Chapter 8

Reconstructing post-verbal negation in Kansa: A pedagogical problem

Justin T. McBride

Despite the fact that there are no L1 speakers of Kansa, and the handful of learners are mostly novice-range speakers, the Kaw Nation has been actively engaged in revitalization efforts for many years. The absence of speaker knowledge poses a major problem for curriculum developers insofar as the quality of Kansa pedagogical materials is often limited to what can be uncovered from analysis of documentary materials - mostly those of Dorsey and Rankin. These sources, though essential, are far from complete. For instance, they lack many constructions that potential language learners would want to know, including how to express what in English is captured by the word *wouldn't*. In such cases, syntactic analysis can be used to reconstruct certain areas of Kansa grammar. Kansa is a left-branching, head-marking language with canonical (S)OV word order. Several features of its syntax seem to complicate an X-Bar treatment of Kansa, but the placement of negation (NEG) in the post-verbal complex seems to violate a number of principles all at once. This gives rise to contradictory expectations for its location in different contexts. In this paper, I discuss one way of reconstructing Kansa NEG to fill a pedagogical need. While not arriving at any definite theoretical conclusion, I do arrive at a possible one, and conclude with a set of recommendations for curriculum developers dealing with this and other such problems.

1 Introduction

Among the many problems plaguing the revitalization efforts of languages without L1 speakers is that a large number of the useful, conversational things that learners might want to say are simply unknown. These things may include greetings and pleasantries, common expressions for introducing self and others, stating likes and dislikes, making and fulfilling requests for additional information, telling time, and so on – all of which people use with great frequency in their own L1s and expect to be able to say in an L2. In fact, language teachers usually want to teach these sorts of conversational forms early on in classes as stock constructions that can build both competence and confidence in their learners. However,



with no speakers around to ask, there may only be the products of linguistic research available as the next best thing. Perhaps there is a dictionary, a text series, or simply a set of field notes. Yet, even the most diligent field worker may not think to elicit very practical expressions such as 'hello, my name is [blank], 'I did not understand what you said; please repeat it,' or 'how do you say [blank] in the [blank] language?'

The case of the Dhegiha Siouan language Kansa (also known as Kanza or Kaw) is precisely as described above. Dorsey's 1880s-era field work yielded a rather large set of slip files, two dozen texts collected from nine separate consultants, and hundreds of pages of ethnographic notes, all of which Rankin used in his own extensive work with the last Kansa speakers in the 1970s and early 1980s. Following the deaths of his consultants, Rankin continued working on Kansa for the rest of his life. Neither Dorsey nor Rankin intended their work to be used as-is for revitalization and curriculum development purposes, but this is what happened: Such efforts must begin somewhere, and their material was the logical starting point. Fortunately, Rankin was willing to contribute to this enterprise, and he often worked on Siouan language pedagogy side-by-side with other linguists (these included myself and several other contributors to this volume), both in the classroom and behind the scenes. Yet, even with Rankin - himself a lifelong educator - and a team of Siouanists at the head of Kansa language classes, the learner outcomes were often far less than could be expected of other beginning language classes; the source material was simply incomplete. As a consequence, many basic things remain unknown for Kansa and, accordingly, unused among language learners.

Consider a common English expression such as 'She *wouldn't* go, 'Jonathan *wouldn't* do that,' 'they *wouldn't* give it to me,' or the like. To my knowledge, there is no recorded translation of this expression in the available Kansa materials. I honestly cannot recall the exact circumstances of how this lacuna was discovered, but I remember that it came up in the Kaw Nation's Thursday night community language class in Kaw City, Oklahoma, in the mid-2000s. Perhaps some thoughtful student simply asked, "How do you say, 'she wouldn't go,' in the language?" Surely I knew that the answer to the question would involve post-verbal negation and some use of both the potential and non-continuative enclitics, but I was flummoxed as to how to order these elements. Whatever the circumstances may have been, once it became apparent that I could not immediately provide an answer based on my working knowledge of Kansa syntax, I probably explained that I would have to do more research and return with a defi-

nite solution later. Little did I know then that I *wouldn't* have a satisfying answer the next week, month, or even year!

Part of the problem lies in just how one would go about trying to find the answer. It would ideally involve reviewing the available texts and field elicitations with an eye toward finding how Dorsey, Rankin, or someone else may have recorded it. Those working on Kansa have, of course, done a great deal of secondary research like this; the lacunae are numerous, the learners are curious, and the available scholarly analysis is of high quality. Nevertheless, the construction does not appear in the materials. Failing that, the next step would involve reconstructing the form from a set of near-matches combined with knowledge of the language's syntax. Yet, syntax is one area where Kansa and the other Dhegiha languages are not always described in the greatest detail. Both Rankin's brief grammatical sketch of Kansa 1989 and his later sketch of Quapaw 2005 discuss a variety of syntax topics, as does Quintero's (2004) book-length grammar of Osage. But all of these works are overviews of Dhegiha grammar, and are ultimately too general to offer fine-grained perspective on such a specific question.

In this chapter, I will attempt a basic generative syntactic analysis of Kansa post-verbal negation. Bear in mind that I am ultimately looking for a pedagogical solution, not a theoretical one. As such, I do not advocate any particular theory of formal syntax and feel fairly free to borrow liberally from several eras of transformational grammar all at once. I am fully aware that this juxtaposition of concepts may make my analysis problematic for strict syntacticians, and perhaps also for dedicated pedagogues who may find any such analysis tedious to begin with. I do this not to alienate potential readers or to break any new theoretical ground, but simply to predict an unattested enclitic order using the formal means within my disposal. I also hope that my analysis and the discussion that follows will help to shed some light on a few philosophical principles that I consider very important to anyone working in Siouan languages:

- Gaps in the available documentation of languages are not necessarily insurmountable challenges;
- Grammar must occasionally be reconstructed in order for it to be taught;
- Formal analysis is not, by mere virtue of its formality, better than other means of acquiring grammatical knowledge; yet
- Formal analysis of some manner or another can serve practical pedagogical purposes.

1.1 X-Bar considerations

Kansa, like other Mississippi Valley Siouan languages, particularly those of the Dhegiha branch, is head-marking with a canonical (S)OV word order (see, for example, Quintero (2004: 421) for the Dhegiha language Osage; Rankin (2005: 488–490) for Quapaw, also Dhegiha; and Cumberland (2005: 369) for Assiniboine, a Dakotan language). Moreover, it appears to follow the same sort of left-branching syntactic pattern that Boyle (2007) described for Hidatsa (Missouri Valley Siouan). Although this paper is concerned with the syntax of the Kansa post-verbal complex, it is important to point out some grammatical features that complicate an X-Bar analysis of Kansa, including those as follows.

- (a) Left-branching: Tree structures for Kansa and the movement of elements within them appear to run counter to the right-branching patterns typical of X-Bar theory.
- (b) Radical pro-drop status: For the most part, only nominal subjects and objects appear independently in the sentence, the former presumably in the [SPEC, TP]; all else is handled by verbal inflection.
- (c) Concept of word: Just how much of enumeration and derivation is left up to morphology versus syntax is essentially still up for grabs; as a consequence, so, too, are the classifications of enclitics, auxiliaries, affixes.
- (d) Abstract tense: The TP in Kansa is at best misnamed given the language's general absence of tense marking, and the projection below the topmost Kansa CP is probably little more than an agreement-checking level.

These features are crucial to any full description of Kansa syntax, and they have very interesting implications for syntactic theories as a whole. Nonetheless, while I take these points as fundamental assumptions for the analysis that follows, they are actually not altogether relevant for me to discuss in greater length given the narrow focus of this chapter.

1.2 Aspect

Tense may be absent in Kansa, but verbal aspect is quite developed. Figure 1 shows the general division of aspect in Kansa. The primary division is between what I have termed simple and augmented aspect. Simple aspect is obligatory in all clauses while augmented is not. Simple aspect is further divided into continuative/imperfect (CONT) and non-continuative/perfect (NCONT) aspects, which are



Figure 1: Kansa aspect

in complementary distribution. CONT is marked on verbs through a complex series of post-verbal enclitics (Rankin (2005: 485) argues that these enclitics "are actually conjugated as fully-fledged auxiliary verbs" in the closely related Dhegiha language Quapaw; see also Rankin (2004), for a much more detailed discussion) that also carry with them a sense of the subject's physical orientation in space. These include such categories as CONT-LIE, CONT-SIT, CONT-STAND, CONT-MOVE, etc. Moreover, these auxiliaries agree with the phi features of the verbal subjects. Non-continuative aspect (NCONT), on the other hand, is marked in two ways: A null form (- \emptyset) is used with 1sG, 1DU, and 2sG subjects; the verbal enclitic -(a)be¹² is used with 1PL, 2PL, and 3CN subjects. This suggests a person and number configuration as shown in Figure 2. The augmented division includes potential $(POT)^3$ on the one hand and several habitual (HAB) and durative (DUR) aspects on the other. The features HAB and DUR function syntactically in the same way as POT. I classify these as augmented due to the fact that they can be combined as needed with either simple aspect to generate compound aspects such as POT CONT, POT NCONT, HAB NCONT, etc. The feature POT consists of the underlying enclitic ce, which only surfaces as such when no other post-verbal elements - aspect or mood - follow it; this is very rare, but it does occur. It most often takes the

¹ I have written the initial vowel in parentheses to avoid a digression into what is occasionally known as ablaut in Siouan. Suffice it to say, this initial vowel surfaces only when the final vowel of the element to which it attaches ends in *-e*, presumably due to a V1+V2=V2 rule involving Kansa /e/ and /a/. For a more detailed treatment of this phenomenon throughout Siouan, see Rankin (1995).

² Both to save space and to preserve consistency with source material where appropriate, all Kansa words in this chapter are written only in the practical orthography. This system is phonological in nature, but uses fewer special characters, allows digraphs and trigraphs, and makes use of English-based capitalization and punctuation standards that potential language learners may regard as normal.

³ Note that POT is occasionally regarded in the Siouan literature as an irrealis marker (see Quintero 2004; 2009).

shape of *ta* through a sequence of regular phonological changes.⁴ Though the phonology of this variation is understood, the mechanism behind it is not, a fact that raises some interesting questions about its enclitic status. Note that Figure 2 is concerned with the post-verbal arrangement of person and number considerations, and there are pronominal prefixes that are shared between numbers for the same person, including, for instance, for 1DU and 1PL and for 2SG and 2PL.



Figure 2: Person and number categories in Kansa with respect to NCONT marking

1.2.1 POT enclitic status

POT, unlike other post-verbal enclitics, is syntactically dependent on what comes before it (it is enclitic to the main verb, presumably as the head of a PotP) but phonologically dependent on what comes after it (its shape is determined by its proximity to the end of the clause). Furthermore, owing perhaps to its consonantal rather than vocalic onset,⁵ it does not interact phonologically with the main verb. As such, the POT enclitic is somewhat different from that of, say, NCONT.⁶

1.2.2 Aspect order

The clauses in example (1) and their templatic arrangement in Table 1 illustrate some representative combinations of the major aspects and the order in which

⁴ The so-called ablaut considerations mentioned in footnote 1 are presumably responsible for two allomorphs of the POT enclitic surfacing in different post-verbal phonetic environments. These forms include *ce* and *ta*, the former of which further exhibits routine spirantization of the initial stop before a front vowel.

⁵ The other augmented aspect enclitics, HAB and DUR, also feature consonantal onsets, a fact that may strengthen the notion of augmented aspect as a natural class in Kansa.

⁶ The fact is represented in the Kansa practical orthography by a space between the main verb and POT where no such space is left between the main verb and NCONT.

they typically occur post-verbally.7,8,9

- a. Wipághe tá miⁿkhe.
 Ø-wi-p-(g)aghe ta miⁿkhe
 3CN-2CN.PAT-1SG.AGT-1SG.CONT.SIT POT 1SG.AGT.make
 'I will make them for you' (KR, p. 192)
 - b. Yuzé ta akhá.
 Ø-Ø-yuze ta akha
 3CN-3CN-take POT 3CN.CONT.REST
 'S/he was about to take it.' (KR, p. 200)
 - c. Hne tábe.

hn-(y)e ta -(a)be 2PL.AGT-g0 POT -NCONT

'You (PL) will have gone.' (KR, p. 192)

d. Ozhú tábe.

 $o-\varnothing-\varnothing-zhu$ ta -(a)be in-3cn-3cn-pour POT -NCONT 'S/he would plant it.' (KR, p. 111)

Sentences (1-4) suggest the following canonical order of post-verbal aspect elements: V, POT, CONT/NCONT. This can be represented in tree form as shown in Figure 3.

2 The problem, in formal terms: NEG and aspect

Kansa syntax involves the use of post-verbal negative (NEG) enclitics, particularly as used in different aspect combinations. Kansa NEG has two separate forms:

⁷ In this paper, I mark pronouns using AGT for agent and PAT for patient, without regard to the various inflectional realizations found throughout Dhegiha; the use of null pronouns in third person makes the classification as agent or patient irrelevant. I mark number using sG for singular, DU for inclusive dual, and PL for plural. I also use CN, after Kelly's (1992) Hebrew gender convention, to represent so-called common number in third person where singular and plural have collapsed in Kansa.

⁸ All clausal examples in this paper come from sentences in McBride & Cumberland (2009), *Compiled Kanza texts*, or McBride & Cumberland (2010), *Kanza reader*, abbreviated CKT and KR, respectively. Corresponding page numbers appear after the English glosses.

⁹ The analysis of pronominals here differs from that presented either in Quintero (2004) or Rankin (2005), where all 1sG.AGT and 2sG.AGT pronominals are represented by archiphonemic WA- and YA-, respectively, and phonological rules are needed to explain their phonetic realization. To simplify things, I have simply shown final realizations in the analysis.

example	V	РОТ	CONT/NCONT
(1a)	∅-wi-p-(g)aghe	ta	mi ⁿ khe
(1b)	Ø-Ø-yuze	ta	akha
(1c)	hn-(y)e	ta	-(a)be
(1d)	o-Ø-Ø-zhu	ta	-(a)be

Table 1: Order of post-verbal aspect elements



Figure 3: Order of post-verbal aspect elements

It appears either as *-(a)zhi* or *-mazhi*, the latter of which is only used with 1s subjects.

2.1 NEG with POT and CONT

When NEG is used in either CONT OF POT CONT aspects, it appears consistently before both, as shown in examples (2) and Table 2.

(2) a. Góⁿyazhi akhá. Ø-Ø-goⁿya-(a)zhi-akha 3CN-3CN-want-NEG-3CN.CONT.REST
'S/he does not want it.' (CKT, p. 211)
b. Ashkáⁿmazhi tá miⁿkhe. a-shkaⁿ-mazhi ta miⁿkhe 1SG.AGT-move-1SG.NEG POT 1SG.CONT.SIT
'I will not be stirring around.' (CKT, p. 40)

These examples suggest a canonical order of V, NEG, POT, CONT, as seen in Figure 4.

8 Reconstructing post-verbal negation in Kansa: A pedagogical problem

example	V	NEG	РОТ	CONT/NCONT
Gó ⁿ yazhi akhá.	Ø-Ø-go ⁿ ya	(a)zhi	РОТ	akha
Ashká ⁿ mazhi tá mi ⁿ khe.	1sg.Ag⊤-move	-1sg.neg		1sg.cont.sit

Table 2: Order of post-verbal NEG, CONT, and POT elements



Figure 4: Order of post-verbal NEG, CONT, and POT elements

2.2 NEG with NCONT

However, when NEG appears with the phonetically realized NCONT -(a)be, it seems to fall after NCONT, as seen in the clauses of (3) and Table 3.¹⁰

- (3) a. Píbazhi.
 Ø-pi-(a)be-(a)zhi
 3cn-be.good-ncont-neg
 'S/he was bad.' (CWK, p. 208)
 - b. Shkáⁿbazhi.
 Ø-shkáⁿ-(a)be-(a)zhi
 3CN-move.around-NCONT-NEG
 'S/he did not stir.' (KR, p. 180)

 $^{^{10}}$ The verb in (9) undergoes a complex phonological process that turns the pronominal $a^n(g)$ - + the instrumental i- into $a^n y a^n$ -.

c. Aⁿyáⁿkikiyabazhi. aⁿ(g)-i-Ø-kiki-ye-(a)be-(a)zhi 1AGT-to-3CN-RECIP-see-NCONT-NEG 'We did not see each other.' (KR, p. 263)

Table 3: Order of post-verbal NEG and NCONT elements

example	V	NCONT	NEG
Píbazhi.	Ø- <i>pi</i>	(a)be	-(a)zhi
Shká ⁿ bazhi.	Ø-shká ⁿ	-(a)be	-(a)zhi
A ⁿ yá ⁿ kikiyabazhi.	a ⁿ (g)-i-Ø-kiki-ye	-(a)be	-(a)zhi

Here, the order appears to be V NCONT NEG. This contradicts the canonical orders seen above, as demonstrated in Figure 5.

(1-2)	V		POT	CONT		
(5)	V	NEG		CONT		\Leftarrow
(6)	V	NEG	POT	CONT		\Leftarrow
(3-4)	V		POT	NCONT		
(7-9)	V			NCONT	NEG	\Leftarrow

Figure 5: Contradictions of Kansa NEG placement

In short, the data suggest that NEG appears both before the slots reserved for POT and simple aspect and after the slot reserved for simple aspect. Note that there do not appear to be clearly identifiable examples of NEG with POT NCONT, the case that would best clarify the ambiguity of Kansa NEG placement and help me to answer the question I was posed about the Kansa equivalent of *wouldn't*. With no attested form in the corpus, it is difficult to say whether it is an ungrammatical form or simply a gap in what was recorded. How would the combination of NEG, POT, and NCONT look with a 3CN subject where -(a)be would most certainly surface? Would it appear as *tabázhi, -(a)zhi tábe,-(a)bazhi ce*, or something else entirely? What would such a form tell us of the syntax of Kansa negation? It seems that the Kansa equivalent of the English sentence 's/he would go,' *ayé tábe*, would provide insight into how the equivalent of 's/he would not go,' might look. Yet, the data do not steer us toward any clear solution.

2.3 NEG with person and number

One final consideration must be mentioned before commencing a proper examination of the problem set. Recall that the phonetic realization of NCONT is restricted to only 1PL, 2PL, and 3CN subjects. Thus, the remainder of forms, namely those with 1SG, 1DU, and 2SG subjects, will not clarify these issues. This can be seen in (4) and Table 4.

- (4) a. Kóⁿblamazhi. \varnothing -k-(g)oⁿ-bl-(y)a- \varnothing ?-mazhi- \varnothing ? 3CN-1SG.AGT-want₁-1SG.AGT-want₂ 'I do not wish it.' (KR, p. 188)
 - b. Phímàzhi *ph-(h)i-Ø?-mazhi-Ø?*1sg.AGT-arrive.there-NCONT-1sg.NEG-NCONT
 'I did not reach there.' (KR, p. 92)

Table 4: Ambiguity involving NEG with null NCONT

example	V	NCONT	NEG	NCONT
Kó ⁿ blamazhi.	Ø-k-(g)o ⁿ -bl-(y)a	-Ø?	-mazhi	
Phímàzhi	ph-(h)i	-Ø?	-mazhi	

3 Analysis

3.1 Enclitic placement

NCONT and NEG resemble one another more than they resemble POT, both syntactically and phonologically. This fact at least suggests they are members of a common grammatical class. For one, as neither independent words nor simple suffixes, NCONT and NEG seem to be subject to more restrictive placement considerations than the CONT auxiliaries in the post-verbal environment. This distinction seems to be reinforced by the fact that NCONT and NEG are phonologically dependent on preceding material. Secondly, their placement appears to be more restricted than that of POT. Logically speaking, there are three environments in which NCONT or NEG may occur: 1) after POT; 2) after one another (e.g., NEG after NCONT); or 3) after the main verb. There have already been examples of the first two, but let us review all three for the purpose of classifying these environments.¹¹

- (5) a. ahíbe ← Environment 1: NCONT after V 3CN.AGT.MOVE.arrive.NCONT
 's/he arrived there' (KR, p. 92)
 b. shkáⁿbazhi ← Environment 2: NEG after NCONT 3CN.AGT.move.NCONT.NEG
 's/he did not stir' (KR, p. 180)
 - c. ozhú tábe ← Environment 3: NCONT after POT in.3cN.3cN.pour POT.NCONT
 's/he would plant it' (KR, p. 111)

At this point, it is necessary to distinguish between the distributions of NCONT versus NEG. In the data above (as elsewhere in Kansa), at no time does NCONT appear after NEG. Also, recall the complementary distribution of NCONT and CONT, a distribution that is unlike that of NEG and CONT. On the other hand, (7-9) above demonstrate that NEG can appear after the NCONT enclitic. If one further stipulates that NEG follows the null realization of NCONT in (10-11), it is possible to claim that NEG in Environment 2 is required to attach to NCONT whenever possible. Furthermore, while NEG can appear with either POT (7-9) or CONT (5-6), it appears unable to come after either of these. Thus, the distribution of NCONT and NEG is as follows:

- (15) Distribution of NCONT: Environments 1 and 3
- (16) Distribution of NEG: Environments 1 and 2

NEG presumably arrives in these environments by means of head-to-head incorporation and/or excorporation as described by Roberts (1991).¹² It can either

¹¹ Concerning (12) *ahíbe*, Kansa has a class of motion verbs including 'go', 'come', etc. that include a motion prefix *a*- on certain forms. I have termed this MOVE in the gloss. Note that the semantics of these verbs does not preclude use of them in either continuative/imperfect or non-continuative/perfect aspect; both are completely grammatical.

¹² Roberts defines excorporation as "successive cyclic head-to-head movement where one head simply 'passes through' another, first incorporating and then moving on" (1991: 211).

arrive at the verb (Env. 1) in continuative/imperfect aspect or at the main verb plus NCONT (Env. 2) in non-continuative/perfect aspect. Such enclitic lowering derives a new verb. Thus, NEG appears to attach to the lowest verb in the TP as seen in Figures 6 and 7.



Figure 6: Tree of (6) NEG with CONT aspect

3.2 Feature expansion and prediction

This solution is not particularly satisfying for several reasons. The first is that feature checking does not appear to motivate the enclitic lowering. It is possible, however, to adjust for this simply by adding features that may or may not be checked through movement. We may assume, however, that if an enclitic of any type can move to check a nearby feature, it will do so. Such a process would



Figure 7: Tree of (8) NEG with NCONT aspect

account for all enclitic lowering. The second drawback is that if NEG lowers before NCONT, the order of enclitics will be incorrect. Therefore, NCONT must somehow lower first. The third is that the status of the enclitics within the tree structures is not as clear as one would like. Are they really V heads, or are they just NEG, NCONT, POT, CONT heads? If they head their own projections, it would seem that their classifications together or separately would require a great deal of justification. On the other hand, classifying them all as V heads would require perhaps even more justification.

Nevertheless, these are exclusively theoretical concerns, and there are mechanisms within formal syntax that can be used to address them. My goal here is not to grind a theoretical axe, but merely to find a pedagogical answer to a student's question. Does my model do this? Yes: The predicted order of post-verbal elements in a Kansa sentence equivalent to English 's/he would not go' is as follows: V POT NCONT NEG, or *ayé tabázhi*. This consists of an inflected main verb, *ayé* (3CN.AGT.MOVE.go), followed by a compound enclitic *tabázi*, consisting of *ta* (POT), -(*a*)*be* (NCONT), and -(*a*)*zhi* (NEG). I was happy with this possible solution, but - given the aforementioned theoretical concerns - not entirely so. Thus, when I presented an earlier version of this paper at the 2011 Siouan and Caddoan Languages Conference, I put the question to several Omaha and Ponca Elders in attendance. While they seemed to indicate that such a construction would not be at all common in their respective languages, they agreed that the cognate form of Kansa *tabázhi* would be the preferred option. This does not confirm the Kansa prediction, of course, but it does seem to suggest that the analysis leading to my prediction was at least on the right track.

4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how syntactic analysis of textual data relating to a question put forth by an eager learner can be used to extend our knowledge of Kansa and fill in gaps in the source material. But numerous big conceptual questions remain, even beyond the theoretical ones mentioned above. For instance, how useful is this particular analysis and application if, as has been apocryphally suggested for Omaha-Ponca, the English expression may occur at a far higher frequency than the equivalent Kansa expression? With no L1 speech community around to offer guidance, perhaps there is no way to answer this question. On the one hand, the deployment of a form that would not have been used in earlier times is the very nature of language. On the other hand, if it pragmatically separates the L2 speakers of Kansa from L1 and L2 speakers of very closely related languages, its use may work against larger speech community goals privileging the taking of cues from still vital Siouan languages rather than English. On a different level, is the prediction of an order of post-verbal elements, even one seemingly matching cross-linguistic evidence, a sufficient stopping place for analysis? Perhaps the predicted result offers a false confidence in the approach taken. Put in a slightly more philosophical way, is extensive analysis done on a dormant language of any value on its own terms, or does it derive its true worth from practical application in revitalization efforts? Certainly from the perspective of potential learners, the language benefits when it can be put to greater use, regardless of what theoretical or applied linguists may say. As I mentioned earlier, there are many, many problems that plague such situations!

In spite of these challenges, work like this can be useful both to linguistic theory and for practical purposes. For starters, it can be used to show that even deep holes in the available documentation can be filled with a little theoretical elbow grease. This is comforting to know, and I hope that my analysis can show one way that it can be done. There are, of course, others. My speaking with the tribal Elders at the conference was what ultimately gave me confidence in my solution. I was lacking this confidence after just looking at the problem from a theoretical point of view. Nevertheless, in order to frame the question properly so that it could even be asked (and later taught), I did require some preliminary reconstructive work. The mere formality of the theory underpinning that reconstructive work did not make my solution somehow correct, but neither did it make it unattainable. At the risk of closing this chapter perched atop a linguist's soap box, I would add that language teachers should not fear formal syntax; it is just one more arrow in their quiver, and I hope I have shown here that it can be put to service in solving practical pedagogical problems.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third per-	NOM	nominative	
	son	NCONT	non-continuative/	
AGT	agent		perfect aspect	
CN	common number	PL	plural	
CONT	continuative/imperfect	PAT	patient	
	aspect	POT	potential	
DU	dual	RECIP	reciprocal	
DUR	durative	REFL	reflexive	
HAB	habitual	SG	singular	
MOVE	motion-verb prefix			

References

- Boyle, John P. 2007. *Hidatsa morphosyntax and clause structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago (Doctoral dissertation).
- Cumberland, Linda A. 2005. A grammar of Assiniboine: A Siouan language of the northern Plains. Bloomington: Indiana University (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kelly, Page H. 1992. *Biblical Hebrew: An introductory grammar*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- McBride, Justin T. & Linda A. Cumberland (eds.). 2009. *Compiled Kanza texts*. Kaw City, OK: Kaw Nation.
- McBride, Justin T. & Linda A. Cumberland (eds.). 2010. *Kaáⁿze wéyaje Kanza reader: Learning literacy through historical texts.* Kaw City, OK: Kaw Nation.

8 Reconstructing post-verbal negation in Kansa: A pedagogical problem

- Quintero, Carolyn. 2004. *Osage grammar* (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Quintero, Carolyn. 2009. Osage dictionary. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Rankin, Robert L. 1989. Kansa. In Takashi Kamei, Rokuro Kono & Chino Eiichi (eds.). Trans. by Akira Yamamoto, *Languages of the world* (The Sanseido Encyclopaedia of Linguistics 2), 301–307. Tokyo: Sanseido Press.
- Rankin, Robert L. 1995. *On Quapaw (and Siouan) ablaut*. Paper presented at the Siouan and Caddoan Languages Conference, Albuquerque, NM, July 1995.
- Rankin, Robert L. 2004. The history and development of Siouan positionals. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 57. 202–227.
- Rankin, Robert L. 2005. Quapaw. In Heather Hardy & Janine Scancarelli (eds.), *The native languages of the southeastern United States*, 454–498. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Roberts, Ian. 1991. Excorporation and minimality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(1). 209–218.