Chapter 8

Word order

We have so far presented an extensive examination of the syntactic aspects of Meskwaki morphology: inflectional morphology in chapters 3–5, the internal structure of verb stems and incorporation in chapter 6, and valence-changing processes which alter the shape of the verb stem in chapter 7. We now take up a topic which is purely syntactic: the order of constituents within the clause. It is shown in this chapter that Meskwaki word order may be described in terms of a template in which specific positions are dedicated to expressing particular functions, including Topic, Negative, Focus, and the syntactic function of Oblique. 8.1. presents the template and general remarks about Meskwaki constituent structure; 8.2. through 8.6. describe each of the template positions in turn. The final section, 8.7, shows that the generalizations expressed in the word order template are valid for subordinate clauses as well as for main clauses.

The constituent structure of Meskwaki is strikingly different in several respects from that of English and familiar European languages. For example, there is no VP constituent in Meskwaki: NP arguments are arranged in a flat, symmetrical structure, as argued in 8.1. Meskwaki is also unusual when viewed from the perspective of Greenberg 1966, which classifies languages as having a basic word order of SVO, SOV, VSO, etc. As will be seen in 8.6, the unmarked position for subject and object is to the right of the verb, but a 'basic' order of the subject relative to the object cannot be determined: VSO and VOS have an equal claim to being basic. Meskwaki thus belongs to the type identified by Mithun 1987: languages with no 'basic' word order. Mithun argues that this type should be recognized as another possibility for human language, alongside the six types of Greenberg's taxonomy. Finally, the combination of no VP constituent and no fixed positions for subject and object means that Meskwaki is nonconfigurational in the sense of LFG (Bresnan 1982a:297ff): the encoding of grammatical relations is accomplished by morphological means, as we have seen in chapters 3 and 4, rather than by position within the constituent structure.
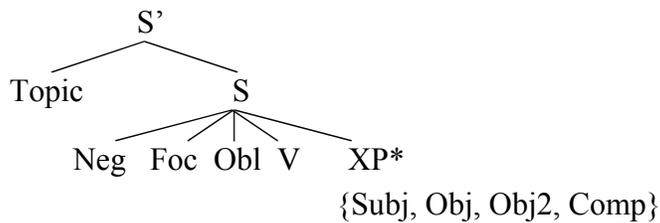
Perhaps the most interesting word order phenomenon in Meskwaki is the frequent use of discontinuous constituents: noun phrases may be realized in two noncontiguous pieces, and compound verbs allow one or more preverbs to appear separated from the remainder of the verb. This topic is taken up in chapter 9, where it is shown that the template developed in the present chapter to account for the distribution of syntactically unified constituents also functions to determine the placement of the pieces of discontinuous constituents.

8.1. The syntactic template

This section presents the template for Meskwaki word order which is argued for in this chapter and covers some general points regarding the optionality of positions in the template and the flat, symmetrical structure of the clause.

The template for Meskwaki word order is given below.

(1)

```
                    S'
            _____|_____
          Topic             S
                    _____|_____
                  Neg  Foc Obl  V    XP*
                            {Subj, Obj, Obj2, Comp}
```

The verb serves as a pivot or reference point for the other constituents. Four distinct positions have been identified to the left of the verb: Topic, Negative, Focus, and Oblique. Topic and Focus are discourse functions, which will be described in 8.2. and 8.4, respectively. The Negative position is filled by negative elements such as the particle *a·kwi* 'not', as discussed in 8.3. Oblique, on the other hand, is a syntactic function, subcategorized for by certain verbs, as discussed in 1.2.3. and 7.3. Examples of obliques may be found in 8.5. Note that, except for Topic, all the constituents in (1) are daughters of S. Topic, however, is a sister of the S constituent, dominated by an S' node.[1]

Less is known about the ordering of constituents to the right of the verb. The postverbal position is the unmarked position for subjects, objects, second objects, and Comp clauses. The notation of 'XP*' indicates that any number of constituents (including zero) may appear after the verb; a postverbal constituent may be associated with any of the grammatical functions listed in the curly brackets of (1). Apparent cases of subjects or objects appearing to the left of the verb are, I claim, topic or focus NPs: that is, the NP is placed in preverbal position to serve a particular discourse function. The question of what determines the relative order of postverbal constituents will be returned to in 8.6. below.

Each position in (1) is optional.[2] That is, the Topic and Focus positions are optionally filled if one wants to express a particular discourse function; the Negative position is filled only if the clause is negated. Whether the positions for the syntactic functions (subject, object, oblique, etc.) are filled depends upon two factors: the valence of the verb in a particular clause and whether the argument is pronominal. If the verb is not subcategorized for an oblique argument, for example, then naturally the Oblique position in the template will not be filled.

The question of pronominal arguments of the verb is worth commenting on in detail. If the subject or first object of the verb is pronominal, then it is expressed only by the inflectional morphology on the verb, not by an external NP. In terms of an LFG representation of the functional structure of the clause, the inflectional morphology on the verb optionally contributes the information that the PRED value of the subject or object (or both) is equal to 'pro' (see 1.3. for examples of f-structures). In other words, a PRED value of 'pro' means that the subject or object is available for anaphoric or deictic reference; though the subject or object is realized only by the inflectional morphology on the verb, the function of the inflectional affixes is identical to that of

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[1] The constituent structure presented for Warlpiri in Simpson 1991 is similar to that found in Meskwaki; all elements in the sentence are daughters of S (Simpson 1991:83) except that left-dislocated NPs are sister to S (Simpson 1991:71). Aissen's (1992) analysis of three Mayan languages exhibits the same linear order for Topic, Negative, and Focus as Meskwaki has, but Aissen argues for a binary branching structure in Mayan syntax, not the largely flat structure given here for Meskwaki. See also Sadock 1990, in which Yiddish word order is handled by a 'surfotax' component within the Autolexical framework. Dove 1996 applies Sadock's surfotax analysis to Meskwaki.

[2] Even the V position could be considered optional: equational sentences contain a zero copula.

independent pronouns in English. First and second person subjects and objects are always pronominal and thus always expressed by the inflection on the verb; third person verb inflection, however, has a dual function. If there is an NP subject or object, then the third person verb inflection functions merely as agreement with that NP argument. In the absence of an NP subject or object, though, the third person verb inflection functions pronominally, just as the nonthird person inflection does.[3] In terms of our consideration of word order, then, we will find many sentences in which there is no subject or object NP at all, because that argument is pronominal and expressed only by the inflection on the verb.

The situation for second objects is rather different. It is very common for pronominal third persons to be expressed by zero anaphora. There is no inflection on the verb for second objects, so here the lack of an independent pronoun is a case of real zero anaphora. Nonthird person pronominal second objects, on the other hand, are expressed by independent pronouns from the body series (3.7.2). (See also 3.7.2. for contexts in which the third person body pronoun may be used for second objects.)

For oblique arguments, zero anaphora is rare. A pronominal oblique is usually expressed by a demonstrative pronoun such as *i·tepi* 'there' or *i·ni* 'that [way]'. But it is possible to have zero anaphora if the oblique is clear from the context as in the following example, repeated from chapter 1:

(2)   a.   ayo·hi pya·no!   'Come here!'
              here   come 2/imp
       b.   pya·no!   'Come [here]!'
              come 2/imp

Another aspect of the template in (1) which deserves comment is the symmetric, flat structure of the clause, in which all constituents except Topic are daughters of S. In particular, note that there is no VP constituent which groups together the verb and its object, apart from the subject. There are a number of justifications for positing such a structure for Meskwaki. First of all, there is no positive evidence for a VP constituent. In English, for example, the existence of a VP constituent is shown by a number of tests: two VPs may be conjoined to form a single VP constituent; the verb and its object may be moved together to the front of the sentence; a VP may be deleted, or replaced by the pro-form *do so*. However, none of these phenomena is found in Meskwaki: there is no anaphor comparable to English *do so* which stands for a verb plus object; nor does a verb plus object function as a constituent in any other construction.[4] Since Meskwaki verbs are always inflected for a subject, any given combination of a verb and an object NP could be also analyzed as a full clause. In other words, the tests used to argue for a VP node in English and structurally similar languages are not applicable to Meskwaki.

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[3] Jelinek 1984 suggests an alternative analysis for languages typologically similar to Meskwaki: that the inflectional affixes (or clitics) never function merely as agreement but instead are in all cases the true arguments of the verb. Apparent cases of subject and object NPs are, she claims, optional adjuncts. Arguments against a Jelinek-style analysis of Meskwaki will be presented below, in 8.6.
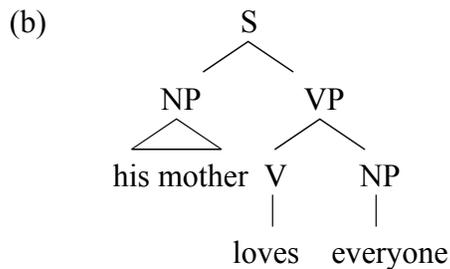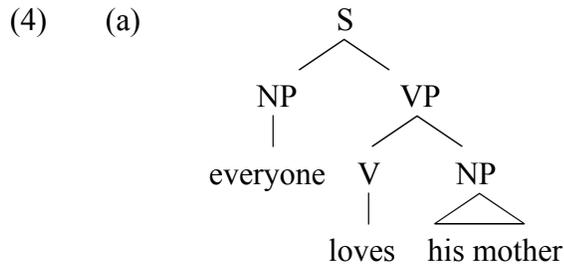
[4] There is a deletion rule similar to Gapping, in which a verb is deleted, but it does not apply to a VP constituent. See (72) in 8.5. for an example.

The fact that the tests in favor of a VP constituent in English do not work in Meskwaki does not, in itself, argue against there being a VP node in Meskwaki; it simply does not provide evidence one way or the other. However, clear evidence against a VP may be found in examining weak crossover constructions in Meskwaki.[5] The weak crossover constructions show that subject and object NPs stand in a symmetrical relationship to the verb, rather than following the English pattern in which the verb and object form a constituent which is sister to the subject. Below I will briefly run through the facts from English, in which weak crossover is ungrammatical, and then present the grammatical constructions in Meskwaki.

As noted above, English clause structure is asymmetrical: the verb and its object form a VP constituent, which is sister to the subject NP. One result of this structural asymmetry is that a quantifier or other semantic operator in the subject position may bind a pronoun within the object, but not vice versa.[6] We thus find asymmetries like the following:

(3)   a.   Everyone$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother.
        b.   *His$_i$ mother loves everyone$_i$.
                (intended reading: 'Everyone$_i$ is loved by his$_i$ mother.')

In (3a) the quantifier *everyone* in the subject binds the possessive pronoun *his* in the object; (3b) shows that the opposite configuration results in ungrammaticality: a quantifier in object position cannot bind a possessive pronoun in the subject. Tree structures for (3) are given below:

(4)   (a)
```
                       S
                    ／    ＼
                 NP          VP
                  |        ／    ＼
              everyone   V        NP
                         |      ／  ＼
                       loves   his mother
```

        (b)
```
                       S
                    ／    ＼
                 NP          VP
               ／  ＼      ／    ＼
            his mother   V        NP
                         |        |
                       loves   everyone
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[5] The weak crossover test was used in Dahlstrom 1986b to argue that Cree has no VP. Bresnan 1994 argues that weak crossover is not, after all, a diagnostic for constituent structure, but cf. Simpson 1991:177, who attributes the lack of weak crossover effects in Warlpiri to the absence of a VP in c-structure.

[6] 'Bind' here means that the reference of the pronoun is dependent upon the semantic operator. For example, a sentence like *Everyone$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother* could be paraphrased with a formula like 'For all x, x loves x's mother.' The reference of *his* depends upon the operator which binds the variable x in the formula. Note that bound variable anaphora is more constrained than anaphora with a definite NP antecedent (Reinhart 1983). With definite NP anaphora the anaphor is barred from c-commanding its antecedent, but in bound variable anaphora the antecedent must c-command the anaphor.

Weak crossover violations are also found in wh-questions, though here it is the position in which the question word originates which is the crucial factor in determining the grammaticality of the sentence.[7]

(5) a.   Who$_i$ [t$_i$ loves his$_i$ mother]?
     b.   *Who$_i$ does [his$_i$ mother love t$_i$]?
          (intended reading: 'Who$_i$ is loved by his$_i$ mother?')

In Meskwaki, however, there is no asymmetry between subject and object with respect to bound variable anaphora. Compare the following examples with the English sentences in (3):

(6) a·kwi   owiye·ha   kaka·čima·čini   o·hkomani
     not   anyone   tease 3–3'/neg   his.mother-in-law.obv
     'No one$_i$ teases his$_i$ mother-in-law.'[8]

(7) a·kwi   owiye·ha   kaka·čimekočini   o·hkomani
     not   anyone   tease 3'–3/neg   his.mother-in-law.obv
     'His$_i$ mother-in-law doesn't tease anyone$_i$.'
     [i.e. 'No one$_i$ is teased by his$_i$ mother-in-law.']

The crucial example is (7): the English gloss is an ungrammatical weak crossover violation, but the Meskwaki equivalent is completely grammatical. The symmetry in Meskwaki between subject and object is exactly what we would expect from a language with symmetrical clause structure.[9]

(6) and (7) contain an indefinite pronoun, *owiye·ha* 'someone/anyone'. As explained in 8.4, indefinite pronouns are often found in Focus position. However, this is not obligatory: they may also appear after the verb in the ordinary position for subjects or objects:

(8) a·kwi   kaka·čima·čini   owiye·ha   o·hkomani
     not   tease 3–3'/neg   anyone   his.mother-in-law.obv
     'No one$_i$ teases his$_i$ mother-in-law.'

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[7] The term 'crossover' originated from an examination of wh-questions (Postal 1971); the constraint blocked movement transformations if the moved constituent would 'cross over' a coreferential element. However, as (3) shows, the same phenomenon is found in constructions in which no movement has taken place (at s-structure). For the distinction between 'strong crossover' and 'weak crossover', see Wasow 1979.

[8] As mentioned in chapter 3, certain pairs of kinship relations are classified as 'joking' or 'teasing' relations in Meskwaki (Tax 1937:257–258). These include cross-uncles/aunts (mother's brother, father's sister) and cross-nephews/nieces; siblings-in-law of the opposite sex; and mother's brother's wife and husband's sister's children. The relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law, on the other hand, is characterized by restraint. The verb *kaka·čim-* 'tease' TA denotes the joking which goes on between the joking relations and which is unthinkable between parents-in-law and children-in-law.

[9] A crucial point in this argument is that the inverse form of (7) is not a passive verb. (Cf. (3b) and (5b) where passive makes the ungrammatical English sentences grammatical.) See 10.3. for arguments that the inverse verb forms are active verbs.

(9)   aˑkwi   kakaˑčimaˑčini   oˑhkomani   owiyeˑha
        not   tease 3–3'/neg   his.mother-in-law.obv   anyone
        'No oneᵢ teases hisᵢ mother-in-law.'

(10)   aˑkwi   kakaˑčimekočini   owiyeˑha   oˑhkomani
        not   tease 3'–3/neg   anyone   his.mother-in-law.obv
        'Hisᵢ mother-in-law doesn't tease anyoneᵢ.'
        [i.e. 'No oneᵢ is teased by hisᵢ mother-in-law.']

(11)   aˑkwi   kakaˑčimekočini   oˑhkomani   owiyeˑha
        not   tease 3'–3/neg   his.mother-in-law.obv   anyone
        'Hisᵢ mother-in-law doesn't tease anyoneᵢ.'
        [i.e. 'No oneᵢ is teased by hisᵢ mother-in-law.']

Examples (9) and (11), in which the indefinite pronoun follows the possessed noun, are of special interest. In many languages there is a linear order constraint on weak crossover (Bresnan 1994, 1995): a pronoun cannot precede the operator which binds it. However, (9) and (11) show that this is not true of Meskwaki.[10]

8.2. Topic

The notion of topic is often appealed to in discourse analysis, but its definition remains controversial. I follow Reinhart 1982 in taking the relationship between topic and the following sentence (the comment) to be a pragmatic relation of aboutness (see also Lambrecht 1994:118). That is, the topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about; topics often correspond to given or old information, but this is not a necessary condition on topichood. In Meskwaki, an NP may appear in the topic position of the word order template to announce a new topic, or to shift back to a previous topic. If the new or shifted topic is pronominal, a pronoun from the emphatic series of personal pronouns is used (3.7.1), as in the following example.

(12)   oˑni   [_TOP wiˑnwaˑwa]   [_S kapoˑtwe   eˑhnenoˑhtaˑtiˑhiwaˑči]
        and.then   they   at.some.point   understand.recip.dim 3p/aor
        'And as for them, at some point they understood each other' W35H

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[10] I am here following Bresnan 1994:77 in assuming that an inflectional affix which functions pronominally enters into linear order relations with c-structure constituents. In other words, we can say that in (9) and (11) the pronoun precedes *owiyeˑha* 'anyone' because the noun bearing the pronominal possessive inflection precedes the indefinite pronoun.

Bresnan 1995 argues that at least two orthogonal conditions play a role in weak crossover constructions: linear order in constituent structure and syntactic rank in functional structure. Syntactic rank is determined by the following hierarchy: Subject > Object > Oblique > COMP/XCOMP. She then presents a typology of languages with respect to these conditions on weak crossover: some languages (English, Palauan) require both that the binder precede the pronoun and that the binder outrank the pronoun; other languages (German, Korean) require that the binder either precede the pronoun or outrank the pronoun; others (Hindi, Malayalam) require only that the binder precede the pronoun; and others (Kiswahili, Chicheŵa) require only that the binder outrank the pronoun. On the basis of (11), where the binder neither outranks the pronoun nor precedes the pronoun, we can say that Meskwaki is a fifth type of language in Bresnan's taxonomy: one in which weak crossover is constrained neither by syntactic rank nor linear order.

The emphatic pronoun *wi·nwa·wa* 'they' here refers to the culture hero Wisahkeha and his little brother, who gained the power of understanding each other when they were babies. The topic of the previous section of the story was the spirits, who had met in council to decide how to bless Wisahkeha and his brother. The overt topic *wi·nwa·wa* signals the shift to the brothers as topic. Note also the position of the S-initial adverb *kapo·twe* 'at some point', which follows the topic.

Overt topics in Meskwaki may also be nonpronominal NPs of various types. A somewhat surprising property of overt topics in Meskwaki is that they may be either proximate or obviative.[11] This is surprising because the assignment of proximate and obviative status to third persons is largely dependent upon discourse factors (3.3); it might be thought that the discourse status of 'proximate' might be reducible to that of topic. However, the following pair of examples show that both proximate and obviative NPs may be topics:

(13) [TOP   wi·sahke·ha]=ke·hi [S wa·natohka=meko   e·hkehči–nepa·či]
            Wi·sahke·ha=and   peacefully=emph   greatly–sleep 3/aor
      'As for Wi·sahke·ha, he was peacefully sound asleep' W163P

(14) [TOP   i·nini=ke·hi   o·šisemani]
            that.obv=and   her.grandchild.obv

      [S wa·natohka=meko   e·hkehči–nepa·niči]
        peacefully=emph   greatly–sleep 3'/aor

      'As for her grandson [obv], he was peacefully sound asleep' W10H

(13) and (14) are taken from the same text and form a minimal pair. In (13), the overt topic is *wi·sahke·ha*, the name of the culture hero; the remainder of the sentence functions as a comment about him, stating that he was sleeping peacefully. At this point in the story, Wisahkeha is the main character and is therefore referred to by proximate forms. (14), on the other hand, is taken from a later section of the same text, in which Wisahkeha's grandmother is the proximate character and events are expressed from her point of view. Again, the character Wisahkeha is sleeping peacefully, but in (14), he is referred to by an obviative NP, *i·nini o·šisemani* 'that grandson of hers', appearing in the topic position. In other words, (14) shows that a shift in topic need not entail a shift in proximate assignment. Although it often happens that an overt topic is expressed by a proximate NP, the two are distinct discourse functions.

Topic NPs in Meskwaki are associated with a number of syntactic properties (Dahlstrom 1993). First of all, if a negative element is present it will follow the topic:

(15) [TOP   ni·na]=ke·hi [S a·kwi   ke·ko·hi   ašenokini]
            I=and   not   anything   disappear 0/neg
      'As for me, nothing is missing' R146.10

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[11] If the topic is expressed by a personal pronoun it must be proximate: there is no obviative third person emphatic pronoun (3.7.1).

Second, (15) demonstrates that the topic need not correspond to a coreferential gap or resumptive pronoun in the comment. The context for (15) is that there has been a flood, driving the people out of their homes. When the waters recede the people return to check on their belongings. The speaker of (15) uses the emphatic pronoun *ni·na* 'I' to establish the topic; the following comment is that nothing is missing. There is no gap in the comment S, nor is there a first person singular pronoun in the S which would be coreferential to the topic. The relationship between topic and comment is instead a pragmatic one: the comment must be about the topic.[12]

Another example in which there is no element in the comment coreferential to the topic is given below:

(16) [TOP   mani=wi·na   i·noki e·ne·nemači],
              this=contr   now   think.thus.about 2–3/part/obl

      [S   mehto·či=meko [FOC ki·na] nešiye·kapa   mana ko·šiseme·ha]
             like=emph   you   kill 2–3/pot   this   your.g.child.dim.

      'But this way you are thinking about him now,
      it's as if *you* would kill your grandchild' W20DE

The topic in (16) is the entire phrase *mani i·noki e·ne·nemači* 'this way you are thinking about him now'. The verb in the comment, however, does not take this NP as an argument; rather, the verb is inflected for a second person singular subject acting upon a third person singular object (the grandchild). The comment asserts the similarity between thinking bad thoughts about someone and killing someone, but there is no pronominal element in the comment which is coreferential with the topic. Note also that (16) contains an emphatic personal pronoun used to express focus, rather than topic (8.4). The appearance of the phrase *mani i·noki e·ne·nemači* before a focused pronoun and before an S-initial adverb provides further evidence for analyzing it as a topic.

A topic may also establish the location for the comment which follows. In the next example the topic is an NP inflected with locative case:

(17) [TOP   ayo·h=koči   netahkimeki]
              this.loc=obviously   my.earth.loc

      [FOC   ni·na]=mekoho   newe·we·ne·neta
             I=emph   have.say.over 1–0/ind.ind

      wi·hanemi–išikeki]
      fut.future–happen.thus 0/part/obl

      'On this earth of mine, obviously, *I* control what will happen.' W344

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[12] This property of Meskwaki topics (also found in topic prominent languages such as Chinese and Japanese (Li and Thompson 1976) and in Tzotzil and Jakaltek Mayan (Aissen 1992)) runs counter to the Extended Coherence Condition of Bresnan and Mchombo 1987, which requires the discourse functions of topic and focus to be bound by an argument.

In (17) the NP *ayo·hi netahkimeki* 'on this earth of mine' is not an oblique argument of the matrix verb: if it were, the verb would contain the preverb *taši–*, which adds a requirement for an oblique of stationary location (7.3). Rather, the locative NP is a topic, appearing to the left of the focused emphatic pronoun *ni·na* 'I'.

A third syntactic property of Meskwaki topics is that they are outside the S dominating the comment, as shown in (1). That is, a topic is not only the leftmost element of a sentence, but it is also a sister to the comment which follows. Evidence for this claim comes from co-ordination, clitic placement, and the position of adverbial clauses.

If the topic is sister to an S constituent, then a topic should also be able to appear as sister to two conjoined Ss:

(18)   [TOP   i·na=ke·hi neniwa]
               that=and man

        [S [S   a·kwi ni·mičini]   na·hkači [S   a·kwi nakamočini]]
             not   dance 3/neg also   not   sing 3/neg

        'As for that man, he didn't dance, and he also didn't sing'

In (18) *i·na neniwa* 'that man' is the topic for both of the following clauses.

Next we will consider clitic placement. There are a large number of second-position enclitics in Meskwaki, which normally appear attached to the right of the first phonological word of the sentence. Sentences with an overt topic, however, have an additional location at which second position enclitics may appear: after the first phonological word of the topic. The following sentence is a case where enclitics appear both in second position within the topic and in second position within the comment. (The enclitics are underlined.)

(19)   [TOP   i·niye·ka=<u>ke·hi</u>   ki·h–kočawičiki   wi·hča·kiha·wa·či
               those.absent=and   perf–try 3p/part/3p   fut.kill.all 3p–3'/aor
        apeno·hahi],
        child.obv.pl

        [S waninawe=<u>meko</u>=<u>'pi·</u>=<u>'ni</u>   e·hinohinote·wa·či].
        all.directions=emph=quot=then   redup.move.thither 3p/aor

        'As for those aforementioned ones who had tried to kill all the children,
        they then moved away in all directions, it's said.' W250DE

In (19) the topic NP is *i·niye·ka ki·h–kočawičiki wi·hča·kiha·wa·či apeno·hahi* 'those aforementioned ones who tried to kill all the children'. The enclitic =*ke·hi* 'and; but', which often accompanies shifted topics, is attached to the right of the first word of the topic. The comment which follows the topic contains a string of three enclitics, attached to *waninawe* 'all directions', the first word of the comment. Positing an S constituent which is sister to the topic

provides a simple account of enclitic placement in Meskwaki. The second position enclitics attach to the first phonological word of an S' or S. An analysis of Meskwaki clause structure which did not recognize the existence of the S constituent, on the other hand, could provide no principled explanation for the placement of enclitics in (19).

Additional examples of enclitics appearing both in the topic and in the comment are given below:

(20)　[TOP　wiˑnwaˑwa=ʻyo]
　　　　　they=of.course

　　　[S iˑni=yeˑtoke=meko　　　ahpeneˑči　　　neˑnehkeˑnemenaˑkwe]
　　　　　then=it.seems=emph　　always　　　think.about 3(p)–2p/ch.conj

　　　'As for them, of course,
　　　it seems they always think about you (pl).'　W388

(21)　[TOP　mana=keˑhi　　koˑšisemeˑha]
　　　　　this=and　　　your.grandchild

　　　[S aˑkwi=meko　　　keˑkoˑhi　　　ineˑnetamoˑnaˑnini]
　　　　　not=emph　　　anything　　　think.thus.about.O's.O2 1–2/neg

　　　'And as for your grandchild, I don't think anything about him at all'　W22E

See (13), (14), (16), and (17) for additional examples.

　　　It is also possible to have a second position enclitic attach only within the topic, or only within the comment:

(22)　[TOP　niˑna]=keˑhi,　anoˑse,
　　　　　I=but　　　　father.voc

　　　[S kotaki　　　neteneˑnemekwa　　　　manetoˑwa]
　　　　　other.[way]　think.thus.of 3–1/ind.ind　spirit

　　　'But as for me, father, the spirit has blessed me in another way.'　R84.26

(23)　[TOP　niˑkaˑnišika]　[S mani=yeˑtoke　　keˑteminaˑkwitehe:　noˑteniki]
　　　　　lead 3/part/3　　this=it.seems　　bless 0–3/past.part/0　wind
　　　'As for the leader, this, it seems, is what had blessed him: the wind.'　B85:8.26

In (22) the enclitic =keˑhi 'but; and' is attached to the topic and there is no enclitic within the comment; in (23) the topic is not a host for any enclitic but the comment contains the evidential =yeˑtoke 'it seems'.

A third piece of evidence that there is a major constituent break between the topic and the comment comes from adverbial clauses. As described in 5.7.1, clauses containing a verb inflected in the changed conjunct, the iterative, the subjunctive, the prioritive, or the aorist conjunct function as temporal adjuncts, locating the action of the main clause in time. Such clauses are adjoined to the main S. If there is an overt topic in the sentence, the adjunct clause nearly always intervenes between the topic and the main clause.[13]

(24)   o·ni   [TOP   we·tapeno·hemičiki]
   and.then   have.children 3p/part/3p

        [S [ADV ke·tawi–wa·paniki]
                almost–be.dawn 0'/ch.conj

        [S e·hpya·niči otapeno·hemwa·wahi]]
          come 3'/aor their.children.obv

        'And then as for the ones who had children,
        when it was almost dawn,
        their children arrived.' W167

In (24) the changed conjunct verb *ke·tawi–wa·paniki* 'when it was almost dawn' specifies the relative time of the action; this clause appears after the topic and before the main clause, as in the tree diagram below:

(25)
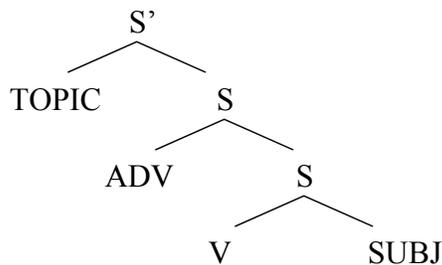
Finally, let us return to a special construction involving the third person forms of the emphatic personal pronouns, discussed in 3.7.1. These pronouns may be paired with a lexical NP for an

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[13] It is also possible for the temporal adverbial clause to precede the topic, but this is rare. An example is provided below:

(i)   [ADV   i·ya·h pye·ya·či],   [TOP   owi·wani],   "..."   e·hineči.
                there come 3/ch.conj   his.wife.obv   say.thus.to X–3/aor
        'When he (prox) arrived there, his (prox) wife (obv), "..." he (prox) was asked.' L51–54

In (i) *owi·wani* 'his wife (obv)' must be analyzed as a topic: though the wife is understood as being the speaker of the quote that follows, the quoting verb *e·hineči* is inflected only for the proximate third person addressee.

effect comparable to the emphatic reflexive in English.[14] The following example, in which a pronoun plus NP combination precedes a negative element, shows that such NPs may occupy the topic position of the syntactic template:

(26) [_{TOP} wi·nwa·wa=ča·h   ni·mičiki]
              they=so   dance 3p/part/3p

      [_{NEG} po·ni–] [_{OBL} e·šikenikehe]   [_V ___ –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

See 9.1.2. for evidence that *po·ni–* 'cease' is occupying the Negative position in the template.

      More discussion of topics may be found in 9.2, on discontinuous NPs; 9.1.3. describes a construction in which a preverb appears in Topic position.

8.3. Negative

We will now turn to a description of the Negative position, which immediately follows the topic position in the syntactic template of (1) and which is the leftmost daughter of S. Each of the three independent negative words—*a·kwi, awita, ka·ta*—occupies the Negative position in the template:

(27) [_{TOP} i·noki]=wi·na [_{NEG} a·kwi] [_{FOC} ke·ko·hi]   kehke·netakini
              today=contrast   not   anything   know 3–0/neg

      mana mehtose·neniwa
      this   person

'But today the people don't know anything.' B85:18.9–10

(28) [_{NEG} ka·ta] [_{FOC} ke·ko·hi   me·škwa·ki] ki·wiweto·hkani
              not   anything   be.red 0/part/0 carry.around 2–0/proh
      'Don't go around carrying anything red' B85:26.11-12

(29) [_{NEG} awita]=ke·h [_{FOC} owiye·ha] [_{OBL} ke·ko·hi]   iši–mya·ne·netasa
              not=and   anyone   any.way   thus–think.bad 3–0/pot
   'And no one would consider it bad in any way.' O122G

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[14] As pointed out in Dahlstrom 1988, this use of the emphatic personal pronouns must be distinguished from the contrastive enclitic =*wi·na*, which is homophonous with the third person singular pronoun. In the construction in which a pronoun is paired with an NP, the pronoun agrees with the NP in number and is an independent phonological word. The contrastive particle, on the other hand, always has the shape =*wi·na* and is always enclitic. See (16) for an example of the contrastive enclitic.

As will be seen in 9.1, the negative preverb *pwa·wi–* optionally moves to the Negative position as well.

The above examples confirm the linear position of negative elements relative to the other items in the syntactic template. The negative word appears to the right of an overt topic, if any (cf. (27)), and to the left of all other constituents. In particular, if there is a focused element (as there is in each of (27)–(29)) the negative word immediately precedes the focus.

(27)–(29) establish the linear order of Topic, Negative, and Focus; a further question to be asked concerns the hierarchical structure of negated sentences. The template in (1) represents the Negative position as part of a flat structure, as in the lefthand schema below, and not part of a branching structure, as shown on the right.

(30)

  (a)   S   (b)   S

             NEG … V …   NEG   S

                                                                  … V …
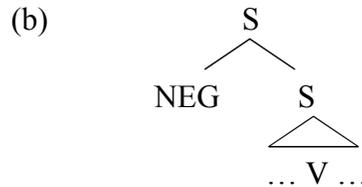
In other words, if the Negative position were part of a branching structure as shown in (30b), with the remainder of the sentence forming an S constituent which is the sister of Neg, then we would expect to find the same type of evidence described in the Topic section above: co-ordination, clitic placement, and adverb placement ought to reflect the hierarchical structure shown in (30b). However, such evidence is not found. For example, it is impossible to have a single negative word negate two conjoined clauses:

(31)   * a·kwi [[ni·mičini]   na·hkači [nakamočini]]
          not   dance 3/neg also   sing 3/neg
       ('He didn't dance and sing')

In the ungrammatical sentence (31) a single token of *a·kwi* 'not' is applied to two conjoined clauses. The verbs of both clauses are inflected in the negative paradigm. If the negative position were a sister of S, as the topic position is, then it should be possible to have a single negative element negate two Ss. However, such sentences are ungrammatical in Meskwaki; instead the negative *a·kwi* must appear in both clauses:

(32)   [[a·kwi ni·mičini]   na·hkači [a·kwi nakamočini]]
          not   dance 3/neg also   not   sing 3/neg
       'He didn't dance and he also didn't sing'

As a consequence, the negative position must be analyzed as a daughter of S in a flat structure.

As the first word in S, Neg may be the host for enclitics (underlined in the following examples):

(33) [NEG   a·kwi]=ke·hi=ʻpi   [OBL   nekotahi]   nahiha·ničini
          not=and=quot   anywhere   habitually.go 3ʼ/neg
      'And, it's said, she wasn't in the habit of going anywhere.' W119B

(34) [NEG   awita]=ke·h=wi·na   [FOC   ki·na] menwe·netakapa
          not=and=contrast   you   like 2–0/pot

      i·ni   to·to·hke   owiye·ha
      that   do.thus.to 3–2/subjnct someone

      'And *you* wouldn't like it if someone did that to you.' W129H

However, the word following the negative particle (the oblique in (33) and the focused pronoun in (34)) is not a possible host for a second position enclitic. This argues for the flat structure shown in (30a) and against the hierarchical structure of (30b). Likewise, adverbial clauses may precede a negative element but do not intervene between Neg and the remainder of S.

A negative element has scope over its sisters in S, especially over a constituent appearing in Focus position. If there is an overt topic, however, it is outside the scope of negation. Consider the following two elicited examples:

(35) [TOP   ni·na] [a·kwi   wi·hna·kwa·ya·nini]
              me   not   fut.leave 1/negative
      'As for me, I'm not leaving'

(36) [a·kwi [FOC   ni·na] wi·hna·kwa·ya·nini]
          not   me   fut.leave 1/negative
      'It's not me who is leaving'

In (35) there is no presupposition that anyone is leaving, while in (36) it is indeed presupposed that someone is leaving, and it is asserted that the speaker is not the one who is leaving.
See 9.1.2. for a construction in which a preverb appears in the Negative position of the template.

8.4. Focus

Another function associated with NPs to the left of the verb is focus, which differs from topic not only in discourse function but also in its structural properties. As can be seen in the syntactic template in (1), focused elements appear to the right of the negative position, as a daughter of S. The material to the right of Focus does not form a constituent, unlike the comment following a topic. Consequently we do not find adverbial clauses appearing to the right of focus, nor do we find second position enclitics attaching to the first word following the focus, as we saw with topics. Moreover, since the remainder of the S following Focus does not form a constituent, it cannot be conjoined with another S which is complete except for an element in Focus. This is illustrated below with a question word in Focus:

(37) *ke·swi=ča·hi [i·nahi awiwaki]   o·ni [ni·miwaki]?
       how.many=so   there   be.[there] 3p/ind.ind and   dance 3p/ind.ind
       ('How many people were there and danced?')

Instead, the question word in Focus must be repeated in the second conjunct:

(38)   [ke·swi=ča·hi i·nahi awiwaki]   o·ni
        how.many=so there   be.[there] 3p/ind.ind   and

        [ke·swi=ča·hi   ni·miwaki]?
        how.many=so dance 3p/ind.ind

        'How many people were there and how many danced?'

Again, as we saw with the Negative position, the constituent structure position of Focus is quite different from that of Topic. The ungrammaticality of (37) is consistent with the structure sketched in (1), in which Focus, Oblique, and V are all daughters of S.

    The discourse function of focus is also quite different from that of topic. Focus is typically new information asserted against the background of a presupposed proposition (cf. Lambrecht 1994:213). This function can be seen clearly with the emphatic personal pronouns in the following example.

(39) a·kwi=na·hkači [FOC ni·na   nešihka]   ota·hi·nemiya·nini,
      not=also   I   alone   possess.O2 1/neg

       [FOC   ki·na   e·ye·ki] ketepe·neta.
              you   also   own 2–0/ind.ind

       'I do not possess them alone, you also own them.' W244NO

The presupposed proposition in (39) is 'x possesses them'. The focused elements assert the new information: the first clause asserts that the value of x is not ni·na 'I' alone, and the second clause asserts further that x includes ki·na 'you'. The emphatic pronouns appear in the Focus position of the template in (1): in other words, to the left of the verb and to the right of the Negative position.

    More examples of emphatic personal pronouns appearing in the Focus position are given below:

(40) šewe·na [FOC ni·na] nemehči–=meko   –wi·tama·kwa,
      but   I   plainly–=emph   –tell 3–1/ind.ind.

      a·kwi [FOC   ki·nwa·wa]
      not   you.pl

      'But he has instructed me plainly, not you.' R136.6

(41)   [FOC   wi·nwa·wa]=ke·h=e·yi·ki   na·katawe·nemeko·ki   maneto·wani
               they=and=also   watch.over 3'-3p/ind.ind   spirit.obv
      'And the spirit watches over them, too.' R224.41

The emphatic personal pronouns, when used as Focus, may be optionally cliticized to a preceding host (Dahlstrom 1988). The following two examples show this; each contains the pronoun *ni·na* 'I' as the final element in a clitic string attached to *a·kwi* 'not':

(42)   a·kwi=ča·h=meko=ne·h=ni·na   kehke·nemakini
      not=so=emph=also=I   know 1–3/neg
      '*I* don't know him either.' W100R

(43)   a·kwi=ke·h=ni·na   [OBL 'a·kwi']   inena·nini.
      not=but=I   no   say.thus.to 1–2/neg
      'But *I* didn't say "No" to you' W42J

Notice that the relative order of elements in the syntactic template is preserved in (42) and (43): the focused element follows the negative word in each sentence, and precedes the oblique in (43).

The examples above of contrastive and expansive focus are perhaps the clearest cases of the focus function. Other types of focus constructions will be illustrated below. For example, in question-word questions, all but the question word is presupposed; likewise, in answers to such questions, all but the answer to the question word is presupposed. In Meskwaki, the question word, and the answer to the question word, appear in Focus position.[15]

(44)   [FOC we·ne·h]=ča·h ne·sa·ta   neto·kima·mena·nan?
            who=so   kill 3–3'/part/3   our.chief.obv
      'Who killed our chief?' J26.13

(45)   [FOC   mana=ča·h   ni·hka·na]   ne·sa·ta
            this=so   my.friend   kill 3–3'/part/3
      'My friend is the one who killed him' J26.17

The question word 'who?' is nearly always expressed in the proximate form, as in (44), but the following example shows that it is also possible to use an obviative form of 'who?':

(46)   [FOC we·ne·hani]='yo   we·wi·hka·ničini   no·sa?
            who.obv   have.O2.as.friend 3/part/3'   my.father
      'Who [obv] did my father have as a friend?' W914

Since the question word is in Focus position, it can be preceded by an overt topic:

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[15] As explained in 5.4, there are two syntactic constructions for question-word questions: one involving a question word followed by a regular main clause verb, the other involving a question word equated to a participle. In each construction we may take the question word to be in Focus position. In the equational construction, however, no verb intervenes between the focused question word and the second, presupposed half of the equation.

(47)   ki·na=we·na   we·kone·hi   wi·hiši–te·piha·wate·ni?
       you=rather   what   fut.thus–please 2–3/interr.part/obl
       'As for you, in what way will you make him happy?' R154.18

It is not possible, however, for a question word to be preceded by something in the Negative position; recall from 5.4. that question word questions are negated by adding the preverb *pwa·wi–* 'not' to the verb in the question.

Dik et al. 1981 observes that the function of focus is often used to restrict information. This holds true in Meskwaki, where restrictive particles such as *še·ški* 'only' or *mo·hči* 'even' often occur with elements in focus:

(48)   [FOC   še·ški=meko   kehkeše·wi]   [OBL   i·nahi] ahte·wi
              only=emph   charcoal   there   be.[there] 0/ind.ind
       'Only charcoal was there' W62F

(49)   [FOC   mo·hči no·sa]   ne·tamwa   mi·ša·mi
              even   my.father   see 3–0/ind.ind.   sacred.pack

       we·nekwi·kani·mikateniki
       have.wings 0'/part/0

       'Even my father saw the sacred pack which had wings' N24P

(50)   a·kwi [FOC   mo·hči nekoti] nesakečini
       not   even   one   kill 1p–3/neg
       'We didn't kill even one' N24B

(51)   a·kwi [FOC   še·ški wi·htanenekoya·ni]   wi·to·hkawičini
       not   just   fut.play 1/aor   allow 3–1/neg
       'She did not allow me to just loaf.' A17D

Notice that the relative ordering of preverbal elements in (48), (50), and (51) fits the template of (1): Focus is to the left of Oblique in (48) and to the right of Negative in (50) and (51).[16]

Indefinite pronouns and quantifiers also typically appear in Focus position in Meskwaki, especially if they are in the scope of negation.[17]

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[16] (51) is a counterexample to a conjecture made in Dahlstrom 1993, where I suggested that there was a constraint barring a Comp clause from appearing in Focus position. (51) shows that this is not true; hence arguments of all types may be focused in Meskwaki.

[17] Payne 1987:798 makes a similar observation for Papago word order, stating that question words and indefinite pronouns both occur in preverbal position. Lambrecht 1986:170 observes that indefinite pronouns and question words often pattern together (citing Ancient Greek, colloquial German, Latin, Japanese, and Hungarian); he attributes this to the pragmatic function of focus.

(52) a·kwi='yo=ke·h=meko='pi   [FOC ke·ko·hi]   mi·čiwa·čini
      not=of.course=and=emph=quot   anything   eat 3p–0/neg
      'And, of course, they didn't eat anything at all, it's said' W252K

(53) ka·ta=ke·h=na·hkači [FOC owiye·ha]   a·čimohiye·kani
      not=and=also   anyone   tell 2–3/prohib
      'Don't tell anyone else' W37G

Again, the focused NPs appear to the right of the negative, as predicted by the template of (1).

　　　In Meskwaki, however, it is not obligatory for indefinite pronouns to appear in the Focus position, as the following example shows:[18]

(54) ka·ta=ča·h=na·hkači a·čimohiye·kani   owiye·ha
      not=so=also   tell 2–3/prohibitive   anyone
      'So don't tell anyone else' W37I

Although (53) and (54) are taken from the same passage of text, the indefinite pronoun *owiye·ha* 'anyone' is in Focus position in (53) but in postverbal position in (54). As will be seen in 8.6, the unmarked position for objects is to the right of the verb.

　　　Surprising information may also appear in the Focus position, as in the next example:

(55) ke·htena=meko [FOC ašewa·pikone·hi]   e·hno·ša·taki
      surely=emph   little.squash   give.birth.to 3–0/aor
      'Surely she gave birth to a little squash' W923

(55) is taken from the long text describing the life of the trickster/culture hero Wisahkeha. In this passage, Wisahkeha's wife goes into labor, but she gives birth to a little squash rather than the expected baby. The contrast here which motivates focusing the NP *ašewa·pikone·hi* 'little squash' is that between the conventional presupposition that a pregnant woman will give birth to a human baby, and the information that it was in fact a little squash that she gave birth to.

　　　A final type of function associated with the Focus position is that of introducing important characters into a story. For example, the focused NPs in the sentence below is the first mention of the culture hero's father:

(56) o·ni [FOC nekoti oškinawe·ha] [OBL mami·nateno·ha] e·hišisoči
          and.then   one   young.man   M.   be.named.thus 3/aor
      'And then a certain young man was named Maminatenoha' W2B

In (56) the verb stem *išiso-* 'be named thus' requires an oblique argument expressing the name. The NP *nekoti oškinawe·ha* 'one young man' appears to the left of the oblique, in Focus position.

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[18] For Ojibwa, Tomlin and Rhodes 1979:309 report that indefinite pronouns must occur preverbally.

The first mention of an important character may be with a proximate NP, as in (56), or with an obviative NP, as in the next example:

(57) o·ni=ʻpi   [_FOC kehči–maneto·wani]   e·hpye·nota·koči
     and.then=quot   great–spirit.obv   come.to 3’–3/aor
     ‘And then, it’s said, the Great Spirit came to him.’ W73B

The focused NP in (57) is *kehči–maneto·wani* ‘the Great Spirit (obv)’. This NP is definite, not indefinite, since it is uniquely identifiable. The sentence in (57), however, is the first mention of the Great Spirit in the long Wisahkeha text.

Several of the functions associated with the Focus position often involve indefinite NPs: e.g. the first mention of important characters, as in (56); surprising information, as in (55); and indefinite pronouns as in (53). However, it is not the case that all indefinite NPs appear in Focus position. For example, minor characters in a story are first introduced with a NP to the right of the verb, in the unmarked position for ordinary subjects or objects:

(58) ki·hki·hki=meko   i·tepi e·ha·či   nekoti neniwa
     nevertheless=emph   there go.thither 3/aor   one   man
     ‘Nevertheless, one man went over there’ W16E

In (58) the subject *nekoti neniwa* ‘one man’ is mentioned for the first time. He is not identified by name and plays only a small role in the action of the story, having a brief conversation with the culture hero’s grandmother. In the remainder of the 1110 page text this character is not mentioned again.

Another context in which indefinite NPs appear to the right of the verb is in existential constructions. Verb stems formed from numbers or quantifiers are used to assert the existence of a certain number of entities. For example, the stem of the verb in the following clause is *ma·ne·*- ‘be many’ AI:

(59) e·hma·ne·niči=ʻyo=ke·hi   keti·wahi
     be.many 3’/aor=of.course=and   eagles.obv
     ‘And there were many eagles’ W1F

The subject of ‘be many’ is *keti·wahi* ‘eagles (obv)’, an indefinite NP. It appears to the right of the verb, in the usual position for subjects. In other words, the feature of definiteness is not sufficient to predict word order in Meskwaki: (58) and (59) show that indefinite NPs may appear to the right of the verb, while examples such as (39), with personal pronouns in Focus position, or (49), with *no·sa* ‘my father’ focused, show that definite NPs may occur to the left of the verb.

The examples so far have shown at most a single element appearing in the Focus position of the syntactic template. However, in some cases it appears that more than one element in a sentence may be in focus. Consider the following example, in which both an indefinite pronoun and an emphatic personal pronoun appear between the negative and the verb:

(60) a·kwi=meko ke·ko·hi   ni·na   kehke·netama·nini
      not=emph   anything   I   know 1-0/neg
      'I don't know anything.' W245J

The next example also has two candidates for the focus function, the question word *kaši* 'how?'
and the emphatic pronoun *ki·na* 'you', here cliticized to the question word:

(61) kaši=ča·h=ki·na   išawiwane·ni?
      how=so=you   fare.thus 2/interr
      'What has happened to *you*?' W128O

It was noted above that important characters are often introduced by an NP in the focus position.
The next example is perhaps another case of two elements bearing the function of focus: it is the
first line of a story, and both important characters of the story are mentioned in preverbal position.

(62) našawaye [nekoti neniwa]   [okwisani]   e·hma·mahkate·wi·na·či.
      long.ago one   man   his.son.obv   redup.make.O.fast 3–3'/aor
      'Long ago a certain man was making his son fast.' L1

In contrast, there may be at most one overt topic per clause.

    Finally, we turn to another difference between topic and focus. As explained in 8.2, it is
possible to have an overt topic which does not correspond to any coreferential element in the
comment, as in (15), repeated below:

(63) [TOP   ni·na]=ke·hi [S a·kwi ke·ko·hi   ašenokini]
             I=and   not   anything   disappear 0/neg
      'As for me, nothing is missing' R146.10

Focused elements, on the other hand, always correspond to a coreferential gap or pronoun in the
remainder of the sentence; there can be no focused counterpart to the topic construction of (63).
This is due to the pragmatic function of focus, which asserts the identity of an argument or adjunct
within a presupposed proposition. If there is no coreference between the focus and some element of
the presupposed proposition, the utterance would be incoherent.

    An element in focus, however, may be coreferential to some element in a subordinate clause
within the remainder of the sentence. In other words, the dependency between focus and the
coreferential pronoun or gap is a long distance one, not a local dependency. For example, the focus
may correspond to an oblique argument of a subordinate clause:

(64) a·kwi [FOC   i·tepi]$_i$ wi·to·hkawa·čini [$\emptyset_i$ wi·ha·niči]
      not   there   allow 3–3'/neg   fut.go.thither 3'/aor
      owi·wani   i·na neniwa
      his.wife.obv that man

      'It's not there$_i$ that that man allows his wife to go $\emptyset_i$'

In (64) the locative pronoun *i·tepi* is in Focus position, but understood to be the oblique argument of the complement clause. The null symbol indicates that there is simply a gap corresponding to the focused element; there is no pronoun or pronominal inflection expressing the oblique argument in the lower clause.

Another example in which the focus corresponds to the oblique argument of a lower clause is the question below:

(65) kaši$_i$=ča·hi   keta·čimo   [$\varnothing_i$ e·hišisoči]?
      how=so   report 2/ind.ind   be.thus.named 3/aor
      'What did you say his name was?'

It is also possible to have a long-distance dependency in a question where the focus corresponds to the object of the lower clause:

(66) [$_{FOC}$ we·ne·ha]=ča·hi   ne·na·toše·yana
              who=so   ask 2/part/3

      [owiye·hani   e·ši–ne·wokokwe·ni]?
        anyone.obv   thus–see 3'–3/interr.part/obl

      'Who$_i$ did you ask whether anyone saw $\varnothing_i$?'

In (66) the object of the embedded clause is expressed by pronominal inflection on the lower verb. Note that the English counterpart to (66) violates the wh-island constraint; in contrast, the Meskwaki example is completely grammatical.

The Focus position will be discussed further in 9.2, in regard to discontinuous NPs.

8.5. Oblique

Section 7.3. described the various semantic classes of oblique arguments of the verb: goal, manner, source, stationary location, etc. Obliques of all semantic types nearly always appear immediately to the left of the verb. The previous sections of this chapter contain numerous examples of oblique arguments in preverbal position: cf. (19), (21), (22), (26), (29), (33), (34), (43), (48), (56), and (58). A few more examples of obliques in preverbal position are provided below.

(67) [$_{OBL}$ i·nahi] netapihapi
              there   redup.sit.[there] 1/ind.ind
      'I was sitting there.' N15O

(68) [$_{OBL}$ manahka   si·po·ki]   neta·piha
              yonder   river.loc   go.thither.and.return 1/ind.ind
      'I have been to yonder river.' B85:42.12

(69) [_{OBL} ahpemeki]   e·hina·piwa·či
              up   look.thither 3p/aor
      'They looked up' W194P

(70) [_{OBL} wa·wi·tawiškwa·te]   e·hoči–nowi·wa·či   neswi neniwaki
              doors.on.both.ends   from–go.out 3p/aor   three   men
      'Three men went out from the doors on both ends' W163K

(71) [_{OBL} "me·kwe·he   ni·hča·kiheko·pena,"]   išite·he·ke,
              probably   fut.kill.all.of.O X–1p/ind.ind think.thus X/subjnct
      'If one thinks, "Probably we will all be killed,"-' O51A

(72) [_{OBL} a·wasi·me·hi] e·hahpi·hčikiči   kwi·yese·ha,
              more.dim   be.so.old 3/aor   boy

      [_{FOC} iškwe·se·ha] [_{OBL} atena·wi]
              girl   less

      'The boy was a little older, the girl younger.' O58B

Notice that the examples in (67)–(72) exhibit a range of semantic types of obliques. (67) contains an oblique of stationary location, (68) and (69) each has a goal oblique, (70) contains a source oblique, while (71) contains a manner oblique (all direct quotations are manner oblique arguments of the verb of saying or thinking). The obliques in (72), associated with the initial *ahpi·ht-*, express extent; in the second line of (72) the verb has been deleted and the subject placed in focus position, contrasting with the subject of the previous line. Despite the difference in semantic roles, however, all the obliques in (67)–(72) appear immediately to the left of the verb.

The placement of oblique arguments before the verb occurs both with verb stems containing a relative root morpheme (7.3.) and with verb stems inherently specified for an oblique argument of a particular type. For example, the stems *api-* 'sit [there]' AI and *a·piha·-* 'go thither and return' AI, in (67) and (68), respectively, do not contain any relative root morphemes. Rather, the lexical entries for these stems must specify that they are subcategorized for an oblique of a particular type. In (69), on the other hand, the stem *ina·pi-* 'look thither' AI contains the initial *in-* 'thus; thither'. This initial also appears in the verb stem of (71), *išite·he·-* 'think thus' AI. The verb of (70) contains the relative root preverb *oči–*, 'from'; the verb of (72) contains the relative root initial *ahpi·ht-* 'to such an extent'. The differences in verb stem morphology do not affect the syntactic treatment of the oblique arguments.

A final point to notice about the examples in (67)–(72) is that the requirement for an oblique may be satisfied by various types of syntactic elements. For example, an oblique may consist of a single lexical item, as in (67), (69), (70), and (72), or it may be a phrasal constituent, as in (68) and (71). An oblique may be an NP headed by a noun bearing locative case, as in (68), or it may consist only of a demonstrative pronoun, as (67). Adverbial particles of various types are commonly found as obliques, as in (69), (70), and (72). An oblique may also be a quoted utterance or thought, as in

(71), or a subordinate clause (cf. 5.6. for examples). Again, the syntactic realization of the oblique argument does not affect its placement immediately before the verb.

Two other possibilities for the syntactic realization of oblique arguments will be mentioned here. First, as will be shown in 9.2, NPs containing demonstrative pronouns plus other material may appear in a discontinuous construction, where the demonstrative pronoun appears to the left of the verb and the remainder of the NP to the right of the verb. For example, contrast the syntactically unified phrasal oblique of (68) above with the following discontinuous obliques, in which the two halves of the oblique have been underlined:

(73) <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 yonder in the east' L28

(74) <u>ayo·hi</u>   e·hte·niki   <u>mi·ša·meki</u>
      this.loc   be.[there] 0/part/0   sacred.pack.loc
      'that which was in this sacred pack' O42D

In (73) the demonstrative *manahka* 'yonder' precedes the verb while the participle *we·ta·paniki* 'east' follows.[19] In (74) the locative form of 'this' precedes the verb of the relative clause and the locative case-marked noun follows. As with the syntactically unified oblique arguments seen in (67)–(72), this discontinuous pattern is found both with verbs containing a relative root, as in (73), and with verbs inherently specified for an oblique argument, such as *ahte·-* 'be [there]' II in (74).

Less frequently encountered are syntactically unified oblique arguments appearing to the right of the verb. The discourse conditions which favor this ordering of elements are not yet understood; below I will simply list a few examples.

(75) ki·hwi·čihiwe   [OBL ko·seki]
      fut.live.[there].with.people 2/ind.ind   your.father.loc
      'You should stay at your uncle's place.' K234D[20]

(76) na·hka mo·hkoma·na e·hpya·či   [OBL ayo·hi meneseki]
      also   white.person come 3/aor   this.loc island.loc
      'And the white man came to this island.' B85:14.6

(77) mo·hči=mekoho   ine·nemena·kwe   [OBL wi·hnesa·či
      even=emph   think.thus.of 3–2p/subjnct   fut.kill 3–3'/aor
      ki·hka·nwa·wahi],
      your.pl.friends.obv

      'Even if he intends to kill your friends,' O94H

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[19] See 7.3. for the formation of the participle *we·ta·paniki* 'east; the direction in which it is dawn' (here obviative, because of the proximate *mahkwa* 'bear').

[20] The dependent noun stem *-o·s-* 'father' is also applied to one's father's brothers. In the context of the above example it is clear that the addressee's uncle is referred to; the addressee's father is dead.

As can be seen in the examples above, an oblique argument may appear after the verb if it consists of a single lexical item, as in (75), or a phrasal NP, as in (76), or a subordinate clause, as in (77). Moreover, this ordering may be found with verbs containing a relative root, such as *ine·nem-* 'think thus of' TA in (77), or with verbs inherently specified for an oblique argument, such as *pya·-* 'come' AI in (76). It should be emphasized again, however, that postverbal obliques such as (75)–(77) are extremely infrequent.

8.6. Arguments after the verb

So far we have seen evidence for four separate positions to the left of the verb—Topic, Negative, Focus, and Oblique—and we have also seen that syntactic, semantic, and discourse-pragmatic considerations all play a role in determining the order of constituents to the left of the verb. The appearance of an element in the Negative position, for example, is due to the semantics of the independent negative particles; a constituent in the Oblique position is there by virtue of the syntactic relation it bears to the verb of the clause; constituents in the Topic or Focus positions are marked as bearing particular discourse-pragmatic relations to the utterance.

Less is known about the syntax of elements to the right of the verb, however. It is clear that the unmarked position of subjects, first objects, second objects, and Comp clauses is to the right of the verb. That is, such elements will appear to the left of the verb only if they bear the discourse function of topic or focus; nontopicalized, nonfocused elements appear after the verb. What is not yet understood, though, is what factors govern the relative ordering of more than one postverbal argument. In the template of (1) I have therefore used the symbol XP* to indicate that any number of constituents may appear after the verb, and that they may be associated with subject, object, second object, or Comp. In this section I will, first, give examples showing that the unmarked position for each of these grammatical functions is to the right of the verb; second, illustrate the variety of word orders possible when more than one argument occurs to the right of the verb; and third, argue against applying Jelinek's (1984) proposal regarding 'pronominal argument' languages to Meskwaki.

We will first consider examples in which a verb is followed by a single argument. The text excerpt below illustrates that the unmarked position for subject NPs is to the right of the verb.

(78)   oˑni   eˑhmesi–=meko –natoneˑhwaˑwaˑči [SUBJ oškinaweˑhaki].
         and.then   all–=emph   –look.for 3p-3'/aor   young.men

         eˑhmehkawaˑči [SUBJ waˑkošeˑha],
         find 3–3'/aor   fox

         eˑhpyeˑči–niˑšiwaˑči [SUBJ   mahkwani].
         come–be.two 3p/aor   bear.obv

         iˑni=keˑh=meko   maˑmasaˑči eˑhneˑmoči [SUBJ   wiˑsahkeˑha].
         then=and=emph   barely   breathe 3/aor   W

         'And then the young men all looked for him [the bear].
         The fox found him,
         and he and the bear came together.[21]
         And at this time Wisahkeha was barely breathing.' W174F–I

Each line of (78) contains a postverbal subject NP, identified by the labelled bracket surrounding it. Since none of these subjects are topicalized or focused, the NPs are expressed after the verb. More examples of postverbal subjects may be found in previous sections of this chapter (e.g. (22), (24), (27), (41), (58), (70), (72) and (73)).

      The unmarked position for first objects is also to the right of the verb, as can be seen in the examples below:

(79)   oˑni   eˑhneˑtamowaˑči [OBJ kehči–siˑpoˑwi]
         and.then   see 3p–0/aor   great–river
         'And then they saw a big river' W80A

(80)   keˑkeyaˑh=meko   eˑhweˑpi–tehtoˑmaˑči   [OBJ oˑšisemeˑhani]
         finally=emph   begin–sing.lullaby.to 3–3'/aor   her.g.child.obv
         'Finally she began to sing a lullaby to her grandchild' W13B

More examples of postverbal first objects may be seen in (16), (49), and (54).

      Second objects also are found to the right of the verb if they are not topicalized or focused:

(81)   ataˑhpenamawihko   [OBJ2 nešiˑšiˑkwani]
         take.hold.of.O2.for 2–1/imp   my.rattle
         'Get my rattle for me!' W488

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[21] In the third line of (78) the verb is inflected for a third person plural subject and it is followed by an obviative singular noun. This construction is interpreted as conjunction of the NP and a pronoun: 'he (prox) and the bear (obv)'. The plural inflection on the verb agrees with the number of the conjoined subject.

(82)   ahpe·nemowa   [_{OBJ2}   osi·me·hani]
       rely.on 3/ind.ind   his.younger.brother.obv
       'He relies on his younger brother.' W712

In (81) the verb stem contains an applicative suffix, which makes the beneficiary the first object of the verb and the theme the second object (7.2.1). The second object is expressed by a postverbal NP. (82) is an example of a verb stem subcategorized for a subject and second object, but no first object. Second objects also occur in postverbal position with this type of verb.

       The same distribution is found with pronominal second objects expressed by personal pronouns from the body series (3.7.2):

(83)   mana ni·hka·na   ni·hmi·na·wa   [_{OBJ2}   ki·yawi]
       this   my.friend   fut.give 1–3/ind.ind   you
       'I will give you to this friend of mine' R184.10

(84)   ahpe·nemowaki   [_{OBJ2}   ki·ya·wa·wi]
       rely.on 3p/ind.ind   you.pl
       'They rely on you (pl).' W249

(83) is an example of a pronominal second object of a ditransitive verb; (84) contains a pronominal second object of a verb subcategorized for only a subject and second object.

       Turning now to complement clauses, we saw in 5.6. that the normal position for complement clauses bearing the Comp function is to the right of the verb. The following examples illustrate this ordering:

(85)   e·hša·kwe·nemoya·ni [_{COMP}   wi·hašihto·ya·ni]
       be.unwilling 1/aor   fut.make 1–0/aor
       'I didn't want to make it.' R300.13

(86)   e·hkohtamini či [_{COMP}   i·tepi   wi·ha·ni či]
       fear 3'–0/aor   there   fut.go.thither 3'/aor
       'He (obv) was afraid to go there.' W312Q

       In the next example (repeated from (143) in chapter 5) there are two levels of embedding: the verb of the complement clause itself takes a complement clause. Each complement clause follows its matrix verb.

(87)   e·hkehke·nemekowa·či   [_{COMP}   e·haka·wa·tamowa·či
       know 3'–3p/aor   want 3p–0/aor

       [_{COMP}   wi·hkehči–ni·miwa·či]]
               fut.greatly–dance 3p/aor

       'They (obv) knew that they (prox) wanted to dance vigorously' R218.42

Another example of a postverbal complement clause may be seen in (17); see also the examples in 5.6.

The above examples have demonstrated that the unmarked position of subjects, objects, second objects, and Comp clauses is to the right of the verb. However, the examples given so far have each contained only a single postverbal argument. We next need to consider sentences containing more than one argument to the right of the verb and ask what factors govern the relative order of the postverbal constituents. Unfortunately, this question cannot be given a complete answer yet. Sentences containing more than one postverbal argument are rare (less than 2% of the total number of sentences in the texts I have examined). As a consequence, there is not yet enough data on all the different combinations of arguments to state with confidence what syntactic or discourse conditions influence the ordering of postverbal arguments. Below I give examples illustrating the variety of orderings which are possible, and then present two generalizations which can account for a subset of the word order variation to the right of the verb.

We will first consider minimal pairs which show that a subject and a first object may appear in either order after the verb. The following sentences are taken from the long text about the culture hero Wisahkeha and his younger brother; in each sentence Wisahkeha is addressing his brother:

(88)   "..."   e·hina·či   [SUBJ   wi·sahke·ha]   [OBJ   osi·me·hani]
        say.thus.to 3–3'/aor   W   his.y.bro.obv
       'Wisahkeha said "..." to his younger brother.' W149AB

(89)   "..."   e·hina·či   [OBJ   osi·me·hani]   [SUBJ   wi·sahke·ha]
        say.thus.to 3–3'/aor   his.y.bro.obv   W
       'Wisahkeha said "..." to his younger brother.' W131H

In both (88) and (89) Wisahkeha is proximate and his brother is obviative; (88) has the subject NP preceding the object, while in (89) the object precedes the subject. (The quotation before each verb has been omitted to save space; it functions as the oblique argument of the quoting verb.)

The same word order variation is also found when the subject is obviative (the brother) and the object is proximate (Wisahkeha).[22]

(90)   "..."   e·hikoči   [SUBJ   osi·me·hani]   [OBJ   wi·sahke·ha]
        say.thus.to 3'–3/aor   his.y.bro.obv   W
       'His younger brother said "..." to Wisahkeha.' W221JK

(91)   "..."   e·hikoči   [OBJ   wi·sahke·ha]   [SUBJ   osi·me·hani]
        say.thus.to 3'–3/aor   W   his.y.bro.obv
       'His younger brother said "..." to Wisahkeha.' W85LM

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[22] Verbs inflected for obviative subject acting on proximate object are part of the set of inverse forms; see 4.5. for discussion of the morphology and 10.3. for a discussion of the syntax of inverse verbs.

Again, we see that the subject may precede the object, as in (90), or the object may precede the subject, as in (91). Moreover, the order of postverbal constituents cannot be predicted from obviation: in (88) and (91) the proximate NP precedes the obviative NP, but in (89) and (90) the obviative precedes the proximate.

Let us now expand the types of arguments we are considering to include second objects and complement clauses. If a subject and a second object of a verb are both expressed by NPs, they may occur in either order following the verb:

(92) neča·ki–=meko –mi·nekwa   [SUBJ ni·hka·na]   [OBJ2 oname·hkwa·nemi]
      all–=emph   –give 3–1/ind.ind   my.friend   his.glue
      'My friend gave me all his glue' W994

(93) e·hmi·nekowa·či   [OBJ2 na·tawino·ni] [SUBJ i·nini   neniwani]
      give 3'–3p/aor   medicine   that.obv   man.obv
      'That man (obv) gave them (prox) medicine.' R162.5

Each of the above examples contains the ditransitive verb 'give' with a subject NP and second object NP after the verb. In (92) we find the subject preceding the second object; the opposite order is seen in (93).

Object NPs and complement clauses also may appear in either order relative to each other after a verb:

(94) e·ha·čimoha·či   [OBJ   o·sani]   [COMP e·šawiči]
      tell.to 3–3'/aor   his.father.obv   fare.thus 3/part/obl
      'He told his father what had happened to him.' N8G

(95) nahi, ano·hka·na·ta·we   [COMP wi·hni·mihenakwe]
      well   give.O.job.of 21–3/imp   fut.cause.to.dance 3–21/aor

      [OBJ kesese·hena·na]
      our.elder.brother

      'Well, let's get our elder brother to give us a dance!' W983

In (94) the object of the matrix verb precedes the complement clause; in (95) the complement clause precedes the object NP.

Subject NPs may also appear either before or after a complement clause. The first example below illustrates a subject NP preceding a complement clause; the second (repeated from 7.2.4) has the subject following the complement clause.

(96) neneškimekwa   [SUBJ nekya]   [COMP wi·hpešekwa·hiya·ni]
      forbid 3–1/ind.ind   my.mother   fut.be.divorced 1/aor
      'My mother forbade me to be divorced.' A125F

(97) niˑhkehkeˑnemekwa [COMP eˑhkatawi–nepoˑhiwaki] [SUBJ niˑhkaˑna]
      fut.know 3–1/ind.ind   almost–die.'on'.O 1–3/aor   my.friend
      'My friend should know that I am about to die on him' R50.20

In the next example the complement clause is followed by both an object NP and a subject NP:

(98) aˑkwi wiˑtoˑhkawaˑčini [COMP iˑtepi wiˑhaˑniči]
      not   allow 3–3'/neg   there   fut.go.thither 3'/aor
      [OBJ owiˑwani] [SUBJ iˑna neniwa]
            his.wife.obv   that man
      'That man doesn't allow his wife to go there.' R310.39

In contrast to the word order variation seen with the above pairings of arguments, when we examine the relative order of first objects and second objects almost no variation is found. If both objects are expressed by postverbal NPs the first object almost always precedes the second object:

(99) nemiˑnaˑwaki [OBJ nešiseˑhaki] [OBJ2 meˑšomakini]
      give 1–3p/ind.ind   my.uncles   shoot 1–3'/part/3'
      'I gave my uncles the [game] which I shot' J252.22

(100) nehtamawi [OBJ koˑhkomeseˑhenaˑna] [OBJ2 maˑhani   kiˑhčeˑwani]
      kill.O2.for 2–3/imp   our.grandmother   this.obv   turkey.obv
      'Kill this turkey for our grandmother' W189M

(101) awatawi [OBJ keniˑčaˑnesaki] [OBJ2 wiˑhmiˑčiwaˑčini]
      take.O2.for 2–3(p)/imp your.children   fut.eat 3p–0/part/0p
      'Take some food [lit., [things] which they will eat] for your children' J246.24

Many more examples of first object preceding second object could be added here. Only one example, however, has been found of the opposite order, where second object precedes first object.[23]

(102) neˑnaˑhi–siˑkahamawaˑta [OBJ2 anemoˑhani nepoˑpi]
      get.ready–serve.O2.to 3–3'/part/3   dog.obv   soup

      [OBJ wiˑhkomaˑčihi]
            invite 3–3'/part/3'p

      'The one who starts to serve dog soup to the ones he invites.' B95:20.31

We will now consider another factor that may influence the relative ordering of postverbal constituents. In some cases the rightmost position in the sentence seems to be associated with a special discourse function: the final NP often repeats the topic of the passage, bracketing or closing

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[23] It will be shown in 9.2, however, that if a second object is expressed by a discontinuous NP, the righthand portion of the second object may precede a first object.

off a paragraph-sized piece of text about a certain topic. I will use the term 'antitopic' for such NPs, a term introduced by Chafe 1976:53, discussing Seneca and used by Lambrecht 1981:2 for right dislocation in French.[24] Consider, for example, the following two sentences, which open and close a brief episode within the long Wisahkeha text:

(103) [TOP wi·na   keše·–maneto·wa]
              he   Great–Spirit

       "..."   e·hina·či   okwisani
               say.thus.to 3–3'/aor   his.son.obv

       'And the Great Spirit himself, "..." he said to his son.' W74B

(104) "..."   e·hina·či   okwisani   keše·–maneto·wa
               say.thus.to 3–3'/aor   his.son.obv   Great–Spirit
       ' "…" the Great Spirit said to his son.' W74L

(103) announces the Great Spirit as topic of what follows; the NP *keše·–maneto·wa* 'Great Spirit' does not reappear until (104), which is the end of the passage in which the Great Spirit is topic. (The topic of the following passage is Wisahkeha, announced by the NP *wi·sahke·ha* in the Topic position.) If we take the final NP of (104) to be in a special 'antitopic' position, we can say that an NP in the Topic position announces a new topic and an NP in the Antitopic position marks the end of that topic. The passage is thus bracketed by the two overt NPs marking the topic.

       Another textual example in which the final NP may be functioning as an antitopic is given below.[25]

(105) [OBL kehčikami·ki] e·htaši–komisahekoči   [SUBJ meši·name·wani]
              ocean.loc   [there]–swallow 3'–3/aor   big.fish.obv

       [OBJ keki·wa·wa]
             your.pl.mother

       'The whale swallowed your mother in the ocean.' W266P

The final NP in (105) corresponds to the topic of this passage of the text: the addressees' mother. The orphaned Wisahkeha and his younger brother have been wondering why they have no mother. They ask their grandmother, who explains that she was swallowed by a whale. The order of constituents in (105) can therefore be accounted for as follows: *kehčikami·ki* 'ocean (loc)' is to the left of the verb in the Oblique position, *meši·name·wani* 'whale (obv)' is after the verb, in the

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[24] Lambrecht 1994:202–205 is a general discussion of antitopics, with examples from English and German.
[25] (98), above, may be another case where the concept of antitopic explains why the final NP of the sentence appears where it does. In (98) the speaker has been listing a number of reasons why a certain man is a bad husband; the reason in (98) is that whenever there are dances the man doesn't let his wife go to them. Again, the topic of this passage of the text is *i·na neniwa* 'that man', the final NP in (98). The relative ordering of the complement clause and matrix object in (98) remains to be explained, however.

unmarked position for subjects, and *keki·wa·wa* 'your (pl) mother' is in the sentence-final antitopic position.

The conjecture that there is a sentence-final position associated with a discourse function is supported by the fact that the emphatic personal pronouns (3.7.1), which appear in the preverbal positions of Topic or Focus, occasionally appear in sentence-final position as well:

(106) keye·hapa=ke·hi   pwa·wi–   i·ni   –išite·he·yanehe   ki·na
       in.fact=but   not–   that   –think.thus 2/ch.unreal   you
       'But here you haven't been thinking that way!' W306A

(The verb in (106) is inflected in the changed unreal, used for expressing surprise (5.8); see 9.1.2. for the position of the negative preverb *pwa·wi–*.)

Moreover, the hypothesis that there is a sentence-final antitopic position might explain some otherwise puzzling word order examples. For example, in the following sentence the final NP is not an argument of the matrix verb, but is rather the subject of the relative clause in the oblique position.

(107) mehto·či=meko [OBL pi·tike e·howi·kiwa·či]   ketašina·ke·pena
       like=emph   inside dwell 3p/part/loc   sing.[there] 21/ind.ind

       maneto·waki
       spirits

       'It is just as if we are singing inside the lodges where the manitous live.' O136A

If the final NP in (107) is an antitopic, then it need not be coreferential to any element of the matrix clause. (The gloss of (107) would be something like 'it is just as if we are singing inside the lodges where they live, the spirits.')

To sum up so far, we have evidence that in some sentences the final NP may bear a specialized discourse function. Among the elements which may occupy this position are emphatic personal pronouns and NPs which are not arguments of the matrix verb.

At this point, we will briefly consider a proposal by Jelinek 1984 regarding the syntax of languages typologically similar to Meskwaki. According to Jelinek, languages in which verbal inflection (or clitics) for subject and object may function pronominally should be analyzed as having radically different syntax from that of familiar European languages. In her account, the verbal inflection is taken to always be pronominal, never agreement with an external subject or object. The apparent subject and object NPs in construction with the verb are not, in fact, subjects or objects, but rather adjuncts to the verb. As we have seen, the verb inflection for subject and object in Meskwaki does indeed function pronominally in the absence of NP subjects and objects. Moreover, we have seen that there is no fixed order for subjects and objects to the right of the verb, and that there is evidence for at least one position to the right of the verb having a specialized discourse function. We should therefore consider the possibility of a Jelinek-style analysis of

Meskwaki syntax: that subject and object are *always* realized by the pronominal inflection on the verb; that there are no positions in the word order template for subject and object; and that the apparent subject and object NPs are really performing some sort of discourse function.

There are, however, several objections which may be raised against this type of analysis for Meskwaki. First of all, if the apparent subject and object NPs are not arguments of the verb, the burden is on Jelinek (and others making this type of claim) to show what function such NPs are in fact playing. Such an analysis has been done here to establish separate positions for Topic, Focus, and (perhaps) Antitopic. However, these discourse functions do not account for all NPs in construction with verbs in Meskwaki; the remainder will be assumed to be ordinary syntactic arguments of the verb unless a case can be made for additional discourse-pragmatic positions in the syntax.

Second, as pointed out by Simpson 1991:153 in arguing against Jelinek's analysis of Warlpiri, the pronominal argument hypothesis runs into problems with indefinite NPs. In the absence of a cross-referenced nominal, a third person clitic in Warlpiri (or third person verb inflection in Meskwaki) is always interpreted as a definite pronoun. If the cross-referenced NP is indefinite, however, Jelinek's analysis would take the (pronominal) clitic or inflection as the argument of the verb, and the indefinite NP as an adjunct. But this results in a mismatch between the definiteness of the pronominal clitic or inflection and the indefinite NP. Consider, for example, (58), repeated below:

(108) ki·hki·hki=meko   i·tepi e·ha·či   nekoti neniwa
       nevertheless=emph   there   go.thither 3/aor   one   man
       'Nevertheless, one man went over there' W16E

If we analyze the inflection on the verb in (108) as the true subject, and the postverbal NP as an adjunct, we get a gloss which is something like, 'Nevertheless, he$_i$ went over there, one man$_i$.' The definite pronominal subject is odd in this context, since the man has not yet been introduced into the discourse. But if we analyze the verb inflection as merely agreement in cases like (108), as argued here, we avoid the problem raised by indefinite NPs.

Third, Meskwaki verbs are inflected only for subjects and first objects; the remaining types of arguments (second objects, obliques, Comp clauses) must therefore be analyzed even in Jelinek's account as being external arguments of the ordinary sort: sisters of V and (in Meskwaki) daughters of S. (Recall that we argued in 8.1. that there is no VP node in Meskwaki.) As far as I know, Jelinek has not made any proposal regarding the constituent structure of languages in which some arguments are realized as pronominal inflection and other arguments are realized as external arguments. We may assume, however, that the external arguments would be sisters of the verb in Jelinek's account of such languages (to receive a θ-role from the verb), while the optional adjunct NPs cross-referenced by the pronominal inflection for subject and object are outside the constituent containing the verb and its arguments.

Assuming such a structure for Meskwaki, however, makes the wrong predictions for the relative order of postverbal constituents. This structure would predict that an (apparent) subject or object NP appearing to the right of the verb would follow all 'real' arguments of the verb: second

objects and complement clauses. But subject and object NPs frequently occur between a verb and a second object, or between a verb and a complement clause; indeed, the ordering of V > OBJ > OBJ2 is nearly invariable for ditransitive verbs in which both objects are expressed by NPs. If the second object or the Comp clause is a sister of V and daughter of S, then any NP intervening between the V and a second object or Comp clause is also a sister of V and daughter of S, as in the following example:

(109)   wi·hawatawači   [OBJ kenekwanesena·na]   [OBJ2   nenese·ma·wani]
        fut.take.O2.for 2–3/aor   our.nephew   my.tobacco.obv
        '... so that you will take our nephew my tobacco.' R418.21–2

The same argument may be applied to the subject in (92) and (96), and the object in (94) and (99)–(101), to argue that these NPs are arguments of the verb.

8.7. Word order in subordinate clauses

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the syntactic template of (1) holds not only for main clauses but also governs the position of constituents in subordinate clauses as well. For example, (109) above shows that a verb in a subordinate clause may be followed by a first object and a second object, just as in the main clauses illustrated by (99)–(101). Likewise, (86) was given above to illustrate that Comp clauses typically follow the verb; within the subordinate clause, we find an oblique argument, *i·tepi* 'there', preceding the verb in the usual position for an oblique:

(110)   e·hkohtaminiči   [COMP [OBL i·tepi] wi·ha·niči]
        fear 3'–0/aor   there   fut.go.thither 3'/aor
        'He (obv) was afraid to go there.' W312Q

See also (98) for another example of an oblique in a subordinate clause.

Moreover, focused elements in subordinate clauses appear in the same position as a main clause focus. For example, the following examples contain a focused pronoun and a quantifier, respectively, each in the Focus position preceding the verb of the subordinate clause:

(111)   wi·hanwa·či·yani   [COMP [FOC   ki·na·na] [OBL i·ni]   wi·hišawiyakwe]
        fut.be.willing 2/aor   we.incl   that   fut.do.thus 21/aor
        'You should be willing for *us* to do that.' R326.2

(112)   e·hkaka·to·nena·ni   [COMP [FOC   ke·ko·hi]   wi·hnahihto·yani]
        urge 1–2/aor   something   fut.learn.to.make 2–0/aor
        'When I urge you to learn to make something,' R300.24

Note that in (111) the focused pronoun precedes the oblique argument *i·ni* 'that', as predicted by the template in (1).

The situation with negative elements in subordinate clauses is slightly more complex. Subordinate clauses are negated by adding the preverb *pwaꞏwi–* 'not' to the verb of the lower clause. However, this preverb may optionally be moved away from the verb, to the Negative position of the syntactic template, as will be discussed in detail in 9.1.2. We may therefore conclude that there is evidence for this position in the syntactic template for subordinate clauses, as well.

The final position of the syntactic template to consider is the Topic position. Is it possible to have an NP in topic position in a subordinate clause? The answer is yes, topics may be embedded, but only if the construction of copying to object (10.1) is employed. To see this, consider the following elicited sentences, in which a clear case of a topic structure (= (63), above) has been embedded under a matrix verb. (This construction was chosen since *niꞏna* 'I' in (63) can be analyzed only as a topic, not as a focus.)

(113)   nekehkeꞏnemekwa
        know 3–1/ind.ind

        [[TOP   niꞏna]   eꞏhpwaꞏwi–   keꞏkoꞏhi   –ašenoniki]
                 I   not–   anything   –disappear 0'/aor

        'He knows that as for me, nothing is missing.'

(*pwaꞏwi–* 'not' has been moved to the Negative position; see 9.1.2.)

An interesting feature of (113) is that the higher verb must appear in the Transitive Animate form, inflected for an object which is coreferential to the topic of the lower clause. This is the construction of copying to object, described in 10.1. Literally, the sentence reads, 'He knows me, as for me, nothing is missing'. Without such object agreement on the higher verb, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(114)   *kehkeꞏnetamwa
         know 3–0/ind.ind

        [[TOP   niꞏna]   eꞏhpwaꞏwi–   keꞏkoꞏhi   –ašenoniki]
                 I   not–   anything   –disappear 0'/aor

        ('He knows, as for me, nothing is missing.')

In 10.1. it is argued that the copying to object is used to indicate what the subordinate clause is about; in other words, the topic of the subordinate clause. It is therefore not surprising that this construction is obligatory in (113), in which an overt topic NP appears in the embedded clause.