Expressing Comparison in Cheyenne

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Outline

- 1 Comparatives across Languages
- 2 Comparatives in Cheyenne

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What's a comparative?

- Comparative structures express a comparison in degree, quantity, or quality between two things
- (1) Annie is taller than Dale. DEGREE
- (2) Annie has more bananas than Dale. QUANTITY
- (3) Annie is better at painting than Dale. QUALITY
- They involve
 - a subject (e.g., Annie)
 - a scale, introduced by a predicate (e.g., height, introduced by tall)
 - a standard of comparison (e.g., Dale)

Types of comparatives

- Comparative structures express a comparison in degree, quantity, or quality between two things
 - Broadly construed, includes equatives and superlatives
- Different languages use different structures to encode comparison
 - (Bobaljik 2012, a consolidation of Stassen 1984, 1985)
 - Conjoined comparatives
 - 2 Exceed comparatives
 - 3 Standard comparatives

Conjoined comparatives

- Two contrasting statements, flagged with negation or intensification
- ~ Annie is tall, Dale is **not**
- (4) Mosbi ó-le sum eka Banimo ó-ta gwaab-ó-be.

 Mosbi NEUT-TOP big and Banimo NEUT-emph small-PRED-DECL

 'Port Moresby is big and Vanimo is small' (Mian, Fedden 2007 (3-36))
 - Subject: Mosbi
 - Scale: size (introduced by sum 'big')
 - Standard: Banimo
- Used in languages like Mian (Ok-Awyu, Papua New Guinea (Fedden 2007)) and Itelmen (Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Eastern Russia (Bobaljik 2000))
- One in four/five languages, possibly endangered (Bobaljik 2012)

Exceed comparatives

- Use a verb which means 'exceed'/'surpass'
- ~ Annie exceeds Dale in height
- (5) Ø-ojér abbä-nnet t-əššðjrət-t.
 3.MASC.SG-surpass.RESULT father-3.SG.POSS FEM-length-FEM.SG
 'He is taller than his father' (Tamashek, Heath 2005 (222c))
 - Subject: he
 - Scale: height (introduced by əššäjrət 'length')
 - Standard: his father
- Used in languages like Amele (Madang, Papua New Guinea (Roberts 1987)), Tamashek (Berber, Mali (Heath 2005)), and Mandarin
- About as common as the conjoined comparative (Stassen 2008; Bobaljik 2012)

Standard comparatives

- So called because of their contents, not their prevalence
- Mark the standard of comparison with a case or particle
 - Optional marking on the predicate
- \sim Annie is taller than Dale
- (6) bə-manitoba jotey kay mə-jisyael. in-Manitoba more cold from-Israel 'Manitoba is colder than Israel.'

(Hebrew)

- Subject: Manitoba
- Scale: cold (introduced by kay 'cold')
- Standard: Israel
- Used in languages like English, Hebrew, and Japanese
- The primary focus of cross-linguistic analyses of comparatives

- Different languages use different structures to encode comparison
 - 1 Conjoined comparatives
 - No overt comparative morphology, simple predication
 - 2 Exceed comparatives
 - Main verb meaning 'exceed', scale introduced separately
 - 3 Standard comparatives
 - Marking on the standard of comparison

Conjoined comparatives in Algonquian

- Menominee has been argued to use a conjoined comparative
- (7) Apaeqsek tatāhkesew, nenah taeh **kan**.
 more he.is.strong I and **not**'He is stronger than me.' (Menominee, Bloomfield 1962
 from Dahlstrom 2015)
 - Subject: he
 - Scale: strength (introduced by tatāhkesew 'he is strong')
 - Standard: speaker
- Also Meskwaki (Dahlstrom 2015)

(8)

Standard comparatives in Algonquian

Washme ndoo-gnooz **pii** dash mBill.

- Nishnaabemwin has been argued to use a standard comparative
- more I.am.tall **than then** Bill

 'I am taller than Bill.' (Valentine 2001, Nishnaabemwin)
 - Subject: speaker
 - Scale: height (introduced by ndoo-gnooz 'I am tall')
 - Standard: Bill

- Different languages use different structures to encode comparison
 - 1 Conjoined comparatives
 - No overt comparative morphology, simple predication
 - 2 Exceed comparatives
 - Main verb meaning 'exceed', scale introduced separately
 - 3 Standard comparatives
 - Marking on the standard of comparison
- Where does Cheyenne fit in?

Typological prediction

- Stassen 1984, 1985 argues that comparative structures are determined by other properties in a language
 - Syntax of conjunction (dependence or independence of clauses)
 - Availability of deletion under identity
- Cheyenne conjoins independent clauses (no subordination, no "deranking")
 - conjoined or standard comparatives
- For identity deletion, Cheyenne results not yet clear
 - If deletion is allowed, Stassen (1984) predicts a standard comparative

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Background & Methodology

- Spoken in Montana and Oklahoma
- Ethnologue lists 2,100 native speakers, though a recent Montana survey places the number closer to 500, with most speakers over 50
- Looked through the online dictionary (Fisher et al. 2006)
 - Common English comparatives (taller, bigger, better)
 - Every occurrence of English than, more
- Looked through existing texts (e.g., from Leman 1980a,b, 1987; Cheyenne Bible Translation Committee 2009)
 - Candidates discovered through dictionary searching
 - Places where the English translation used comparatives
- Primary elicitation ongoing

hóno′xe-

- (9) Né-hóno'xė-ho'tse-notse men-otse.
 - 2-hono'xe-have-pl.Inan berry-pl.Inan

'You have more berries (than I).' (Fisher et al. 2006, hóno'xe-)

- Not entirely clear
 - Could be a quantifier ('most of the berries', entails 'more')
 - Could be an excessive ('too many berries')
- If a comparative, contextual standard of comparison
 - No marking (standard)
 - Can't tell if it would be a direct argument (exceed), in a different predication (conjoined)

hehpe-

- Positive form
- (10) É-háa'ëstahe. 3-tall 'He is tall.'

(Fisher et al. 2006, -háa'estahe)

- Plus *hehpe*-
- (11) É-hehpe-'estahe. 3-hehpe-tall 'He's taller.'

(Fisher et al. 2006, -'estahe)

hehpe-

- Looking more closely at that example
- (11) É-hehpe-'estahe.
 3-hehpe-tall
 'He's taller.'
 (Fisher et al. 2006, -'estahe)
 - Subject: 3rd person
 - Scale: height (introduced by 'estahe 'be tall')
 - Standard: (contextual)
 - No explicit standard
 - $lue{}$ Could be an excessive (\sim 'too tall (for something)')
 - Could be a comparative

hehpe- with an explicit standard

- Can take an explicit standard as a direct object
- (12) Ná-hehpó-'estahe-m-a. 3-hehpe-tall-FTA-3:1
 - 'He's taller than me.'

(Fisher et al. 2006, -hehpó'estähem)

- Subject: 3rd person
- Scale: height (introduced by 'estahe 'be tall')
- Standard: speaker
- Rules out *hehpe* being an excessive or a conjoined comparative
- Takes a standard, not interpreted as 'too tall for me'
 - ... not an excessive
- Standard as a direct object in the same clause
 - ∴ not a conjoined comparative

hehpe- with an explicit standard

- Can take an explicit standard in a conjunct clause
- (13) É-hehpė-stöhá-nėstse na-men-ötse 3-hehpe-be.so.many-PL.INAN 1-berry-PL.INAN tsé-h-néehóve-to.

IND-PST-be.the.person-CNJ.2.SG

- 'I have more berries than you do.' (Fisher et al. 2006, hehpestohá-)
 - Subject: speaker
 - Scale: # of berries possessed
 - Standard: # of berries possessed by addressee (\sim 'than you do')

hehpe- with an explicit standard + he¹xóve-

(14) Náhko'éehe ná-hehpe-méhot-a tsé(ox)-he'xóve-méhót-á'ëstse my.mother 1-hehpe-love-INV IND-to.the.degree-love-CNJ.3:1 ného'éehe. my.father 'My mother loves me more than my father does.'

- Subject: speaker's mother
- Scale: amount of love
- Standard: speaker's father does (a verbal clause, not just a NP)

(Fisher et al. 2006, he'xóve-)

heóme-, an excessive

- Usually a preverb
- É-heómė-ho-háaeho'ta.
 3-too-REDUP-hot
 'It's too hot [to work].'
 ('The Grasshopper and the Ant', Leman 1980a)
 - With adverbifying -to, also as an independent particle
- (16) Heóme-sto kásováaheh-o mó-h-vése-na'h-e-he-vó-he. heóme-ADV young.man-PL Q-PST-also-kill-PSV-NEG-PL-INF 'Too many young men had also been killed.' (Fisher et al. 2006, heómesto)

Superlatives and equatives

(17) É-náno'se-pėhéva'e.
3-most-be.good
'It is the best.' (Fisher et al. 2006, *náno'se*-)

- (18) Hoóhtsetsé-héha é-he'estahe.
 tree-hehá 3-be.tall
 'He's as tall as a tree.' (Fisher et al. 2006, -héhá)
 - hehá marking the standard (the tree)

Wrapping up

- hehpe- found to be the most common preverb involved in comparison
- Based on this data, Cheyenne seems to use a standard comparative
 - Overt comparative morphology, no emphasis or negation
 - ∴ not a conjoined comparative
 - hehpe- might mean 'exceed', but isn't the main verb
 - ∴ not an exceed comparative
- Most likely a standard comparative, with standards introduced in what looks like a conjunct clause
- However, Cheyenne *hehpe* looks like a Meskwaki comparative preverb which Dahlstrom (2015) argues is part of a conjoined comparative

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(19) a·wasi ... [vahpi·hči-we·wenesi-wa]
more ... to.such.extent-

'She is prettier' (Meskwaki, Dahlstrom 2015, (7b))
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Thanks!

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