# The Interdisciplinary Linguistics Program (ILP) at the University of Winnipeg (UW)

## Indo-European Languages and Cultures: Georges Dumézil's Trifunctional Hypothesis

Angela Carlson, Major in Linguistics

Dumézil's Trifunctional Hypothesis stems from the idea that the framework of Indo-European societies can be ideologically broken up into three "functions", each of which is recognized by a deity or deities. The first and highest function denotes sovereignty and religion, the priests and kings of human society and is often embodied by the father god or equivalent figure. The second martial force or military function can be understood simply as the concept of war as a whole, often denoted by the war god in the respective Indo-European pantheons. The third function has a number of different properties but is referred to concisely as the production or fertility function. As the most basic function, it covers more generally the human aspect of society, referring namely to artisans, cultivators and herders.

Evidence found by Dumézil within the Vedic, Roman, Germanic and Italic traditions help to outline his hypothesis and validate it as being an accurate reconstruction of ancient PIE ideological and societal structure. In an article on Comparative Indo-European mythology, Scott Littleton outlines main criteria points of Dumézil's hypothesis: its reliance on the theory of a tripartite ideology or perhaps even a tripartite-based society having existed in Proto-Indo-European culture before its proposed disbandment; its elements having been carried to inheriting cultures across the length and breadth of the historic Indo-European domain; and that the elements forming this system can be found "in most, but certainly not all" of the early Indo-European mythical and epical literature (Littleton, 150). Littleton ends his statement with "These elements, whether expressed in myth, epic or social organization are unparalleled and not found in non-Indo-European cultures." (Littleton, 150). While Dumézil's material is by no means scarce, some may his overly flexible information and therefore weak argument. His format, however, remains dynamic in the face of new information and his extensive analysis provides a strong basis for comparative study.

Dumézil collected an astonishing amount of information pertaining to mythology, some of the most valuable sources being from regions historically inhabited by the Indo-Iranian, Germanic, Celtic and Italic-speaking peoples (Littleton, 150). These mythologies, especially those of the Italic branch continue to influence comparative research. The earliest evidence that Dumézil references is of Vedic origin. The three functions are represented here by Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and the Aśvins (Divine Twins) and on occasion the goddess Sarasvati (Littleton, 151). Mitra and Varuṇa shared the first function, playing distinct roles within its bounds. While Mitra served as the arbiter of legal and contractual disputes, ever-rational and enforcing justice, Varuṇa was representative of magico-religious aspects, serving as a religious practitioner to facilitate sacrifices, marriages and di-

# Interdisciplinary Linguistic Program Faculty:

**The ILP is anchored at the Department of Anthropology; the core of the Linguistic Faculty resides at that Department, as well as in English, Modern Languages and Classics:**

## ILP Faculty:

**George Fulford** (Program Coordinator) is an Anthropological linguist, specializing in Cree and Algonquian languages. He is especially interested in problems related to grammaticalization, language origins, and semiotics and structuralism.

**Jane Cahill** resides in the department of Classics. She teaches courses in Latin and Greek, as well as *Greek and Latin in Today's English* and *The Classical Roots of Medical Terminology.*

**Amy Desroches** (Psychology) uses cognitive and brain imagining methods to examine reading and language development. In particular, her work focuses on the role of phonology in learning to read, and the impact that reading development has on spoken language processing.

**Zbigniew Izydorczyk** teaches at the Department of English. His areas of special interest include Old and Middle English, history of English, history of Latin, and palaeography.

**Kristin Lovrien-Meuwese** (Modern Languages) is interested in language learning in general and second language acquisition in particular, but has most recently worked on a sociolinguistic study of German in Manitoba.

**Jorge Machín-Lucas** (Modern Languages) is a specialist in XXth and XXIst Century Spanish Literature, and teaches courses in Spanish Normative Grammar and History of the Spanish Language.

**Karen Malcolm** (English) has used Communication Linguistics (a development of Halliday's System Functional Grammar) and its descriptive framework, phasal analysis, to analyze and explore a great variety of texts: spoken and written, literary and non-literary.

**Liliane Rodriguez** (Modern Languages) teaches Linguistics, Comparative Stylistics and Translation. Her main research is in Lexicometry, Geolinguistics and Bilingualism. She is the author of several books and of many articles in Linguistics and Translation Studies.

**Ivan Roksandic** (Anthropology) teaches *Languages of the World*, *Morphology* and *Indo-European Linguistics*. His main research interests are language typology and indigenous languages of South America. His current project focuses on the indigenous toponymy in the Caribbean.

**Shelley Tulloch** (Anthropology) teaches *Sociolinguistics*. Her research interests include bilingualism, identity, and language revitalization. Her current research focuses on intercultural Inuit education.

In addition, several courses included in the ILP curriculum are taught at other Departments: Developmental Studies (**Janet Simpson**); Rhetoric (**Tracy Whalen**). Other UW faculty members associated with the ILP include **Linda Dietrick** (Modern Languages), **Jeffrey Newmark** (Religion and Culture), and **Glenn Moulaison**, the Dean of Arts, who teaches *History of the French Language*.

# Students

**Admissions:** Students interested in majoring in Linguistics should contact the Coordinator of the ILP.

**Award:** The Angela Mattiaci Memorial Scholarship in Interdisciplinary Linguistics is awarded every October to a student majoring in linguistics with a distinguished performance in ILP courses. For more information visit our website at: http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/index/interdisciplinary-linguistics

**Colloquium:** Every year in April, after the exam period, the Annual Student Colloquium is held, offering to students an opportunity to present the results of their research to the audience of their colleagues.

**In 2016/17, the XVIII Annual Student Colloquium in Linguistics will take place on Friday, April 21st, from 10:00 AM - 3:00 PM, in room 3D04, on main campus.**



| Spring 2017 | | |
|---|---|---|
| LING 2003 / ANTH 2403 / ENGL 2802 Syntax | Tu-Th (May) 10-02 PM | K. Malcolm |
| **Fall/Winter 2017/2018** | | |
| LING 1001 Introduction to Linguistics | MWF 11:30-12:20 PM | TBA |
| LING 3311/FREN 3111 Comparative Stylistics and Translation | MW 04:00-5:15 PM | L. Rodriguez |
| **Fall 2017** | | |
| LING 2002 /ANTH 2402 /ENGL 2805 Morphology | MWF 01:30-02:20 PM | TBA |
| LING 2301/FREN 2202 Phonetics (lab required) | MW 02:30-3:45 PM | L. Rodriguez |
| CLAS 2850 The Classical Roots of Medical Terminology | MWF 01:30-02:20 PM | TBA |
| CRS 2252 Conflict and Communication | W 06:00-09:00 PM | C. H. Morris |
| LING 3103/ANTH 3408 Sociolinguisitics | MWF 01:30-02:20 PM | S. Tulloch |
| LING 3105 /DEV 3300 Speech and Language Disorders in Children | Th 05:30-08:30 PM | J. Simpson |
| LING 3405/GERM 3858 The Acquisition of German as an Additional Language | Tu-Th 01:00-02:15 PM | K. Lovrien-Meuwese |
| PSYC 3480 Interpersonal Communication | M 06:00-09:00 PM | W. Josephson |
| ENGL 3812 A History of the English Language | Tu-Th 10:00-11:15 AM | Z. Izydorczyk |
| **Winter 2018** | | |
| LING 2001 /ANTH 2401 /ENGL 2803 Phonetics and Phonology | MW 04:00-05:15 PM | TBA |
| LING 2003 / ANTH 2403 / ENGL 2802 Syntax | Tu-Th 10:00-11:15 AM | K. Malcolm |
| LING 2004/ANTH 2405/ENGL 2806 Semantics | Tu-Th 08:30-09:45 AM | G. Fulford |
| LING 2101 /ANTH 2406 /ENGL 2804 Language and Culture | W 06:00-09:00 PM | K. Malcolm |
| LING 2102 /ANTH 2400 Method and Theory in Linguistic Anthropology | Tu-Th 04:00-05:15 PM | G. Fulford |
| PSYC 2620 Psycholinguistics | Tu-Th 01:00-02:15 PM | A. Desroches |
| LING 3001 /ANTH 3405 /ENGL 3800 Textual Analysis | Tu-Th 01:00-02:15 PM | K. Malcolm |
| RHET 3139 Rhetorics of Visual Representation | MW 02:30-03:45 PM | T. Whalen |
| SOC 3214 Mass Communication and Media | MW 04:00-05:15 PM | TBA |
| SOC 3215 Popular Culture | Tu-Th 02:30-03:45 PM | TBA |
| LING 3305/LING 4305 Bilingualism | MW 02:30-03:45 PM | L. Rodriguesz |
| WGS 2001 Gender and Folklore | Tu-Th 01:00-02:15 PM | TBA |

*Courses Subject to Change

vining in rituals. These functions often appear, though in less distinct ways, in other mythologies. Indra represents the second function, as the appointed war god in the Vedic pantheon. Littleton describes him as the "personification of the warrior ideal" (Littleton, 151), charged with protection and defense, but also opposition and offense. The third function is represented by three deities, an unusual situation. It is tough to designate so large a function to one specific deity, considering the complexities of human organization. Dumézil would simply conclude that one must identify the scope of each deity's role and appoint them accordingly. Therefore three deities, though separate, can collectively represent preservation of plant and animal fertility, bountiful harvests, and aid in matters of human physical well-being.

Another detailed example is the documentation of a fire ritual found in Vedic tradition. This ritual entails the lighting of three main axial fires located in very specific relation to one another. The initial fire is used to light all others and is referred to as 'the fire of the master of the house" (Dumezil, 313). It is set up in a circular formation on the east to west axis, denoting the shape of the Earth, and representing the first function as the fire of highest importance. The second fire is referred to as the fire of the offering, which denotes sky, and the heavens. This fire is "square", in that it has pieces in the direction of the four cardinal points, and is located east of the first fire. The last fire is called both the fire of the south and the fire of the right, and is located on the exact boundary line of the ritual area. The south was considered a particularly dangerous direction and thus the fire was intended to ward off evil and protect the sanctity of the ritual. Shaped in a fan or semi-circle, it was exposed to the southern direction as a ward against any unseen adversaries that might try to thwart the ritual. In his writings, Dumézil maintains that "This doctrine of the three fires is itself connected with the more general doctrine of the three functions…moreover, the doctrine is connected with the division of the world into Earth, atmosphere (environment) and sky (heavens)." (Dumézil, 314). The intentional distinctions in this ritual not only indicate the three functions in relation to mythology, but also within the societies to which that ritual belongs.

Particularly interesting is the Roman "Triad" of figureheads. It is often said that the Roman pantheon and culture comply in significantly less cases with Dumézil's hypothesis, mostly because of few functional interactions between deities or within societal structure. Dumézil states, however, that "it is less important for Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus [the Roman "Triad"] to meet, all three together, than for each to administer his vast domain." (Dumézil, 280). This relates to the idea that the tripartite system is more ideological rather than a distinct frame of society. As written in his collection *Archaic Roman Religion*, Dumézil states "we nevertheless know that human society was not actually divided in this way [into distinct functions], at least not in a…stable way." (Dumezil, 163). One can then infer that all interaction between the three gods in instances wherein they embody those primary functions can be considered supportive of this hypothesis. Dumézil's assessment of the three "priests" of Roman culture presents further valuable perspective. The Priest of Jupiter was celestial but also kingly, entirely separate from acts of death including funerals and eating raw meats. His domain was power and law but not the savagery of war. This first function Priest was considered the "most sacred among sacred beings, and the source of all sacredness" (Dumézil, 153), embodying immortality over flawed humanity. A ritual that provides evidence the Priest of War is the sacrificial horse ceremony which would take place after a victorious battle. Dumézil points out that the war function was quite important in Roman society, stating "Mars will always patronize physical force and the spiritual violence whose principal application is war and whose outcome is victory" (Dumézil, 156). The final Priest of Quirinus, who "seems to have been a patron of the Roman People." (Dumézil, 161), not only seems to represent bounty and fertility but also acted as patron to the society in general. This is compatible with the role of the third function in Vedic tradition.

The most adamant record in Celtic and Germanic myth and society was the Threefold death, traditionally a death that incurred a punishment from each of the three functions. In Germanic tradition, the methods were hanging or a fall from a tree representing the first function because of their more regal nature; impaling oneself on a weapon, in some cases a branch or

spear, representing the war function; and drowning in water or often a vat of beer, a punishment of the third function. Similarly in Celtic tradition, the victim would fall from a tree or hang, impale themselves on a weapon as well as fall into a fire, and then proceed to drown in water. These gruesome deaths were depicted in a war-scene painting, entitled *Kriegsgreuel,* showing the victory celebration and the mutilation of prisoners of war (Ward, 133). This is evidence supporting that an understanding of these different functions was present in society, enough so that citizens enacted related ritual behaviours at a basic level. It became common knowledge that the three functions were to be employed as methods of sacrifice to the gods.

While Dumézil's research is extensive and his evidence convincing, many still disagree with his approach and its accuracy. However, as told by Edgar Polomé, "…even those who…completely reject Dumézil's views must admit that the structure of Germanic society agreed by and large with his postulated social pattern" (Polomé, 58). It is clear from Dumézil's research that an ancient Proto-Indo-European society based around the idea of these functions, perhaps in a varied state than what the daughter cultures portray is not a far reach from reality.

**References Cited**

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Trundholm Sun Chariot, Nordic Bronze Age – Wikipedia Open Resource

# The Origin of Some Important Spanish Words
## Jorge Machín Lucas, Modern Languages

In this article we are presenting etymology of some important words in Spanish. Some of them share their origin with words in English and in several Romance languages, their common source being Latin.

Spanish language has inherited a number of words from the Celtiberian substratum, such as "barro" (mud) and "muñeca/o" (doll), while the Preroman substratum has left words like "barril" (barrel), "barriga" (belly), "barricada" (barricade), "caspa" (dandruff), "gorda/o" (fat), and "perra/o" (dog). From Celtic we have "carro" (car or cart), "cabaña" (cabin), "camisa" (shirt), "carpintero" (carpenter) and "cerveza" (beer). The reason why you can detect the similarity of some of those words with their English counterparts is that some of them are cognates. (Language substratum is a language that has lower prestige but still influences a dominant language, superstratum is the dominant language, whereas adstratum is a neighbouring language.)

From the Basque substratum or adstratum modern Spanish has words like "boina" (beret or cap), "izquierda/o" (left) and "pizarra" (slate, blackboard or chalkboard). Basque linguistic and lexical influence came from their autonomous community in northern Spain, which borders southwestern France, mainly during the Visigotic period (between the beginning of the Vth century and the beginning of the VIIIth century) and during the Arabic rule (from the beginning of the VIIIth century to the end of the XVth century).

From the Germanic superstratum we got "guerra" (war), "guardar" (to keep), "robar" (to steal or to rob) and "jabón" (soap), while the Arabic superstratum left many words that start with an "a-", an "al-", a "z-" (written as "c-" before –e or -i) or a "j-". For example, the following words come from Arabic: "aceite" (oil), "aceituna" (olive), "alfombra" (carpet), "algodón" (cotton), "almacén" (warehouse), "almohada" (pillow), "arroz" (rice), "azúcar" (sugar), "azul" (blue), "cero" (zero), "fulana/o" (prostitute), "jarabe" (syrup), "naranjas" (oranges) and "ojalá" (hopefully).

In terms of place names, there are toponyms of Phoenician origin, such as city names "Cádiz" and "Málaga," as well as the name of the country,"España", a word whose contemporary pronunciation comes from its Latin form "Hispania." There are also Carthaginian place names, like "Cartagena", Celtic toponyms like "Segovia" and "Coruña," and Germanic ones like the city and province of "Burgos" (which means castle or city, like in German toponym Hamburg or in American Pittsburgh). The name "Andalucía" – originally "Vandalucia" – meaning "Land of Vandals," has entered the Spanish language from Arabic. In addition, there many other toponyms of Arabic origin, such as the region of "La Mancha" (plateau) in the southern part of Castilla, the city and province of "Guadalajara" (stony river), the "Guadalquivir" river (big river), the town of "Guadalupe" (the river of black rubble, the river where there are wolves – from the Latin word "lupus" influenced by Arabic, or secret, subterranean river), the territory of Gibraltar (the Mount of Tarik, the first leader of the invading Moorish troops in Spain in the VIIIth century), the town of "Guadalcanal" (river of the canal), and Zaragoza, which got its name from Caesar Augusta, a Latin name, but changed by Arabic phonology.

There are also many personal and family names inherited from all the aforementioned civilizations. The name "García", which is probably the most common last name in Spain, comes from Basque, as do "Echevarría" and "Jiménez." Celtiberians left the suffix "–ez" which means "son of". That is a patronymic, a term that refers to either a given name or a family name that is related to a lineage. In Spain, the most widespread form of patronymic – normally used as a last name – is usually derived from the father's name or from an ancient ancestor to which is attached the suffix –ez. There are plenty of examples: "Martínez" (son of Martín), "Rodríguez" (son of Rodrigo), "Pérez" (Son of Pedro), "López" (son of Lope), "Sánchez" (son of Sancho), "González" (son of Gonzalo), "Gutiérrez" (son of Gutierre), "Diéguez" (son of Diego), "Ramírez" (son of Ramiro), and "Bermúdez" (son of Bermudo). Some person-

al names are inherited from Visigotic, for example "Alfonso", "Rodrigo", "Ramiro", "Gonzalo", "Bermudo", and "Elvira."

Other – non-lexical – linguistic influences of Basque on Spanish include the presence of the phoneme /rr/ (also called "the multiple r") between vowels ("carro", "perro"…) and at the beginning of a word ("rica", rich); the development of the consonant /f/ at the beginning of Latin words into a /h/ in Spanish (for instance, "filiu" became "hijo" meaning son, "formica" became "hormiga" meaning ant, "farina" became "harina" meaning flour, and "furnus" became "horno" meaning furnace, oven, or stove); the simplicity of Spanish vowel system (consisting of five vowel sounds, namely /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/); the similarity in the pronunciation of /b/ and /v/ (of the voiced bilabial stop and labiodental fricative); and the fact that Spanish has fewer phonemes than letters of the alphabet.

# Ojibwe *Mii* and the Left Peripheries
Mathieu Paillé, Major in Linguistics

One of the main projects in recent syntactic research has been to document, in Rizzi's (2004:3) words, the "structural maps that could do justice to the complexity of syntactic structures." This research program is called syntactic cartography. In this paper I apply recent cartographic work to Ojibwe (Anishinaabemowin), a Central Algonquian language spoken in the northern Great Lakes area. I focus on the clausal and nominal 'left peripheries' (i.e. the articulations of traditional C and D) and on the Ojibwe particle *mii,* which often occurs at the left extremity of Ojibwe clauses and DPs. *Mii* seems to mark some sort of 'extra' or 'emphasized' topicality; Valentine (2001:963–973), for instance, describes it as a 'focusing' particle that discursively highlights certain elements. I say 'extra/emphasized' because Ojibwe can mark topicality by moving elements into a pre-verbal position (i.e. Spec,TopicP) without the presence of *mii*.

I argue that *mii* is an adjunct; it is adjoined to TopicP at the clausal level, and at the nominal level, it is adjoined either to DP or to the TopicP within the articulated D-system. This means that *mii* is the leftmost word in the clause because (1) it is adjoined to topicalized elements (elements already far out on the left end of the clause) and (2) Force° is usually empty in Ojibwe (the only exception being clauses beginning with *giishpin* 'if,' although I lack the data to show how *giishpin* might interact with *mii*).

To understand *mii'*s position, one must first have anchors in the Ojibwe C-system. The C-system is the articulation of the tradition CP. Rizzi (1997) proposes a set of five (four different) projections to replace the traditional CP. In the following, recursive projections are marked with asterisks.

(1)
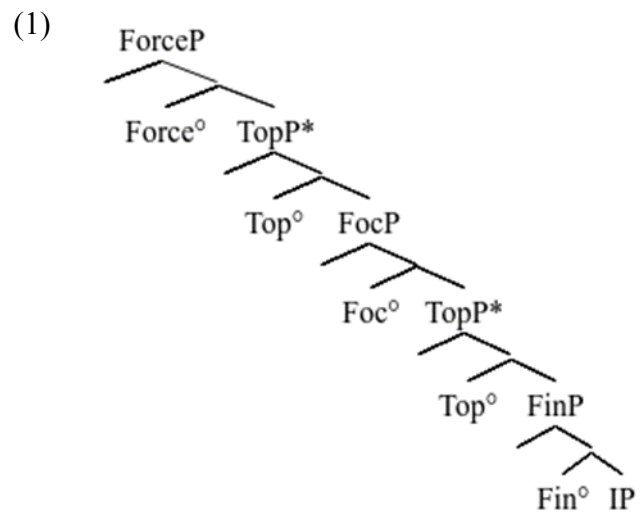


(Rizzi 1997:297)

ForceP is motivated by how "complementizers express the fact that a sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind, etc.," which is "the specification of Force" (Rizzi 1997:283). FinP (i.e. Finiteness) is motivated by how certain complementizers' uses are dependent on whether or not a clause is finite (Rizzi 1997:284). In other words, ForceP "fac[es] the

outside," while FinP "faces the inside" (Rizzi 1997:283). FocusP and TopicP are fairly straightforward: they contain focused and topicalized elements as their specifier, with the heads reserved for functional elements marking focus and topic as such (null in English). The Topic and Focus projections seem motivated by Algonquian data as well (see Johnson et al. 2015:173–174).

Ojibwe verbs are typically analyzed as raising either high in the I-system or all the way into the C-system depending on whether they display conjunct or independent morphology, but there is no consensus in the literature on this. Still, it seems clear that conjunct verbs must be within the I-system, given that they can occur with complementizers (namely *gaa-*) which can themselves be preceded by topicalized or focused constituents—as argued by Halle and Marantz (1993) and Richards (2004). As for the rich set of discourse particles employed by Ojibwe, I assume they occur as adjuncts on ForceP, appearing after the first word due to PF-level readjustments, lexically specified. In the following example, *dash* is a second-position discourse marker encoding discourse contrast (Fairbanks 2009:98):

(2)     *Wenda-nibwaakaa inenindizo, bagwanawizi dash.*

wenda-     nibwaakaa     inenindizo     bagwanawizi   dash
very is.smart                thinks.REFL    is.dumb                 PC

'He thinks he's smart, but he's dumb' (Fairbanks 2009:99; my morphemic glosses).

(2')     … [ForceP dash [ForceP [… [IP bagwanawizi] ] ] ]

The only important point of this argument for the rest of this essay is that these clitics, being adjuncts on the highest C projection, essentially do not interfere with the internal workings of the C-system.

With this background in mind, we can proceed to asking where *mii* is located. First we must understand its meaning. Usually, *mii* occurs at the left edge of clauses, but it can also occur at the left edge of DPs. In those contexts it seems to emphasize a DP's specificity. Ihsane and Puskás (2001) discuss the difference between specificity and definiteness, offering the following definitions:

(3)     a.     *Definiteness*: selects one object in the class of possible objects

         b.     *Specificity:* relates to pre-established elements in the discourse

(Ihsane and Puskás 2001:40)

As Fairbanks writes for Ojibwe, *mii* "bring[s] a character back into view (i.e. anaphoric reference) after a quick aside by the narrator" (2008:178); in other words, it contributes the meaning of "aforementioned, under discussion" (2008:180). Example (4) constitutes a particularly clear instance of this. The speaker, Emma Fisher, had been talking about her dogs; she then moved into a brief parenthetical paragraph discussing her uncle and her own situation in that story as having climbed up a tree. The sentence in (4) is the first one she utters after the paragraph about her and her uncle; she uses *mii* to bring back the dogs into the discourse.

(4)     **Mii     sa     indayag**     *gii-ayaawaad     imaa     ogidakamig,     miish     igo     ayaayaan mitigong.*

         *Mii   sa     indayag               gii-ayaawaad             imaa*
         MII   PC     my.dogs       PAST-be-3PL.CONJ     there

         *ogidakamig, mii=sh igo     ayaayaan     mitigong*
         on.the.ground       MII=PC EMPH   be-1.CONJ       in.the.treee

'**My dogs** were on the ground, but I was up in the tree' (pp. 186, 187).

However, some nuance is needed here, since *mii* does not mark *every* logically specific DP. Most Ojibwe texts refer to the same referents a number of times without *mii* ever appearing to mark specificity. As such, more particularly than marking specificity, *mii* seems to *emphasize* specificity.

This matters because some linguists have been articulating the traditional DP along the lines of Rizzi's articulated CP. Some of these (not all; see Giusti 2005) "correlate the Topic/Focus positions inside the noun phrase with Topic/Focus interpretation that the noun phrase is assigned in the clause" (Giusti 2005:24–25 n. 3). They

therefore see specificity as being marked in the DP's TopicP (see e.g. Aboh 2004, Ihsane and Puskás 2001, Ihsane 2003). However, none of the structures they propose work for *mii* if we assume *mii* to be a specifier or a head. Due to space constraints I can only give one example: Aboh (2004) follows Rizzi (1997) by putting the functional element marking specificity in Topic°, with the topicalized element in Spec,TopicP. He provides this structure for Gungbe specific DPs (*lɔ́* being the marker of specificity, *távò* being the specific noun):

(5)    $[_{DP} [_D [_{TopP} [_{FP}$ távò $[_{Top°}$ lɔ́ $[_{NumP}$ t$_{távò}$ $[_{Num}$ lɛ́ $[_{FP}$ t$_{távo}$ $]]]]]]]]$ (Aboh 2004:7)

But this would yield the wrong surface word order for Ojibwe. *Mii* comes first in the DP, rather than following the topicalized element.

However, this dilemma is solved if we keep in mind my argument (above) about *mii*'s semantics. As I argued, *mii* is in fact optional, emphasizing rather than 'marking' specificity. Usually optionality is associated with adjuncts, not specifiers or heads. Therefore we can simply take *mii* to be adjoined to the DP (either the DP as a whole or to the TopicP within it), explaining its left-most position. Moving on from here, let us see how this argument can deal with *mii* in other contexts.

*Mii* only ever occurs postverbally when it marks DPs as specific. In other contexts, it is always preverbal. In fact, Rhodes (1998:287) writes that *mii* is *always* clause-initial (a claim Fairbanks and I have now refuted: specific DPs need not be clause-initial). Either way, the overwhelming majority of *mii*'s appearances are clause-initial; in these contexts, it creates cleft constructions and emphasizes topicalized elements. I show that for these two contexts, the adjunction analysis still works.

Creating clefts might be *mii*'s most widely accepted use. I myself had no intention of contesting this claim when I started working on this paper. Cleft-marking is in fact the *only* function Rhodes (1998) attributes to *mii* (except for a few cases he views as secondary or idiomatic). If *mii* creates clefts, we might want to consider giving *mii* a more 'core' structural position than being a mere adjunct (whatever that might entail).

Rhodes provides examples such as the following (*go* is an enclitic particle, so take its surface position with a grain of salt):

(6)    *... mii go niin* [*widi ezhnaazhkaagooyaan ...*]

| mii | go | niin | widi | ezhnaazhkaa-goo-yaan |
|-----|-----|------|------|----------------------|
| MII | EMPH | 1SG | there | IC.send.there-PASS-1.CONJ |

'I was the one [who was sent there ...]' (Rhodes 1998:288).

Rhodes discusses clefts only in terms of the presence of *mii,* but in fact, most of his examples contain verbs that display the two properties that create relative clauses in Ojibwe: conjunct morphology (a specific set of inflectional morphemes on verbs) and initial change (an umlaut process affecting some conjunct verbs). Where I part from Rhodes is that I see these attributes as *necessary* for there to be a real cleft construction in Ojibwe (whereas Rhodes views only *mii* as necessary). Even more importantly for the present argument, I also differ from Rhodes in that I don't see *mii* as having cleft-creation as its primary, underlying function. Recall my main argument about *mii* in DPs: it marks (emphasized) specificity; Aboh (2004) and Ihsane (2003) relate specificity to topicality, since it has to do with the noun being given information in the discourse. Topicality can also be present in cleft constructions (see e.g. Collins 2006). Therefore, it seems not only ideal but indeed straightforward to link these two uses of *mii*. In (6), *mii* is simply an adjunct on *niin,* which is itself topicalized. The constituents are linked by a zero-copula construction, typical of Algonquian languages:

(7)    *A'aw    Jaaj.*
        that    George.
        'That is George' (Fairbanks 2008:183).

It is not abnormal for the first constituent of such zero-copula constructions to be topicalized (see e.g. Soltan [2007:54] for Arabic). So in fact, the *mii* in cleft constructions is also appearing alongside topicalized constituents. As such, even in cleft sentences, we can continue analyzing *mii* as an adjunct.

Outside of clefts, *mii* still appears to emphasize topicalization. Here too *mii* can be viewed as an adjunct. The elements it modifies are all preverbal, i.e. in Spec,TopicP.

(8)  a.  *Geget   gii-ojaanimizi-wag.*
truly   PAST-is.busy-3P
'They were truly busy.'

b.  *mii      geget   gii-ojaanimizi-wag.*
MII      truly   PAST-is.busy-3PL
'They were without a doubt truly busy!' (Fairbanks 2008:201).

In these examples, much like above, *mii* can be understood as an adjunct hosted by the TopicP:s themselves. In fact, some of Rhodes' data can better be analyzed as cases of *mii* topicalizing elements without there being a cleft construction at all.

The main point to come out of this is that it is possible to analyze *mii* as *always* being adjoined to a TopicP. While I see no way to prove whether *mii* on nominals is an adjunct on the DP or on the TopicP within an articulated D, we might prefer to assume uniformity with the clausal structure, where *mii* clearly is adjoined to topicalized elements. As stated above, this adjunction thesis explains why *mii* always occurs at the left edge of phrases: it is on the left of the topic, which itself is rather far left. It also goes well with the view that Ojibwe clefts require three elements: *mii,* a relativized verb (one displaying both conjunct morphology and initial change), and a zero-copula construction.

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# Hindu Mythology
## Nelly Castillo-Pilcol, Major in Anthropology

Mythologies have been a vital feature in many cultures around the world. Myths use allegories and symbols to teach us about cultures and civilizations that preceded ours. In India, we can still see mythologies playing an important role in the society, shown through art, religion, poetry, and folklore. A great example of this would be the streets of Kolkata, India. Nearly every couple of blocks you pass, you will stumble upon a temple of worshippers or find deities left adorned on the side of the streets. This shows that mythology is more than a thing from the past; it is alive today through religious beliefs and practices.

This paper will cover Hindu mythology, beginning with a historical context of Hindu myths, followed by a discussion of Hindu cosmogony. I will then outline a few prominent gods and conclude with the importance of the sun, moon, and earth within Indic mythology.

The two most important cultures for modern Hinduism are the Indus Valley culture in the Pre-Aryan Period (2500 -1700 BC), and the Aryan culture. Archaeologists have been able to construct a picture of mythology in the pre-Aryan period that contains various artifacts depicting tree spirits, worship of snakes, and theriomorphic beings ( Williams, 2003). The Vedic Period, the earliest period of the Aryan culture (1500-900 BC), is defined both as a period of time and culture with the sacred scriptures of the Aryas known as the Vedas (Williams, 2003). The Vedas consisted of four collections of hymns known as the Rig Veda, the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda, and the Atharva Veda. The Brahmanical and Aranyaka Period (900-600 BC) showed a change in the mythological views between the Samhitas and the Brahmanas. The Brahmanas were more concerned with ritual and its effectiveness and less concerned with the older Rig Vedic gods (Williams, 2003). During the Upanishadic Period, non-Hindu elements from the Buddhists, Jains, and Pahlavas made their contributions to Hindu mythology such as the use of temples, and indoor shrines. The Epic Period (400 BC – 400 AD) brought about the great epics known as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. This period continued the expansion of mythology where gods and demons multiplied, as did their stories (Williams, 2003). The Puranic Period (300-800 AD) also known as the Hindu middle ages gave us the Puranas and displayed polytheism. The Tantric Period around 900-1600 AD is said to have disappeared from historical sight during the time of the Aryan dominance of the Indus Valley culture, though others claim that it never died and that it continues secretly today (Williams, 2003). During the Tantric period, the mythology of Tantra and Sakta revived and enriched central themes of blood sacrifice and pursuits of pleasure, differing radically in meaning from those of epic mythology which favored devotion, asceticism, and duty (Williams, 2003). Finally the Modern Period was said to begin with Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) who demythologized Hindu mythology by opposing the Puranas and their polytheism (Williams, 2003).

The earliest Hindu account of the origin of the universe is given in the Rig Veda (Thomas, 1961). One of the most favored Vedic versions speaks of a golden cosmic egg, a symbol of fire, which floated on the waters for a thousand years. At the end of this period, the egg burst open to reveal the lord of the universe who took form of the first eternal man known as Purusha (Ions, 1967). As Purusha emerged from the egg and looked around among the empty waters he felt afraid. This feeling of fear that he had was said to have been the explanation for why humans thereafter feet afraid when alone. It was also told that Purusha felt desire for a companion, so he divided himself into two, one half male and the other female. By doing this he felt disunited and rejoined his other half, Viraj, who thus became his wife and bore offspring, mankind (Ions, 1967).

In later myths, Brahma is always referred in some way as the creator. It was told that the lord of the universe brooded over the cosmic egg as it laid on the surface of the ocean for a thousand years. As he sat there, a lotus bright as a thousand suns rose from his navel and spread until it seemed as if it could contain the whole world. From this lotus Brahma sprang, imbued with the powers of the lord of the universe where he created the asuras from his hip, the earth from his feet, and all the other components of the world from other parts of his body (Ions, 1967).

The Hindu pantheon has gone through many changes over time and accounts for more than 300 million gods and goddesses. In contrast with other religions, the Hindus place a great emphasis on the power aspect of the deity, which can be shown through depictions of art or described vividly through text (Thomas, 1961).

Starting off with what is known as the Hindu Triad, we have Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva who are the creator, preserver and destroyer of the worlds. Although Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are said to be one, many sectarians often try to establish the supremacy of one of them over the others (Thomas, 1961).

Brahma is often described as the first of the gods that came to existence. In the Puranas, it is described how he was born from a supreme being. Elsewhere, it is recounted as him hatching from a golden egg that lay floating in primal waters. The most widely accepted version out of all the tales was that he was born from a lotus that sprang up from Vishu's navel (Thomas, 1961). Brahma is depicted in art as a four-headed deity, red in colour that rides upon a goose. Each head is said to have sprung a Veda, thus making him the deity of wisdom (Thomas, 1961 and Pattanaik, 2003).

Vishnu is known as the preserver of life and is viewed as the most lovable of all the deities. He is said to be considerate, polite, and full of forgiveness (Thomas, 1961). Vishnu is represented as reposing on the coils of Shesha, where his wife Lakshmi sits by his feet. He is depicted usually with four arms (although there could be many more) carrying a conch, discus, mace, and lotus (Williams, 2003). As the preserver of the universe, Vishnu incarnates himself many times into various forms such as a fish, tortoise, boar, Rama, Krishna, and Buddha to destroy evil and establish the reign of righteousness (Ions, 1967).

Shiva is known as the god of destruction, the one who destroys life and then recreates it. Apart from his blue throat, Shiva is represented as a fair man, with five faces, four arms and three eyes. The third eye appeared on the centre of his forehead one day when Parvati, his wife, playfully covered his eyes and thus plunged the world into darkness. With this eye, it is said that he can kill all the gods and other creatures during the periodic destructions of the universe (Ions, 1967).

The sun, moon, and earth have played a significant role within Hindu mythology. The sun is an important object of worship where it is considered a male deity. In the Puranas, the sun is known as Aditya. The adityas are twelve, one of which is Vishnu who is identified in some accounts with the sun (Thomas, 1961). In tales, the sun is depicted as a dark-red man with three eyes and four arms, riding in a chariot drawn by seven horses (Thomas, 1961). The moon is also depicted as a male deity among Hindu mythology. One of his names is Soma, and is said to have received Amrita, nectar that represents light, from the sun and distributed it among the gods, men, animals and plants (Thomas, 1961). The Earth is often referred to as the goddess Prithvi within the Vedas and the Puranas. The myths associate Prithvi as the inventor of agriculture among the Indo-Aryans. She is often represented as a cow and is considered a symbol of patience, bearing all the misdeeds of men without complaint (Thomas, 1961).

Thus Hindu mythology is based on the belief in one absolute, timeless source of creation that is still being practiced today through art, religion and folklore. We can see that myths are situated within historical periods. As time progressed, tales of gods and goddesses were changing and evolving, while myths were transformed to form a newl version of Hindu mythological community.

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**Shiva with Parvati- Wikipedia– Open Resource**

# Proto-Indo-European Clothing
## Whitney Patzer, Major in Linguistics

Proto Indo European (PIE) was a society that produced and wore clothing, but it is difficult to reconstruct any type of fashion. Daughter languages derived words for clothng from PIE, but also developed new forms with their changing societies. Looking at the lexicon of daughter languages furthers our understanding of the way PIE's produced and wore clothing. They were a hierarchical, male dominated society, and had kings, warriors, priests, poets (the elite), common people, and slaves. The reconstruction of this society points to a clear division between people, and one interesting question is 'did their clothing separate them'? With limited reconstructions it is difficult to answer this question, and only in daughter languages we begin to see a divide between women and men, and perhaps the different social classes.

PIE's vocabulary pertaining to clothing production is much larger than any actual articles of clothing. One of the most important terms reconstructed is that of 'sheep's wool', which was the main material used in clothing production, but they also had a word for 'linen (flax)'. Mallory and Adams (2016) explain *pek- and that "the original meaning must have been something like 'harvest wool [by plucking]' and came to mean successively 'harvest wool [by combing]' and 'harvest wool [by shearing]' as the technology of wool-gathering evolved" (p.233). Once the wool or flax was harvested the PIE's would have to *(s)ne or (s)nei (spin), and begin *syuh1-(sewing). There are also reconstructions for other materials needed to make clothing such as needle and thread. The importance of textile production is attested in many languages, and Mallory and Adams (2012) explain "'sewing' is indicated with the root * syuh1- which is both geographically and semantically robust across the Indo-European languages (e.g. Latin, Greek, Sanskrit)" (p.234).

There are far less examples for actual articles of clothing. The first interesting term is one for 'be dressed', which was *wes. Another closely related term refers to 'putting on clothes' or 'covering' which has been reconstructed as *h1eu-. These two forms are important reconstructions because they do in fact prove they were wearing clothing, even if we do not know what type. There has been a term coined for the noun 'belt' (*yeh3s), which actually referred to the verb 'to gird'. Fortson (2012) points out that in addition to clothing "the Proto-Indo-Europeans were also familiar with combs, ointments, and salves" (p.42), which indicates they practiced some self-care.

Although there is no reconstructed PIE term for shoe, we do have a reconstructed word for 'foot' which was *ped-.

Welsh and Sanskrit both derive their term for shoe from this root *ped. While Lithuanian, Greek, Gothic, Old Norse, Old English, and Old High German directly derive or show development of their shoe terms from the PIE term *sqeu- meaning 'cover'(Lane, 1931, p.34-35). Mallory and Adams (2006) point out that "a regional (West Central) word for 'shoe' is usually derived from *(s)ker- 'cut' which supports the notion of a leather shoe. They also explain that in Baltic and Slavic the term used for 'putting on shoes' or 'wearing shoes' is derived from the lesser used PIE word *h1eu-, meaning 'put on clothes, cover' (p.232).

Beekes and Vaan (2011) confirm PIE's wore clothes by stating "the Indo-Europeans did not need to walk around 'naked' (*ne/ogw)" (p.37). Mallory and Adams (2006) point out that "the word for a skin container, * bhélĝhis, is well attested and the element 'skin' or 'belly' is widely found in Celtic and Germanic" (p.230), which also meant that animal skins were probably used for clothing as well. Fortson (2012) explains there is evidence of ancient texts that discussed clothing in Indo-European burial sites. This indicates that the PIE's believed they would need clothes in the afterlife (p.45). Mallory and Adams (2006) describe a derived term in Latin which "indicates 'one who steals clothes from the dead'" (p.232).

We are unable to establish any type of style, or if the social classes of PIE differed in clothing. But, Mallory and Adams(2006) suggest that "the cognate terms supporting a PIE *wospo-'garment' appear to support the notion of some form of blanket wrap. This could then be fastened with the help of a *yeh3s- 'belt' (p.236). They go on to explain how a simple blanket wrap can be used in a variety of ways such as short, long, or layered and then fastened with a belt. The many terms coined for 'belt', along with 'cloaks', 'garments', and even 'dresses' in daughter languages infer that this type of dress remained for many years.

Many daughter languages derived terms referring to textile production and clothing from PIE. Nouns meaning 'clothes', 'clothing', or 'garment' are derived from the PIE verb 'be dressed' *wes-, and in fact it is the most widespread according to Mallory and Adams (2006). Avestan derived their form of 'cloth', meaning an actual piece of material from PIE *wes-, which shows the diversity that the verb had. In Greek, the terms for 'garment, dress' and plural 'clothes' all derive from *wes- (Lane, 1931, p.8-9). Specialized articles of clothing in daughter languages are often derived from terms that did not specifically refer to clothing in PIE, like the term 'shirt' in Sanskrit

and French being derived from PIE *ḱem meaning 'cover. Another interesting article of clothing is a 'woman's dress', because the only direct derivatives from PIE seem to be Greek's form derived from *pel-'hide, cloth'. Lane(1931) points out an interesting "semantic development through striking the web in weaving" (p.21) in the Old English, Middle English, and Old High German terms for women's dresses. In Sanskrit the term for 'dress' was *vastra,* and in Avestan there was a term for *karama* (trousers), which shows that as languages broke off they developed new words due to a lack of terms in PIE.

It is clear that the Proto Indo Europeans produced textiles, valued wool, and wore clothing. What is unclear is how these pieces of clothing looked, or if there was a divide within the hierarchy in terms of their clothing. Although we are unable to uncover any type of fashion, and the PIE lexicon pertaining to clothing is small, daughter languages derived many terms from these few reconstructions. One interesting idea is that they wore some type of robe/cloak fastened with a belt, which could have been worn in a variety of ways. We also know from reconstructed ancient texts describing burials that there was an importance in the culture and society of PIE for clothing, and the production of wool.

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# To Say 'Almost' the Same Thing (Eco): Four French Translations of Fitzgerald
## Nicole Tamoto, Major in Linguistics, and Matthew Landry, Major in French

Applying theories studied in class, and those of Umberto Eco and Antoine Berman, we were given the task of examining four French translations of *The Great Gatsby* (1925) by F. Scott Fitzgerald, and determining which one we thought was the most successful in rendering the original. The four translations studied were Victor Llona's *Gatsby le Magnifique* (1946), Nicole Tisserand's *Gatsby le Magnifique* (1996), Philippe Jaworski's *Gatsby le Magnifique* (2012), and Julie Wolkenstein's *Gatsby* (2011). I cannot testify to the quality of each translation in its entirety, as only an excerpt from the beginning of chapter three was examined. However, in comparing these short excerpts, the reader is able to gain an idea of each translators' style. Of the four translations, I found Jaworski's to be the most accurate. That being said, his translation is not perfect, and each of the four pieces demonstrate well-chosen elements. Indeed, these four translators were faced with a delicate undertaking.

First off, Jaworski's translation can be considered source-oriented, rather than target-oriented. Source-oriented translations are more literal in a sense that they attempt to stay as true to the original text as possible. The translator will write in the same style as the original author in terms of vocabulary, level of language, stylistics, etc. A source-oriented translation aims to transport the reader or listener to the exact same place or culture of the original and evoke the same associations and sentiments. On the other hand, target-oriented translations have more liberty in their style, in some cases making them more so an adaptation than an true translation of the original text. The translator may change the style or particular details of the text all while transmitting more or less the same message or content. Target-oriented translations are trying to appeal to the audience of a different environment than that of the original. Jaworski's text does not try to modernize or embellish the text like some of the others. He uses the same style and the same level of language in trying to accurately render the original text. For example, he translates "female guests" to "dames invitées" which keeps the same literary level of language and sophistication as Fitzgerald. On the other hand, Wolkenstein translates this phrase by "invités de sexe féminin" – "female guests" or "guests of the female sex". A different, less refined and sophisticated language is used here, which may be aimed at a more current reader. A loyal

translation is almost always source-oriented.

In his book, *Dire presque la même chose*, Eco often discusses the idea of "referential equivalency" and "connotative equivalency" in translations. Referential equivalency simply measures if the same content or story is transmitted. Connotative equivalency refers to such things as the tone, the nuances, or even the rhythm of a translated text, in comparison to the original. Literary texts are often unique in style and can be interpreted in a number of different ways, therefore connotative equivalency is harder to achieve in their translation. Looking at the four translations of the phrase "…I watched his guests diving from the tower of his raft…", Jaworski translates "I watched his guests" by "je regardais ses invités", which is perfect both in terms of referential and connotative equivalency. Tisserand chooses "je pouvais voir ses invités" (I could see his guests), while Wolkenstein translates "j'épiais ses invités" (I was spying on his guests), both of which give considerably different connotations to the same referential act. Overall, Jaworski uses a language which evokes the same tone as the original text and stimulates the same associations for the French readers.

Another of Eco's theories, "reversibility", can be applied to every translation, and closely relates to the theories already discussed. Reversibility measures the similarities and accuracy of a translated text once retranslated back into the original source language. If the exact original text is attained in this retranslation, then reversibility is total or complete. If there are elements that are different to the original, then the reversibility is considered only partial. Reversibility can be evaluated clearly in terms of content (referential equivalency), but it also exists on a number of other levels (relating to connotative equivalency), including the style or level of language, punctuation, modalities, etc. There are instances in Jaworski's translation where reversibility is total. Take for example the very first phrase of the chapter, "There was music from my neighbour's house…" which Jaworski translates with "Il y eut de la musique chez mon voisin…" Reversibility is perfect in terms of what is being said and how it is being said. He neither adds nor leaves any elements out. In particular, the use of the simple past tense of the verb *avoir* (eut) conserves the formal literary level of language. Two of the other French authors chose differently, "La musique s'épanouit…" (The music spread…) by Llona and "Il y avait de la musique qui s'échappait…" (There was music escaping from…) by Wolkenstein. Llona's translation also uses the simple past tense yet chooses a different verb. Wolkenstein uses the imperfect tense, which is also used for story-telling in French yet often lacks the same level of language, and she too chooses a semantically different verb.

To continue, theories studied in Antoine Berman's, *La traduction et la lettre ou l'Auberge du lointain*, were also applied to these four translations of *The Great Gatsby*. In his book, Berman names thirteen deforming tendencies, which are essentially techniques to *avoid* when translating literary texts. Of the four translations, I found Jaworski's to have the fewest and the least significant deforming tendencies. If we take again the first phrase of chapter three, the translations of Llona and Wolkenstein demonstrate what Berman would refer to as "embellishment". To say that the music "spread" or "escaped from" are more elevated or poetic and illicit a tone which is not present in the original. Even if these choices are creative or elegant, they are inappropriately enhancing the text.

Another one of Berman's deforming tendencies, "lengthening", is found several times in Tisserand's translation. Lengthening is the lexical addition of something within the translated text which is simply not present in the source text. For example, Tisserand translates "every Monday" by "chaque lundi *matin*", which translates to "every Monday *morning*". The translation, "chaque lundi" would be perfectly sufficient. To show another example, she translates "butler" by "majordome *qualifié*", which once retranslated gives "competent butler" or "qualified butler". Although the reader might have already imagined the butler to be capable in this particular context and agree with this quality, Tisserand added an element to the text which was not written in the original.

In conclusion, a large part of this analysis is founded on the comparison between these four translations, and not on the exclusive critique of Jaworski's translation of the entire novel. There are indeed instances where each translation fall short, but never utterly. A grand literary classic such as *The Great Gatsby* is considered just that for the unique and incomparable style in which it is written. Thus, its translation into any other language is inevitably a complicated task. It is such as Berman writes in his book, "Indeed: there is in this experience, a *suffering*. Not only that of the translator. That, also, of the translated text."

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