Chapter 9
Discontinuous constituents

This chapter describes two types of syntactic discontinuity in Meskwaki: the separation of a preverb from the remainder of the verb in 9.1, and discontinuous noun phrases in 9.2. An example of each construction is given below, with the pieces of the discontinuous constituent underlined:

(1) neki·ši–   te·pi   tasenwi   –kano·na·wa
      perf   enough   so.many.times   speak.to 1–3/ind.ind
      'I have spoken to him enough times' R70.8

(2) neswi e·hayo·wa·či   nakamo·nani
      three use 3p–0/aor   songs
      'They sing three songs' O25L

(1) contains a discontinuous compound verb. The perfective preverb *ki·ši–* appears at the left edge of the clause, bringing along the first person inflectional prefix *ne-*. The righthand piece of the compound verb consists of the verb stem *kano·n-* 'speak to' plus the inflectional suffixes *-a·wa*. Intervening between the two pieces of the verb is an adjunct phrase specifying the number of times the subject spoke. In (2), on the other hand, the object of the verb is expressed by a discontinuous NP: the quantifier *neswi* 'three' precedes the verb and the head noun *nakamo·nani* 'songs' follows the verb.

The template for word order presented in chapter 8 is shown in this chapter to also play a role in the ordering of pieces of discontinuous constituents. In other words, the lefthand piece of the discontinuous NP or compound verb occupies a specific position on the template.[1]

9.1. Discontinuous compound verbs

Compound verb stems—that is, stems containing one or more preverbs—were discussed in 6.2, where it was shown that they behave as single grammatical units for the purposes of verb inflection. The compound verbs may also appear in a discontinuous construction, with syntactic material intervening between the preverb and the remainder of the verb. The same properties which argue for calling compound verbs single lexical items also hold true of the discontinuous compound verbs: inflectional prefixes are attached to the left of the (first) preverb and inflectional suffixes are attached to the right of the simple verb stem, as seen in (1) and in the example below:

(3) nepye·či–   keta·nesa   –wa·pama·pena
      come–   your.daughter   –look.at 1p–3/ind.ind
      'We have come to see your daughter' (Michelson 1917:51)

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[1] Some of the descriptive material in this chapter was first presented in Dahlstrom 1987. The use of the syntactic template to explain discontinuous constituents was proposed in Dahlstrom 1995.

In (3) the inflectional affixes are *ne- -a·pena*, expressing a first person exclusive plural subject acting on a third person proximate singular object. As in other compounds, the prefix attaches to the left of the preverb and the suffixes to the right of the remainder of the verb stem. Here, however, the two pieces of the compound stem are syntactically discontinuous, with the object, *keta·nesa* 'your daughter' occurring between preverb and verb. Similar patterns obtain for the placement of the aorist and future prefixes and the ablaut rule of initial change: the preverb is treated as part of the compound verb even when other syntactic material intervenes:

(4) e·hpwa·wi–=meko   nana·ši   –ona·pe·miči
     not–=emph   ever   –take.husband 3/aor
     'She never married' M31

(5) we·či–   mehtose·neniwaki   –tepa·na·wa·či
     from–   people   –love 3p–3'/part/obl

     ma·hahi   aška·pe·wahi
     these.obv   ceremonial.runners.obv

     'why the people loved these ceremonial runners' B85:10.43-44

In (4) the aorist prefix precedes the preverb *pwa·wi–* 'not', while the inflectional suffixes *-či* are attached to the right of the verb stem. The compound stem of (5) is *oči–tepa·n-* 'love O for such a reason'; it is inflected with initial change, changing the *o* of the preverb to *we·*, and the inflectional suffixes *-a·wa·či*.[2]

9.1.1. Against an incorporation analysis

The examples in (3)–(5) show that the same inflectional patterns seen with unified preverb-verb compounds are also found on the discontinuous compound verbs. However, we have not yet demonstrated that this construction must be analyzed as the preverb separating from the remainder of the verb: in each of (3)–(5) there is a single word intervening between the preverb and verb, so it might be thought that this construction is really a type of incorporation of material into the verb. The evidence, however, clearly shows that this construction is not incorporation but instead involves discontinuous compound verbs.

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[2] As discussed in chapter 3, there are also compounds of nouns with prenouns: e.g. *kehči–si·po·wi* 'big river', where a phonological word boundary intervenes between the prenoun *kehči–* 'great' and the noun *si·po·wi* 'river'. A prenoun, however, cannot be separated from its noun:

(i)   e·hne·tamowa·či kehči–si·po·wi
       see 3p–0/aor   great–river
       'They saw a big river.' (example (75), chapter 8)

(ii)   *kehči– e·hne·tamowa·či –si·po·wi
        great   see 3p–0/aor   –river
       ('They saw a big river.')

To begin with, we may contrast the morphology of the authentic cases of noun incorporation in Meskwaki, described in 6.3.1, with the discontinuous contructions of (3)–(5). As observed by Michelson 1917, the authentic cases of noun incorporation insert uninflected nominal elements into the medial position of a simple verb stem. A typical example is given below:

(6)   ki·škinehke·šwe·wa   (/ki·šk + inehke· + ešw/)
        sever.O's.hand 3–3'/ind.ind   sever + hand + by.cutting$_{TA}$
        'He (prox) cuts off his (obv) hand.'

Here, the verb stem includes the medial -*inehke·*- 'hand', corresponding to the semantic patient of the action.

The separable preverb construction, however, differs from the actual cases of noun incorporation in two ways: the noun *keta·nesa* in (3) occurs between the preverb and the verb, not in the middle of a simple verb stem, and it is fully inflected for gender, number, and obviation, as well as for possessor (*ke-* 'your', -*ta·nes-* 'daughter', -*a* proximate animate singular).

The second argument against analyzing separable verbs as examples of incorporation is that the intervening material is not restricted to bearing a particular grammatical relation to the verb. Again, this is not typical of noun incorporation constructions, in which the incorporated noun tends to be the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. Instead, in the discontinuous compound verb construction, the intervening material may bear any grammatical relation to the verb. For example, in (5) the subject of a transitive verb appears between the preverb and the verb; in (1) an entire adverbial phrase occurs between the preverb and the verb. The intervening material may also be a direct quote, as in the next example:

(7)   we·či–   "mahkate·wi·no!"   –inena·ni
        from–   fast 2/imp   –say.thus.to 1–2/part/obl
        'the reason why I say to you, "Fast!" ' O58J

Quotations function syntactically as an oblique argument of manner of the quoting verb.

A parenthetical may even intervene between the preverb and verb:

(8)   wi·šiki–=mekoho,   nešemi,   –nenehke·netano
        strongly–=emph   niece.voc   think.of 2–0/imp
        'Keep it firmly in mind, niece.' O103D[3]

Since vocatives and other parentheticals bear no grammatical relation to the verb, they are not possible candidates for incorporation into the verb. Rather, the appearance of a parenthetical between the preverb and the remainder of the verb in (8) indicates that the preverb is a separate constituent in the syntax.

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[3] If we judge only by (8), it is not obvious that *wi·šiki–* 'strongly, firmly' is a preverb rather than an independent particle: no prefixes or other inflectional material are attached to it. However, examples like the following demonstrate that *wi·šiki–* is indeed a preverb: *ki·hwi·šiki–=ča·h=meko –nenehke·neta̱* 'you must keep it firmly in mind' R80.21, where the inflectional affixes *k-* -*a* surround the compound verb stem.

Further evidence against an incorporation account is that more than one syntactic constituent may intervene between the preverb and the verb. In the next example both the object and the oblique argument of the verb occur between the preverb and the verb:

(9) eˑhnawači–=meko   oneseˑmaˑwani   waˑpeški–nenosoˑškaši–miˑšaˑmeki
     stop.to–=emph   his.tobacco.obv white–buff.hoof–sacred.pack.loc
     –pakinaˑči
     –throw 3–3'/aor
     'He stopped to throw his tobacco on the White Buffalo's Hoof sacred pack' R270.5-6

The next example has an adverb, *naˑhka* 'again', and an oblique PP, *naˑwi=meko nenoswahkiwe* 'right in the middle of a buffalo herd', intervening between preverb and verb.

(10) eˑhkiˑšaˑkoči–=čiˑ=meko   naˑhka [naˑwi=meko   nenoswahkiwe]
     extremely=exclam=emph   again   middle.of=emph   buffalo.herd.prep
     –sekišiki
     –lie 3/aor
     'She was again lying right in the middle of a buffalo herd!' R46.36-37

In short, the preverb and verb in each of the above examples display properties typical of syntactically separated items; yet their inflectional pattern points to their status as single lexical items.

Two contexts in which preverbs are especially likely to be separated from the remainder of the verb are discussed below in separate sections: negative preverbs, which appear in the Negative position of the word order template, and the preverb *oči–* 'from', when used in relative clauses, which moves to the Topic position of the template.

9.1.2. Negative preverbs

As explained in 8.3, the independent negative particles, *aˑkwi*, *kaˑta*, and *awita*, appear in the Negative position of the word order template. *aˑkwi* is used to negate main clause assertions (in non-narrative contexts) and yes-no questions; it requires negative inflection on the verb of its clause (5.1). *kaˑta* negates commands, requiring prohibitive inflection on the verb (5.5). *awita* is used to negate modal main clauses, and requires potential inflection on the verb (5.2).

In all other contexts, clauses are negated by adding the preverb *pwaˑwi–* 'not' to the verb.[4] That is, as described in chapter 5, *pwaˑwi–* negates subordinate clauses of all types (complements, adjuncts, if-clauses, relative clauses), as well as negating main clauses in narratives, which contain verbs inflected in the aorist conjunct. The negative preverb may appear in one of two positions: it may either be attached to the verb, in the normal position for a preverb, or it may separate from the

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[4] This is a slight overstatement: there is also a negative second-position enclitic *=ihi*, used in exclamatory main clauses for statements that are obviously false. See 5.1.

verb and move to the Negative position of the word order template. The pair of elicited examples below illustrate the two possibilities.

(11)   nekehke·nema·wa   [s [FOC ke·ko·hi]   [v e·hpwa·wi–mi·čiči]]
       know 1–3/ind.ind   anything   not–eat 3–0/aor
       'I know he didn't eat anything'

(12)   nekehke·nema·wa   [s [NEG e·hpwa·wi–]i [FOC   ke·ko·hi] [v __i –mi·čiči]]
       know 1–3/ind.ind   not   anything   eat 3–0/aor
       'I know he didn't eat anything'

In (11), the combination of preverb and verb in the complement clause is treated as a single verb for the purposes of the word order template; the internal structure of the verb is ignored. In (12), however, the negative portion of the verb is placed in the Negative position of the template, preceding the focused element *ke·ko·hi* 'anything'. (The 'moved' preverb is co-indexed with a horizontal line representing the preverb's canonical position.) Both (11) and (12) are accepted as grammatical, but (12), in which the preverb moves to the Negative position, is preferred.

      The two constructions seen in the elicited examples above are confirmed by the following textual examples. The first example shows the negative preverb attached to the verb; the next four are examples of *pwa·wi–* appearing in the Negative position of the template.

(13)   mo·hci mami·ši·ha   pwa·wi–wi·ke·tesake
       even   attendant   not–cook.O.carefully 3–0/subjnct
       'Even if the attendant does not cook it carefully,' O97F

(14)   ke·htena [NEG e·hpwa·wi–]i   [FOC   owiye·hani]   [v __i –ki·wita·niči]
       sure   not   anyone.obv   stay.around 3'/aor
       'Sure enough no one was around' W109E

(15)   [NEG   pwa·wi–=ke·h]i [OBL e·šimečini]   [v __i –išawičiki]
           not–=and   tell.thus X–3/part/pl.obl   do.[thus] 3p/part/3p
       'Those who do not do the things they are told to do ...' R316.22

(16)   [NEG   e·hpwa·wi–=meko]i [OBL ke·ko·hi]   [v   __i –inowe·niči]
           not–=emph   any.way   –speak.thus 3'/aor
       'He (obv) didn't say anything at all.' W313I

(17)   [NEG   e·hpwa·wi–]i [FOC   owiye·ha]   [OBL ke·ko·hi]   [v   __i –inowe·či]
           not–   anyone   any.way   –speak.thus 3/aor
       'No one said anything.' W416

(13) is a conditional clause where the verb is inflected in the subjunctive; (14), (16), and (17) are examples of aorist conjunct inflection used in narrative main clauses; (15) is a relative clause containing a verb inflected with conjunct participle inflection. In (14) *pwa·wi–* occurs to the left of

a focused element, while in (15) and (16) *pwa·wi–* occurs to the left of an oblique. In (17) both a focused NP and an oblique intervene between *pwa·wi–* and the verb.

The above examples also show that when there is an indefinite pronoun such as *owiye·ha* 'someone/anyone' or *ke·ko·hi* 'something/anything' in Focus position (or *ke·ko·hi* 'some/any.way' as an oblique) the negative preverb is likely to move to the Negative position in order to have scope over the indefinite pronoun.

Scopal considerations may also explain the lack of preverb movement in (13) above: if the preverb moved to the Negative position to the left of *mo·hči* 'even' the interpretation would be 'If not even the attendant cooks it carefully, ...'

Another context in which a negative preverb is not moved away from its verb is when the Negative position is already occupied by an independent negative particle:

(18) [NEG ka·ta] [OBL i·ni] [V   pwa·wi–išite·he·hke·ko,]   no·šisemetike
          not   that   not–think.thus 2p/proh   grandchild.voc.pl
      'Don't fail to think that way, grandchildren.' W169F

In (18) the negative preverb *pwa·wi–* has not separated from its verb, as evidenced by its position relative to the oblique *i·ni* 'that [way]'. Instead, the Negative position is occupied by *ka·ta*, resulting in logical double negation in this sentence.

Besides the regular negative preverb *pwa·wi–*, there is another semantically negative preverb, *po·ni–* 'stop, cease', which may move to the Negative position.[5]

(19) [NEG e·hpo·ni–=mekoho]ᵢ [FOC owiye·ha]   [OBL ke·ko·hi]
          cease–=emph   anyone   any.way

      [V   __ᵢ –išihiši–kanawiči]
            –redup.thus–speak 3/aor

      'There ceased to be anyone speaking in any way.' B105:64.6-7

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[5] I suspect that aspectual and modal preverbs may also occupy the 'Negative' position; see, for example, the position of *a·mi–* 'should' in (171) from chapter 5, repeated below:

(i)   a·kwi=mani   na·hka kehke·nemakini
        not=now   again   know 1–3/neg

        [COMP a·mi–ᵢ [OBL i·ni]   __ᵢ –ina·wake·na]
               should–   that   __–say.thus.to 1–3/int.part/3
        'Now I also don't know whom I should say that to.' R578.23

Here the modal preverb precedes the oblique argument *i·ni*, which is what we would expect if the separated preverb is in the Negative position. More examples, however, are needed before this can be confirmed. If so, the 'Negative' position is one occupied by semantic operators of all types, not just negative operators.

In (19) both a focused NP and an oblique intervene between the preverb and the verb. (The gloss of (19) does not reflect the syntax of the Meskwaki example directly, but is the only way to express in English the negation of 'cease' having scope over the subject 'anyone'.)

Another example in which *po·ni–* appears in the Negative position was given in the discussion of topic in 8.2. It is repeated here:

(20)   [TOP   wi·nwa·wa=ča·h   ni·mičiki]
               they=so   dance 3p/part/3p
       [NEG   po·ni–]$_i$ [OBL e·šikenikehe]   [V   __$_i$ –išawiwaki]
               cease–   be.thus 0'/past.part/obl   –do.thus 3p/ind.ind
       'As for the dancers themselves,
       they have ceased to [dance] the way it was in the past.' R222.32

In (20) *po·ni–* follows an overt topic, and precedes an oblique. In other words, when either *pwa·wi–* 'not' or *po·ni–* 'cease' is separated from its verb it appears in the Negative position of the syntactic template, following an overt topic, if any, and preceding any focused or oblique constituents.

9.1.3. The preverb *oči–* 'from'

pwa·wi– 'not' is the preverb most frequently found separated from its verb. Another preverb which often occurs apart from its verb is *oči–* 'from', when used in relative clauses in which the head of the relative clause is coreferential to the oblique expressing source or cause (i.e., relative clauses glossed 'the reason why …'). Recall from 5.3. that relative clauses in Meskwaki are formed by inflecting the verb of the relative clause as a participle. The ablaut rule of initial change applies to the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; suffixes indicating subject and object are added to the verb, plus a final suffix indicating the head of the relative clause. For example, *we·či–kano·naki* 'the reason why I spoke to him' contains the TA verb stem *kano·n-* 'speak to', compounded with the preverb *oči–* 'from', which adds a requirement for an oblique argument expressing source, cause, or reason. If a relative clause whose head is coreferential to the oblique expressing reason is to be formed then the compound stem *oči–kano·n-* 'speak to O for such a reason' is inflected with initial change (changing the *o* of the preverb to *we·*), the conjunct suffix *-ak-* (first singular subject, third singular object), and the final suffix *-i*, indicating that the head is coreferential with the oblique argument.

Participles of this type, where the head is coreferential to an oblique expressing reason, frequently appear as discontinuous verbs, with the preverb *oči–* on the left and the remainder of the verb on the right. Unlike the negative preverb *pwa·wi–*, however, which may fill the Negative position of the template, *oči–* occupies the Topic position. This may be seen in the following example, where an adverbial clause intervenes between *oči–* and the rest of the verb.[6]

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[6] Relative clauses with the head coreferential to a manner oblique also sometimes exhibit discontinuity of this type, with the preverb *iši–* 'thus' separated from the remainder of the verb. The following example, repeated from chapter 5, (178), suggests that *iši–* also moves to the Topic position of the template, because it precedes an S-initial adverb:

(i)   kepye·či–=kohi   –natawi–kehke·nemene
         come–=obviously   –seek.to–know 1–2/ind.ind

(21) [TOP   we·či–]_i [[ADV ni·miwa·čini] [V   ___i –wa·wawa·wa·kahamowa·či]]
               from   dance 3p/iter   –redup.whoop 3p–0/part/obl
      'The reason why, whenever they dance, they whoop' O118D

In the discussion of topics in 8.2, it was noted that adverbial clauses often intervene between a topic NP and the main clause, reflecting the major constituent break between the topic and the comment. Such clauses are not found between focus NPs and the remainder of the S. We can therefore posit the following hierarchical structure for (21), similar to that given in (25) in 8.2.

(22)
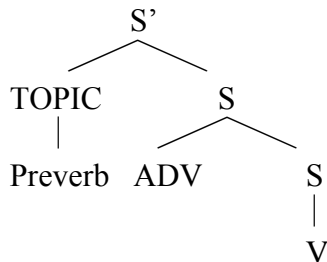
oči– may appear to the left of both the Focus position and the Oblique position, as we expect if it occupies the Topic position:

(23) [TOP   we·či–]_i [FOC ni·na] [OBL   i·ni]   [V   ___i –inenakowe]
               from–   I   that   –say.thus.to 1–2p/part/obl
      'why *I* said that to you' W114

The next example shows *oči–* appearing to the left of an oblique argument:

(24) [TOP   wa·woči–]_i   [OBL   i·tepi] [V   ___i –iha·wa·ci]
               redup.from–   there   –go.thither 3p/part/obl
      'why they continually went there' W1J

In (24) the preverb *oči–* has undergone monosyllabic reduplication (Dahlstrom 1997), producing the form *wa·woči–* and adding a continuative sense to the semantics of the verb. Since the first syllable of the preverb contains a long vowel the effect of initial change is not visible.

It was shown in 8.2. that second position clitics may attach to the right of the first phonological word in the comment following an overt topic, which is evidence for the comment forming a S constituent, sister to the topic. The same distribution of clitics is also found when *oči–* is separated from its verb, providing further evidence that the preverb occupies the Topic position in the syntactic template:

      [COMP   e·ši–_i   ke·htena   ___i –ketemino·nokwe·ni   maneto·waki]
               thus–   truly   –bless 3(p)–2/int.part/obl   spirits

      'I came seeking to find out
      whether the spirits really blessed you.' R84.5–6

(25)   [TOP   we·či–]ᵢ [S [OBL i·ni=ye·toke] [V   __ᵢ –inehki]]
              from–   that=it.seems   –say.thus.to 3–2/part/obl
       'why he probably told you that' W342G

The evidential second position enclitic =ye·toke 'it seems' in (25) attaches to the right of *i·ni* 'that', the first word in the S of the comment.

The separation of the negative preverb from the verb discussed in the previous section may occur together with the separation of *oči–* from the verb. In the following examples *oči–* is in the Topic position and *pwa·wi–* is in the Negative position.

(26)   [TOP   we·či–]ᵢ [NEG pwa·wi–]ⱼ [FOC   mi·ša·mani] [V   __ᵢ __ⱼ–ki·šihto·ya·ni]
              from–   not   sacred.packs   –fix 1–0/part/obl
       'why I didn't make sacred packs' N24M

(27)   [TOP   we·či–]ᵢ [NEG pwa·wi–=meko]ⱼ [OBL   ke·ko·hi]
              from–   not=emph   any.way
       [V __ᵢ __ⱼ –iši–amehame·wa·či]
              –thus–redup.react 3p/part/obl
       'why they did not react in any way' N24G

In (26) a focused NP intervenes between the negative preverb and the remainder of the verb, while in (27) an oblique intervenes between the negative and the verb.

However, the following near minimal pair of textual examples shows that the movement of *oči–* to Topic position is optional:

(28)   i·ni   [TOP   we·či–]ᵢ [OBL   mani] [V   __ᵢ –išihčike·yakwe]
       that   from–   this   –do.things.thus 21/part/obl
       'That is why we (incl) do things this way' B105:56.21

(29)   i·ni   [OBL   mani] [V wi·hoči–'šihčike·ya·ke]
       that   this   fut.from–do.things.thus 1p/part/obl
       'That is why we (excl) are to do things this way' B105:56.18

In (28) the preverb has moved to the Topic position, to the left of the oblique argument *mani* 'this [way]'; in (29) the preverb remains attached to the verb, as can be seen by its position relative to the oblique.

9.2. Discontinuous NPs

A second type of discontinuous constituent in Meskwaki involves noun phrases. This section will describe the two patterns of discontinuous noun phrases found in Meskwaki, and then consider the question of how such NPs should be represented in constituent structure. In the first type of

discontinuous NP to be considered, the head noun appears before the the verb and a relative clause modifying the head appears after the verb:

(30) na·hkači   nepi   a·hpeči–ki·wi–kekesiwaki
      also   water always–around–have.O2.along 3p/ind.ind

      te·hkepye·ya·niki
      be.cold.[water] 0'/part/0

      'And they always have cold water with them' K2E

In (30) the noun *nepi* 'water' is modified by the participle *te·hkepye·ya·niki* 'that which is cold [water]'. (The stem of the participle, *tahkepye·ya·-*, contains the morpheme *-epye·-*, the classificatory medial for water (6.3.1).) This type of discontinuous NP is reminiscent of extraposition from NP in English. For example, in a sentence like *A woman called me up [who wants to learn Welsh]*, the bracketed relative clause is understood to modify *woman*, although it is separated from the head by the verb and its object.

    Much more common in Meskwaki, however, is a second type of discontinuous NP which does not have any counterpart in English syntax. In this construction a demonstrative pronoun or quantifier phrase may appear to the left of the verb, with the remainder of the NP appearing to the right of the verb.

(31) o·ni   i·na   sa·kiči   e·hnemasoči   ki·weška·ta
      and.then   that.anim outside   stand.[there] 3/aor go.around 3/part/3
      'And then that traveller stood outside.' W153E

(32) ma·ne=meko e·hneseči   aša·haki
      many=emph   kill X–3(p)/aor   Sioux.pl
      'Very many Sioux were killed.' N22E

(33) [katawi=meko kekimesi]   e·hpya·niči   mehtose·neniwahi
       almost=emph all   come 3'/aor   people.obv
      'Almost all the people came.' R172.22

In (31) the demonstrative pronoun *i·na* 'that (anim)' precedes the verb (and the oblique argument *sa·kiči* 'outside'), while the participle *ki·weška·ta* 'the one who goes around' follows the verb. (32) is an example of a quantifier appearing before the verb, with the head noun following the verb; (33) shows that an entire quantifier phrase may appear to the left of the verb in this discontinuous NP construction.[7]

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[7] One example has been found in which both a demonstrative and a quantifier appear to the left of a verb with the rest of the noun phrase to the right:
(i)   nye·wi   ma·hani e·hayo·ki   nakamo·nani
        four   these   use X–0/aor   songs
        'These four songs are used.' O20A
It is more common, however, for only one modifier to appear on the left.
(ii)   ma·hani e·hayo·ki   nye·wi   nakamo·nani

Having seen examples of the two types of discontinuous NPs in Meskwaki, we will now make the description of the position of each portion of the NP more precise.[8] The lefthand piece of the discontinuous NP may occupy any of the three preverbal positions for NPs in the syntactic template of 8.1: Topic, Focus, or Oblique. In other words, a discontinuous NP is placed in preverbal position for the same reasons as syntactically unified NPs: it is expressing the discourse function of topic or of focus, or it is an oblique argument of the verb. However, a separate process of Extraposition then applies to move a portion of the NP to the right of the verb. The examples below show discontinuous NPs functioning as obliques, foci, and topics; we begin with examples of obliques.

(34) [OBL   i·nahi]   e·hoči–čapo·kisahoči   mo·nepya·neki
              that.loc   from–jump.in.water 3/aor   hole.in.ice.loc
       'He jumped in the water through the hole in the ice' N6F

(35) o=[OBL ayo·h]=ke·hi   otena·te·ke   neto·škote·meki
      or=this.loc   be.gotten.from 0/subjnct   my.fire.loc
       'Or if it is gotten out of this fire of mine,' O97C

The discontinuous NPs in (34) and (35) are oblique arguments, associated in each case with the relative root *ot-/oči–* 'from'. In each example a demonstrative pronoun, inflected for locative case, occupies the oblique position immediately to the left of the verb; the head noun, bearing the locative case ending *-eki*, appears to the right of the verb. (The conjunction 'or', seen in (35), is expressed by cliticizing the proclitic *o=* and the enclitic *=ke·hi* to the first word of the clause.)

The lefthand portion of a discontinuous NP may also occupy the focus position of the syntactic template:

<hr>

              these   use X–0/aor   four   songs
              'These four songs are used.' O31J

[8] Examples like the following may appear at first glance to exhibit other possibilities for discontinuous NPs: that a possessor may be separated from the possessum, or that conjoined NPs may be split up. However, I believe that these examples are instead cases of overt topic NPs, as reflected in the glosses:
(i)   kwi·yese·ha   ki·ši–no·make·wi–na·kwa·niči   okye·ni
       boy   perf–short.time–leave 3'/ch.conj   his.mother.obv
       'As for the boy, after his mother had been gone a short time, …' R50.23-4
       [rather than 'after the boy's mother …']
(ii)   wi·sahke·ha   e·hki·wesi·hiwa·či   osi·me·hani
       W   be.orphan 3p/aor   his.younger.brother.obv
       'As for Wisahkeha, he and his younger brother were orphans.' W33I
       [rather than 'Wisahkeha and his younger brother were orphans.']

(36)　　[NEG　awita]=mekoho [FOC　owiye·ha]　　wa·wane·nemene·ha
　　　　　　not=emph　　　　　　anyone　　　　fail.to.know X–3/pot

　　　　ke·šawenamokwe·na　　　ši·ši·kwanani
　　　　hold.loosely 3–0/interr.part/3 rattle

　　　　'Anyone who held a gourd [rattle] loosely would certainly not fail to be known.' O139G

(36) is an example of the first type of discontinuous NP, where the head precedes the verb and a relative clause follows. The head is *owiye·ha* 'anyone', appearing in the Focus position to the right of the negative *awita* 'not' and to the left of the verb. As we saw in 8.4, indefinite pronouns typically occur in Focus position; the only unusual aspect of (36) is that a portion of the focused NP has been extraposed to the right of the verb.

　　　　Contrastive elements, such as *kotakaki* 'other (pl.)' in the following example, also typically appear in Focus position:

(37)　　neneškimeko·pi　　　[s [FOC　kotakaki]　　wi·hki·wite·maki
　　　　forbid X–1/ind.ind　　　　　other.pl　　　fut.go.around.with 1–3(p)/aor

　　　　iškwe·se·haki]
　　　　girls

　　　　'I was forbidden to go around with the other girls' A7C

(37) also shows that it is possible to have discontinuous NPs in complement clauses.

　　　　In the next example two adjacent clauses exhibit parallel structure: each clause contains a discontinuous NP with the lefthand portion in Focus position.

(38)　　"[FOC　še·ški　mani] ki·hawato·pena　　　či·ma·ni"　　e·hiyowa·či
　　　　　　only　this　fut.take 21–0/ind.ind canoe　　　　say.thus 3p/aor

　　　　[TOP　we·či–]i [FOC　i·ni]　　__i –awatawoči　　　　oči·ma·ni
　　　　　　from–　　　　that　　　　–take.O's.O2 X–3/part/obl his.canoe

　　　　'Because they said, "We'll just take this canoe,"
　　　　is why that canoe of his was taken' M13

In the first clause of (38) *mani* 'this' appears before the verb with *še·ški* 'only'; as we saw in 8.4, constituents restricted by *še·ški* frequently appear in Focus position. The second clause of (38) also contains a discontinuous NP, here functioning as the second object of the verb. (Possessor raising (7.2.2.) has applied to the verb of the second clause.) Note also that the verb of the second clause contains the preverb *oči–*, here separated from the verb and appearing in Topic position. The lefthand piece of the discontinuous NP occurs between the preverb and the verb, as we expect if it occupies the Focus position.

Another example of a sentence containing both a discontinuous compound verb and a discontinuous NP is given below:[9]

(39) we·či–ᵢ ma·hani   __ᵢ –mi·na·soyakwe   nakamo·nani   ki·na·na.
       from– these   –be.given 21/part/obl   songs   we.inclusive
       'why we were given these songs.' O138G

Again, the preverb *oči–* 'from' has been moved to Topic position. The demonstrative appears in Focus position, between the preverb and the verb, while the remainder of the noun phrase has been extraposed to the right of the verb. The final element of (39) is an emphatic pronoun in the 'antitopic' position (8.6).

It is also possible for an NP in topic position to be discontinuous:

(40) [TOP   i·niya]=ma·hi   a·kwi me·h–pya·čini   mahkwa
              that.absent=after.all not   yet–come 3/neg   bear
       'That bear, he hasn't come yet.' W131G

In (40) the absentative pronoun *i·niya* is in Topic position, preceding the negative *a·kwi*. However, the head noun *mahkwa* 'bear' appears to the right of the verb.

The construction in which an emphatic personal pronoun is combined with a topic NP (3.7.1.) also allows discontinuous NPs:

(41) [TOP   wi·nwa·wa=ke·hi·='niki]
              they=and=those.anim

       awita='pi   nana·ši ahkwima·či·wa·sa   pe·minehkawa·čiki
       not=quot   ever   be.exhausted 3p/pot   chase 3p–3'/part/3p

       'And those pursuing them would, they say, never become exhausted.' O53A

(42) wi·na=ča·hi   ma·hani   tepe·netamwa   manaha   a·ya·pa·hte·ha
       he=so   these.inan   own 3–0/ind.ind   this.anim   A.
       'So Ayapahteha himself owns these things.' W259G

---

[9] There are other separable preverbs besides *oči–* which occur with discontinuous NPs. In the example below, the preverb *natawi–* 'seek to' has been separated from its verb:

(i)   ne·tawi–ᵢ   mani   __ᵢ –we·we·ne·netakiki   netahkimi
       seek.to   this   –control 3p–0/part/3p my.earth
       'the ones who sought to control this earth of mine' W1076

This may be another example of a preverb appearing in the 'Neg' position, as mentioned in footnote 5.

In (41) *wi·nwa·wa* 'they' and the demonstrative pronoun *i·niki* 'those' appear in topic position, to the left of the negative. The remainder of the topic NP appears to the right of the verb. In (42) only the emphatic personal pronoun appears in the the topic position; the full NP appears in postverbal position.

The above examples show that the lefthand portion of the discontinuous NP may be in Topic, Focus, or Oblique position in the syntactic template. We will now consider the position of the remainder of the discontinuous NP. Examples like the following show that the righthand piece of the NP almost always appears immediately to the right of the verb:

(43) <u>manahka</u>   oči–pye·wa   <u>we·ta·paniki</u>   mahkwa
      yonder   from–come 3/ind.ind be.dawn.from 0'/part/obl   bear
      'A bear came from over there in the east.' L28

(44) <u>ma·ne</u>=wi·na=meko   netaši·hka·ko·ki   <u>neniwaki</u>
      many=contrst=emph   be.after 3p–1/ind.ind   men

      wi·hkakano·neti·haki
      fut.converse.with 1–3(p)/aor

      'Many men were after me to talk to them.' R310.26

(45) <u>mani</u>   ni·hawatawa·wa   <u>mačahi·ni</u>   ni·či–metemo·ha
      this   fut.take.O2.to 1–3/ind.ind   dry.goods   my.fellow–old.woman
      'I will take my fellow old woman this finery.' W895

(46) ni·ka·ni–mami·ši·ha   <u>ahki</u>   e·hki·wi–awatenamawa·či
      leading–attendant   earth   around–hand.O2.to 3–3'/aor
      <u>pi·se·ya·niki</u>   ki·šiseniničihi
      be.loose.and.fine 0'/part/0   perf.eat 3'/part/3'p
      'The leading attendant went around handing earth which was loose
      and fine to those who had eaten .' R256.1–2

The righthand portion of the discontinuous NP is followed by a subject in (43), by a complement clause in (44), and by first objects in (45) and (46). (45) and (46) are of particular interest: the discontinuous NP in each is the second object of the verb, so the order of postverbal material is second object preceding first object. As mentioned in 8.6, it is very rare for a syntactically unified second object to precede a first object.

Though it is typical for the righthand portion of the discontinuous NP to immediately follow the verb, this cannot be stated as an absolute rule. There are a few cases where other material intervenes between the verb and the righthand piece of the discontinuous NP:

(47) i·ni=ča·h=meko=ni·na·=na   e·ne·nemaki
      that=so=emph=I=that.anim   think.thus.of 1–3/part/obl

      wi·hišawiči   okwisema·wa
      fut.do.thus 3/aor   son

      'So that is just how I think that son will be.' A75D

(48) ma·ne e·hnowiwenemeči   [i·nahi oči]   mehtose·neniwahi
      many carry.out X–3'/aor   that.loc from person.obv.pl
      'Many people were carried out from that place.' W272

In (47) a complement clause intervenes between the verb and the righthand portion of the discontinuous NP, while in (48) a postpostional phrase, adjunct to the verb, separates the verb from the righthand part of the NP.

It is possible to have more than one discontinuous NP in the same clause.[10] In the following example, both the focused subject and the oblique argument are discontinuous.

(49) i·ni=ke·hi='pi·='na   i·tepi e·ha·či   okima·wa
      then=and=quot=that   there   go.thither 3/aor   chief

      i·nini   e·hawiniči
      that.obv   be.[there] 3'/part/loc

      'And then, it's said, that chief went to where that one (obv) was living' B291G

The pieces of the focused NP are underlined and the pieces of the oblique argument are italicized.

It is also possible to have recursive discontinuous NPs. In other words, the righthand piece of a discontinuous NP may contain a relative clause in which one of the arguments of the lower verb is also discontinuous:

(50) mani   e·yo·ta   [ayo·hi   e·hte·niki   mi·ša·meki]
      this   use 3–0/part/3 this.loc   be.[there] 0'/part/0   sacred.pack.loc
      'one who used this [thing] which was in this sacred pack' O42D

(51) i·ni=ča·hi   ketene·nemene
      that.[way]=so think.thus.of 1–2/ind

      [mana   e·ne·nemehki   ni·ka·ni–kano·nehka]
       this.anim   think.thus.of 3–2/part/obl   leading–speak.to 3–2/part/3

      'So I bless you in the way that this one who first spoke to you blessed you' R76.25

---

[10] Contrary to the claim in Dahlstrom 1987.

In each example the pieces of the internal NP are italicized and the pieces of the larger discontinuous NP are underlined. In (50) the larger discontinuous NP is the inanimate object of the higher verb 'use': the demonstrative *mani* 'this' modifies the extraposed N' '[thing] which was in this sacred pack'. The extraposed N' contains a relative clause in which there is an oblique argument of the lower verb. This oblique argument is also discontinuous, with *ayo·hi* 'this (loc)' preceding the verb and *mi·šameki* 'sacred pack (loc)' following the verb. (51) displays a similar pattern of nested discontinuous NPs. The larger discontinuous NP in (51) is the oblique argument of the higher verb 'think thus of'.[11] The demonstrative *i·ni* 'that [way]' is in the preverbal oblique position, modifying the extraposed N'. The extraposed N' contains a participle in which the head is coreferential to the oblique argument of the lower verb: *e·ne·nemehki* 'the way that [he] thought of you'. The subject of the participle is expressed by a discontinuous NP, with a demonstrative preceding the verb and a participle following.

We have so far looked only at discontinuous NPs which are topics or arguments of verbs. There are, however, other syntactic environments in which discontinuous NPs are found. For example, the lefthand piece of an equational sentence may be discontinuous:

(52) <u>mani</u>   wi·hne·se·hekwiwa·či   <u>mi·ša·mi</u>
      this   fut.make.O.well 0–3p/part/0   sacred.pack
      'This sacred pack is what will make them well.' O114C

(53) <u>i·nini</u>=meko [menehta ahpene·či   mi·čiwa·čini]   <u>wa·pikonani</u>
      those=emph first   always   eat 3p–0/part/0p   pumpkins
      'Those pumpkins were the things they always ate first.' O4D

In equational constructions the righthand half of the equation functions as the predicate and the lefthand half bears the discourse function of focus. Examples such as (52) and (53) are therefore instances of an NP in Focus position undergoing extraposition: the extraposed portion of the NP appears to the right of the predicate, here the participle *wi·hne·se·hekwiwa·či* 'that which will make them well' in (52), and *menehta ahpene·či mi·čiwa·čini* '[things] which they always eat first' in (53).

NPs functioning as possessors may also be discontinuous, as in the following example:

(54) <u>ma·haki</u>   omi·hkeče·wiwenwa·wi   <u>aška·pe·waki</u> e·nečiki
      these   their.work   cer.runners   call.thus X–3p/part/3p
      'the work of these [people] called "ceremonial runners" ' B85:12.21

Objects of postpositions may be discontinuous, as well:

(55) <u>ayo·h</u>=oči   <u>mi·ša·meki</u>
      this.loc=from sacred.pack.loc
      'from this sacred pack' O79B

---

[11] The sentence in (51) is part of a reported speech by a spirit addressing a young man. A spirit blesses a human being by thinking of him in a certain way, thereby bestowing power and knowledge upon him. In this context, then, verbs of thinking are synonyms for 'bless'.

(56)　ayo·h=iši　　　wi·ki·ya·peki
　　　this.loc=to　　house.loc
　　　'to this house' R138.31

In both (55) and (56) a demonstrative appears to the left of the postposition, and the noun is to the right. The postposition has cliticized to the demonstrative in each case; the environment of a word ending in *hi* followed by a vowel-initial particle is especially conducive to optional cliticization.

　　Two generalizations may be made about the examples given in this section. First, the two pieces of a discontinuous NP always appear on either side of the head of the phrasal constituent immediately dominating the NP: a discontinuous argument of a verb is on either side of the verb; the lefthand half of an equational sentence surrounds the predicate; a possessor surrounds the possessed noun, the head of the NP; the object of a postposition surrounds the postposition. Second, the extraposition of the righthand piece of the NP appears to be bounded by the larger phrasal constituent dominating the lefthand portion. That is, the righthand portion of the object of a postposition stays within the postpositional phrase; the righthand portion of a possessor NP stays within the larger noun phrase. Arguments of the verb are bounded by S: since there is no VP constituent in Meskwaki, there is no asymmetry between subjects and objects with regard to discontinuous NPs.

　　Although this section has been able to describe aspects of the distribution of discontinuous NPs, it must be admitted that the motivation for splitting an NP into two pieces is not always clear. In some cases it appears that the 'heaviness' of the NP may be a factor, with speakers preferring to place syntactically complex material towards the end of the sentence. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(57)　i·niye·ni=ke·hi　　　če·winehki　　e·hsakapisoniči
　　　that.absent.obv=and　in.middle　　be.tied.up 3'/aor

　　　we·wenimi·kona·ničini　　　e·šamekowa·čini　　　ahte·himinani.
　　　have.pretty.feathers 3'/part/3'　feed 3'–3p/part/3'　strawberries

　　　'That aforementioned one who had pretty feathers who had fed them
　　　strawberries was tied up in the middle' W49DE

See (36), (50), and (51) for other instances where the heaviness of the NP may favor extraposition. However, such an explanation does not account for the many cases of discontinuous NPs in which the righthand piece consists only of a single word, as in (52) and other examples above.

　　In other cases, where the lefthand piece of an NP occupies the Focus position, contrastive focus may apply to only that portion of the NP. An example of this is given below:

(58) kotaka=či·h=meko   nekehkahama·ko·pi   oškinawe·h
      other=exclam=emph   designate.O2.for X–1/ind.ind young.man

      wi·hona·pe·miya·ni
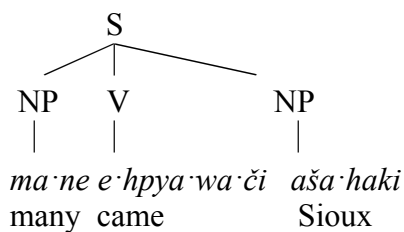   fut.have.O2.as.husband 1/aor

      'It turned out another young man had been designated
      for me to marry!' R310.28

In the previous context, the speaker had been talking about a young man whom she had fallen in love with; (58) expresses her shock in finding out that her mother had arranged for her to marry someone else. The set of 'young men' had already been introduced into the discourse; what is contrasted in (58) is *kotaka* '(an)other' with the one she had been talking about. I suggest, therefore, that another motivation for using the discontinuous NP construction in Meskwaki is to explicitly limit the scope of contrastive focus to only a portion of the NP.

A final question to be taken up concerns the syntactic category of the two pieces of the discontinuous entities discussed in this section. Are they fragments of a single NP, or is each piece a separate NP? We will consider each of these possibilities below, beginning with the hypothesis that each piece is a separate NP. In this view, the constituent structure of the following sentence would have one NP to the left of the verb and another NP to the right.

(59) ma·ne=meko   e·hpya·wa·či   aša·haki
      many=emph   come 3p/aor   Sioux.pl
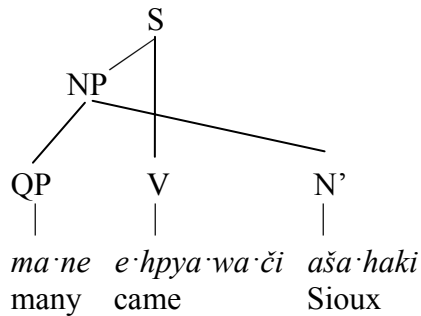   'Many Sioux came.' O152B

(60)

```
                S
              /  |  \
           NP    V     NP
           |     |      |
        ma·ne e·hpya·wa·či  aša·haki
        many  came          Sioux
```

(The emphatic enclitic =*meko* has been omitted from the tree in (60).) In many ways, the hypothesis that each piece of the discontinuous entity is a separate NP is an attractive one. The syntactic template of 8.1. provides for up to three NP positions to the left of the verb and any number of NP positions after the verb. Moreover, each piece of the subject in (59) may function on its own as a complete NP: *ma·ne* may be used alone to mean 'many people, many of them' and *aša·haki* would mean 'the Sioux' if used on its own. The syntactic framework of Lexical Functional Grammar allows material from separate constituent structure nodes to be unified at functional structure, creating a unified representation of the subject of the sentence as 'many Sioux'. (See Simpson 1991:283 for a comparable analysis of discontinuous constituents in Warlpiri.)

Another possibility is to use McCawley's (1982) notation for discontinuous expressions, showing that the two pieces belong to a single NP hierarchically, although part of the NP appears after the verb.[12]
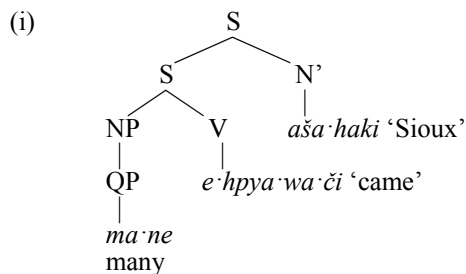
(61)

```
                    S
              NP
        QP         V         N'
        |          |         |
      ma·ne   e·hpya·wa·či  aša·haki
      many      came        Sioux
```

The structure in (61) raises a host of issues for phrase structure theory in general, if we allow branches to cross. However, there are some advantages to the representation sketched in (61) which make it well worth considering. First of all, the tree in (61) predicts that the two pieces together make up a single NP; the tree in (60) would predict that there could be a demonstrative pronoun in each NP, for example. Moreover, the two NPs in (60) should allow more patterns of discontinuous entities than are actually attested: a head noun to the left with a demonstrative following, for example. In the representation of (61), on the other hand, elements which come first in syntactically unified NPs will appear in the lefthand portion of the discontinuous NP: i.e., demonstratives and quantifiers, or a head noun followed by a relative clause (cf. 5.3).

The second advantage that the structure in (61) has can be seen if we consider discontinuous NPs functioning as objects of postpositions, possessors of NPs, and as half of an equational S. In all of these environments part of the discontinuous NP is extraposed to the right of an element which does not otherwise allow an NP to appear to its right: a postposition takes an object to its left;

---

[12] Treatments of Extraposition from NP in English often assume that the extraposed material is adjoined to the right of the clause. For our Meskwaki example this would produce the following tree:

```
    (i)                  S
                   S           N'
                              |
              NP     V      aša·haki 'Sioux'
              |      |
              QP  e·hpya·wa·či 'came'
              |
            ma·ne
            many
```

However, the prediction made by this analysis is the righthand portion of the NP will come after all other postverbal arguments. (44) and (58) show this is not true: in those examples the righthand piece of the discontinuous NP precedes a complement clause, which must be analyzed as being a daughter of S.

possessors appear to the left of the possessed noun; the predicate of an equational sentence is never followed by other constituents.

The third point of interest in this comparison of the trees in (60) and (61) concerns the relative order of first objects and second objects. As stated in 8.6, if both a first object and a second object are expressed by full NPs after the verb, the order is almost always first object preceding the second object. However, (45) and (46) above showed that when a second object is a discontinuous NP, the righthand portion of the second object may precede a first object. This may be expressed with the notation in (61), allowing the righthand portion of the NP to be placed immediately after the verb, no matter what type of syntactic constituent follows. In the representation of (60), however, it would remain unexplained why a second object NP may precede a first object NP just in these cases.