verb to a different class, an intransitive inanimate verb. Interestingly though, the interlocutor in (97b) provides an analog to the consequent in the independent order in her first verb in the sentence.

As mentioned earlier, not all antecedents have verbal consequents in these data. A clearer example of that is provided below, this time without any overt verbal material in the consequent.

- (98) Gishpen athdëm-wat, éhé ttho wika “-wa”
 if talk.about.VTI-3PL.CONJ yeah NEG ever “wa”
 ‘If they’re talking about it, yeah never “wa”.’ [N]

For context, the participants in (98) are briefly discussing morphological differences between the northern and southern varieties. Above, the speaker is pointing out that southern speakers use a different suffix for 2nd person plural subjects in transitive inanimate verbs in the independent order. She does not explicitly provide a verbal consequent to the conditional clause but it is expressed with negation and a focused element, the suffix under discussion *-wa*.

In each case so far, all of the conditional clauses have been fronted when the PC is used. When a clause interpreted as PC by new speakers is embedded, it can be translated as an ‘if’ clause, but more accurately, it is an embedded question, which is not introduced by an interrogative. Those clauses contain the modal and complementizer prefixes *a-thě-*. Briefly, I must address conjunct clauses prefixed with *thě-*. Lewis (2021) proposed that *thě-* is a complementizer incompatible with IC, but it does co-occur with the modal preverbs *da-* and *gé-*, both of which may have undergone IC. Without an overt *thě-* complementizer, *gé-* and *(d)a-* are CC TAM prefixes distributed as expected for the CC, in participles and content questions in L1 data. These forms are largely absent from the new speaker data, with *(d)a-* appearing infrequently, and *gé-* only appearing in hortative constructions using the independent order. The *athě-* prefixes are also used to express ‘how to’ clauses in embedded clauses because the modal *(d)a-* expresses deontic obligation and epistemic possibility. Regardless of the ambiguity between ‘how to’ and embedded questions, I provide the example below as it used to express a hypothetical situation for a new speaker.

- (99) G=mikwéndan né athě-kedo-wat odě or nodě kedwen-en ‘wa té
 2=remember.VTI.SG Q MOD-say.VAI-3PL.CONJ this or these word-PL ‘wa té
 ya’?
 ya’
 ‘Do you remember if they said it? This or these words “Wa té ya.”’ [N]

In the conversation, the speaker is narrating events of the past week to her interlocutor. In the context of the story, the speaker asks another person if he remembered whether men or women used a particular emphatic expression when he was growing up in Kansas. She chooses to embed a PC clause to express the hypothetical rather than using the particle *gishpen*. Either tactic is acceptable for new speakers, but this is one example of embedding a PC verb to exploit its semantics marking an averidical proposition. In doing so, there is the possibility for ambiguity between the translation provided in (99) and a reading where the lower clause is interpreted as ‘how’. This ambiguity is resolved on the propositional content of the matrix clause, alongside the epistemic modal *a-* in the conjunct clause, instead of the

semantics of the PC clause. Take, for example, another utterance showing an embedded *athë* clause in (100).

- (100) mdagwéndan é-wi-neto-yan athë-gigéno-yan
 like.VTI.INDEP C-FUT-learn-1SG.CONJ MOD-cook.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I like to learn how to cook’ [A]

Lewis (2021) and Kasper and Lewis (2022) argue that the *thë*- prefix is a complementizer in complementary distribution with the *é*- prefix of the conjunct. Kasper and Lewis (2022) further argue that *athë*- constructions have a null complementizer head emblematic of the plain conjunct. Overall, for new speakers, *athë*- forms are infrequent and their homophony with PC forms allow for an interpretation akin to that of PC.

Beyond *gishpen*, the plain conjunct can optionally be used after other particles as well. The particle *anaké* ‘or, maybe’ can act as a subordinator, but it does not require a PC verb. When it occurs before only one phrase, it no longer acts as a disjunctive particle and instead functions as a modal particle.² In any case, when *anaké* occurs before a single PC proposition, it can be used as ‘maybe (if)’. There is exactly one example of this in the dataset.

- (101) Anaké ktthe-néndagw-êk
 or really-be.thought.of.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘Maybe it’s important.’ [C]

The available data on the PC is limited, but it is consistent across speakers. The PC occurs in ‘before’-clauses, ‘after’-clauses, and as an option for the complement to the subordinators *gishpen* and *anaké*. The example in (96) where the PC verb is in the main clause does not fit perfectly into the distributions listed here, and it may remain an open puzzle. Alternatively, it can be explained based on contact with English and L1 transfer where it is functioning similarly to an ‘after’ clause as a temporal adverb.

2. Earlier literature (Lewis 2020: 100) identified this as a surprising change if the semantic core of *anaké* is disjunctive. However, there exist modal accounts of disjunction cross-linguistically that could provide an elegant solution to account for both functions of *anaké* ‘or’ (Zimmerman 2000).

4.2.2 *Changed Conjunct*

In the new speaker varieties represented here, the CC occurs in complements to Wh-question words, complements to dubitative particles, adverbial temporal clauses, clauses expressing the completive aspect, relative clause constructions, and we also see the initial change process characteristic of CC in participles. All of these syntactic environments are attested in L1 data as well (Buszard 2003; Forest County Potawatomi Community 2014; Lockwood 2017; Kasper 2023). I split the discussion of the CC distributions into separate subsections.

Content Questions

In the new speaker data, eight Wh-question words are attested. The following interrogatives are demonstrated in the data and often interpreted as separate Wh-words; in new speaker varieties, the first five are treated as monomorphemic while the last three are understood as morphologically complex in that they license obliques. None of the question words are monomorphemic; rather, they are interrogative particle clusters where *thë*, a contrastive particle, cliticizes to the wh-word.

(102) Wh-Question Words³

- a. wégwnithë ‘what’
- b. wénithë ‘who’
- c. nithë ‘what/how’
- d. nithëwpi ‘when’
- e. nipithë ‘where’
- f. wégwnithë ezhë/nithë ezhë ‘how’
- g. wégwnithë wèth(ë)/nithë wètth(ë) ‘why’
- h. nithetso ‘how many’

3. L1 Potawatomi also has dubitative forms of question words, and one of those is shown in new speaker data in (111).

As noted for L1 data, the first three interrogatives are roughly equivalent to the force of ‘what’ or ‘who’, and it is their English translations that differ (Lockwood 2017: 177). For brevity, I provide a maximum of two examples per question word. I begin with *wégwnithë* ‘what’.

- (103) Wégwnithë wa-yathdë-men?
 what IC.FUT-talk.about.VTI-2SG.CONJ
 ‘What are you going to talk about?’ [D]
- (104) Wénithë ga-sign-et
 who IC.PST-sign-3SG
 ‘Who signed it?’ [N]
- (105) Nithë ga-zhetthgé-yen?
 what IC.PST-do.something.VAI-2SG
 ‘What did you do?’ [M]
- (106) a. Nipithe wétth-bya-yen?
 where IC.REL-come.VAI-2SG.CONJ
 ‘Where are you from?’ [M]
- b. nipithë ga-nkweshkwetad-yék
 where IC.PST-meet.RECIP-2PL.CONJ
 ‘Where did you meet each other?’ [C]
- (107) a. nithë ezh-néndë-men
 how IC.REL-think.VTI-2SG
 ‘What do you think of it?’ [B]
- b. nithë ezh(ë)-pkwë-k
 what IC.REL-taste.a.certain.way.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘How does it taste?’ [B/C]
- (108) wégwnithë ga-wthë-mo-t
 what IC.PST-REL-cry.VAI-3SG
 ‘Why was she crying?’ [N]
- (109) a. nithë ga-tsë=pongez-yen?
 what IC.PST-REL-be.a.certain.age.VAI-2SG
 ‘How old were you?’
- b. nithetso dbëgné-k
 what.IC.REL.so.many be.a.measure.VII-0

‘What time is it? [M]

In forming content questions, wh-questions are equational constructions with zero copula, and the material on the right is expressed as a headless relative clause. Examples (103)-(109) all show that content questions require the changed conjunct to express the relative clause portion of the equation. For the cases of (107) and (109b), it is unclear if the speakers are fully aware that the initial change targets the relative root at the left edge of the verb because they often group the relative root and question word together as one unit. However, the question *nithétso dbëgnék* ‘what time is it’ is a fixed phrase and IC is preserved in the relative *étso*.⁴ They are certainly separable when a TAM marker intervenes, as seen in (108). However, *wégwnithë wèthë* ‘why’ is also conceptualized as the question word itself, as evidenced by the following exchange, where a speaker offers a correction to another participant in the conversation.

- (110) a. Nithë bwa-nimedëi-yen?
how NEG-dance.VAI-2SG.CONJ
Intended: ‘Why don’t you dance?’ [N]
- b. Wégwnithë wèthë
what IC.REL
‘Why’ [C]
- c. Wégwnithë-wèthë bwa-nimëdi-yen?
what-IC.REL NEG-dance.VAI-2SG.CONJ
‘Why don’t you dance?’ [N]

The frequent collocation of *wégwnithë* ‘what’ and the relative *wèthë* has resulted in new speakers using it as an independent interrogative. This is especially apparent in (110) because there are two acceptable forms for the question in (110c). The alternative form is *wégwnithë bwawthë nimëdiyen* ‘why don’t you dance?’ instead of what is shown above, where negation follows the relative. This is not to say that the preverbs always appear in that order, though.

4. This is the form used in the north. The southern speakers use a different fixed phrase *nithétso yawèk* ‘what time is it’ which also preserves the IC. The choice to spell *nithétso* with è instead of é is an orthographic convention to represent the vowel articulation of ɛ:, but it neutralizes the length contrast.

This is an open issue in both L1 varieties and new speaker varieties as both positions for *bwa-* are attested (cf. Lockwood 2017: 115, 179; cf. Lewis 2020: 129). However, it is not an issue of the relative position of *bwa-* and TAM since that ordering is consistent across conversations.⁵

Though speakers may separate the verb from its relative root, they all maintain the use of the CC in the equational constructions of wh-questions. And this is without exception in the conversations.

Dubitatives

In addition to appearing in content questions, the changed conjunct also appears as the complement to dubitative particles, in this use, the conjunct verb bears specific dubitative suffixes. There is exactly one example of the dubitative in naturalistic conversations. This low frequency is to be expected because the dubitative is “fleeting” in modern Potawatomi (Lockwood, 2017: 113). The dubitative functions as an inferential evidential, and the more common tactics to express evidentiality are by using the particles *metsena/nmetth* ‘don’t know’ or the dubitative particle *yédêk* ‘maybe, I wonder, must be’. *Yédêk* itself is said to require a conjunct complement, but new speakers often use it as a sentence-final discourse marker expressing uncertainty over the whole utterance. In any case, I provide the one example of the dubitative below.

- (111) Wégwéndêk ga-ked-wagwén
 who.DUB IC.PST-say.VAI-3PL.CONJ.DUB
 ‘I wonder who said it.’ [C]

The example above shows that initial change appears on the conjunct complements to dubitative pronouns in the data. This is evident by the fact that the left-most vowel of the

5. Elicited material is not as consistent though. In eliciting decontextualized ‘before’ clauses oriented toward the past, a speaker provided a form where the negation precedes both C⁰ and TAM: *bwamshê égi mathiyan* ‘before I left’.

VP surfaces as *a* rather than the *i* of *gi-* for the past tense. The dubitative suffix *-wagwén* for animate intransitive verbs also appears.

Completive Aspect

The changed conjunct shows up in a form that looks very similar to the ‘after’-clauses of the PC. As is the case for all ‘after’-clauses in new speaker Potawatomi, the preverb *gish-* ‘finish’ is used alongside a past tense marker. For L1 Potawatomi, the *gish-* preverb may not be necessary with telic verbs, and in those cases, the completive aspect can be marked with the changed conjunct alone (Lockwood 2017: appendix; Fairbanks 2016: for correlates in Mille Lacs Ojibwe). However, the only examples of past oriented CC ‘after’ clauses in the data include the preverb. This is a way of doubly marking the completive aspect in changed conjunct clauses that is modeled after L1 speech, as not all fluent speakers omit *gish-* when expressing the completive aspect for telic verbs. Ergo, it is not necessarily an erroneous overproduction on the part of new speakers as in the case for L2 speaker rules in Ojibwe (Fairbanks (2016): 65-66)

- (112) ga-gish-gigdo-wat n-gi-zhya-men zhi wisnëwëwgëmgok
 IC.PST-finish-talk.VAI-3PL 1=PST-go.somewhere.VAI-1PL there restaurant-LOC
 ‘After they were done talking, we went to a restaurant.’ [N]

The verb in (112) is atelic and thus merits *gish-*, but the more relevant feature of this clause is that it is in the changed conjunct. This illustrates that some new speakers use the changed conjunct to encode the completive aspect in past oriented ‘after’ clauses. Regardless, this is not the most common type of past oriented ‘after’ clauses in new speaker conversations: the plain conjunct is.

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are easily identifiable and they are used in many utterances in new speaker conversations. Relativization in Potawatomi is accomplished with participles (Lewis 2020).

Participles are very noun-like conjunct verbs which have undergone initial change ablaut. Participles have specific agreement suffixes *-thêk* for third person plural and *-then* obviative arguments. In those environments, it is easy to disambiguate participles from the changed conjunct as the changed conjunct suffixes are *-wat* for 3rd plural and *-net* for obviative persons. However, the participle forms appear only when the head of the relative clause is a non-oblique argument. When the head is an oblique argument, the CC suffixes appear. Unfortunately, there are not that many examples in the data where the relative clauses have participle suffixes. Nevertheless, speakers faithfully maintain the identity of the relative clause as a changed conjunct participle form in the limited utterances where the head of the relative clause is an oblique argument.

- (113) a. Winithë shë bék Watkinswetowé-thêk?
 who EFP IC.play.ball-VAI-3PL.PTCP
 ‘Which team?’ [B]
- b. béshabigezé-thêk
 IC.be.striped.VAI-3PL.PTCP
 ‘The Tigers.’ [C]

(113a) and (113b) both include participle suffixes in the 3rd plural form *-thêk*. In the question, there is an alternative realization of *wénithë* as *winithë* ‘who’, and the Wh-word is the lefthand portion of the equational sentence. This is not limited to instances where the question is asking about a subset of possible identities, as is the case in (113a). *Winithë* appears across new speaker data in free variation with *wénithë*. However, *winithë shë* is by far the most common form used when asking ‘which (animate)’.

Regardless of whether or not the verbs show specific participle suffixes, relative clauses appear frequently in the dataset of this study. There are a number of different relative clause constructions. One strategy for relativization is to use a cleft construction. Clefted relative clauses have two forms: *=yé* clefts and null copula clefts.

- (114) wi=yé i èzhë-néndë-man
 FOC that IC.REL-think.thus.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘That’s how I think of it.’ [B]

- (115) wi=yé o mamwë-mdagwénm-ëk
 FOC that IC.most-like.VTA-1>3.CONJ
 ‘She’s my favorite [memory] of all.’ [C]

The relative clauses in (288) and (115) are cleft constructions. The changed conjunct relative clauses are both headed by focused demonstratives, *i* ‘that (inan)’ in (288) and *o* ‘that (anim)’ in (115).

Relative clause clefts do not always appear as they do in (288) and (115). Relative clauses participles may also be headed by a demonstrative without the *wiyé* focus cleft portion. Those are the null copula clefts where the relative clause is the right hand side of the equation. This is shown in (116)-(117).

- (116) iw ga-zhëwébë-k
 that IC.PST-happen.VII-0
 ‘That’s what happened.’ [N]
- (117) iw wpi ga-bon-nimëdi-yan
 that time IC.PST-stop-dance.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘That’s when I stopped dancing.’ [C]

Aside from cleft constructions, new speakers also use relative clauses as temporal adverb phrases (118) and as complements to matrix clause verbs (119)-(120).

- (118) wpi wa-nithansé-yan n=wi-bodwéwadmitwa o
 time IC.FUT-have.children.VAI-1SG.CONJ 1=FUT-speak.Potawatomi.VTA.DIR that
 penothés
 child.DIM
 ‘When I have children, I’ll talk Potawatomi to the baby’ [N]

In (118), the changed conjunct clause *wa nithanséyan* ‘when I have children’ modifies the particle *wpi* ‘time’.

- (119) G=wi-wabda-men wa-zhëwébêk
 2=FUT-see.VTI-1PL IC.FUT-happen.0.CONJ
 ‘We’ll see what happens.’ [C]
- (120) Ttho n=migwénd=si-n ga-wthë-n-ëk o W
 NEG 1=remember.VTI-NEG-SG IC.PST-REL-mention.VTA-1>3.CONJ that W
 ‘I don’t remember why I mentioned W.’ [C]

The headless relative clauses are complements of the higher verb phrases in (119) and (120). They serve a very similar role as an overt object. This is the same structure we see when the matrix clause contains an intransitive verb with a relative root and the relative clause thereby functions like an oblique argument of the verb.

- (121) n=dezhedé’a ga-zhetthgé-ygo ngotgom
 1=think.thus.VAI IC.PST-do.something.VAI-12PL.CONJ one.day
 ‘I think (it was) what we did on the first day.’ [A]

The majority of relative clauses in the data occur postnominally. That is, the item they modify, when overt, precedes the relative clause. This is the much more common ordering, but the opposite order is possible in Algonquian languages (Sullivan 2020).

Participles

Aside from relative clauses, participles appear in the data in very similar distributions to nouns. Some participle forms are lexicalized and function almost exclusively in their noun-like roles while others are much more transparent and productive. Examples (122)-(124) are examples of participles that are lexicalized as nouns.

- (122) Oh méznatésé-k,
 Oh IC.small.image.shine.blinking.VII-0PTCP
 méznatésé-k,
 IC.small.image.shine.blinking.VII-0SG.PTCP
 méznatésé-k
 IC.small.image.shine.blinking.VII-0SG.PTCP
 ‘Oh, television, monitor, iPad’

The speaker in (122) repeats the word *méznatésék* while pointing to different objects in the room as a pedagogical method of defining a word unfamiliar to her interlocutor who speaks a different dialect. The interlocutor was unfamiliar with that word but understood it after the speaker repeated it a number of times. For speakers in the North, *méznatésék* is lexicalized. This is the same case for the participle ‘my friend’ in (123).

- (123) nin mine ménowidokw-ëk
 me and IC.get.along.well.with.VTA-1>3.CONJ
 ‘Me and my friend.’
- (124) étthikkadé-g-en
 IC.be.played.with.VII-0.PTCP-PL
 ‘Toys.’ [S]

Ménowidokwëk ‘the one I think well of’ is a default form for many speakers because it has the distribution of nouns elsewhere in the grammar, and learners sometimes inflect the participle with nominal morphology as a result. Additionally, *ménowidokwëk* ‘my friend’ is often uttered with little indication that it is a verb; the tendency for less proficient speakers to affix nominal morphology to the participle instead of using the relevant conjunct suffix is further evidence for its nominal interpretation. This, however, is occurring less frequently in conversations now than when I began eliciting data; neither speaker proficiency nor the grammar are static.

Still, there are more productive participles where it is clear that the verbal nature is more transparent in new speaker utterances. Examples (125) and (126) include participles whose morphological forms are more readily interpreted as verbal by new speakers.

- (125) a. Wénithë gi?
 who those
 ‘Who’s there?’
- b. **Maktthéwi-thêk**
 IC.work.VAI-3PL.PTCP
 ‘Workers.’ [B]
- (126) mine gé nin mine n=zeshé n=gi-zhya zhi Indianapolis
 and TOP.AFP I and 1=uncle 1=PST-go.somewhere.VAI there Indianapolis
 é-wi-wawabm-ayak **néshiwbozé-thêk**
 C-FUT-watch.VTA-1PL>3.CONJ IC.fast.drive.VAI-3PL.PTCP
 ‘And also me and my uncle, I went to Indianapolis so we could watch the racecar
 drivers. [B]

I propose that the participles in (125b) and (126) *maktthéwithêk* ‘workers’ and *néshiw-bozéthêk* ‘fast drivers’ are more transparent to new speaker for two reasons. First, the verb

Additionally, participles have the ability to express locations. Often, these participles function similarly to locative nouns, as seen in (127). The verbal morphology present in (127) suggests that speakers understand that they are verbs affected by IC. Yet, it is not apparent whether they distinguish the participles of relative clauses in any meaningful way from other changed conjunct constructions based on the verbs themselves.

- Similarly to the locational example in (127), the participles are also lexicalized as directions. The Forest County dictionary lists these direction participles as particle-participles as well Forest County Potawatomi Community (2014). Examples (128) and (129) provide two instances of participle directions present in the conversations.

- In (128), the participle ‘the direction from which it is hot’ is lexicalized as ‘south’. In (129), the participle ‘the direction from which it is cold’ is lexicalized as ‘north’.

4.2.3 Functions of the Plain and Changed Conjunct

The previous section provided a rudimentary explanation of the PC and CC based mostly on their distributions and the types of clauses they appear in. In outlining the positions of the PC and CC, I glossed over their semantics. However, I must discuss the ways new speakers maintain the distribution and associated semantics of the PC and CC as described in L1 data.

For fluent speakers, the PC is used to encode hypotheticality. This is especially clear in the conditional clauses and ‘before’-clauses. New speakers are able to exploit the semantic force of the PC without having to use a modal morpheme to express a hypothetical. It is the semantics of the PC paired with particles such as *gishpen* ‘if’ and *bwamshë* ‘before’ that allow this. Further, I must note that *bwamshë* is the only particle that consistently co-occurs with the PC. This is in part because speakers understand that *bwamshë* is composed of the negative conjunct preverb *bwa-* and the adverbial *mshe*. *Bwa* necessarily triggers the conjunct order. Though, it could be argued that *bwamshë* plus the verb is all one verb phrase, I do not believe that accurately reflects the grammars of new speakers. I say this because *bwamshë* does not always precede verbs. It can precede nominalizations that have been reanalyzed as adverbs or noun phrases. There is one instance of this below from the data.

- (130) Bwamshë ga-pon
before IC.PST-year
‘Before last year’

Though *ga pon* ‘last year’ appears to have the markers of the changed conjunct since it looks like it has undergone the initial change ablaut process, this is not wholly accurate. There is no morphology present on *pon* ‘be winter’ which would indicate that it is a verb inflected for the conjunct order in the form of a suffix *-k*. Rather, this is a form that can mean ‘last year’ in some communities. It is not the only way ‘last year’ is expressed, but it is the least overtly verbal one. Consequently, it shows up as a nominalized complement to

the ‘before’ particle. If *bwamshë* ‘before’ didn’t have these collocations, I would propose a different analysis where the whole clause is one verb phrase and the verb root is homophonous with its plain conjunct form. As it stands, *bwamshë* ‘before’ is loosely a particle that shifts the time of the expression, but like many particles in new speaker varieties, it supplies the semantic force for the rest of the clause. Even if it is impossible to tell whether or not *bwamshë* plus a verb has undergone IC because ablaut does not affect the vowel *a*, the way the speakers make use of it suggests that the majority of the verbs *bwamshë* subordinates are plain conjunct.

Moving on, the PC can be appealed to for expressing hypotheticals in ‘if-then’ statements. Looking beyond the force of the particle *gishpen*, the PC is able to maintain its hypothetical reading. In no conditional clause is a modal morpheme used alongside the PC clause. Further, there are no examples of conditional PC verbs that have any TAM marking at all. This illustrates that new speakers are able to form conditionals by exploiting the irrealis mood of the PC, though it is not the only way as we saw earlier with the independent order conditionals in chapter 3.

The PC is very limited in the context of the data. Nevertheless, it is certain that speakers maintain the irrealis function of the PC. There is one more peculiar use of the plain conjunct that I have not yet discussed. When speakers use an English loan word as a verb stem, they either commit to its function and inflect normally, or they do not commit to it as a permissible word. When they commit to the loan word, it often occurs with nominal possession, in the independent order, or in the changed or *é*-conjunct. Alternatively, when they are not fully committed to its role in the discourse, they show some level of uncertainty. The data show that they inflect it for the plain conjunct if and only if they are trying to express they are not committed to the word itself. There are two instances of this in the data, shown in (131) and (132).

- (131) gi-...wild-ëk
 PST-wild.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘It was...wild.’ [T]

- (132) wi-...happen-ëk
 FUT-happen.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘It will...happen?’ [N]

This phenomenon is not limited to loan words. It also occurs with words that speakers are unsure of. For example, in the sentences in (133), the speaker asks her interlocutor how to say ‘argue’ and neither can remember the Potawatomi lexical item in the moment. Eventually, speaker C settles on *ayazhma* ‘talk back and forth with someone’, but she is not certain because she is trying to recall a different word, *gikama* ‘argue with someone’, which she uses later in the conversation. Before she recalls *gikama*, she first utters the verb *ayazhma* in the plain conjunct before fully committing to the verb and uttering it in the independent in the next sentence.

- (133) a. pené ayazhdëma-wat
 always back.and.forth.talk.VTA-3PL.CONJ
 ‘They’re always, arguing?’ [C]
- b. pené shna w=gi-ayazhdëma-wa-n
 always EMPH 3=PST-argue.VTA.DIR-PL-OBV
 ‘They were always arguing with her.’ [C]

This only happens when speakers are unsure and do not want to commit to using a particular lexical item. This is never taught explicitly, but it is an example showing new speakers exploit the semantics of the PC to encode the irrealis mood or the averidicality of the proposition itself. On some level, this is a metalinguistic maneuver. It is not that the event of the verb is unknown or not factual at the time of utterance. Rather, the utterance is the situation being evaluated as irrealis. The verb itself is commented on as if it cannot be ascertained as factual or not. Either that, or the conjunct bears a lighter cognitively load in that moment, but that is unlikely since the PC is limited in the data, and the conjunct is notoriously difficult both in Potawatomi learning spaces and in Algonquianist literature on L2 acquisition.

Analyzing the conjunct verbs in (131)-(133) as evaluating the situation as irrealis is a more satisfying analysis given the fact that speakers are hard pressed to ever use the plain

conjunct. In fact, the PC is so limited in these data that I am tempted to say that its productivity could be lost for some speakers. For many speakers, it occurs only in the fixed environments we saw in the previous section. We know that *gishpen* can occur with the PC, but that is not consistent for new speakers. Even further, no speakers front PC clauses to express a condition without the ‘if’ particle, a frequent and well documented strategy for fluent speakers. For those reasons, it looks like the PC could fall out of productive use and its functions are only maintained because the syntactic distributions are maintained. It is only in the scenarios where speakers are unwilling to commit to a verb in a metalinguistic frame that it become clear that the irrealis mood of the PC remains productive.

As for the changed conjunct, speakers have a straightforward understanding of its functions. In all cases, it is presuppositional or otherwise veridical. This is obvious in content questions and other relative clauses, where the verb presupposes the propositional content.

- (134) Wénithë o ga-wabm-et?
 who that IC.PST-see.VTA-2>3.CONJ
 ‘Who was it that you saw?’ [T]

Overall, the speakers do well to maintain the syntactic and semantic distributions of the plain and changed conjunct. By nature of the clauses reliably occurring in fixed environments, their functions are also fixed.

4.3 The *é*-conjunct

The *é*-conjunct is by far the most common form of the conjunct in new speaker conversations. Overall, the *é*-conjunct can appear anywhere the PC and CC do. In Kasper (2023), I argue that when that happens, the *é*-conjunct is underspecified and lacks a specific semantic value. For new speakers, its semantics often overlap with the veridicality encoded by the CC, but it does not go so far as to presuppose the truth conditions of its verb. In cases where the PC is felicitous but the *é*-conjunct appears instead, it cannot be averidical unlike the PC. In L1 speech, the *é*-conjunct has a contextual value, but for new speakers, the interpretation

is based more on the subordinating structure rather than the semantic force or discourse function associated with it as a type of conjunct clause. As it stands, the *é*-conjunct is simply the underspecified and unmarked form of the conjunct. It is the basic form for subordinate clauses and temporal adverb phrases. In many instances, the *é*- is solely an overt complementizer.

In new speaker data, the *é*-conjunct has two primary uses: (1) it is the embedded clause form, (2) it is the adverb phrase form. In conversations, the *é*-conjunct verb can occur either before or after the main clause independent order verb, and the position does not exhaustively determine its function of the two listed above. Within the clause itself, it is the interaction between tense and the complementizer *é*- that is particularly important in determining its function. Essentially, the majority of biclausal constructions for new Potawatomi conform to the following order in (135), as discussed in the previous chapter's section on multiclausal constructions:

- (135) INDEPENDENT VERB, *é*- COMPLEMENTIZER, *wi*-FUTURE, CONJUNCT VERB

When an *é*-conjunct verb is embedded, it functions very similarly to an English infinitival in purpose clauses. This is especially true of *é-wi*- forms, where the clause is oriented toward the future or gains a volitional interpretation.

- (136) g=nedwénda-n né *é*-*wi*-mith-yen odë tum?
 2=want.VTI-SG.INDEP Q C-FUT-eat.VTI-2SG.CONJ this Tum
 'Do you want a tums?' [C]
- (137) n=debadan *é*-*wi*-mith-yan
 1=love.VTI.INDEP C-FUT-eat.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 'I love to eat them.' [N]
- (138) n=medagwéndan *é*-*wi*-dnathmo-yan
 1=like.VTI.INDEP C-FUT-talk.about.things.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 'I like to talk about things.' [S]

In (136)-(138), the collocation of the *é*- preverb and the *wi*- result in an reading similar to an infinitive in English. In fact, the collocation of *é*- and *wi*- in particular is most common

in the purpose clauses, regardless of TAM in the matrix clause. This function can extend beyond biclausal sentences as well, such as the three consecutive clauses in (139).

- (139) N=gi-ndewénm-ëk é-wi-zhëwn-ëk
 1=PST-want.VTA-INVR C-FUT-take.someone.somewhere.VTA-1>3.CONJ
 é-wi-tadi-ygo
 C-FUT-gamble.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘He wanted me to give him a ride in order for us to go gambling.’ [C]

Both of the conjunct clauses in (139), *éwi zhëwnêk* ‘that I take him somewhere’ and *éwi tadiygo* ‘that we gamble’, have the same distribution as English infinitives; and as a result, they are translated and treated similarly to infinitival clauses. The first *é*-conjunct clause follows a control predicate and the second clause is a purpose clause. Partial control predicates in Potawatomi, such as *ngi ndewémëk* ‘He wanted me’, embed *é*-headed CP complements (Kasper and Lewis 2022). Purpose clauses in Potawatomi also use the *é*-conjunct. Similarly, some speakers use *é*- and particularly the combination *éwi*- for any clausal elaborations, such as the one in example (140).

- (140) n=medagwénda-n é-wi-wthanda-ygo
 1=like.TI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-cook.AI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘I like it that all of us cook.’ [M]

The sentence in (140) illustrates the prevalence for new speakers to automatically form biclausal sentences by utilizing an *éwi*-prefixed conjunct clause. In the discourse context, (140) is in response to the question “What would you like for us to do where we’re speaking Potawatomi, here or in Dowagiac?” which is shown below in (141). The presentation of (142) provides better insight to the timing of the phrasing, and it is reproduced from an example in the independent order chapter that illustrated the nature of matrix clauses.

- (141) Wégwnithë wa-ndewénd-ëmen é-wi-zhetthgé-yen
 what FUT.IC-want-2SG.CONJ C-FUT-do.AI-2SG.CONJ
 èthë-Bodwéwadmintad-ygo shoté anaké Dowagiac?
 REL-speak.Potawatomi.VTA.RECIP-12PL.CONJ here or Dowagiac?
 ‘What do you want to do where we speak Potawatomi here or in Dowagiac?’ [N]

- (142) a. n=medagwénda-n...
 1=like.TI-SG.INDEP
 ‘I like it...’ [M]
- b. é-wi-...
 C-FUT-
 ‘for to...’
- c. wthanda-ygo
 cook.AI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘We cook’

The fact that the speaker doesn’t answer the question with the *wi-* prefix on the main verb to match the TAM of the question yet the *é*-conjunct uses the *wi-* is something to note. Particularly, this is intriguing because the speaker pauses between the independent verb *nmedagwéndan* and the beginning of the complementizer phrase which c-commands the conjunct verb. Further the speaker pauses again before the vP *wthandaygo*. These pauses may offer insight into the function of *éwi-* as a discrete and rigid grammatical construction of complementation for new speakers. Two similar examples are presented in (143) and (144) as well.

- (143) n=wi-medagwénda-n é-wi-with-dnzé-ygo
 1=FUT-like.VTI-SG C-FUT-along.with-stay.at.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 Intended: ‘I would like us to stay together.’ [N]
- (144) n=medagwénda-n é-wi-gbésh-ygo
 1=like.VTI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-camp.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘I like us to camp’ [M]

It is possible that the speakers in (143) and (144) are using *nmedagwéndan* ‘I like it’ in manners that align with the distribution of *n’nedwéndan* ‘I want it’. That possibility is likely given the prevalence of this construction for the speaker in response to questions where the verb is *nedwéndan*.

On the other hand, it is possible that the speaker intends for the interlocutor to understand the conjunct clause as an adverbial phrase. In the instance above, the conjunct clause could be translated to mean ‘when’ as something akin to a universal clause, something like

‘whenever we camp.’ In L1 data however, universal time clauses are prefixed by *é-* alone without any TAM, and they often occur before the matrix verb. Still though, the speakers in (143) and (144) rely heavily on *éwi-* conjuncts as a strategy for embedding. Further, the speaker in (144) also pauses and then continues the rest of the sentence after some interruptions to restate her response in full, seen in (145). The final *é*-conjunct verb in (145) is more similar in form to universal time clauses seen in L1 data.

- (145) n=medagwénda-n é-wi-gbésh-ygo é-dgwagê-k
 1=like.VTI-SG.INDEP C-FUT-camp.VAI-12PL.CONJ C-be.autumn.VII-0SG.CONJ
 ‘I like all of us to camp in the fall.’ [M]

The same speaker also uses the *é*-conjunct in some relative clause constructions. This suggests that the *é*-conjunct is the unmarked form of the conjunct, and at least for her, the *é-* may reflect its history as an allomorph of initial change (Costa 1996). I provide an example of an *é*-conjunct relative clause from this speaker.

- (146) bënënopkwézhgen é-gi-gbato-yan
 banana.bread C-PST-cook.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘The banana bread that I made.’ [M]

The phrase in (146) could be interpreted ‘I made banana bread,’ but the speaker herself provided a relative clause in translation. There are other examples in the data that suggest the *é*-conjunct can be used to form relative clauses. The example in (147) below contains a structure similar to those of discontinuous relative clauses where the head of the relative clause is fronted.

- (147) bkéthi n=dewéndan é-wi-nimëdi-yan
 a.little 1=want.VTI C-FUT-dance.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I want to dance a little bit.’ [C]

The fact that the conjunct clause is not interpreted as a relative clause is because of the syntactic restrictions of the higher clause. Again, the verb ‘want’ in its full VP form is a partial control verb, as opposed to ‘want’ as in the volitional preverb *wi-* that has been

glossed as FUT. As a result, the matrix VP selects for a full CP complement with *é* in the head of C. Regardless, the particle *bkéthi* is modifying the conjunct clause rather than the independent order verb. Similar discontinuous constructions are found in both L1 data and new speaker data.

Relatedly, new speakers can also embed an *é*-conjunct verb as a clausal elaboration without using the future tense marker. In those instances, it functions like the clauses in (136) and (137) or like the last one we saw in (146). Two more examples of this are presented in (148) and (149).

- (148) n=netthiwénmo é-gi-neto-yan a-the...
 1=be.happy.INDEP C-PST-learn-1SG.CONJ MOD-SUB.CONJ-...
 ‘I’m happy I learned how to...’
- (149) Zneget é-ndo-gkéndê-k
 be.difficult.VII C-try-know.VTI-3SG.CONJ
 ‘It’s hard to learn it.’ [C]

The *é*-conjunct can also be interpreted as a clausal elaboration similar to an infinitive with the past tense as well. This only happens when past tense is marked on both the matrix verb and the embedded clause.

- (150) n=gi-mdagwéndan é-gi-shobyégé-yan nêko
 1=PST-like.VTI C-PST-paint.VAI-1SG.CONJ used.to
 ‘I used to like to paint.’ [C]
- (151) n=denénma Michael ni w=dëkwéyom-en
 1=think.thus.VTA.DIR Michael DEM.OBV 3=wife.POSS-OBV
 é-wi-peshkwéthi-t. Ttho w-gi-mnëkwadë-si-n
 C-FUT-be.pregnant.VAI-3SG.CONJ NEG 3=PST-drink.VTI-NEG-SG
 é-gi-wabm-ëk
 C-PST-see.VTA-1>3.CONJ
 ‘I think Michael’s wife is pregnant. She didn’t drink when I saw her.’ [N]

In (151), the clause *éwi peshkwéthi* ‘that she’s pregnant’ embedded under *ndenénma* ‘I think of her’ makes use of the unmarked *éwi*- prefixes common across new speaker data. For many new speakers, it is the default form of embedded clauses that are not temporal

adverbs. We see that the second embedded clause makes use of the specific *gi-* past preverb. Though clausal complements can use TAM specific to the situation time being spoken about, *éwi-* is always an option for new speakers.

What is common across these clausal elaborations is that when they can be interpreted as infinitives, either the matrix clauses are control predicates or the arguments are co-referential across clauses. Essentially, in clausal elaborations, the *é*-conjunct is the unmarked form for embedded clause structures. Its function as an elsewhere form is exploited to simply introduce a CP complement without contributing any specific semantic force such as is associated with (a)veridicality.

Moreover, there is a difference in the felicitous selection of *é*-conjunct clauses as opposed to relative clauses which have undergone IC that affects TAM or the leftmost syllable of the verb. This is known because there is a lot of metalinguistic commentary made during conversations between these speakers. Every speaker is aware of the language as a system because they are all working together in a revitalization context. As a result, we are able to see a distinction between relative clause complements to VTI verbs and *é*-clause complements to VTA verbs. This shows that even if both the *é*-conjunct and CC are used in relative clause constructions, only CC relative clauses are interpreted as noun like participles.

- (152) G=gi-métsedan wpi ga-shegnon-an
 2=PST-miss.VTI.SG time IC.PST-call.VTA-1>2.CONJ
 ‘You missed my call.’

- (153) G=gi-métsenesh é-gi-shegnon-an
 2=PST-miss.VTA.LOC.DIR C-PST-call.VTA-1>2.CONJ
 ‘You missed my call’

The independent verb in (152) selects a noun or participle as its object complement. On the other hand, the VTA independent matrix verb in (153) allows for raising to object and as such there is cross clausal agreement, where the object of the matrix verb is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause.

Beyond the complement clauses addressed above, the *é*-conjunct is the main form of

adverbial temporal clauses. These forms are used to establish a time frame within which the rest of the clause is situated.

- (154) a. shkwatth é-gi-nibë-k n=gi-mnêkwadan-en uh nish anaké
last C-PST-be.summer.VII-0.CONJ 1=PST-drink.VTI-PL uh two or
nswé Celsius-en égmë-gizhek
three Celsius-PL every-day
'Last summer, I drank two or three Celsiuses everyday.' [N]
- b. Myanet
be.bad.VII
'That's bad.' [B]
- c. Wzam Celsius
too.much Celsius
'That's too much Celsius.' [C]

Adverbial temporal clauses are the manner in which speakers are able to identify specific dates and times, and these phrases appear frequently in the data before and after matrix clauses as well as on their own. (155) is an example where the time phrase occurs following the matrix clause with the future tense morpheme. (156)-(157) are examples of monoclausal temporal conjunct clause utterances.

- (155) Abdék shna n=wi-zhya zhi ksenyaninak
have.to EMPH 1=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI there Forest.County
é-wi-nëmé-gizhgë-k
C-FUT-prayer-be.a.day.-VII-0.CONJ
'I have to go to Forest County on Sunday.' [C]
- (156) É-gi-nish-nëmé-gizhgë-k
C-PST-two-prayer-be.day.VII-0.CONJ
'Two weeks ago.'
- (157) Mko gizes é-gothë-k
bear moon C-hang.VAI-3SG.CONJ
'In December.' [C]

Earlier literature suggested that temporal clauses expressing futurity do not use the *é*-preverb. Instead of the *é*-conjunct, the PC accomplished that (Buszard-Welcher 1997).

However, that seems to be in flux with these speakers. They are extending the function of the *é*-conjunct as a temporal clause into future events as well. This was exemplified in (155) and in example (158) below, partially reflects the ‘after’-clause constructions we saw in the PC and CC.

- (158) wabêk é-wi-gizh-miktthéwi-yan wetth-ksenya-k
 tomorrow C-FUT-finish-work.VAI-1SG.CONJ IC.REL-be.cold.VII-0.CONJ
 n=wi-zhya
 1=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI
 ‘After I finish working tomorrow, I’m going up North.’ [B]

The *é*-conjunct also co-occurs with certain relative roots in clauses that are always interpreted as when-clauses. These relative roots include *pitth-* ‘while’ in (159a) and *ko-* ‘since’ in (160).⁶

- (159) a. Ttho shomingwé-si é-pitth-mzenaksegé-t
 NEG smile.VAI-NEG C-while-take.picture.VAI-3SG.CONJ
 ‘I don’t smile when she takes pictures.’ [NP]
 b. Mean mug ézhnagwzë-yen
 mean mug IC.look.a.certain.way.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘You mean mug.’ [N]
- (160) Bnëwi shna é-ko-nimëdi-yen, gin
 long.ago EMPH C-REL-dance.VAI-2SG.CONJ you
 ‘It’s been a long time since you danced, as for you.’ [C]

At this point, I return to the status of *éwi-* constructions.

- (161) a. n=gi-zhya-men zhi
 1=PST-go.AI-1PL.INDEP there
 ‘We went to’ [N]
 b. Montrose Harbor ktthe-mbes-ek
 Montrose Harbor big-lake-LOC
 ‘Montrose Harbor by the big lake’ [N]

6. Though these forms could be analyzed as verbs that have undergone initial change, I am quite convinced have been reinterpreted by some new speakers as the *é*-conjunct and a relative preverb. Frequently, new speakers identify *é-* as a way of marking present tense in these constructions. However, as stated elsewhere in this dissertation, speaker proficiencies are dynamic and this may be subject to reanalysis.

- c. kwikwiyak
harbor
'harbor' [D]
- d. Montrose kwikwiyak
Montrose harbor
'Montrose Harbor' [N]
- e. é-wi-gwedemothgé-yak
C-FUT-go.fishing.AI-1PL.CONJ
'to go fishing.' [N]

For context, the speaker states 'We went to Montrose Harbor on the lake to go fishing' in (161) over a number of conversation turns and the interlocutor provides help with choosing lexical forms during the turns. In doing so, the interlocutor also interrupts the speaker between verb phrases, and within phrases as well. Regardless of the fact that the sentence is not stated in one single uninterrupted turn, it clearly shows the ways that new speakers commit themselves to embedding *éwi-* conjunct clauses in a manner that mirrors English infinitival phrases. Even though the distance between the matrix independent verb and the embedded conjunct clause is great and interrupted by the interlocutor, the conjunct clause conforms to the method of embedding common across new speakers where *éwi* serves an almost identical purpose to infinitives in English even though all Potawatomi verbs are finite.

- (162) i=thé miné w=gi-bmebyé
 then=CNTR and 3=PST-around.come.VAI.3SG.INDEP
 é-wi-nanaw-nibne-t béshotth zhi zék miné béshotth zhi nin
 C-FUT-middle-stand.VAI-3SG.CONJ next.to there Zach and next.to there me
 'Then he came up and stood next to Zach and next to me.' [N]

We once again see *éwi* embedding under the independent matrix clause in (162) where the conjunct complementizer *é-* and the future *wi-* function together as a particular method of subordination that functions almost like an elsewhere embedding method. Given that this method for embedding mirrors the English infinitival, it's also relevant here to note that the new speaker conjunct embedded clause is in a similar linear position to English infinitives.

However, there should not be a syntactic underpinning to motivate this position since the opposite ordering of the CPs are also grammatical and felicitous in certain contexts. A new speaker also accepts the following sentence in (163):

- (163) é-wi-nibné-t w=gi-bmebyé
 C-FUT-stand.VAI-3SG.CONJ 3=PST-around.come.VAI
 ‘He came by to stand’

However, the translation and pragmatics of (163) may not match identically to the intended meaning in (162). Importantly, it is also not always the case that translations of L1 sentences have a one-to-one correspondence in terms of the relative ordering of the adverb phrase and matrix clause in Potawatomi and English. Further, translations offered by L1 speakers often result in the English order of the vPs flipping around as compared to their order in the Potawatomi sentences, though that is not always the case.

- (164) iw ga-zhewébe-k é-gi-gwedemothgé-yak
 that IC.PST-happen.II-CONJ C-PST-go.fishing.AI-1PL.CONJ
 ‘That’s what happened when we went fishing.’ [N]

Example (164) provides a multiclausal construction that involves a relative clause alongside its *é*-conjunct adjunct clause. Here, the conjunct complement is translated as ‘when’. The fact that the conjunct once again takes this overt complementizer points to new speakers’ overwhelming tendencies to embed *é*-conjunct clauses in multiclausal constructions in that particular linear position even when phrase movement is acceptable, if we want to assume the new speakers base generate the *é*-conjunct clause as a complement to the matrix clause, or when other verbal orders are available compared to L1 choices and language dexterity.

- (165) n=wi-zhya-men zhi Téma é-wi-wisne-yan zhi
 1=FUT-go.VAI-1PL.INDEP there Tama C-FUT-eat.VAI-1SG.CONJ there
 wisne-yak
 eat.VAI-1PL.CONJ
 ‘We’re going to go to Tama for me to eat there- for us to eat’ [C]

- (166) wi-gzhatémge-t é-nimedi-yak
 FUT-be.hot.VII-0SG.CONJ C-dance-1PL.CONJ

‘It’ll be hot when we’re dancing’[C]

Is it the case that new speakers elect to grant a very different meaning to *éwi*-conjuncts as compared to other *é*-conjuncts, such as (166)? Whereas *éwi*- functions almost exclusively in the same manner as an embedded non-finite English verb, the rest of the embedded *é*-conjuncts decidedly do not. They form a class of their own separate from the *éwi*-’s for new speakers. Often, they function as adverbial time clauses and are more prone to being able to be unembedded as well.

- (167) n=de-mbwaka é-gzibine-man ni baskeman
 1=PRS-be.smart.AI.INDEP C-wash.them-1SG.CONJ those clothes
 ‘I am smart for washing my clothes.’ [C]

Notably, ‘for washing my clothes,’ is not the same as ‘to wash my clothes,’ but it occurs in the same position as the comparable *éwi* clauses do. Even though *é*-conjuncts are more able to be located elsewhere in the clause structure, the overwhelming majority of them here stay in the same position as the *éwi* clauses do

4.3.1 *Elided Material*

For the most part, the data show that when speakers do what could be the closest approximation to sluicing or eliding some of the sentential material, speakers elect to elide the material to the left of the verb stem, but only if it is prefixed by *é*-. Example (168) might provide some insight into how to elide material for one speaker, if we look at (168d) specifically.

- (168) a. n=medagwéndan
 1=like.TI-SG.INDEP
 ‘I like.’
 b. é-wi...
 C-FUT...
 ‘to...’
 c. wthanda-ygo
 cook.AI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘all of us cook.’

- d. gbato-ygo
 cook.TI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘All of us cook something.’

Though the example is stated with a number of pauses, as evidenced by the separate lines, it might still show that this speaker is able to omit the *é(wi)* from the lower conjunct clause. It could also be a clarification on the part of the speaker. In a language where all verbs are fully inflected for person and number agreement, elision might not be all that common. In fact, it might not be elision, it might instead be that a different analysis of the role of *éwi* really has to be investigated separately from the verb phrase.

4.3.2 Discussion

It is apparent given the data here that embedding triggers the conjunct order in new grammars. The most frequently employed embedding strategy here is to embed an *éwi*-conjunct order verb. Most often, the higher verb is independent order and the lower one is the conjunct. Generally, this formation means that the *éwi*- functions similarly to purpose clauses, glossed as ‘in order to’ in English. Additionally, all these examples follow a very English linear structure whereby the embedded, infinitival, to-phrase follows the very distinct matrix clause. Whereas the English L1s of these speakers require the difference be one of finiteness and agreement, the most salient difference in embedded purpose clauses are that they are in the conjunct order, and most frequently, prefixed by both the *wi*- future prefix and the *é*- complementizer. Otherwise, the *é*- may precede the past tense prefix *gi*- or the verb alone in multiclausal constructions to form infinitival like clauses such as purpose clauses.

The majority of the embedded conjuncts here include the future prefix, but that does not suggest that the new speakers here do not productively employ diverse forms of the *é*-conjunct as embedded predicates. In those scenarios, they are frequently adverbial in function. In essence, they are the method whereby new speakers know how to say ‘when’ without including the word most closely associated with the meaning of ‘when’ in *wpi*.

Whenever new speakers do use *wpi* it co-occurs with a changed conjunct verb and not another form of the conjunct.

Across both the adverbial function and complement clauses utilizing the *é*-conjunct, the *é*- is emerging as the default method to introduce a conjunct clause. Whereas L1 data attest to *é*-’s use as an elsewhere morpheme, new speakers are reanalyzing it. No longer does it have a contextual value predicated on the opposition to otherwise licit PC or CC forms. For new speakers, the *é*-conjunct’s semantic value remains unfixed, and the interpretation is related to what subordinates it or the temporal expression in preverbs or the verb itself; resulting in temporal adverbs.

4.4 Conclusion

Unsurprising to me is that a very significant portion of all verbs in new conversation data collected thus far are independent order verbs. Given that the independent order is the verb type taught first across all Potawatomi language classes (and that tactic is also prevalent in the instruction of many of the other Algonquian languages), I expected the independent order to greatly outnumber occurrences of the conjunct in these data.⁷ This expectation was borne out in the data, but the relative frequency of PC, CC, and *é*-conjunct clauses is important to the discussion at hand.

4.4.1 Discussion

There are a number of reasons for the disparity between independent and conjunct order in new conversation. Most importantly, the independent is not only the verbal order that is taught first, it is also the order that learners have the most exposure to, thus having more experience with it, more comfort in that order, and oftentimes, L2 learners are able to produce and understand independent order morphology more quickly and with more

7. Some language instructors work to actively combat that approach to the language, see Quinn (2021) for discussion of a different pedagogical approach across the family.

precision.⁸ This is an issue of input and individual speakers cognitive load and proficiency.

My hypothesis is that the independent order has proliferated in the grammars of new speakers as a result of its high frequency in language instruction materials. The conjunct requires some anchor higher in the discourse to be felicitous, but in everyday speech, and especially narratives, the discourse contexts create those felicity conditions. Furthermore, in language learning settings, the full distribution of the conjunct is difficult to describe with specific discourse context, and that has just been historically inaccessible to learners. What then results are changes to the expression of the conjunct. The *é*-conjunct is the most common form and has the widest distribution as a basic form. The new speaker rendering of *é*- as the default complementation method is a result of its function as an elsewhere morpheme in L1 speech. As an underspecified form, the only function it has in the C^0 head of CP is to introduce a complement. Paired with its syntactic restrictions, evident in the fact that only conjunct clauses have anything spelled out in the CP layer, it has developed into a default form for the conjunct in both embedded and main clauses. At the same time, the PC's semantics are specific to the irrealis, hypothetical, and averidical, and it is used less frequently. In contrast, the CC is steadfastly maintaining its functions, specifically when it marks presuppositional content in relative clauses.

8. Sometimes older speakers who are not L1s, will not use inflectional morphology, and that I need to look into.

CHAPTER 5

WORD ORDER

5.1 Introduction

This chapter details the word order employed by the new speakers in the Potawatomi speech community. Earlier literature suggested that Potawatomi non-configurationality allows for flexible word order governed by some higher discourse structure (Buszard 2003). These descriptions hold true in more recent analyses of L1 Potawatomi word order which look to narratives (Lockwood 2017; Lewis 2016). In those studies, it’s clear that Potawatomi word order is not determined by grammatical relations. Instead, it is pragmatically conditioned. Though there is a great deal of flexibility in positioning words, there are some words that must conform to strict ordering within the clause. Notably, the description of second position particles, such as the question morpheme *ne*, were proposed to be the rigid exceptions to the flexible word order.

Like many Algonquian languages, Potawatomi follows in the cross-family tendency to make use of an articulated left-periphery for particular discourse functions of the overt arguments (see Dahlstrom 1993, 1995, 2003, 2004: for discussion of Meskwaki word order). As seen in Menominee, the most pragmatically neutral positions for overt arguments is to the right of the verb (Johnson et al. 2015). At this time, we focus on pragmatically neutral arguments and everything else but topic and focus. The word order template for L1 speakers is provided in Table (5.1).

Topic	Negation	Adverb	Argument Focus Oblique	Verb	Subject Object Second Object Oblique
-------	----------	--------	---------------------------	------	---

Table 5.1: Lewis’s Word Order Template (2016)

This chapter is organized by focusing first on the elements that experience the least variation in relative ordering and then moving to the ones that have the most possible

placements with respect to the template presented above. I end the chapter by discussing an infelicitious sentence as a way to assess both the accuracy of the template and to show that speakers interpret some word orders as incorrect. In order of the sections, the first portion of this chapter will detail the realization of negation within the sentence. Next, I discuss the relative ordering of pragmatically neutral postverbal core arguments. Then, I move on to the positions that adverbs and obliques occupy, both preverbally and postverbally. In doing so, I have to briefly describe the ways that multiclausal sentences are strung together by new speakers. I conclude my data sections with discussion of a rejected sentence to show that the word order for new speakers is not random and I finish the chapter by proposing a new speaker word order template for the elements discussed above. The realizations of topic and focus are saved for the next chapter, as is a discussion of the ways that new speakers maintain the pragmatics of word order.

Ultimately, the data in this chapter show that there are two main differences in the word order of traditional L1 Potawatomi as documented by Lockwood (2017) and Lewis (2016). The first difference is that new speakers place adverbs after the verb, which was not described in the earlier literature, though the flexibility of the adverb position was alluded to. The newly defined postverbal adverb position is then not necessarily an innovation on the part of new speakers. Lockwood (2017: 171) asserts that scattered examples in L1 data suggest adverbials have a freer order than initially claimed by Lewis (2015; 2016). The second addendum to the word order template is the relative ordering of core arguments after the verb. Previously, L1 data showed that there was no relative ordering of postverbal elements, but new speakers exhibit a strong tendency toward VOS order. VOS is attested in L1 grammars, but the relative order of postverbal objects and subjects is now more rigid for new speakers. At this point, we turn to the negation structures.

5.2 Negation

In order for the reader to best understand the structure of Potawatomi word order, the most rigid pieces of the template are expanded on first. Within the proposed template, the simplest position to describe is the slot for negation. As introduced in the grammatical preliminaries chapter, each inflectional verbal order has its own negation strategy. The imperative order negation structure, referred to as the prohibitive, is bipartite. There is a negative particle that precedes the verb and a suffix *-ké* placed between the morphemes that express ϕ -features of the object and the number suffix of the subject. This is illustrated in (169) and (170).

- (169) gégo wabmë-shi-ké-n
 NEG see.VTA.IMP-1SG-PROHIB-SG
 ‘Don’t (you) look at me!’ [T]
- (170) gégo gégo dagna-ké-n
 NEG something touch.VTI.IMP-PROHIB-SG
 ‘Don’t (you) touch anything!’ [KV]v

The conjunct order has a negation strategy that utilizes a preverb. In the conjunct, the verb is negated by using a negative preverb *bwa-* alone. *Bwa-* occurs after tense and before the verb as a bound morpheme. It cannot be used in the same manner as the other orders’ negation strategies to diagnose word order because no free morphemes such as adverbs or obliques intervene between the conjunct order negator *bwa-* and the verb.¹

- (171) gèkpi=shë é-bwa-boni-mgê-k
 finally=EFP C-NEG-snow.VII-AUG-0.CONJ
 ‘At least/finally it’s not snowing anymore.’ [B]
- (172) wi=yé=i ga-bwa-wthë-miktthéwi-yan
 ADVRS=FOC=that IC.PST-NEG-REL-work.VAI-1SG.CONJ

1. The only particle that consistently occurs between *bwa-* and the verb is the enclitic *=mshë*, but the collocation of *bwamshë* functions as a subordinator meaning ‘before’ as discussed in the chapter on the conjunct. The status of the relative *wthë* appearing between *bwa-* and the verb is an open question because there is variation in its placement for new speakers. L1 data demonstrate the same variation in placement based on focus distinctions, though contemporary Potawatomi is trending toward the ordering present in (172) (cf. Hockett 1940; Lockwood 2017; Lewis 2020).

‘That’s why I didn’t work.’ [B]

Obligatorily, the independent order negation structure is bipartite consisting of a negator *ttho*, a free morpheme occurring preverbally, and a negative suffix *-si*. Independent order negation conforms to the expected word order with very little issue. As such, to begin this chapter on word order, I will first discuss the position of the independent order negator *ttho*. This section will not look to negation structures for the conjunct as negation is expressed as the preverb *bwa-*, which is a bound morpheme prefixed to the verb itself.² The first example provided below illustrates the prototypical formation of a negative independent order clause.

- (173) *ttho gi-znege-snon*
NEG PST-be.difficult.VII-NEG
‘It wasn’t hard.’ [C]

The sentence in (173) showcases the negative morphology realized on intransitive inanimate verbs. Accordingly, (173) shows the reader the base word order associated with Potawatomi negation structures. *Ttho* appears directly to the left of the verb and acts in tandem with the rest of the independent negation suffix, in this case realized as *-snon*. In other cases, it is realized as *-si*. Additionally, there are no overt arguments associated with the verb; nothing appears before *ttho*, nothing intervenes between *ttho* and the verb, and there are no postverbal elements. Based on this alone, we can posit new speakers maintain traditional Potawatomi word order with negation preceding the verb.

- (174) Neg > Verb

2. There is however a structure in New Potawatomi and documented L1 speech that makes use of the *ttho* negator that occurs with the *é*-conjunct. An example from a classroom setting and a translation of a song are given here:

- (1) *ttho é-wi-zhetthgé-yan*
no C-FUT-do.something.VAI-1SG.CONJ
‘I won’t/didn’t/can’t/couldn’t/might not/do not do it.’
(2) *ttho é-wi-znëgê-k* *odë bmadzewen*
no C-FUT-be.difficult.VII-0.CONJ this life
‘Life won’t be hard.’

The data in the corpus are not all as simple as (173), and some negated utterances include elements which intervene between *ttho* and the verb itself, such as second position particles, adverbs, focused arguments, or obliques. The sentence in (175) allows us to see negation alongside an adverb.

- (175) *ttho mégwa n=gkéndë-si-n*
 NEG still 1=know.it.VTI-NEG-SG.INDEP
 ‘I don’t know it anymore.’ [C]

In example (175), the speaker uses the temporal adverb *mégwa* ‘still’ between the negator and the verb itself. Again, this is the word order that we expect to see in negative contexts such as these. The negative morpheme *ttho* appears preverbally:

- (176) Neg > Adv > Verb

The data in this corpus also include negation structures with two or more elements between the verb and negation. The example below showcases one instance of that.

- (177) *ttho mshé penothé g=de-sa-si*
 NEG yet child 2=PRS-have.VTA.DIR-NEG
 ‘You don’t have children yet’ [B]

Although the specific details of topic and focus will be discussed later, the data on negation show compliance with the proposed word order with respect to topic and focus. *Ttho* always occurs preverbally and only the topic may precede it. Provided an adverb or an element occurs in focus position, negation precedes them. *Ttho* is also separable from the verb by a particle or enclitic in second position. We see an example of both in (177). The negator precedes both the second position enclitic =*mshé* ‘yet’ and the focused object *penothé* ‘child’. This word order corresponds to the expected linear order in the template.

Beyond negated verbs consisting of both *ttho* and the negative suffix, whenever *ttho* occurs in a sentence it tends to appear before the verb.³ Example (178) below illustrates this.

3. Interestingly, if new speakers make mistakes with negation, they are more likely to utter *ttho* and omit the suffix than the other way around.

- (178) *Ttho, nétëm néyap n=wi-bya-men*
 no first back 1=FUT-come.VAI-1PL.EXCL.INDEP
 ‘No, we are going to come back first.’ [N]

Overall, the formation of independent order negation allows us to see the realizations of pragmatically conditioned word order from a straightforward perspective. It is always the case that *ttho* is preverbal. If an element intervenes between it and the verb, those elements may only be in argument focus/oblique position, adverbs, or a second position enclitic. Relatedly, the use of topicalization before negation is discussed in the chapter on topic and focus. This presentation allows the reader to first understand the easiest facts of Potawatomi pragmatics and syntax before investigating more complex conditions such as topic, focus, adverbs, and the relative position of subjects, objects or obliques. The section to follow continues on this path by describing the most pragmatically neutral word order of overt arguments: postverbal subjects and objects.

5.3 Pragmatically Neutral Subjects and Objects

The data in this section are divided into two subsections. The first subsection details the overt realization of postverbal arguments and their potential pragmatic neutrality. The second subsection concludes with a brief discussion of the use of demonstratives postverbally and their potential functions in the contemporary grammar.

Potawatomi is prodrop and does not require any overt arguments either as pronouns or *r*-expressions. Before discussing subjects and objects to the right of the verb, I present two example sentences whose arguments are only expressed as ϕ -features expounded morphologically. The examples below contain speech act participants as subjects. In the cases where speech act participants surface overtly, they do so as emphatic pronouns, but that promotes them to a more newsworthy or some discursively and pragmatically privileged function such as shifting topic or argument focus. As such, speech act participants are not discussed as overt arguments in this section, but their relevant morphology and word order can be seen

in examples (179)-(180).

- (179) n=dezhedé'a mamwë mdagwénd-ëman wnago
 1=think.thus.VAI.INDEP most like.VTI-1SG.CONJ yesterday
 'I think yesterday I liked it the most.' [A]

- (180) n=nettiwénmo é-gi-bya-yen
 1=be.happy.VAI.INDEP C-PST-come.VAI-2SG.CONJ
 'I'm happy you came.' [C]

It is a commonplace strategy for speakers to take full advantage of the clarity that morphology provides in terms of arguments. The majority of the sentences in this data set do not include full DP arguments. The most common occurrences of realized arguments are not speech act participants, unlike the subjects of any of the clauses in (179) and (180). Additionally, we encounter full DPs when necessary to disambiguate theta roles, to explicitly name arguments, or just for fun, as many overt nouns are immediately followed by laughter.

As outlined in the L1 template, subjects, objects, and second objects may occur postverbally. When they show up after the verb, their respective ordering should have no bearing on the pragmatic interpretation nor to mark grammatical relations or theta roles. They are unordered relative to each other. Though new speaker data support these claims, there is a tendency for the object to immediately follow the verb. We see this for both conjunct as well as independent clauses. I begin now by discussing data with only one postverbal argument. Here, we turn to postverbal subjects first.

5.3.1 *Postverbal Subjects*

Potawatomi does not require the use of any overt NP arguments in the clause to express a grammatical subject; instead, that is accomplished with inflectional verbal morphology. However, there are pragmatically neutral positions for arguments to occupy. In the case of overt subjects to be discussed in this subsection, the pragmatically neutral position is to the right of the verb. Example (181) illustrates the use of that position.

- (181) ngodêk n=gi-gwedemothgé-men nin mine Thigwé mine Wabgizhêk
 one.time 1=PST-fish.VAI-1PL.INDEP I and Thigwé and Wabgizhêk
 ‘One time me and Thigwé and Wabgizhêk went fishing.’ [D]

The verb in (181) is an intransitive verb with 1st person plural exclusive features expressed via proclitic and suffix. In addition, the overt arguments here are pronominal, spelled out in the noun phrases: *nin mine T mine W* ‘me and T and W’. In the conversation, the speakers are prompted to talk about an experience they have had while fishing. The speaker is beginning his fishing story after his interlocutor concluded hers. In context, the speaker is taking this as an opportunity to frame his story and clarify to whom the 1st person exclusive morphology refers. Though it may make narrative sense for the subjects to occupy topic position in this discourse context, that is not what the speaker does. As a result, it is clear to his interlocutor that the topic of the story to come is the fishing experience rather than the subjects of the first verb.

Following Pullum (1977), basic word order can be found in pragmatically neutral sentences cross-linguistically. Story initial declaratives are often devoid of pragmatic underpinnings and therefore, the VS word order in (181) at the beginning of the story represents a pragmatically neutral word order. Though the pragmatic neutrality test at discourse initial points does not prove useful for L1 narratives, it becomes useful in identifying neutrality for new speakers. There are not many discourse initial narratives in the data set, but those such as (181) do conform to this ordering. Speakers use postverbal subjects in other contexts as well when they are not beginning a narrative or introducing arguments. The sentence in (182) illustrates such an example, where the subject of the intransitive verb occurs to the right.

- (182) Montrose kwikwiyak ahaw ézhi Uptown... éthë-dneze-t o Zach
 Montrose harbor ok there Uptown C.REL-reside.VAI-3SG.CONJ that Zach
 Uptown-ëk
 Uptown-LOC
 ‘Montrose Harbor, yeah ok, there Uptown...that’s where Zach lives in Uptown.’
 [N2023-08-10]

The speaker in (182) makes explicit the referent of the subject of the verb *éthě dnezet* ‘where he stays at’ by naming the post verbal subject. Interestingly, she does three additional things common across contemporary Potawatomi. First, she chooses to place the subject after the conjunct clause. This is pragmatically felicitous, but it is also the most common position for the overt subjects of conjunct verbs. Second, the subject occurs closer to the verb than the oblique, which the verb licenses, *Uptowněk* ‘in Uptown’. Although the relative ordering of these postverbal elements is not supposed to matter, the relative frequency of these co-occurrences is notable. Potentially, there is an emerging trend among new speakers such that subjects have privileged positions closer to the verb even though they do not form constituents with the verb phrase. Finally, unlike the speaker in (181), the speaker in (182) uses the animate singular medial demonstrative *o* ‘that’ before the noun. This is a common practice for new speakers, though it is not obligatory.

The speaker in (181) is not the only speaker who both uses this ordering and exploits the function of demonstratives at the same time. The speaker in (183) makes use of a full DP to identify the individual associated with the third person singular morphology in the lower clause.

- (183) *ktthe-mdagwéndan athě-zheto-t o C*
 a.lot-I.like.VTI.INDEP C.MOD-make.it.VTI-3SG.CONJ that C
 ‘I really like how C makes it.’ [A]

In the higher clause inflected for the independent order, the speaker does not fully pronounce the first person proclitic. However, that is common for speakers in the south, as seen in the grammatical preliminaries chapter. Given the context of the conversation and the fact that the 2nd person proclitic *g=* does not appear, it is clear she is talking about herself as the external argument of the verb *ktthemdagwéndan* ‘really like it’. More relevant to the discussion at hand though is the fact that she utilizes an overt noun and determiner to the right of the conjunct clause. The speaker makes use of a medial demonstrative with an r-expression without the referent being physically present in the medial distance. The

subject of the lower clause is animate and the object is not overtly specified by a full noun in the clause containing the conjunct verb. The object is instead understood based on earlier context including an incorporated noun into a light verb, *pëgnaké* ‘make pëgna’. A fuller discussion of the emerging functions of the demonstratives is provided later, but this serves as an introduction.

To this point in the section, all of the postverbal subjects have been animate. There are also inanimate external arguments in these data. I provide a typical Algonquian existential construction in (184) to illustrate an instance wherein an inanimate subject occurs to the right of the verb.

- (184) manédon ni mshkekis-en
 it.is.many.VII.0.INDEP those pill-PL
 ‘There’s a lot of pills.’ [C]

Relative to other verbs, inanimate intransitive verbs have a lower frequency of use in the dataset here. Regardless, the overt mention of the subject is most pragmatically neutral in this postverbal position.

Thus far, each instance of postverbal subjects and objects come from conversations where the speakers provide clarification as to who the subjects and objects are. On the other hand, there are examples in these data of speakers just uttering the verb form without any overt argument as clarification within the clause. We see this in example (185), which is part of a conversation between speakers N and D.

- (185) a. giwnadzé
 be.crazy.VAI.3SG.INDEP
 ‘He’s crazy.’ [D]
 b. neshthé w=gi-gwedemothgé beshotth
 but 3=PST-fish.VAI.INDEP near
 ‘But he fished near...’ [N]
 c. o nene
 that man
 ‘That man.’ [D]

- d. éhé
yes
'Yes.' [N]

Often, the demonstrative 'that' shows up to disambiguate the theta roles for the arguments of verbs. That point will become clearer as I investigate arguments of transitive verbs in §3.2 and §3.3.

5.3.2 *Postverbal Objects*

Before discussing instances of both subjects and objects appearing to the right of transitive verbs, it is critical to present data bearing upon postverbal objects alone. Most instances of overt objects in the data set occur after the verb.

VTI: Transitive Inanimate Verbs

First, I begin by presenting data showing objects with inanimate gender since they only have two surface realizations: singular and plural. As we know by now, the agreement morphology appears on the verb itself. I provide examples from conversation data that do not contain full DPs as overt objects in order to re-familiarize the reader with the relevant inflectional morphology.

- (186) n=de-mikwéndan
1=PRS-remember.VTI.SG.INDEP
'I remember it.' [M]
- (187) n=wi-o-yathdan
1=FUT-go.and-talk.about.VTI.SG.INDEP
'I'm going to talk about something.' [N]

Both of the verbs in (186) and (187) are inflected for a first person subject and a singular inanimate object. Neither sentence contains an overt object to the left or right of the verb. (186) directly follows the speaker's interlocutor telling her about catching on fire and the object is understood based on earlier context. The speaker in (187) starts the conversation

by saying she will talk about something. Available to her was an intransitive verb, *yathmo* ‘tell a story’, but she chose not to elect that option at the time. Then, her interlocutor asks her to clarify what the object of the verb is by posing the question *Wégwnithë wa yathdëmen?* ‘What are you going to talk about?’

Speakers use other persons in the agreement for these single word utterances. The phi-features encoded on the verb in (188) are emblematic of that where the second person proclitic expresses the person features and the singular agreement following the theme vowel indicates that the object is both inanimate and singular.

- (188) g=gekéndan né?
 2=know.VTI.SG.INDEP Q
 ‘Do you know it?’ [C]

Furthermore, other speakers utter these transitive verbs without naming the object in the conjunct as well as the independent order, which is the only order presented thus far in this subsection. Such an example is provided below in (189).

- (189) n=netthiwénmo é-gi-neto-yan... **athë-mnosto-yan**
 1=be.happy.VAI.INDEP C-PST-learn.-1SG.CONJ C.MOD-make.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I’m happy I learned...how to make it.’ [A]

In the context of the conversation from which (189) comes, the sentence is broken up by some noise and the conversation partner asking for clarification. Regardless of the context, the speaker does not name the object of the conjunct verb explicitly. There is no overt object to the right of the conjunct verb nor is there one higher in the clause.

Now that the reader is familiar with some VTI forms, I present data showing overt objects to the right of the verb. The objects below range from single demonstratives, full DPs with NP complements, and to participles. Below, the utterances include both singular and plural nouns as best I can represent given the data available. I begin first with independent verbs and singular objects.

- (190) bama n=wi-wawabda-n i
 later 1=FUT-watch.VTI-SG.INDEP that

‘I’ll watch it later.’ [M]

The verb in (190) is transitive inanimate as evidenced by the theme stem, with agreement marking for a singular object, suffixed by *-n* alone. The temporal adverb *bama* occurs before the verb and the demonstrative *i* indicating the object occurs after the verb. It is the medial demonstrative *i* in this example that serves as the overt object in the pragmatically neutral position after the verb. This shows that a D^0 may function as an object by itself, and in these scenarios, it is definite. Given the conversation, *i* functions as a demonstrative and not as a calque for the English direct object pronoun ‘it’. In the conversation, the interlocutor asks for clarification on the meaning of the word and the speaker M in (190) says she’ll look at it later in reference to a word in the dictionary on the table between them. Her conversation partner then replies, “Yeah, ok,” and M goes on to correct her earlier choice of verb but chooses not to specify the overt argument. The excerpt of that conversation from which (190) comes is given in (191) for further clarity.

- (191) a. métawgak?
 ??
 métawgak? [N]
- b. ktthe-métawga-k
 a.lot-be.sandy.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘It’s really sandy.’ [M]
- c. Kwetan na. Met=se=na.
 supposedly EMPH not.know=CONCL=EMPH
 ‘I suppose so. I don’t know.’ [N]
- d. bama n=wi-wawabda-n i
 later 1=FUT-watch.VTI-SG.INDEP that
 ‘I’ll watch it later.’ [M]
- e. éhé ahaw
 yes ok
 ‘Yeah, alright.’ [N]
- f. n=wi-nedwabdan
 1=FUT-look.for.VTI.SG.INDEP
 ‘I’ll look for it.’ [M]

Based on the conversation, the argument expressed by *i* ‘that’ is previously established in the discourse and clearly in reference to that word in the dictionary. Given the proximity of the dictionary, the medial demonstrative is appropriate. Furthermore, *i* is not noteworthy or new information as it refers back to the words uttered in (191a) and (191b). As such, it cannot be interpreted as particularly prominent in the discourse, and, resultingly, it occupies the pragmatically neutral position after the verb.

Moving on, the same speaker provides us with an example that illustrates a full DP with an NP complement alongside the independent verb, in contrast to the demonstrative alone in (190). In the case at hand, the object is once again singular.

- (192) g=wi-gbato-men i zhéba-wisnēwen
 2=FUT-cook.VTI-1PL.INDEP that morning-food
 ‘We’ll cook breakfast’ [M]

Like the verb and object in (190), example (192) provides us with yet another instance of a postverbal object. This time, the demonstrative accompanies the noun. While the transitive inanimate 1st plural verbal morphology cannot specify the number agreement of the object, the demonstrative and noun both show singular agreement. Further, the object of the transitive inanimate verb in (192) once again co-occurs with a demonstrative even though it does not need to be interpreted as definite as seen in the translation, which lacks an overt demonstrative or determiner itself. The speakers in the conversation that (192) comes from are discussing hypothetical future plans for a language event so using *i* alongside *zhéba wisnēwen* ‘breakfast food’ could be appropriate as situated in the speaker’s mental representation of the event. Again, this affirms that there is a pattern of VO where the object is accompanied by a demonstrative. Example (193) shows the same word order pattern, but this time with a definite referent for the demonstrative.

- (193) ttho n=gëkëndë-si-n i kedwen
 no 1=know.VTI-NEG-SG.INDEP that word
 ‘I don’t know that word.’ [N]

The phrase *ttho ngëkéndësin i kedwen* ‘I don’t know that word’ in (193) is uttered frequently in language learning environments, so much so that it has become somewhat of a fixed phrase with many speakers saying this exact sentence. As it stands, this further shows that the word order of Negation > Verb > Object is attested in new speaker data. Additionally, pluralizing the noun and the associated number agreement on the independent verb does not change word order. The next examples in (194) and (195) illustrate that fact.

(194) neshthé n=gi-gishpnedo-nen ni wshké-mkezn-en
 but 1=PST-buy.VTI-PL.INDEP those new-shoe-PL
 ‘But I bought new shoes.’ [C]

(195) wi-gishpnedo-nen ni gigowgemg-on
 FUT-buy.VTI-PL.INDEP those fish.building-PL
 ‘He’s gonna buy the aquariums.’ [C]

The collocation of VO remains consistent across verbs agreeing with plural objects in both (194) and (195). Only independent order transitive inanimate order verbs show number agreement; regardless of the expression of ϕ -features, the word order stays the same for these pragmatically neutral object positions after the conjunct clauses as well. (196)-(197) show the same word order of VO for both singular and plural objects of conjunct verbs. However, the forms of the nouns also present a few new issues. The first example is a conjunct verb whose object is a borrowed word, and borrowed words are the first issue.

(196) wpi ga-wawadë-man i MTV
 at.the.time IC.PST-watch.VTI-1SG.CONJ that MTV
 ‘When I watched MTV.’ [N]

The borrowed word ‘MTV’ is showed to be singular based on the singular demonstrative. This is the only way we know it is singular because speakers do not always use nominal morphology on newly borrowed words. The ordering of a conjunct verb followed by its object conforms to the expectations for pragmatic neutrality based on L1 data and cross-family tendencies. The same VO ordering appears in longer multiclausal sentence such as (197) as well.

- (197) g=nedwénda-n né é-wi-mith-yen odë tum
 2=want.VTI-SG Q C-FUT-eat.VTI-2SG.CONJ this tums
 ‘Do you want to eat this tums?’ [C]

Although the conjunct clauses in (196) and (197) serve different functions and are syntactically distinct from each other, they attest to the rigidity of the VO ordering with a demonstrative. The verb in (196) is a changed conjunct verb with a postverbal object. The verb in (197), whose object complement I am investigating is an *é*-conjunct purpose clause. The disparate discourse functions of the conjunct do not have any impact on word order; the same relative ordering is present in both (196) and (197). So long as the object is not discursively prominent, it follows the verb, and all instances of borrowed words require an overt demonstrative as well for the transitive inanimate verb class. The second issue alluded to above is found in example (198), where the inanimate object complement is a relative clause functioning as a noun.

- (198) n=de-mbwaka é-gzibinë-man ni baskë-man
 1=PRS-be.smart.VAI.INDEP C-wash.VTI-1SG.CONJ those IC.wear.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I’m smart for washing my clothes.’ [C]

The object *baskëman* ‘what I wear’ is treated as a noun and placed after the conjunct verb *é gzibinëman* ‘I wash it/them’. The fact that *baskëman* takes a demonstrative *ni* ‘those’ provides further evidence for its status as a noun. Other changed conjunct verbs and participles are distributed similarly in the data. An example of each show the same ordering in (199) and (200).

- (199) g=wi-wabda-men wa-zhëwébêk
 2=FUT-see.VTI-1PL IC.FUT-happen.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘We’ll see what will happen.’ [C]

The relative clause uttered by speaker C in (199) functions as the object of the transitive inanimate verb in the matrix clause. This is one of the few examples of an inanimate object without a demonstrative. This may be because this relative clause is not interpreted as a

participle. Regardless, the neutral object position is occupied. Example (200) provides an instance of a participle in the postverbal object position.

- (200) n=gi-wawabdan i méznatésék
 1=PST-watch.VTI.SG.INDEP that IC.small.image.shine.blinking.VII-0SG.PTCP
 ‘I watched TV.’ [M]

The speaker M in example (200) uses both a transitive inanimate verb in the independent order, inflected for a 1st person subject and a singular inanimate object, as well as the DP *i méznatésék* to the right of the verb. The phrase that hosts the object itself is composed of a participle and the medial inanimate demonstrative *i*, which we have seen in most cases thus far. She is clearly not the only speaker who pairs the VO word order with an overt demonstrative. Every Potawatomi new speaker does this, even when using participles or relative clauses as direct objects.

Finally, the last issue in this set is what happens with possessed nouns. Two strategies are presented in examples (201) and (202). The first strategy in (201) mirrors what we have seen thus far where a demonstrative precedes an argument. The second strategy in (202) does not have the demonstrative before a possessed noun. The relative frequency of either case suggests that there is a strong tendency toward using a demonstrative to identify the object post-TI verb.

- (201) n=gi-nat-ak é-wi-wzhebyé’ë-man ni
 1=PST-ask.VTA-INVR.3SG C-FUT-write.it.VTA-1SG.CONJ those
 wdenoswen-wa-n
 3=name-3PL-INAN.PL
 ‘He asked me to write their names.’ [C]

Both the demonstrative and possessive morphology are employed for the postverbal object of the conjunct clause in (201). Again, we see that number agreement for the object does not surface in the conjunct order for this verb class, but the number is apparent due to the plurality of *ni* and the number on the possessed noun, expounded as the inanimate plural suffix *-en*. The sentence in (202) exploits the nature of possessive morphology to demarcate number and definiteness postverbally without using a demonstrative determiner.

- (202) n=gi-to-men W w=thiman-en zhi mbes-ëk
 1=PST-put.VTI-1PL.INDEP W 3=canoe-PL there lake-LOC
 ‘We put W’s canoes in the lake.’ [D]

Once again, we see that the object ‘W’s canoes’ in (202) occurs between the independent verb and another element, which will be identified as an oblique later in the chapter. The morphology on the verb itself provides the agreement for the first person exclusive subject, but it is ambiguous as to whether or not the object is singular or plural due to the nature of Potawatomi verbal morphology. The DP’s plural morphology is the only way to know its number features. The clause above allows us to once again posit VO ordering, but it is one of the only new speaker utterances where the D^0 is not filled by a demonstrative. The only other example of this comes from the speaker in (203).

- (203) etso-byé-bos-yan n=denkëwé-nan é-wi-gishpnedo-yan
 every-come-drive-1SG.CONJ 1=stop.to.pick.up.VTI-SG C-FUT-buy.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 wishkebabo-yen
 pop-PL
 ‘Everytime I drive here, I stop to pick up pops to buy.’ [C]

The speaker does not use a demonstrative in the sentence in (203); she later rephrases it later in the conversation where she does use a demonstrative. That is shown in (204). Speaker C changes the order of the words in this sentence such that *wishkëbaboyen* ‘pops’ follows the independent order verb rather than the conjunct verb. In (203), the object *wishkëbaboyen* ‘pops’ agrees with the lowest conjunct clause *éwi gishpnedoyan* ‘that I buy it/them’ and it is placed after the verb, at the right side of the phrase. In the rephrased sentence, *wishkëbaboyen* ‘pops’ is the object of *ndenkëwénanen* ‘I stop to pick those up,’ rather than *éwi gishpnedoyan* ‘that I buy them.’ In changing the clause structure, she also triggers different agreement morphology on the independent order verb such that it agrees for a plural object, unlike its counterpart in (203). Additionally, she once again uses a demonstrative to specify the object of the transitive inanimate independent order verb. In doing so, she reverts back to the more common way that new speakers express an overt object. In fact, there is no example in the data set where the D head of the object DP is

not filled (either by a possessor or a demonstrative determiner) after an independent order verb, and the contrast between (203) and (204) shows that explicitly since the object of the conjunct clause in (203) does not use a demonstrative, but the similar sentence in (204) does utilize a demonstrative.

- (204) n=denkëwënan-en ni wishkëbabo-yen é-wi-gishpnedo-yan
 1=stop.to.pick.up.VTI-PL.INDEP those pop-PL C-FUT-buy.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I stop to pick up pops to buy them.’ [C]

All of the examples thus far have been provided to show the manner by which new speakers express the pragmatically neutral arguments postverbally in transitive inanimate contexts. Overt objects may surface as NPs, DPs with or without noun phrase complements, participle complements, and relative clause complements. There were exactly two examples in the data without an overt demonstrative before the NP. One was a possessed noun, where the D^0 is filled, and the other was the plural noun we just saw in (203). I draw attention to the use of the D^0 because overt demonstratives are used to mark definiteness in L1 Potawatomi, and pronominal demonstratives have emerged as a basic tenet of new Potawatomi clause structure. This is a change in progress shared across speakers and emerging independently in different new speaker communities.

Regardless of the status of the demonstratives, all of the examples are consistent with what is proposed in the word order template. This is to say that when an inanimate gender object is named explicitly but not somehow pragmatically salient or discursively prominent, then it always appears to the right of the verb. Though the tendency for full DPs to appear to the right of transitive inanimate verbs as objects is strong, it is not as resolute a collocation with animate gender objects. The nature of animate objects is what I turn to now.

Animate Objects

To this point, I have only shown objects with inanimate gender in postverbal clause positions. Inanimate arguments can only trigger singular or plural agreement on the verb. In contrast,

transitive animate verbs must agree in person and number with both the subject and object. This is to say that the object could be any of the seven person/number categories (plus the obviative third person in specific scenarios), allowing for more potential variation. For reference, I provide some examples that illustrate VTA morphology and agreement without an overt DP or NP object separable from the verb.

- (205) n=gi-widm-ak
 1=PST-ask.VTA.-INVR.3SG
 ‘She told me.’ [N]
- (206) g=nestetëw-∅ né?
 2=understand.VTA-LCL.DIR Q
 ‘Do you understand me?’ [C]
- (207) n=gi-ns-a-men
 1=PST-kill.VTA-DIR-1PL
 ‘We killed it.’ [B]
- (208) ménowidokw-ëk
 1C.think.well.of.VTA-13.CONJ
 ‘my friend’ [T]

Examples (205)-(208) serve to refamiliarize the reader with the forms that transitive animate verbs may take. They are not wholly representative of the full paradigms across the verbal orders, but they do serve to show that the objects expressed in VTA forms vary across the possible persons in real conversations between new speakers. VTA verbs show agreement for speech act participants, but they do not make use of any overt object pronouns. Doing so would promote their objects to a more prominent position since overt pronouns are emphatic. This is why none of the sentences in (205)-(208) make use of an overt pronoun.

On the other hand, the data to follow show the ways that overt 3rd person animate objects may occur while remaining pragmatically neutral. As such, (209)-(210) show speech act participant subjects expounded morphologically as bound pronominal proclitics and third person objects expressed overtly in addition to the agreement morphology on the verbs.

- (209) n=gi-natëwa o Carla
 1=PST-ask.VTA.DIR that Carla

‘I asked Carla.’ [N]

- (210) g=gekénma né o nene?
2=know.VTA.DIR Q that man
‘Do you know that man?’ [D]

Similarly to the VTI examples in the previous subsection, when an overt noun appears, it occurs to the right of the verb if it is not discourse salient. This is the case for both (209) and (210). Both examples once again make use of a noun phrase after the verb, but the question particle intervenes between the verb and the noun phrase in (210). Additionally, much like the VTI examples, (209) illustrates that it is also possible for a demonstrative to accompany a postverbal object even when it is a proper noun, a common strategy in L1 Potawatomi which is maintained in speaker varieties despite potential L1 transfer and contact with English, which does not allow such a construction. However, unlike the inanimate objects, animate arguments appear more frequently without a demonstrative. The examples here are in line with possibility; they do not contain demonstratives but do conform to VO order. The objects are singular and then third person plural arguments of the independent order verbs. In order, they are a participle (211), a relative clause (212), and a plural noun (213).

- (211) n=gi-bos’a détpethishkegaze-t
1=PST-ride.VTA.DIR IC.rool.VAI-3SG.CONJ
‘I rode my bike.’ [B]
- (212) n=gi-wabma-k ménowidokwa-ygo
1=PST-see.VTA.DIR-PL IC.think.well.of.VTA.DIR-12PL.CONJ
‘I saw our friends.’ [C]
- (213) n=gi-tthikana-k mzenis-ëk
1=PST-play.with.VTA.DIR-PL doll.ANIM-PL
‘I played with dolls.’ [B]

All three verbs in (211)-(213) show person and number agreement that match the ϕ -features of the objects following the verbs; the direct theme sign on each of the verbs show agreement for a 3rd person, and the plural object suffixes after the theme signs in (212)

and (213) indicate 3rd person plural objects. None of the sentences here make use of a demonstrative to identify the objects, but all follow the same VO ordering I showed with transitive inanimate verbs in the previous subsection. The first two objects are a participle and a relative clause respectively. Neither require the demonstratives we came to expect for VTI forms from these new speakers, but they both function as nouns in (211) and (212). On the other hand, example (213) does not include a demonstrative even though it is a simple NP. Although it is more common for new speakers to omit the demonstrative with VTA clauses, that is not universally the case even for other plural nouns. This is shown in (214).

- (214) n=wi-o-nana-k gi mkwëmis-ëk
1=FUT-go.and-pick.up.VTA.DIR-PL those ice-PL
'I'm gonna go get that ice.' [C]

The verb in (214) shows plural object agreement and the plural medial demonstrative *gi* also appears before the noun. Moreover, when asked about the function of these demonstratives for animate arguments, the speakers stated that it is optional and based on speaker preference. Most new speakers prefer to use them with independent order verbs and always use them with the conjunct order in this data set. In fact, the speaker C provided the sentence below and her associated judgments on speaker preference when asked about the role that demonstratives play in identifying arguments postverbally.

- (215) n=menwénma-k (gi) Bodwéwadmí-k
 1=like.VTA.DIR-PL (those) Potawatomi-PL
 'I like Potawatomis.' [C]

C commented that the presence of *gi* ‘those’ before ‘Potawatomis’ does not change the interpretation. Both variations mean ‘I like Potawatomis’.

New speakers require obviative determiners postverbally in verbal constructions bearing two separate third person arguments. If they do not include a determiner to disambiguate between the proximate and obviative 3rd person arguments, in addition to the obviative suffix on the noun, the constructions are evaluated as marginal. Furthermore, there are

no instances in the dataset where speakers do not doubly mark obviation on an internal argument in that manner. Positive data of this is provided below with a singular object.

- (216) *w=gi-neshkénma-n* *ni* *M-yen*
 3=PST-be.mad.at.VTA.DIR-OBV OBV.DET M-OBV
 ‘He was mad at M.’ [C]

The third persons can be disambiguated in (216) based on both the verbal morphology and the obviative morphemes associated with the object noun phrase. The verb indicates that the proximate third person, ‘he’, indicated by the third person proclitic *w=*, is the subject who is mad at the obviative argument, indicated by the direct theme sign *-a* and the obviative suffix *-n*. The object is then marked obviative by both the determiner *ni* and the obviative suffix *-yen*. This construction is only possible with animate transitive verbs, and there are no examples in the conversations where the proximate argument is the object and the obviative third person is the subject.⁴

As we have seen so far, conjunct clauses in this data set mark postverbal arguments with a demonstrative with greater frequency than in independent clauses. The sentences given in (217) and (218) are indicative of most conjunct clauses that include animate objects outright.

- (217) *n=nedwéndan é-wi-shkwën-ëk* *o* *gigo*
 1=want.it.VTA C-FUT-save.it.VTA-1>3.CONJ that fish
 ‘I want to save that fish.’ [D]
- (218) *ttho n=migwéndë-si-n* *ga-wthë-n-ëk* *o*
 no 1=remember.it.VTI-NEG-SG IC.PST-reason-say.VTA-1>3.CONJ that
 Wgemagizhek
 Ogemagizhek
 Intended: ‘I don’t remember why I talked about Ogemagizhek.’ [C]

The objects in (217) and (218) both appear after the conjunct verb and alongside the

4. Constructions with obviative subjects are attested by new speakers in classroom environments and elicitation, but they do not appear in the naturalistic conversations of this data set. So, this does not mean that obviation functions as a case marking system whereby the proximate morphology marks the agent and the obviative morphology marks the patient.

demonstratives. In fact, speakers are uncomfortable to say whether or not an argument can precede a conjunct verb, but that will be discussed in the next chapter.

By this point, it should be clear that the neutral position for objects across both animate and inanimate object agreement is after the verb. Further, the propensity for using a demonstrative is greater for inanimate object phrases than animate ones. Demonstratives are deliberately employed in VTA contexts according to speaker preference and the form of the object. Participles and relative clauses need not be accompanied by determiners, but they can be. Nouns often come with demonstratives, but similarly, they do not always do so after transitive animate verbs. The relevant word order for pragmatically neutral objects is directly following the verb and after any intervening second position particles such as the polar question morpheme. Before discussing instances with two overt internal arguments, I want to briefly examine two examples containing second objects.

Second Objects

Based on the L1 word order template, we expect to find second objects after the verb without meaningful ordering with respect to the subject or object. Depending upon what we may find in the cases bearing two postverbal arguments, that may not be the case, and second objects may have a position specified after the verb. However, that cannot be extrapolated solely predicated on the data I present now; these data will have to work in tandem with later exposition to derive that sort of conclusion. Accordingly, I now offer two examples wherein there is a second object present after the verb.

- (219) a. n=nedwəndan é-wi-min-ək o Sam ni
 1=want.it.VTI.SG C-FUT-give.VTA-1>3.CONJ that Sam DEM.OBV
 n=déy-nan-en
 1=dog-1PL-OBV
 ‘I want to give Sam our dogs.’ [C]
- b. g=da-mina o n=déy-nan gé-zhë
 2=MOD-give.VTA.DIR that 1=dog-1PL AFP=EMPH
 ‘You should give him our dog too.’ [B]

the discussion of the determiners, the word order here is once again VOS. This suggests speakers have a propensity toward giving the internal argument a privileged position closer to the verb. In contrast, this may suggest that the speakers prefer greater distance between the verb and its external argument. A very similar example is provided below as well to show that it is not just this speaker who has this tendency.

- (222) ttho mégwa w=kenon-a-si-n ni T-yen o D
 no still 3=talk.VTA-DIR-NEG-OB OBV.DEM T-OBV that D
 ‘D doesn’t talk to T anymore.’ [C]

The structure of (222) is almost identical to that of (221). In both cases, there is morphological agreement for obviation and the direct alignment theme sign indicating that the actor is higher on the prominence hierarchy than the patient. Also, both objects are obviated with their associated demonstratives while the subjects and their demonstratives remain proximate. In both examples, we once again see VOS order. Aside from the verbs and the identities of the third persons, the morphosyntax is identical. The main difference is that (222) has negation, an adverb, and the tense is different. Those differences turn out to have no bearing on the realized order of postverbal subjects and objects. Though these examples both have animate arguments, the last example in this section includes an inanimate object where the transitive inanimate verb is inflected into the conjunct order instead of the independent as we saw in (221)-(222).

- (223) a. ktthepiténdagwet
 really.a.certain.amount.be.thought.of.VII.0.INDEP
 ‘It is thought of highly.’ [W]
- b. ahaw
 ok
 ‘Ok.’ [N]
- c. é-ndo-gkënd-ëk odë Bodwéwadmimwen o neshnabé
 C-try-know.VTI.3SG.CONJ this Potawatomi.language that Neshnabé
 ‘For the Neshnabé to learn this Potawatomi language.’ [C]

Though an accurate gloss for the sentence that constitutes the combination of (223a) and

(223c) would be ‘It is thought of highly (as teaching tool) for learning Potawatomi’, the verbal morphology and overt arguments still show the same basic ordering discussed all throughout this chapter. (223c) in particular provides another example of VOS ordering. There, the object *odē Bodwéwadmimwen* ‘this Potawatomi language’ appears directly to the right of the verb before the third person subject *o neshnabé* which is literally ‘that Neshnabé,’ but it functions as ‘the people’ without requiring plural agreement. Furthermore, this example is one of the few where an argument does not show up alongside a medial determiner. Instead, the proximal determiner *odē* ‘this’ tells us how close the language is emotionally for the speaker.

In all three cases from this subsection, we find a fixed word order for new speakers. As mentioned earlier, the object occurs closer to the verb than the subject does when both are overt. For the speakers in the dataset from the north, the internal argument obligatorily occurs directly to the right of the verb. This results in a fixed VOS order when both arguments are overt. This ordering is the most common one across all speakers as well. Further, VOS tends to convey the most “Potawatomi sounding” speech. As such, it also allows us an environment within which authenticity in the burgeoning sociolinguistic landscape of new speakers may be assessed. When this ordering is not adhered to, speaker often perceive it as, “Not thinking in Potawatomi,” which is a common metalinguistic critique given to less proficient speakers.

5.4 Adverbs

Adverbs, as established in the word order template, are purported to occur to the left of the verb. Adverbs display variation across the different communities of speakers. For the most part, single word adverbs that either never were full VPs or have been reanalyzed as single words, appear to the left in the north, especially in question contexts, while they often occur post verbally in the South. Though there is no postverbal slot for adverbs, both Lewis and Lockwood suggest that the relative ordering of adverbs may be more complicated and should

be taken up at a later date in future research. As such, I investigate the available slots for adverbs now.

What follows in this section is empirical data attesting to a preverbal position for adverbs in new Potawatomi and additional postverbal slots as well for adverbs, following attested positioning from L1 data (Lockwood 2017). These slots may be occupied by adverbial phrases as well as single word adverbs which are uninflected. The relative placement of adverbs preverbally in new Potawatomi elucidates for us the greater rigidity in the left periphery.

Still, adverbials in new Potawatomi conform to the purported word order in that they often occur to the left of the verb. As mentioned in the introduction, the question particle *né* is a second position particle. Regardless of the size of the first word, *né* follows it in polar questions. *Né* in this corpus can be used as a diagnostic to test which element is in first position. It can also be used to break apart the left periphery. Typically, adverbs are the only element in the left periphery and therefore obligatorily in first position. This is clear when adverbs are followed by a second position particle, such as the polar question morpheme, *né*.

(224) dbekok né ki-mthendes?
 last.night Q 2.PST-challenge.REFL.INDEP
 ‘Did you work out last night?’ [M]

(225) wika né zhë g=gi-wébn-ëgo
 ever Q EMPH 2=PST-drop.VTA-PASS
 ‘Have you ever been dumped?’ [C]

Since *né* is a second position particle, that means the adverb is the furthest left element in the sentences above. In (224), the adverb *dbëkok* ‘last night’ precedes *né* and the verb itself. The adverb is in first position. The adverb *wika* precedes both the question particle as well as the emphatic discourse marker *zhë*. The cluster *wika=zhë* ‘ever’ for new speakers is clearly separable as the question morpheme intervenes. The point remains that the adverb stands in the acceptable position before the verb even when discourse markers also occupy

the left-periphery but do not necessarily occupy another slot in terms of discourse functions. Beyond these polar questions, adverbs clearly occur before the verb without a second position morpheme. Having a second position enclitic is not what forces the adverb to occur preverbally. We see this both with single word adverbs *gnebetth* ‘maybe, perhaps, I think that’ and *gaga* ‘almost’ in (235a) and (227) and adverbial phrases in (228) and (229).

(226) *gnebetth* *n=wi-nimēdi*
 perhaps 1=FUT-dance.VAI.INDEP
 ‘Maybe I’ll dance.’ [N]

(227) *gaga* *n=zéges*
 almost 1=be.scared.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I’m almost scared’ [A]

Both (226) and (227) are examples of the adverb preceding the verb phrase. These utterances are short sentences in the conversations, and they conform to the expected ordering. This ordering holds true for other short sentences with full adverbial phrases as well.

(228) *étso-gizhgê-k* *n=gi-mnêkwé* *ni* *Crystal Light*
 C.every-day.VII-0.CONJ 1=PST-drink.VAI.INDEP those Crystal Light
 ‘I drank Crystal Light everyday.’ [C]

(229) *ègme gizhêk* *n=mnêkwe* *wishkebabo*
 every day 1=drinkVAI.INDEP pop
 ‘I drink pop every day’ [B]

The instances where adverbs precede the verbs are no more constrained to that rigid ordering than in examples from speakers from the north that contain a Wh-word and an adverb. I say this because northern speakers have strict judgments, pertaining to proper word order and the construction of local dialects, about the use of postverbal adverbs in content questions. However, the grammaticality judgments come in the form of corrections for their interlocutors either during conversations or after conversations are complete. (230) was uttered spontaneously while (231) was deemed marginal after a conversation.

(230) *nithë ngom wa-zhetthgé-yen?*
 how today FUT.IC-do.VAI-2SG.CONJ

‘What are you going to do today?’ [B]

- (231) #nithë wa-zhetthgé-yen ngom?
 how FUT.IC-do.VAI-2SG.CONJ today
 ‘What are you going to do today?’ [N]

Though speakers have intuitions about the placement of adverbs in these simpler sentences containing only one verb and no overt arguments, the placement can get muddled in longer utterances. In those longer sentences, the speaker may use more than one adverb, adverbial phrase, or verb phrase. In the case of adverbs and adverbial phrases, typically only one adverb occurs before the verb.

- (232) kwansëgé n=gi-kitthdëbé é-gi-gigabéwë-yan i=thë
 really 1=PST-hurt.head.VAI.INDEP C-PST-be.a.boy-1SG.CONJ DEM=CNTR
 shë zneget athë-mikwëndë-man
 EMPH be.difficult.0.INDEP C.MOD-remember.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 ‘I hurt my head real bad when I was kid so it’s hard for me to remember.’ [B]

The same speaker from (232) also places a complex adverbial before a verb and an oblique, seen in the example below.

- (233) wabêk é-wi-gizh-miktthéwi-yan wëtth-ksenya-k
 tomorrow C-FUT-finish-work.VAI-1SG.CONJ from-be.cold.VII-0.CONJ
 n=wi-zhya
 1=FUT-go.VAI.INDEP
 ‘Tomorrow after I’m done working, I’m gonna go up north.’ [B]

Both Welcher (2003) and Lockwood (2017) propose that adverbial phrases precede the matrix clause, as evidenced in (232). However, that is not necessarily the case for new speakers when a sentence is more complex than a single verb and one adverbial. Further, this movement of adverbials occurs when an utterance is multiclausal. In the case of multiclausal sentences and multiple adverbials for other speakers, they place them postverbally. This gets even more complicated when speakers elect to use the conjunct order.

- (234) bkéthi ndewéndan é-wi-nimëdi-yan
 a.little 1.want.VTI.INDEP C-FUT-dance.VAI-1SG.CONJ
 é-wi-në-pkonya-k é-odanké-gizhgë-k
 C-FUT-geting.to.be-be.night.VII-0.CONJ C-go.to.town-be.day.VII-0.CONJ

‘I want to dance a little bit on Saturday nights.’ [C]

As stated earlier, the relative position of adverbs must be described in greater detail. Based on the data presented in the section so far, adverbs occupy a position before the verb. However, many speakers also place adverbs following the verb. We have already explored this with conjunct order adverbial phrases, but single word adverbs occur after the verb as well. While both positions are licit for new speakers, they cannot always use the first position. Take for instance the exchange in (235).

- (235) a. *mamwë* *n=mdagwéndan* *é-zhetthgé-ygo* *odë wpi*
 most 1=like.VTI.SG.INDEP C-do.something.VAI-12PL.CONJ this time
 ‘I like it the most what we’re doing right now.’ [A]
- b. *nin=gé* *nin=gé*
 I=AFP I=AFP
 ‘Me too, me too.’ [N]
- c. *dbëkok* *n=gi-widmëwa* *o* *n=zhenes*
 last.night 1=PRS-tell.VTA.DIR.INDEP that 1=father.in.law
 ‘I told my father-in-law about it last night.’ [A]

The speaker in (235a) and (235c) utilizes both the adverb position in the left periphery as well as the postverbal position in this exchange. In (235a), the adverbial *odë wpi* ‘now’ shows up to the right in the utterance. On the other hand, the temporal adverb ‘last night’ in (235c) occurs in a slot to the left of the verb. In (235a), ‘*mamwë*’ *most* occurs to the left of the verb as a particle. Then, the independent order verb immediately follows the particle, which can also function as a preverb when affixed to the verb stem. Perhaps it is the position of *mamwë* as a particle that forces the adverb right. Regardless of the reason for the adverb to fall in its rightmost slot, many speakers make use of that word order. This word order is especially common with speakers from southern speech communities as well, which is where A is from.

Although speakers in the south use this word order more frequently, they are not the only speakers to utilize the adverb position to the right of the verb. The following examples of adverbs on the right come from a speaker from the north.

- (236) ttho n=wi-zhya-si zhi Topiki ngom. Ngom
NEG 1=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-NEG.INDEP there Topeka today. today
n=wi-yé zhi byéwǵěmǵ-ok
1=FUT-be.somewhere.VAI.INDEP there hotel-LOC
'I don't want to go to Topeka today. I'm going to be at the hotel today.' [C]
- (237) gnebetth n=wi-tadi bkéthi
maybe 1=FUT-gamble.VAI.INDEP a.little
'Maybe I'll gamble a little.' [C]

In both examples (236) and (237) from this speaker, she uses the rightmost position for adverbs. However, this may be because the left periphery is occupied by other elements, notably negation and another adverb. This is not to say that only one element may occur preverbally, but there is a tendency toward simplicity that is realized as a more sparsely occupied left-periphery. As such, she chooses to use the acceptable postverbal positions for the adverbs instead. As opposed to Southern speakers, Northern speakers more frequently elect to place adverbs to the left of the verb. Nevertheless, adverbs may occupy their positions to the right of the verb for all speakers, and the template must accurately reflect all possible word orders for new speakers. At this intermediate point, I provide a more elaborate template inclusive of all possible adverb placements.

- (238) Negation > **Adverb** > Focus, Oblique > Verb > Object, Second Object > Subject
> **Adverb**

Bearing all this in mind, I turn now to the positions of obliques to finish describing the pragmatically neutral elements in the clause.

5.5 Obliques

According to the word order template previously proposed for L1 Potawatomi provided in Table (5.1), there are two possible slots for obliques in the Potawatomi clause: preverbal or postverbal. Preverbal obliques are attested after topic, negation, and adverbs, and in the same slot as argument focus. Postverbal obliques occur after the verb, with no pragmatically

relevant order with respect to of the object, second object, or subject. Both the preverbal and postverbal positions for obliques are maintained by this set of new speakers. In this subsection, I first discuss the strategies employed to license obliques before I move on to the preverbal position itself. Then, I finish by discussing postverbal obliques.

Obliques frequently occur in the left periphery, especially if they are licensed by a relative root (Lockwood (2017): 165). Though L1 careful speech attests to the need to license obliques with some sort of relative root, preverb, or particle, that is not always the case, and this shift is attested in native speaker varieties. New speakers take the same approach to licensing obliques. This is especially clear in Wh-questions. The strategies by which obliques are licensed vary across dialects and within individual speakers. First, I show an instance of a question where the Northern speaker does not include a preverb to license an oblique location to illustrate an unlicensed oblique.

- (239) nipithë wa-nimëdi-yen?
 where IC.FUT-dance.VAI-2SG.CONJ
 ‘Where will you dance?’ [N]

Though the ‘where’ question word *nipithë* is used, it is not licensed by a relative root or preverb. The expected form which would license the oblique would include *thë* affixed to the verb after the tense morpheme. That looks like the sentence in (240).

- (240) nipithë wa-thë-nimëdi-yen?
 where IC.FUT-REL.from-dance.VAI-2SG.CONJ
 ‘Where will you dance?’

The speaker in (239) is reported to utter questions which license the oblique as well, with a shift over time toward greater use of the additional preverb *wthe-* in ‘where’ questions that reflects the dynamic nature of language proficiency over time with respect to adhering to prescriptive grammatical rules. The following example shows a question where the oblique is licensed by a preverb.

- (241) nipithë è-thë-miktthéwi-yen?
 where C-REL.from-work.VAI-2SG.CONJ

‘Where do you work?’ [N]

The preverb licenses the oblique location in (241) whereas there was no relative root or preverb present to technically license the oblique in (239). Some speakers show variation in this exact usage, reporting that speakers understand each other based on the context and saying the location is already alluded to given the *thë* present on the where question word *nipithë*. Beyond this variation, there are some higher frequency phrases that always include a preverb or relative root to license the oblique. Two examples are provided in (242) and (243). The first is the very common question, ‘Where are you from?’ which is often asked in conjunction with speaker introductions.

- (242) *nipithë wetth-bya-yen?*
where from-come.VAI-2SG.CONJ
‘Where are you from?’ [M]

The relative preverb *wetth* in (242) above is what licenses the oblique as *bya* ‘come’ is an animate intransitive verb with one single core argument, which is the subject expressed by the 2nd personal singular suffix *-yen* on the verb. The next example is very similar in that the oblique is once again licensed in a high frequency question phrase. However, here it is licensed by a relative root, *ezh* ‘in a certain way.’ The full verb consisting of the relative root and verbal components, *zhenkazo* ‘be called something,’ is often conceptualized as a single word without any component parts by learners and some new speakers alike. In discussing the verb *zhenkazo*, one new speaker said, “[I] see it [as one word], but it could also be separate as *zhë nkazo*. Is it one of the ones where the direction marker has...melded into the verb?” The grammatical analysis of *zhenkazo* ‘be called so’ as simple verb with little attention paid to the relative root arises because the phrase is part of introductions and it is often one of the first questions speakers learn, before they learn the grammatical functions of relative roots and preverbs.

- (243) *nithë ézh-nekaz-yen?*
how IC.REL.manner-be.called.VAI-2SG.CONJ
‘What’s your name?’ [M]

Moreso than the VP in (242), the verb *ézhnekazyen* is lexicalized and interpreted as *é-zhnëkazyen* prefixed by the complementizer which undergoes initial change seen in classrooms, though, this is often done for pedagogical simplicity in introductory classes. Regardless, the relative root licenses the oblique argument. The point of these examples so far has been to point out that obliques may be licensed by preverbs or relative roots, but not all speakers license obliques using morphology affixed to the verb every time. This is not grammatically incorrect based on L1 data (Lockwood 2017). Speakers in the contemporary context exploit the resources available to them at different rates and the variation tends to align with location based norms of usage.

Moving on, there are many examples of obliques in the data set both preverbally and postverbally. I begin here by exploring obliques in the left periphery. The answers to the questions posed in (242) and (243) provide very straightforward examples of obliques occurring to the left of the verb. The example in (244) is an answer to the question in (242).

- (244) Dowagiac n=dë-wtth-bya
 Dowagiac 1=PRS-REL.from-comeVAI.INDEP
 ‘I’m from Dowagiac.’ [N]

The oblique *Dowagaic* occurs to the left of the verb and is licensed by *wtth* affixed to the independent order verb. Similarly, the response to (243) uses the same word order and appropriately licenses the oblique. That response is given below.

- (245) M n=dezhnekas
 M 1=REL.be.called.a.certain.way.VAI.INDEP
 ‘My name is M.’ [M]

The structure and order of (245) is nearly identical to that of (244). Both (244) and (245) answer questions where the verb licenses an oblique and in response, they both contain relative roots within the independent order verbs. In both, the oblique occurs before the verb. In (245), the name is licensed by the manner relative root *ezh-*. Moreover, the specific phrases are very common and this ordering is explicitly taught to learners very early on.

These phrases are parts of an individual’s introduction and show very little variation in word order. Though they are fixed phrases, they are not the only examples of preverbal obliques. The data include many obliques before the verb. For instance, the next example shows a preverbal location oblique including locative morphology.

- (246) *mbes-ëk n=gi-zhya-men*
lake-LOC 1=PST-go.somewhere.VAI-1PL.INDEP
‘We went to the lake.’ [D]

The speaker in (246) uses a locative on the noun *mbes* ‘lake’ in conjunction with the morphology on the verb to express the oblique phrase translated as ‘to the lake.’ As expected, the oblique argument *mbesëk* occurs before the verb and is licensed by the relative root *ezh* contained in the verb *zhya* ‘go’.

All examples thus far have either been Wh-questions or used the independent order. As it stands, there are relatively more examples of obliques before a conjunct verb than subjects or objects before a conjunct verb. These preverbal obliques most often occur when they are directly licensed by a relative root or preverb. This is the case for some ‘when’ clauses and equational sentences. I present an example of that with a when clause below.

- (247) *mdatso nsetth nyéw é-gi-tsë-pongez-yan*
ten and four C-PST-REL.-be.a.year.VAI-1SG.CONJ
‘When I was 14.’ [B/C]

Two speakers uttered the same ‘when’-clause in (247) above in the same conversation elicitation session. In both cases, the phrase is identical where the relative root *tsë* licenses the oblique *mdatso nsetth nyéw* ‘fourteen’ in the ‘when’-clause expressed using the *é*-conjunct. Though it is possible for some simple number words to be incorporated into the verb phrase itself, the number in (247) is expressed using a preverbal oblique. This is a common usage of the oblique position in the dataset as well. Another common use by speakers from the north are equational sentences where the oblique argument is the head of the relative clause. I provide an example of such an equational sentence in (248).

- (248) bikwa shna odë kedwen ézhë-tagwze-t
 like EMPH this word IC.REL.manner-sound.VAI-3SG.CONJ
 ‘It sounds just like this word.’ [N]

In the sentence in (248), the component parts of the equation are as follows [just like this word]=[the manner in which it sounds]. The oblique is contained within the left side of the equation; and as such, it is both the head of the relative clause and in the expected oblique position preverbally. Further, we see that it is licensed by the preverb *ézhë* ‘in a certain manner.’ Though this is a relative clause construction, it is still the case that the oblique occurs to the left of the verb as expected based on the word order template.

To this point, we have mostly seen obliques in the left periphery of the clause. So far, obliques have been the only preverbal elements presented in this section, and while these kinds of solitary oblique arguments are more common in the data, they are not the only ones. There are examples which exhibit more items to the left of the verb. Every instance of that also conforms to the expected word order. For example, we see obliques in sentences that are also negated and contain adverbs. One example of a more elaborated left periphery is presented in (249).

- (249) ttho wika zagetth m=bëmpto-si
 no ever outside 1=run.around.VAI-NEG.INDEP
 ‘I never run outside.’ [C]

In (249), the oblique argument *zagetth* ‘outside’ occurs to the left of the verb after the adverb and the negative particle. This example provides us with the ordering expressed here:

- (250) Negation >> Adverb >> Oblique >> Verb

The order outlined in (250) is in accordance with the expected order of words based on the template and the L1 data. Furthermore, the position of obliques aligns with what is presented in the word order template with respect to preverbal core arguments. By this, I mean that we see obliques occurring alongside what could be analyzed as elements in either topic or focus positions. The example below is an instance of this.

- (251) *nin* w=noshé-yen n=daw
 I 3=maternal.aunt-OBV 1=be.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I am her aunt.’ [C]

I am currently agnostic as to whether or not the emphatic 1st pronoun *nin* in (251) is in topic or focus position, and there is no reason to posit one over the other based on this example alone. Given the context from which this sentence is taken, it is likely that it serves as the argument focus. In either case, the oblique *wnoshéyen* ‘her aunt’ surfaces before the verb and either after topic or in the same slot as focus.

The final preverbal obliques present in the dataset are direct quotations. For verbs of quotation, the quoted material appears as an oblique to the left of the quoting verb. I observe this tendency in L1 narratives and with new speakers as well. The example here shows a direct quotation in the oblique position to the left the verb.

- (252) “Wenzé” gi-kedo o T
 be.good.3SG.INDEP PST-say.VAI.3SG.INDEP that T
 ‘T said, “He’s good.”’ [D]

The direct quoted material *wenzé* ‘he is good’ appears in the oblique position to the left of the verb in (252). Many speakers use this word ordering, but it is not a fixed position for oblique quotations. Speakers utilize both the preverbal and postverbal oblique positions for direct quotations. In some cases, the verb of quotation is accompanied by two obliques: one before it and one after it. The same speaker from (252) produces a sentence where both oblique positions are occupied later in the same conversation. That is presented in (253).

- (253) “Hey!” gi-kedo o Thigwé “N=nedwéndan
 hey PST-say.VAI.3SG.INDEP that Thigwé 1=want.VTI.SG.INDEP
 é-wi-shk’ewn-ëk o gigo”
 C-FUT-save.VTA-1>3.CONJ that fish
 ‘ “Hey!” Thigwé said, “I want to save that fish.”’ [D]

For (253), direct quotes appear in both preverbal and postverbal oblique positions. It is possible that the speaker omitted the quoting verb for the second portion of the quote, but

regardless, the quotes materialize in the expected oblique positions based on the template. Moreover, other speakers take advantage of both oblique positions for arguments of quoting verbs. Take for instance the two sentences in the example below.

- (254) a. “Ttho=wi” n=gi-na
 NEG=ADVRS 1=PST-say.VTA.DIR.INDEP
 ‘I said to him, “No!”’
 b. n=gi-widmēwa “n=de-yékwes”
 1=PST-tell.VTA.DIR.INDEP 1=PRS-be.tired.VAI.INDEP
 ‘I told him, “I’m tired.”’ [C]

The speaker in (254) uses both oblique positions for quoted material one after the other when talking about an exchange with an acquaintance recently. In (254a), the preverbal oblique position is occupied by the quote, “No!” while in (254b), the direct quote, “I’m sick,” occupies the position for obliques after the verb. Quoted material is not the only oblique argument seen to the right of the verb. In fact, postverbal obliques are relatively more frequent in this data set. This is especially true of oblique arguments expressing a location. Often, the locational obliques are introduced and licensed by *zhi* ‘there’ after the verb in these scenarios, such as the *zhi* present in the example below.

- (255) g=wi-zhya-men zhi méznatéséwgemg-ok
 2=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-1PL.INDEP there movie.theater-LOC
 ‘We are gonna go to the movie theater.’ [S]

In (255), the speaker utilizes the oblique position to the right of the verb and uses *zhi* alongside the locative suffix *-ok* on the noun to express the location for the oblique argument. This sort of double marking after the verb is quite common while no preverbal arguments see the use of *zhi* in the corpus. Further, it is not always the case that postverbal obliques like this require a locative suffix. That is especially true of borrowed words such as the English names for towns.

- (256) egmē-nibe-k n=gi-zhya zhi Indianapolis
 C.every-be.summer.VII-0.CONJ 1=PST-go.somewhere.VAI.INDEP there Indianapolis
 ‘Every summer, I went to Indianapolis.’ [B]

(257) ttho n=wi-zhya-si Topiki ngom
no 1=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-NEG.INDEP Topeka today
'I don't want to go to Topeka today.' [C]

(258) n=wi-kwé-yé èthë-mba-yan
1=FUT-for.a.while-be.in.a.place.VAI.INDEP C.REL.from-sleep.VAI-1SG.CONJ
'I'll be in my room for a while.' [C]

(259) n=gi-kenom-ades i kedwen êthë-mawtheshno-wat
1=PST-teach.VTA-REFL that word C.REL.from-gather.VAI-3PL
'I learned that word at the gathering.' [N]

145

using reflexive morphology on the transitive verb ‘teach.’ The second object *i kedwen* ‘that word’ occurs directly to the right of the verb before the oblique argument *éthë mawthesh-nowat* ‘at the gathering’ which itself contains a relative preverb. This aligns with our earlier assumption that core arguments occupy a privileged position closer to the verb than other elements. One more example provides further evidence for that conclusion as well.

- (260) é-wi-zhya-yak nin mine Mskwathigwék zhi Tama
C-FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-1PL.CONJ I and Mskwathigwék there Tama
'So me and Mskwathigwék will go to Tama.' [C]

Again, example (260) shows a conjunct verb whose overt core arguments appear to the right of the verb. The core argument then intervenes between the verb and the oblique argument *Tama* ‘Tama’ introduced by *zhi* ‘there’. Once more, we see that a borrowed word ‘Tama’ does not receive the locative suffix and it is licensed again by *zhi*. A similar word order appears when the oblique argument is a native noun rather than a loan word.

- (261) n=de-ton i mbok zhi destthegadé-g-ok
1=PRS-put.VTI.SG.INDEP that book there IC.be.flattened.VII-PTCP-LOC
'I have that book on my desk.' [C]

We have repeatedly seen the placement of oblique arguments after core arguments. (261) provides an example of that once more. The oblique argument licensed by *zhi* occurs after the overt object *i mbok* ‘that book.’ The use of a locative suffix on the participle is confusing given the fact that verbs do not co-occur with nominal morphology in the grammatical descriptions of contemporary L1 Potawatomi. The locative suffixed to a participle is interesting, but it is irrelevant to the topic of word order. What is relevant is that the word order is verb, object, and then oblique. Further, this is not the only example from the corpus where we encounter that ordering. Below, I provide one more example of that ordering, but the speaker uses a different verb to license the oblique.

- (262) n=gi-zhenkana o n=déy Gmowen. Gmowen
 1=PST-REL.be.called.a.certain.way.VTA.DIR.INDEP that 1=dog Gmowen. Gmowen
 zhenkazo.
 REL.be.called.a.certain.way.VAI.3SG.INDEP

‘I named my dog Gmowen. Her name is Gmowen.’ [N]

In the case of the obliques in (262), the dog’s name is licensed by the relative roots expressed by *ezh-* on both verbs. In the first clause, the internal argument is expressed by the DP *o ndéy* ‘that my dog’ before the oblique *Gmowen*. Interestingly, the speaker then immediately goes on to reiterate the dog’s name while using the alternative oblique position before the verb in the second sentence. It is clear that both positions are available for this speaker, but she chooses to use different positions in consecutive utterances.

Overall, the new speaker data suggest that obliques occur in the positions we expect based on L1 data. The preverbal position is maintained such that we still observe obliques after negation, adverbs, and topic or focus. To the right of the verb, obliques may occur directly after the verb so long as there are no core arguments present in the clause. When a core argument of the verb appears after the verb, it must intervene before the oblique; the core arguments are inclusive of subject, object, and second object. The data suggest that obliques are not actually unordered with respect to those core arguments. Instead, subjects, objects, and second objects occur closer to the verb when overt than obliques do. Unfortunately, there is not yet enough data to declare whether or not postverbal adverbs and obliques must follow a certain order since adverbs appear both before and after the oblique. In the conclusion of this chapter, I synthesize these findings into a concrete word order template in Table (5.2).

5.6 Multiclausal sentences

Lockwood proposed that adverbial clauses typically precede the verb while other types of dependent clauses follow the matrix verb (2017: 161-162). As a generalization, this holds for new Potawatomi. (263) below is an example of an adverbial clause preceding the matrix clause verb and (264) shows an embedded clause following the matrix clause.

- (263) é-gi-ngot-nëmégizhgê-k n=gi-zhya zhi Kansas
 C-PST-one-be.sunday.VII-0.CONJ 1=PST-go.somewhere.VAI.INDEP there Kansas

‘I went to Kansas last week.’ [W]

- (264) g=gi-wzhita né é-wi-kenomagé-yen?
2=PST-get.ready.VAI.INDEP Q C-FUT-teach.VAI-2SG.CONJ
‘Did you get ready to teach?’ [N]

In keeping with the expansion of postverbal slots to include adverbials, we also find adverb phrases after the matrix clause verb as well. This is illustrated in (265)-(266).

- (265) kwansëgé n=gi-kitthdëbé é-gi-gigabéwë-yan
extremely 1=PST-hurt.head.VAI C-PST-be.a.boy.VAI-1SG.CONJ
‘I really hurt my head when I was a little kid.’ [B]

- (266) n=wi-zhya zhi é-wi-nëmégizhgê-k
1=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI there C-FUT-be.sunday.VII-0.CONJ
‘I’m going there this coming Sunday.’ [W]

In (265), there is already an adverb preceding the matrix clause verb and the adverbial conjunct clause occurs after the matrix verb. This may be a result of the tendency for speakers to place fewer elements in the left periphery. Placing a single adverbial in the left periphery also reduces any possible confusion as to what *kwansëgé* ‘extremely’ would modify if it were to appear next to the adverbial phrase as well. Example (266) contains only one adverbial that occurs after the matrix verb. This shows that the postverbal adverb slot can be occupied by a full adverb phrase consisting of a conjunct temporal clause. In cases such as these, the adverb phrases are not subordinated in the same manner as embedded clauses such as the one in (264).

5.7 Maintaining the pragmatics of word order

Given the data presented thus far in this chapter, it is possible to make connections to the manners by which new speakers maintain the pragmatics of word order. So far, I have not presented any data on the discursively prominent topic and focus positions, but it is clear that speakers know how to use the neutral positions for the elements shown to this point. These positions include negation, adverbs and obliques, and the subjects and objects to

the right of the verb. As mentioned earlier, the ability to use pragmatically felicitous word orders signal a speaker’s proficiency as a “Potawatomi-sounding” speaker of the language. Additionally, speakers in this dataset are able to make judgments on sentences whose word order is the result of L1 transfer errors. The subsection to follow discusses one example of this.

5.7.1 *Rejected Sentence*

This section highlights a particularly ill-formed sentence and acceptability judgments on it from some speakers in the dataset. By discussing these acceptability judgments, some word order rules emerge. The ill-formed sentence is provided below:

- (267) *Gigabé wisnē getthwa kokosh
 boy eat.VAI.3SG.INDEP like pig
 Intended: ‘The boy eats like a pig.’

The sentence in (267) is problematic to contemporary speakers for a number of reasons. First, the comparative particles *bikwa* (Northern) and *ketthwa* (Southern) ‘just like’ require conjunct order subordinate clauses. The verb in (267) is inflected for the independent order; thus, the discourse functions of the conjunct are not fully realized, as we saw in the chapters on the distributions and functions of the conjunct order. Second, the verb *wisnē* does not bear the preverb *ezhē-* which is obligatory when licensing an oblique specifying the manner of an action. For ‘eat’, the verb stem *ezhzesni* ‘eat in a certain way’ is required as seen in (268). Finally, the sentence conforms to English SV word order with an oblique argument constituent placed to the right of the verb. That word order in turn is the only reason the intended gloss could be accessible at all. The English word order is then the reason that the subordinate conjunct clause structure is eschewed for the independent; and the English semantics are the reasons for the choice of verb which does not conform to Potawatomi morphosyntactic rules regarding the licensing of obliques either. One consultant offered the following as a more acceptable sentence:

- (268) Bikwa shna kokosh ezh-zesni-t o gigabé
 like EMPH pig REL-eat.a.certain.way.VAI-3SG.CONJ that boy
 ‘That boy eats like a pig.’ [C]

This is an equational sentence: [just like a pig]=[the manner the boy eats]. *Bikwa* ‘just like’ and its southern counterpart *ketthwa* ‘just like’ require conjunct inflection in these equational constructions. The righthand side of the equation contains a relative clause formed on an oblique argument as the head. The verb form must then be a relative clause which is obligatorily inflected for the conjunct order. [Just like a pig] appears in a preverbal position and the subject of *ezh zesnit* ‘the way he eats’, *o gigabé* ‘the boy’, is postverbal as that is the default position for subjects that are not pragmatically or discursively salient, such as topic or focus.

The grammatical choices in (268) are based on prototypical equational sentences functioning as comparisons. The verb bears conjunct morphology and a relative preverb, which allows the comparative *bikwa* ‘just like’ to make sense. The subject of the verb as well appears postverbally. Finally, the sentence in (268) is resolutely not based on English SVObl. In addition, the sentence conforms to the speech community-wide acceptable word ordering specific to equational sentences such as these. That ordering is something like the following:

- (269) ‘like’ → oblique argument → manner relative root-conjunct verb → (demonstrative)
 → subject

The speaker who provided the sentence in (268) was not the only speaker who suggested this type of relative clause structure with an oblique argument as the comparison element. Other speakers from the north noted that this word order and construction, “seem wrong.”

This has all been to show that contemporary speakers have strong intuitions as to what sounds the most Potawatomi to them in terms of word ordering. In other words, contemporary speakers understand and utilize a pragmatically driven word ordering as outlined in Table (5.1). Furthermore, some word order and verbal orders are fixed in some grammatical expressions such as the *bikwa* or *ketthwa* equational sentence comparisons. This means that

speakers do not accept just any word order as a proper Potawatomi sentence. Just because a contemporary user of Potawatomi utters a sentence with a particular word order does not mean that any word order is acceptable. In §8, I present a word order template for contemporary new speakers of Potawatomi.

5.8 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, data have been presented attesting to the accuracy of the L1 word order template in contemporary new speakers of Potawatomi. Ignoring for the moment the positions of topic and focus, I have shown that new speakers maintain the pragmatically neutral argument positions as previously understood. Negation, adverbs, and obliques all occur to the left of the verb, and obliques and neutral subjects and objects occur to the right of the verb. The data in this chapter are used to present the novel finding that there is now another possible position for adverbs to occupy to the right of the verb and that the new speaker data show strong preferences for a preferred relative ordering of arguments after the verb. The objects, second objects, and subjects to the right of the verb are not wholly unordered with respect to each other, as was previously assumed. Table (5.2) provides the newly adapted word order template for contemporary speakers, without including topic or focus at the moment.

Negation	Adverb	Oblique	Verb	Object Second Object	Subject	Oblique Adverb
----------	--------	---------	------	-------------------------	---------	-------------------

Table 5.2: Contemporary Word Order Template

The word order to the left of the verb has been robustly maintained by speakers in this corpus, but the word orders to the right of the verb have changed so that core arguments of the verb are now obligatorily closer to the verb than obliques and adverbs. Additionally, this template provides a description of postverbal adverbs that was not previously discussed in a manner that suggested a fixed ordering. For contemporary speakers, the objects and

subjects have fixed orderings, while obliques and adverbs follow those arguments but are unordered with respect to each other.

Most importantly, this all shows that speakers have understandings of pragmatically felicitous word orders. Breaking from these expected orderings results in confusion and judgments that those sentences are ill-formed and marginal at best while violating pragmatic maxims. In the next chapter, I discuss the functions and realizations of topic, focus, and other discursively salient word orders.

CHAPTER 6

WORD ORDER II: TOPIC AND FOCUS

6.1 Introduction

As we saw in the previous chapter, the unmarked position for subjects, objects, and second objects is to the right of the verb. Based on earlier Algonquian word order analyses, I also assume that positions dedicated to expressing topic and focus appear in new varieties of Potawatomi (Bruening 2001; Dahlstrom 1995, 2003; Johnson et al. 2015; Junker 2004; Lewis 2015, 2016; Lockwood 2017; Sullivan 2016). Across the family, we see, “an articulated left-periphery for purposes of expressing the discourse function of particular arguments,” (Johnson et al. 2015: 18). Much of the existing literature on Algonquian languages concludes that those aforementioned discourse functions include topic and focus to the left of the verb. Relative to postverbal arguments, preverbal arguments appear in the new speaker corpus with lower frequency, but they keep their pragmatic and discourse functions to mark topic and focus. The durability of pragmatic word order runs contra to the expectations based in the literature on contact induced language change (Schmidt 1985; Grenoble et al. 2019; Kantarovich et al. 2021). However data from new Potawatomi show that both topic and focus appear at the left-edge, as expected in conservative varieties of Algonquian languages. In this chapter, I present and discuss examples of topic and focus in new Potawatomi. To determine the reality of topic, I provide excerpts from conversations where a preverbal element clearly functions as a topic. I do the same for foci, where I use relative word order to determine focus position. In the final sections of this chapter, I discuss the roles that discourse markers play in identifying topic, focus, and the sentence final anti-topic.

The concepts of topic and focus are not explicitly taught in Potawatomi language classes: instead, teachers and speakers describe word order simply by saying, “You put the most important part of the sentence at the beginning,” (comparable to Mithun’s (1987) notion of “newsworthiness”). Moreover, there are almost no examples in my corpus of both overt

topic and an element in focus used in a single sentence.¹ However, evidence for the reality of separate positions for topic and focus comes not only from the distinct discourse functions that topic and focus play, but also from their position relative to negation and adverbs, as seen in Table 6.1. It is remarkable that the new speakers of Potawatomi are maintaining the L1 distinction between topic and focus despite not being explicitly taught about those discourse functions.

In Table 6.1, I present a word order template based on the analysis given at the end of chapter 5. In this table, the left-periphery is outlined in full and I label elements to the right of the verb as XP at this time.

Topic	Negation	Adverb	Argument Focus Oblique	Verb	XP
-------	----------	--------	---------------------------	------	----

Table 6.1: Left-Periphery Word Order Template

In the section to follow, I focus solely on the first position presented in the template: Topic.

6.2 Topic

In my description of topic, I adopt Lambrecht's definitions (1981; 1994): A referent is interpreted as the topic of proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent (1994: 131). Further, I accept the formal and pragmatic notions that topics are not marked for case, are not determined by the verb, and are referentially definite (Lambrecht 1981). Out of the accepted definitions, an important element is that topic is not marked for case. As a correlate, new speakers strongly disprefer the use of medial demonstratives before an NP in topic position. The demonstratives do not mark case, but they can help distinguish theta-roles of postverbal arguments. When a

1. The only speaker who uses both topic and focus together in a single sentence is a linguist.

medial demonstrative precedes an NP in topic position, it can only have a literal meaning, i.e. referring to an item in the medial distance, but even that construction is marginal. New speakers' judgments of overt demonstratives before a topic are that they would be able to understand it because they would accommodate their interlocutor. In order for an utterance including a topic with a demonstrative to be felicitous, it would "depend on who [they are] talking to," given new Potawatomi information structure. This is to say, the use of a demonstrative with overt topics is marginal in the new speaker grammars represented in this dissertation.

As seen in the word order template in Table 6.1, overt topics appear at the far left edge of the clause. In the new speaker data, there are examples of topic appearing as the only elements to the left of the verb, as well as examples of topic preceding negation, adverb, or focus.² I first present a few examples that only contain a fronted argument with their surrounding conversational context to ascertain their status as topics based on word order and pragmatic function.

- (270) a. gnebetth g=wi-yon i toner
 maybe 2=FUT-use.VTI.SG that toner
 'Maybe you should use toner.' [N]
- b. toner n=de-ton
 toner 1=PRS-have.VTI.SG
 'I have toner' [C]
- c. 'Toner?' [B]
- d. ttho ttho makeup stuff
 no no makeup stuff
 'No, no, makeup stuff.' [N]
- e. 'I was like, "a printer toner?"' [B]
- f. 'Similar.' [N]
- g. toner n=de-ton zhi ibë èthë-da-yan
 toner 1=PRS-have.VTI.SG there there C.REL-live.somewhere.VAI-1SG

2. There are no examples of both topic and an oblique argument present in one sentence in this corpus.

‘I have toner at my house.’ [C]

In the conversation from which (270) is drawn, the speakers are talking about face redness and possible solutions. Though there is intervening English clarification about what toner is, the speaker in (270b) and (270g) is able to maintain the topic by fronting an argument associated with the verb. It is especially obvious that she maintains the argument’s topical status after all of the intervening English conversation where the speakers go back and forth about the definition of toner in this context. In both lines, the topic, ‘toner,’ is what the remainder of the sentence is about, and it is co-referential to the object of the verb in both lines. In (271), on the other hand, an overt topic is co-referential to the subject of the following comment.

- (271) a. g=gi-mdagwéndan né i mshkoténinak pow wow
2=PST-like.VI.SG Q that Prairie.Band-LOC pow wow
‘Did you like the Prairie Band pow wow?’ [W-2924-06-12]
- b. éhé n=gi-ktthemdagwayé ézhi mshikoténinak
yes 1=PST-really.enjoy.VAI there Prairie.Band-LOC
‘Yes. I really enjoyed myself there in Prairie Band.’ [N]
- c. n=gi-nimëdi minè n=gi-mbwatth’ëwé
1=PST-dance.VAI and 1=PST-visit.VAI
‘I danced and visited.’ [N]
- d. n=gi-mwbatth’a o NP é-gi-nyanno-gizhgê-k
1=PST-visit.VTA.DIR that NP C-PST-five-day-0.CONJ
‘I visited with NP on Friday.’ [N]
- e. nin minè NP n=gi-kenondë-men gbé-dbekok
I and NP 1=PST-talk.RECIP-1PL all-be.night-0.CONJ
‘Me and NP talked to each other all night.’ [N]

In the excerpt of the conversation represented by (271), the speaker in (271b)-(271e) relays her experiences at a pow wow in Kansas. In (271d), the object *o NP* appears as it is the first mention of that person; however, the mention of Prairie Band has already situated *NP* as a possible relevant person in the story. In (271e), the speaker topicalizes *nin minè*

NP ‘me and NC’ in a manner that maintains NC’s status as an actor and shifts the topic to the first person plural.

The corpus also contains examples in which a speaker uses the topic position to indicate a shift in topic, (272)-(274).

- (272) a. n=gi-gwedemothgé-men
1=PST-fish.VAI-1PL
'We fished.' [D]
- b. ahaw
okay
'Okay.' [N]
- c. n=gi-babwithgé-men
1=PST-wait.VAI-1PL
'We waited.' [D]
- d. ahaw
okay
'Okay.' [N]
- e. i=thé T w=gi-gwedemona-n... shäg-as
that=CNTR T 3=PST-catch.on.hook.and.line.VTA.DIR-OBV bass-DIM
'And then T caught...a bass' [D]

In the example above, the relevant subjects are expressed via person marking on the verb alone in (272a) and (272c). In (272e), the speaker uses the narrative discourse connective function of *ithé* before shifting the topic to *T*, a previously mentioned person in the conversation. The topic of (272a) and (272c) is ‘we,’ and the topic shifts to *T* in line (272e). The following example is shifting topic, but it is more obvious.

In the example below, the speakers have a interlude whereby they use the conversation itself as a pedagogical tool to better understand possessive morphology by repeating words in turns. Earlier in the conversation, they were talking about buying new running shoes, and W talks about how much she likes her pair of Hocas. N then goes on to talk about her own pair of Hocas before she utters two possible forms of possessive morphology on *Hoka*, beginning in (273a) After that interlude, one speaker utters a sentence with a topicalized

argument.

- (273) a. um n=de-Hoka-ëm n=de-Hoka
 um 1=POSS-Hoka-POSS 1=POSS-Hoka
 ‘Um, my Hocas, my hocas.’ [N]
- b. n=de-Hoka-m anaké n=hoka-m
 1=POSS-Hoka-POSS or 1=Hoka-POSS
 ‘NdeHokam or nHokam.’ [C]
- c. n=Hoka-m
 1=Hoka-POSS
 ‘My Hocas.’ [N]
- d. n=shonya-m
 1=money-POSS
 ‘My money.’ [C]
- e. Ahaw, n=Hoka-m um uh n=dë-wdabyan-ëk té-non
 Okay 1=Hoka-POSS um uh 1=POSS-car-LOC be-0PL
 ‘Okay well, as for my Hocas, um uh, they’re in my car.’ [N]

The final repetition of *nHokam* in (273e) serves as the topic of while *ndëwdabyanêk ténon* ‘they’re in my car’ is the comment. Furthermore, we see that the topic position may be occupied to shift topic in responses to polar questions in (274).

- (274) a. w=gi-nimëdi-wêk né g=nithansé-k?
 3=PST-dance.VAI-3PL Q 2=child-PL
 ‘Did your kids dance?’ [N]
- b. n=gwes w=medagwéndan é-ngmo-t mine n=danse-s
 1=son 3=like.VTI.SG C-sing.VAI-3SG and 1=daughter-DIM
 w=medagwéndan é-nimëdi-t
 3=like.VTI.SG C-dance.VAI-3SG
 ‘My son likes to sing and my daughter likes to dance.’ [M]

In both portions of the response to the question in (274), the speaker M answers the question N asks by placing the subjects of each matrix verb in topic position. In (274a), N is asking about M’s children, and she has something different to say about each of her children in (274b). In the first portion of her answer, *ngwes* ‘my son’ is the topic. In the first verb

phrase after the conjunction *mine*, the subject *ndansés* ‘my little daughter’ also appears in topic position as a means to shift the topic from *nqwes*.

Beyond the relatively simple examples of topic above, there are a few examples in the data that include both a topic and another element to the left of the verb, such as negation. This is especially striking because many speakers abide by a prescriptive rule given in language classes which states, “Nothing comes before negation.” Despite this pedagogical shorthand, there are a couple examples from one speaker in the data where an overt topic precedes negation. The example provided below is representative of the topic preceding negation from her.

- (275) wpi wa-nithasé-yan n=wi-bodwéwadmitwa neshthé
time IC.FUT-have.children.VAI-1SG 1=FUT-speak.Potawatomi.VTA.DIR but
penothé ttho mshe da-ket-si o penothé-s
child NEG yet MOD-speak.VAI-NEG that child-DIM
'When I have children, I will speak Potawatomi to them, but as for babies, they can't
talk yet, the little baby.' [N]

In this longer sentence, the speaker is able to establish the topic of the lower clause in a number of ways. First, *penothé* ‘child’ is given information in reference to the verb *wnithansé* ‘have a child/children’, and the the object of the transitive verb *bodwéwadmimtwá* ‘speak Potawatomi to someone’ is referential to the lower topic as well. Second, *penothé* occurs to the left of verb and it is the overt topic on which ‘s/he cannot speak yet’ is the comment. The comment itself hosts both negation and an adverb as well, which necessarily follow topics when overt. On the note of negation, the verb is inflected for the independent order because it follows the contrastive conjunction *neshthé* ‘but’ which triggers independent morphology. Because of that inflection, we are able to see a clearly occupied topic position before negation.

At this point, I have exhausted most of the straight-forward sentences with topics to the left of the verb in my database. Now, I turn to describing focus constructions in contemporary Potawatomi.

6.3 Focus

There are many types of focus, but the commonly adopted definition of argument focus in Potawatomi linguistics comes from Lambrecht (1994). Following Lambrecht, focus is, “The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the proposition,” (1994: 213). In the new Potawatomi data, the focus position is before the verb, but following topic, negation, and adverbs. The focus position is what cues the relation from the pragmatically non-recoverable component to the recoverable component of a proposition, creating new states of information for the hearer (Lambrecht 1994: 218). In the data, we see contrastive focus, restrictive focus, quantifier focus, and we also observe the preverbal position occupied by focused material in answers to questions. I begin first by presenting data showcasing examples of focus alongside negation as to determine whether or not we can still rely on relative word order to diagnose the position of focus.

- (276) ttho Shaq n=gi-wabma. Lebron n=gi-na
 NEG Shaq 1=PST-see.VTA.DIR Lebron 1=PST-mean.VTA.DIR
 ‘I didn’t see Shaq. I meant Lebron.’ [N]

In the first portion of (276), Shaq occurs in focus position following negation. In this example, the object is promoted to a more pragmatically salient position. It is also possible for the subject to occupy the focus position, illustrated in (278). It is also very common for the verb to be elided after an overt focused item, as in (277).

- (277) ttho=wi=zhë nin
 NEG=ADVRS=EMPH I
 ‘Not me!’ [N]

In (277) above, the verb is elided, but it is clear that the emphatic pronoun *nin* surfaces in focus position. Since *nin* occurs after negation and the adversative discourse marker *wi*, it is clear that the phrase is used to deny an expectation or as a rebuttal. Given that a denial of expectation necessarily subverts the presupposed material of a proposition, the analysis

of *nin* as focus is bolstered. Aside from the function of *ttho wi zhe*, there are also examples of focus that include negation and a verb.

Besides these limited co-occurrences of negation and focus in the data, focus can occur at the far edge of the left periphery, as exemplified in (278).

- (278) a. Uptown. wetth-ksenya-k
 Uptown C.REL-be.cold.VII-0.CONJ
 ‘Uptown. Up North.’ [N2023-08-10]
- b. gigos-êk né yé-wêk?
 fish-PL Q be.somewhere.VAI-3PL
 ‘There are **fish** there?’ [D]

In the portion of the sentence before the question particle in (278b), the speaker places the indefinite subject of the verb in focus position. The speaker conveys his surprise at the thought of someone finding fish in a Chicago neighborhood by focusing the surprising element *gigosêk* at the left edge of the clause. Other surprising content, including objects, appear in focus position as well, seen in (279).

- (279) a. g=dokiyān né gégo g=de-sa?
 2=pet Q something 2=PRS-have.VTA.DIR
 ‘Do you have any pets?’ [W]
- b. éhé ngot nēmōsh minē ngot may- I was gonna say sago- mayos
 yes one dog and one ca- I was gonna say ape- cat
 ‘Yes, one dog and one ca- I was gonna say ape- cat.’ [B]
- c. Howah! Sago né g=de-sa?
 Woah ape Q 2=PRS-have.VTA.DIR
 ‘Woah! You have **an ape?**’ [C]

In (279c), the speaker places the surprising content in focus position before the question particle. In the context of a conversation about household pets, the fact that *sago* ‘ape’ remains indefinite, and the resulting laughter from the participants, indicates *sago*’s status as focus. This focus construction is also used because *sago* needs to contrast with the expected assertion. It is the surprising content in focus, not the topic of the comment. The

role played by *sago* in focus position differs from the topicalized argument *gdokiyan* ‘your pet’ seen in (279a) where it is clear that the rest of the clause is a comment.

There are additional examples of argument focus in the dataset as well. Below, you can find three examples of questions and answers illustrating focus in the answers in (280)-(282).

- (280) a. Dale Earnhardt né g=gi-wabma?
 Dale Earnhardt Q 2=PST-see.VTA.DIR
 ‘Did you see Dale Earnhardt?’ [N]
- b. Junior. Gi-gish-mbo-t o Senior
 Junior PST-finish-die.VAI-3SG that Senior
 ‘Junior. Senior had already died.’ [B]

The focused content of the answer to ‘Did you see Dale Earnhardt?’ occurs in the first portion of (280b) when the speaker says ‘Junior.’ Again, we use elided material after the focused element. In this use of focus, the speaker restricts the focus to one individual from the set of possible Dale Earnhardts, the famous father-son racecar drivers, Dale Earnhardt Sr. and Dale Earnhardt Jr. Another very similar example comes from a different speaker in (281).

- (281) a. w=nithansé né ?
 3=have.children.VAI Q
 ‘Does he have kids?’ [N]
- b. Mhm. Gigyago-s w=de-sa-n
 mhm girl-DIM 3=PRS-have.VTA.DIR-OBV
 ‘Mhm. He has a little girl.’ [C]

Once again, in the answer to a question, an argument appears in focus. Here again, the focused content restricts information based on the semantics of ‘have children’ and ‘little girl’ is contained within the set of possible children. There are additional examples of focus in the answer to questions in the dataset, such as the example below, which requires a long string of discourse to make sense.

- (282) a. n=nedwénma é-wi-gishpnenêk o Bronco
 1=want.VTA.DIR C-FUT-buy.VTA-1>3 that Bronco
 ‘I want to buy a Bronco.’ [C]

- b. nin=gé
I=AFP
'Me too.' [B]
- c. bikwa shna OJ Simpson Bronco
like EMPH OJ Simpson Bronco
'Just like OJ Simpson's Bronco [N]
- d. wa?
huh
'Huh?' [C]
- e. wabshkya Bronco
be.white.VII.0 Bronco.ANIM
Intended: 'White Bronco.' [N]
- f. Wini=thë?
who=CNTR
'Who?' [C]
- g. Bikwa shna OJ Simpson
like EMPH OJ Simpson
'Like OJ Simpson.' [N]
- h. Oh, OJ Simpson. Uh Jason n=gi-néndëm é-ket-yen
Oh OJ Simpson uh Jason 1=PST-think.thus.VAI C-say.VAI-2SG
'Oh, OJ Simpson. Jason I thought you said.' [C]
- i. ttho. Ttho n=gi-ket-si. Ttho=wi
No. NEG 1=PST-say.VAI-NEG NEG=ADVRS
'No. I didn't say. No!' [N]

In (282f), the speaker asks a question clarifying who one of her interlocutors mentioned. In response, the speaker in (282g) responds by repeating a portion of an earlier sentence and placing it in focus position. Answers to Wh-questions often require a component of the answer to appear in focus. This time, they are contrastive and restrictive yet again. Additionally, 'Jason' in (282h) is also an example of contrastive focus, though it is the oblique argument of the lower clause. In this longer excerpt, I show that the focus position can be exploited to aid in clarifying misunderstandings in concurrent turns. I turn now to an example of restrictive focus accompanied by some discourse markers and particles that aid in restricting the information.

- (283) a. i=thé miné Raph n=gi-nêk um kwé-wêk sē=mteno
 that=CNTR and Raph 1=PST-say.VTA.INVR um woman-PL CONCL=only
 w=gi-kedo-wêk. Watéya nin=gé um I always say that too
 3=PST-say.VAI-3PL jeez 1=AFP um I always say that too
 ‘And then Raph told me um, “Only women said it, as for ‘watéya.” Me too um
 I always say that too.’ [N]
- b. kwé-wêk sē=mteno
 woman-PL CONCL=only
 ‘Only women.’ [C]
- c. éhé kwé-wêk
 yes woman-PL
 ‘Yeah. Women.’ [N]
- d. hmm
 hmm
 ‘Hmm.’ [C]
- e. w=okmes-en anaké like w=koyé-n um uh n=okmes miné
 3=grandmother-OBV or like 3=grandma-OBV um uh 1=grandmother and
 n=getthēnokmes w=gi-ked-wêk ‘Watéya’
 1=great.grandmother 3=PST-say.VAI-3PL watéya
 ‘His grandmother or like his grandma. Um uh my grandma and my great
 grandma said “Watéya.”’ [N]
- f. huh
 huh
 ‘Huh.’ [C]
- g. éhé
 yes
 ‘Yeah.’ [N]
- h. nen-wêk sē=mteno w=gi-ked-wêk uh watéya zhi métawgak
 man-PL CONCL=only 3=PST-say.VAI-3PL uh “watéya” there Crandon.LOC
 miné shodē nen-wêk sē=mteno w=gi-ked-wêk gi n=denwémagen-êk
 and here man-PL CONCL=only 3=PST-say.VAI-PL those 1=relative-PL
 ‘So only men said it, uh “Watéya,” in Crandon and only men in my family said
 it here.’ [C]

In the portion of the conversation from which (283a) and (283h) comes, the speakers are discussing the sociolinguistic distribution of an interjection that both speakers heard

growing up along the axes of gender and location. Speaker C's interlocutor expresses that she had heard the expression only from women growing up and after asking a Potawatomi person from Kansas, she relays that he too said he only heard women saying it when he was growing up. This is a relatively surprising assertion to C since the only person who had made that claim to that point had been the speaker in (283a). After more discussion of individual women who used the interjection, C utters the sentence in (283h) before she goes on to list both locations where men say it and individual men from her family who used the interjection. By placing the argument in focus position and using the restrictive *mteno* 'only', she exploits the focus position in both its contrastive and restrictive abilities. The argument 'men' contrasts with 'women' from earlier discourse and it restricts the information using 'only' from a set of possible individuals which contain all Potawatomi speakers in all locations.

A final type of focus illustrated in these data are quantifier and indefinite pronoun focus constructions.

- (284) gégo gégo dagna-kén
 PROHIB something touch.VTI-2SG.IMP
 'Don't touch anything!' [KV]

In example (284), the prohibitive, or negative command as speakers describe it, is used. The first instance of *gégo* 'don't' is a prohibitive morpheme which occurs in the negative position.

At this point, I now turn to the functions of certain discourse markers in identifying topic and focus. Namely, I will describe *thé* 'but', 'than', 'how about', 'and', 'and then', 'and so', *yé* which is a focus marker, and *gé* 'and also', 'too', 'as for'.

6.4 Discourse Markers

Word order is not the only strategy for identifying topic and focus, three discourse markers in particular play prominent roles in encoding the pragmatic functions in the conversations

between new speakers. Those discourse markers are *thé* ‘but’, ‘than’, ‘how about’, ‘and’, ‘and then’, ‘and so’, the focus marker *yé*, and *gé* ‘too’, ‘as for’. Both *thé* and *yé* mark topic and focus, sometimes in combination with other discourse markers. Additionally, they always appear at the left-edge of the clause, cliticized to the first word, as commonly observed in traditional Potawatomi. The particle *gé* has more flexible word order, and is able to mark either topic or focus. This section discusses these particles in order of *thé*, *yé*, and then *gé*. I end this subsection by addressing the greater pragmatic and discursive force that these discourse markers have in determining pragmatically felicitous topics and foci.

6.4.1 *Thé*

The first discourse marker to be discussed is *thé*. *Thé* as a particle is a contrastive marker. It marks semantic opposition between propositions and it functions to contrast topics.³ The most important function of *thé* at this point is its ability to contrast topics. Those instances of this contrastive particle are somewhat fixed in their usages, but they occur nonetheless. What we find most frequently in the data are adjacency pairs which show that *thé* is able to contrast topics. This is exactly what we expect based on L1 data showing that questions may be echoed back in a conversation (Lewis, 2020: 191).

- (285) gin=*thé*
 you=CNTR
 ‘And you?’

In the example above, *thé* is a second position clitic attached to the emphatic pronoun. The emphatic pronoun occurs in topic position. The fact that *thé* marks contrast necessarily means this type of topicalization is contrastive in that it overtly shifts the topic from a preceeding one.

3. Additionally, it also marks contrast for comparatives, and I have anecdotal evidence that new speakers do this. I have no data in this corpus attesting to that fact; it just so happened that there are no comparatives that utilize =*thé* in this corpus by this set of speakers. Since the data have been collected, I have heard a number of the new speakers use it in comparatives, but it is not present in a way that I can cite as conversation data collected using the methodology I outlined in the introduction.

Earlier in this chapter, we also saw instances where *=thé* cliticized to *i(w)*. The collocation of *i(w)=thé* for this set of speakers is a discourse sequencer, and most often a temporal sequencer which aids in textual coherence. At the first mention of a topic following the contrastive particle, I said little about its use. (286) presents the lines following the final clause of (272), reproduced below in (286a).

- Both of the arguments following *thé* in (286a) and (286c) are topics. The first instance shows that the collocation of *ithé* and an NP is what shifts the topic to the NP, in this case *T*. The subject of the sentence in (286c) appears overtly as an emphatic pronoun after the contrastive discourse marker. In that case, the topic is shifted to *nin*.

167

6.4.2 *Yé*

There are relatively few examples of *yé* as a focus marker in the data, but they all conform to the same basic structure. In each example, *yé* marks a demonstrative as the focus in a cleft construction. This type of clefting and focus marking is very stable across the speakers also.

- (287) Mnokmet. wi=yé=i wethh-abwamgê-k
be.spring.VII ADVRS=CNTR=that C.REL-be.warm.VII-0.CONJ
'It's spring. That's why it's warm.' [KV]

- (288) wi=yé=i ezhë-néndë-man
ADVRS=CNTR=that C.REL-think.thus.VTI-1SG.CONJ
'That's how I think of it.' [B]

In both (287) and (288) above, the demonstrative *i* is focused in the cleft construction using *wi=yé*. This reflects the tendency modern native speakers have in using *wi* in place of a neutral demonstrative pronoun in these focused cleft constructions. Both of the speakers above use *yé* to help mark the focus argument in the relative clause construction. These *wi=yé* cleft focus constructions are not the only ways speakers produce clefts: they also use headless null copula relative clause constructions, such as the one provided below in (289). (289) shows that the *=yé* enclitic is optional in focus cleft constructions.

- (289) iw ga-zhëwébê-k é-gi-gwedemothgé-yak nin mine Zach. Ahaw
that IC.PST-happen.VII-0.CONJ C-PST-fish.VAI-1PL.CONJ I and Zach okay
'That's what happened when we went fishing, me and Zach. Well, yeah.' [N]

The first verb phrase in (289) is a headless relative clause with null copula where the determiner is focused and refers back to the content of a fishing story the speaker had just relayed. This sentence marks the conclusion of a narrative contained within a conversation. This form of focus clefting is very common in marking the boundaries of a discourse unit; ending a story with a null copula cleft. This shows that both clefts and the *yé* may mark focus, and they do so in similar ways. At this point, I turn to the varied functions of *gé* in the data.

6.4.3 *Gé*

The particle *gé* has a number of functions described in the literature about L1 Potawatomi (Lewis 2020). It can be alternatively used as either a focus marker or topic marker, based on the word order and morphemes cliticized to it. When it is exploited for its additive functions, it has a reading of an additive focus marker. This is because *gé* is an additive particle, contributing both simple and scalar additivity. In those constructions, *gé* receives a translation such as ‘too’ or ‘also’ or something akin to ‘even’ which conveys surprise.

In many cases, *gé* helps to identify the focus, but that is not always the case. There are some times when it helps mark topic. Those are seen in the data as topicalized focus constructions (see Lewis 2020: 71-76) and anti-topic post-verbally. Lewis (2020) defines topicalized focus as a sentence frame where “a noun is topicalized and appears in a topic position in the left of the clause before an argument focus position while a coreferential pronoun appears in the argument focus position.” In topicalized focus constructions, the following order is attested: noun=*gé*=pronoun=(*na*) verb. In these constructions, =*gé* appears to the right of the whole noun phrase in topic position, a surprising finding given its definition as a second position enclitic. In this frame, =*gé* is additive and the pronoun is under the scope of the discourse marker while the noun appearing in topic position is not. Anti-topic is a strategy whereby the NP topic is repeated as an NP at the end of a final clause in an episode. Anti-topics can be found in Meskwaki to indicate the end of an episode (see Dahlstrom pear: for Meskwaki). Anti-topic itself is the phenomenon by which a discourse salient constituent correlated with topic that could occur earlier in the clause is placed at the right edge of a clause (Lambrecht 1981).

At this point, I provide a few examples to illustrate the functions of *gé*. In the following examples, the discourse marker appears in focus construction as an additive focus particle.

- (290) a. g=medagwéndan-en né
 2=like.VTI-PL Q
 ‘Do you like them?’ [N]

- b. éhé n=getthemdagwéndan-en
yes 1=really.like.VTI-PL
'Yeah, I really like them.' [C]
- c. nin=gé nin=gé
I=AFP I=AFP
'Me too, me too.' [N]

In (290c), the pronoun *nin* appears in focus alongside the additive focus particle. The understood presupposed part 'I really like them' is not said overtly, and the only reason this reading is accessible to the participants is in part because of the additivity of the particle. Additionally, the emphatic pronoun supplies the material to be placed in focus. There are other similar examples where the presupposed content is later stated overtly. Consider the following exchange in (291).

- (291) a. ni=thë=na
how=CNTR=EMPH
'How are you?' [C]
- b. iw=zhë=anwé. Odë=wpi=ngom n='netthiwénmo
DEM=EMPH=CONC this=time=today 1=happy.VAI
é-yé-yan
C-be.somewhere.VAI-1SG
'I'm ok. I'm happy to be here now' [N]
- c. nin=gé
I=AFP
'Me too.' [C]
- d. Ahaw. Gin=thé ni=thë=na
Okay. 2=CNTR how=CNTR=EMPH
'Well alright. And you? How are you?' [N]
- e. n='nettiwénmo é-gi-bya-yen
1=happy.VAI C-PST-come.VAI-2SG
'I'm happy you came.' [C]

In the excerpt above, the speaker in (291c) places the emphatic pronoun subject of an elided verb phrase in focus alongside the additive focus particle *gé*. She later goes on to fully expand upon what she meant after the topic is shifted to her by the other speaker in (291d).

In (291e), *nin* no longer appears as an overt emphatic pronoun in focus position nor can it be understood as focus since it is no longer a portion of the proposition expressing new information. The topic is shifted to *gin* in (291d) by her interlocutor as a means to return the question of ‘How are you?’ even though *nin gé* had at least in part supplied an answer to that question. At any rate, the speaker goes on to answer the question without anything in argument focus. What is going on with *thé* as a way to contrast topics was seen in the previous subsection.

Aside from the collocation of *gé* and pronouns, there are also examples of *gé* occurring alongside NPs to mark focus in a given proposition before the verb. The first example comes from a conversation where the speaker actually switches into English at the verb phrase, but the additive interpretation of *gé=zhě* for most speakers implies that this time *gé* functions in its additive focus form.

- (292) Meskwaki *gé=zhě* um does that
 Meskwaki AFP=EMPH um does that
 ‘Meskwaki also um does that.’ [N]

The speakers in this conversation are participating in a metalinguistic discussion about comparative Algonquian grammar in the Potawatomi language. In the sentence above, the speaker introduces a new argument previously undiscussed in focus position and cliticizes to it the additional particles *gé=zhě* before switching into English when she can not access an appropriate term in Potawatomi. In addition to this relative ordering of *gé* and the argument, we see the reverse as well in example (293). This happens because *gé* is cliticizing to *miné* ‘and’, which is in the first position. In those cases, I am inclined to say the full nouns appear in topic position and *gé* helps mark the topic in the discourse rather than only function to show additive focus.

- (293) *miné gé* *dabyané-s-ek* *neko* n=gishobyé’a-k
 and TOP.AFP car-DIM-PL used.to 1=PSTpaint.VTA.DIR-PL
 ‘And, as for little toy cars, I used to paint them too.’ [B]

- (294) mine gé nin mine n=zheshe n=gi-zhya zhi Indianapolis
 and TOP.AFP I and 1=uncle 1=PST-go.somewhere there Indianapolis
 é-wi-wawabm-ayak néshiwbozéthêk
 C-FUT-watch.VTA-1PL>3 race.car.driver-PTCP.PL
 ‘And also me and my uncle, I went to Indianapolis so we could watch NASCAR.’ [B]

In both (293) and (294), the particle *gé* works to mark off the topic in the discourse. For (293), the topic is introduced internally in the discourse, in the middle of the conversation. Additionally, it occurs before the temporal adverb, *něko* ‘used to’. As such, it rightly occurs in topic position.

However, there is some evidence from L1 data that would lead us to expect *géwi* before the noun in these scenarios as opposed to *gé* alone. *Géwi*, a grammaticalized form that was historically *gé* and the full pronoun *wi*, or *gé*=pronoun is the most common way to use *gé* to mark a topic in L1 data (Lewis 2020). In marking topic, it is expected to see *gé*=*wi*, but here in new speaker data we see *gé* alone as the framing device for focus. This points to some type of change in progress where the disparate functions associated with a wide variety of distributions and collocations including *gé* are now all condensed to *gé* alone. There are zero examples of *gé*=*wi* in this dataset to indicate topic. The functions of some discourse markers are shifting in a manner that suggests their core semantic meanings or pragmatic functions are maintained, but the more peripheral meanings or infrequent discourse marking functions are absent from the data. Either they maintain their core semantic force alone, or they combine the functions of multiple discourse markers, as is the case where *gé* is used in favor of *géwi* for topics.

This is also the case for the topic of (294) where the emphatic pronoun follows the discourse marker. The function of this is to introduce a new topic. In later discussions, speaker B provides a translation of all *gé*=*X* constructions as ‘As for X’, which mirrors one topicalization strategy in English. Additionally, much like data from L1 narratives, *gé* retains the additive function even when marking topic. New speakers use *gé*=*X* as a topicalization

strategy at both the left and right edge of the clause. The fact that *gé=X* can be used in both positions may be analogical extension of its function to mark right-dislocated topics, or anti-topics.

Right dislocation of topics, anti-topics, is attested in both L1 data and the conversations held by the new speakers here. (295h) is an example of a right dislocated topic used for clarification purposes in a Wh-question. In the context of the conversation of (295), the speakers are talking about what they have enjoyed doing while speaking Potawatomi, and the speaker in (295h) is clarifying what the question is.

- (295) a. n=neshnades
 1=be.useless.VAI
 Intended: ‘I’m all mixed up.’ [N]
- b. oh ahaw ahaw. Wéknithë émdagwéndë-men
 oh okay okay what IC.like.VTI-2SG.CONJ
 ga-zhetthgé-ygo?
 IC.PST-do.something.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘Oh, okay, okay. What do you like that we did?’ [A]
- c. athë-bodwéwadmim-ygo
 MOD-speak.Potawatomi.VAI-12PL.CONJ
 ‘So we can speak Potawatomi’ [N]
- d. éhé
 yes
 ‘Yeah.’ [A]
- e. ahaw ahaw. shodë né anaké Dowagiac né
 okay okay here Q or Dowagiac Q
 ‘Okay, okay. Here or? Dowagiac?’ [N]
- f. shodë
 here
 ‘Here.’ [A]
- g. shodë ahaw
 here okay
 ‘Here, okay.’ [N]
- h. Wégwnithe ga-ndewénde-men gé=ni?
 what IC.PST-want.VTI-1SG.CONJ TOP.AFP=1SG

‘And as for me? What did I want?’ [N]

- i. éhé
yes
'Yes.' [A]

The structure of (295) is somewhat unusual, but the right dislocated topic is clearly included for clarification purposes as the interlocutor then answers the question with ‘yes’ rather than describing what the speaker in (295h) wanted or answering in another manner. In instances such as these with a topic at the right side, *gé*=pronoun/noun serves to mark an anti-topic. The topic marking function of *gé*=pronoun/noun is then exported to all other word order positions. As such, *gé*=pronoun/noun can mark topic, regardless of its position or the fact that it is not the expected order of discourse markers and NPs to cordon off topic, as seen in L1 data. We see this expanded function in the topics associated with conjunct clauses. Interestingly, the right-dislocated topics using *gé* have been maintained only as *gé*=pronoun in the data, as seen in (296d).

- (296)
- a.
- odë kedwen uh zneget
this word uh be.difficult.VII.OSG.INDEP
‘This word, uh, it’s hard.’ [N]
- b.
- éhé
yes
‘Yeah.’ [C]
- c.
- éhé
yes
‘Yeah.’ [N]
- d.
- é-wi-ket-yan
- gé=nin
- C-FUT-say.VAI-1SG.CONJ AFP=I
‘So I say it.’

Thus far, the majority of pragmatically prominent arguments have co-occurred with independent order verbs. The only times they have been associated with a conjunct verb have been when they are marked off by a specific discourse marker. This frequency plays a role in determining pragmatic and discourse functions of arguments, but there are some

examples where an emphatic pronoun alone serves as anti-topic. I present an example of a pronoun in anti-topic position where the sentence in (297c) comes from the extended discourse about camping, partially reproduced in (297).

- (297) a. èthë-miktthéwi-yék
C.REL-work.VAI-2PL.CONJ
'Where you guys work.' [N]
- b. wabzhi mbes-êk né?
swan lake-LOC Q
'At Rodgers Lake?' [M]
- c. wabzhi mbes èthë-miktthéwi-yék ginwa
swan lake C.REL-work.VAI-2PL you.all
'At Rodger's Lake, where you guys work, as for you all.' [N]
- d. 'Oh, mmm.' [M]
- e. shkwéyak zhi èthë-bodwéwadmim-wat wigwam
in.the.back there C.REL-speak.Potawatomi.VAI-3PL.CONJ house
'In the back at the language department.' [N]
- f. ttho
no
'No.' [M]
- g. béshotth zhi Dowagiac zibi-s
next.to there Dowagiac river-DIM
'Next to the Dowagiac River.' [N]
- h. ttho. n=medagwéndan é-wi-gbesh-ygo zhi ktthe-mbes
no 1=like.VTI.SG C-FUT-camp.VAI-12PL.CONJ there big-lake
'No. I'd like us to camp at Lake Michigan.' [M]

In (297c), the anti-topic position is filled by an emphatic pronoun *ginwa* 'you all' without any accompanying discourse marker. In this example, it is clear that the anti-topic serves to clarify the subject of the conjunct verb for the hearer, similar to afterthoughts (Lambrecht 1981).

Now, I discuss the final remaining type of discourse topicalization maintained in new speaker conversations. What is to follow is an example and discussion of a topicalized focus

construction. In topicalized focus constructions, a noun appears in topic position before an argument focus position where a pronoun which is coreferential to the noun in topic also surfaces. In these constructions, both topic and focus positions are occupied, but the whole left-periphery has one function. In the example below, the speaker is shifting the topic using this construction in (298e).

- (298) a. n=dembwaka é-gzibinē-man ni baskē-man –
 1=be.smart.VAI C-wash.VTI-1SG.CONJ those IC.wear.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 é-gzibinē-men ni i baskē-man
 C-wash.VTI-2SG.CONJ those that IC.wear.VTI-1SG.CONJ
 é-wi-zhya-yan – é-wi-zhya-yak nin
 C-FUT-go.somewhereVAI-1SG.CONJ C-FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-1PL.CONJ I
 miné M zhi Tama
 and M there Tama
 ‘I’m smart for washing my clothes–for you washing my clothes so I–so me and M
 can go to Tama.’ [C]
- b. Tama
 Tama
 ‘Tama.’ [N]
- c. éhé
 yes
 ‘Yeah.’ [C]
- d. ahaw ahaw ahaw ahaw
 okay okay okay okay
 ‘Oh okay alright okay okay.’ [N]
- e. nin mine Dizhë gé=ninan
 I and Deja AFP=1PL
 ‘Me and Deja, as for us.’ [N]
- f. ginwa sē=mteno
 you.guys CONCL=only
 ‘Just you guys.’ [C]
- g. éh
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’ [N]

- h. gin mine Dizhë g=wi-zhya-k zhi wetth-gzhaté-k
 you and Deja 2=FUT-go.somewhere.VAI-PL there C.REL-be.hotVII-0..CONJ
 é-wi-shobyégé-yék
 C-FUT-paint.things.VAI.2PL.CONJ
 ‘You and Deja, you guys will go to the South to paint things.’ [C]

topic. The same can be said for focus too.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have examined the morphology and syntax of conversational Potawatomi produced by a group of individuals that I define as new speakers. In examining these speakers' shared grammatical forms, I propose that participation in their speech communities creates the environment necessary for naturalistic acquisition and use of an identifiably new speaker code. New speakers participate in the revitalization process and their speech is reflective of grammatical input that cannot be learned from independent study of L1 texts alone. The grammars of the current L1 speakers of Potawatomi differ from the published documentation in several ways: Hockett's fieldwork was done almost a century ago, for example, and did not survey the full range of dialect variation among Potawatomi communities, and none of the published grammars of L1 Potawatomi have focused explicitly on Potawatomi conversations. In documenting the structure of new speaker discourse, I have presented data to document naturalistic Potawatomi conversations between new speakers. In particular, I investigated the distributions of conjunct and independent order verbal morphology as loci for contact-induced language change in a shifting community. Additionally, I showed the ways that new speakers of Potawatomi understand the pragmatic functions of word order in manners that maintain the traditional Potawatomi of L1 speakers.

The areas that experienced the most change were the conjunct order and the more pragmatically neutral components of word order. For the conjunct order, new speakers use the plain conjunct infrequently and use the *é*-conjunct much more frequently, sometimes in place of the plain conjunct. The *é*-conjunct has also expanded such that its functions and distributions overlap with the changed conjunct, which is reflective of fluent speakers' grammars today. I have shown that the *é*-conjunct has become the basic form for embedded structures. We saw that the word order template must be expanded in the neutral post-verbal positions. There is a tendency toward VOS word order and an additional slot for adverbs after the verb.

One major component of this dissertation is to document the modern state of Potawatomi in very proficient new speaker communities. Every person in the study had exposure to the language as children, but that does not mean they are heritage speakers. What they are instead are new speakers. The new speakers here are united by the fact that they comprise the community of practice. Their grammatical choices are reflective of participation in the sociolinguistic landscape of Potawatomi. There are specific grammatical forms that are more socially salient because they are easy to identify. Those are often espoused in the pragmatics, which is surprising because pragmatics are difficult to master. However, some portions of this such as word order is especially obvious because it is so markedly different from English and the maintenance is a direct result of rejecting L1 interference.

As a generalization over these new speakers, they exhibit linguistic differences from L1s and learners who are not involved in the communities. The goal of new speakers is foremost one of communication while other L2s may have the goal of mastery of conservative Potawatomi. These new speakers have existed in the context of the language revitalization movement for years if not decades and have borne witness to diachronic language change that is not captured in earlier literature on Potawatomi. As such, their input is different from that of other L2 learners, and they produce language reflective of their input.

Further, the new speakers' language proficiencies are not static. As they are more engaged in the language revitalization movement, their proficiencies improve; as they speak more, they get better. It seems simple, but this is the first time it has been discussed for the maintenance of Potawatomi. Additionally, I conducted my dissertation research in the wake of the death of a particularly prolific teacher and L1 speaker, Jim Thunder. In the time since his death, the goals of Potawatomi revitalization have adapted to his absence. There are still living native speakers of the language, but they do not teach the language to as many people as Jim did. Following his passing, speakers across communities have come together in ways that give us access to a fuller picture of the language. For the first time in perhaps over 100 years, disparate communities of Potawatomi speakers are interacting with each other

on a frequent basis that allows us to rebuild and reclaim the sociolinguistic ecosystem of Potawatomi as a whole.

Before the rapid language shift in the 19th and 20th centuries, each Potawatomi community was home to multiple dialects, often emblematic of certain villages or locales. Until recently, the obvious differences between local communities was not as easy to describe for so many people. However, in recent years, communities have worked together in ways that have reinvigorated the social meaning of Potawatomi. This can all be summed up by saying that we speak the same language and we have maintained our sound, which is particularly important in Potawatomi culture.

The style of conversational documentation exemplified in this dissertation demonstrates that the language is living and, just like speakers' proficiencies, it is dynamic. There is one concern I have though: the connection between maintaining a distinct linguistic practice in our heritage languages and our rights to self-determination. I do not aim to say the language of new speakers is necessarily divergent from L1 speech (and it isn't really, every grammatical form discussed in this dissertation is attested at some point by a native speaker of Potawatomi). Even though we are not just fabricating unattested forms, I still fear the potential ramifications of a publication like this given the current political climate and history of Indian affairs. We are Indian, we have been Indian, and we will continue to be Indian because we have our language, but framing it as change or deficit could be dangerous.

7.1 Future Research

Out of this dissertation comes a number of possible areas of research. One is discussing the functions of discourse markers in new speaker varieties. In Lewis's (2020) dissertation, he documented and described ten sentence-initial discourse markers that had for decades puzzled language learners. For the most part, new speakers are able to use many of the discourse markers he described in ways that align with the discourse markers' core semantics. On the other hand, the more discourse dependent functions occur less frequently in the

conversations of new speakers. However, with continued use, it is possible the discourse markers will reemerge and look more like L1 discourse markers. As a site of maintenance and language change, it would be a useful endeavor to track the acquisition of discourse markers or to define their functions synchronically for new speakers.

Another area of research is tracking longitudinal proficiency in these groups of speakers. Over the course of data collection, every speaker became more proficient as a result of continued collaboration and communication. This could be an interesting paper on the goals and outcomes of language revitalization programs.

Unrelated to either of those areas of research, a great deal of phonological and phonetic analysis of new speakers could be done. Many new speakers had enough exposure to the language to acquire some heritage speaker tendencies in their phonological systems. For instance, speaker N reliably produces lenis stops longer than fortis stops across the language, but her vowel quality and syllabification shows L1 interference. However, this is not the case for the whole of her phonology; in earlier acquired forms and forms related to those, her production sounds more like that of a heritage speaker. Moreover, her speech has changed over time to match more closely the other new speakers from her home community, with substantial influence from southern speakers based on her personal network and connections. She is not the only speaker who exhibits a mix of heritage phonology and English L1 interference.

REFERENCES

- Aalberse, S., Backus, A., and Muysken, P. (2019). *Heritage Languages: A Language Contact Approach*. John Benjamins.
- Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., and Polinsky, M. (2013). Heritage Languages and Their Speakers: Opportunities and Challenges for Linguistics. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 39(2):129–181.
- Bloomfield, L. (1946). Algonquian. In Hoijer, H., Bloomfield, L., Newman, S. S., Haas, M. R., Swadesh, M., Halperin, A. M., Trager, G. L., Li, F. K., Voegelin, C. F., and Whorf, B. L., editors, *Linguistic Structures of Native America (The Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 6)*, pages 85–129. The Viking Fund, Inc.
- Bodéwadmi Confederacy (2023). Preamble to the Bodéwadmi Articles of Confederation. Official document. Adopted by the Bodéwadmi Confederacy on July 27, 2023 and not yet ratified.
- Bruening, B. (2001). *Syntax at the Edge: Cross-clausal Phenomena and the Syntax of Passamaquoddy*. PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Buszard, L. A. (2003). *Constructional Polysemy and Mental Spaces in Potawatomi Discourse*. PhD thesis, University of California at Berkeley.
- Buszard-Welcher, L. (1997). Language Use and Language Loss in the Potawatomi Community: A Report on the Potawatomi Language Institute. In Pentland, D. H., editor, *Papers of the Twenty-Eighth Algonquian Conference*, pages 34–43. University of Manitoba.
- Campana, M. (1996). The Conjunct Order in Algonquian. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique*, 41(3):201–234.
- Carty, N. (2017). New Speakers, Potential New Speakers, and Their Experiences and Abilities in Scottish Gaelic. In Smith-Christmas, C., Murchada, N. P. Ó., Hornsby, M., and Moriarty, M., editors, *New Speakers of Minority Languages: Linguistic Ideologies and Practices*, pages 253–270. Palgrave Macmillan London.
- Cook, C. (2014). *The Clause-Typing System of Plains Cree: Indexicality, Anaphoricity, and Contrast*. Oxford University Press.
- Costa, D. J. (1996). Reconstructing Initial Change in Algonquian. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 38(1):39–72.
- Costa, D. J. (2013). Borrowing in Southern Great Lakes Algonquian and the History of Potawatomi. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 55(3):195–233.
- Cyr, D. (1991). Algonquian Orders as Aspectual Markers: Some Typological Evidence and Pragmatic Considerations. In Cowan, W., editor, *Papers of the Twenty-Second Algonquian Conference*, pages 58–88. Carleton University.

- Dahlstrom, A. (1993). The Syntax of Discourse Functions in Fox. In Peterson, D. A., editor, *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session on Syntactic Issues in Native American Languages*, pages 11–21. Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Dahlstrom, A. (1995). *Topic, Focus, and Other Word Order Problems in Algonquian*. The Belcourt Lecture, delivered before the University of Manitoba on 25 February 1994. Voices of Rupert’s Land.
- Dahlstrom, A. (2003). Focus constructions in Meskwaki (Fox). In Butt, M. and King, T. H., editors, *Proceedings of the LFG 03 Conference*, pages 144–163. Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications.
- Dahlstrom, A. (2004). External and Internal Topics in meskwaki. In *Thirty-Sixth Algonquian Conference*.
- Dahlstrom, A. (to appear). Antitopics and Episode Structure in Meskwaki. To appear in a special issue of *Text and Talk* in memory of Wallace Chafe, edited by Jan-Ola Östman and Michael Bamberg.
- Fairbanks, B. (2009). *Ojibwe Discourse Markers*. PhD thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Fairbanks, B. (2016). The Ojibwe Changed Conjunct Verb as Completive Aspect. In Macaulay, M., Noodin, M., and Valentine, J. R., editors, *Papers of the Forty-Fourth Algonquian Conference*, pages 51–66. SUNY Press.
- Fauconnier, G. (1994). *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Forest County Potawatomi Community (2014). *Ézhe-bmadzimgek gdebodwéwadmizheshmomenan [How Our Potawatomi Language Lives]: Potawatomi Dictionary*. Forest County Potawatomi.
- Gathercole, G. (1978). Instrumental Phonetic Studies and Linguistic Analysis: The Case of Kansas Potawatomi. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*, 3:20–33.
- Goddard, I. (1967). The Algonquian Independent Indicative. In Deblois, A. D., editor, *Contributions to anthropology: Linguistics I (Algonquian)*, pages 66–106, Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.
- Goddard, I. (1994). The West-to-East Cline in Algonquian Dialectology. In Cowan, W., editor, *Actes du Vingt-Cinquième Congrès des Algonquinistes*, pages 187–211. Carleton University.
- Grenoble, L. A., Kantarovitch, J., Khokhlova, I., and Zamorshchikova, L. (2019). Evidence of Syntactic Convergence among Russian-Sakha Bilinguals. *Suvremena lingvistika [Contemporary Linguistics]*, 45(87):41–57.

- Grinevald, C. and Bert, M. (2011). Speakers and Communities. In Austin, P. K. and Sallabank, J., editors, *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, pages 45–65. Cambridge University Press.
- Halle, M. and Marantz, A. (1993). *Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection*, pages 111–176. The MIT Press.
- Hammerly, C. (2018). What ‘Other People’ Mean to ‘Us’. In Ivan, R., editor, *The Leader of the Pack: A Festschrift in Honor of Peggy Speas*, pages 181–196. Graduate Linguistic Student Association.
- Harley, H. and Ritter, E. (2002). Person and Number in Pronouns: A Feature-Geometric Analysis. *Language*, 78(3):482–526.
- Hayes, B. (1995). *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and Case Studies*. University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, B. and Kuteva, T. (2008). Constraints on Contact-Induced Linguistic Change. *Journal of Language Contact*, 2(1):57–90.
- Hockett, C. F. (1937). Hockett Potawatomi Field Notebook IV. In *Laura Buszard-Welcher Papers on the Potawatomi Language*. California Language Archives, University of California Berkeley.
- Hockett, C. F. (1939a). Potawatomi Syntax. *Language*, 15(4):235–248.
- Hockett, C. F. (1939b). *The Potawatomi Language: A Descriptive Grammar*. PhD thesis, Yale University.
- Hockett, C. F. (1940). Potawatomi Field Notebooks I, II, and III. *California Language Archives: Berkeley, California*.
- Hockett, C. F. (1948a). Potawatomi I: Phonemics, Morphonemics, and Morphological Survey. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 14(1):1–10.
- Hockett, C. F. (1948b). Potawatomi II: Derivation, Personal Prefixes, and Nouns. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 14(2):63–73.
- Hockett, C. F. (1948c). Potawatomi III: The Verb Complex. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 14(3):139–149.
- James, D. (1982). Past Tense and the Hypothetical: A Cross-Linguistic Study. *Studies in Language*, 6(3):375–403.
- Johnson, M. (2016). New Arguments for the Position of the Verb in Potawatomi. In Macaulay, M., Noodin, M., and Valentine, J. R., editors, *Papers of the Forty-Fourth Algonquian Conference*, pages 157–173. SUNY Press.

- Johnson, M., Macaulay, M., Rosen, B., and Wang, R. (2015). A Survey of Menominee Word Order. In Macaulay, M. and Valentine, J. R., editors, *Papers of the Forty-Third Algonquian Conference*, pages 154–178. State University of New York Press.
- Junker, M.-O. (2004). Focus, Obviation, and Word Order in East Cree. *Lingua*, 114(3):345–365.
- Kantarovich, J., Grenoble, L. A., Vinokurova, A., and Nesterova, E. (2021). Complexity and Simplification in Language Shift. *Frontiers in Communication*, 6.
- Kasper, C. (2023). Revisiting the Potawatomi É-Preverb. In Macaulay, M. and Noodin, M., editors, *Papers of the Fifty-Second Algonquian Conference*, pages 91–111. Michigan State University Press.
- Kasper, C. and Lewis, R. E. (2022). The Potawatomi Complementizer System [Conference Presentation]. 54th Algonquian Conference, Boulder, CO, United States.
- Kasstan, J. R. (2019). Emergent Sociolinguistic Variation in Severe Language Endangerment. *Language in Society*, 48(5):685–720.
- Lambrecht, K. (1981). *Topic, Antitopic, and Agreement in Non-Standard French*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lantto, H. (2017). New Basques and Code-Switching: Purist Tendencies, Social Pressures. In Smith-Christmas, C., Murchada, N. P. Ó., Hornsby, M., and Moriarty, M., editors, *New Speakers of Minority Languages: Linguistic Ideologies and Practices*, pages 165–187. Palgrave Macmillan London.
- Lewis, Jr., R. E. (2015). Determining that Potawatomi Word Order is Pragmatically Conditioned [Conference Presentation]. 47th Algonquian Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- Lewis, Jr., R. E. (2016). Information Structure Conditioned Word Order in Potawatomi [Conference Presentation]. Joint Meetings of the Linguistic Society of America and the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of America, Washington, D.C., United States.
- Lewis, Jr., R. E. (2020). *Potawatomi Discourse Markers*. PhD thesis, University of Chicago.
- Lockwood, H. T. (2017). *How the Potawatomi Language Lives: A Grammar of Potawatomi*. PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Longacre, R. E. (2007). Sentences as Combinations of Clauses. In Shopen, T., editor, *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, pages 372–420. Cambridge University Press.

- Mithun, M. (1987). Is Basic Word Order Universal? In Tomlin, R. S., editor, *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse: Outcome of a Symposium, Eugene, Oregon, June 1984*, pages 281–328. John Benjamins.
- Mithun, M. (2015). Discourse and Grammar. In Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E., and Schiffrin, D., editors, *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, volume 2, pages 11–41. Wiley Blackwell, Chicester.
- O’Rourke, B., Pujolar, J., and Ramallo, F. (2015). New Speakers of Minority Languages: The Challenging Opportunity – Forward. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2015(231):1–20.
- Oxford, W. (2007). Towards a Grammar of Innu-Aimun Particles. Master’s thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Oxford, W. (2017). Size Matters: Deriving Agreement Asymmetries from Nominal Structure. *Unpublished manuscript*.
- Oxford, W. (2019). Algonquian Languages. In Siddiqi, D., Barrie, M., Gillon, C., Haugen, J., and Mathieu, E., editors, *The Routledge Handbook of North American Languages*, pages 504–523. Routledge.
- Polinsky, M. (2018). *Heritage Languages and Their Speakers*. Cambridge University Press.
- Polinsky, M. and Scontras, G. (2020). Understanding Heritage Languages. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 23(1):4–20.
- Pullum, G. K. (1977). Word Order Universals and Grammatical Relations. In Sadock, P. C. J. M., editor, *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 8: Grammatical Relations*, pages 249–277. Brill.
- Quinn, C. (2021). Keeping It Simple: The Minimal Course Model for Helping English Speakers Learn Core [Conference Presentation]. Symposium on American Indian Languages, Tucson, AZ, United States.
- Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I. (2021). The Role of Social Meaning in Contact-Induced Variation Among New Speakers of Basque. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 25(4):533–556.
- Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I., Kasstan, J., and O’Rourke, B. (2022). Responding to Sociolinguistic Change: New Speakers and Variationist Sociolinguistics. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 26(5):529–541.
- Rothman, J. (2009). Understanding the Nature and Outcomes of Early Bilingualism: Romance Languages as Heritage Languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 13(2):155–163.
- Schmidt, A. (1985). *Young People’s Dyirbal: An Example of Language Death from Australia*. Cambridge University Press.

- Spielmann, R. (1987). Preference and Sequential Organization in Algonquin. In Cowan, W., editor, *Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquian Conference*, pages 321–333. Carleton University.
- Spielmann, R. (1988). What’s So Funny? Laughing Together in Algonquin Conversation. In Cowan, W., editor, *Papers of the Nineteenth Algonquian Conference*, pages 201–212. Carleton University.
- Spielmann, R. and Chief, B. (1986). Requesting and Rejecting in Algonquin: Notes on a Conversation. In Cowan, W., editor, *Papers of the Seventeenth Algonquian Conference*, pages 313–326. Carleton University.
- Sullivan, M. (2016). Making Statements in Ojibwe: A Survey of Word Order in Spontaneous Sentences. In Macaulay, M., Noodin, M., and Valentine, J. R., editors, *Papers of the Forty-Fourth Algonquian Conference*, pages 329–347. SUNY Press.
- Sullivan, M. D. (2020). *Relativization in Ojibwe*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Termination of Federal Supervision over Certain Tribes of Indians, Part 11: Sac and Fox, Kickapoo and Potawatomi Tribes: Joint Hearing Before the Subcommittees of the Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs*, 83rd Cong. (1954). (Testimony of Minnie Evans, Chairman of the Tribal Council of the Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians).
- Thomason, S. G. and Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. University of California Press.
- Thunder, Sr., J. (2023). *Yathmownen Ga Widmagoyan: Stories That I Was Told*. Bod-wéwadminwen Éthë ték.
- Valdés, G. (2000). *Spanish for Native Speakers, Volume I: AATSP Professional Development Series Handbook for Teachers K-16*. Harcourt College.
- Wetzel, C. (2015). *Gathering the Potawatomi Nation: Revitalization and Identity*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Wilkerson, K. (2025). Map of the Potawatomi Nation [map]. Generated using Felt.
- Wilkerson, K. and Kasper, C. (2025). An End to Assimilation?: Impacts and Legacies of the Indian Reorganization Act on the Potawatomi Language [Settler Law Policy and Indigenous Critique]. 2025 Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Conference, Oklahoma City, OK, United States.
- Zimmerman, T. E. (2000). Free Choice Disjunction and Epistemic Possibility. *Natural Language Semantics*, 8(4):255–290.