Animacy as a semantic restriction

Algonquian languages classify nominals (nouns, demonstratives) and verbs in terms of whether a referent is **animate** or **inanimate** (Goddard 2002). (1) shows that, with nominals, a demonstrative and a noun agree in animacy value. (2) shows that intransitive verbs can come in VAI/VII pairs (Valentine 2001). However, some verbs have only one form: 'be angry' is only a VAI (3); 'freeze over' is only a VII $(4)^1$. This raises a problem: some verbs select for animacy; others do not.

(1) a.	aw oshki-inini	b. <i>iw wiigwaam</i>
	D.AN young.man.AN	D.IN lodge.IN
	'that young man	'that lodge'
(2) a.	Ginoo- zi aw oshki-inini	b. Ginw- aa iw wiigwaam
	tall-VAI D.AN young-man.AN	tall-VII D.IN lodge.IN
	'that young man is tall'	'that lodge is tall'

- (3) a. Nishkaad-izi aw oshki-inini angry-VAI D.AN young.man.AN 'that young man is angry'
- b. **Nishkaad-aa iw wiigwaam* angry-VII D.IN lodge.IN ['that lodge is angry']
- (4) a. **Gii-gashk-ad-izi aw oshki-inini* b. *Gii-gashk-ad-in i'iw zaaga'igan* PST-freeze.over-VAI D.AN young.man.AN ['that young man froze over'] b. *Gii-gashk-ad-in i'iw zaaga'igan* ['the lake froze over']

Assuming that animacy is perspective-dependent (Dahl & Fraurud 1996, Muehlbauer 2008), animacy is treated as a restrictor function (Heim & Kratzer 1998:64). The implications of two solutions are explored: with **Solution 1**, animacy restricts entity-denoting expressions; with **Solution 2**, animacy is a predicate that places restrictions on other predicates. Morpho-syntactic evidence is consistent with Solution 2.

 $\begin{array}{lll} \textbf{Solution 1} & [tall-1] &= \lambda x \in D_{e,AN} \ . \ x \ is \ tall & [young.man] = \lambda x \in D_{e,AN} \ . \ x \ is \ young.man \\ & [tall-2] &= \lambda x \in D_{e,AN} \ . \ x \ is \ tall \\ \textbf{Solution 2} & [anim] &= \lambda x \in D_e \ . \ x \ is \ animate & [young.man] = \lambda x \in D \ . \ x \ is \ young.man \\ & [tall] &= \lambda x \in D_e \ . \ x \ is \ tall \\ \end{array}$

¹ All data from The Ojibwe People's Dictionary

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