OBJ_Θ WITHOUT OBJ: A TYPOLOGY OF MESKWAKI OBJECTS

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Proceedings of the LFG09 Conference

Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (Editors)

2009

CSLI Publications

http://csli-publications.stanford.edu

Abstract

Meskwaki exhibits a typologically unusual valence pattern in which certain two-place verbs subcategorize for a subject and an OBJ_Θ but no OBJ. Verbs with the valence pattern of interest here are tested to show that their non-subject argument is OBJ_Θ, not unrestricted OBJ, nor OBL. A brief survey of recent work on similar phenomena is presented in order to place Meskwaki in typological perspective.

1 Introduction

The Algonquian language Meskwaki (also known as Fox) exhibits a typologically unusual valence pattern in which certain two-place verbs subcategorize for a subject and an OBJ_Θ but no OBJ.[1] The structure of the paper is as follows: I first give some background information on Meskwaki, necessary to understand the arguments which follow. I then examine ditransitive verbs in order to establish diagnostics for OBJ and OBJ_Θ. Verbs with the valence pattern of interest here are tested to show that their non-subject argument is OBJ_Θ, not unrestricted OBJ, nor OBL. In the final sections of the paper I consider the range of thematic roles associated with OBJ_Θ, ask whether one can predict which verbs will display this pattern, and compare the Meskwaki phenomenon with other languages in which OBJ_Θ can appear with no OBJ.

1.1 Background on Meskwaki: verb inflection

Meskwaki and the other Algonquian languages are almost entirely headmarking in the sense of Nichols (1986): nouns are case-marked only for a locative case; verbs are inflected for subject and object; verbs in relative clauses bear an additional inflection for the head of the relative clause. First and second person inflection always functions as incorporated pronouns; third person inflection may be either pronominal or agreement with a lexical subject or object. There are 26 inflectional paradigms for verbs, sensitive to syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors.

The agreement categories are person, number, gender (+/- animate), and OBVIATION. Obviation is a discourse-based opposition within third person: unmarked PROXIMATE forms refer to the third person most central to the discourse; marked OBVIATIVE forms are used for more peripheral third persons. Animate gender includes not only humans and animals but also some notionally inanimate items (e.g. drum, pipe, sun, fingernail, kidney, raspberry…). Inanimate is the unmarked member of the gender opposition, containing most

† Thanks to the LFG09 audience members for many useful comments, especially Joan Bresnan, Miriam Butt, Mary Dalrymple and Yehuda Falk.

[1] The valence pattern discussed here is also found in the other Algonquian languages. See Dahlstrom (1991) for Plains Cree, Rhodes (1991) for Ojibwe, Bloomfield (1962) for Menomini, etc. Rhodes (1991) presents a Relational Grammar analysis for the Ojibwe phenomenon that treats many of the issues raised here.

body parts, most plants, and most natural and manufactured items (e.g. medicine, fire, blood, heart, strawberry…).

1.2 Verb stem classes

Verb stems are specialized for the gender of their OBJ if transitive or SUBJ otherwise:

(1)

amw- 'eat <S O>'	*mi·či-* 'eat <S O>'
(↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM	(↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN
meškosi- 'be red <S>'	*meškwa·-* 'be red <S>'
(↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM	(↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN

The Algonquianist labels for these stem classes are:

(2)

Transitive Animate (TA)	Transitive Inanimate (TI)
Animate Intransitive (AI)	Inanimate Intransitive (II)

1.3 Stem-internal components

Since the discussion below touches upon questions of stem-internal structure it should be noted that most Algonquian verb stems are bipartite, consisting of an INITIAL and a FINAL. In the paired verb stems in (1), the suppletive pairing of 'eat' is exceptional; the norm is to have an initial like *meškw-* 'red' combine with a final. It is the final morpheme which bears valence information and constrains the gender of OBJ or SUBJ, in addition to the semantic information it contributes, as can be seen below with *-esi-* stative (AI) vs. *-a·-* stative (II).

(3)

meškosi-			*meškwa·-*	'be red '
meškw-	-esi-		meškw-	-a·-
red-	STATIVE <S>		red-	STATIVE <S>
	(↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM			(↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN

(4) lists a few pairs of transitive stems with the initial *pan-* 'miss' combined with various instrumental finals:

(4)

(↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM	(↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN	
panen-	panen-	'drop'
panam-	panat-	'spill while eating'
paneškaw-	panešk-	'miss hitting w/ foot'

The finals exemplified in (4) are *-en*/*-en* 'by hand', *-am*/*-at* 'by mouth', and *-eškaw*/*-ešk* 'by foot'.

Another stem-internal component is MEDIAL, consisting of incorporated nouns and classifiers. An incorporated body-part noun is controlled by the OBJ, if present, otherwise by SUBJ:

(5)	*mešketone·n-* mešk-etone·-en open-mouth-by.hand	'open OBJ's mouth by hand' (↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM
(6)	*mešketone·kwa·m-* mešk-etone·-ekwa·m open-mouth-sleep	'sleep with one's mouth open' (↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM

1.4 Inventory of GFs

Meskwaki permits athematic SUBJ and OBJ, as expected with the semantically unrestricted GFs. Athematic arguments are inanimate gender and are never expressed by an independent pronoun.

(7)	kemiya·-	'rain <> S' (↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN
(8)	a·hkwamat-	'be sick <S> O' (↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ INAN

Besides SUBJ, OBJ, and of course OBJ_{Θ}, the focus of the present paper, Meskwaki also exhibits OBLs of numerous types. OBLs in Meskwaki are often associated with specific morphemes appearing in stem-initial position or as a preverb (a phonologically separate word compounded with the verb stem). For example, the morpheme for OBL_{source} is *ot-*, realized as an initial in (9) and as a preverb in (10).

(9)	očiwen-	'take O from <S O OBL_{source}>' (↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM
(10)	oči nowi·-	'go out from <S OBL_{source}>' (↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM

The sense of "source" here is the starting point of a path of motion, or the cause of an event. Human sources, as in 'steal from', are expressed as OBJ, as will be seen below in (17a).

The inventory of grammatical functions in Meskwaki includes COMP:

(11)	anwa·či·-	'be willing to <S COMP>' (↑SUBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM

There are no nonfinite forms of verbs in Meskwaki, so propositional arguments of verbs like 'be willing to' are always COMP and not XCOMP. Meskwaki does, however, have XCOMPs incorporated into a verb stem, in initial position:

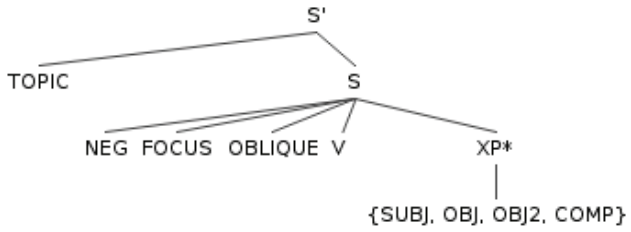
(12) -e·nem- 'consider <S O XCOMP>'
(↑OBJ GEND) =$_c$ ANIM
e.g, nepwa·hka·we·nem- 'consider O smart'

See Dahlstrom (2000) for discussion of incorporated XCOMPs.

1.5 Word order

The order of elements within the clause is sensitive to the following template:

(13)



Obliques appear to the left of the verb; the unmarked position for all other arguments is to the right of the verb, unless the NP is put in topic or focus position.

2 Ditransitive verbs

2.1 Basic ditransitives

With the above background on Meskwaki we can now examine ditransitive verbs, both basic stems and those derived by valence-increasing processes, in order to establish diagnostics distinguishing OBJ from OBJ$_\Theta$ in Meskwaki. As in many languages, the verb 'give' is a prototypical ditransitive verb. The first object (OBJ) of 'give' is the recipient and the second object (OBJ$_\Theta$) is the theme argument, the item which is given. If the objects are expressed by NPs their unmarked position is to the right of the verb. If both are NPs OBJ nearly always precedes OBJ$_\Theta$, as seen in the following textual example:[2]

[2] Abbreviations in the examples: 3' third person obviative, AOR aorist, EP epenthetic consonant, IC Initial Change (ablaut process affecting the vowel of the first syllable of the verb, required by various verb paradigms, including participles, which are used in relative clauses), IMP imperative, IND independent indicative, OBV obviative , PART participle, REDUP reduplication, X unspecified subject. On transitive verbs ">" separates the indication of SUBJ and OBJ features: e.g. "1>3" for 1st singular subject acting on a third singular object; the label of the verb's inflectional paradigm follows the subject and object agreement features.

(14) *nemi·na·waki nešise·haki me·šomakini*

ne-mi·n-a·waki	ne-šise·h-aki	IC-mešw-emakini
1-give-1>3P/IND	1-uncle-PL	IC-shoot-1>3'/PART/3'head
	O	**O_Θ**

'I gave my uncles the [game] which I shot.'

Note that Meskwaki, unlike English, does not have an alternation of two different structures for dative expressions – there is no way of expressing the recipient as an oblique, something like "I gave the game which I shot to my uncles." The double object construction is the only possibility.

(15) lists a few ditransitive verb stems with their subcategorizational requirements.

(15) Basic ditransitives

a.	mi·n-	'give <S O O_Θ>'
b.	ašam-	'feed <S O O_Θ>'
c.	manih-	'rob O of O_Θ <S O O_Θ>'
d.	a·šim-	'urge O_Θ on O <S O O_Θ>'

Besides *mi·n-* 'give' other basic ditransitives include *ašam-* 'feed', where the recipient is first object and the theme, the food, is OBJ_Θ, *manih-* 'rob', where the robbery victim, here a source argument, is OBJ and the thing stolen, the theme, is OBJ_Θ, and *a·šim-* 'urge', where the addressee is OBJ and the thing or person urged is OBJ_Θ. The OBJ of such verbs is always animate and nearly always human. (The constraint equations have been omitted for readability.) The OBJ_Θ may be grammatically animate or inanimate, and typically bears the thematic role of theme.

2.2 Applicatives

Ditransitive verbs may also be the result of derviational processes. Applicative formation, for example, adds a new OBJ to a verb's argument structure; the old OBJ of the input form gets demoted to OBJ_Θ. Applicatives may add a beneficiary, as in the textual example in (16), where the grandmother is OBJ.

(16) *nehtamawi ko·hkomese·hena·na ma·hani ki·hče·wani*

nehtamaw-i	ko·hkomese·hena·na	[ma·hani	ki·hče·w-ani]
kill.O_Θ.for-2<3/IMP	our.g.mother	this.ANIM.OBV	turkey-OBV
	O		**O_Θ**

'Kill this turkey for our grandmother.'

A few more applicative forms are listed in (17). In 17a the OBJ has the thematic role of 'source' (who you accept the OBJ_Θ from), while the forms in b and c have beneficiary OBJs.

(17)

a.	nahkonamaw-	'accept O_Θ from O <S O O_Θ >'
b.	mi·winehkamaw-	'chase O_Θ away for O <S O O_Θ >'

c. aka·wa·tamaw- ‘desire O_Θ for O <S O O_Θ >’

Compare the monotransitive stems *nahkon-* ‘accept’, *mi·winehk-* ‘chase’, and *aka·wa·t-* ‘desire’.

2.3 Causative

Ditransitive stems may also result from adding a causative suffix to a monotransitive verb stem, as seen in (18). Causative adds a new argument, the causer, as a SUBJ, demoting the old SUBJ to OBJ and the old OBJ to OBJ_Θ.

(18) a. kehke·netamwih- ‘make O know O_Θ <S O O_Θ >’
b. awata·h- ‘make O take O_Θ <S O O_Θ >’
c. awih- ‘lend <S O O_Θ >’

Compare the monotransitive stems *kehke·net-* ‘know’, *awat-* ‘take’, and *awi-* ‘have’.

2.4 Possessor Raising

A final type of derived ditransitive is possessor raising. If the OBJ of a monotransitive verb is a possessed noun, speakers will often express the possessor as the OBJ of the verb. As a consequence, the possessed item gets demoted to OBJ_Θ. The morphology of the verb stem reflects that it is a three place verb, as can be seen by comparing (19a) and (b).

(19) a. ne·t- ‘see <S O>’
b. ne·tamaw- ‘see O’s O_Θ <S O O_Θ>’

As with the basic ditransitives, the OBJ of applicative, causative, and possessor raising derived ditransitives is always animate in gender.

3 OBJ-suppressing processes applied to ditransitives

We now turn to a consideration of the Meskwaki verbs which I claim have a subject and an OBJ_Θ but no OBJ.

One way in which the subcategorizational pattern of interest can arise is if a ditransitive verb undergoes a valence-reducing process which suppresses the OBJ. An example of a process that suppresses the OBJ is antipassive, as in (20a). Here the ditransitive verb ‘give’ has had the recipient argument suppressed. The verb takes a subject and a theme argument, that which is given, but the recipient is left unspecified. My claim is that the theme argument remains an OBJ_Θ and does not advance to OBJ.

(20) a. mi·šiwe·- ‘give O_Θ away <S O_Θ>’ [antipassive]
b. ašameti·- ‘feed each other O_Θ <S O_Θ>’ [reciprocal]
c. aka·wa·tama·tiso- ‘desire O_Θ for oneself <S O_Θ>’ [reflexive]

Other ways in which an OBJ can be suppressed include reciprocal formation, as in (20b), where the ditransitive verb 'feed' becomes 'feed each other', and reflexive formation as in (20c), where a reflexive suffix has been added to the applicative stem seen above in (17c). In 20b the recipient argument is suppressed but the theme argument remains; likewise, the beneficiary argument of (20c) is suppressed but the theme argument is unaffected.

4 Verbs inherently subcategorized for SUBJ and OBJ_Θ

The subcategorization frame of subject and OBJ_Θ is also found with stems which are inherently specified for that valence; that is, they are not derived from a more basic ditransitive stem. Some examples are listed in (21).[3]

(21)	a.	we·pa·hke·-	'throw <S O_Θ>'
	b.	meno-	'drink <S O_Θ>'
	c.	ata·we·-	'sell, trade <S O_Θ>'
	d.	wani·hke·-	'forget <S O_Θ>'
	e.	wača·ho-	'cook <S O_Θ>'
	f.	ahčike·-	'plant <S O_Θ>'
	g.	kemot-	'steal <S O_Θ>'
	h.	kehekwi-	'O_Θ gives S the slip <S O_Θ>'

One can see that this valence pattern is found with some of the most basic verbs in the language, such as 'throw' and 'drink'. The verb in (21h), however, is unusual: *kehekwi-* is used for a hunter losing his prey, or a warrior having a captive escape.

The forms in (21) do not display any recurring morphological elements, but consider the forms in (22), with initials of *ahp-* 'on', *takw-* 'together with', or *kek-* 'having'.

(22)	a.	ahpe·nemo-	'depend on <S O_Θ>'
	b.	ahpapi-	'sit on <S O_Θ>'
	c.	ahpeka·-	'dance on <S O_Θ>'
	d.	takwi·-	'join <S O_Θ>'
	e.	takwisen-	'lie together with <S O_Θ>' [INAN. SUBJ]
	f.	kekišin-	'lie having, be buried with <S O_Θ>'
	g.	kekate·mo-	'weep holding O_Θ <S O_Θ>'

Perhaps the most commonly used verbs subcategorized for a subject and OBJ_Θ are those derived from kinship terms and other possessed nouns. A few such verbs are listed in (23).

(23)	a.	oki-	'have O_Θ as a mother <S O_Θ>'
	b.	owi·wi-	'have O_Θ as wife, marry O_Θ <S O_Θ>'

[3] These are the stems which are labeled "AI+O" in Algonquianist terminology.

c.	owi·hka·ni-	'have O_Θ as a friend <S O_Θ>'
d.	owi·či·škwe·hi-	'have O_Θ as an enemy <S O_Θ>'

The forms in (23) would be more idiomatically glossed in English as 'O_Θ is S's mother', etc.

5 Behavior of OBJ_Θ vs. OBJ

In order to argue that the verbs in (21-23) take subject and OBJ_Θ, rather than subject and OBJ, we must discover what the properties of the two types of object are for Meskwaki.

5.1 Valence-decreasing processes

Meskwaki ditransitives are of the asymmetric type (Bresnan and Moshi 1990), with the syntactic behavior of OBJ_Θ differing from that of OBJ in several respects. As we have already seen in (20), an OBJ may undergo lexical processes which suppress the object, e.g. antipassive, reciprocal, and the verbal reflexive; OBJ_Θ cannot be the target of these processes. Such processes apply to the sole object of a monotransitive verb and to the first object of a ditransitive verb. They cannot apply to the second object of a ditransitive, nor can they apply to the non-subject argument of the verbs in (21-23), the two place verbs which I claim take a subject and an OBJ_Θ.

5.2 [+/- r]

It was shown above (7-8) that Meskwaki permits athematic SUBJ and OBJ, as expected for the two GFs associated with the [-r] feature: semantically unrestricted. In contrast, there are no athematic secondary objects of ditransitives, nor any athematic arguments of the verb class under examination here.

5.3 Gender

Third, as seen above in (1), in Algonquian languages verb stems come in pairs, specialized for the gender of one of the verb's arguments. Transitive verb stems are sensitive to the gender of OBJ. (24) gives some further examples of monotransitive stem pairs, with the inanimate object form on the left and the animate object form on the right.

(24)	Transitive Inanimate	Transitive Animate	
a.	wa·pat-	wa·pam-	'look at'
b.	ta·kešk-	ta·keškaw-	'touch w/foot'
c.	pye·t-	pye·n-	'bring'

An OBJ_Θ, on the other hand, may be either animate or inanimate without affecting the form of the verb. This can be seen by looking at the ditransitive form of 'bring, bring for' in (25a). Here the OBJ (the recipient or beneficiary argument)

must be animate. But the OBJ_{Θ}, the thing brought, may be grammatically animate or inanimate, with no change in the shape of the verb stem. Compare the monotransitive forms of 'bring' in (24c), where bringing an inanimate object such as 'rattle' requires a different form of the verb stem from bringing an animate object such as 'drum'.

(25) a. pye·tahw - 'bring O O_{Θ}' [OBJ must be animate]

b. ne-pye·tahw-a·wa te·we·hikan-ani 'I brought him a drum'
1-bring.for-1>3/IND drum-ANIM.OBV.SG

c. ne-pye·tahw-a·wa ši·ši·kwan-i 'I brought him a rattle'
1-bring.for-1>3/IND rattle-INAN.SG

Now consider one of the two place verbs of interest here, *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on, rely on'. One can depend upon a human being, as in (26b), or upon an inanimate object such as medicine, as in (26c). In either situation, the form of the verb stem is the same. The absence of paired stem morphology is another way in which the non-subject argument of verbs like *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on' patterns with the second objects (OBJ_{Θ}) of ditransitives.

(26) a. ahpe·nemo- 'depend on, rely on O_{Θ}'

b. ahpe·nemo-wa o-si·me·h-ani
depend.on-3/IND his-younger.sibling-ANIM.OBV.SG
'He relies on his younger brother.'

c. ahpe·nemo-wa na·tawino·n-i
depend.on-3/IND medicine-INAN.SG
'He relies on the medicine.'

5.4 Pronominal OBJ and OBJ_{Θ}

A further difference between the two types of Meskwaki objects is that ditransitive verbs are inflected for OBJ but not for OBJ_{Θ}. Two place verbs like *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on' likewise do not bear inflection for their non-subject argument. The verbal inflection for OBJ may function pronominally in the absence of a full NP argument, as can be seen in the ditransitives of (25b and c) above, where the recipient of *pye·tahw* - 'bring' is understood to be a singular third person.

The question then arises, how is a pronominal OBJ_{Θ} expressed, since there is no verbal inflection for OBJ_{Θ}? A third person pronominal second object is nearly always expressed by zero anaphora:

(27) ne-pye·tahw-a·wa 'I brought it (animate or inanimate) for him.'
1-bring.for-1>3/IND

A first or second person pronominal OBJ_{Θ} is expressed by an independent personal pronoun – a grammaticalized possessed form of the inalienably possessed noun stem *-i·yaw-* 'body':

(28) *netahpe·nemo ki·yawi*
ne-t-ahpe·nemo-Ø ki·yawi
1-EP-depend.on-1/IND you [literally, 'your body']
'I depend on you.'

An interesting fact about the usage of the 'body' pronouns is that third person pronominal OBJ_{Θ}s are expressed by a 'body' pronoun when OBJ_{Θ} is proximate and the subject or OBJ is obviative. (29) and (30) are textual examples showing this usage:

(29) e·h-ahpe·nemo-ničiˈ mehtose·neniw-ahi owi·yawi
AOR-depend.on-3'/AOR person-OBV.PL him

'The people (obviative) depended on him (proximate).'

(30) *nekoti aša·hani e·hpye·tahomeči owi·yawi*
nekoti aša·h-ani e·h-pye·tahw-emeči owi·yawi
one Sioux-OBV AOR-bring.O_{Θ}.to-X>3'/AOR her

'They (unspecified) brought her (proximate) to a certain Sioux (obviative).'

In other words, the appearance of an independent third person pronoun for an OBJ_{Θ} is analogous to the inverse forms of inflectional morphology on monotransitive verbs: a marked formal option signaling the pragmatically marked situation of the proximate third person outranked syntactically by an obviative third person.

What is important for our purposes here, however, is that the third person 'body' pronouns appear both with the OBJ_{Θ} of a ditransitive like *pye·tahw-* 'bring O O_{Θ}', as in (30), and with the non-subject argument of verbs like *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on', in (29). Again, this is evidence that the non-subject argument in (29) bears the same grammatical function as the OBJ_{Θ} of a ditransitive verb.

5.5 Reflexive OBJ_{Θ}

Although OBJ_{Θ} cannot undergo the verbal reflexive strategy seen above in (20c), in which a reflexive suffix attaches to the verb stem and decreases the valence of the verb, it is in fact possible to express a reflexive OBJ_{Θ}. This is accomplished by using the 'body' series of independent pronouns, exemplified in the previous section. With these independent reflexive pronouns, we can see another asymmetry between OBJ and OBJ_{Θ}: an OBJ can be the antecedent of an OBJ_{Θ} reflexive, as in (31), but not vice versa.

(31) ne-wa·pato·n-a·wa apeno·h-a owi·yawi
1-show-1>3/IND child-SG her(self)
'I showed the baby herself'

5.6 Noun incorporation

A further difference between OBJ and OBJ_Θ concerns noun incorporation. Recall that an incorporated body part noun is construed with the object of a transitive verb, as in (5), repeated below:

(5) *mešketone·n-* 'open OBJ's mouth by hand'
mešk-etone·-en
open-mouth-by.hand

Verbs subcategorized for SUBJ and OBJ_Θ , on the other hand, always have the SUBJ as controller of the incorporated noun, not OBJ_Θ:

(32) *ahpanasite·ka·pa·-* 'stand with one's feet on OBJ_Θ,'
ahp-anasite·-ika·pa·- [not "stand on OBJ_Θ's feet"]
on-foot-stand

To sum up the results of this section: using the criteria for distinguishing OBJ from OBJ_Θ, we must analyze some two-place verbs as being subcategorized for a subject and an OBJ_Θ, not an OBJ. That is, the nonsubject argument of such verbs cannot be the target of antipassive, reflexive or reciprocal verb formation, it is never an athematic object, it may be either animate or inanimate without changing the form of the verb stem, it does not trigger agreement on the verb, it may be expressed by pronouns from the 'body' series or by zero anaphora, and it cannot be construed with an incorporated noun, all characteristic of OBJ_Θ as opposed to OBJ.

6 Distinguishing OBJ_Θ from OBL

Before concluding that the non-subject argument of a verb like *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on' is an OBJ_Θ, it is necessary to also investigate the possibility that the relevant grammatical function borne by the non-subject argument is instead OBL. There is, after all, nothing unusual about a given two-place verb being subcategorized for a subject and an oblique (e.g. English *depend (on)*). In Meskwaki, however, obliques exhibit well-defined syntactic behavior and it is clear that the arguments of interest here do not pattern with obliques.

6.1 Word order

Let us first consider word order patterns. As mentioned above, obliques in Meskwaki nearly always appear immediately to the left of the verb, as seen in (33 and 34). The verb in (33) requires an oblique expressing stationary location, expressed here with the locative pronoun *i·nahi* 'there'. The verb in (34)

requires a goal oblique, here expressed by the phrase *manahka si·po·ki* 'yonder river'.

(33) *i·nahi netapihapi*
i·nahi ne-t-apih-api-Ø
there 1-EP-REDUP-sit-1/IND
OBL$_{loc}$
'I was sitting there'

(34) *manahka si·po·ki neta·pi·ha*
[manahka si·po·w-eki] ne-t-a·pi·ha·-Ø
yonder river-LOC 1-EP-go.thither.&.return-1/IND
OBL$_{goal}$
'I have been to yonder river'

OBJ$_{\Theta}$, in contrast, appears to the right of the verb, as seen in (35), with a ditransitive verb. The non-subject argument of verbs like *ahpe·nemo-*'depend on' likewise appears to the right of the verb as its unmarked position, as in (26b), repeated below:

(35) ata·hpenamaw-ihko ne-ši·ši·kwan-i
take.hold.of.O$_{\Theta}$.for 2-1/IMP my-rattle-INAN.SG
O$_{\Theta}$
'Get my rattle for me!'

(26b) ahpe·nemo-wa o-si·me·h-ani
depend.on-3/IND his-younger.sibling-ANIM.OBV.SG
O$_{\Theta}$
'He relies on his younger brother.'

6.2 Case-marking

Another difference between obliques and OBJ$_{\Theta}$ has to do with case morphology. Some obliques take a locative case ending, as seen in (34) on *si·po·ki* 'river'. Locative case never appears on an OBJ$_{\Theta}$ of ditransitives or on the putative OBJ$_{\Theta}$ argument of verbs like *ahpe·nemo-* 'depend on'.

6.3 Relative clause formation

Another syntactic difference between OBJ$_{\Theta}$ and obliques can be seen in the formation of participles, the verb forms used in relative clauses. Participles bear an additional inflectional suffix on the right edge of the verb agreeing with the head of the relative clause.

If the head of a relative clause is a subject, object, or OBJ$_{\Theta}$ in the lower clause, the participle is inflected with a suffix agreeing in gender, number, and obviation with the head of the relative clause. For example, in (36), the participle bears the suffix *–a*, indicating that the head is animate proximate singular. The head of the relative clause is coreferential with the non-subject

argument of *ahpe·nemo-* ‘depend on’, the class of argument I am claiming is an OBJ_{Θ}. The fact that the rightmost suffix on the participle expresses gender, number, and obviation information about the head is consistent with my analysis of this argument being an OBJ_{Θ}.

(36) *e·hpe·nemoya·na*
IC-ahpe·nemo-ya·na
IC-depend.on-1/PART/3.HEAD
‘the one whom I depend on’
(final *-a* = animate proximate singular head of rel.cl.)

In (37) the head of the relative clause is ‘tobacco’, coreferential to the OBJ_{Θ} associated with the preverb *keki-* ‘having’. The final suffix on the participle is *-ini*, indicating that the head is (grammatically) animate and obviative singular. Again, this morphosyntactic behavior is what we would expect for an OBJ_{Θ}.

(37) *nese·ma·wani* *wi·hkeki-nowi·wa·čini*
nese·ma·w-ani IC-wi·h-keki–nowi·-wa·čini
tobacco-OBV IC-FUT-having.O_{Θ}–go.out-3P/PART/3'.HEAD
‘tobacco for them to take out with them’ (Goddard 1987:110)
(final *-ini* = animate obviative singular head of relative clause)

Obliques, on the other hand, behave differently in relative clause formation. If the head of the relative clause is an oblique in the lower clause, the participle is simply suffixed with *–i*, even if the head refers to an animate third person:

(38) *wi·nwa·wa we·či-mehtose·neniwiyani*
wi·nwa·wa IC-oči–mehtose·neniwi-yani
they IC-from–be.person-2/PART/OBL.HEAD
‘They [your parents] are why you are alive.’
(final *-i* = oblique head of rel.cl.)

If the non-subject arguments of the verbs in (36) and (37) were obliques, we would expect to see the participle forms suffixed with *–i*, not with *–a* or with *-ini*. This test provides further evidence for the syntactic status of the non-subject argument of verbs like *ahpe·nemo-* ‘depend on’.

7 Thematic roles mapping to OBJ_{Θ}

As is well known, the motivation for labeling as OBJ_{Θ} the second object of a ditransitive verb or an applicative in Bantu is that such objects are restricted with regard to the type of thematic role associated with the grammatical function. It is therefore important to ask what sort of thematic roles are associated with the Meskwaki OBJ_{Θ}. We certainly find themes as the OBJ_{Θ} of ‘give’ and other ditransitives, as well as with verbs like ‘throw’ and the kinship verbs listed in (23). The verbs beginning with the initial *ahp-*, listed in (22a-c), show that

locative arguments may also map onto OBJ_Θ. (39) and (40) informally present sample argument structures:

(39) OBJ_Θ in ditransitives: always THEME/PATIENT

mi·n-	'give <agent	recip	theme >'
	S	O	O_Θ>'

(40) OBJ_Θ in two place verbs:

THEME/PATIENT	
we·pa·hke·-	'throw <agent theme>'
wani·hke·-	'forget <experiencer theme>'
…	

LOCATIVE (verbs with initial *ahp-* 'on')	
ahpeka·-	'dance on <agent locative>'
ahpe·nemo-	'depend on <experiencer? locative?>'

Verbs beginning with *takw-* 'together with' (22d-e) also take an OBJ_Θ; these verbs seem to require a comitative, if that is to be recognized as a distinct thematic role.[4]

8 Can the marked valence pattern be predicted?

As stated above, the thematic role most frequently associated with OBJ_Θ is theme/patient, but obviously not all themes and patients map onto OBJ_Θ. This can be clearly seen by comparing the Meskwaki verbs for 'eat' and 'drink': 'eat' takes an ordinary OBJ, as we saw in (1), repeated below, while 'drink' requires an OBJ_Θ.

(1)

amw- 'eat <S O>'	*mi·či-* 'eat <S O>'
(↑OBJ GEND) $=_c$ ANIM	(↑OBJ GEND) $=_c$ INAN

(41) *meno-* 'drink <S O_Θ>'

Similar observations may be made for the cases of locative OBJ_Θ vs. locative OBLs, as in (33).

Other languages have been described in recent work (in LFG and in other frameworks) as having a similar valence pattern, in which an OBJ_Θ appears without an OBJ. In this section I will briefly survey a few such works to place the Meskwaki phenomenon in typological perspective.

First, we may observe that the Meskwaki valence pattern under consideration here is akin to the Differential Object Marking analyzed by Aissen

[4]Perhaps 'proposition' is another thematic role associated with OBJ_Θ: if the suggestion of Alsina et al. (2005) to eliminate the GF of COMP is pursued, the sentential complements of Meskwaki could be reanalyzed as propositional OBJ_Θs.

(2003). But note that the Meskwaki verbs under consideration here are unlike the DOM facts treated by Aissen: the linking to OBJ_Θ occurs without regard to the definiteness, specificity, or animacy of the non-subject argument of these verbs.

Butt (1998), analyzing Urdu, proposes a modification to Lexical Mapping Theory in which themes may be intrinsically either [+r] or [-r]; the [+r] themes are mapped to OBJ_Θ. The [-r] feature is "aspectually inert" while the [+r] feature is associated with specificity. In causatives, the [+r] feature on causees results in a reading of affectedness at s-structure. However, in the Meskwaki case we find differences of neither affectedness nor aspect associated with the distinction between OBJ and OBJ_Θ. The non-subject arguments of 'eat' and 'drink' would seem to be equally affected.

Nor can information structure be appealed to, as an explanation for the unusual linking pattern. Unlike Northern Ostyak (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2005), there is no correlation between (secondary) topic and OBJ for Meskwaki, nor between focus and OBJ_Θ.

Perhaps the closest analog to the Meskwaki pattern is found in Turkish (Çetinoğlu and Butt 2008). Turkish has an alternation in objects tied to specificity; in addition, certain verbs always take non-canonical objects (dative or ablative case), which Çetinoğlu and Butt analyze as OBJ_Θ. The latter group of verbs includes psych verbs plus others (e.g. 'ride' and 'help').

It seems that in Meskwaki, as in Turkish, we must simply list certain two-place verbs as taking an OBJ_Θ argument. In fact, because of the complex stem morphology of Algonquian languages, in Meskwaki the association with OBJ_Θ must be made not only with full stems but also with certain initials and finals. We have already seen the initial *ahp-* *takw-* and *kek-* associated with OBJ_Θ; the final *-a·hke·-* 'throw' likewise always takes its theme argument as OBJ_Θ:

(42) initial/preverb elements

a.	ahp-	'on OBJ_Θ'
b.	takw-	'together with OBJ_Θ'
c.	kek-	'having OBJ_Θ'

(43) -a·hke·- 'throw, fling OBJ_Θ' (final)

a.	we·pa·hke·-	'throw OBJ_Θ'	[=(21a) above]
b.	ina·hke·-	'fling OBJ_Θ thither'	[requires an OBL_{goal}]
c.	ni·sa·hke·-	'fling OBJ_Θ down'	
d.	nowa·hke·-	'fling OBJ_Θ out'	

9 Conclusion

Recent years have seen several in-depth investigations of ditransitives, such as Maling (2001) and Kibort (2008). One recurring theme has been the observation that the properties of OBJ and OBJ_Θ are not always so clearly distinguished from each other as standard treatments assume. Moreover, Börjars and Vincent (2008), in a critical appraisal of the OBJ function, raise the possibility that theme should be eliminated as a distinct theta-role, instead allowing the semantics of an individual verb to determine the content of the argument mapping onto OBJ. As

a result, they say "the standard distinction between OBJ and OBJ_Θ disappears, in some sense all objects are OBJ_Θ."

Meskwaki, however, provides evidence in the opposite direction, in favor of retaining a distinction between OBJ and OBJ_Θ. Given the complications of ditransitive constructions, perhaps it is in constructions like the Meskwaki two-place verbs where OBJ_Θ occurs with no object co-argument that the properties of OBJ_Θ can be most clearly seen.

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