

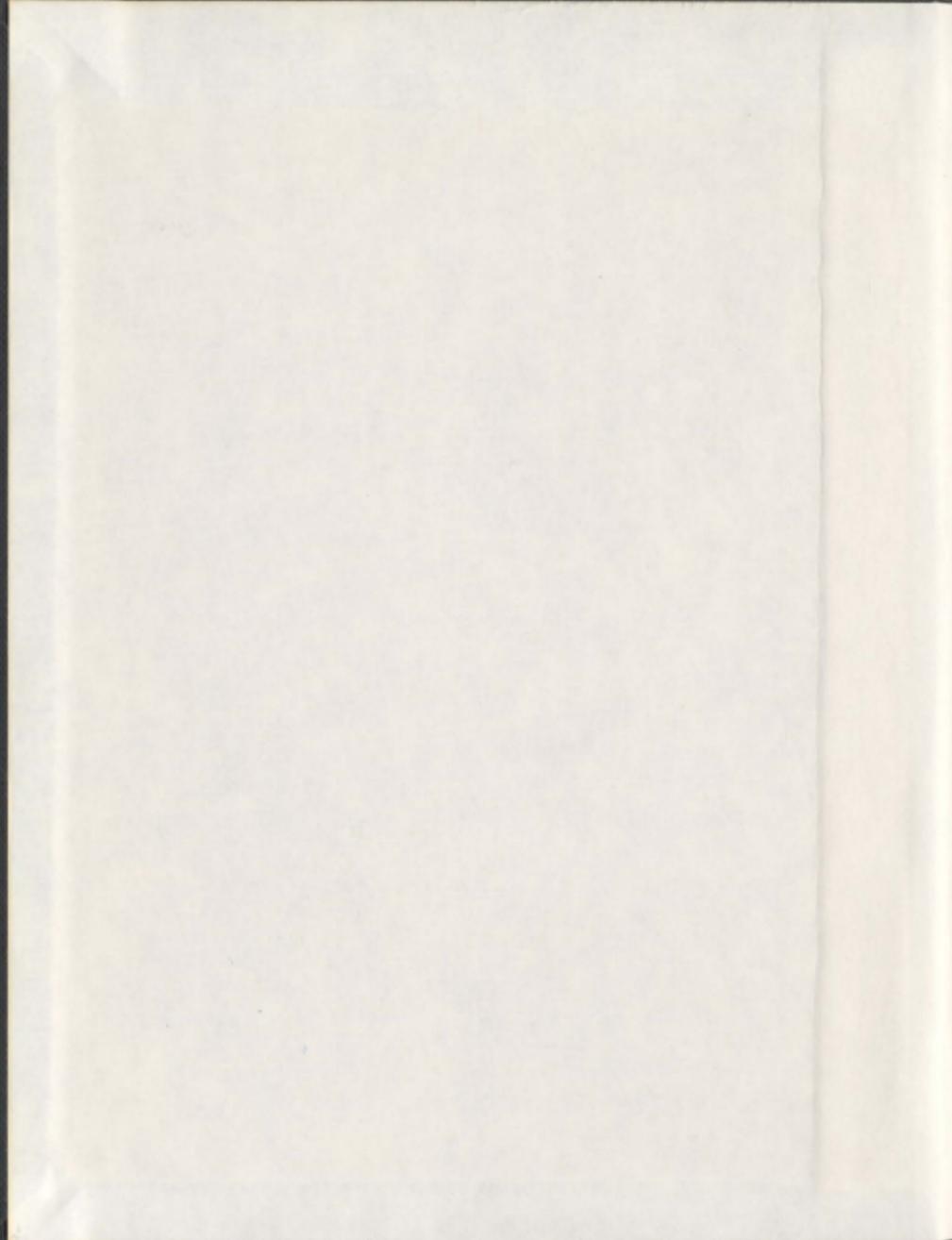
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONJUNCT VERB FORM
IN WESTERN NASKAPI AND RELATED
MORPHO-SYNTACTIC ISSUES

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

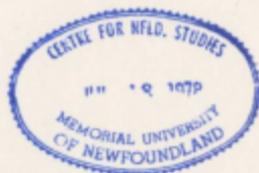
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THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONJUNCT VERB FORM IN WESTERN NASKAPI
AND RELATED MORPHO-SYNTACTIC ISSUES

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A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
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Abstract

This thesis analyzes the distribution of the Conjunct verb in Western Naskapi using a Minimalist framework. Western Naskapi is spoken in the Northern Quebec community of Kawawachikamach. It is one of a number of dialects which constitute the Central Algonquian language referred to as the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi (CMN) language complex.

The Conjunct is one of the two principal verb types attested in the CMN complex. This thesis examines the syntactic environments in which the Conjunct occurs: subordinate clauses, clauses (main and subordinate) containing a *wh*-question word, negated clauses, and main clause focus constructions.

I argue that wherever a CP projection is motivated in the phrase structure, a conjunct verb is required to raise to the head of that projection (C). The constructions that are the focus of this thesis are assumed to contain at least one CP projection, thus allowing the distribution of the Conjunct to be restated in terms of CP distribution. Two key pieces of evidence are offered to support this hypothesis: (i) conjunct verbs undergo a morpho-phonological process which takes place at C; (ii) conjunct verbs occur in contexts that are cross-linguistically associated with a CP projection. *Wh*-phrases raise overtly to the SpecCP of the clause in which they are base-generated. Thus, simple direct *wh*-questions are analyzed as uni-clausal constructions.

The thesis reassesses the status of the Algonquian Person/Gender hierarchy. The

grammatical functions and thematic roles of the arguments of transitive verbs can be uniquely identified without appealing to the hierarchy. Raising constructions in both Western Naskapi and Cree are examined. Evidence is provided to support the view that the grammar of Algonquian makes a null expletive available. For Case-theory reasons the expletive is not available to raising constructions, thus allowing the subject requirements of the raising predicate to be met by raise-NP or raise-CP.

Equivalent data from a number of other CMN dialects (Plains Cree, Moose Cree, Swampy Cree, Woods Cree, East Cree, and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun) are considered in order to show that the analysis in this thesis applies to the CMN complex in general. Dialect differences are accounted for in terms of microparametric variation.

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In the apportioning out of thanks, I reserve the weightiest pieces for my two supervisors, Phil Branigan and Marguerite MacKenzie. For reasons which are perhaps all too obvious (given the number of trees I've constructed of late), as I endeavour to phrase my gratitude to them the metaphors which come to mind are of an arboreal nature. So, thanks to Phil for being such an excellent guide through the at times dense groves of syntactic theory, for letting me linger in the grassy clearings I found interesting, and for tugging on the tether rope when I nosed too far up those overgrown paths that were going

nowhere in a hurry.

To continue the metaphor, there were times during the writing of this thesis when I felt that I could not see the forest for the trees. My thanks to Marguerite for taking me to the tops of the Western Naskapi trees, to get a view of the larger forest covering that stretches across Canada -- the big picture, the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi complex, how things work in other dialects. To the extent that this thesis is comparative, I have Marguerite to thank for ending so many discussions of data with a comment like, "Let's see how those guys over there say that."

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List of Abbreviations

[a]-comp	complementizer (phonological form = [a])
AI	animate intransitive verb
AgrO	object agreement head
AgrS	subject agreement head
An	animate
+An	<i>phi</i> feature [+Animate]
-An	<i>phi</i> feature [-Animate]
CDP	conjunct dubitative preterit
CIN	conjunct indicative neutral
C-ITR	conjunct iterative
Comp	complementizer
Dem	demonstrative
DisP	discourse particle
Dir/th	direct theme sign
excl	exclusive
FC:loc	feature contrast, local
FC:non-loc	feature contrast, non-local
Fut	future
IC	initial change (deriving a Changed Conjunct form)
IC.pfx	initial change prefix (Conjunct "dummy" preverb)
IDN	independent indicative neutral
II	inanimate intransitive verb
IIN	independent indicative neutral
IIP	independent indicative preterit
Imp	Imperative
Inan	inanimate nominal
incl	inclusive
Inu/th	inverse theme sign
Loc	locative
Neg	negative
Neg/Qu	negative question tag
Neg/Past	negative past
nonSAP	non-speech act participant (3rd, 4th or 5th person)
null-comp	Complementizer (null form)
O	object agreement
obv	obviative, nominal suffix
p ^h pret	p-preterit
pl	plural
Poss	possessive

prox	proximate
Qu	question tag
Rel	relational
S	subject agreement
S:unspec	unspecified (indefinite) subject
sg	singular
SAP	speech act participant (1st or 2nd person)
TA	transitive animate verb
TI	transitive inanimate verb
TIth	Transitive Inanimate theme sign, SAP subject
TIth(3)	Transitive Inanimate theme sign, nonSAP (3rd) subject
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person (animate)
3*	upgraded third person
4	obviative, verbal suffix
5	further obviative, verbal suffix
1>3	first subject, third object: this is used as shorthand in some glosses where details of inflection are not provided. Other combinations also appear (e.g., 3>4, 1>2).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Scope and aims

This thesis provides an account of the distribution of the Conjunct verb in Western Naskapi within a Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1993, 1995, 1998). Western Naskapi is spoken in the northern Quebec community of Kawawachikamach. It is one of a number of dialects which constitute a single Central Algonquian language -- the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language complex (hereafter referred to as the CMN complex).¹ Spoken from the Rocky mountains in the west to as far east as the Labrador coast, with approximately 60,000 speakers, the CMN complex is the most widely spoken aboriginal language in Canada (Foster 1982).

The "Conjunct" is one of five "orders" (i.e., inflectional sets) for which the Algonquian verb may be inflected (Bloomfield 1946), the four other orders being the Independent, the Imperative, the Interrogative and the Prohibitive. In the CMN complex, only the Independent, Conjunct and Imperative orders are attested. This thesis examines a subset of the varied syntactic environments in which Conjunct verbs occur and accounts for their distribution by proposing a common underlying syntactic structure; specifically, it is claimed that any clause having at least one CP projection requires a verb inflected for

¹See MacKenzie (1980) for arguments in support of treating dialects of Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi as members of a single language.

the Conjunct order. The syntax of clauses containing verbs inflected for the Independent order is also considered in this study. The syntax of verbs inflected for the Imperative order is discussed briefly.

Within the CMN complex, the distribution of the Independent verb is almost exclusively restricted to main clause contexts.² The distribution of the Conjunct is more varied. Four of the principal environments in which the Conjunct is found in CMN dialects are examined in this thesis. They are as follows:

²Independent verbs may appear in the “comment clauses” associated with discourse verbs but, as a number of researchers have shown, these are not subordinate clauses, but rather are main clauses (i.e., direct speech): see Drapeau (1984) for Betsiamites Montagnais, Cyr (1990) for Lower North Shore (LNS) Montagnais, Starks (1992) for Woods Cree and Brittain (1996a) for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (a sub-dialect of Montagnais spoken in Labrador).

Independent verbs also appear infrequently in a subordinate clause context in Western Naskapi. For example, (i) and (ii) are both acceptable:

- (i) *Chlhchhwá nit-áhkwtádyim-áw chá-nitáwlu-t.*
really 1-be_excited-about-s.o.(TA)-IIN.3>4 Fut-hunt(AI)-CIN.3.sg
'Really, I am excited that he will go hunting.'
- (ii) *Chhchwá nit-áhkwtádyim-áw wí-nitáwí-w.*
really 1-be_excited_about s.o.(TA)-IIN.3>4 want-hunt(AI)-IIN.3.sg
'Really, I am excited that he is going hunting.'

The semantic difference between (i) and (ii) remains to be determined. Use of the Independent in the subordinate clauses is highly marked within the CMN complex and the constraints determining this distribution in Western Naskapi remain to be established. No further data of this type appears in this thesis.

- (1) *Syntactic environments in which the Conjunct occurs*
- a. subordinate clauses
 - b. clauses (main or subordinate) containing a *wh*-phrase
 - c. certain (main and subordinate) negated clauses (those which have a negator which selects a CP complement)
 - d. certain non-*wh* main clauses (which are analyzed in this thesis as focus constructions)

Principally, the data examined is Western Naskapi, but data from other CMN dialects are also brought into the discussion at relevant points (i.e., Moose Cree, Swampy Cree, Plains Cree, Woods Cree, East Cree and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun). Data from two other Central Algonquian languages -- Fox and Ojibwa -- are also discussed. Unique within the CMN complex, the Conjunct obligatorily occurs in non-*wh* negated main clauses in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (Clarke 1982). This marked distribution is considered in some detail in this thesis.

In the CMN complex, a Conjunct verb is obligatory in subordinate clauses and in clauses which contain a *wh*-phrase (i.e., environments 1a-b).³ Cross-linguistically, a CP projection is associated with subordinate clauses (Bresnan 1972) and with clauses containing a *wh*-phrase (Pesetsky 1982), the precise environments requiring a Conjunct verb. This leads Brittain (1996a, 1996b, 1997) to argue for a relationship of dependency between the Conjunct verb and the head of CP (C) in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun. Expressed in terms of the Minimalist Program, the claim is that C is the checking position for the

³An exception to this generalization occurs in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun. In this dialect, past tense *wh*-questions do not require a Conjunct verb and instead bear Independent inflection (Clarke 1982, 1986a). These types of constructions are discussed in Chapter 5.

Conjunct verb; that is, wherever a CP projection is independently motivated, a Conjunct verb is required to satisfy the checking requirements of C. This thesis provides substantial evidence in support of the hypothesis that C is the checking position for the Conjunct verb in Western Naskapi, and in the CMN complex in general. Hereafter the hypothesis that C checks the Conjunct verb is referred to as the C-checks-V^{CP} (i.e., C checks Conjunct verb) hypothesis.

The relationship between negators which co-occur with a Conjunct verb (Sheshatshu Innu-aimun *ap̄i* and Western Naskapi *áka*) and negators which occur with the Independent (Western Naskapi *mi-*) is explored in terms of negator selection of CP versus IP. CP selection accounts for the Conjunct in environment (1c).

In non-*wh* main clauses, either an Independent verb or a Conjunct verb (see environment 1d) can be used. The choice appears to be made on the basis of the prominence of the information the verb contributes to the discourse (James 1986; Cyr 1991; Starks 1994); for this reason, non-*wh* main clauses which contain a Conjunct verb are analyzed as focus constructions. Comparisons have been drawn between the syntax of focus constructions and the syntax of *wh*-constructions (Chomsky 1977; Rochement 1978, 1986; Motapanyane 1998). Both types of movement involve NP-fronting to a CP level.⁴ Thus it is argued in this thesis that wherever a Conjunct verb occurs in a non-*wh* main clause context, there is fronting of one of the clausal arguments to a focus position

⁴The term "NP" is used here to refer to the null phonological nominal element *pro*.

(SpecCP). NP-fronting thus motivates a CP level in these main clause constructions so that in all four environments in (1) the distribution of the Conjunct coincides with the presence of a CP projection. Because a CP projection may occur in either a main or subordinate clause, the clause type is not a relevant factor in determining Conjunct distribution. Campana (1996), in a study of Conjunct distribution primarily in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (eastern Algonquian), but also drawing on data from LNS Montagnais, Cree, Ojibwa and Potawatomi, also associates the Conjunct verb with Comp.

The C-checks V^{CJ} hypothesis accounts for Conjunct distribution in a more satisfactory manner than the alternative analysis which holds that Conjunct verbs occur exclusively in a subordinate clause environment (see, for example, Reinholtz and Russell 1995 and Blain 1997). By treating Conjunct morphology as "subordinate" morphology, *wh*-questions and focus constructions which are on the surface uni-clausal are necessarily treated as underlyingly bi-clausal. I assume, however, that Universal Grammar (UG) favours the smallest possible clause structure. Following Grimshaw's (1997) version of Economy, I assume that projections are optional and that only projections which are needed are present. This version of Economy necessarily rules out a bi-clausal analysis of constructions which are on the surface uni-clausal; the presence of the additional projections required to accommodate the larger structure cannot be justified. The C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis permits the constructions examined in this thesis to be accommodated by the smallest possible phrase structure.

I assume that dialects of a single language differ minimally. Thus, where equivalent syntactic properties hold of equivalent constructions in, for example, Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, the underlying structure is assumed to be identical. Thus, many of the conclusions I draw on the basis of examining Western Naskapi data necessarily extend to at least all CMN complex dialects. In cases where the grammatical property under discussion is likely to be supplied by UG, the implications necessarily extend to Algonquian in general.

Where distinct syntactic properties hold of equivalent constructions in different dialects, these are accounted for in terms of “microparametric” variation, what Kayne (1996) refers to as “parameters at their finest-grained”. Following Borer (1984), I assume that grammatical variation is due to variation in the properties of functional heads. In Chapter 6, for example, I claim that certain dialect differences apparent in equivalent constructions in Western Naskapi and Cree can be attributed to differences in the feature composition of the agreement heads (*Agr*).

1.1 Outline of chapters

This first chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.2 provides a brief ethnographic background to the people who speak Western Naskapi. Section 1.3 provides a description of the type of data on which this thesis is based and explains how it was collected. In section 1.4, Western Naskapi is situated within the CMN complex. Section 1.5 provides a synopsis of the existing literature on Western and Eastern Naskapi and in section 1.6 a

phonemic inventory for Western Naskapi is provided together with a description of how the phonemes relate to the orthographic system. An overview of the basic verbal morphology which will be relevant in this thesis appears in section 1.7. Theoretical assumptions are stated in section 1.8.

Chapter 2 provides a reanalysis of the Algonquian “Gender/Person hierarchy” in terms which are compatible with a Minimalist approach.⁵ Central to this task is the reanalysis of “theme signs” as object agreement (Brittain 1998). The term “theme sign” is used in traditional Algonquian linguistic literature (see, for example, Bloomfield 1946) and refers to a class of morphemes which appear in the transitive verb complex.⁶ Assuming that the linear ordering of inflectional morphology mirrors the order in which syntactic operations occur (i.e., the Mirror Principle of Baker 1985), a basic phrase structure is posited to account for the Algonquian transitive clause. The arrangement of functional projections corresponds to the basic universal clause type proposed by Chomsky (1993). Campana (1996) and Brittain (1996a, 1996b, 1997) argue that the architecture of the Conjunct clause is more complex than that of the Independent clause; while the Conjunct clause minimally requires at least one CP projection, the highest functional projection of the Independent verb is IP.⁷ The illustrative examples used to motivate the phrase

⁵The Gender/Person hierarchy is a descriptive device which accounts for the identification of arguments in a transitive clause in Algonquian. How it functions is described in section 1.7 (Chapter 1).

⁶The term “theme sign” is explained more fully in section 1.7.

⁷The term IP is used as shorthand for AgrSP, TP and AgrOP wherever details of the internal structure of IP are not pertinent to the discussion.

structures in Chapter 2 contain verbs of the Independent order because these constructions are considered more basic than the Conjunct clauses. How Case and *phi* feature are checked within this basic structure is described. The resulting basic phrase structure is used throughout the rest of the thesis. The architecture of the Conjunct clause is considered in detail in subsequent chapters.

Extensive support for the C-checks-V^C hypothesis is provided in Chapter 3. It is argued that there are at least two complementizers in Western Naskapi -- a phonologically null complementizer (null-comp) and a default complementizer whose phonological form is [a] (referred to as “[a]-comp”). The claim is made that affixation of [a]-comp to the Conjunct verb in C is responsible for the morpho-phonological process which results in the form of the Conjunct referred to as the “Changed” form (see, for example, Bloomfield 1946); a Changed Conjunct verb form is said to have undergone “Initial Change”. Affixation of null-comp to the Conjunct verb accounts for the Unchanged form of the Conjunct.⁸ The claim that complementizers affix to the Conjunct verb supports the view that Conjunct verbs raise to C.

Chapter 4 examines the structure of *wh*-constructions in CMN dialects. I argue in favour of a uni-clausal analysis of constructions which, minimally, consist of a *wh*-phrase and a Conjunct verb. The obligatory clause-initial position of the *wh*-phrase in these constructions is accounted for by claiming that the *wh*-phrase raises to SpecCP in the

⁸Illustrative examples of Changed and Unchanged Conjunct forms are provided in section 1.7 (Chapter 1).

overt syntax. There exists a body of literature arguing in favour of a bi-clausal analysis of these same *wh*-constructions in Central Algonquian (Wolfart 1973 for Plains Cree; Johns 1982 for Rainy River Ojibwa; Reinholtz and Russell 1995 for Swampy Cree; Blain 1997 for Plains Cree). Chapter 4 provides argumentation against this alternative view. Blain's analysis of Plains Cree *wh*-constructions is of particular interest as it is the most recent and the most extensive study of the subject.

In Chapter 5, the syntactic location of the two principal negators in Western Naskapi (*nama* and *ekā*) is examined.⁹ Evidence is provided to support the view that *ekā* heads a CP projection (Neg-CP) which selects a CP (non-Neg CP) headed by a Conjunct verb. The *nama* negator heads a NegP projection which selects an IP, thus accounting for the co-occurrence of *nama* with Independent order verbs. Chapter 5 also accounts for the obligatory occurrence of the Conjunct in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun negated main clauses: the main clause negator *apū*, unique within the CMN complex, like *ekā*, selects a CP projection whose head attracts a Conjunct verb.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 provide increasingly detailed argumentation in support of the C-checks-V^{CI} hypothesis. In Chapter 6, the hypothesis is assumed to be correct and is

⁹In fact, the *ekā* negative surfaces as *ākā* in Western Naskapi (the phonemic inventory of Western Naskapi does not include /e/ -- see section 1.6 of Chapter 1 for details). Although *ākā* appears in Western Naskapi illustrative data provided in this thesis, in the text I use *ekā* to refer to this negator in all CMN dialects, irrespective of its dialect-specific surface form. This negator surfaces as *ekā* in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973), for example, and as *ikā* in Woods Cree (Starks 1992). See MacKenzie (1992) for further discussion of negative morphemes in the CMN complex.

applied without further justification to a set of equivalent constructions in Western Naskapi and Moose Cree. The data examined in this chapter are raising predicates. Significantly, distinct syntactic properties hold of these constructions in each of the dialects. It is argued that a null expletive element is made available by the grammar of Algonquian but that for Case-theory reasons it cannot be licensed in the subject position of a raising predicate. Thus, in Western Naskapi, the subject requirements of the raising predicate are met by NP-raising. In Moose Cree, either CP-raising or (subject-to-subject) NP-raising is an option. CP-raising is shown to be illicit in Western Naskapi. These dialect differences are accounted for in terms of micro-parametric variation of the *phi* feature content of the subject agreement head projected by the raising predicate. This analysis rests on the assumption that Conjunct verbs raise to C and Independent verbs raise to Infl.

A summary of the principal findings of this thesis and recommendations for future research appear in Chapter 7.

1.2 Introduction to Western Naskapi

There are approximately 600 speakers of Western Naskapi. It is distinct from Eastern Naskapi, which is spoken in Davis Inlet, Labrador, by approximately the same number of people. In both communities, English is the second language, although it is principally the younger generation (i.e., people under the age of approximately 40) who are functionally bi-lingual. In section 1.2.1, the source of linguistic variability within the Western Naskapi

speech community, and the implications of this variability for the research methodology adopted for this thesis, are discussed. Section 1.2.2 provides a brief description of the conditions under which two Naskapi dialects -- eastern and western -- have emerged in this century. The following map shows the location of a number of the communities which are referred to in this chapter:

Map 1 *Location of the communities referred to in this chapter*



1.2.1 Linguistic variability at Kawawachikamach

No detailed sociolinguistic study of the kind carried out at Sheshatshu, Labrador (Cowan 1976; Clarke 1983, 1986b, 1987, 1988, 1991; Clarke and MacKenzie 1984) has yet been conducted at Kawawachikamach. Although research to date attests to a degree of intracommunity linguistic variability at Kawawachikamach (MacKenzie and Jancewicz 1994), it is not extensive and it has not impeded research for this thesis. As MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1994, xviii) report, “for the most part the speakers living at Kawawachikamach form a homogeneous mutually intelligible group”. Such internal variation as does exist comes from at least two sources. First, where an individual (or his or her family) comes from is reflected in their speech. MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1994, xvii) observe the following:¹⁰

“Within the village of Kawawachikamach, we find some internal dialect variation reflecting the various backgrounds of the speakers. When we consider the nomadic history of the group and their varied contacts at the extremes of their territory, it is not surprising to find people living at Kawawachikamach whose speech reveals their ancestry.

The Naskapi themselves recognize these patterns, and they refer to (at least the parents or grandparents of the individual in question) as *wápipákustuy-iyuch* ‘people from Great Whale River’ or *wápipitáw-iyuch* ‘people from the east’ or *musuwáusipi-iyuch* ‘people from George River’, partially referring to the ancestry of the person, but also to some degree to the way they talk.”

Thus, within an extended family there are likely to be speakers of neighbouring CMN dialects; in particular, East Cree, Montagnais and Eastern Naskapi. Western and Eastern

¹⁰Traditionally, the Naskapi were nomadic, following caribou across the interior of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula.

Naskapi share a number of linguistic properties, attesting to the fact that the Naskapi at one time constituted a single linguistic community. Among older Naskapi especially there exists a common pool of lexical items, and Eastern and Western Naskapi share a number of phonological features (MacKenzie 1979, 1980). Nevertheless, the Naskapi from Kawawachikamach identify Eastern Naskapi as a dialect distinct from their own.

Second, there is a difference between the speech of successive generations in the community. Younger speakers borrow phonological features and lexical items from the Schefferville Montagnais, with whom the Western Naskapi have lived in close contact since 1956 (MacKenzie 1980), who speak an *n*-dialect of Montagnais.¹¹ This has become the prestige dialect among younger Western Naskapi.¹² Older speakers notice that the young “sound more like Montagnais” and complain that Naskapi is being “corrupted”. However, while the influence of Schefferville Montagnais is no doubt impacting the younger generations most noticeably, even older speakers use Montagnais lexical items and structures without realizing they are not Naskapi. The extent to which Western

¹¹The Montagnais spoken in Schefferville is most closely related to the dialect spoken in two communities at Sept-Isles. The term “*n*-dialect” refers to the fact that the proto-Algonquian consonant */l/ survives as /n/ (in Schefferville Montagnais). In Western Naskapi, */l/ survives as /y/ so that Western Naskapi is known as a *y*-dialect. These terms are explained more fully in section 1.4.

¹²The Naskapi in general are more likely to be familiar with other CMN dialects than their CMN-speaking neighbours are. A Naskapi speaker will switch to Montagnais to accommodate a Montagnais speaker, for example. However, in the absence of an intrinsic motivational factor (such as having a Naskapi partner), speakers of Montagnais and Cree are unlikely to take the trouble to learn Naskapi because it is a low prestige dialect spoken by a relatively small number of people (Bill Jancewicz, personal communication).

Naskapi syntax is being influenced by Montagnais remains to be determined, but one clear example is the frequent usage of the uniquely Montagnais main clause negator *ap̄θ* by Western Naskapi of all ages (Marguerite MacKenzie, personal communication).

The dramatic change of lifestyle the Naskapi have undergone in the latter part of this century has also resulted in generational linguistic differences. Lexical items pertaining to the traditional Naskapi lifestyle are used with less frequency as the lifestyle itself is abandoned. When younger Naskapi complain that they cannot understand their grandparents, it is in part because the older generation have access to a set of vocabulary the younger people, growing up in a sedentary community, have not had occasion to learn.¹³

Thus, linguistic variability in the Kawawachikamach community is quite predictable. An integral part of my data collection strategies has been to take account of the family affiliations of the linguistic consultants who provided the elicited data which appears in this thesis and to be aware of possible non-Naskapi linguistic influences. Likewise, the family affiliations of the narrator of the texts I have used (see section 1.2 for details) have been taken into consideration. Intracommunity linguistic variability is a

¹³The Jimmy Sandy Memorial School at Kawawachikamach organizes a spring skidoo ride from Kawawachikamach to Ungava Bay for male students. They are accompanied by male community elders so that for several days young and old spend time together engaged in traditional activities. This provides the boys with an opportunity to learn vocabulary related to the traditional life-style. However, the female students, not attracted by traditional female Naskapi skills (sewing and cooking, for example), are less willing to spend time learning from their elders. This may result in a gender-related loss of traditional lexical items.

property of all speech communities; however, it may be a more prominent feature of the Canadian aboriginal speech community just because the settlements are comprised of people who, in pursuing their traditional lifestyle, come from diverse geographical (and hence linguistic) backgrounds. Linguistic variability is thus an issue which any researcher working in the context of a Canadian aboriginal speech community faces (see, for example, Blain 1997 for Plains Cree); it has not posed a significant obstacle to collecting data for this thesis. The data which appears here tends toward the conservative and in all cases has been identified by more than one native speaker as being Western Naskapi.

1.2.2 The emergence of two Naskapi dialects

The division of the Naskapi into an eastern and western group occurred gradually throughout this century, the result of cumulative economic, religious and political pressures. Anthropological and historical evidence suggests that the people now resident at Davis Inlet and Kawawachikamach were a loosely affiliated people living in small independent groups and meeting infrequently, perhaps only annually at the peak caribou hunting season. With the rise of the trapping industry, some of these groups took their business north to the trading post at Fort Chimo, others went east to the Davis Inlet post. As the Naskapi gradually abandoned their traditional nomadic lifestyle, Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet were the locations with which each group increasingly identified. It is the Fort Chimo Naskapi who are now at Kawawachikamach.

The formation of two separate and largely sedentary communities created the conditions favouring the emergence of distinct dialects. However, a number of other factors have contributed to the process. One of these factors was the introduction of the Naskapi to distinct Christian traditions: the Davis Inlet Naskapi became Catholics while the majority of the Fort Chimo Naskapi became Anglicans (Tanner 1944:659). Since no religious texts were available in Naskapi at the time of their conversion, the Fort Chimo Naskapi adopted East Cree Christian texts (which had been translated for the people at Chisasibi), and the Davis Inlet Naskapi adopted texts translated into Montagnais for their southern neighbours.¹⁴ Thus, to a greater degree than at any time in the past, for the purposes of worship, the Fort Chimo Naskapi began to use East Cree, and the Davis Inlet Naskapi began to use Montagnais. MacKenzie (1979) details some of the linguistic impact of these affiliations.

Finally, the eastern and western Naskapi now live in different provinces, a fact which has prevented them from organizing themselves into a single political entity. It has also forced them to forge political alliances with speakers of other CMN dialects (MacKenzie 1979). The Davis Inlet Naskapi and the Montagnais at Sheshatshu, the only Algonquian peoples in Labrador, together make up the Innu Nation. The Kawawachikamach Naskapi, having signed a lands claim deal with the Quebec

¹⁴Chisasibi was formerly known as Fort George.

government in 1978, are relatively politically self-sufficient but retain loose political affiliations with Montagnais in Schefferville and at Sept-Isles.

1.3 The data

Research for this thesis was conducted during two visits to Kawawachikamach, the first in the spring of 1996, the second in the winter of 1997. Data is drawn from two sources: (i) textual material and (ii) elicited data. Some of the structures I required could not be found in the texts and had to be elicited from native speakers. In particular, I relied on native speaker judgements to confirm grammatically unacceptable constructions, a number of which appear in this thesis. This study is primarily concerned with the distribution of the Conjunct verb; since in non-*wh* main clauses the choice between a Conjunct verb and an Independent verb is discourse-dependent, texts have been an essential complement to the elicited data.

1.3.1 Textual material

In the summer of 1968, a series of oral narratives were recorded by students working with the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne, under the supervision of Remi Savard.

They were narrated by the late John Peastitute of Kawawachikamach.¹⁵ The language is

¹⁵The ongoing task of transcribing these narratives into Naskapi syllabics and translating them into English has been undertaken by the Naskapi Grammar and Lexicon Project at Kawawachikamach. To date, the following people, working under the supervision of Bill Jancewicz, have participated in this project: Alma Chemaganish, Philip Einish, Joe

conservative because the narrator was already elderly at the time of recording. I have used six of these stories as sources of data:

(2) *Textual data sources*

Átiyühkin (legend)

- #2 *Kwáhkwacháw kiyá asini* 'Wolverine and the Rock'
- #3 *Kwáhkwacháw kiyá chisáydákw* 'Wolverine and the Bear'
- #6 *Átiyühkin chisáydákw kiyá ukusa nístynwa* 'Two little bears'
- #8 *Umáyichís* 'Shitman'

Tipáchimún (personal narrative)

- #5 *Tipáchimún nísiniwá ustikwáná atíhkw* 'Two-headed caribou'
- #7 *Tipáchimún wámistikus* 'Little white man starvation story'

For reasons of space, these texts are not attached as appendices. Reference to textual material appears as follows: "Text (8.23)" identifies the source of the data as Story 8 (*Umáyichís*), sub-section 23.¹⁶

1.3.2 Elicited data

The elicited language samples were obtained during work sessions with five language consultants ranging in age from approximately 20 to 70 years: Alma Chemaganish and Silas Nabinacaboo were my principal consultants. Phil Einish, Joe Guanish, and Peter Einish also worked with me. These five people contributed to the work sessions a range of linguistic influences -- deciding what was "correct Western Naskapi" was at times a

Guanish, Silas Nabinacaboo and Thomas Sandy. Marguerite MacKenzie is involved in this project in a consultant capacity.

¹⁶The texts are divided into numbered sub-sections. While reference to the sub-section is irrelevant for the reader (who has no access to the text), I retain this reference system for my own convenience.

lengthy process but the fact that consensus was always reached makes me confident that what appears here under the label “Western Naskapi” is just that.

1.3.3 Presentation of data in the text

Western Naskapi is written in syllabics, a system developed by James Evans in the first half of the 19th century which is also used by speakers of Ojibwa, Cree and Inuktitut. The illustrative data provided in this thesis is written in roman orthography following conventions adopted by MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1994). I depart from this orthography only in the representation of long vowels. I use *ā*, for example, rather than *aa*. Where data from other CMN dialects is cited, for the reader’s convenience long vowels are consistently represented in this manner, regardless of the conventions used in the source article. The original gloss provided by the author is retained unless otherwise indicated. Where original glosses are replaced with my glosses, examples are marked with the following raised symbol: †. The key to abbreviations for glosses taken from other researchers’ work appears in Appendix 1.

Each Western Naskapi example appears in the following format:

(3)	MODEL
line 1 Orthographic representation	Wāpāw mīchiwāhp.
line 2 morphological components	wāpā-w mīchiwāhp
line 3 Morphological analysis	white(II)-IIN.Inan house
line 4 English translation	<i>The house is white.</i>

In rare cases, predictable phonological processes apply so that lines 1 and 2 are not identical; that is, line 1 always follows the conventions in MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1994), but occasionally the discussion requires that an underlying segment which does not appear in the orthographic representation, be represented in line 2. The phonological processes by which surface forms are derived from underlying forms are well-documented for other CMN dialects (MacKenzie 1979, for example) and are not detailed in this thesis. In cases where lines 1 and 2 differ, the phonological process responsible for the discrepancy is footnoted the first time it occurs.

The extent to which the inflectional morphology is detailed for a given example depends on the focus of the discussion. In this chapter, for example, the reader will find that the inflectional morphology is not detailed at all, and in some cases it is not isolated from the stem. In Chapter 2, on the other hand, detailed glosses are provided because the aim of this chapter is to identify the specific pieces of inflection which are central to the discussion. In later stages of the thesis, where I have determined that a highly detailed inflectional gloss detracts from the issue under discussion, simpler glosses are provided.

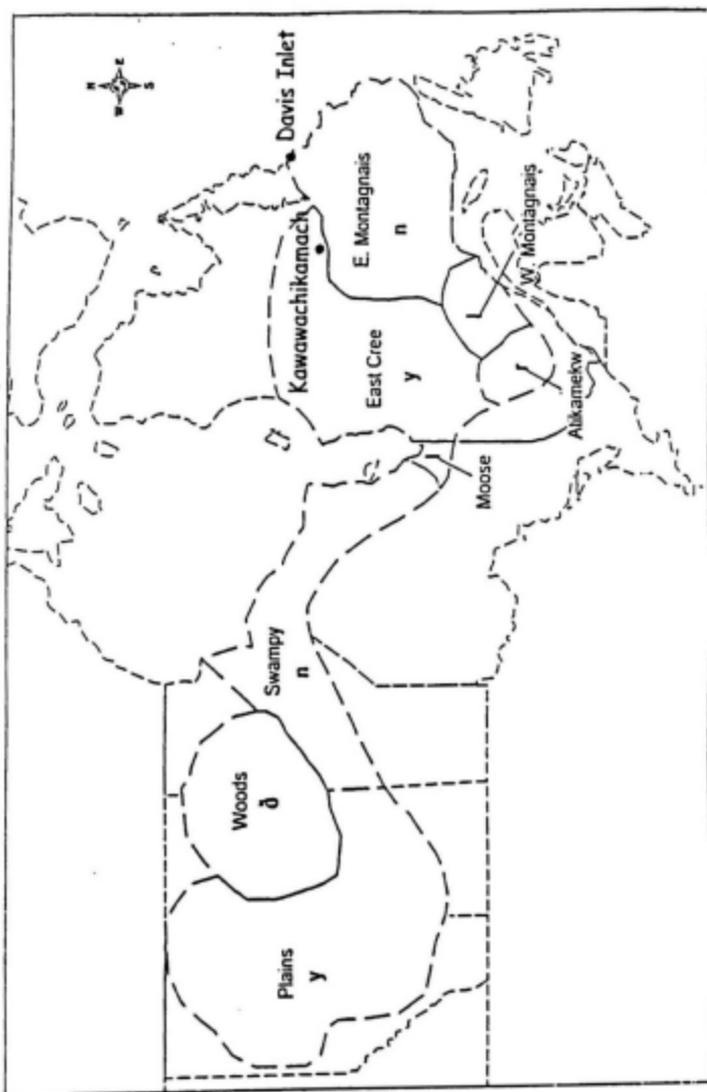
1.4 The Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language complex

Among the CMN complex dialects, those of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula are distinguished from more westerly dialects by virtue of the fact that they undergo velar palatalization: /k/ changes to /kʲ/ when it occurs before any of the high front vowels (/i/, /i/

or /e/).¹⁷ All other dialects of Cree are known as non-palatalized dialects. Western Naskapi is further defined as a *y*-dialect on the basis of the present day reflex of Proto-Algonquian (PA) */l/, distinguishing it from Eastern Naskapi which is an *n*-dialect. The PA */l/ also surfaces as /δ/, /r/ and /l/ in other dialects. Map 2 shows the locations of the major CMN complex dialects. The PA reflexes surviving in each dialect and the boundary of palatalization is shown. Notice that in terms of PA reflexes, Montagnais falls into two distinct sub-groupings: *l*-dialects (western Montagnais sub-dialects) and *n*-dialects (eastern Montagnais sub-dialects). Although (Eastern) Naskapi is spoken at Davis Inlet, this community appears on the map within the “E Montagnais” boundary because, like the eastern Montagnais dialects, it is an *n*-dialect. Likewise, the community of Kawawachikamach is shown as falling within the East Cree sub-grouping in spite of the fact that this is a Naskapi-speaking community. This is intended to show that in both Western Naskapi and in East Cree the /y/ reflex of PA */l/ surfaces.

¹⁷Atikamekw is the exception to the generalization that Quebec-Labrador peninsula dialects undergo velar palatalization.

Map 2 Palatalization boundary and reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *l/



Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993) show that the palatalization boundary is not significant in terms of predicting the syntactic or morphological properties of CMN dialects. Although the present thesis is to some extent a comparative work, in many cases the eastern-most CMN dialects (e.g., Naskapi and Montagnais) are compared to dialects spoken in the far west (e.g., Plains Cree). Given that speakers of these dialects are separated by thousands of miles, the fact that dialect differences exist is not surprising. This thesis does not therefore address the issue of the relationship of the palatalization boundary to the distribution of syntactic properties.

1.5 Literature on Western Naskapi

Little descriptive literature exists for either Western or Eastern Naskapi. There is a grammatical sketch of Western Naskapi (Martens and Chase 1983), but it does not detail any of the constructions examined in this thesis. Western Naskapi has been included in a number of comparative studies of CMN dialects (MacKenzie 1979, 1980, 1991; Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993) but it is not the focus of any major study. MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1994) have produced a tri-lingual (Naskapi-French-English) dictionary of Western Naskapi. A language instruction manual for Eastern Naskapi (Ford 1982) records some basic grammatical constructions. Little Eastern Naskapi data appears in this thesis for the simple reason that I did not have access to speakers of this dialect and the published literature does not provide the type of data I required.

1.6 The Sound System

The following eight member vowel inventory has been reconstructed for PA by Bloomfield (1946):

(4) *PA Vowels*

a	i	u	e
ã	ĩ	ũ	ẽ

Most CMN dialects have seven vowels, with */e/ having merged with */i/.

(5) *Most CMN dialects*

a	i	u	
ã	ĩ	ũ	ẽ

In the *y*-dialects of the CMN complex, a further reduction in the system has occurred with the collapsing of /e/ to /i/, giving the following six member inventory:

(6) *Western Naskapi (and other CMN y-Dialects)*

a	i	u	
ã	ĩ	ũ	

The following list provides a guide to the usual allophonic distribution of these six phonemes. The tendency for short unrounded vowels (in particular if they are unstressed) to centralize is widespread throughout the CMN continuum:

(7) *Allophonic distribution for vowels*

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophones</i>	<i>Conditioning Environment</i>
/a/	[ɑ]	__ w
	[ə]	# __ # â(h) __ (m) [-stress]
	[ɪ]	elsewhere
/â/	[ɑ]	w __
	[o]	w __ w
	[ɔ]	elsewhere
/i/	[i]	[+stress]
	[ə]	[-stress]
/ɪ/	[i]	
/u/	[ɔ]	
/û/	[u] ~ [o] (occur in free variation)	

Vowels are represented by the equivalent symbols in the orthography. The consonantal inventory is as follows:

(8) *Consonantal inventory*

Simple:	p	t	k		
		tʃ			
	m	n			
		s	ʃ		
	w	j	h		
Clusters:	ʰp	ʰt	ʰk	ʰtʃ	ʰj
Complex segments:	kʷ	mʷ			

Consonants are represented by the equivalent graphemes (i.e., /p/ is represented by *p*)

where these exist; otherwise, *sh* = /ʃ/, *ch* = /tʃ/ and *y* = /j/.

Clusters appear orthographically as, for example, *hk* (for /ʰk/) and complex segments appear as *kw* and

mw. Other CMN dialects use different conventions. In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, for

example, /w/ is represented by the grapheme *w* and /j/ is represented by the grapheme *i*.

Apart from my decision to consistently represent long vowels as \bar{v} (as discussed in section

1.3), data appears in the orthography used by the speech community in question.

1.7 Relevant Morphology

This section provides a basic introduction to the morphology of Western Naskapi. To

avoid overloading the reader with an excess of details at this stage, only the key

components of the grammar are described here; additional details are provided as

required. In a number of cases, the morphology described in this chapter is examined in

greater detail in later parts of the thesis and is reanalyzed in terms compatible with the

theoretical framework adopted here. This section, however, is descriptive, aiming to provide the reader with explanations of terms unique to Algonquian linguistics, terms which will be opaque to the reader lacking familiarity with this literature.

In section 1.7.1, an overview is provided of Western Naskapi verbal paradigms, based on MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1997). Section 1.7.2 describes the role of a set of derivational morphemes referred to as “finals”. The set of inflectional morphemes known as “theme signs” and how the Algonquian “Person/Gender hierarchy” functions in conjunction with theme signs is also outlined in section 1.7.2.

1.7.1 Verbal paradigms

The number of verbal paradigms attested for any given dialect varies within the CMN complex, with the greatest number being found in the palatalized dialects. In order to avoid digressing from the aim of this sub-section, verbal suffixes are glossed merely as “inflection”. This obscures the fact that in all the data shown here the inflection consists of several morphemes. The composition of suffixal inflection is examined in section 1.7.2 and in Chapter 2.¹⁸

There are four basic types of verbs in Algonquian, two transitive and two intransitive. Intransitive verbs are sensitive to the grammatical gender of their single argument (animate or inanimate), giving the classes referred to as Animate Intransitive

¹⁸Organizational templates for the suffixal inflection of the Plains Cree verb are provided by Wolfart (1973:47) and Dahlstrom (1991:24ff.).

- (10) *Transitive verbs*
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. <i>Transitive Animate</i>
 Chischâyimâw.
 chischâyim-âw
 know(TA)-IIN.TA.inflection
 <i>S/he knows him/her.</i></p> | <p>b. <i>Transitive Inanimate</i>²⁰
 Chischâyihim.
 chischâyihit-imw
 know(TI)-IIN.TI.inflection
 <i>S/he knows it.</i></p> |
|--|---|

In the following example, the main clause verb is Independent and the subordinate clause verb is Conjunct:

- (11) *Independent Verb in Main Clause, Conjunct Verb in Subordinate Clause*
Nichischâyihitân kâ-wâpimisk.
 ni-chischâyihit-ân kâ-wâpim-isk
 1-know(TI)-IIN.TI.inflection IC.Past-see(TA)-CIN.TA.inflection
I know (it), that he saw you.

The morpho-phonological process referred to as Initial Change has already been mentioned. The underlined vowel in (11) has undergone Initial Change; the resulting segment (in this case, *kâ-*) is thus referred to as a “Changed form”. The left-most vowel of the verb complex is affected by regular sound change. In (11), the past tense “preverb”, as the left-most morpheme of the verb complex, is affected.²¹

Initial Change may in some cases also be manifested as a prefix, with no apparent difference in meaning. The following pair of constructions, for example, are paraphrases:

²⁰The final /w/ is deleted in speech in this context (i.e., in word-final position) and is not therefore represented orthographically.

²¹The term “preverb” refers to a class of prefixes which provide (i) grammatical information (for example, information about tense, aspect and modality) and (ii) semantic information. These two kinds of preverbs are referred to, respectively, as “abstract” and “concrete” (see, for example, Clarke 1982 for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun). A number of abstract preverbs are discussed in later chapters.

(12) *Western Naskapi*

- a. *Initial Change prefix ā- appears on highest embedded verb*

Nimiywāyih̄tān ā-pāhtamān tākusiniȳin.

ni-miywāyih̄tān ā-pāhtamān tākusiniȳin

1-glad(TI).IIN IC.pfx-hear(TI).CIN IC.arrive(AI).CIN

I'm glad to hear that you have arrived.

- b. *Initial Change affects first vowel of both embedded verbs*

Nimiywāyih̄tān piyāhtamān tākusiniȳin.

ni-miywāyih̄tān piyāhtamān tākusiniȳin

1-glad(TI).IIN IC.hear(TI).CIN IC.arrive(AI).CIN

I'm glad to hear that you have arrived.

Arguments in favour of the view that the occurrence of Initial Change in the subordinate clause environment is due to the presence of the affixal complementizer [a]-comp are deferred to Chapter 3.

Initial Change results in the following changes in vowel quality:

(13) *Initial Change in Western Naskapi*

[a]	>	[ā]
[u]	>	[wā]
[ā]	>	[iyā]
[ī]	>	[ā]
[û]	>	[û] ~ [iyû]

The phonology of Initial Change is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The examples in (14) illustrate the use of the Conjunct in a *wĥ*-environment (see 14a) and the occurrence of the Conjunct in a non-*wĥ* main clause (i.e., focus) construction (see 14b). In both cases the verb has undergone Initial Change:

(14) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Wh-construction*

Châkwân kâ-pimînuwâyin.

châkwân kâ-pimînuwâ-yin

what IC.Past-cook(AI)-CIN.AI.inflection

What did you.sg cook?

b. *Focus construction: Text (8:29)*

Mîn châtûhtât.

mîn châtûhtât-t

again IC.set_out(AI)-CIN.AI.inflection

Again, off he went.

Verbs bearing inflections of the Imperative order are used in the 2nd person to

issue commands:

(15) **Pâhtâ.**

pâhtâ-ô

bring(TI)-Imp.inflection

Bring it!

Within each of the orders, further sub-grouping on the basis of mode occurs. The term “mode”, is used in an imprecise way here to cover categories Indicative, Indirect, Subjunctive and Habitual. Further sub-division occurs on the basis of tense. In addition, there is a contrast between Subjective and non-Subjective forms, a distinction which is not dealt with in this thesis. The table in (16) shows the number of paradigms attested in Western Naskapi. Note that II verbs, because they lack an animate subject, cannot be inflected for the Imperative order:

(16) *Verb paradigms in Western Naskapi*

Class	Order	Mode	Tense	Subjective
II AI TI TA	Independent	Indicative	Neutral	(Subjective)
			Preterit	
		Indirect	Present	(Subjective) (Subjective)
			Past	
		Dubitative	Neutral	(Subjective)
			Preterit	
	Conjunct	Indicative	Neutral	(Subjective)
			Subjunctive	
		Habitual		
	(Imperative)	Dubitative	Neutral	(Subjective)
Preterit				

The majority of the verb forms which constitute the data for this thesis are Independent Indicative Neutral and Conjunct Indicative Neutral. For the sake of relevance and brevity, my comments in this section are therefore restricted to these two paradigms (see Appendix 2 for details of the inflection of TA, TI, AI and II verbs in these two paradigms).

With respect to the Independent Indicative paradigm, the term “preterit” requires some comment. The suffix *-âpin* in (17) is one of three preterit morphemes reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian, the so-called “p-preterit” (see, for example, Bloomfield 1928; Ellis 1971; Wolfart 1973).²²

²²For further discussion of this morpheme in the CMN complex see James (1982, 1991).

- (17) *Western Naskapi Independent Indicative Preterit*
chipā-nipāpin.
 chipā-nip-āpin
 could(3)-sleep(AI)-IIP.3
She could have slept.

In Western Naskapi, the p-preterit is only used to signal irrealis illocutionary force; that is, it appears in conjunction with the conditional preverb *pā-* 'could' to refer to a hypothetical event.²³ Thus, the Independent Indicative Preterit paradigm in Western Naskapi is actually an irrealis form. True temporal anteriority is signalled in Western Naskapi by prefixation of a past tense preverb (and this is not referred to as the "preterit"):

- (18) *Western Naskapi past tense preverb*
Nichi-nipān.
 ni-chi-nipā-n
 1-Past-sleep(AI)-IIN.AI inflection
I was sleeping/I slept.

In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, the Independent Indicative Preterit paradigm is a true past tense (Clarke 1982):²⁴

- (19) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*
Nipāpan.
 nipā-pan
 sleep(AI)-IIP.AI inflection
She slept/was sleeping.

²³It is used in this way in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun also.

²⁴The past tense preverb is also used in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, but this seems to be a feature borrowed from Eastern Naskapi speakers, many of whom live in the Sheshatshu community. Note that in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun the p-preterit suffix appears on 3rd person forms only; a different suffix is used for 1st and 2nd person forms.

In this thesis I use the term “past tense” to refer to temporal anteriority, whether the morpheme in question is the Western Naskapi preverb or the Sheshatshu Innu-aimun suffix.

1.7.2 Finals, theme signs and the Person/Gender hierarchy

The template in (20) shows the basic ordering of morphemes in the CMN verb complex:

(20) (pronominal clitic)+(preverb(s))+ROOT+(medial)+final+inflection

The pronominal clitics and preverbs to the left of the root, which have been briefly mentioned already, are dealt with in more detail in subsequent chapters. The Algonquian root is itself a class of morpheme which is not easily defined, and it is beyond the scope of the present work to attempt to do this for Western Naskapi; suffice it to say that nominal and verbal elements can be derived from the same root.²⁵ The optional medial is a noun-like derivational element, further discussion of which is not required here.²⁶ The final may be analyzed in one of the two following ways: (i) as the element which establishes the syntactic category of a root, assuming the root lacks an intrinsic categorial designation, or

²⁵For further discussion of roots in Algonquian, the reader is referred to Bloomfield (1946) for Cree, Fox, Menomini and Ojibwa; Wolfart (1973) for Plains Cree; and Valentine (1994) for Ojibwa. See also Goddard (1990) for discussion of primary and secondary stem derivation in Algonquian.

²⁶See, for example, Wolfart (1973:66-68) for a description of the medials occurring in Plains Cree.

(ii), assuming the root does belong to a lexical category, as the element which changes the syntactic category of the root. It therefore has the properties of a derivational morpheme. "Noun finals" derive nominals -- although not all nouns require a final (Bloomfield 1946:105) -- and "verb finals" derive the four principal classes of Algonquian verb.²⁷ The following examples illustrate the root *wāp-* 'white' in verbal and nominal derivations:

(21) *The root wāp- 'white'*

a. *Verb (TA Final)*

Wāpimāw.

wāp-im-āw

white-TA.final-IIN.TA.inflection

S/he sees him/her.

b. *Verb (TI Final)*

Wāpāhtim.

wāp-āht-imw

white-TI.final-IIN.TI.inflection

S/he sees it.

c. *Noun Final*

Wāpisk

wāp-isk

white-Noun.final(goose)

snow goose

While it may be theoretically desirable to assign roots a default syntactic category (to avoid having a categoriless item in the lexicon), the above cases demonstrate that there is no empirical motivation for doing so. A possibility which is not pursued here is that the Algonquian root is an affix, in which case in it would not belong to a major lexical category but would, as the evidence suggests is the case, obtain its categorial designation by means of affixation to a final. Valentine (1994:251) describes roots (in Ojibwa) as constituting "the primary 'open' class of lexical components". Thus, the final either

²⁷In cases where more than one final occurs, it is the outermost final which determines the category.

changes the syntactic category of the root or, if the root is an affix, it provides the root with a category. Whichever of these options is correct, I assume that the complex root+final belongs to a lexical category and that this is the minimal base to which the inflection is added.

Also characteristic of a derivational class of morpheme, finals frequently contribute semantic content to the base they are affixed to.²⁸ The TA final *-im* in (21a) means something like “involving facial activity”. It occurs in verbs referring to actions involving the face (for example, the eyes (to see), the mouth (to bite)). All transitive (and intransitive) finals are paired, so that there is a corresponding TI final which carries the same semantic content (see *-dht* in 21b).²⁹

How and why finals attach to the root is not referred to in the phrase structures which appear in this thesis. Further, finals are not isolated in the morphological breakdowns provided in illustrative examples. The stem is treated as a whole which belongs to one of the four subcategories. Example (21a), for example, will appear as in (22).³⁰

²⁸The distinction between finals which contribute semantic content and those which do not is acknowledged in the traditional terminology; “concrete finals” contribute and “abstract finals” do not. This distinction is not, however, highlighted in any of the illustrative examples because it is not relevant to the discussion.

²⁹Intransitive finals, which tend to be abstract, are also referred to as “theme vowels”, a term borrowed from traditional Latin grammars. This is not to be confused with the term “theme sign”.

³⁰The TA inflection will be detailed.

- (22) **Wāpimāw.**
 wāpim-āw
 white(TA)-IIN.TA inflection
She sees him/her.

The term “theme” (see, for example, Bloomfield 1946) or “theme sign” (Wolfart 1973) refers to a set of morphemes which obligatorily occur in TI and TA verbs. The reanalysis of theme signs as object agreement (Chapter 2) is crucial to the motivation of the phrase structures which appear throughout this thesis. In advance of the argumentation laid out in Chapter 2, however, glosses identify these morphemes as theme signs and not as object agreement. The morphemes to the right of the theme signs are now glossed; however, detailed discussion of these glosses is deferred to Chapter 2.

In the Independent Indicative Neutral, there are four TA theme signs, two “direct” and two “inverse”. These terms refer to the “direction” of an action with respect to the Person/Gender hierarchy. This hierarchy stipulates the following relationships:

- (23) *The Algonquian Person/Gender hierarchy*
 2>1>Indefinite Actor(animate)>3>4>5>Inanimate

For example, a verb which has a 1st person subject and a 3rd person object is direct because it “respects” the hierarchy; a 1st person acting on a 2nd person, however, is inverse because it fails to respect the hierarchy. A further distinction is made between local and non-local forms: verbs which have Speech Act Participant (SAP) arguments are

referred to as “local” forms while verbs which have one or more nonSAP are referred to as “non-local” forms.³¹ The four TA theme signs are shown in (24-25).

(24) *TA Independent Indicative Neutral (local)*

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. <i>Direct</i> | b. <i>Inverse</i> |
| Chiwāpimin. | Chiwāpimitin. |
| chi-wāpim-i-n | chi-wāpim-iti-n |
| 2-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-S:SAP | 2-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th-S:SAP |
| <i>You.sg see me.</i> | <i>I see you.sg.</i> |

(25) *TA Independent Indicative Neutral (non-local)*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. <i>Direct</i> | b. <i>Inverse</i> |
| Niwāpimāw. | Niwāpimikw. |
| ni-wāpim-ā-w | ni-wāpim-ikw-ø |
| 1-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-S:nonSAP | 1-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th-S:nonSAP |
| <i>I see him/her.</i> | <i>S/he sees me.</i> |

TA and TI theme signs are traditionally regarded as being the same class of morpheme by merit of the fact that they appear to occupy the same position in the verb complex.³² However, it is difficult to determine what they have in common functionally if the traditional explanation of the function of the TA theme sign is accepted -- that is, that it designates the direction of action with respect to the hierarchy (see, for example, Goddard 1967:67). Viewed in these terms, the role of the TI theme sign is difficult to determine. Wolfart (1973:171) states for Plains Cree that “unlike the situation in the TA paradigm,

³¹These are the terms used in traditional Algonquian linguistics; see, for example, Bloomfield (1928). Local forms are also referred to in the literature as “you-and-me-forms” (Béland 1979:32; Ahenakew 1987:95).

³²For example, Wolfart (1973:47) proposes 10 affix positions for the Plains Cree verb; the position closest to the root is that of theme signs, with no distinction made between TA and TI.

the role of the TI theme signs has not been established.” More recently, Valentine (1994:214) observes of Ojibwe that “the TI themes do not have any distinguishable morphosyntactic function though they could be construed to mark inanimate goals.” In this thesis, TA theme signs are reanalyzed as object agreement; TI theme signs are not discussed but should, by analogy with the TA theme signs, be regarded as agreement with an inanimate object. As (26-27) show, an SAP–nonSAP contrast is evident in the TI paradigm (i.e., SAPsubject>inanimate object versus nonSAP subject>inanimate object).³³

(26) *TI Independent Indicative Neutral SAP Subject*

a. **Nimiywāyihṭān.**
 ni-miywāyihṭ-ā-n
 1-be_glad(TI)-IIN.TIth-O:Inan/S:SAP
I am glad about it.

b. **Chimiywāyihṭān.**
 chi-miywāyihṭ-ā-n
 2-be_glad(TI)-IIN.TIth-O:Inan/S:SAP
You.sg are glad about it.

(27) *TI Independent Indicative Neutral nonSAP Subject*

Miywāyihṭim.
 miywāyihṭ-im-w
 be_glad(TI)-IIN.TIth(3)-O:Inan/S:nonSAP
S/he is glad about it.

The information in (24-27) is summarized in (28).

³³In Chapter 2, I argue that object agreement occurs closer to the verb root than subject agreement. At this point, however, I have no more motivation for one ordering than the other. I thus place the object agreement gloss to the left of the subject agreement gloss so that all the examples are the same throughout the thesis.

(28) *Theme signs*

TA	Local	Non-local
Direct	-i	-â
Inverse	-iti	-ikw
TI	-â	-im

In the Conjunct order in general, the inflectional morphology is more highly fused than in the Independent. In the Conjunct Indicative Neutral, only local forms have a morpheme which can be identified as a theme sign:

(29) *TA Conjunct Indicative Neutral*

a. *Local direct*

... **â-wâpimiyâhkw.**

â-wâpim-iy-âhkw

IC.pfx-see(TA)-CIN.Dir/th-O:1.sg/S:2.pl

... *that you.pl see me.*

b. *Local inverse*

... **â-wâpimitân.**

â-wâpim-it-ân

IC.pfx-see(TA)-CIN.Inv/th-O:2.sg/S:1.sg

... *that I see you.sg.*

For non-local forms, the information carried by the theme signs is contained in a single portmanteau inflectional morpheme:

- (30) *TA Conjunct Indicative Neutral*
- a. *Non-local direct*
 ... **â-wâpimâhkw.**
 â-wâpim-âhkw
 IC.pfx-see(TA)-CIN.O:3.sg/S:1.pl.incl
 ... *that we.incl see him/her.*
- b. *Non-local direct*
 ... **â-wâpimik**
 â-wâpim-ik
 IC.pfx-see(TA)-CIN.O:3.sg/S:1.sg
 ... *that I see him/her.*
- c. *Non-local inverse*
 ... **â-wâpimisk.**
 â-wâpim-isk
 IC.pfx-see(TA)-CIN.O:2.sg/S:3.sg
 ... *that s/he sees you.sg.*

The theoretical implications of the difference between the inflection of the Independent order and the inflection of the Conjunct order are discussed in subsequent chapters.

1.8 Theoretical assumptions

A substantial body of literature exists which either argues for or assumes a hierarchically organized phrase structure for a range of north American aboriginal languages: among others, Johns (1982) for Ojibwa; Baker (1991) for Mohawk; Dahlstrom (1991) for Plains Cree; Rice and Saxon (1994) for Athapaskan; Johns (1995, 1996, 1999) for Labrador Inuttut (Inuktitut); Reinholtz and Russell (1995) and Russell and Reinholtz (1996), both for Swampy Cree; Baker (1996) for a number of north American languages, principally Iroquoian; Campana (1996) for central and eastern Algonquian; Blain (1997, 1999) for

Plains Cree; Déchaine (1999) also for Plains Cree; McGinnis (1999) for Ojibwa. This thesis also assumes that the Algonquian clause is hierarchically organized.

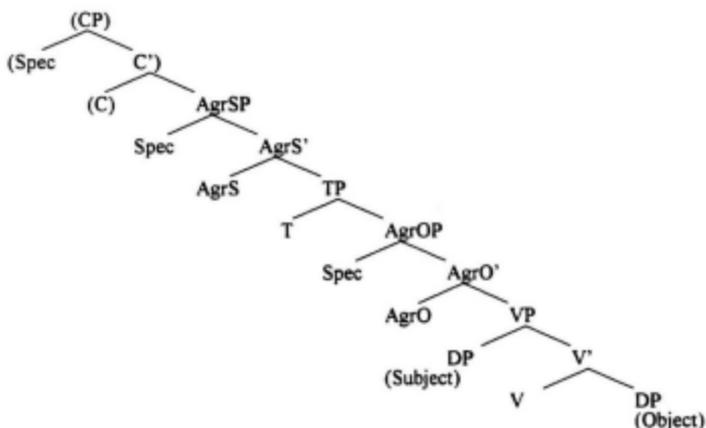
The two major components of the Minimalist Program are Checking theory and a theory of a universal clause structure. Section 1.8.1 provides an overview of these two key components. Additional components of the model are introduced into the text at the relevant points. In section 1.8.2, the issue of how to reconcile the “non-configurational” (in the sense of Hale 1983) nature of Algonquian with the assumptions of the Minimalist framework is discussed. In section 1.8.3, the relevance of this thesis in relation to Baker’s (1996) polysynthesis parameter is stated.

1.8.1 Clause structure and Checking theory

1.8.1.1 Clause structure

The following phrase structure follows Chomsky (1993) and is presumed to represent a basic universal clause structure:

(31) *Chomsky (1993:7) universal clause structure*³⁴



As Chapter 2 shows, the phrase structure in (31) accommodates the Algonquian clause. I do not adopt the more highly articulated VP assumed by (among others) Larson (1988) and Chomsky (1995) because the data has not required it.

Non-*wh* overt DPs (i.e., nominal adjuncts) appear in the data examined here but they are not represented on the phrase structures because their position relative to other constituents is regarded as trivial.³⁵ As adjuncts, they are expected to display a high

³⁴The CP level may be absent.

³⁵Although the placement of overt DPs is regarded as trivial to the argumentation laid out in this thesis, this is not to deny that distinct constituent order patterns (involving overt DP and verb) have been observed for Independent and Conjoint verbs. See Cyr (1994) for further discussion.

degree of positional flexibility. The linear ordering of other constituents, however, tends to be highly constrained; for example, although DPs may appear between these elements, the sequence *wh*-phrase--negative--Conjunct verb cannot be reordered. For “configurational” languages (English, for example), constituent ordering facts are cited as evidence of a specific type of clausal organization and as diagnostics for syntactic movement. Nominal adjuncts give the Algonquian clause the appearance of being “disorganized”; if these are set aside, so to speak (i.e. omitted from the phrase structure), then the hierarchical organization of the Algonquian clause becomes evident. Thus, in attempting to establish the details of clausal organization and of constituent movement within the clause, constituent ordering facts are just as valid a diagnostic for Algonquian as for those languages which are not classified as “non-configurational”.

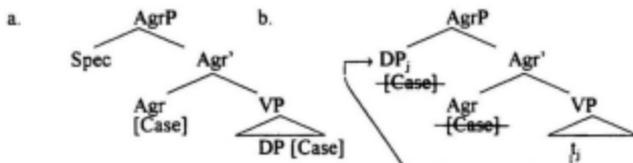
1.8.1.2 Checking theory

Within the Minimalist Program, it is assumed that the lexical items which enter into a derivation do so with their morphological features intact. This departs from earlier generative models (for example, Chomsky 1981; Pollock 1989) which assume inflectional morphology to be already inserted at the appropriate terminal node and syntactic movement to be motivated by the need for lexical heads to pick up affixes. Movement within the Minimalist Program is motivated by the requirement that the morphological features of each lexical item be “checked”. Feature checking means “matching” a feature attached to a lexical item with an appropriate functional category; the result of this process

is to “cancel” the feature so that it triggers no further movement in the derivation. Developing a distinction made by Pollock (1989) between weak and strong morphology, Chomsky (1993) proposes that features are either “weak” or “strong”. Strong features are uninterpretable at the level of Phonological Form (PF) and must be checked in the overt syntax, resulting in overt movement. Weak features are prohibited from moving until the level of Logical Form (LF) and the movement they trigger is covert. Syntactic movement is thus either covert or overt depending on the strength of a given feature. Cross-linguistic variation in the relative ordering of surface constituents is accounted for in terms of parametric variation of the strength of features. The principle of “Procrastinate” ensures that weak features do not trigger movement in the overt syntax. Procrastinate captures the intuition that movement in the overt syntax is more costly in terms of computational economy than covert movement is.

The structure in (32) provides an example of checking. Assuming that every DP has the feature [Case], and that this feature must be discharged before the appropriate interface level (before the PF level if it is strong and before the LF level otherwise), a DP must be matched with a functional category which can cancel out the feature. Feature checking occurs in a local (Spec-Head) relationship. For a DP to be Case-checked, it moves to the specifier position of the appropriate agreement head (i.e., the head which possesses the same feature). The phrase structure in (32a) shows a DP in its base-generated position within VP. In (32b), the DP raises to SpecAgr and Case is checked.

(32) *An example of feature checking*



Phi features (i.e., agreement features of Number, Gender and Person) are checked in the same way -- in a Spec-Head relationship with the appropriate head. This procedure is how, for example, arguments in Algonquian are licensed. In the next section, I state what I assume to be an argument in Algonquian.

1.8.2 The status of arguments in Algonquian

Like all Algonquian languages, CMN complex dialects display an array of properties characteristic of “non-configurational” languages. Hale (1983) describes these properties as the following: the option of dropping overt DP arguments; a toleration of relatively free constituent ordering; and the existence of discontinuous expressions. These properties, which have been described for a number of CMN dialects (among others, Reinholtz and Russell 1995 for Swampy Cree; Blain 1997 for Plains Cree) and need not be illustrated here, follow directly from the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) developed by Jelinek (1984, 1989a, 1989b). This version of the PAH holds that the Case and θ -roles are assigned directly to the agreement morphology within the verb complex.

Overt DPs appear optionally as adjuncts to IP, co-indexed to the appropriate morpheme in the verb complex. Left and right adjunction to IP accounts for flexibility in constituent order within IP. Baker (1991, 1996) proposes a rather different version of Jelinek's PAH, claiming that null pronominals (*pro*) occupy canonical argument positions. According to this version of the PAH, it is *pro* and not a corresponding agreement morpheme in the verb complex which is Case-checked by the appropriate agreement head (AgrS or AgrO). Phrases are assigned a θ -role by being in a relationship (via agreement or movement) with a morpheme within the verbal complex. I adopt Baker's version of the PAH in this thesis because it allows universally attested constraints which rely on subject/object asymmetry (such as, for example, those expressed by Binding Theory) to be extended to Algonquian. The only exception to the generalization that all arguments are *pro* is where *wh*-phrases appear. I concur with Baker that *wh*-phrases are base-generated in argument position. The Case properties of the agreement heads are checked against the *wh*-trace after overt raising of the *wh*-phrase to a non-Case position (to check the feature [wh]).

1.8.3 The polysynthesis parameter

Finally, Baker's (1996) formulation of the polysynthesis parameter constitutes a major contribution to the recent theoretical literature on non-configurational languages. Arguing primarily on the basis of data from Mohawk, Baker makes a number of predictions with regard to "polysynthetic" languages in general. The polysynthesis parameter is as follows:

(33) *The Polysynthesis Parameter (Baker 1996: 17)*

A phrase X is visible for θ -role assignment from a head Y only if it is co-indexed with a morpheme in the word containing Y via:

- (i) an agreement relationship
- (ii) a movement relationship

This technical definition of polysynthesis excludes Algonquian on the grounds that root incorporation occurs infrequently -- less frequently, that is, than in polysynthetic languages, an exemplar of which is Iroquoian. Thus, (33.ii) infrequently applies to Algonquian languages; instead they are defined as "non-configurational head-marking languages". However, to the extent that both language types are of a "non-configurational" type, they clearly have much in common.³⁶ For this reason, Baker's Mohawk data appears in Chapter 4 of this thesis, where it is discussed in relation to comparable data from CMN dialects. Ultimately however, while the conclusions arrived at in this thesis potentially have implications for "non-configurational" languages in general, they do not comment directly on the formulation of Baker's polysynthesis parameter.

³⁶Reinholtz and Russell (1995) provide evidence in support of the view that Algonquian and Mohawk are similar in terms of clausal organization and the licensing of nominals.

Three claims are central to the analysis laid out here. First, following Benveniste (1971), Noyer (1992), Rice and Saxon (1994) and Ritter (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997), it is claimed that SAP arguments in Western Naskapi (*pro*) bear the feature [Person] while animate nonSAPs (*pro* or *wh*-phrase) do not; nonSAP TA arguments bear the feature [+Animate].³⁸ The formal split evidenced in the agreement morphology of the Algonquian verbal system, distinguishing local and non-local forms, is taken to be the morphological realization of this fundamental difference between SAP and nonSAP arguments. Second, it is claimed that the four TA theme signs are object agreement morphology.³⁹ Third, it is argued that object agreement is checked earlier in the computation than subject agreement, allowing subject agreement to be established, by default, relative to the properties of AgrO. This third claim rests on the assumption that the order of inflectional morphology mirrors the order in which syntactic operations occur (the Mirror Principle of Baker 1985). In this analysis, AgrO morphology (the theme signs) is positioned closer to the root than AgrS morphology (see 35); object agreement is thus presumed to be checked earlier than subject agreement.

³⁸I do not use plus and minus values on the feature [Person] because a [-Person] designation does not uniquely entail specification for another *phi* feature; that is, a nominal bearing the feature [-Person] could be either [+Animate] or [-Animate]. The feature [Person], on the other hand, necessarily entails the feature [+Animate].

³⁹Goddard (1967) analyzes Delaware (Central Algonquian) local TA theme signs as object agreement. The novelty of the claim made in this thesis is that non-local TA theme signs are also object agreement. TI theme signs, which are discussed briefly in this chapter, are, by analogy with TA theme signs, assumed to be object agreement for [-Animate].

The agreement relations argued for in this chapter are shown in (35). Item (35a), for example, should be read as: if AgrO checks the features [Person 1](1st person), by default AgrS checks the features [Person]. Item (35b) should be read as: if AgrO checks the feature [Person], by default AgrS checks [Person 1], etc.:

(35) *TA theme signs as object agreement, and default subject agreement*

Theme sign (AgrO)		Default Subject Agr	
a. Local	direct	-i = [Person 1]	-n = [Person]
b.	inverse	-iti = [Person]	-n = [Person 1]
c. Non-local	direct	-á = [+Animate]	-w = [Person]
d.	inverse	-ikw = [Person]	-w = [+Animate]

I assume that the following *phi* features are available in Algonquian and may attach to *pro* in the lexicon: [Person 1], [Person 2], [Person], [+Animate], [-Animate], and [Plural].

Setting aside for the moment discussion of the feature [Plural], which any argument may be marked for, I propose that Algonquian SAP arguments are specified in the lexicon for the features [Person 1], for [Person 2], or for [Person]. NonSAP TA arguments bear the feature [+Animate].

Principle B of Binding Theory ensures disjoint reference between two pronominal elements in the same clause:

- (36) *Binding Principle B*
A pronominal must be free in its domain.

Thus, universal principles ensure that in the TA clause the feature composition of subject and object are distinct. This property of grammar, however, does no more than ensure

disjoint reference between two arguments in the same clause. I argue that the properties of the AgrS of the TA clause are precisely determined relative to the properties of AgrO in the following manner: local AgrO and AgrS morphology encode information about the relevant “feature contrast”: for local forms, the relevant feature contrast is [Person] vs. [Person 1]. If AgrO checks [Person 1], AgrS checks [Person] and vice versa. Non-local morphology encodes information about the non-local feature contrast; that is, [Person] vs. [+Animate]. If AgrO checks [Person], AgrS checks [+Animate] and vice versa. Thus, the only *phi* features which the agreement heads projected by the TA verb check are [Person], [Person 1] (and not [Person 2]), and [+Animate]. Further identification of arguments in the computation is provided as follows: the features of SAP arguments are realized by adjunction of the 1st person pronominal clitic *ni-*, or 2nd person *chi-* (see 39b-c), to any “underspecified head”. A head is underspecified if it checks the feature [Person]; further specification for the features [1] or [2] is required. The role of the pronominal clitics is thus to compensate for feature underspecification of Agr. This analysis of the role of the pronominal clitics will be shown to accurately predict the distribution of *ni-* and *chi-* in the Independent order. In Chapter 3, the same analysis is extended to account for the absence of pronominal clitics in the Conjoint order. NonSAP [+Animate] arguments are further distinguished on the basis of marking for obviation; a nominal bearing the feature [+Animate] which is not marked with an obviative suffix, is interpreted as a 3rd person.⁴⁰

⁴⁰The issue of obviation is only briefly discussed in this thesis. In Chapter 6 it is argued that obviation is not a *phi* feature, but that obviative status is assigned in the syntax

The function of the morphemes highlighted in (35) is discussed in some detail in this chapter. Theme signs (AgrO) and what I argue to be default AgrS morphology occupy, respectively, slots 2 and 5 (shown in bold in 37) of Dahlstrom's inflectional template for Plains Cree:

- (37) *Inflectional template for Plains Cree (slot 1 is closest to the root)*
- | | | |
|----------|---|------------------------|
| 1 | thematic obviative sign | |
| 2 | theme sign | |
| 3 | thematic obviative sign | |
| 4 | mode signs (preterit, delayed imperative) | |
| 5 | person/number agreement | |
| 6 | dubitative and p-preterit | |
| 7 | third person plural and obviative | |
| 8 | subjunctive and iterative | (Dahlstrom 1991:24-27) |

The Plains Cree template is included here to provide the reader with a sense of the potential complexity of the inflectional suffixation of the TA verb and of the position of AgrO and AgrS relative to other suffixes. The details of the Western Naskapi inflectional template remain to be confirmed but research for this thesis has revealed no substantial differences in the suffix ordering identified by Dahlstrom. I depart from Dahlstrom only in describing slot 5 morphemes as “person/number agreement” affixes. I argue that [Number] and [Person] are checked by distinct heads (respectively, by Num and Agr). In descriptive terms, this places person agreement suffixes in a different morphological slot from number agreement suffixes. Dahlstrom not only places the SAP plural agreement morphemes (for example, *-nân*, 1.pl.excl., *-(nâ)wâw*, 2.pl) in slot 5, but also glosses *-n* as

on the basis of hierarchical relations.

“singular non-3rd” (though *-w* is glossed only as “3rd”). The Plains Cree template was compiled in the following manner: “The position class of a given affix is identified not only by what other affixes may precede or follow it, but also paradigmatically, by its being in complementary distribution with other affixes in that position class.” (Dahlstrom 1991:24). Noyer (1992) shows that morphemes which occur in complementary distribution do not necessarily occupy the same morpheme slot. Given this, I prefer to propose that morphemes which are functionally similar compete for checking by the same functional head -- I thus propose that person agreement, SAP plural agreement and nonSAP plural agreement are checked by distinct heads; that is, they occupy distinct morpheme slots. My analysis of Western Naskapi assumes that the morpheme slot identified by Dahlstrom as slot 5 comprises two affix positions, the left-most of which, slot 5a, accommodates the person and gender agreement of the subject:

(38)	<i>Division of “slot 5” into 2 affix positions</i>	<i>Checking head</i>
	slot 5a Subject agreement: person and gender	AgrS
	slot 5b SAP number agreement	SAP.Num

The feature [Singular] does not appear against any of the *pro* arguments represented in the phrase structures in this chapter. The features of a *pro* inserted into phrase structure are labelled as follows: *pro*[Person 1], *pro*[Person 2], *pro*[+Animate], *pro*[Plural]. Assume for any *pro* marked with the feature [Person] that the feature [+Animate] is also checked; in order to reduce the complexity of the phrase structures I do not show (or discuss) checking of the feature [+Animate] for SAP *pros*. An argument which bears the feature [Plural] is checked in a Spec-Head relationship with the appropriate Number head

(SAP.Num or nonSAP.Num). Examples of the four TA theme signs of slot 2 and of the two slot 5a morphemes (-*n* and -*w*) are provided in the table in (39).

(39) *Examples of "slot 2" and "slot 5" morphemes*

	Root+Final	Slot 2	Slot 5	
Traditional analysis		Theme sign	Person/SAP Number agreement	
Reanalysis		AgrO Person/Gender	AgrS (slot 5a) Person/Gender	
Examples				
a.	<i>wāpim-</i>	- <i>ā</i>	- <i>w</i>	's/he sees him/her'
b.	<i>ni-wāpim-</i>	- <i>ā</i>	- <i>w</i>	'I see him/her'
c.	<i>chi-wāpim-</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>n</i>	'you.sg see me'
d.	<i>ni-wāpim-</i>	- <i>ikw</i>	-	's/he sees me'
e.	<i>chi-wāpim-</i>	- <i>iti</i>	- <i>n</i>	'I see you.sg'

The slot 5a person/gender agreement suffixes are not attested on all forms (see, for example, 39d), a fact which is accounted for by the analysis which takes these morphemes to realize default subject agreement; the information encoded by AgrS morphology is thus non-essential, rendering the morphology non-essential. As the table in (35) shows, under this analysis the features which AgrS realizes vary: in the local direct AgrS -*n* realizes [Person] but in the local inverse -*n* realizes [Person 1]. The value of -*w* in the non-local paradigm (i.e. what *phi* features it represents) likewise varies; sometimes it signifies [Person] agreement and sometimes it signals agreement for the feature [+Animate]. Thus, although these two morphemes are the overt realization of AgrS in this analysis, because

they are not a standard type of agreement morphology (i.e., having a constant value), I prefer to call them “Feature Contrast” morphology. The *-n* signals “local feature contrast” -- [Person] vs. [Person 1] -- and the *-w* signals “non-local feature contrast” -- [Person] vs. [Animate]. Glosses for the default AgrS thus appear as either “FC:loc” or “FC:non-loc”.

Finally, the morpheme slots I argue for in this chapter (AgrO and AgrS) are taken to reflect the order of functional projections in the TA clause. Left to right morpheme ordering translates into low to high ordering of functional heads in a phrase structure. Assuming Baker (1985), this places AgrO closer to the VP so that the phrase structure motivated by examining the inflectional morphology of the TA verb complex turns out to be the same as the basic universal clause template proposed by Chomsky (1993). The analysis laid out in this chapter draws on data from the Independent order; more specifically, illustrative data is restricted to the Indicative Neutral sub-mode because this is the least morphologically complex paradigm in the Independent order. Although the discussion does not focus on clauses which have a Conjunct verb, the phrase structures motivated by identifying the roles of (a subset of) the inflectional morphemes of the Independent order are presumed to represent the organization of the Conjunct clause also. With its highly fused inflectional morphology (see Chapter 1, section 1.7), the Conjunct order reveals little information with respect to the ordering of functional heads. Learnability considerations, however, support the decision to take the clausal template motivated by the nature of the Independent inflection as being representative of clause structure in Western Naskapi, if not in Algonquian, in general.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 2.1 outlines the hypothesis that, cross-linguistically, the morphological status of SAPs and nonSAPs differs fundamentally with respect to the feature [Person]. In section 2.2, illustrative examples are provided to highlight the formal contrasts which exist between the inflectional morphology of local forms and non-local forms in Western Naskapi. A reanalysis of the role of the slot 2 and slot 5a morphemes is provided in section 2.3. Assuming this reanalysis, I show how TA nominal arguments are identified without appealing to the Person/Gender hierarchy. Concluding remarks appear in section 2.4.

2.1 The morphological distinction between Speech Act Participants and non Speech Act Participants

In Western Naskapi, as in other CMN complex dialects, the formal split between local and non-local verbal morphology is in evidence in particular throughout the Independent order, but it is also present to some extent in the more highly fusional Conjunct order. Assuming that verb stems which have the same final select the same conjugation class, TA local and non-local inflection comprise a single conjugation class. Thus, the formal split between local and non-local does not indicate two separate systems of agreement, but rather it reflects a distinction between the type of agreement relations entered into by SAP arguments and nonSAP arguments.

Benveniste (1971) observes that the morphology of many of the world's languages reveals an SAP/nonSAP distinction and proposes that this reflects a fundamental

difference between the morphological status of SAP and nonSAP arguments.

Semantically, SAPs are distinct from nonSAPs in that SAPs can only be interpreted with reference to the speaker's position in space and time. NonSAPs can have reference independent of discourse and, according to Benveniste, are thus unspecified for the morphological feature [Person]; that is, only SAPs participate in [Person] agreement.

More recent work supports Benveniste's hypothesis. Noyer (1992) observes of combinations of SAP/nonSAP that, cross-linguistically, the resulting plural forms may only be marked for 1st or 2nd person; crucially, these forms are never marked for 3rd person, supporting the hypothesis that, cross-linguistically, 3rd persons are not specified for the feature [Person]. In combinations of 1st and 3rd persons, the plural form retains 1st person features. The agent of the construction in (40), comprising of a 1st and 3rd person, is marked 1st plural.⁴¹

- (40) *1-3=1.pl: Western Naskapi 1st exclusive*
Niwâpimânân.
ni-wâpim-ânân
1-see(TA)-IIN.O:3/S:1.pl.excl
We (s/he and I) see him/her.

Likewise, in combinations of 2nd and 3rd persons, the plural form retains the feature of 2nd:

⁴¹Because the TA theme sign is not relevant to the discussion here, it is not isolated in the morpheme breakdown in (40-42).

- (41) *2+3=2.pl: Western Naskapi 2nd Plural*
Chiwâpiminâw.
 chi-wâpim-inâw
 2-see(TA)-IIN.O:1/S:2.pl
You.pl see me.

In combinations of speaker and addressee, either 1st or 2nd person features are marked, depending on the language. In Western Naskapi, the inclusive 1st plural requires a 2nd person prefix (contrasting with the exclusive form in (40) which has a 1st person prefix).

- (42) *1-2=2.pl: Western Naskapi Inclusive*
Chiwâpimânuw.
 chi-wâpim-ânuw
 2-see(TA)-IIN.O:3/S:1.pl.incl
We (you and I) see her.

More recently, a morphological theory which accounts for these facts has been developed in the work of Ritter (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997), drawing on evidence primarily from modern Hebrew. Ritter argues for the existence of the functional category [Number], within the Determiner Phrase. This more highly articulated DP permits the difference between SAPs and nonSAPs to be expressed in structural terms; most recently, Ritter (1997) demonstrates that in Classical Arabic, Tok Pisin and Ojibwa, SAP pronouns are marked for [Person] (and in some cases: also for [Number] and [Gender]) while 3rd person pronouns are distinguished only on the basis of the features [Number] and [Gender]. Extending Ritter's work to Athapaskan, Rice and Saxon (1994) provide a structural argument for the differences between Slave SAP subject pronouns and nonSAP subject pronouns; the latter are not in a position to obtain agreement for the feature

[Person].⁴² To this end, Rice and Saxon propose a more highly articulated IP than that argued for in Chomsky (1993), expanding Chomsky's projection AgrS into a position which checks [Person] and [Gender] (AgrS), and a position which checks [Number] (Num). Rice and Saxon propose that SAP subjects are checked in the SpecAgrSP position (and thus bear [Person] agreement features) while 3rd person subjects, lacking in [Person] features, are checked in the SpecNumP position. As illustrated in section 2.3.1.2, the position of plural morphology in Western Naskapi indicates that Number is not checked at Agr, but rather that a separate Number projection dominates AgrSP. I thus adopt this more highly articulated phrase structure.⁴³

2.2 Algonquian SAP and nonSAP agreement

In the Independent order, there are two major formal differences between local forms and non-local forms: (i) there are different restrictions with respect to the occurrence of

⁴²In Slave, inflection marking of first and second person subject follows aspectual marking while third person subject inflection precedes it. For further details of the differences between SAP and nonSAP subjects in Slave the reader is referred to Rice and Saxon (1994).

⁴³I do not show a *pro*[Singular] raising to Num for checking just because the category [Singular], unlike [Plural], is morphologically unmarked; discussion of where the feature [Singular] is checked therefore contributes little to motivating a phrase structure on the basis of the ordering of the overt agreement morphology. However, since in my analysis only [Gender] and [Person] are checked at the Agr heads, if one assumes the formal feature [Singular] attaches to a nominal in the lexicon, necessarily this feature is checked at a Number head. In order to reduce the complexity of the phrase structures shown in this thesis, and of the accompanying text which describes them, I omit details of checking the feature [Singular].

pronominal prefixes and (ii) the inflectional suffixes are distinct.

The 2nd person pronominal prefix *chi-* is the only pronominal form to occur with local forms (see 43) whereas either the 1st person *ni-*, or the 2nd person *chi-*, combine with non-local forms (see 44):

(43) *TA Independent Indicative Neutral (local)*

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| a. | Direct | b. | Inverse |
| | Chiwâpimin. | | Chiwâpimitin. |
| | chi-wâpim-i-n | | chi-wâpim-iti-n |
| | 2-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-FC:loc | | 2-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th-FC:loc |
| | <i>You.sg see me.</i> | | <i>I see you.sg.</i> |

(44) *TA Independent Indicative Neutral (non-local)*

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| a. | Direct | b. | Inverse |
| | Niwâpimâw. | | Niwâpimikw. |
| | ni-wâpim-â-w | | ni-wâpim-ikw |
| | 1-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-FC:non-loc | | 1-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th |
| | <i>I see him/her.</i> | | <i>S/he sees me.</i> |
| c. | Direct | d. | Inverse |
| | Chiwâpimâw. | | Chiwâpimikw. |
| | chi-wâpim-â-w | | chi-wâpim-ikw |
| | 2-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-FC:non-loc | | 2-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th |
| | <i>You.sg see him/her.</i> | | <i>S/he sees you.sg.</i> |

Non-local verbs lacking an SAP argument lack a pronominal clitic because the clitics identify SAP arguments only:

(45) *TA Independent Indicative Neutral (non-local)*

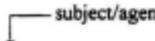
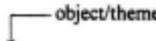
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| a. | Direct | b. | Inverse |
| | Wâpimâw. | | Wâpimikuw. |
| | wâpim-â-w | | wâpim-ikw-w |
| | see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-FC:non-loc | | see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th-FC:non-loc |
| | <i>S/he sees him/her.</i> | | <i>His/her son sees him/her.</i> |

The analysis does not permit a null 3rd person clitic to be posited because *ni-* and *chi-* adjoin to Agr which checks [Person] and nonSAPs are not marked for the feature [Person]. Finally, as detailed in Chapter 1 (section 1.7), comparison of (43) with (44) and (45) shows that local forms have different theme signs than non-local forms.

2.3 The Person/Gender hierarchy, object agreement and default subject agreement

The Person/Gender hierarchy poses a number of problems for a generative analysis. Most obviously, because it comprises a set of stipulations, it is undesirable from the point of view of learnability. A more immediate problem is that the hierarchy assumes that TA theme signs “reverse” the direction in which grammatical functions and θ -roles are assigned; Ahenakew (1987:93) and Ellis (1983:230), for example, describe theme signs as “direction markers”. For ease of reference, data (34) is repeated here as (46). In (46a), which has a direct theme sign, the 1st person pronominal clitic *ni-* is subject and agent. In (46b), which has an inverse theme sign, the same form is object and theme. Crucially, in both examples, *ni-* occupies the same position:

(46)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| a. |  | b. |  |
| | Ni-wāpimāw.
ni-wāpim-ā-w
1-see(TA)-IIN.Dir/th-S
<i>I see him/her.</i> | | ni-wāpimikw.
ni-wāpim-ikw
1-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th
<i>She sees me.</i> |

Since θ -roles and grammatical functions are, under a generative analysis, established on the basis of hierarchical relations between the relevant head and the argument, that *ni-* is in

the same morphological position in both constructions in (46) raises the following question: how can *ni-* be assigned two different θ -roles if it is always located in the same position? This apparent problem is resolved only by assuming that *ni-* as subject clitic and *ni-* as object clitic originate in the syntactic positions appropriate to their respective grammatical functions -- SpecVP and complement to VP. Likewise, distinct θ -roles are assigned to *ni-* in (46a) and *ni-* in (46b) because in each case the clitic is base-generated in a different position. Thus, I propose that the theme signs are not morphemes which reverse the designation of grammatical functions and θ -roles -- a concept which has no means of expression within a generative analysis -- but rather that they are object agreement morphemes for the features [Person 1], [Person] and [+Animate].

2.3.1 Local theme signs

Verb forms which have non-plural arguments (non-plural forms) are discussed in section 2.3.1.1 and verb forms having one or more plural argument (plural forms) are discussed in section 2.3.1.2.

2.3.1.1 Non-plural forms

The TA direct theme sign *-i* in (47) is posited to be 1st person object agreement.⁴⁴

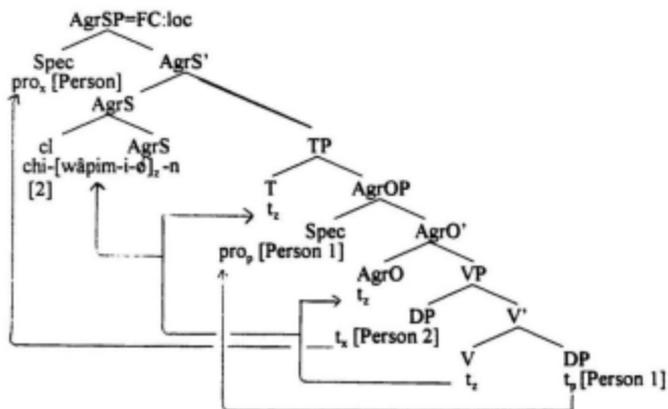
⁴⁴The glosses for theme signs (e.g., Dir/th -- direct theme sign) are now replaced with "O" (object agreement) for the sake of consistency with the argumentation.

- (47) **Chiwâpimin.**
chi-wâpim-i-n
S:2-see(TA)-O:1-FC:loc(S:Person)
You.sg see me.

By default, the AgrS head checks the feature [Person]. The feature contrast which is relevant for local forms is doubly marked -- by AgrO and by the Feature Contrast suffix (AgrS). Because there are four distinct TA theme signs, formal distinction between clauses which have exclusively arguments marked for [Person] (local forms) and those which do not (non-local forms) is built into the object agreement system. The "direct theme sign" *-i* realizes an AgrO in the local system; by default, AgrS checks [Person]. This information is reinforced by the local Feature Contrast suffix *-n*. The 2nd person clitic *chi-* adjoins to the underspecified AgrS in (47) to provide the required person specification.⁴⁵ The structure in (48) shows the derivation of (47). AgrS checks [Person] in (48) because AgrO has checked [Person 1]; the *-n* suffix which realizes the [Person] features of subject-*pro* is thus non-essential morphology:

⁴⁵Glosses for *chi-* now distinguish between these two positions.

(48) LOCAL DIRECT: phrase structure for *chiwápinin*, 'you.sg see me'



In keeping with standard assumptions (Chomsky 1993, 1995), I assume that both subject and object originate within the VP as, respectively Specifier and complement to VP, and that both raise out of the VP to the appropriate checking positions. θ -roles are assigned within the VP in the manner described in Chapter 1 and the moved *pro* arguments are θ -linked to their base positions by means of traces. A functional head attracts the features of the closest argument for feature checking. Feature attraction and subsequent movement are subject to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) which defines closeness as follows:

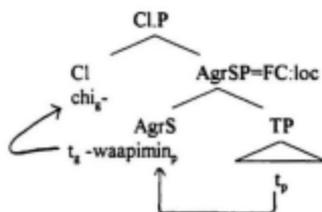
- (49) *Minimal Link Condition*
 K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β
 (Chomsky 1995:311)

Structural Case, like agreement, is checked in the relevant Spec-Head relations, and Case properties depend on the characteristics of the functional heads V and T. Although there

are no tense-marking verb internal morphemes in Western Naskapi (tense is marked by means of preverbs), I assume there is a Tense head dominating AgrOP because the properties of V+T determine the Case of the highest *pro*.⁴⁶ Thus, in (48), the verb complex raises to AgrO checking Case and *phi* features [Person 1] for object-*pro*. The verbal complex raises through T to AgrS. After AgrO checks [Person 1], by default AgrS checks [Person] against the subject-*pro*. The clitic *chi-* adjoins to AgrS to provide the feature [2] to the underspecified agreement head.

In (48), *chi-* is the highest overt morpheme in the structure and will thus correctly (see 47) surface as the left-most morpheme in the verb complex. However, in cases where the clitic attaches to AgrO (inverse forms), a rule of clitic raising must apply to ensure the clitic is always at the left edge of the verb phrase (above AgrS). I assume a post-syntactic rule raising the clitic (see 50) applies to (48) and to derivations in general.⁴⁷

(50) *Post-syntactic clitic-raising for (48)*



⁴⁶There is a Conjunct Dubitative Preterit.

⁴⁷This type of movement has been argued for by Uriagereka (1995) to account for clitic placement in Western Romance languages.

In order to reduce the complexity of the phrase structures, clitic raising is not shown in the derivations but should be assumed to apply generally .

The following data shows an inverse local form with the inverse local theme sign *-iti* which is reanalyzed as object agreement for the feature [Person]:

- (51) **Chiwāpimitin.**
chi-wāpim-iti-n
 O:2-see(TA)-IIN.O:Person-FC:loc(S:Person 1)
I see you.sg.

AgrO checks [Person] and by default the subject is interpreted as a 1st person. The clitic *chi-* adjoins to AgrO to compensate for feature underspecification.

The table in (52) shows that in the local system the object is always precisely specified for person (i.e., [1] or [2]). Because object agreement is checked earlier than subject agreement, the subject can be interpreted by means of contrast with the object. The clitic in fact attaches vacuously in the case of the direct form (highlighted in bold) since the object is already fully specified by AgrO:

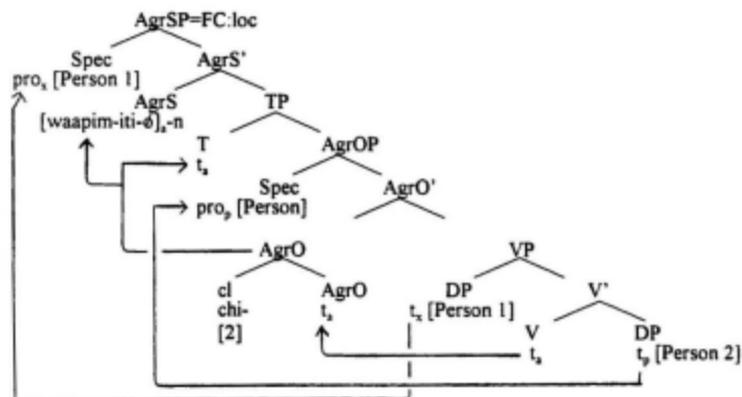
(52) *TA local argument identification*

	Object	Subject interpreted as
Direct	Suffix: [1]	Suffix: [Person] → Clitic: [2]
Inverse	Suffix: [Person] → Clitic: [2]	Suffix: [1]

As (52) shows, this analysis assumes that the inflectional suffixes never specify the feature [2]; only [Person] or [Person 1] are specified. This accounts for the fact that the only pronominal clitic to appear in the local paradigm is the 2nd person *chi-*. The 1st person

clitic *ni-* is never required in the local paradigm because the object is always fully specified by the inflectional morphology. The following phrase structure shows the data in (51):

(53) LOCAL INVERSE: phrase structure for *chi-waapim-it-in*. 'I see you.sg'



Object-*pro* checks the feature [Person] against AgrO and by default AgrS checks [Person 1]. The derivation in (53) converges successfully only if an argument which has the appropriate *phi* features raises to SpecAgrS; subject-*pro* fulfills the checking requirements of AgrS. The clitic *chi-* adjoins to AgrO to compensate for feature underspecification, thus completing the process of argument identification.

There is independent evidence in Western Naskapi that the inflectional suffixes in the local paradigm agree either with [Person 1] or with [Person] (and not with [Person 2]): the Number of 2nd persons is neutralized at the expense of a 1st person plural

form.⁴⁸ In order to examine this evidence I turn to consideration of plural forms.

2.3.1.2 Plural forms

For local forms, 1st and 2nd person plural suffixes are mutually exclusive:

(54) *Neutralization of Number in Western Naskapi*

Direct

- | | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| a. | chiwâpiminân | <i>you.sg/pl see us.pl.excl⁴⁹</i> |
| b. | chiwâpiminâw | <i>you.pl see me</i> |

Inverse

- | | | |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|
| c. | chiwâpimitinân | <i>we.excl see you.sg/pl</i> |
| d. | chiwâpimitinâw | <i>I see you.pl</i> |

This contrasts with the situation for non-local forms where both arguments can be marked plural:

(55) **Niwâpimikunânich.**

ni- wâpim- -ikw- -nân -ich
S:1-see(TA)-IIN.Inv/th-SAP.pl-nonSAP.pl
They see us.excl.

In advance of considering the significance of the data in (54), discussion of how it should be broken down into morphemes is required; that is, should these forms be analyzed as in (56) or as in (57)?

⁴⁸This is only true in some CMN dialects -- in Plains Cree a 1st plural is neutralized at the expense of a 2nd plural. The implications of this dialect difference (viz-a-viz the reanalysis of TA theme signs as object agreement) are described in the following section.

⁴⁹There are no inclusive local forms. Since they are partially reflexive, inclusives are ruled out syntactically (and semantically).

(56)

<i>Direct</i>	Clitic	root+final	AgrO	AgrS	Plural
a.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nān</i>
b.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nāw</i>
<i>Inverse</i>					
c.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-iti</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nān</i>
d.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-iti</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nāw</i>

(57)

<i>Direct</i>	Clitic	root+final	AgrO	AgrS	Plural
a.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-i</i>	--	<i>-nān</i>
b.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-i</i>	--	<i>-nāw</i>
<i>Inverse</i>					
c.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-iti</i>	--	<i>-nān</i>
d.	<i>chi-</i>	<i>wāpim-</i>	<i>-iti</i>	--	<i>-nāw</i>

The first (exclusive) plural suffix is reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian by Goddard (1967) as **enān*.⁵⁰ Significantly, the morpheme *-nān*, signifying [Plural 1], clearly occurs in some non-local forms. Compare the (a) and (b) examples in the following data:

- (58) a. *ni + wāpim + ikw + nān* 's/he sees us.excl.'
b. *ni + wāpim + ikw* 's/he sees me.'

⁵⁰Bloomfield (1946:97) observes of Cree that the first person exclusive plural is *-nān*

I assume the analysis in (56) to be correct by analogy with the singular form *ch/wápimin*, 'you.sg see me'.⁵¹ Assuming that person and number agreement morphemes do not compete for the same checking position, it is not clear why the AgrS *-n* should be overtly marked in the singular form but not in the plural form.⁵²

Returning to the examples (54a-d), why should 2nd person Number be neutralized at the expense of 1st? In order to deal with cases of morpheme competition, Halle and Marantz (1993) incorporate into their Distributed Morphology theory, the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1973), according to which, where competition for lexical insertion occurs, the most highly specified form wins:

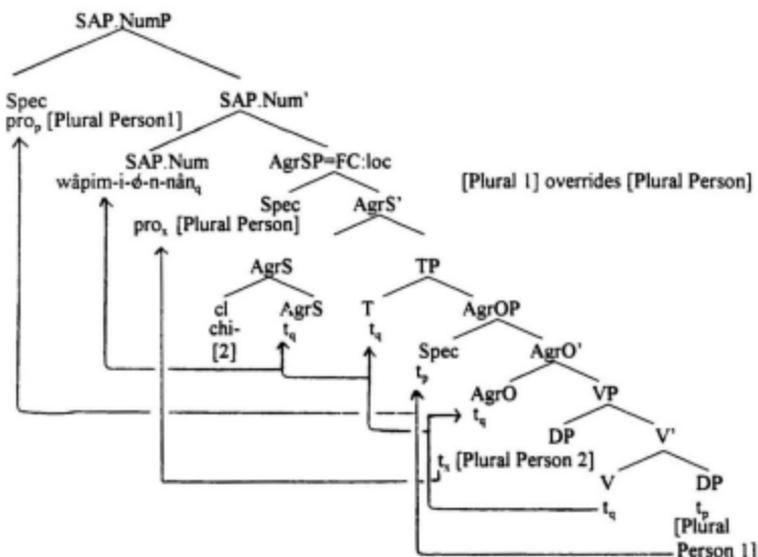
- (59) "The Vocabulary entries in competition for insertion in a particular terminal node automatically organize themselves into blocks ... where entries are ordered by the principle that the most specified entry takes precedence over entries that are less specified." (Halle and Marantz 1993:120)

Assuming this principle to be universal, the neutralization of 2nd person number in favour of a first plural in Western Naskapi is accounted for by proposing a more highly specified first plural:

⁵¹I therefore assume a rule which deletes one of the adjacent [n] segments; otherwise a geminate consonant ([nn]) is expected - this is evident neither phonologically, nor in the orthographic representation.

⁵²In fact, because the Feature Contrast morphology is non-essential, duplicating information conveyed by the AgrO suffix, which option is correct is not of direct relevance to the analysis. The matter is raised in order to support the morphological breakdown decisions.

- (61) LOCAL DIRECT (1st plural): phrase structure for *chiwápimínán*, 'you.sg/pl see us.excl.' (example 54a)



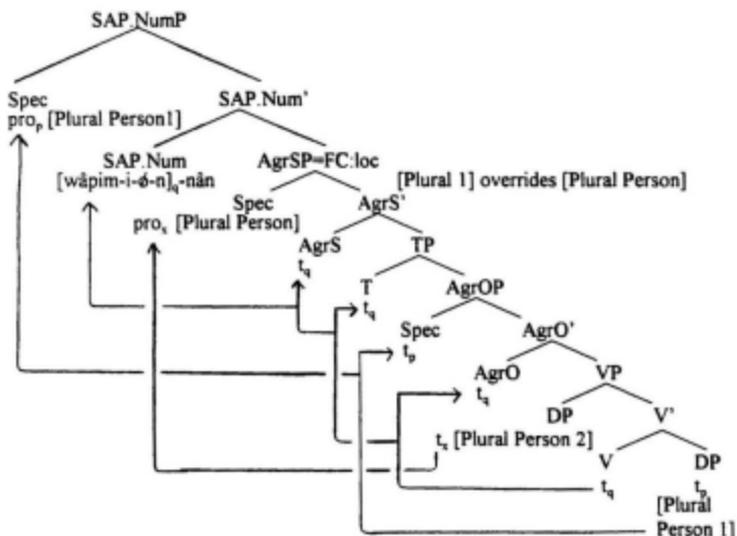
V raises to AgrO allowing object-*pro* to raise to SpecAgrO where the features [Person 1] are checked.⁵⁴ V raises through T to AgrS. Subject-*pro* raises to SpecAgrS and the feature [Person] (but not [Plural]) is checked. If the clitic *chi-* adjoins to AgrS at this point in the derivation to specify the feature [2], then both arguments should be equally

⁵⁴Case checking should be presumed to be the same as detailed in the previous section and is not described again.

specified. The outcome of the competition between 1st and 2nd plurals is never random; 1st person plural consistently overrides 2nd person plural. I take this to indicate that the two plural arguments are not equally specified at this stage in the derivation. How can the proposal that *chi-* adjoins to an Agr which checks [Person] be reconciled with the proposal that 1st and 2nd plurals are not equally specified when Number agreement is checked later than Person agreement? There are two possible solutions to this problem: First, suppose the head SAPNum which checks the feature [Plural] does not have access to the information contributed by *chi-* adjunction; that is, it only “sees” the features checked by Agr. Second, if the clitic adjoins to the underspecified Agr structure at a late stage in the derivation (in a manner analogous to the post-cyclic DP adjunction proposed by Lebeaux 1988), after the competition at SAPNum, a 2nd plural will be less highly specified than a 1st plural at the appropriate stage.⁵⁵ I opt for the latter account because the process of post-cyclic adjunction is attested cross-linguistically. Thus, the person of the subject has not been identified when SAPNum merges. Structure (61) is revised accordingly:

⁵⁵Post-cyclic adjunction of the clitic to Agr does not affect the earlier proposal that there is also post-syntactic clitic raising to CIP.

(62) *Adjunction of chi- does not occur until after SAP.Num merges*



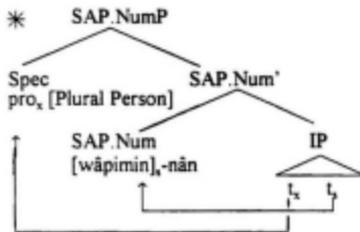
Either *pro*[Plural 1] or *pro*[Plural Person] can be checked at SAP.Num, but not both; in this case, the more highly specified object-*pro* raises to SpecSAP.NumP to check the feature [Plural] and the form *chiwāpimindn* 'you.sg/pl see us.excl.' is licensed.⁵⁶

In (62), subject-*pro* is the closest nominal to the attracting head SAP.Num. However, as (63) shows, so long as there is competition for this checking position, the

⁵⁶Unless it is pertinent to the discussion, post-cyclic clitic adjunction is not represented on the phrase structures but it should be assumed to occur in all cases.

derivation crashes with a *pro* bearing the features [Plural Person] in this position.⁵⁷

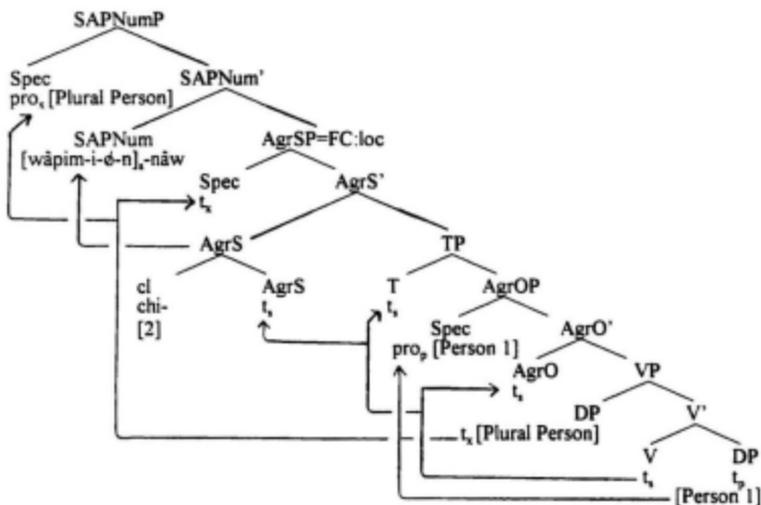
- (63) *Derivation crashes: where pro[Plural Person 1] and pro[Plural Person] compete for the checking position SpecSAP.NumP, Economy requires that SAP.Num check maximum number of features ([Plural Person 1])*



In (54b), *chiwāpimināw*, 'you.pl see me', the plural 2nd person is licensed because there is no competition for the checking position SpecSAP.Num. The less highly specified *pro* [Plural Person], realized by *-nāw*, is the only plural argument in the derivation and is thus not excluded on the grounds of Economy. The following phrase structure illustrates the data in (54b):

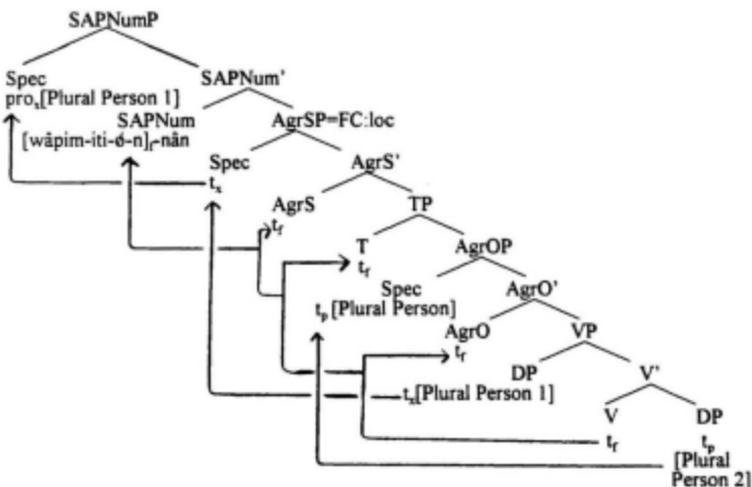
⁵⁷That is, Economy considerations (the chance to check the maximum number of formal features) override the MLC.

- (64) LOCAL DIRECT (2nd plural): phrase structure for *chiwâpiminâw*, 'you.pl see me' (example 54b)



The TA local inverse forms in (54c-d) exhibit the same number neutralization and are accounted for in the same way as the equivalent direct forms. A single head SAPNum permits only one *pro*[Plural] to be checked. The following phrase structure illustrates the data in (54c):

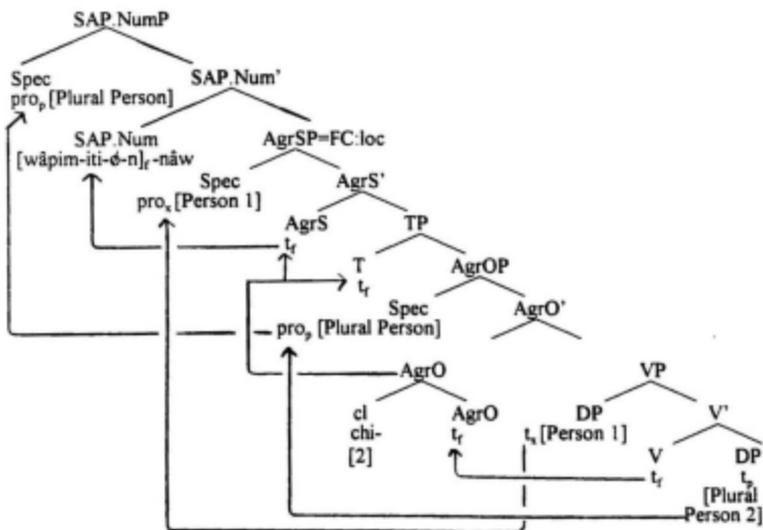
- (65) LOCAL INVERSE (1st plural): phrase structure for *chiwāpimitinān* 'we.excl see you.sg/pl' (example 54c)



In (65), the number of the object is neutralized.

The structure in (66) illustrates the data in (54d) and is analogous to the structure in (64). There is no competition for the feature [Plural] and the checking requirements of SAP.NumP are fulfilled uniquely by object-*pro*[Plural]:

- (66) LOCAL INVERSE (2nd plural): phrase structure for *chiwápimitindw* 'I see you.pl' (example 5-4d)



The next section deals with verb forms which have non-local agreement.

2.3.2 Non-local theme signs

Section 2.3.2.1 details argument identification for non-plural forms which have non-local morphology. Plural forms are dealt with in section 2.3.2.2.

2.3.2.1 Non-plural forms

Non-local object agreement participates in a grosser level of feature opposition than the [Person 1] vs [Person] opposition of the local object agreement. The non-local Feature contrast system opposes [Person] and [+Animate]. AgrO checks either [Person] or [+Animate] and AgrS by default checks whichever feature AgrO has not checked. The pronominal clitics *ni-* and *chi-* adjoin to the Agr head which checks [Person], providing further person specification required for non-local forms.

The table in (67) shows that non-local direct forms are unique among the set of four in that the object is always a nonSAP. In order to capture this uniqueness in formal terms, I propose that the non-local direct theme sign *-d̄* projects the phrase AnP (Animate Phrase) and checks only the feature [+Animate], yielding direct non-local forms. The inverse non-local theme sign *-ikw* projects the phrase AgrO which checks [Person] (in opposition to [+Animate]), distinguishing it from local object agreement for the feature [Person]: *-iti*:

(67) *Person Relations*

<i>Local Direct (2>1)</i>		<i>Local Inverse (1>2)</i>	
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>
<i>SAP</i>	<i>SAP</i> <i>AgrO = -i</i>	<i>SAP</i>	<i>SAP</i> <i>AgrO = -iti</i>
<i>Non-local Direct</i>		<i>Non-local Inverse</i>	
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>
<i>SAP</i>	<i>nonSAP (1/2>3)</i> <i>AgrAn = -ā</i>	<i>nonSAP</i>	<i>SAP (3>1/2)</i> <i>AgrO = -ikw</i>
<i>nonSAP</i>	<i>nonSAP (3>4/5)</i> <i>AgrAn = -ā</i>	<i>nonSAP</i>	<i>nonSAP (4/5>3)</i> <i>AgrO = -ikw</i>

The hypothesis that *-ā* heads a phrase which does not check [Person] not only captures the uniqueness of non-local direct objects, it ensures that an SAP nominal cannot be checked in the SpecAnP position.

Grammatical roles can be distinguished on the basis of a [Person] vs. [+Animate] contrast for forms 1/2>3 and 3>1/2 (sometimes referred to as mixed non-local forms). However, there is no feature contrast between subject and object for the forms 3>4/5 and 4/5>3 since both arguments in these cases are presumably [+Animate]. This problem is highlighted in table (67) (see shaded area, at bottom right of table): *AgrO = -ikw* must be incorrect for forms having a 3rd object if *AgrO* checks [Person], but it also applies to 3>4/5 forms. The following mechanism serves to dissimilate the feature specification of arguments in just this case, “upgrading” 3rd persons to the status of SAPs:

- (68) *Phi feature dissimilation "upgrades" 3rd persons to SAP status*
 Where more than one *pro* bearing the feature [+Animate] occur in a VP, the non-obviative *pro*[+Animate] is upgraded to *pro*[Person].

Thus, the upgraded *pro* is exceptionally marked for the feature [Person]. This dissimilation mechanism provides the feature contrast required for argument identification.

The information for the non-local forms in the table in (67) can now be reinterpreted as follows (with 3* representing an upgraded 3rd person):

- (69) *Assuming pro [+Animate] is upgraded to pro[Person]*

Non-local Direct		Non-local Inverse	
Subject	Object	Subject	Object
SAP	nonSAP (1/2>3)	nonSAP	SAP (3>1/2)
SAP	nonSAP (3*>4/5)	nonSAP	SAP (4/5>3*)

Given these feature oppositions, default subject agreement is established in the same way in the non-local as in the local. The suffix -w marks non-local feature contrast: The generalizations shown in table (70) can now be made:

(70) *Feature oppositions exploited in local and non-local argument identification*

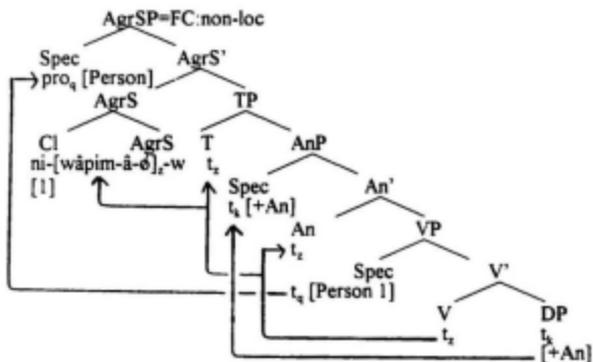
	AgrO checks	AgrAn checks	AgrS checks	Clitic adjoins to	Feature opposition
LOCAL					[Person] vs. [Person 1] -#
direct	[Person 1]	----	[Person]	AgrS [2]	
inverse	[Person]	----	[Person 1]	AgrO [2]	
NON-LOCAL					[Person] vs. [+Animate] -w
direct	----	[Animate]	[Person]	AgrS [1] ~ [2]	
inverse	[Person]	----	[Animate]	AgrO [1] ~ [2]	

The phrase structure in (71b) shows the projection of a non-local direct form which has an SAP argument, the 1>3 form in (71a).

(71)

- a. **Niwâpimâw.**
ni-wâpim-â-w
S:1-see(TA)-IIN.O:An-FC.non-loc(S:Person)
I see her.

- b. **NON-LOCAL DIRECT: phrase structure for niwâpimâw. 'I see her'**



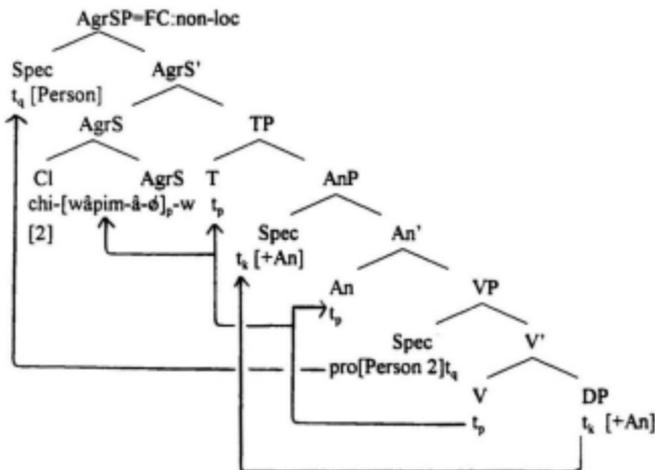
The structure in (71b) lacks an AgrO projection. V raises to AnP, allowing object-*pro* to raise to SpecAnP to check [+Animate]. V passes through T to AgrS. Subject-*pro* raises to SpecAgrSP to check [Person] against AgrS. Finally, the 1st person clitic *ni-* compensates for AgrS checking [Person], providing phonological form for the 1st person feature attached to subject-*pro* in the lexicon.

The phrase structure in (72b) illustrates the structure of the non-local direct 2>3 form in (72a).

(72)

- a. **Chiwāpimāw.**
chi-wāpim-ā-w
S:2-see(TA)-O:An-FC:non-loc(S:Person)
You.sg see her.

- b. *NON-LOCAL DIRECT: phrase structure for chiwāpimāw, 'you.sg see her'*



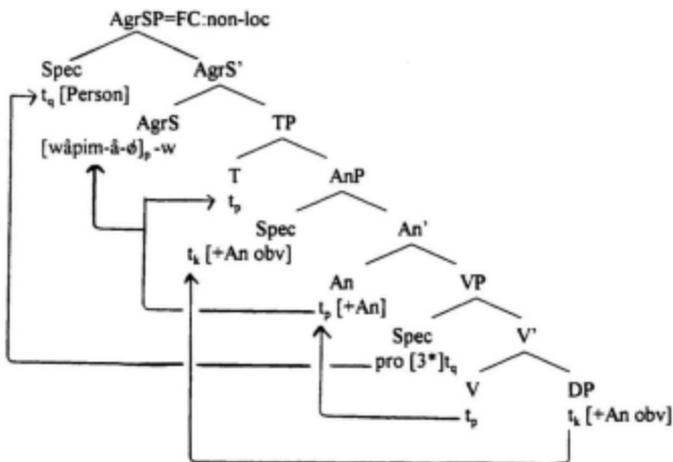
The structures in (72b) and (71b) work identically, except for the fact that the subject is marked 2nd person by *chi-* in (72b).

3>4 forms work in exactly the same way as (71b) and (72b) after [3] has been upgraded to [3*]:

(73)

- a. **Wāpimāw.**
wāpim-ā-w
see(TA)-O:An-FC.non-loc(S:Person)
He sees her.

- b. *NON-LOCAL DIRECT, phrase structure for wāpimāw, 'he sees her'.*



The conditions for the upgrading of [3] to [3*] stated in (68) are met within the VP in (73), exceptionally providing the subject in this construction with [Person] features. V raises to AgrAn and object-*pro* raises to SpecAgrAn to check [+Animate] (recall that subject-*pro* cannot be checked in this position because it bears the feature [Person]). V raises through T to AgrS. Subject-*pro* [3*] checks [Person] at SpecAgrS. No clitic attaches to upgraded *pros*; in spite of being marked [Person], they are not specified as [1]

or [2] in the lexicon.

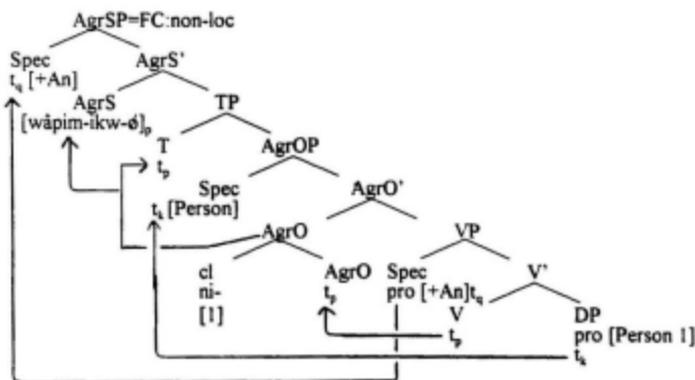
The inverse non-local theme sign *-ik** is treated as AgrO which checks [Person].

The form in (74) is 3>1.

- (74) **Niwâpimik***.
 ni-wâpim-ik*
 O:1-see(TA)-IIN.O:Person
S'he sees me.

The following structure illustrates (74):

- (75) *NON-LOCAL INVERSE: phrase structure for niwâpimik**, 's/he sees me'



After V raises to AgrO, subject-*pro* raises to SpecAgrO to check [Person]. V raises to AgrS via T and subject-*pro* raises to SpecAgrS where AgrS thus checks [+Animate].

Lacking features of obviation, the [+Animate] *pro* is interpreted as a 3rd person. The 1st person features of the object are realized by late adjunction of *ni-* to AgrO. For the form

's/he sees you.sg', the clitic *chi-* specifies the person of the object. Forms having subject/object relations 4/5>3 are presumed to work in the same way as described for (75) after the upgrading of [3] to a [3*] which is checked by AgrO. Phrase structures for these forms are not provided.

2.3.2.2 Plural forms

NonSAP plural forms do not compete with SAP plurals:

- (76) **Niwāpimānānich.**
 ni-wāpim-ā-n-nān-ich
 S:1-see(TA)-IIN.O:An-FC:loc(S:Person)-SAP.pl-nonSAP.pl
We.excl. see them.

The presence of two plural suffixes is translated in structural terms into a phrase structure which has a checking position for each plural *pro*. Further evidence that this is correct is provided by looking at more morphologically complex forms which show that a head which checks Preterit intervenes between SAPNum and nonSAPNum. Compare (77) with

(78):

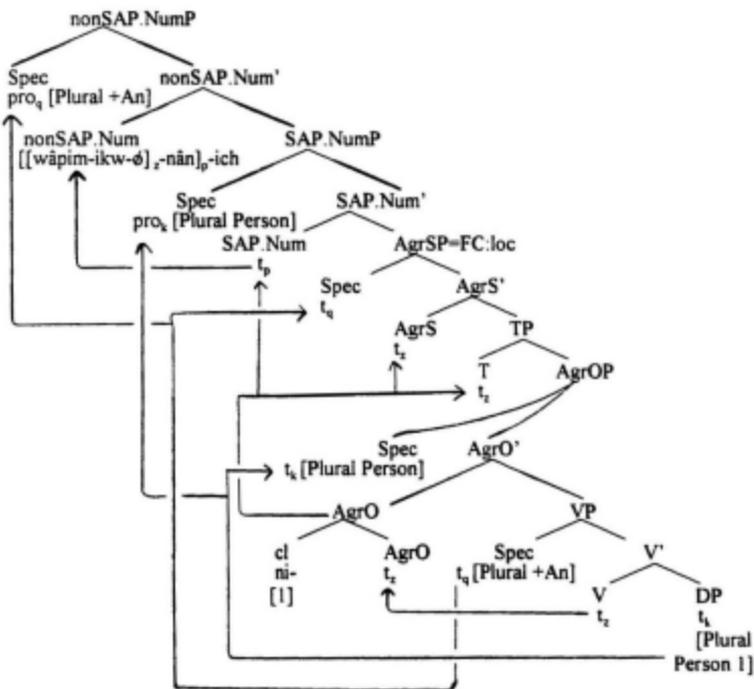
- (77)
- a. *Independent Indicative Preterit TA (local), 1st plural+Preterit*
Chipāwāpiminānāpin.
 chi-pā-wāpim-i-n-nān-āpin
 O:2-should-see(TA)-O:1-FC:loc(S:Person)-1.pl-p\pret
You.sg/pl should have seen us.
- b. *Independent Indicative Preterit TA (local), 2nd Plural+Preterit*
Chipāwāpimināwāpin.
 chi-pā-wāpim-i-n-nāw-āpin
 S:2-should-see(TA)-O:1-FC:loc(S:Person)-2.pl-p\pret
You.pl should have seen me.

V raises to AgrAn and object-*pro* raises to SpecAgrAn to check [+Animate]. V raises to AgrS via T and subject-*pro* raises to SpecAgrS, checking [Person]. V raises to Num[SAP] allowing subject-*pro* to move to SpecNum to check SAP[Plural]. V raises to Num[nonSAP] and object-*pro* raises to the specifier, checking nonSAP[Plural]. Finally, *ni-* adjoins to specify AgrS as 1st person.

The structure in (80b) represents the 3.pl>1.pl form in (80a).

- (80a) **Niwâpimikunânich.**
ni-wâpim-ikw-nân-ich
O:1-see(TA)-O:Person-1.pl-3.pl
They see us.excl.

(80b) *NON-LOCAL INVERSE*: phrase structure for *nīwāpimikunānich*, 'they see us.excl.'



The derivation proceeds as for (75) except that the plural features of the arguments motivate a higher level of structure: object-*pro* is checked at SpecSAP.Num and subject-*pro* is checked at SpecnonSAP.Num. Movement of V to the appropriate [Number]

agreement heads is also assumed.

2.4 Concluding remarks

While the Person/Gender hierarchy provides valid descriptive generalizations, a reanalysis of TA theme signs as object agreement allows the superficial effects of the hierarchy to be derived from universal principles. I propose that the hierarchy is not part of the knowledge a speaker of Algonquian has of his or her language but rather a succinct way of describing the relations which result from the agreement system outlined here. Although descriptively succinct, as use of the terms “direct” and “inverse” show, the hierarchy is not an unbiased view of the functioning of Algonquian grammar. The term “direct” is used to refer to forms in which the pronominal clitic encodes the notion of subject and “inverse” forms are those in which the clitic encodes the object. These terms provide the directionality of the hierarchy from the view point of a speaker of a language in which the subject occurs to the left of the object -- as in, for example, an SVO language. If the idea that the hierarchy is part of the Algonquian speaker’s linguistic competence is abandoned, then the terms “direct” and “inverse” can also be replaced.⁵⁴ The table in (81) shows that an inverse form could be redefined as a form which has object agreement for the feature

⁵⁴These terms can, however, be retained to reflect the assumption that underlying structure of the Algonquian clause is SVO.

[Person].⁵⁹

(81) *Inverse forms: AgrO = [Person]*

DIRECT	AgrS [Person], AgrO 	[Person 1] (local) [+Animate] (non-local)
INVERSE	AgrO [Person], AgrS 	[Person 1] (local) [+Animate] (non-local)

The phrase structures motivated in this analysis of the inflectional morphology of the Independent Indicative Neutral are now taken to be basic and appear in the remainder of this thesis.

⁵⁹Conversely, direct forms always have [Person] AgrS. However, since the nature of the AgrS is dependent on AgrO, I use the latter in my redefinition.

Chapter 3

The relationship between the Conjunct verb and the complementizer position

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter a subset of the syntactic environments in which Conjunct morphology occurs in Western Naskapi is examined in order to identify the underlying structure of the Conjunct clause. The environments considered are: subordinate clauses; clauses (main and subordinate) containing a *wh*-phrase; negated main and subordinate clauses (with and without a *wh*-phrase); and certain non-*wh* main clauses (which are analyzed as focus constructions). Given that, cross-linguistically, a CP level is associated with both subordinate clauses and with clauses containing a *wh*-phrase, the principal hypothesis of this chapter is that the varied syntactic environments in which the Conjunct verb occurs all have at least one CP level. This chapter assumes that *wh*-phrases raise to the SpecCP position of the Conjunct clause. It is further assumed that the negator which most frequently co-occurs with the Conjunct (*ekā*) is base-generated at the head of a CP (Neg-CP) which selects a CP complement; negated Conjunct clauses are thus double CP structures.⁶⁰ Extensive support for these two assumptions appears, respectively, in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁶⁰As detailed by MacKenzie (1992), several other negators are found with the Conjunct in CMN dialects. However, in all the data collected for this thesis, the Conjunct negator is *ekā*. The existence of alternative Conjunct negators thus remains to be established for Western Naskapi.

The obligatory occurrence of the Conjunct is accounted for by proposing a relationship of interdependence, expressed in terms of Checking theory, between any verb bearing Conjunct morphology and non-negative C (non-Neg-C).⁶¹ This is the C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis referred to in Chapter 1. The formal definition of a Conjunct verb is thus a verbal element which combines in the lexicon with the formal feature [CJ]. The feature [CJ] is checked by non-Neg-C. Independent verbs, lacking the feature [CJ], are checked within IP (at Agr, Num and T heads, as detailed in Chapter 2). For both Conjunct and Independent verbs, movement through IP is motivated by the requirement to check *phi*-features and Case. Movement to C is dependent on the presence of the feature [CJ] which distinguishes Conjunct verbs from Independent verbs.

The claim that Algonquian Conjunct verbs raise to C (and that Independent verbs raise to Infl) was first made by Campana (1996) on the basis of Montagnais and Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (Eastern Algonquian) data. Brittain (1997) arrives at the same conclusions for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, although the analysis differs in detail from Campana's. The C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis differs to some extent from both of these earlier works. Brittain (1997) claims that V^{CJ} raises to C in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun via Long Head Movement (LHM), a type of verb movement in which the verb raises directly from V-to-C without landing at the intervening (minimally, Tense and Agreement) heads (Rivero 1991). In this chapter I show that the facts for both Sheshatshu Innu-aimun and

⁶¹Non-Neg-C is headed by either of the two complementizers argued for in this chapter: [a]-comp or null-comp.

Western Naskapi are best accounted for under an analysis in which V^{CJ} raises to C via Tense and Agr heads. Verb movement as far as AgrS (or Num.P) is the same for Conjunct and Independent verbs and is presumed to be as detailed in Chapter 2. In abandoning the claim that Conjunct raising is a case of LHM, the analysis laid out in the present work concurs in general terms with Campana. I depart from Campana, however, in the manner in which the absence of pronominal clitics in the Conjunct is accounted for. Finally, an obvious difference between the present thesis and the two earlier analyses is that the dialect under investigation here is Western Naskapi (rather than Montagnais or Passamaquoddy-Maliseet). Where appropriate, data from several other CMN dialects is brought into the discussion. While dialect differences (with respect to the specific structures examined in this chapter) are attested, the C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis will be shown to account for Conjunct distribution in general in the CMN complex.

Of verbs of the Independent order in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, Campana (1996:215) observes that their functions are “many and varied, and do not fall into any obvious pattern”, contrasting with Conjunct and Imperative verbs which have a more predictable distribution.⁶² Campana concludes that the Independent should be regarded as the default order, surfacing whenever the conditions that require other orders are not met. This observation holds of CMN dialects also (and most likely of Algonquian in general),

⁶²Campana in fact refers to the functions of the “independent/relative” order. The relative is a submode of the independent in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet (Sherwood 1986) and has no equivalent in CMN dialects.

hence the decision to represent Conjunct verbs as V^{CJ} (i.e., having the feature {Conjunct}) and Independent verbs simply as V (rather than as, for instance, as $V^{I-DEPENDENT}$).

Consideration of the derivation of clauses containing an Imperative is necessarily beyond the scope of this thesis, except to say that formal expression of Campana's observation entails representing Imperatives as, for example, V^{IMP} , [IMP] being a formal feature which drives a type of movement unique to verbs bearing Imperative morphology.

In order to explore the validity of the C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis, this chapter surveys a wide range of constructions. For this reason, the discussion is, at times, necessarily general in nature and a number of the questions raised are set aside as topics for future research. For example, although a principled account is provided of the distribution of Changed Conjunct forms, the significance of the process of Initial Change is considered principally from a structural point of view. The function of Initial Change is considered in a general way only, the more detailed examination it merits being beyond the scope of the present study. The reader will also notice that subordinate clauses are discussed with little reference to their type (concessive, conditional, etc.). Because a principal goal of this thesis is to explore the syntactic position occupied by the Conjunct verb in a subordinate environment in general, clause typology is not discussed in any detail.

This chapter is organized as follows. In 3.1, justification is provided for abandoning a LHM analysis of V^{CJ} -to-C movement. In section 3.2, a phonological analysis of the process of Initial Change is provided which shows that Changed forms are

systematically derived by affixing [a] to the left-most vowel of the verb complex. I thus claim that this segment [a] is the complementizer [a]-comp. The [a]-comp complementizer, although it has phonological form ([a-]), only achieves phonological realization by affixing to a verb. [a]-comp is thus analogous to a floating grammatical tone in that it is phonologically dependent. Expanding on an idea sketched out in Campana (1996), I argue that the affixation of [a]-comp to V^{CJ} is responsible for Initial Change. Unchanged Conjunct forms are derived by means of affixation of a null complementizer (null-comp) to V^{CJ} . The distribution of Changed and Unchanged Conjunct forms is thus accounted for, respectively, in terms of the distribution of [a]-comp and null-comp. Evidence is provided in support of the claim that [a]-comp is the default complementizer in main and subordinate clause contexts; the occurrence of null-comp is shown to coincide with a marked semantic reading. This means that Changed Conjunct forms must be regarded as the default type of Conjunct verb. The Changed Conjunct verb need not be viewed as being more morphologically marked than its Unchanged counterpart if the formal contrast between the two verb types is viewed as being merely due to the presence of distinct complementizers -- one which has (after affixation) phonological form, and one which doesn't. The claim that Initial Change is the result of affixation of a complementizer to V^{CJ} supports the C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis because it necessarily entails V^{CJ} raising at least as far as the head of CP.

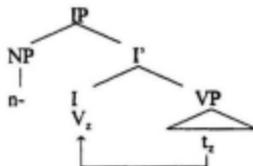
Section 3.3 shows that a CP level can be independently motivated in all the Conjunct constructions examined in this study. Subordinate clauses are discussed in

section 3.3.1 and main clauses are discussed in section 3.3.2). Phrase structures for each of the syntactic environments are provided in this section. Concluding remarks appear in 3.4.

3.1 V^{CJ} -to-C movement: Long Head Movement vs. movement through Tense and Agreement heads

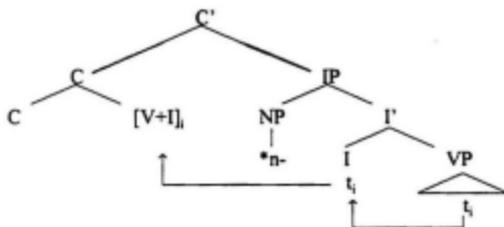
Both Campana (1996) and Brittain (1997) cite as evidence in favour of the proposal that V^{CJ} raises to C the absence of pronominal clitics in the Conjunct. Brittain proposes that V^{CJ} raises directly to C without landing at any intervening head (i.e., LHM). This means that there are no traces between VP and CP so that, minimally, AgrO, Tense and AgrS are by-passed. The Conjunct verb thus by-passes the agreement heads at which the pronominal clitics are presumed to be licensed, ruling out clitic attachment in the Conjunct. Campana accounts for the same facts in a different manner: V^{CJ} transits through Tense and Agreement heads and the pronominal clitic is licensed in a Spec-Head agreement relationship with a verb in Infl. This permits clitic licensing by the Independent verb:

(82) *Campana (1996): clitic licensed via agreement with (Independent) verb in Infl*



The Conjunct verb in Campana's analysis also raises to Infl, however, further raising to C leaves the trace of V^{cl} in Infl. Campana rules out clitic licensing in the Conjunct by proposing that the trace of the verb cannot license the clitic:

- (83) *Campana (1996:221): trace of (Conjunct) verb fails to license clitic (after I-to-C movement)*



However, this analysis rules out clitic attachment in the Conjunct as well as in certain cases in the Independent. As illustrated in Chapter 2, the [Person] agreement features of the object are realized by the clitic on inverse forms. For ease of reference, example (51) is repeated here:

- (84) **Chiwápimitin.**
 chi-wápim-iti-n
 O:2-see(TA)-IIN.O:Person-FC:loc(S:Person 1)
I see you.sg.

In these cases, the proclitic must be licensed by AgrO. If the trace (in Infl) of the raised Conjunct verb cannot license a subject clitic (in SpecIP), then the trace of the Independent verb, which raises beyond AgrO to T and AgrS, must likewise be unable to license an object clitic. Thus, Campana's account of the difference between the Conjunct and the

Independent, viz-a-viz clitic attachment, does not adequately deal with the facts. The LHM analysis, on the other hand, rules out clitic attachment in the Conjunct without relying on the claim that a verb, but not its trace, is a legitimate licenser. The LHM analysis thus permits both subject and object clitic licensing in the Independent. There are, however, additional problems with the proposal that V^{cl} raises to C by means of LHM.

Brittain (1997) proposes that the following three formal properties of the Conjunct and Independent paradigms in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun follow from a LHM analysis:

(85) *LHM accounts for the following properties of Independent and Conjunct verbs*

- a. Within the indicative mode, there is a set of past tense suffixes for Independent verbs but not for Conjunct indicative verbs.
- b. Conjunct verbs lack the pronominal clitics which characterize Independent verbs;
- c. Conjunct verbs and Independent verbs have distinct types of agreement morphology:
 - i. in the Conjunct, highly specified portmanteau suffixes are the norm
 - ii. in the Independent, agreement suffixes are less highly specified for person than in the Conjunct.

While it is true that there is no past tense inflectional suffix in the Conjunct Indicative in either Sheshatshu Innu-aimun or in Western Naskapi (past tense being denoted by means of a tense preverb), both dialects have Conjunct Dubitative Preterit suffixation:⁶³

⁶³From this point onwards, Conjunct verbs are glossed 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 to identify the person of the argument (as opposed to showing agreement for the feature [Person] – throughout the thesis it is assumed only SAPs bear the feature [Person]). Number agreement (Singular or Plural) and, where appropriate, Animacy agreement are also indicated in the glosses. Since Independent verbs are not the focus of this

(86) *Conjunct Dubitative Preterit*

a. *Western Naskapi*

Wâpimiyinâkwâ.

wâpim-iyi-nâkwâ

see(TA)-O:1.sg-CDP.S:2.sg

If you.sg had seen me.

b. *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*

Uâpaminâkue.

uâpam-î-nâkue

see(TA)-O:1.sg-CDP.S:2.sg

If you.sg had seen me.

A LHM analysis of V^{CJ} movement in (86) will result in a derivational crash because the verb complex is presumed to bear the Tense feature [Past], which cannot be checked. In order to check [Past], V^{CJ} must pass through Tense; the LHM analysis of V^{CJ} movement must therefore be rejected. In fact, quite apart from the data in (86), rejection of V^{CJ} -to-C movement as LHM is required to maintain consistency with the assumptions made in Chapter 2: to permit the complex T+V to provide AgrS with nominative Case properties, it is assumed that V passes through Tense in all cases, whether there is overt Tense morphology or not. This is consistent with the standard assumptions of the Minimalist Program.

With respect to (85b-c), these two facts have already been accounted for by the argument laid out in Chapter 2. In the Independent, clitics adjoin to Agr to compensate for Agr feature underspecification (in cases where Agr checks [Person]). Applied

chapter, for convenience, they are glossed in a less detailed manner than in Chapter 2: for example, 1>3 = 1st person subject, 3rd object.

generally, the same analysis accounts for the absence of pronominal clitics in the Conjoint order; the highly specified portmanteau Conjoint inflectional suffixes render the pronominal clitics redundant if Agr is never underspecified. Point (85b) is thus a direct consequence of (85c). While (85c) suggests a fundamental formal difference between Conjoint and Independent verbs (perhaps a difference in the way the two different verb forms are checked), (85c.i) does not necessarily imply LHM.⁶⁴ Conjoint verbs raise to C from AgrS whereas Independent verbs raise only as far as AgrS (or Num). In theory, there is nothing to prevent clitic attachment at either Agr since verb raising is the same for the Conjoint as for the Independent as far as Infl. This revised analysis not only has the advantage of permitting Tense and Agreement checking, it also accounts for the absence of clitics in the Conjoint in a manner which is consistent with the analysis which predicts the precise distribution of *ni-* and *chi-* in the Independent (i.e., why *ni-* does not occur in the local paradigm).

3.2 Initial Change

This section is divided as follows: 3.2.1 discusses the phonology of Initial Change and 3.2.2 argues that the “Conjoint past tense preverb” *ká-* and the “complementizer” *ká-* are polysemes, the former being bi-morphemic, the latter mono-morphemic.

⁶⁴Brittain (1997) suggests that covert feature-checking may be associated with portmanteau morphology.

3.2.1 The phonology of Initial Change

The principal claim of this section is that the phonological shifts which constitute Initial Change in Western Naskapi are systematically derived by affixation of the complementizer [a]-comp to V^{CJ}.⁶⁵ The table shown as (13) in Chapter 1 is repeated here for ease of reference:

(87) *Phonological shifts which constitute Initial Change in Western Naskapi*

[a]	>	[â]
[u]	>	[wâ]
[ã]	>	[iyã]
[î]	>	[â]
[û]	>	[û] ~ [iyû]

All Changed forms are thus, minimally, bi-morphemic.

Campana cites as evidence that the Conjunct verb is checked in C the fact that only in the Conjunct order does Initial Change occur. Campana (1996:219): "... if any verbal paradigm exhibits phonological change, it will be the one associated with movement to Comp, rather than the one without." The reader is referred to Campana for cases of morpho-phonological processes said to result from I-to-C movement, in English, French and Paluan. Assuming this observation to be correct, I explore in some detail the link between verb movement to C and Initial Change.

⁶⁵Many thanks to Carrie Dyck for providing the phonological analysis which made it possible to express the idea of a complementizer whose form is only apparent in combination with a host morpheme which has phonological form.

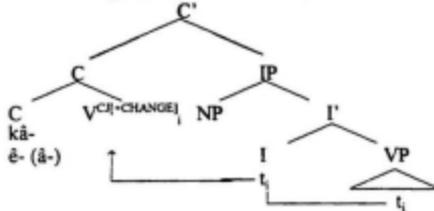
Dahlstrom (1991:18-19) argues, for Plains Cree, that the preverbs *é-* and *ká-* (which surface as *á-* and *ká-* in Western Naskapi) are complementizers. Blain (1997) also treats these morphemes as complementizers, stating more specifically the conditions under which each occurs (*é-* with LF level null *wh*-operator movement and *ká-* with null *wh*-operator movement at Surface Structure).⁶⁶ Lees (1979), in an analysis of CMN data, also treats *ká-* as a complementizer as does Pagatto (1980) in a study of (Rapid Lake) Algonquin. I do not intend to imply that the Western Naskapi formal equivalents are functional equivalents to the Plains Cree preverbs; in fact, in this section I argue that at least *ká-* is not equivalent in these two dialects. As Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993) demonstrate, dialect differences exist in the usage of preverbs within the CMN complex.⁶⁷ Assuming Plains Cree *é-* and *ká-* to be complementizers, Campana proposes that Initial Change can be accounted for as follows:

“[A]nalyzing the Plains Cree preverbs as complementizers provides a basis for explaining why initial change might occur: if the conjunct verb is derived by I-to-C movement, and the head of CP is already filled by *é(h)-* or *ká-*, the ensuing merger would derive the kind of structure shown in [(88)]. The precondition for phonological change would be met in such a complex word, that is, the addition of another syllable might affect stress assignment, or a vowel in an adjacent syllable might induce a transfer of features. With regard to initial change without an overt complementizer, it remains only to say that a null complementizer is present and that the inflected verb adjoins to it.” (Campana 1996:22-3)

⁶⁶Blain’s analysis is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

⁶⁷For further reading on preverbs in CMN dialects see Wolfart (1973), James (1991) and Starks (1992, 1995).

(88) *Initial Change* (Campana 1996:221).⁶⁸



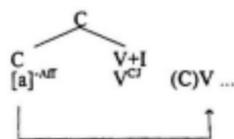
There are a number of problems, however, associated with claiming that the preverb itself is a complementizer, the most obvious of which being that if Initial Change is caused by the addition of phonological material to the verb complex (as in the case, for example, of prefixing *kã-* to the verb), a null complementizer should not have any phonological impact. Specifically, Initial Change cannot be accounted for under this view in cases where there is no preverb and the verb root is affected. The claim that affixation of [a]-comp to the verb complex is responsible for Initial Change provides a unified account of all Changed forms -- in all cases, the μ process results from the addition of phonological material.

Using a non-linear representation of vocalic features (Clements and Hume 1995), the sound changes which occur as the result of Initial Change are systematically derived by proposing a complementizer which has the underlying form [a] (i.e., a [dorsal] vowel). The [a]-comp complementizer obtains phonological realization in one of two ways: (i) it

⁶⁸This structure is slightly amended, leaving out details of Campana's analysis which I do not discuss.

may attach itself to a host which itself has phonological form. Specifically, [a]-comp associates to the left-most vowel in the verb complex. Since [a]-comp is phonologically dependent on some part of the verb complex, it is affixal. In (89), [a]-comp affixes to a non-initial segment and thus represents a case of [a]-comp infixation.⁶⁹

(89) *Initial Change affects verb complex: [a]-comp infixation*

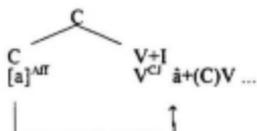


The option also exists for [a]-comp to affix to the left edge of the verb complex, resulting in the morpheme referred to as the “dummy” Conjunct prefix (*â-* in Western Naskapi, *ê-* in Plains Cree and most other CMN dialects, *î-* in Woods Cree).⁷⁰ In this case, [a]-comp is augmented from [a] to [ã] in order to prevent the procope to which short vowels in word-initial position are subject in CMN dialects (MacKenzie 1979):

⁶⁹See McCarthy and Prince (1993) and references therein for an analysis of infixation.

⁷⁰This is referred to variously as a prefix (Clarke 1982) and as a preverb (Wolfart 1973; Dahlstrom 1991). I use the more neutral term “prefix”.

- (90) "Dummy Conjunct Prefix" [a]-comp prefixation to left edge of V^{Cj}



Instances of procope in Western Naskapi are provided in (91).⁷¹

- (91) *Procope in Western Naskapi: word-initial short vowel deletes*

<i>akúhp</i>	'coat'	>	<i>kúhp</i>
<i>asám</i>	'snowshoe'	>	<i>sám</i>
<i>atíhk</i> ^w	'caribou'	>	<i>tíhk</i> ^w

In all CMN dialects, the dummy Conjunct prefix is bi-moraic, derived from [a]-comp in the following manner:

- (92) *Association of [a]-comp as prefix to [dorsal] vowel*



The fact that the dummy Conjunct prefix is δ - in Western Naskapi supports the view that the underlying form of the complementizer which causes Initial Change is [a-];

⁷¹MacKenzie (1979, 1980) shows that in CMN dialects word-initial [a] and [i] are more likely to delete than other short vowels ([u], for example). An unaugmented prefixed [a]-comp would thus be especially prone to deletion.

there is no reason for this morpheme to alter in any way other than in length, so it would be expected to retain its underlying form when affixed to the left edge of V^{CI} . Given that the Conjoint prefix is \acute{e} - in Plains Cree, this predicts an [e]-comp for Plains Cree. In Woods Cree the Conjoint prefix is i -, predicting an [i]-comp for Woods Cree. Support for the [a]-comp hypothesis will be obtained in the case that the phonological alternations caused by Initial Change in each of these dialects can be derived from these underlying forms. There is some support for the idea in the literature: Bloomfield (1958:62) refers to the dummy Conjoint prefix in Ojibwa (which is \acute{e} -) as being derived from an underlying form [a]. Wolfart (1973:77), however, says of this underlying [a] segment that it "does not occur in Cree".

The conditions governing which option of [a]-comp realization speakers select -- infixation or prefixation -- are not well understood. There is evidence that in some dialects the selection is at least in part phonologically conditioned: Clarke (1986a:77) observes of Sheshatshu Innu-aimun that the "Conjoint prefix" typically occurs in the case that the initial vowel of the verb complex is [u]: "the e - Conjoint is typically used ... only with verbs whose first syllable vowel is [u]."⁷² That these two phonological options are the result of the application of a single syntactic process is confirmed by speaker intuitions

⁷²Henceforth I use the term [a]-comp in a general way to refer to the morpheme which I claim is responsible for Initial Change in CMN dialects in general. Obviously, the form this complementizer takes will vary according to the phonemic inventory of any given dialect.

that the following data are paraphrases.⁷³

- (93) *Western Naskapi*
a. Nimiywáiyhtán á-páhtamán tákusiniyín
b. Nimiywáiyhtán piyáhtamán tákusiniyín
I'm glad to hear that you have arrived.

Textual data from James (1991) shows the situation to be the same in Moose Cree:

- (94) *Moose Cree*
a. ispi tǝhkáyák
b. ispi é-tahkáyák
when it is cold

James (1991:1) cites an interesting exception (to the data in 94) in Moose Cree. The opposition between [a]-comp prefixation and infixation to the past tense preverb provides the opposition between a temporal clause (see 95a) and a reason clause (see 95b).

Glosses are amended appropriately, replacing the IC (Initial Change) gloss used thus far with [a]-comp:

⁷³These data also appear in Chapter 1.

(95) *Moose Cree*⁷⁴

a. *[a]-comp infixation: temporal clause*⁷⁴

Níkî-tôtên nâpêw kâ-takošihk.

nî-kî-tôt-ên nâpêw kâ-takošihk

S: 1-past-do(TI)-IIN.O:Inan/S:Person man [a]-comp+Past-come(AI).CIN.S:3.sg

I did it after the man had come.

b. *[a]-comp prefixation: reason clause*

Níkî-tôtên nâpêw ê-kî-takošihk.

nî-kî-tôt-ên nâpêw ê-kî-takošihk

S: 1-past-do(TI)-IIN.O:Inan/S:Person man [a]-comp+Past-come(AI).CIN.S:3.sg

I did it because the man had come.

(James 1991:1)

A review of the literature shows that the opposition attested in (95) is restricted to cases where Initial Change applies to the functional preverbs (Dahlstrom 1991; Starks 1992).

Also, this opposition may only be available in some dialects. In Western Naskapi, for example, the equivalent pairs to (95) are paraphrases:

(96) *Western Naskapi*

a. *[a]-comp infixation*

Nichischâyimâw kâ-nikimut.

nî-chischâyim-â-w kâ-nikimu-t

S: 1-know(TA)-IIN.O:An-S:Person [a]-comp+Past-sing(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

I know that he sang.

b. *[a]-comp prefixation*

Nichischâyimâw â-chî-nikimut.

nî-chischâyim-â-w â-chî-nikimu-t

S: 1-know(TA)-IIN.O:An-S:Person [a]-comp+Past-sing(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

I know that he sang.

This is a matter I set aside for future research. For the present, I assume that the contrast

⁷⁴Henceforth, in line 3 of the examples, I separate [a]-comp and null-comp from the rest of the verb complex with a plus symbol (+). This is to remind the reader of the status of these two morphemes as complementizers.

illustrated in (95) is exceptional and that Initial Change is the result of a general process of [a]-comp affixation. Assuming this, it is not surprising that in some dialects, Western Naskapi included (Marguerite MacKenzie, p.c.), the prefixation option is increasingly favoured, reflecting a shift toward isomorphy. Younger Western Naskapi speakers favour use of the *ā-* prefix ([a]-comp prefixation) over changing the left-most vowel of the verb complex ([a]-comp infixation). Whether the increased use of the prefix is associated with a shift in the semantic and/or syntactic impact of applying Initial Change remains to be investigated. Wolfart (1973:46) reports a similar shift occurring in Plains Cree: "Impressionistically speaking, the use of *é-* is gaining at the expense of forms where the stem itself undergoes initial change."

Starks (1992:248-9) regards the preferential use of the prefix as evidence that Initial Change is "no longer productive":

"In most variants of Cree, Initial Change is not entirely productive. Wolfart (1973:46) notes an apparent tendency to use the changed preverb *ē-* instead of productive Initial Change in Plains Cree. Initial Change is only semi-productive in the version of Cree described by Ellis [1983]. Although some verbs undergo Initial Change, most verbs that require Initial Change used the changed preverbs *ē-*, *kā-*, and *kī-*. In Moose Cree, the data base for James [1983], productive Initial Change is a marginal process. It is restricted to the changed Conjunct preverbs *kā-*, *ē-* and *kē-*."

In my analysis, since [a]-comp prefixation and infixation are equivalent (both are instances of [a]-comp affixation), the trend noted by Starks for Cree, also evident in Montagnais and Naskapi, is not regarded as being evidence that Initial Change is no longer productive but rather that prefixation is increasingly favoured over infixation, a shift which can be

accounted for in terms of economy of effort since infixation results in a variety of surface forms.⁷⁵

Where an Unchanged Conjunct verb occurs in a construction, this is regarded as evidence of the presence of null-comp rather than [a]-comp. Thus, at least the two following complementizers are assumed for Western Naskapi:

(97) *Western Naskapi complementizers*

- a. null-comp: $\emptyset + V^{CJ}$ \longrightarrow Unchanged Conjunct
- b. [a]-comp: [a]-comp + V^{CJ} \longrightarrow Changed Conjunct

The syntactic environments in which null-comp and [a]-comp appear are discussed in section 3.3.

All of the sound changes attributed to Initial Change are systematically derived from the affixation of [a] as described above. Initial Change can now be restated as follows:

⁷⁵When [a]-comp infixation applies to preverbs, however, the verb root is “protected” from the effects of Initial Change in the same way as [a]-comp prefixation protects it. If the trend away from changing the verbal root is driven by economy of effort considerations, then, more precisely, one would expect a favouring of [a]-comp affixation to preverbs, as well as [a]-comp prefixation. Both of these options result in a reduced variety of surface forms.

(98) *Initial Change restated (for Western Naskapi)*

a. *[a]-comp attaches to left-most vowel of V^{CJ}*

If this is	[a]	the resulting combination is	[â]
	[u]		[wâ]
	[â]		[iyâ]
	[i]		[â]
	[û]		[û] ~ [iyu]

b. *[a]-comp augments to [â] and prefixes to V^{CJ} (dummy Conjunct prefix)*

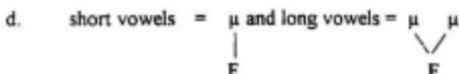
[a] > [â] resulting in the prefix â-

This analysis has a number of important implications. Before discussing them, here are the details of the phonological representations on which it is based:

Unlike other analyses of Initial Change in Algonquian (see Costa 1996 for the most comprehensive treatment), the [a]-comp hypothesis is based on a non-linear phonological analysis of synchronic data. The following theoretical assumptions apply to this analysis:

(99) *Theoretical assumptions of phonological analysis*

- a. underspecification of features (Steriade 1995)
- b. a non-linear feature geometry (Clements and Hume 1995)
- c. that a mora (μ) is the smallest sub-syllabic prosodic unit (van der Hulst 1984; McCarthy and Prince 1986; Zec 1988)



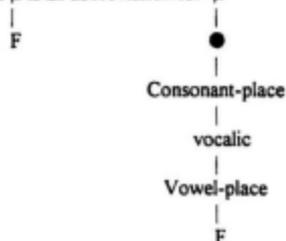
- e. that the underlying vowel inventory is:

	<i>Underlying inventory</i>	<i>Surface inventory (after default fill-in rules)</i>
i, ī	[\emptyset]	[\emptyset] \longrightarrow [coronal, high]
u, ū	[labial, dorsal]	[labial, dorsal] \longrightarrow [labial, dorsal, high]
a, ā	[dorsal]	[dorsal] \longrightarrow [dorsal, low]

- f. that the Changed form consists of the Unchanged form plus a prefix/infix ([a]-comp) whose shape is:



Note that μ is an abbreviation for μ



- g. that the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) (Goldsmith 1979; McCarthy 1986; Odden 1988; Yip 1988) applies

The derivation of Changed forms from Unchanged forms, by means of [a]-comp infixation, is shown in (100).

(100) *Derivation of Changed forms from Unchanged forms*

Unchanged	Changed	[a]-comp	+	Unchanged vowel	=	Changed form
a	ā	a μ dorsal		a μ dorsal	=	a a ā μ μ μ μ dorsal dorsal dorsal
(OCP related fix-up)						
i	ā	a μ dorsal		i μ		ā μ μ dorsal
(Spreading of [dorsal] prevents default fill-in of [coronal])						
ā	iyā	a μ dorsal		ā μ μ dorsal		a → i ā μ μ μ μ ≠ dorsal dorsal
(OCP-based fix-up; bare mora ultimately receives default [coronal], resulting in [i]+onset [y])						

(100) *continued*

Unchanged	Changed	[a]-comp	+ Unchanged vowel	= Changed form
i	ä	a μ dorsal	i μ μ	ä μ μ dorsal <i>(μ) stray erased</i>
<p>((Dorsal] spreads to 2nd but not 3rd mora (no triply long vowels) Phonotactics prevent insertion of default [coronal] (*[äi]) and 3rd mora is stray-erased.)</p>				
û	û - iyû	a μ dorsal	û μ μ dorsal labial	û μ μ dorsal labial
<p>(OCP-based fix-up; 1st mora variably realized with [coronal] vowel or stray-erased. Results in two possible surface forms)</p>				
		a → ø	a → i(y)	
		↓	↓	
		û	i(y)	û
		μ μ dorsal labial	μ i coronal	μ μ dorsal labial
		[û]		[iyû]

occurring in contexts where a complementizer would be expected, *ā-* (*ē-*) can reasonably be presumed to a complementizer. It is, however, an over-simplification of the facts to claim that the preverb *kā-* is a complementizer in the same way that *ā-* (*ē-*) is a complementizer; *kā-* must be analyzed as a bi-morphemic element, consisting of the complementizer [a]-comp and the feature [Past] Tense. As discussed in some detail in section 3.2.2, a bi-morphemic analysis of *kā-* accounts for its apparent dual function in some CMN dialects -- as either a simple complementizer, or as (simultaneously) complementizer and past tense preverb.

Another consequence of adopting this account of Initial Change is that all Changed forms, whether change applies to a preverb or to the verbal root itself, must be treated as forms to which [a]-comp is affixed. This view contrasts with approaches taken by other researchers: Starks (1992), for example, classifies the past and future tense preverbs (*kī-* and *kā-*) in Woods Cree as "Type 1" preverbs while their Unchanged counterparts are classified as "Type 2" preverbs. Although Starks (1992:222) acknowledges that "[Type 2] preverbs represent the Unchanged counterparts of [Type 1 preverbs]", the significance of the morpho-phonological process by which one is derived from the other, either by a still-productive process or by a process which was productive at some point in the evolution of the language, is overlooked. Thus, I believe, an important generalization is lost: that Changed form preverbs are bi-morphemic while their Unchanged counterparts are mono-morphemic.

The fact that a bi-morphemic analysis of *kā-* accounts for its distribution and

function in a variety of CMN dialects is of direct relevance to the principal aim of this chapter, which is to explore the evidence in favour of the C-checks-V^{CJ} hypothesis. If, as I argue, the facts support a bi-morphemic analysis of *ká-*, this in turn supports the [a]-comp hypothesis. The [a]-comp hypothesis accounts for a morpho-phonological process affecting (a subset of) Conjunct verbs which takes place within CP and thus directly addresses the claim that all Conjunct verbs are checked at C. Bearing in mind the importance of *ká-* then, it is worth prefacing discussion of its function with a review of the significance of its form.

Is there any reason to believe that *ká-* is derived by means of a productive process of Initial Change or is it a morphologized form? In fact, it doesn't matter. What is relevant is the fact that *ká-* could have been derived by means of affixation of [a]-comp to the past tense preverb at some point in the evolution of a given dialect/language. Jancewicz and MacKenzie (1997) report that Initial Change of the verb stem (i.e., of the verb complex excluding preverbs) remains a synchronic process in Western Naskapi. At least among younger speakers there is an increasing -- and therefore active -- preference for the prefixation option over the infixation option. The default assumption should be that in this dialect tense preverbs are no exception. What follows is a review of some of the evidence which supports the view that Western Naskapi *ká-* is derived via a productive process.

As stated in Chapter 1, Western Naskapi is one of several palatalized dialects spoken on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. Thus, in the environment of a high front

vowel (/i/, /i/ or /ë/), /k/ > /k̄/.⁷⁶ In order to derive the Changed form of the past tense preverb *kâ-* from its Unchanged form *chi-*, affixation of [a]-comp to *chi-* must be ordered prior to palatalization (otherwise, the Changed form of the past tense preverb is incorrectly predicted to be *châ-*.) The following table shows the derivation of the past and future preverbs assuming the pre-Cree level forms proposed by MacKenzie (1980). As well as Initial Change and palatalization, two vowel neutralization processes which affect Western Naskapi are shown:⁷⁷

(101) *Derivation of temporal (past and future) preverbs*

	Future (Independent)	(Conjunct) +[a]-comp	Past (Independent)	(Conjunct) +[a]-comp
Pre-Cree	ka-	ke-	kî-	kâ-
Velar palatalization	-	che-	chî-	-
Long vowel lowering (e/ë>â)	-	châ-	-	-
Short vowel raising (a>i)	ki-	-	-	-
Naskapi preverbs	ki-	châ-	chî-	kâ-

⁷⁶In CMN dialects, */e/ and */i/ have collapsed to /i/ (MacKenzie 1980:49).

⁷⁷Table (101) is based on Jancewicz and MacKenzie (1997).

I assume then that Western Naskapi *ká-* is derived by means of a still-productive process which merges [a]-comp to the past tense preverb.⁷⁸ Examples in (102-104) show how the [a]-comp hypothesis accounts for actual examples:

(102) *[a]-comp infixation (verb root undergoes Initial Change)*

a. **Māni chischāyihim iyāhkusit.**

Māni chischāyihim-*imw* iyāhkusi-t

Mani know(TI)-IIN.1>Inan [a]-comp+be_sick(AI)-CIN.S:3 sg

Mani, knows that she, is sick.

b. *[a]-comp prefixation (derives dummy conjunct prefix)*

Nichischāyimāw antā ā-tāt.

ni-chischāyim-āw antā ā-tāt

S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 there [a]-comp+be(AI)-CIN.S:3 sg

I know that he's there.

(103)

a. *[a]-comp infixation (to preverb), deriving "Conjunct past tense preverb" ki-*
Nichischihituwāw Māni kā-tāt.

ni-chischihituw-āw Māni kā-tāt

S:1-remember(TA)-IIN.1>3 Mary [a]-comp+Past-be(AI)-CIN.S:3 sg

I remember that Mani was there.

b. *[a]-comp infixation (to preverb), deriving "Conjunct future tense preverb" ka-*
Nichischāyimāw Māni chā-tāt.

ni-chischāyim-āw Māni chā-tāt

S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 Mary [a]-comp+Fut-be(AI)-CIN.S:3 sg

I know that Mani will be there.

⁷⁸In some CMN dialects (see Wolfart 1973:83, Plains Cree), Initial Change, when applied to the root of the verb, is subject to further (innovative) phonological processes of standardization. Preverbs are exempt from these processes, retaining the more conservative form. If it is true of CMN dialects in general that preverbs are affected more conservatively (and therefore differently) than other morphemes, this might give them the appearance of being morphologized forms when in fact they aren't.

Examples (102a-b) show that a default present tense reading is obtained in the subordinate clause in the absence of a tense preverb, indicating that [a]-comp lacks specification for the feature [Tense]. It is, I propose, this absence of Tense specification for [a]-comp which accounts for the apparent dual tense responsibilities of Initial Change in some CMN dialects. In Western Naskapi, for example, Initial Change appears to signal either present tense in a main clause context or, where it occurs in a subordinate clause, dependency on the tense features of a higher clause. An example of tense dependency is shown in the following example from Sheshatshu Innu-aimun:⁷⁹

- (104) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun: Initial Change creates tense dependency: tense features of subordinate verb dependent on tense features of matrix verb*

Tiüták, pushípan.

tjüt-ák

pushí-pan

[a]-comp+do(TI)-CIN.S:3.sg leave(AI)-IIP.3.sg

When he did it, he left.

(Clarke 1982:87)

The lower clause, although not marked for past temporal reference, “obtains” it (in a manner to be sketched out here) from the past tense of the upper clause.

Under the [a]-comp analysis, both functions (viz-a-viz tense) of Initial Change are accounted for; that is, the fact that in main clauses it seems to signal present tense, and in subordinate clauses it seems to signal tense dependency. Where Initial Change signals dependency on the Tense feature of a higher clause, I assume a process like the following:

⁷⁹Further research is required to establish the extent to which this function of Initial Change applies in other CMN complex dialects. The Conjunct verb precedes the Independent verb in this example, a fact which is not accounted for here except to say it could be due to fronting the *when*-clause for focus reasons.

that the Tense feature of the constituent [a]-comp+V^{cl} (and not null-comp+V^{cl}) falls within the scope of the matrix Tense. In (102a-b) this is the unmarked (default) present tense; in (104) it is past tense. In (103), the tense preverb in the subordinate clause is presumed to override tense dependency on the upper clause. Obviously, this process does not apply in main clause contexts so that, by default, they receive a present tense interpretation. Let us consider how, cross-linguistically, tense dependency relationships between clauses might be established.

Roberts (1997) accounts for a number of syntactic phenomena in Romance bi-clausal constructions in terms of clause union (restructuring), with the lower V+T complex incorporating into the matrix clause. Restructuring permits normally intra-clausal operations (such as clitic climbing) to apply across more than one clause. The same kind of relationship between clauses is required to enable a subordinate verb to be dependent on the Tense of a higher clause. However, restructuring effects are seen, cross-linguistically, with a restricted set of matrix verbs, the extension of which Roberts defines in terms of semantics; typically, restructuring verbs are either modal or aspectual, and they are presumed to be affixal. The subordinate V+T complex is attracted to the matrix clause by the affixal restructuring verb. While this type of analysis could account for the kind of Tense dependency evident in Algonquian bi-clausal constructions which have an embedded Changed Conjoint verb form, there is no evidence that Algonquian matrix verbs are restricted at all (far less restricted in the manner Roberts proposes) in terms of

which of them can participate in a tense dependency relationship.⁸⁹ Tense dependency is restricted to cases where the embedded verb is a Changed form, suggesting that it is the lower clause, rather than the upper clause, which determines the conditions required for the relationship. One possibility is that the complex [a]-comp+V^{CJ} has affixal status (i.e., that V^{CJ} obtains affixal status as a result of merging with [a]-comp), forcing it to raise, covertly, to the upper clause. But this would create a problem in main clauses, where [a]-comp+V^{CJ} would be without a host. It would also create a problem for cases where the V^{CJ} complex includes a Tense preverb, forcing, for example, *ká-* ([a]-comp+past) to incorporate into whatever position is proposed for the Tense-dependent V^{CJ}+T complex. How then might a restructuring-type analysis work in Algonquian, recalling that we want neither to extend the semantic definition of a restructuring verb to include all Algonquian matrix verbs, nor to allow all [a]-comp+V^{CJ} complexes to become Tense-dependent on the matrix Tense? What follows is a rough proposal, the more detailed treatment this topic merits necessarily being beyond the scope of the present work.

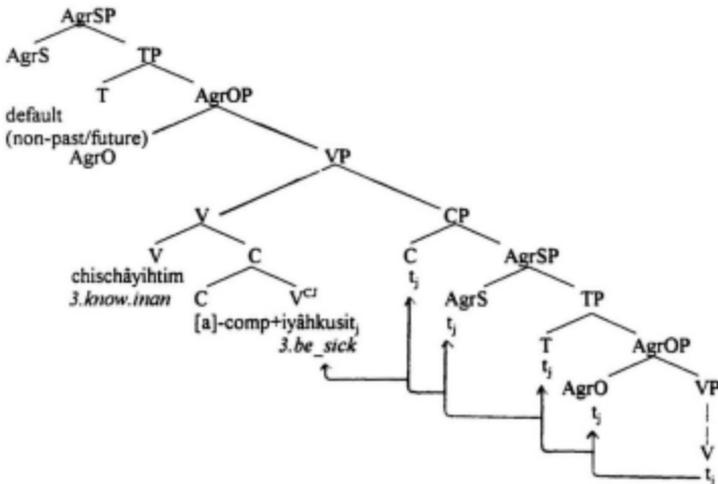
If the constituent [a]-comp+V^{CJ} is not specified for Tense ([+past] or [+future]), that is if there is neither a Tense preverb nor inflectional suffixation signalling Tense, then V^{CJ}+T incorporates covertly into the matrix V, falling within the scope of matrix the T. The complex [a]-comp+V^{CJ} is spelled out in the C position of the lower clause (or

⁸⁹This thesis does not examine the issue of whether or not all matrix verbs permit the subordinate verb to be Tense dependent but it is clearly a matter which requires investigation.

perhaps, optionally, in the C position of the matrix clause, accounting for the constituent ordering in (104). The phrase structure in (105) shows how this might work for data (102a); the lower clause obtains the default present tense properties of the matrix T.⁴¹ Since I have no evidence of the position within the matrix clause to which [a]-comp+V^C moves, I assume it moves only as far as necessary to combine both verbs in the same extended projection (i.e., that it incorporates into the matrix V). Further raising of the complex V + [a]-comp+V^C through the remaining functional heads is assumed but, in order to avoid complicating structure (105) further, is not represented:

⁴¹Presumably, since the lower and upper clauses of the data in (102a) and (102b) are present tense, (i.e., the same tense occurs in matrix and subordinate clauses), either [a]-comp prefixation or [a]-comp infixation creates a tense dependency relationship between clauses. The phrase structure in (105) thus represents (102b) as well as (102a).

(105) *Data (102a): tense-dependent V^{Cl}*



If [a]-comp+V^{Cl} is specified for Tense within the lower clause, the complex constituent does not raise beyond the lowest C in the structure. The creation of a tense dependency relationship between the clauses is thus subject to two constraints: the nature of the subordinate clause T ([a]-comp+V^{Cl}+T^{PAST/FUTURE} fails to raise while [a]-comp+V^{Cl}+T raises) and the type of complementizer (null-comp+V^{Cl}+T fails to raise). The solution sketched out here should be regarded as a possible starting point for further research.

The [a]-comp hypothesis resolves what has up to now been a logical problem: the fact that, since tense preverbs in the Conjoint themselves undergo Initial Change, the

process cannot be equated with signalling present tense. This problem has been side-stepped by claiming that past tense preverb *kā-* and future tense preverb *chā-* are not actually Changed forms but rather that they are “Conjunct preverbs”, frozen forms attesting to a process which no longer affects tense preverbs (Starks 1992, among others). The function of Initial Change varies among the CMN dialects (MacKenzie 1980; James 1983; Cyr 1991; Starks 1992). Also, as Wolfart (1973:46) observes of Plains Cree, within any given dialect, Initial Change occurs in a wide variety of syntactic environments. Nevertheless, Changed forms also have much in common across the CMN complex; for example, in all CMN dialects reviewed for this thesis, the Changed tense preverbs can be derived by means of Initial Change. By analyzing the Changed forms of tense morphemes as bi-morphemic elements, the problem of equating Initial Change with present tense is removed. Tense preverbs, like any other morphemes included in the verb complex, undergo Initial Change (or not) depending the type of complementizer (null-comp or [a]-comp) which heads the C to which V^{CJ} raises; the process itself does not affect tense. Present tense can thus be considered the unmarked case in the Conjunct, as it is in the Independent.

Another problem presented by the Algonquian preverb which the [a]-comp hypothesis addresses is what criteria should be used in determining which preverbs (if any) to class as complementizers. As stated earlier, cases have been made in favour of analyzing *kā-* as a complementizer (among others, Lees 1979; Pagatto 1980; Dahlstrom 1991; Blain 1997) and yet clearly not all preverbs can be complementizers; there are too

many of them for one thing, and the semantic content even of those classified as “abstract preverbs” is such that they are unlikely candidates. If *kā-* is indeed a complementizer then by what criteria is it distinguished from those preverbs which are not? What, for example, makes *kā-* a complementizer but not the volition preverb *wi-* when both are preverbs and both undergo Initial Change?⁴² The [a]-comp analysis renders this a non-issue since, under this view, no preverb is a complementizer. Now the question of “which preverbs are complementizers” can be rephrased in the following manner: what is the subset of preverbs to which [a]-comp can be affixed? One simple way to approach this question is to look at it in terms of which preverbs are adjacent to the verb complex (to permit affixation). This is a matter which I set aside for future research, except to say that it seems significant that the tense preverbs (i.e., the preverbs most frequently analyzed as complementizers) are known to occupy the preverb slot closest to the left edge of the verb complex (Jancewicz and MacKenzie 1997).

3.2.2 Bi-morphemic *kā-* and reanalyzed (mono-morphemic) *kā-*

In CMN dialects, *kā-* appears to have two distinct roles: at the head of relative clauses and focus constructions it functions as a complementizer and does not denote past temporal reference (mono-morphemic *kā-*); at the head of complement clauses, in many CMN

⁴²The preverb *wi-*, which is used primarily to indicate volition in Naskapi, but which is less frequently used to indicate consequential future tense, occurs in either the Changed or Unchanged form in the Conjunct, depending upon whether it occurs in initial position (Jancewicz and MacKenzie 1997).

dialects, *kā-* denotes past tense (bi-morphemic *kā-*).⁴³ In this section, I argue that monomorphemic *kā-* is derived from bi-morphemic *kā-*: in these cases, the bi-morphemic complex [a]-comp+past has been reanalyzed as the complementizer [a]-comp. Monomorphemic *kā-* is henceforth be referred to as “reanalyzed *kā-*”.

Reanalyzed *kā-* is attested in a subset of CMN dialects only. In those dialects in which it is found, “the two *kā-* morphemes” are often described as being distinct (i.e. homophonous); see, for example, Starks (1992:235-7) for Woods Cree describes: “Evidence for two *kā-* Conjunct preverbs”. James (1991), in a study of Moose Cree preverbs, and Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993), in a more general survey of preverb use in CMN dialects, also address the issue of the dual role of *kā-*. James assumes the bi-morphemic *kā-* (“pattern 1” for James) and the reanalyzed *kā-* (“pattern 2” for James) which appears at the head of relative clauses are the same morpheme in spite of the fact that in Moose Cree the latter (relative clause *kā-*) has lost its past tense reference. Of the difference between pattern 1 and pattern 2 in Moose Cree, James says the following:

“The crucial difference between patterns 1 and 2 has to do with the rôle of the preverb *kā-*. Its function has completely shifted in pattern 2; it does not here indicate past tense at all.” (James 1991:8)

Wolfart refers to the dual role of Plains Cree *kā-*, using the term “subordinator” to refer to what I am calling reanalyzed *kā-*:

⁴³There are exceptions to this generalizations and these are discussed in this section.

"*Kā* is historically the Changed form of the preverb *ki* 'past' but its primary role now is that of a subordinator, in which function it may in fact be followed by *ki*. The term 'relative' applied to it by Ellis [1983] and others refers to only part of its range." (Wolfart 1973:77)

The term "relative" (used by Ellis) likewise refers to reanalyzed *kā*-. The question is: are the "two *kā*-s" homophones or in fact cases of the same morpheme?⁸⁴ I argue that both contain [a]-comp and that they are therefore polysemes. The illustrative data provided in this section shows that only a subset of CMN dialects have reanalyzed *kā*-. A larger body of data than is examined here is required to establish what the distributional patterns are for the *kā*- polysemes, but one would expect the reanalyzed form to occur in a more restricted set of syntactic environments, with bi-morphemic *kā*- occurring elsewhere. Also, it is likely that the distribution of the two *kā*- morphemes will vary from dialect to dialect. The syntactic environments discussed here are as follows:

⁸⁴Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993:32) cite a personal communication with Ives Goddard who makes the case, based on historical evidence, that these are in fact different morphemes.

(106) *Distribution of bi-morphemic kã- and reanalyzed kã- in CMN dialects*

kã- occurs in the following environment: [_{CP} kã- V^{CJ}]

- a. Bi-morphemic *kã-* ([a]-comp+past) occurs in:
- Complement clauses
 - Some main clauses containing a *wh*-phrase.⁸⁵
- b. Reanalyzed *kã-* ([a]-comp) occurs in:
- (Present tense) relative clauses
 - Focus constructions.

One way to propose that bi-morphemic *kã-* occurs in an Elsewhere environment is to claim that both relative clauses and focus constructions (see (106b)) are NP-predicated constructions, constituting the restricted environment for reanalyzed *kã-*. However, this chapter argues that focus constructions are uni-clausal (and not therefore NP-predicated constructions). I thus set aside for future research the task of determining the distribution of reanalyzed *kã-* and bi-morphemic *kã-* in CMN dialects.

⁸⁵I would predict also that bi-morphemic *kã-* will occur in Conjunct main clauses which lack a *wh*-phrase. However, texts offer no examples of *kã*+V^{CJ} in a main clause context. The absence of this kind of data probably only reflects the fact that it is a rare structure, for reasons which are not significant; that is, it does not reflect a gap in the paradigm but only the fact that past tense is infrequently overtly marked. In cases where it is marked, it most frequently occurs in clauses which are syntactically related by subordination, serving to distinguish the tense of one clause relative to another.

3.2.2.1 Bi-morphemic *kā-*

The following data illustrate bi-morphemic *kā-* in Western Naskapi:

(107) *Bi-morphemic kā-* ([a]-comp+past) in Western Naskapi⁸⁶

- a. **Châkwân kā-piminuwâyin.**
 châkwân kā-piminuwâ-yin
 what [a]-comp+Past-cook(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg
What did you.sg cook?
- b. **Miywâihtim utâ kā-tikushiniyin.**
 miywâiht-imw utâ kā-tikushin(i)-yin
 happy(TI)-IIN.1>Inan here [a]-comp+Past-arrive(AI)-CIN.S:2.sg
S/he is happy that you came here.
- c. **Nichischâyimâw Mûniyânîhch kā-ituhtât**
 ni-chischâyim-âw Mûniyân-îhch kā-ituhtâ-t
 S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 Montreal-loc [a]-comp+Past-go(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg
I know that s/he went to Montreal.
- d. **Nichischâyimâw kā-nikumut.**
 ni-chischâyim-âw kā-nikimu-t
 S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+Past-sing(AI)-CIN.S.3.sg
I know that s/he sang.

This same distribution is found in a number of other CMN dialects. The following examples show bi-morphemic *kā-* in a Moose Cree main clause *wh*-construction.⁸⁷

⁸⁶A present tense reading is obtained for data (107) by using the Changed form of the verb without the preverb *kā-*.

⁸⁷Sheshatshu Innu-aimun differs from the other dialects discussed by Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993:37): *kā-* is used to signal past tense in only two of the six subordinate clauses (Elsewhere environment) examined. As Chapter 5 shows in some detail, in many areas of the grammar Sheshatshu Innu-aimun differs from other CMN dialects. In particular, the feature [Past] in this dialect seems to have more extensive checking capabilities than it does in other dialects and it may be this which gives Sheshatshu Innu-aimun its distinct properties. Because it is so divergent in terms of the function and distribution of *kā-*, I do not include data from this dialect in

(108) *Moose Cree*⁷

a. **Kĕkwān kâ-wāpahtaman?**

kĕkwān kâ-wāpaht-aman

what Past-see(TI)-CIN.O:Inan/S:2.sg

What did you.sg see?

(Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993:34)

b. *Moose Cree*⁸

Nikîtôtĕn nâpĕw kâ-takošihk.

nikî-tôtĕn nâpĕw kâ-takošihk

I-did-it man he-came

I did it when/after the man had come.

(James 1991:1)

In some dialects, (e.g., in Moose Cree) past temporal reference may also be obtained in subordinate clauses by means of [a]-comp prefixation; that is the prefix *ĕ-* occurs rather than *kâ-* (Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993).⁸⁹ This does not invalidate my arguments here since I am interested in the fact that when *kâ-* occurs at the head of a subordinate clause, it has past temporal reference; I do not claim that this is the only way to obtain past temporal reference in this context. As we have seen, [a]-comp is associated with tense dependency so that *ĕ-* may serve to create such a relationship, obviating the need for *kâ-*.

Blain (1997:68) claims of Plains Cree that *kâ-* “does not occur in ordinary complement-type subordinate clauses”. However, Dahlstrom (1991:19) says the

the present discussion.

⁸⁸As Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993) do not provide a gloss for the data in (108), the gloss which appears here is mine. Example (108b) has already been discussed as (95b).

⁸⁹This is the normal way of marking past temporal reference in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (Clarke 1986a).

following of Plains Cree: “*kā-* is most frequently attached to verbs used as relative clauses, and seems to indicate definiteness of the head. It is also used with cleft constructions [i.e., focus constructions]. When an aorist Conjunct verb with *kā-* is used in an adverbial clause, the verb has a perfective reading”.⁹⁰

(109) *Plains Cree*

Ĕ=wāpamot ētokwē ispi, kā=wāpamāt ostēsa
 ē=wāpamor ētokwē ispi, kā=wāpamāt ostēsa
 look in mirror 3:conj when see 3-obv/conj his older brother obv
When he looked in the mirror, he saw his older brother.

(Dahlstrom 1991:19)

The role of *kā-* in *wh*-clauses in Plains Cree is difficult to determine from the published data. Blain says the following:

“Speakers (all dialects) often explain the difference between *ē-* and *kā-* [in *wh*-questions] as being a matter of present vs. past tense respectively. However, in my experience this tense distinction is consistently disregarded in the elicited sentences. The *ē-* form can be elicited using either past or present tense.” (Blain 1997:66, fn 6)

That *ē-* occurs in clauses which have past temporal reference is not a surprise; the question is whether, when *kā-* is used in this environment, it signals past tense. In Woods Cree, it need not:

(110) *Woods Cree*

Awīna otāsa kā=ikiskamat?
 awīna otāsa kā=ikiskamat
 who-3 3-pants-3' IPV=wear(TA=2-3.C)
Whose pants are you wearing?

(Starks 1992:235)

⁹⁰In Dahlstrom’s data, and in Starks’ data, I retain the convention they employ of setting off the complementizers with equal signs (=).

In all CMN dialects for which data is available, *kā-* is the normal overt past tense marker in complement clauses. The only exception to this is Sheshatshu Innu-aimun which normally uses the dummy Conjunct prefix to signal past temporal reference in complement clauses. In main clause *wh*-questions, the role of *kā-* is less easy to determine and seems to be subject to a greater variety of dialect variation. Let us consider now the distribution of reanalyzed *kā-*.

3.2.2.2 Reanalyzed *kā-*

Reanalyzed *kā-* occurs in focus constructions and at the head of relative clauses in Moose Cree, Woods Cree and Plains Cree:

(111) *Reanalyzed kā-*⁹

a. *Moose Cree (focus construction)*

Ĉân kā-âhkosit.

Ĉân kâ-âhkosi-t

John [a]-comp+be_sick(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

It's John who is sick.

(James 1991:15)

b. *Moose Cree (relative clause)*

Awâšiš kâ-âhkosit ...

awâšiš kâ-âhkosit ...

child [a]-comp+sick(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

The sick child ...

(Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993:39)

c. *Woods Cree (focus construction)*

Kiyâm kâ-sâkihak!

kiyâm kâ-sâkihak

anyway [a]-comp+love(TA)-CIN.S:3.sg

Big deal, I love him!

(Starks 1992:235)

- d. *Woods Cree (relative clause)*
 ... awa ita P. **kā-ayāt**.
 ... awa ita P. **kā-ayāt**
 ... this where P. [a]-comp+be(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg
 ... at this place where P is staying. (Starks 1992:235)
- e. *Plains Cree (relative clause)*.⁹¹
Naha nāpēw kā-sākihāt Mary-wa.
 naha nāpēw **kā-sākihāt** Mary-wa
 det man [a]-comp+love-CIN.S:3.sg Mary-obv
 That man who likes Mary ... (Blain 1997:68)

In dialects which utilize reanalyzed *kā-* in the present tense relative clause, past temporal reference is obtained by use of the past tense morpheme to the right of *kā-*. The past tense morpheme is not affected by Initial Change because [a]-comp is already present in the form of *kā-*. Compare (112a-b):

- (112) *Woods Cree*³
- a. **Ta-wāpamiw kā-ācimak ōho wāpisiwa.**
 ta-wāpam-iw **kā-ācim-ak** ōho wāpisiwa
 future-see(TA)-IIN.3>4 [a]-comp+tell_story-CIN.S:1.sg this swan
 S/he will see the swans I am talking about.
- b. **Mina awa kin nicimic kā-kī-nihtāwīkīhak ...**
 mina awa kin nicimic **kā-kī-nihtāwīkīhak** ...
 also this Ken my_younger_brother [a]-comp+Past-raise-CIN.S:1.sg
 Also, my younger brother Ken, whom I raised, (Starks 1992:191)

Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993) observe of Moose Cree also that past temporal reference in relative clauses is obtained by means of this double occurrence of “the past tense preverb” *kā-kī-*, a pattern found widely in past tense relative clauses in other

⁹¹I have no Plains Cree data for focus constructions which have present temporal reference.

Algonquian languages; for example, Rainy River Ojibwa (Johns 1982) and in Algonquin (Pagatto 1980). Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun are different in this respect, having an innovative means of marking present tense in relative clauses (*ka- ... wa* forms), and retaining *kā-* as the past tense relative clause marker (Clarke 1982; Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993).⁹² That is to say, in Western Naskapi and in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, *kā-* reanalysis has not occurred.⁹³

(113) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Present tense relative clause*

Nichischāyimāw nāpāw uta ki-tāwa.

ni-chischāyim-āw nāpāw uta ki-tā-wa

S:1-know(TA).IIN.1>3 man here ki-be(AI)-wa

I know the man who is here.

b. *Past tense relative clause*

Niyā kā-tikusīhk iskwāw nīy nitiskwām.

nīyā kā-tikusīh-k iskwāw nīy nit-iskwām

Dem [a]-comp+past-arrive(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg woman Poss(1)1-wife

That woman who came here is my wife.

These dialect differences can easily be accounted for in terms of whether or not the bi-morphemic element *kā-* has been reanalyzed as purely a complementizer or not: in Moose,

⁹²In Western Naskapi, *ka-* surfaces as *ki-*. Note also that this discontinuous morpheme has another, apparently, unrelated function in both Sheshatshu Innu-aimun and in Western Naskapi -- it marks "subjective" verb forms: e.g., Western Naskapi *ki-chi-wāpimina-wā* 'it seems that you see me' (IIN-Subjective). For further reading on this use of *ki/ka ... wā* in Montagnais and Naskapi, the reader is referred to Drapeau (1986) and James, Clarke and MacKenzie (1998).

⁹³The inflectional suffix of the subordinate verb in example (113b) is *-k* (rather than the *-t* which more frequently marks AI CIN.3.sg agreement) because the verb is an *n*-stem verb. The different inflection is due to a morpho-phonological process which does not concern us. See Appendix 2 for paradigm details.

Woods and Plains Cree reanalysis has taken place, and in at least two of the palatalized dialects for which data is available, Montagnais and Western Naskapi, it has not.

Starks (1992) shows for Woods Cree that the two *kā-* polysemes not only occur in mutually exclusive syntactic environments, but that they are subject to distinct phonological processes: in Woods Cree, bi-morphemic *kā-* can be reduced to *ā-* whereas reanalyzed *kā-* has no reduced form. This does not undermine the [a]-comp hypothesis, since it seems reasonable to expect phonological dissimilation to follow (or accompany) semantic dissimilation. This seems desirable from the point of view of learnability; the learner, in order to distinguish reanalyzed *kā-* from bi-morphemic *kā-*, supplements syntactic contextual evidence with phonological evidence. One might thus expect to find in other CMN dialects that reanalyzed *kā-* and bi-morphemic *kā-* are distinguished on the basis of the type of phonological processes they are subject to (though it need not necessarily be the same pattern as found in Woods Cree).

The [a]-comp hypothesis offers a way to account for the apparent semantic shift which *kā-* has undergone. Recall that, under this view, *kā-* is comprised of [a]-comp and the past tense preverb *kī-*. A complementizer is expected in both syntactic environments in (106) so it is reasonable to suppose that the [a]-comp component of *kā-* is a constant. As we have seen, [a]-comp lacks its own phonological form. It may not be a surprise then that in some dialects [a]-comp has “taken over” the form of a morpheme it originally shared a form with. It might be regarded as a kind of “morphological body-snatcher”, using the form of its host to obtain phonological realization, and in some cases (in cases of

kā- reanalysis) “evicting” the original semantic occupant. Presumably this kind of semantic shift can occur so long as the reanalyzed form is restricted in distribution to a specific syntactic environment.

3.2.2.3 The status of *kā-* in East Cree

The status of *kā-* in East Cree is difficult to determine. This is perhaps not surprising since it seems to be a transitional dialect in other areas of its grammar (MacKenzie 1980). Like Montagnais and Naskapi, East Cree is a palatalized dialect. Clarke, MacKenzie and James (1993) show for East Cree that *kā-* occurs at the head of relative clauses and focus constructions which have either past or present temporal reference. The fact that relative clauses headed by *kā-* are neutral with respect to tense in East Cree suggests that reanalysis has taken place in this dialect so that it may be said to pattern with the non-palatalized Cree dialects. We shall see shortly, however, that there is another piece of evidence supporting the view that East Cree patterns with the eastern dialects in its use of *kā-* (or that it is at least transitional).

Clarke, MacKenzie and James equate the role of *kā-* in Moose Cree (and here we must add Woods and Plains Cree, and perhaps also East Cree) relative clauses with the role of the prefixal/suffixal *ka ... wa* (*ki ... wa* in Western Naskapi) used in the construction of present tense relative clauses in Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun:

“Thus it would appear that *ka ... ua* in Montagnais and at least one Naskapi dialect [(Western Naskapi)] today performs at least in part the role that is assumed by *kā-* in Moose and East Cree - that is, representation of a head that is in some way salient. Presumably, the present day situation in Montagnais and Naskapi is a recent development, since it is favoured in Sheshatshit Montagnais by younger speakers...” (Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1993:39-40)

The *ka ... ua* innovation in Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun fulfills the same function as reanalyzing *kā-* as a mono-morphemic unit does in other dialects: neither morphemes specify tense and both are used to refer to a specific entity (dialects which use *kā-* as relative clause Comp use *ê-* as Comp where reference is to an indefinite entity).⁹⁴

The following example provides further illustration of this type of construction, for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun:

- (114) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*
 Nitshissenimāu nāpeu nite ka-tā-ua.
 I know man here **ka-be-ua**
I know the man who is here. (Clarke, MacKenzie and James 1991:39)

While relative clauses in Western Naskapi arguably need not exploit the option of *kā-* reanalysis in the construction of (present tense) relative clauses, because *ka ... ua* fulfills this role, as the table in (115) shows, the combination *kā-chi-* marks past tense in embedded polar and in conditional clauses in Western Naskapi (see shaded cell in table 115), and this looks like *kā-* reanalysis has taken place. But it is also possible that the unchanged form of the past tense morpheme (*chi-*) marks irrealis illocutionary force

⁹⁴In order to avoid digressing from the current topic, I do not pursue the issue of definiteness in relative clauses.

(arguably present in these two contexts). This latter possibility is more theoretically desirable given that, as (115) highlights, these cases occur in the Elsewhere environment and would thus constitute the only case of *kā*-reanalysis in this context. I leave this matter for future research. The following table summarizes the data discussed thus far:

(115) *Reanalyzed kā- and bi-morphemic kā- in Moose Cree, East Cree and Western Naskapi*⁹⁵

<i>[_{CP} kā- V^{CJ}]</i>	Moose Cree	East Cree	Western Naskapi relative clauses ⁹⁶
Relative clause/focus construction: PAST	kā- kī- [a]-comp [Past]	kā- [a]-comp	kā- [a]-comp+[Past]
Relative clause/focus construction: PRESENT	kā- [a]-comp [+def]		ka ... wa discontinuous Comp [+def]
<i>Elsewhere environment</i> ⁹⁷			
	Moose Cree	East Cree	Western Naskapi
Main clause declarative	kā- [a]-comp+[Past]		
Main clause <i>wh</i> -question			
Embedded <i>wh</i> -question			
Embedded polar questions Conditional clauses			kā-chī- (status of kā- unknown) ⁹⁸

⁹⁵Reanalyzed *kā*- is in bold.

⁹⁶No data was obtainable Western Naskapi focus constructions.

⁹⁷A CP level is assumed to head all the following clauses (they are all Conjunct).

⁹⁸Starks (1992:237-8) observes of Woods Cree that *kā-kī*-occurs in main clause contexts which "report the main happenings" with "subsequent narration about

Finally, with respect to establishing the status of *kā-* in East Cree, discussion of a type of construction referred to as a “nominalization” is relevant.

3.2.2.4 Western Naskapi nominalization constructions

Nominalizations are derived by means of a process described as being “highly productive” in all the palatalized dialects (Jancewicz 1997): *kā-* is prefixed to the third person singular Conjoint form to produce an agentive nominal which is subsequently subject to all of the derivational and inflectional processes of a regular noun (e.g., affixation by plural, possessive and locative morphemes and, significantly, affixation by the nominal obviative morpheme rather than by the verbal obviative affixes). Jancewicz (1997:198) points out that “the form must be lexicalized by speakers of the language before it can display noun-like characteristics”. Clearly, this process is distinct from relative clause formation, since the verbal complex in a relative clause can never be inflected as if it were a nominal. Obviously, this is another matter which cannot be pursued here, except to say this: it is tempting to speculate that nominalizations are restricted to the CMN dialects which do not exploit *kā-* reanalysis in the relative clause context. Nominalizations, arguably, provide evidence of *kā-* reanalysis in a NP [_{CP} *kā-* V^{CI}] environment which has undergone a further process of lexicalization. In this case, we must revise our current assumption that *kā-*

each of these events ... provided in main clauses with *kā-* Conjoint verbs.” However, given that Woods Cree differs in a number of ways from other CMN dialects, I do not pursue the significance of this observation; further research is required to confirm this for Naskapi.

reanalysis is not attested in the palatalized dialects.

Jancewicz assumes the *kā-* which heads nominalizations to be homophonous with the “past tense *kā-*”:

“Essentially [nominalization] is accomplished by adding a *kā-* prefix to a verb inflected for Conjunct Indicative Neutral, third person singular. Although *kā-* is homophonous with the prefix that marks a Conjunct verb as past reference, Lynn Drapeau (1978:214) points out that in Montagnais this *kā-* functions as a relative particle ... forming a relative clause.” (Jancewicz 1997:181)

The following examples of Western Naskapi nominalizations thus illustrate cases where *kā-* has been reanalyzed as the mono-morphemic element, [a]-comp:

(116) *Western Naskapi: reanalyzed kā-*⁹⁹

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. | <i>kā-chiskutimāchāt</i> | ‘teacher’ (the one that teaches) |
| b. | <i>kā-kinuwāyihāhk</i> | ‘caretaker’ (the one that keeps) |
| c. | <i>kā-wisāwāch</i> | ‘butter’ (the one that is yellow) |

(Jancewicz 1997:182-3)

These data are presumed to have the following structure:

⁹⁹Jancewicz points out that these nominalizations cannot be derived from any TA verbs other than unspecified (indefinite) subject forms. This suggests that unspecified subject forms are intransitive (consistent with Dahlstrom (1991) and contra Dryer’s (1996) analysis) and that they pattern with other verbs which have a single animate argument (TI and AI verbs); i.e., *He is seen* rather than *Someone sees him*. This constraint (against deriving nominalizations from TA verbs other than unspecified subject forms) may have implications for determining the conditions under which *kā-* is reanalysis can take place.

(117) $[[pro]_{NP} [C_{P'} [a]\text{-comp-V}^{C'}]]^{100}$

If there is something significant about the fact that the nominalization process illustrated in (116) is restricted to dialects which do not utilize *ká-* reanalysis in relative clauses, East Cree, which like other palatalized dialects has nominalizations, should be regarded as patterning with Montagnais and Naskapi.

In summary, a bi-morphemic analysis of *ká-* uniquely reveals what looks to be a non-trivial pattern in the distribution, at least within CMN complex if not more generally, of “the two *ká-* preverbs”. Further, the [a]-comp hypothesis accounts for the phonological attributes of Initial Change. The success of applying this hypothesis in turn supports the central claim of this section: that Initial Change is the result of merging [a]-comp+V^{C'}. Section 3.3 applies the [a]-comp hypothesis to a subset of the environments in which a

¹⁰⁰Further research is required to clarify this matter, but preliminary investigation of the difference between nominalizations and relative clauses suggests that in the case of the former, *pro* cannot be linked with an overt DP. Nominalized forms can be inflected for possession:

(i) *ká-kunichást* ‘photographer’

u-ká-kunichás-im-a ‘his/her photographer’ (Jancewicz 1997:187)

If an overt DP is associated with *pro*, this process is blocked, suggesting that the nominalization process, whatever it is, is blocked if *pro* is linked to an overt DP.

In (ii), the verbal morphology on ‘care-take’ confirms the status of the verb complex as a relative clause:

(ii) *ká-kimwáiyhtách* ‘caretaker’

In (iii), the head of the clause is associated with an overt DP (*nápáw* ‘man’). A possessed form equivalent to that shown in (i) could not be elicited. The example in (iii) was offered as a translation for the phrase ‘(s/he found) your caretaker’:

Chí-miskarwáw nápáw ká-kimwáiyhtim-ichi aniya chitiyân.

past-find(TA) man [a]-comp-take_care(TA)-CIN.3>4 Dem Poss.2(yours)

‘S/he found the man who care takes, that one that’s yours.’

Conjunct verb occurs.

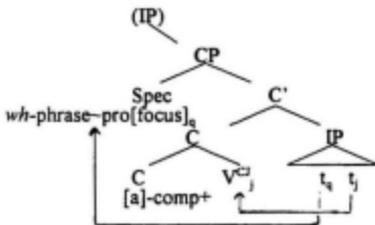
3.3 The relationship between V^{CJ} and a CP level

In this section, I show that there is independent motivation for a single CP level in affirmative Conjunct constructions. Assuming the *eká* negator projects a CP phrase, negated Conjunct structures are minimally double CP structures. The distribution of Changed and Unchanged Conjunct verbs illustrated in this section is accounted for in terms of distribution of the complementizers [a]-comp and null-comp. Support is provided for the view that [a]-comp is the default complementizer in both main and subordinate clauses; the occurrence of [a]-comp in a subordinate environment is not therefore due to matrix verb selection. In subordinate clauses, [a]-comp occurs in affirmative constructions while null-comp is selected by the *eká* negator and is restricted to negated structures. In main clauses, there is a choice of complementizer selection, allowing for a two-way grammatical contrast for each construction. For at least the restricted set of Western Naskapi data examined in this section, this opposition is not available in subordinate contexts. The data indicates that null-comp is restricted to (the head of the lower of) a double CP construction. The default complementizer, [a]-comp, occurs in single CP structures as well as in double CP structures (in main clauses) and is not therefore restricted in distribution in the same way that null-comp is.

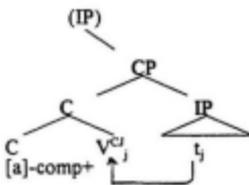
Either complementizer can check a *wh*-phrase or a *pro*[focus]. In a single CP structure, C is headed by [a]-comp. If either a *pro*[focus] or a *wh*-phrase is contained in the lexical array, it raises to SpecCP and is checked by [a]-comp (with which it is in a Spec-Head relationship). A CP headed by [a]-comp projects a Specifier position only if

required by the presence of a nominal bearing the feature [wh-focus]:

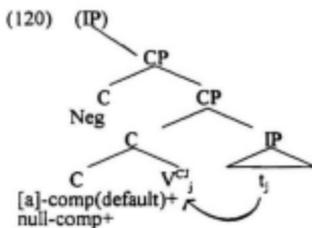
(118) *Single CP structure: nominal[wh-focus] in lexical array*



(119) *Single CP structure: nominal[wh-focus] not in lexical array*

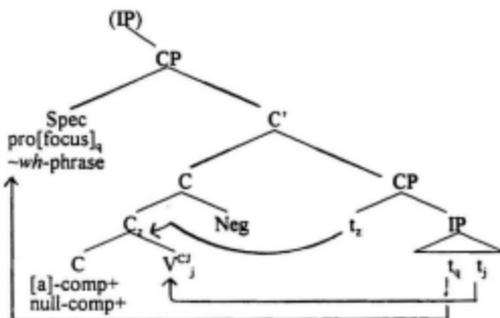


In a double CP structure (i.e., a negated structure), C may be headed by either the default [a]-comp, or by null-comp. In either case, the complementizer is located in the lower CP and does not project a Specifier position:



If *pro*[focus] or a *wh*-phrase is contained in the lexical array, the complementizer establishes checking relations with the fronted nominal by raising covertly to the head of the CP immediately dominating it (Neg-C). Either [a]-comp or null-comp then checks the nominal[wh-focus] in SpecCP(Neg):¹⁰¹

(121) *Covert C-to-C raising establishes Spec-Head relations between fronted pro and complementizer*



¹⁰¹Note, however, that the evidence examined in this chapter indicates that null-comp doesn't check the feature [wh] or [focus] in a main clause environment. This is discussed in greater detail in this chapter, and again in Chapter 5.

Overt C-to-C movement, to establish agreement relations, has been proposed by Branigan (1992) and Shlonsky (1994). The C-to-C raising proposed for double CP structures which have *pro*[focus] or a *wh*-phrase in the lexical array is the covert correlate to this kind of movement and is considered to be a last resort mechanism.

Subordinate clauses are discussed first because, being more restrictive in terms of complementizer selection, they are the simplest cases. Only Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun data are discussed in the following sub-sections.

3.3.1 Subordinate clauses

The table in (122) shows the data types examined here.

(122) *Western Naskapi: (A subset of) syntactic environments requiring a Conjunct verb*¹⁰²

Clause Type	Subordinate Clause containing	Initial Change Obligatory	Initial Change Prohibited
S.i: plain subordinate clause	no <i>wh</i> -phrase, no Neg	✓	
S.ii: negated subordinate clause	Neg		✓
S.iii: subordinate <i>wh</i> -clause	<i>wh</i> -phrase	✓	
S.iv: negated subordinate <i>wh</i> -clause	<i>wh</i> -phrase and Neg		✓

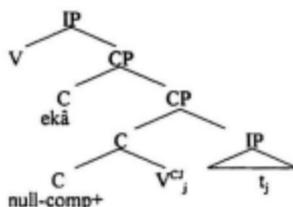
A CP level in a subordinate clause is presumed to be motivated by matrix verb selection.¹⁰³

As (122) shows, Initial Change only occurs in affirmative subordinate clauses. This is accounted for by proposing that in a subordinate environment the *ekd* negator, base-generated at Neg-C, selects a CP headed by null-comp:

¹⁰²My default assumption is that the contrast created by the absence/presence of Initial Change represents a grammatical contrast. Thus, any two structures which differ only in terms of whether or not they have undergone Initial Change are grammatically distinct.

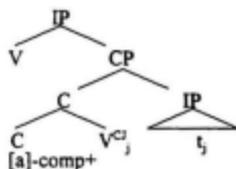
¹⁰³With the exception of discourse verbs which appear to select an IP complement (see Starks 1992 for Woods Cree, Brittain 1996a for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun), verbs which are subcategorized for a sentential complement appear to select CP.

- (123) *Subordinate clause: ekā selects CP headed by null-comp*



Elsewhere in subordinate clauses, the default complementizer occurs:

- (124) *Subordinate clause: [a]-comp occurs elsewhere*



The claim that *ekā* selects a CP (which in turn requires that a Conjunct verb raise to its head) merely accounts for the instances in which *ekā* and the Conjunct co-occur. I do not make the claim that *ekā* is the only negator which selects a CP, and thus, in keeping with the facts, do not claim that the distribution of *ekā* can be predicted on the basis of (Conjunct) morphology. This is consistent with observations made by other researchers: MacKenzie (1992), in an overview of the distribution of CMN negative morphemes, observes that their distribution is determined not by morphology, but by syntactic

environment; likewise, Déchaine and Wolfart (1998) make this claim for Plains Cree. The present analysis thus allows for the co-occurrence of negators other than *eká* with the Conjoint; that is, the co-occurrence of the Conjoint with *apú* in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun and the co-occurrence of the Conjoint with *nama* in some CMN dialects is not ruled out.¹⁰⁴ Because there is no straightforward correlation between verbal morphology (Independent vs. Conjoint) and negator selection, *nama* is not referred to here as “the Independent negator” but rather as the *nama* negator.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, I use the term “the *eká* negator” rather than “the subordinate negator” which, considering the wide distribution of *eká* in main clauses (with Conjoint verbs), is more obviously a misnomer.

Illustrative data is now provided for (S.i-iv). Notice that in environment (S.i) -- plain subordinate clauses -- shown in (125-128), Initial Change is obligatory:

¹⁰⁴For Woods Cree examples of *nama* + Conjoint, see Starks (1987:37-39). Neither in the data elicited nor in textual material examined for this thesis is there evidence that *nama* negates Conjoint verbs in Western Naskapi. While this does not rule out the possibility that this combination is grammatical in Western Naskapi, having no data, the combination is not considered here.

¹⁰⁵*Nama* is most frequently found with Independent verbs in all CMN dialects (see, for example, Wolfart 1973 for Plains Cree, Ellis 1983 for Moose and Swampy Cree).

- (125) *Plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*
 a. *Changed form*
Chischâyihitim wiyâpimitân.
 chischâyihit-imw wiyâpim-itân
 know(TI)-IIN.3>Inan [a]-comp+see(TA).CIN.O:2 sg\S:1.sg
S/he knows that I see you.sg
- b. *Unchanged form*
 *chischâyihitim wâpimitân
- (126) *Plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*
 a. *Changed form*
Chischâyimâw mâchisuyichî.¹⁰⁶
 chischâyim-âw mâchisu-iyichî
 know(TA)-IIN.3>4 [a]-comp+eat(AI)-CIN.O:5\S:4
He knows she 's eating.
- b. *Unchanged form*
 *Chischâyimâw mîchisuyichî
- (127) *Plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*
 a. *Changed form*
Chischâyimâw âtûschâyichî.
 chischâyim-âw âtûschâ-iyichî
 know(TA)-IIN.3>4 [a]-comp+work(AI)-CIN.O:5\S:4
He knows she is working.
- b. *Unchanged form*
 *chischâyimâw atûschâyichî

¹⁰⁶In (126a), lines 1 and 2 differ as follows: line 1= *mâchisuyichî*, line 2=*mâchisuyichî*. This is due to a phonological rule which deletes the initial [i] of the obviative morpheme *-iyi* when it is suffixed to a vowel-final segment.

(128) *Plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*

a. *Changed form*

Chischâyimâw pwâskimiyichî.

chischâyim-âw pwâskim-iyichî

know(TA)-IIN.3>4 [a]-comp+put_on(TI)-CIN.O:4/S:5

He knows she's putting it (clothing) on.

b. *Unchanged form*

*Chischâyimâw pûskimiyichî

In this environment, if the temporal reference is either past or future, the preverbs *kâ-* (the Changed form of *chî-*) and *châ-* (the Changed form of *ki-*) occur, respectively, so that Initial Change is still required but, as the left-most morpheme of the complex, the temporal preverb rather than the verb root is affected by the process:

(129) *Plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*

a. *Changed form*

Nichîunichîschîhtimwân Mâni kâ-utâpânit.

ni-chîunichîschîhtim-w-ân Mâni kâ-utâpâni-t

S:1-forget-Rel(AI)-IIN.1>Inan Mâni [a]-comp+Past+have_car(AI)-CIN.S:3 sg

I forgot that Mani used to have a car.

b. *Unchanged form*

*Nichîunichîschîhtimwân Mâni **chî-**utâpânit.

As (S.ii) type data (negated subordinate clause) show, negated clauses do not (and cannot) undergo Initial Change. Compare the data in (125-129) with the following:

- (130) *Negated subordinate clause, data type (S.ii)*
 a. *Unchanged form*
Chischâyimâw âkâ mîchisuyichî.
 chischâyim-âw âkâ ó-michisu-iyichî
 know(TA)-IIN.3>4 Neg null-comp+eat(AI)-CIN.O:4/S:5
He knows she isn't eating.
- b. *Changed form*
 *Chischâyimâw âkâ mîchisuyichî
- (131) *Negated subordinate clause, data type (S.ii)*
 a. *Unchanged form*
Chischâyimâw âkâ atûschâyichî anûhch.
 chischâyim-âw âkâ ó-atûschâ-iyichî anûhch
 know(TA)-IIN.3>4 Neg null-comp+work(AI)-CIN.O:4/S:5 today
He knows she is not working today.
- b. *Changed form*
 *Chischâyimâw âkâ ðtûschâyichî anûhch.
- (132) *Negated subordinate clause, data type (S.ii)*
 a. *Unchanged form*
Chischâyimâw âkâ pûskimiyichî.
 chischâyim-âw âkâ ó-pûskim-iyichî
 know(TA)-IIN.3>4 Neg null-comp+put_on(TI)-CIN.O:5/S:4
He knows she 's not putting it (clothing) on.
- b. *Changed form*
 *Chischâyimâw âkâ pwâskimiyichî.

Unlike Western Naskapi, in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (see 133a) and in East Cree (see 133b), *ekâ* need not select null-comp; [a]-comp appears in the following data:

(133) *Ekâ selects [a]-comp in subordinate clause**

a. *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*

Nitshissenimâu ekâ tiât mûsh nete Africa.

ni-tshissenim-â-u ekâ tiât-t mûsh nete Africa

S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 Neg [a]-comp+be(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg moose there Africa

I know there are not moose in Africa.

b. *East Cree*¹⁰⁷

... **ekâ pemâtisich aniyâna uhtâwâu ...**

... ekâ pemâtisich aniyâna uhtâwâu

Neg [a]-comp+live(AI).CIN.3.sg Dem.obv(late) their_father

... *when he (their late father) had died ...*

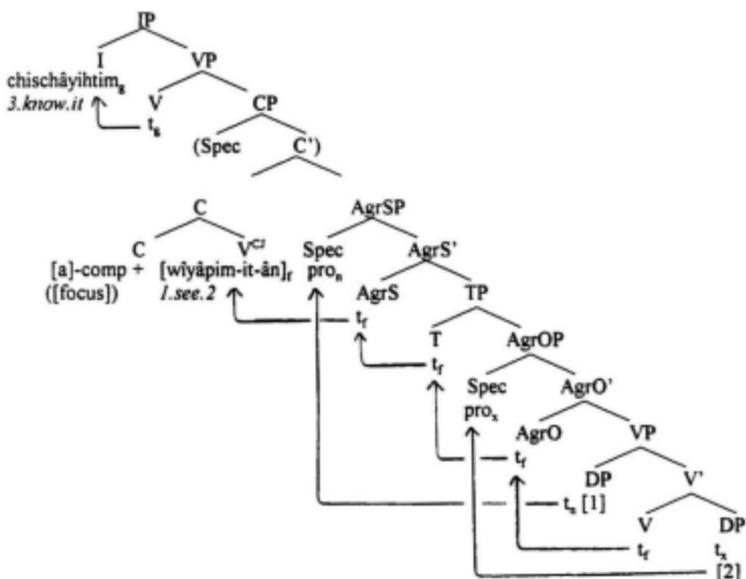
It remains to be determined by future research whether, in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun and East Cree, the default complementizer [a]-comp consistently co-occurs with *ekâ*. That there is a dialect difference indicates that selection of the null-comp by *ekâ* should be regarded as being subject to microparametric variation.

In plain subordinate clauses (data type S.i) and in negated subordinate clauses (data type S.ii), a SpecCP position is presumed to be present only in the case that *pro*[focus] is contained in the lexical array. In subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iii) and in negated subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iv), a Specifier position must be presumed to be projected in order to accommodate the *wh*-phrase. If either *pro*[focus] or the *wh*-phrase is fronted to SpecCP, the feature [wh-focus] in C is checked (i.e., if C is specified for the feature [wh-focus], the derivation is saved only if the appropriate

¹⁰⁷The source of this text is Cooper (n.d.)

nominal raises overtly to SpecCP). Phrase structures are now provided for plain subordinate clauses and negated subordinate clauses. The phrase structure in (134) accommodates the simplest of the (S) environment cases, data type (S.i) – clauses containing neither a negative nor a *wh*-phrase.¹⁰⁸

(134) *Phrase structure for plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i): example (125a)*



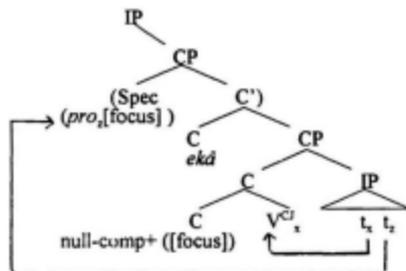
¹⁰⁸Because a fronted focus nominal is *pro*, it is not possible to determine whether or not there is a SpecCP in structure (134). *Wh*-phrases, on the other hand, are overt arguments and do not present this problem.

V raises through AgrO, T and AgrS checking *phi*-features, and then to C to check [CJ]. The features of *pro* are checked against the appropriate heads in accordance with the requirements of the MP (e.g. respecting Shortest Move). The fusional nature of Conjoint inflectional suffixation provides no motivation for proposing that Number is checked at a separate head from Gender and Person. As discussed in Chapter 2, this contrasts with the situation in the Independent (where morphology representing Number agreement is formally distinct from Person and Gender agreement). Nevertheless, since it would be theoretically undesirable to propose a distinct Number agreement head in only one verbal paradigm, a separate Number projection should be assumed in the Conjoint also.¹⁰⁹ Since the details of how *pro* is checked are unimportant in the context of the present discussion, separate Number agreement projections are omitted from the structures in this chapter. Conjoint inflectional morphology is presumed to be highly enough specified that the pronominal clitics which attach in the Independent are not required. The phrase structures which appear in the rest of this chapter are simplified versions of (134).

The phrase structure in (135) represents data type (S.ii), the negated subordinate clause. It is a double CP structure because *ekā* projects its own CP. *Ekā* selects null-comp which heads a specifierless projection. As stated earlier, Neg-C has a specifier only if there is a fronted nominal to check (in data type S.ii this will be a focused nominal):

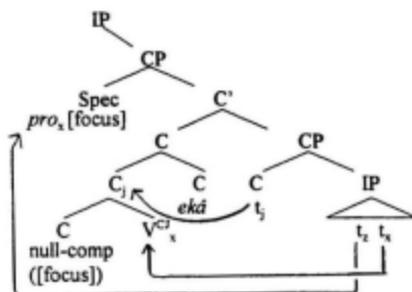
¹⁰⁹This assumption is subsumed within the more general assumption that the distinct representation of Number on the one hand, and Gender and Person on the other, is a property of UG.

(135) *Negated subordinate clause, data type (S.ii)*



There is no means of testing to see whether *pro* has raised to SpecCP in data types (S.i-ii); the option is presumed to be available by analogy with main clause Conjunct constructions which, lacking a *wh*-phrase, have no motivation for a CP level other than the presence of a complementizer specified for the feature [focus]. In Conjunct main clauses which have neither a *wh*-phrase nor a negative, *pro*[focus] must always be assumed to occupy SpecCP. As described earlier, if the complementizer selected by the negative bears the feature [wh-focus], covert C-to-C movement is necessary to establish the correct (Spec-Head) checking relations. If the construction represented by the phrase structure in (135) has a *pro*[focus], it is checked in the following configuration:

- (136) *Negated subordinate clause, data type (S.ii): covert C-to-C raising establishes Spec-Head relations between θ -comp and SpecCP*



Thus far we have seen that negated subordinate clauses do not permit Initial Change, because, in Western Naskapi, *ekā* selects null-comp. But there are also affirmative subordinate contexts in which Initial Change does not apply; that is, cases where null-comp cannot be accounted for in terms of *ekā* selection. All this means is that a CP headed by *ekā* is one of, potentially, a number of environments in which null-comp is selected. Another instance in which null-comp is apparently selected is in clauses which have irrealis illocutionary force.

The connection between Unchanged forms and hypothetical events or states has been made by a number of researchers of Algonquian: for example, Rogers (1978) and James (1986, 1991). The hypothesis that opposition between Changed and Unchanged forms expresses, respectively, an opposition between the non-hypothetical and the

hypothetical is not inconsistent with the Western Naskapi data examined for this thesis. In (137), the Conjunct verbs in the conditional clauses are not subject to Initial Change.

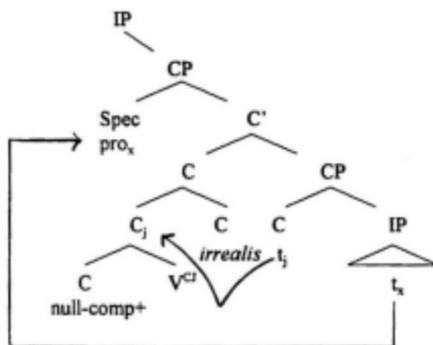
(137) *Western Naskapi*

- a. **Miywāyih̄tākusi-yin-ā, chiki-iyātih̄it̄in.**
miywāyih̄tākusi-yin-ā ch̄i-ki-iyātih̄it̄in
be_happy(TI)-CIN.S:2.sg-conditional S:2-SAP.FUT-buy(TA)-IIN.2>1
If you are good, I'll buy it for you.
- b. **Chika-iyāskusuw pimūhtāchā.**
chika-iyāskusi-w pimūhtā-chā
nonSAP.FUT-be_tired(AI)-IIN.nonSAP walk(AI)-CIN.3.sg
If she walks, she'll be tired.

How can a relationship between irrealis clauses and null-comp selection be expressed in structural terms? Data type (S.ii) and (S.iv) (negated subordinate clauses and negated subordinate *wh*-clauses) show that the environments in which application of Initial Change results in ungrammaticality are double CP structures, environments in which the *ekā* negator motivates a second CP level. The difference between the structure of realis and irrealis clauses may lie in the amount of phrase structure required of each, with the irrealis clause, like the negated clause, consisting of an extra level. If structures which have either irrealis illocutionary force or a negative morpheme have an additional level compared to structures which have non-hypothetical illocutionary force (and/or are affirmative), a unitary account of at least one context in which null-comp occurs is available. The subordinate clauses in the data in (137) should then project a structure comparable to that in (135). The SpecCP position (and C-to-C raising) remains optional under the same circumstances as stated earlier. If there is a nominal in SpecCP, it will be checked in the

same manner as shown in (136):

(138) *Clause which has irrealis illocutionary force*



Up to this point, no data has been provided to support the view that null-comp is restricted to double CP structures; the structure in (138) must thus be regarded as speculative. We shall see in section 3.3.2 that there are independent reasons supporting the view that null-comp is indeed restricted to a double CP environment (and supporting the structure in 138). I set this matter aside for the present time and turn to consideration of subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iii) and negated subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iv).

Throughout the CMN complex, a *wh*-question construction obligatorily requires a Changed form:

Data (139-141)

Subordinate *wh*-clauses, data type (S.iii)

(139)

a. *Changed form*

Nichischâyimâw awân pâminuwât.

ni-chischâyim-âw awân pâminuwât-t

1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 who [a]-comp+cook(AI)-CIN.3.sg

I know who is cooking.

b. *Unchanged form*

*Nichischâyimâw awân piminuwât.

(140)

a. *Changed form*

Mâ-chichischâyimâw (tân) âtimâhchiut¹¹⁰

mâ-chi-chischâyim-âw tân âti-mâhchiu-t

Neg/Qu-S.2-know-IIN.2>3 how [a]-comp+thus-feel(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Do you know how he is feeling?

b. *Unchanged form*

*mâ-chichischâyimâw tân ati-mâhchiut?

(141)

a. *Changed form*

Mi-chichischâyimâw-â awân kê-wâpimât Pîta?

mi-chi-chischâyim-âw-â awân kê-wâpimât-t Pît-a

Neg-S.2-know(TA)-IIN.2>3-Qu who [a]-comp+see(TA)-CIN.3.sg Pete-obv

Do you know who saw Pete?

b. *Unchanged form*

*mi-chischâyimâw-â awân chi-wâpimât Pîta?

¹¹⁰In (140a), the *wh*-phrase *tân* is optional. Overt *wh*-phrases are frequently omitted in embedded contexts in CMN dialects (cf. Clarke 1982:134 for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun). In these cases, null [wh] operator movement is assumed.

Examples (142-144) illustrate negated subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iv).

The ungrammaticality of (142b), (143b) and (144b) supports the proposal that negative *ākā* selects null-comp, overriding the selection of the default [a]-comp:

Data (142-144)

Negated subordinate wh-clause, data type (S.iv)

(142)

a. *Unchanged form*

Nichischāyimāw awān ākā piminuwāt.

ni-chischāyim-āw awān ākā ø-piminuwā-t

S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 who Neg null-comp+cook(AI)-CIN.3.sg

I know who is not cooking.

b. *Changed form*

*Nichischāimāw awān ākā pāminuwāt.

(143)

a. *Unchanged form*

Nichischāyimāw awān ākā nipāt.

ni-chischāyim-āw awān ākā ø-nipā-t

S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 who Neg null-comp+sleep(AI)-CIN.3.sg

I know who is not asleep.

b. *Changed form*

*Nichischāyimāw awān ākā nāpāt.

(144)

a. *Unchanged form*

Chischâyimâw iskwâsa âkâ ûhchi-miskuwâyichî nâpâsa.

chischâyim-âw iskwâs-a âkâ
know(TA)-IIN.3>4 girl-obj Neg

ø-ûhchi-miskuwâ-iyichî nâpâs-a
null-comp+Neg/Past-find(TA)-CIN.O:5/S:4 boy-obj

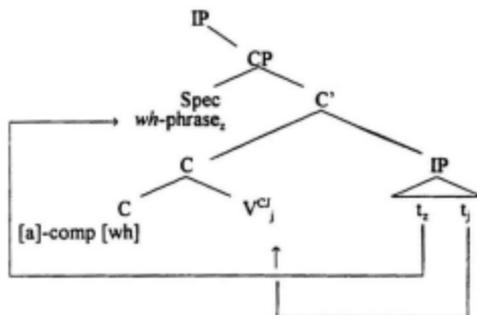
He knows that the girl didn't find the boy.

b. **Changed form*

***Chischâyimâw iskwâsa âkâ wâhchi-miskuwâyichî nâpâsa.**

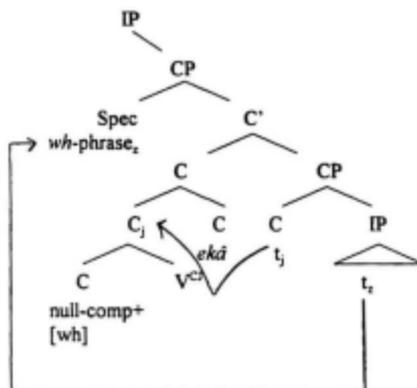
The structure in (145) accommodates the subordinate *wh*-clause (data type S.iii), essentially the same as the structure for the plain subordinate clause (data type S.i) except for the fact that SpecCP is obligatorily present so that the feature [wh] can be checked:

(145) *Structure for subordinate wh-clause, data type (S.iii)*



Like the negated subordinate clause (data type S.ii), the negated subordinate *wh*-clause (data type S.iv) contains the *ekâ* negative which selects null-comp:

(146) *Negated subordinate wh-clause, data type (S.iv)*

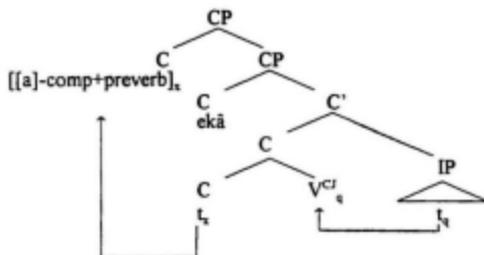


Again, the difference between the structures in (145) and (146) is that in the latter (negated) case covert C-to-C raising establishes a local checking relationship; the lower complementizer must be able to check the feature [wh] against the nominal in the SpecCP of Neg-C. Covert C-to-C raising is assumed here and applies for the same (last resort) reasons as described for negated subordinate clauses (data type S.ii).

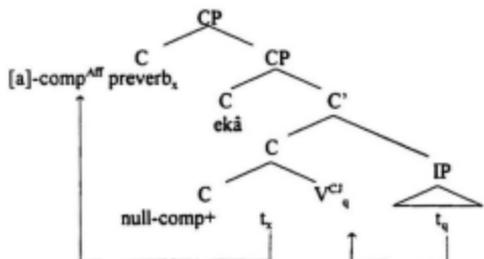
3.3.1.1 Preverb raising

Before discussing the main clause data, I return briefly to negated subordinate clauses (data type S.ii). There is an interesting exception to the general claim that Initial Change cannot apply to negated subordinate clauses. In none of the data in (130-132) are there any preverbs. In cases where the verb complex includes a preverb, (i) the preverb is

(148) Option (i): *[[a]-comp+preverb] raises to position above ekā*



(149) Option (ii): *[preverb] raises past ekā to provide a host for the affixal [a]-comp*



The lowest C is presumed to be headed by null-comp because the verb complex does not undergo Initial Change. The derivation in (149), because the movement of the preverb is motivated by the affixal status of $[a]-comp$, is preferred to the derivation in (148). The movement shown in (148) is unmotivated. The facts are now examined in greater detail in order to see how a structure like (149) accounts for the data in (147).

A maximum of one preverb moves to the left of *ekâ* so that in cases where multiple preverbs occur, the preverb remaining to the right of *ekâ* is unaffected by Initial Change:

- (150) **Nichischâyimâw châ âkâ wî-pimûhtât.**
 Nichischâyim-âw châ- âkâ wî-pimûhtâ-t
 know(TA)-IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+fut Neg want-walk(AI)-CIN.3.sg
I know that she will not want to walk.

Only the left-most preverb moves:

- (151)
- a. *nichischâyimâw châ-_x wî-/wâ-_q âkâ t_x t_q pimûhtât
- b. *nichischâyimâw wî-/wâ-_q âkâ châ- t_q pimûhtât
-

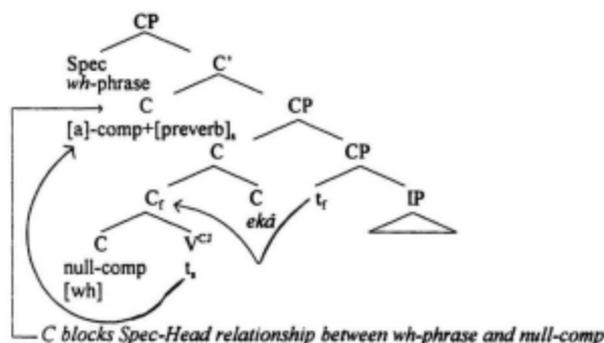
Also, movement is obligatory:

- (152) *nichischâyimâw âkâ châ-wî-pimûhtât

We have seen that in the case of negated subordinate clauses (data type S.ii) and negated subordinate *wh*-clauses (data type S.iv) covert C-to-C raising of C headed by null-comp to Neg-C provides the necessary Spec-Head configuration for the feature [wh-focus] to be checked (see phrase structures in 136 and 146). If the structure in (149) is correct for (147a-b), then there is an intervening head between Neg-C and the SpecCP

to which a *wh*-phrase would raise in order to be clause-initial.¹¹¹ This is illustrated in (153).

- (153) *C* headed by [a]-comp intervenes between *wh*-phrase and null-comp which checks [wh]



Assuming the preverb raises to the uppermost C to satisfy the affixal requirements of [a]-comp, this prevents null-comp and the *wh*-phrase from entering into the Spec-Head relationship required for checking. The *wh*-phrase could be checked if further covert raising of the complex [_{CP} Neg-C [_{CP} null-comp]] to [a]-comp applied; this would establish the required checking relations. Alternatively, the highest complementizer, [a]-comp, which is in a Spec-Head relationship with the *wh*-phrase, could check the feature [wh]. However, data attests to the fact that preverb-raising does not take place if there is

¹¹¹Since it is not possible with the available data to comment on how fronting of *pro*[focus] to SpecCP will affect preverb-raising, this is not discussed.

a *wh*-phrase in the construction; that is, *wh*-raising and preverb-raising appear to be mutually exclusive processes, with *wh*-raising taking precedence:

(154) *Western Naskapi Text (3:102)*

- a. **Wähchi äkä chî-nipähâtät**
wähchi äkä chî-nipähât-t
[a]-comp+why Neg able-kill(AI)-CIN.3 sg
For this reason, he wasn't able to kill anything.

- b. *wähchi chî- äkä nipähâtät

The data in (154) is a main clause construction but we shall see shortly that it is also the case that in subordinate clauses which have a *wh*-element, the preverb remains to the right of the negative; that is, preverb raising is blocked.¹¹² The ungrammatical example in (154b) corresponds to the phrase structure in (153). One way to account for the ungrammaticality of (154b) is thus to propose that the *wh*-phrase cannot be checked. Another possibility is that the two elements ([[a]-comp +preverb] and *wh*-phrase) compete for the same position -- the *wh*-phrase checking position, SpecCP. However, there is no evidence that [a]-comp moves from C to a Specifier position, nor, without cross-linguistic precedent, is it theoretically desirable to propose this kind of move. So, rather than claiming that these two very different lexical items -- one verbal, the other nominal -- compete for the same position, the data in (154) would best be accounted for in terms of whether or not checking relations can be established. The solution offered in (153) should, however, be regarded as tentative as it is based on a small sample of data.

¹¹²The *wh*-phrase undergoes Initial Change in (154). I assume this is the result of [a]-comp affixation but leave further investigation of this matter to future research.

In a subordinate clause context it is rather more difficult to determine whether or not *eká* blocks preverb raising. I argue, however, that it does, and assume that whatever causes the ungrammaticality of (154b) is likely to apply to subordinate contexts also.

In (155a-b), the complex [[a]-comp+preverb] co-occurs with a *wh*-phrase. It looks as if preverb-raising has taken place in both affirmative subordinate clauses in (155):¹¹³

(155)

a. *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun**

Apû tshissenimak tshe-ispish tshítûtet.

apû tshissenimak tshg- ispish tshítûtet.

Neg know(TI).CIN-O:Inan/S:1.sg [a]-comp+Fut when leave(AI)-CIN.3.sg

I don't know when she'll be leaving.

(Clarke 1982:136)

b. *Western Naskapi*

Nichischâyimâw kâ-ispis â-chitûhtât.

ni-chischâyim-âw kâ- ispis â-chitûhtât-t

S:1-know(TA).IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+Past when [a]-comp+leave(AI).CIN.3.sg

I know when he left.

I propose that, despite surface appearances, preverb raising has not taken place in (155).

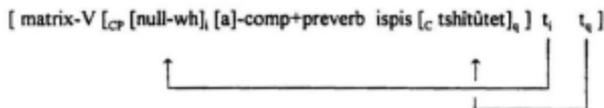
The *wh*-phrase which appears in (155) is, in fact, the right-most element of a two-part *wh*-phrase. The data in (156) illustrates the case where both parts of the discontinuous *wh*-phrase *tân ispish* 'when' are overt:

¹¹³In the Western Naskapi (155b) and (156), Initial Change affects both the preverb and the subordinate verb. This is not the case with the Sheshatshu Innu-aimun data in (155a). In Western Naskapi then, [a]-comp merges with two elements. This happens frequently in cases where a discontinuous *wh*-phrase occurs. I do not pursue this matter.

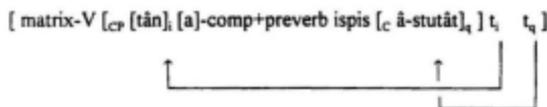
- (156) *Western Naskapi*
Nichischâyimâw tân châ-ispis â-chitûhtât
 ni-chischâyim-âw tân châ- ispis â-chitûhtât-t
 S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 how [a]-comp+Fut wh [a]-comp-leave(AI).CIN.S:3.sg
I know when he will leave.

We have already seen a context (example 140) in which *tân* (which may also occur on its own to mean 'how') is optionally realized. Presumably there is a null *wh*-element in example (140); otherwise the subordinate clause would lack an interrogative reading. I thus propose that a null *wh*-element is present in (155a-b) and that it raises to the standard clause-initial (SpecCP) position. I further propose that the right-most part of the phrase *tân ispis* does not have [wh] features to check and is located somewhere within the lowest CP projection, as is the preverb; precisely where the phrase *ispis* is located is a matter I do not pursue. Under this view, the data in (155) has the same structure as the data in (156). A *wh*-element raises to SpecCP in both types of data and, in some manner which remains to be confirmed, in so doing it blocks the raising of the preverb. The data in (155) and (156), respectively, have the structures in (157a-b).

- (157) a. *Structure for (155)*



- b. *Structure for (156)*



To sum up, the data in (154) illustrates the case where the preverb remains to the right of *ekā*, as expected. The marked data in which the preverb occurs to the left of the negative is illustrated by (147) and (150). So long as there is no *wh*-phrase in the construction, preverb-raising occurs:¹¹⁴

(158) [_C [a]-comp+ [preverb]_i [_C *ekā* [_C t_i null-comp+V^{CJ}]]] Data (147) and (150)

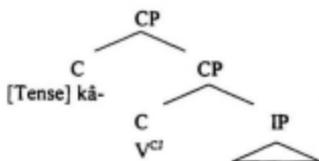
A final question which remains unaddressed with respect to these data is: why does an [a]-comp projection merge to a position above Neg-C when a preverb is part of the verb complex? Recall the hypothesis that non-Neg-C is checked by V^{CJ}. It may be the case that certain preverbs are specified for the feature [CJ] and require their own checking position, distinct from the verbal complex; I am proposing that, in some sense, certain preverbs may be more autonomous or more “verb-like” than others. Not all morphemes labelled “preverbs” are subject to the raising requirement we have seen in this section, a fact which is not surprising given that the term “preverb” is applied to a class of morphemes which clearly requires further subdivision. If the volition preverb *wi-* is included as a tense preverb, those preverbs examined here which raise are all Tense preverbs (Jančewicz and MacKenzie 1997 report that the preverb *wi-* is occasionally used

¹¹⁴The data in (147) and (150) raise the possibility that in single CP structure (like plain subordinate clauses, data type (S.i), as in, for example, 129a), the preverb raises to C headed by [a]-comp. Given the data available, there is no way to test this.

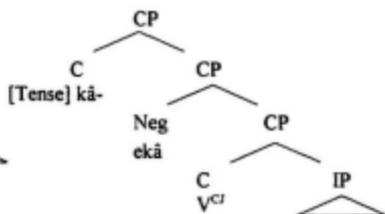
to indicate consequential future tense in Naskapi). One possibility (which is not pursued here) is that preverbs which are themselves specified for a Tense feature are also specified for the feature [CJ]. In this case, a minimum of two CP projections are required. Two separate C positions would only be apparent in a negative construction (with *ekâ* intervening):

(159)

a. *Affirmative*



b. *Negative*



It should be noted that the past tense negative preverb *ûhchi-* does not raise:

(160)

- a. **Nichischâyimâw âkâ ûhchi-pimûhtât.**¹¹⁵
ni-chischâyim-âw âkâ ûhchi-pimûhtâ-t
S:1-know(TA).IIN.1>3 Neg Neg/Past-walk(AI)-CIN.3.sg
I know that she didn't walk.
- b. ***Nichischâyimâw ûhchi- âkâ pimûhtât.**
I know that she didn't walk.

The preverb *ûhchi-* only occurs with the *ekâ* negator and thus has a special status -- I do not pursue the issue of why this preverb does not raise but merely cite it to show that preverb raising requires further research. It is anticipated that the preverbs which fail to raise will be found to display other properties distinguishing them from those preverbs (like the Tense preverbs) which do.

3.3.2 Main clauses

All of the contexts examined in the previous section, by virtue of their being subordinate, have at least one CP level. The C-checks-V^{Cl} hypothesis is only valid however if it predicts all the environments in which V^{Cl} appears. Obviously, some main clause contexts are also associated with a CP level -- *wh*-clauses, for example. In this section, the main

¹¹⁵Note that *ûhchi* occurring before the negative is a different morpheme -- it is the Changed form of the *wh*-element 'why', which appears in its changed form in (i) and (ii):

(i) Nichischâyimâw wâhchi âkâ pimûhtâ-t
know(TA).IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+why Neg walk(AI)-CIN.3.sg
I know why she isn't walking.

(ii) Nichischâyimâw wâhchi âkâ ûhchi-pimûhtâ-t
know(TA).IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+why Neg Neg/Past-walk(AI)-CIN.3.sg
I know why she wasn't walking.

clause equivalents to the environments discussed in section 3.3.1 are considered. In main clause environments, there is more variation in terms of the choice of verbal morphology: Changed Conjunct, Unchanged Conjunct or Independent:

(161) *Western Naskapi: Main clause Conjunct*

Clause Type	Main Clause containing	CONJUNCT Initial Change			INDEPENDENT
		Obligatory	Prohibited	Optional	
M.i	no <i>wh</i> -phrase, no Neg			✓	✓
M.ii	Neg	✓			✓
M.iii	<i>wh</i> -phrase	✓			✗
M.iv	<i>wh</i> -phrase and Neg			✓	✗

For the reader's convenience, these clause types are also referred to as follows:

- (162) M.i plain main clause
 M.ii negated main clause
 M.iii main *wh*-clause
 M.iv negated main *wh*-clause

As the table shows, the Independent is never an option in derivations which have a *wh*-phrase (data types M.iii-iv). According to the C-checks-V^{Cl} hypothesis, this is because a CP level is required, and thus V^{Cl}. The table also highlights the fact that, at least for the body of data examined here, Initial Change is never prohibited in a main clause

environment -- it is either obligatory or it is an option. To phrase this in terms of the complementizers proposed here, [a]-comp can always occur in a main clause context, even in double CP (i.e., negative) structures like negated main clauses (data type M.ii) and negated main *wh*-clauses (data types M.iv). Plain main clauses (data type M.i) and negated main clauses (data type M.ii) are of particular significance in terms of testing the validity of the C-checks-V^{cl} hypothesis because main clauses may be headed by either IP (in which case an Independent verb fulfills checking requirements) or by CP; what motivates the CP level in data types (Mi-ii) must therefore be determined.

Under current assumptions, (for example, Rizzi 1997) operator-like elements such as interrogatives and focused nominals are associated with a CP level. The idea that main clause Changed Conjoint constructions are a type of focus construction has a history in the literature of Algonquian linguistics (for example, Rogers 1978 for Parry Island Ojibwe; James 1983, 1986 for Moose Cree; Cyr 1994 for Montagnais.). The role of the Unchanged form in main clause contexts, on the other hand, is less easily attributable to the presence of the feature [focus] but, in at least some of these cases, a CP level may be motivated by irrealis illocutionary force. Since main *wh*-clauses (data type M.iii) and negated main *wh*-clauses (data type M.iv) are more easily dealt with, I begin with discussion of these. The examples in (163-164) illustrate main *wh*-clauses.

(163) *Main wh-clause, data type (M.iii)*

a. *Changed form*

Awân pâminuwât wiyâsiyuw?

awân pâminuwât-t wiyâs-iyiw

who [a]-comp+cook(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg meat-obv

Who's cooking the meat?

b. *Unchanged form*

*Awân pîminuwât wiyâsiyuw?

(164) *Main wh-clause, data type (M.iii)*

a. *Changed form*

Châkwân pâminuwâyin?

châkwân pâminuwâyin

what [a]-comp+cook(AI)-CIN.S:2.sg

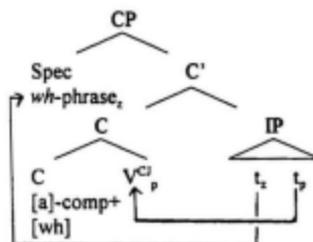
What are you cooking?

b. *Unchanged form*

*Châkwân pîminuwâyin?

The following phrase structure represents (163-164):

(165) *Main wh-clause with [a]-comp, data (M.iii)*



The *wh*-phrase is checked in a Spec-Head relationship by [a]-comp.

An interesting opposition exists in the case of negated main *wh*-clauses: in some of the data elicited, the opposition between Changed and Unchanged forms distinguishes

constructions which have a *wh*-reading from constructions which have a relative clause reading. The data in (166b) and (167b) have an Unchanged Conjunct verb form. In spite of the presence of a *wh*-phrase in these constructions, they are not questions; the *wh*-phrase is interpreted as a definite NP:

(166) *Negated main wh-clause, data type (M.iv)*

a. *Changed form*

Awân âkâ mâchisut?

awân âkâ mâchisu-t

who Neg [a]-comp+eat(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

Who isn't eating?

b. *Unchanged form*

(An) awân âkâ mîchisut.

(an) awân âkâ mîchisu-t

(Dem) who Neg \emptyset -comp+eat(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

The one who isn't eating.

(167) *Negated main wh-clause, data type (M.iv)*

a. *Changed form*

Châkwân âkâ mâhkwâch?

châkwân âkâ mâhkwâ-ch

what Neg [a]-comp+be_red(II)-CIN.Inan

What isn't red?

b. *Unchanged form*

Châkwân âkâ mîhkwâch.

châkwân âkâ mîhkwâ-ch

what Neg \emptyset -comp+be_red(II)-CIN.Inan

The thing which isn't red.

The data in (166b) and (167b) are free relatives and are thus different from another type of construction attested in CMN dialects (see 168) in which a *wh*-phrase receives a non-*wh* interpretation: in Independent main clauses in Plains Cree, Swampy Cree and Moose Cree,

a *wh*-phrase is interpreted as an indefinite NP (Blain 1997:83). The contrast between the *wh*-reading and the non-*wh*-reading is a matter of verbal morphology: Conjunct vs.

Independent:

(168) *Moose Cree*[†]

a. **Awēnihkân wēyāpamat anta?**
 awēnihkân wēyāpam-at anta
 who see(TA)-CIN.2>3 there
Whom do you see there?

b. **Niwapamaw awēnihkân walawitimihk.**
 ni-wapam-aw awēnihkân walawitimi-hk
 I-see(TA)-IIN.3>4 someone outside-loc
I see someone outside.

(Blain 1997:80)

The constructions in (166b) and (167b) which have the non-*wh* reading do, however, have something in common with the non-*wh* construction in (168b) -- in both types of construction, the *wh*-phrase is not obligatorily clause-initial (see 169b and 170b), contrasting with the *wh*-questions in which the *wh*-phrase must be clause-initial, as shown in (169a) and (170a).¹¹⁶

(169) *Plains Cree*[†]

a. ***Ĕ-pāh-pāhpit awīna?**
 Ĕ-pāhpāhpi-t awīna
 [a]-comp+laugh-CIN.3.sg who
Who is laughing?

b. **Ĕ-pāh-pāhpit awiyak.**
 Ĕ-pāhpāhpi-t awiyak
 [a]-comp+laugh-CIN.3.sg someone
Someone is laughing.

(Blain 1997:81-82)

¹¹⁶In Plains Cree, 'who' and 'someone' are no longer homophonous, though they once were. (Blain 1997:83)

(170) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Question (Changed form)*

***Ākā māhkwāch chākwān?**

ākā māhkwā-ch chākwān

Neg [a]-comp+be_red(II)-CIN.Inan.sg what

What isn't red?

b. *Non-wh-reading (Unchanged form)*

Ākā mihkwāch chākwān.

ākā 0-mihkwā-ch chākwān

Neg null-comp+be_red(II)-CIN.Inan.sg what

The thing which isn't red.

Given the strict utterance-initial constraint imposed on *wh*-phrases throughout the CMN complex, the data in (169-170) are significant; the *wh*-phrase in the non-*wh* constructions are presumably adjuncts and do not bear the feature [wh]. Clearly, in Western Naskapi, the contrast between Changed and Unchanged forms of the Conjunct verb (i.e., between [a]-comp and null-comp selection) in the (M.iv) environment provides the contrast between a *wh*-reading and a non-*wh*-reading. In main clauses, then, it seems that null-comp fails to check the feature [wh].

While informant judgements did not vary on the data in (166-167), the data in (171) conflicts with the view that, in environment (M.iv), the opposition between Changed and Unchanged forms provides the opposition between a *wh*-question and a relative clause. Although (166-167) predict that (171a) will be a free relative, the following pair of constructions were judged to be paraphrases:

- (171) a. *Unchanged form:* Awān ākā sūkichit?
b. *Changed form:* Awān ākā-sūkichit?
Who isn't cold?

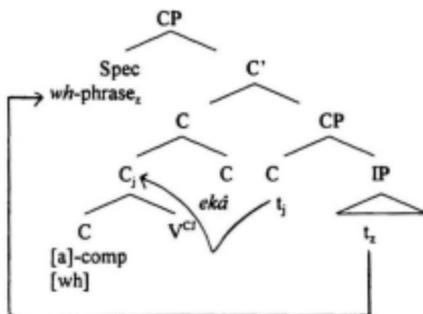
The data in (171) does not undermine the relevance of (166-167). While informant judgements for environment (S.iv) were firm (the Changed form is ungrammatical in this context), the data in (166-167) at least raises the possibility that a *wh*/non-*wh* reading opposition exists in environment (M.iv), even if it only applies to a subset of constructions, the extension of which remains to be defined by future research. For the majority of the data (M.iv) examined, [a]-comp selection was found to provide the *wh*-reading (and null-comp provided the marked non-*wh* reading). The data in (171a) (in which null-comp checks a *wh*-phrase in a main clause environment) is thus regarded as marginal and the data in (169-170) are taken to represent the norm. In order to distinguish between the data types (169a) and (169b) (and between 170a and 170b), I refer to them, respectively, as data type (M.iv.a) -- negated main *wh*-clauses -- and data type (M.iv.b) -- negated relative clauses.

So far [a]-comp has appeared in single CP structures only. Judging from the data seen up to now, null-comp is expected in the negated main *wh*-clause, data type (M.iv.a) because *ekā* is included in the lexical array. Contrary to this expectation, as illustrated in (172a), [a]-comp appears in a double CP, apparently selected by *ekā*. Structure (172a) is the main clause equivalent of the negated subordinate *wh*-clause, data type (S.iv) illustrated in phrase structure (146); Covert C-to-C raising is assumed for the purposes of establishing checking relations between non-neg-C and the *wh*-phrase. The structure in (172b) lacks a specifier; I assume the nominal *chākwan* in (170b) lacks the feature [wh] and is, like other lexical DPs, an adjunct. It is not therefore represented on the phrase

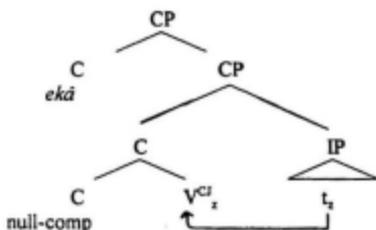
structure:

(172)

a. *Negated main wh-clause, data type (M.iv.a)*



b. *Negated relative clause, data type (M.iv.b)*



Comparison of (172a-b), both double CP structures, suggests that there is not a straightforward correlation between complementizer selection and the number of CP levels (i.e., whether the CP is a single or double structure), although this is the impression obtained by looking at the subordinate environments. Why does *ekā* select null-comp in

all subordinate clauses (including those containing a *wh*-phrase) but only in some main clause *wh*-constructions? Moreover, the negated relative clause, data (M.iv.b), (which has null-comp), although structurally consistent with the predictions made by the analysis thus far (see 172b -- null-comp appears in a double CP), seems to be marked because (i) it is the data over which informants vary in their judgements and (ii) in spite of the *wh*-phrase, it does not have interrogative illocutionary force. Clearly, [a]-comp must be permitted to occur wherever null-comp is not exceptionally selected (by, for example, *eká*); that is, [a]-comp, occurring in an elsewhere environment, is the default complementizer. This accounts for the distribution of [a]-comp in subordinate clauses (restricted to non-negative). It also accounts for the distribution of null-comp in subordinate clauses (selected by the negator); the number of CP levels is thus irrelevant in terms of predicting the distribution of [a]-comp. The distribution of null-comp, on the other hand, is restricted to double CP structures in all cases with the possible exception of the irrealis structure shown in (138). Assuming that null-comp is restricted in distribution to double CP structures, and that this pattern reveals a constraint in the grammar, the freer selection of complementizers attested in main clauses (as opposed to subordinate clauses) can be accounted for. Structure (172a) shows the default occurring in a double CP. Data type (M.ii) -- the negated main clause -- illustrates another case like this:

(173) *Negated main clause, data type (M.ii)*

a. *Text (7:24)*

Åku nāsch ākā chāschāyih̄tāhk chā-itūhtāt.

āku nāsch ākā chāschāyih̄t-āhk chā-itūhtāt-t

DisP really Neg [a]-comp+know(TI)-CIN.3.sg [a]-comp+Fut-go(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Well, he really didn't know where to go.

b. *Text (6:223)*

Utūtuwāw ākā āmwāpuyākinūch ...

utūtuwāw ākā āmwāpuy-ākinūch ...

boat.Poss Neg [a]-comp-go_over_falls(AI)-S:unspec

Their boat did not go over the falls ...

This kind of structure is very rare. A total of 84 negated main clauses were identified in the six texts listed in the table in (174) (see section 1.3.1 of Chapter 1 for details of texts used). Of these 84 examples, only two cases of a negated Conjoint clause were found (and these appear as 173a-b). These statistics are highly marked, given the high frequency with which Conjoint forms appear in affirmative main clauses. The details of the clause count are as follows:¹¹⁷

(174) *Negated main clauses*

<i>Text number</i>	<i>2 & 3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>tāpā + Independent</i>	3	1	5	4	4
<i>mi- + Independent</i>	22	8	24	3	6
<i>ākā + Conjoint</i>	0	0	1	1	0
Total negated main clauses	25	9	30	8	10

¹¹⁷Use of the Independent negator *tāpā* is not discussed in this thesis. An East Cree negator, it reveals the influence of East Cree in Western Naskapi.

Examination of textual materials also shows that a very high frequency of verbs following the discourse particle *áku* in affirmative clauses are Conjunct. In negated main clauses, however, most of the verbs which follow this particle are Independent.¹¹⁸ The following data show *áku* followed by the Independent in a negated main clause:

(175) *Text (6:6)*

a. **Áku mi-chí-chitúhtáyuwa.**

áku mi-chí-chitúhtá-iyiwa

DisP Neg-able-go(AI)-IIN.4

Now then, they (the two cubs) are unable to go anywhere (wander off).

b. *Text (2:4)*

Áku mi-wápmáw iyuwa mikw asiniya wiyápáhtáhk.

áku mi-wápmáw iyuwa mikw asiniya wiyápáht-áhk

DisP Neg-see(TA)-IIN.3>4 person.obv but rock.obv see(TA)CIN.3>4

Now then, he didn't see a person, just the rock that he had seen (before).

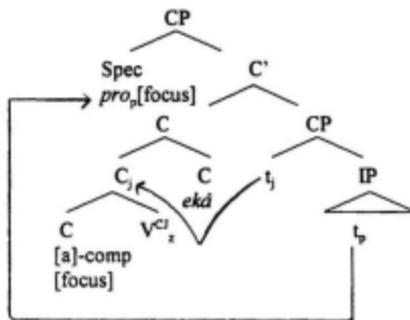
There is, apparently, something about negation which overrides the tendency of this particle to have a Conjunct verb follow it -- more generally, there is something about the interaction of [focus] and negation which strongly prefers an IP level rather than and CP level. I do not pursue this matter.

Given the rarity of (M.ii) data, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that, as well as [a]-comp, null-comp may be an alternative here too, as it is in the case of (M.iv) data, for example. The question is: are there data types (M.ii.a) (which have an [a]-comp complementizer) and (M.ii.b) (which have a null-comp complementizer)? I have suggested that in main clauses null-comp fails to check [wh]; it is possible that in main

¹¹⁸See James (1983, 1986) for discussion of this "focus particle" (*éko*) in Moose Cree).

clauses null-comp also fails to check [focus], in which case no data type (M.ii.b) should exist. I return to this issue presently. Data type (M.ii) -- the negated main clause -- is represented by the following structure, identical to (172a) except that the fronted nominal is *pro*[focus]:

(176) *[a]-comp in double CP, negated main clause, data (M.ii)*

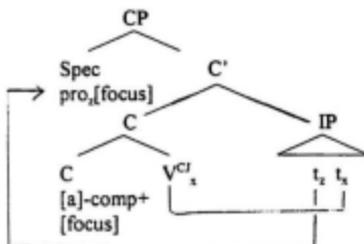


I turn now to data type (M.i) -- the plain main (Conjunct) clause -- which is also presumed to be a focus construction.

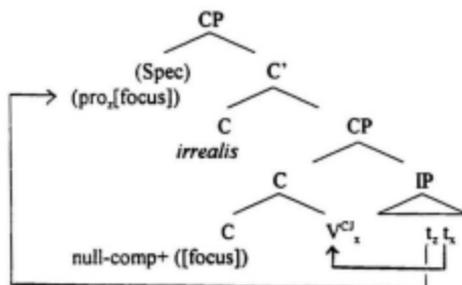
The following data illustrate environment (M.i). These may be Changed or Unchanged Conjuncts (null-comp or [a]-comp) and so I have further subdivided the data into (M.i.a) for Changed forms and (M.i.b) for Unchanged forms:

(178)

a. *Plain main clause with [a]-comp, data type (M.i.a)*



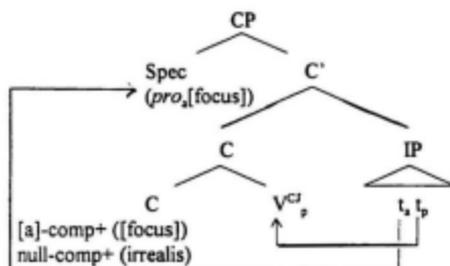
b. *Plain main clause with null-comp, data type (M.i.b)*



Assuming that the structure in (172a) accurately represents the data in (166a) and (167a), and if (172b) accurately represents (166b) and (167b), then selection of, say [a]-comp over null-comp, is sufficient to distinguish a pair of otherwise structurally identical constructions. Thus, the selection of distinct complementizers may be enough to create the semantic distinction between (M.i.a) and (M.i.b). In this case, for reasons of

Economy, the smaller structure in (179) should be regarded as representing both (M.i) data types:

(179) *[a]-comp ~ null-comp, data (M.i.a-M.i.b)*



The disadvantage to (179) is that representation of (M.i) in this manner forces us to abandon the generalization that null-comp uniquely appears in double CP structures (and that it never projects a specifier position): structure (178b) shows null-comp occurring in a double CP structure, which is consistent with data types (S.ii), (S.iv), (M.ii) and (M.iv). In order to explore this issue in more depth, and to argue in favour of structure (178b) over (179), it is necessary to be more specific about the conditions under which Initial Change is "optional". Table (180) expands on the information provided in the table in (161):

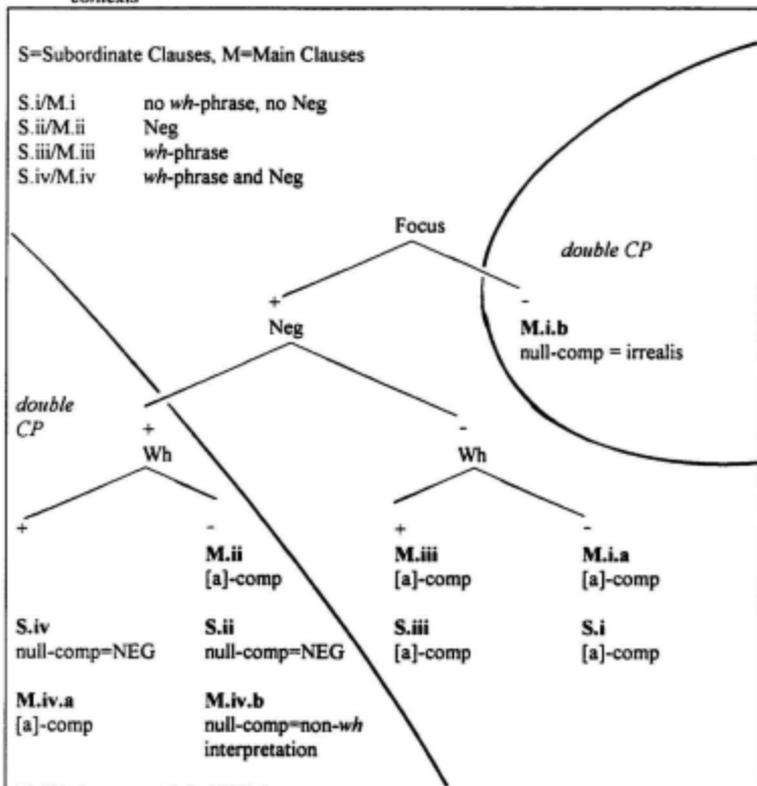
(180) *Western Naskapi: Main clause Conjunct*

Clause Type	Main Clause containing	CONJUNCT Initial Change		INDEPENDENT
		Obligatory ([a]-comp)	Prohibited (null-comp)	
M.i.a	no <i>wh</i> -phrase, no Neg -- <i>pro</i> [focus]	✓		
M.i.b	no <i>wh</i> -phrase, no Neg -- Irrealis		✓	
Elsewhere				✓
M.ii	Neg -- <i>pro</i> [focus]		✓	
Elsewhere				✓
M.iii	<i>wh</i> -phrase	✓		
M.iv.a	<i>wh</i> -phrase and Neg	✓		
M.iv.b	Neg		✓	

The chart in (181), in which the hierarchy *focus*>*neg*>*wh* is assumed (other arrangements fail to highlight the pattern), shows that [a]-comp occurs in all subordinate environments other than those which are negated. In main clauses, [a]-comp is selected in all semantically unmarked environments -- that is, the default complementizer consistently provides the default reading. Selection of the marked complementizer, null-comp, signals a marked interpretation: irrealis (M.i.b) and the non-*wh*-reading in (M.iv.b). The marked

reading is provided exclusively by a double CP structure. In a subordinate environment, negation is regarded as being a semantically marked construction:

(181) *Default complementizer [a]-comp provides default reading in main clause contexts*



In main clauses, a two-way grammatical contrast is provided by offering a choice in the selection of the default [a]-comp and the marked option, null-comp. The more marked semantic value coincides with the marked complementizer. Thus, in spite of the fact that *ekā* occurs in (M.iv), the default complementizer results in the unmarked *wh*-reading (M.iv.a) and null-comp signals the marked non-*wh*-reading option. In (M.i), selection of the marked option complementizer (null-comp) provides an irrealis reading (M.i.b) while default [a]-comp provides the semantically unmarked non-irrealis reading (M.i.a). We can maintain the hypothesis that [a]-comp is the default in all contexts. The *ekā* negator consistently selects null-comp in subordinate clauses because, unlike in main clauses where further semantic distinctions are made on the basis of complementizer selection, complementizer contrast is not exploited in a subordinate environment. Data type (M.ii), under this view, is not anomalous. (M.ii), although a negated structure, selects [a]-comp, the default complementizer; in a main clause context a negated structure is not sufficiently marked to require null-comp. If, as suggested earlier in this section, an Unchanged counterpart to (M.ii) exists (i.e., null-comp selection), it is predicted to have a distinct (and semantically marked) function from the (M.ii) data shown in (173). As (181) shows, the only main clause environments which do not have the default complementizer are the semantically marked cases: (M.iv.b) and (M.i.b).

In theory, (a) and (b) pairs (like (M.i.a-b)) may exist for all the (M) environments. We have evidence, however, that null-comp selection results in ungrammaticality in an (M.iii) environment (see 163b and 164b): main clause affirmative *wh*-constructions are

obligatorily subject to Initial Change. The only immediately obvious way to account for this gap in the paradigm (i.e., the two-way grammatical contrast paradigm evident in M.i and M.iv) is to maintain the generalization that null-comp can only occur in a double CP structure. If we keep to this assumption then, we must reject structure (179) in favour of (178b) as being representative of data (M.i.b). Null-comp, in order to permit *pro*[wh-focus] to raise to the SpecCP of the phrase immediately dominating it without incurring a Shortest Move violation, must always be specifierless. This could restrict its distribution to double CP structures, since single CP structures all potentially involve movement of *pro* to SpecCP (i.e., must have a specifier position).

The tables in (182a-b) provide a summary of the details argued for in this chapter:

(182a) Summary of details of subordinate clauses (Western Naskapi only)

Clause type	Details of projections		Complementizer selection
	<i>wh</i> -phrase	Neg	
S.i	✗	✗	Single CP Matrix verb selects CP Move V^{C^1} to C SpecCP present iff <i>pro</i> [focus] present Default
S.ii	✗	✓	Double CP Matrix verb selects CP Merge <i>eká</i> to C^2 <i>eká</i> selects null-comp (Spec-less C^1) Move V^{C^1} to C^1 SpecCP ² present iff <i>pro</i> [focus] present If so, Covert C-to-C raising applies C checks <i>pro</i> [focus] null-comp
S.iii	✓	✗	Single CP Matrix verb selects CP Move V^{C^2} to C Move <i>wh</i> -phrase to SpecCP C checks <i>wh</i> -phrase Default
S.iv	✓	✓	Double CP Matrix verb selects CP Merge <i>eká</i> to C^2 <i>eká</i> selects null-comp Move V^{C^1} to C^1 Move <i>wh</i> -phrase to SpecCP ² Covert C-to-C raising applies C checks <i>wh</i> -phrase null-comp

(182b) *Summary of details of main clauses (Western Naskapi only)*

Clause type	Details of projections		Complementizer selection
	<i>wh</i> -phrase	Neg	
M.i.a	✗	✗	Single CP Move V^{CI} to C Move <i>pro</i> to SpecCP C checks <i>pro</i> [focus] Default
M.i.b			(probably) Double CP (Details unclear) null-comp (Irrealis)
M.ii	✗	✓	Double CP Merge <i>ekā</i> to C^2 <i>ekā</i> selects [a]-comp for default reading Move V^{CI} to C^1 SpecCP ² present iff <i>pro</i> [focus] present If so, Covert C-to-C raising applies C checks <i>pro</i> [focus] Default
M.iii	✓	✗	Single CP SpecCP target of Move <i>wh</i> -phrase Move V^{CI} to C Move <i>wh</i> -phrase to SpecCP C checks <i>wh</i> -phrase Default

(null-comp not an option here -- null-comp cannot accommodate *pro* without specifier position)

(182b) *continued*

Clause type	Details of projections		Complementizer selection
<i>wh</i> -phrase	Neg		
M.iv.a ✓	✓	Double CP SpecCP ² target of Move <i>wh</i> -phrase Merge <i>ekā</i> to C ² <i>ekā</i> selects [a]-comp for default reading Move V ^{CF} to C ¹ Move <i>wh</i> -phrase to SpecCP ² Covert C-to-C raising applies C checks <i>wh</i> -phrase	Default
M.iv.b		Double CP As for (M.iv.a) except no SpecCP	null-comp (relative clause)

3.4 Concluding remarks

A number of types of evidence have been discussed which support the hypothesis that the Conjunct verb raises to the complementizer position. First, it has been argued that Initial Change is the result of complementizer affixation to the Conjunct verb, a process which requires V^{CF} raise to C irrespective of whether C is headed by [a]-comp or null-comp. The assumption that [a]-comp is the default complementizer in Western Naskapi accounts for the distribution of Changed forms in the data discussed in this chapter as well as for the coincidence of the Unchanged form with the marked semantic reading. The discussion of the distribution of *kā*- provides encouraging support for the proposal that, at least in the CMN complex, and most likely in Algonquian in general, an [a]-comp complementizer

accounts for Initial Change. Second, in all the constructions examined here which require a Conjunct verb, at least one CP level can be independently motivated: either by the fact of being an embedded environment, or because a *wh*-phrase or a focused nominal is included in the lexical array. The questions which have been raised in this chapter, but not pursued, are listed in Chapter 7. ↵

Chapter 4

Wh-constructions

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides argumentation in support of the assumption made in Chapter 3 that *wh*-phrases raise overtly to the SpecCP of the Conjunct clause in a simple direct *wh*-construction; that is, I argue in favour of a uni-clausal analysis of constructions which are minimally of the form [*wh*-phrase V^{CJ}].¹¹⁹ This concurs with Baker's (1996) analysis of *wh*-constructions in Mohawk (Iroquoian), but not with Blain (1997), who argues that direct *wh*-questions in Plains Cree are cleft constructions (i.e., bi-clausal). Both Baker and Blain's analyses are discussed in some detail in this chapter, the latter in particular because it is the most extensive study to date of *wh*-question formation in a CMN dialect.

Although Mohawk is not an Algonquian language, discussion of Baker's analysis of Mohawk *wh*-constructions is relevant for two reasons. First, Blain compares and contrasts Plains Cree *wh*-constructions with comparable data in Mohawk. Thus, any discussion of *wh*-constructions in Western Naskapi in relation to Blain's analysis of Plains Cree has implications which extend to Mohawk. Second, since both Algonquian and Iroquoian are "non-configurational" type languages, it is reasonable to expect a high degree of similarity in terms of the constraints imposed on *wh*-question formation.

¹¹⁹Brittain (1997) argues for this same analysis of comparable constructions in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun.

Existing literature on the subject confirm this to be the case: in both language types *wh*-phrases appear to be base-generated in A-position, they are generally overt and they must be positioned at the left edge of the clause over which they have scope (Baker 1996).¹²⁰ Also, so long as the constraints imposed on normal \bar{A} -movement are respected, *wh*-phrases can be moved across multiple clause boundaries (see, for example, Blain 1997 for Plains Cree long distance *wh*-extraction and Baker 1996 for Mohawk). Finally, as this chapter shows, in both language types there is evidence to support the view that the *wh*-phrase raises overtly to the SpecCP of the clause in which it is base-generated.

The relevant data in Plains Cree and Western Naskapi differ in what I claim are trivial ways. While the equivalent *wh*-constructions in Mohawk and in the two CMN dialects display many of the same syntactic properties, there are also differences; that is, not surprisingly given that Mohawk is an Iroquoian language, *wh*-movement in the two CMN dialects have more in common with each other than either has with equivalent constructions in Mohawk. In spite of this, I do not extend Blain's cleft analysis of *wh*-constructions in Plains Cree to cover Western Naskapi but rather argue that a uni-clausal analysis best accounts for all the data examined in this chapter.

There are both theoretical and empirical reasons for rejecting the bi-clausal analysis. I assume principles governing economy of representation, such as those laid out by Grimshaw (1997), favour a minimal amount of structure. This means that a bi-clausal

¹²⁰As illustrated in Chapter 3, the left-most element of a discontinuous (two-part) *wh*-phrase need not be overt.

analysis can only be adopted if there is evidence against a uni-clausal analysis. Thus, for reasons of economy we are *a priori* forced to assume that *wh*-questions in both CMN dialects are uni-clausal. Not only is there an absence of evidence against a uni-clausal analysis, there is empirical evidence in favour of the smaller structure. Blain cites the absence of multiple *wh*-questions in Plains Cree as evidence that *wh*-constructions are necessarily bi-clausal. In Western Naskapi, however, multiple *wh*-questions are grammatical. While Blain's cleft analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of multiple *wh*-questions in Plains Cree, only under a uni-clausal analysis can the ungrammaticality of the Plains Cree and the grammaticality of the equivalent construction in Western Naskapi be accounted for (in terms of microparametric variation). Thus, a construction which is minimally of the form [*wh*-phrase V^C] must be uni-clausal in both dialects. This is a necessary implication because it is theoretically undesirable to propose that dialects of the same language vary in terms of the choice of strategy exploited in the formation of *wh*-questions. Variation within a single language is expected along lines which can be attributed to microparametric variation.

For further evidence in support of a cleft analysis of Plains Cree *wh*-constructions (and against the overt *wh*-movement analysis the uni-clausal structure assumes) Blain cites the fact that Weak Crossover (WCO) effects do not appear in WCO configurations. These facts also hold of Western Naskapi. However, I maintain that a subset of crossover constructions in Algonquian are exempt from both Strong Crossover (SCO) effects and WCO effects. This exemption is, I claim, due to the additional constraints the proximate-

obviative system places on co-reference. The absence of, for example, WCO effects in an Algonquian configuration equivalent to one which in English gives rise to WCO effects is not evidence that there is no *wh*-movement in the Conjunct clause; it is merely a reflection of the fact that the grammar of Algonquian (and not English) requires that a distinction be made between proximate and obviative third persons (ruling out the possibility of co-reference). Thus, I argue that a cleft analysis of simple direct *wh*-questions in CMN complex dialects is not necessary to account for the crossover facts in Algonquian.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: In section 4.1, multiple *wh*-questions are discussed in support of the uni-clausal analysis assumed in chapter 3. In section 4.2, literature relevant to the issue of *wh*-question formation in Central Algonquian is reviewed. In this section, the following generative analyses of Algonquian *wh*-questions as bi-clausal structures are outlined: Wolfart (1973) for Plains Cree; Johns (1982) for Ojibwa; and Reinholtz and Russell (1995) for Swampy Cree. Johns (1982) is included in this chapter because, although Ojibwa is not a CMN dialect, this study is the earliest generative treatment of *wh*-questions and related structures for a Central Algonquian language. In section 4.3, data relevant to the issue of crossover effects are discussed. The implications of the evidence presented in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 are discussed in section 4.4.

4.1 Support for a uni-clausal analysis of *wh*-questions

Baker (1996) claims that almost all of the arguments for overt *wh*-movement in English can be carried over to Mohawk. Where distinct properties hold of *wh*-constructions in each language, Baker claims that these are predicted by (and derived by means of) the polysynthesis parameter. The reader is referred to Baker (1996:68-71) for full details of how arguments supporting overt *wh*-movement in English can be extended to Mohawk. A subset of Baker's arguments are examined in this chapter -- those for which there is supporting CMN data, presented either in this thesis or in other literature. These are listed in (183).

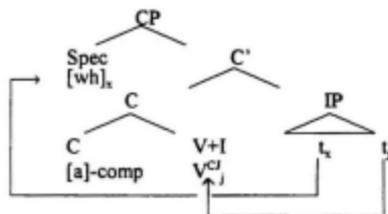
(183)

- a. *Wh*-phrase is clause-initial (Mohawk, English, Algonquian)¹²¹
The obligatory initial position of a subject or object *wh*-phrase in the clause it has scope over indicates that (i) it occupies a position fixed by the principles of X-bar theory and (ii) movement is involved.
- b. *Wh*-phrase undergoes successive cyclic movement (Mohawk, English, Algonquian)
Evidence that *wh*-phrase moves from SpecCP to SpecCP. Standard island conditions apply to prevent *wh*-extraction from complex DPs (for example, relative clauses).
- c. *Wh*-phrases create islands for further *wh*-extraction (Mohawk, English, Algonquian)
This point is well-illustrated for Plains Cree by Blain (1997:191ff).

The collection of properties listed in (183) is compatible with an overt *wh*-movement analysis of the type assumed in Chapter 3:

¹²¹See Baker (1996:72-3) for a list of other polysynthetic languages which have an obligatory clause-initial *wh*-phrase.

(184) *Overt wh-movement from Conjunct clause*



In this section, I focus on property (183a) and the failure of an *in situ* analysis of *wh*-questions to account for the CMN data.¹²² Properties (183b-c) remain to be investigated for Western Naskapi but are well-documented for Plains Cree (Blain 1997) and, I assume, hold in Western Naskapi also.

In advance of examining the relevant data and the kinds of phrase structures required to represent them, a word about the technical details of Case checking is in order. Recall that in this thesis it is assumed that only phonologically null categories -- *pro* and *wh*-trace -- carry Case properties; overt DPs are adjuncts licensed via co-indexation. Thus, an analysis which posits overt movement of the *wh*-phrase to SpecCP necessarily implies

¹²²The term *in situ* is misleading within the more recent model which assumes that all nominal elements move at least as far as the Specifier of the appropriate agreement head in order to check Case and *phi* features. Use of the term in this chapter implies failure to raise beyond SpecAgrP; it does not imply that a *wh*-phrase remains in its base-position within VP.

that Case features in Algonquian are weak.¹²³ A strong feature must be checked before the structure can be expanded by Merge (Chomsky 1995). A strong Case feature at Agr has to be checked before the tree expands but, if only null elements bear Case properties, an overt *wh*-phrase in the Case position SpecAgr is unable to check the Case properties of the head Agr. The *wh*-phrase must be free to move to a higher position to allow the *wh*-trace and Agr to cancel out their Case features -- this is only possible if a strong Case feature does not block expansion of the structure. On the other hand, the feature [wh] must be strong because overt movement takes place in response to strong features.

At the outset, it is important to bear in mind that Blain (1997) accounts for all of the properties listed in (183) under a cleft analysis. It is therefore appropriate at this stage to provide a rough sketch of Blain's analysis, showing how it accounts for (183a); see Blain (1997:185ff) for details of (183b-c). Further details of Blain's analysis are discussed as they become relevant throughout this chapter. Central to Blain's thesis is the claim that the complementizer *ká-* occurs in subordinate clauses in which overt movement of a null *wh*-Operator has occurred, and that the complementizer *é-* appears in the second of two conjoined clauses in which null *wh*-operator movement has occurred at LF.¹²⁴ The Conjoint clause is adjoined to a nominal clause in which the *wh*-phrase is base-generated.

¹²³This conclusion is not inconsistent with the fact that Case is never represented overtly in Algonquian.

¹²⁴Chapter 3 of the present thesis provides an alternative account of the role of the complementizers *ká-* and *é-* (*á-* in Western Naskapi).

As part of a general process of predicate fronting, the *wh*-phrase is raised to the SpecCP of the matrix clause, ensuring it is consistently clause-initial:

(185) *Blain 1997*

- a. *kā-* heads subordinate clause CP:

who_i is it t_i [Op_i ... *kā-* ... t_i]

The diagram shows the phrase 'who_i is it t_i' with a bracket underneath 'who_i' and an upward arrow pointing to the 'Op_i' position in the clause structure '[Op_i ... *kā-* ... t_i]'. Another bracket is underneath 'Op_i ... *kā-* ... t_i' with an upward arrow pointing to the 'Op_i' position.

Data: Awīniwa Mary kā-wāpamāt?

awīni-wa Mary kā-wāpam-ā-t
 who-obv Mary REL-see-dir-3
Who did Mary see?

- b. *ē-* heads CP of right-most clause in conjoined structure

who_i is he t_i & [Op_i ... *ē-* ... t_i]

The diagram shows the phrase 'who_i is he t_i' with a bracket underneath 'who_i' and an upward arrow pointing to the 'Op_i' position in the clause structure '[Op_i ... *ē-* ... t_i]'. Another bracket is underneath 'Op_i ... *ē-* ... t_i' with an upward arrow pointing to the 'Op_i' position.

Data: Awīna Mary ē-wāpamāt?

awīna Mary ē-wāpamāt
 who Mary conj-see-DIR-3
Who did Mary see?

In neither of the above cases does the *wh*-phrase originate in the same clause as the Conjunct verb.

By proposing null operator movement in the Conjunct clause, Blain accounts for the absence of WCO effects in WCO configurations in Plains Cree. Lasnik and Stowell (1991) show for English that non-quantificational operator movement does not trigger WCO effects in a WCO configuration. Blain's analysis assumes overt *wh*-movement but, crucially, it does not take place in the Conjunct clause.

Blain (1997:73-84) provides a number of arguments against an *in situ* analysis of Plains Cree *wh*-questions.¹²⁵ The Western Naskapi data discussed in this chapter supports Blain's conclusions that Algonquian is not an *in situ wh*-construction language. It also concurs with Baker's findings for Mohawk (and with his predictions for polysynthetic languages in general). However, Blain does not regard the fact that *wh*-phrases have a fixed position as empirical evidence against an *in situ* analysis: Blain (1997:76) "[G]iven that overt NPs are themselves arguably not in A-position ..., the fact that *wh*-words have a fixed position does not necessarily indicate they are not occupying an A-position [i.e., *in situ*]". I contend, however, that the property described in (183a) clearly does rule out an *in situ* analysis. Given the clause structure assumed throughout this thesis (and in Blain 1997), the obligatory clause-initial position of the *wh*-phrase, regardless of its base-position, shows that at least one *wh*-phrase must raise to the left edge of the construction. The relevant case is that of an object *wh*-phrase obligatorily occupying the same clause-initial position as a subject *wh*-phrase. If *wh*-phrases remain in their base-generated positions, a *wh*-subject should appear to the left of the verb, a *wh*-object to the right of the verb. The following data shows this prediction to be incorrect:

¹²⁵Some of the *in situ* diagnostics Blain applies to Plains Cree yield inconclusive results. I restrict my discussion of the *in situ* hypothesis to cases which provide clear evidence against it. For further discussion of this issue the reader is referred to the relevant sections of Blain 1997.

- (186)
- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| a. | <i>Clause-initial subject wh-phrase</i>
Awân wächâwât nâpâs?
awân wächâwât-t nâpâs
who [a]-comp+go_with(AI)-CIN.S:2sg
<i>Who is going with the boy?</i> | b. | <i>Alternative constituent order</i>
Awân nâpâs wächâwât? |
|----|--|----|--|
- (187)
- | | | | |
|----|---|----|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>NP Wh-phrase as Object</i>
Châkwân pâminuwâyin?
châkwân pâminuwâyin
what [a]-comp+cook(AI)-CIN.S:2sg
<i>What are you cooking?</i> | b. | *Pâminuwâyin châkwân? |
|----|---|----|-----------------------|

The following reorderings of (186) are unacceptable:

- (188)
- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------------|
| a. | V ^{Cl} --DP-- <i>wh</i> -phrase: | *Wächâwât nâpâs <u>awân</u> ? |
| b. | V ^{Cl} -- <i>wh</i> -phrase-- DP: | *Wächâwât <u>awân</u> nâpâs? |
| c. | DP--V ^{Cl} -- <i>wh</i> -phrase: | *Nâpâs wächâwât <u>awân</u> ? |
| d. | DP-- <i>wh</i> -phrase--V ^{Cl} : | *nâpâs <u>awân</u> wächâwât? |

Notice that the unacceptability of (188d) cannot be attributed to the relative ordering of verb and *wh*-phrase. Rather, it indicates that adjunction at a level higher than CP is disallowed, confirming the hypothesis that lexical DPs are adjoined within IP (see, for example, Jelinek 1984 and Baker 1996).

Not only is an *in situ* analysis ruled out on empirical grounds, but if we are to reconcile two of the core assumptions adhered to in this thesis -- that (i) Case may not be assigned to an overt DP and (ii) *wh*-phrases are base-generated in A-position -- necessarily there can be no *in situ wh*-phrases; that is, the *wh*-phrase must move overtly to a non-Case

position in order to permit the *wh*-trace and Agr to cancel out Case properties. This is also true under Baker's view: he predicts of *wh*-phrases in polysynthetic languages in general that they must raise to an \bar{A} -position in the overt syntax. While I argue that in Western Naskapi *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions raise to a non-Case position, this is not necessarily an \bar{A} -position; I argue that, under a specific set of circumstances (defined in the following section), a non-Case A-position (SpecTP) is also available as a *wh*-landing site.

4.1.1 Multiple *wh*-questions

The constituent ordering facts show that only the *wh*-phrase closest to the attracting head (C[*wh*]) is required to raise to an \bar{A} -position in the overt syntax. Examples (189a-b) are paraphrases and both are grammatical. The *wh*-phrase *awân* 'who' occurs to the left of the complex [a]-comp+past (*kâ-*), which is presumed to occupy the head of non-neg CP, and is thus presumed to be in SpecCP:

(189) *multiple wh-question*

a. *Western Naskapi*

Awân kâ-iyât châkwâniyuw?

awân kâ-iyâ-t châkwân-iyuw

who [a]-comp+Past-buy(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg what-obv

Who bought what?

b. Awân châkwân-iyuw kâ-iyât?

who what-obv bought

Who bought what?

The Mohawk construction equivalent to (189a) is ungrammatical. The equivalent to

(189b) is grammatical.

(190) *Mohawk: multiple wh-question*

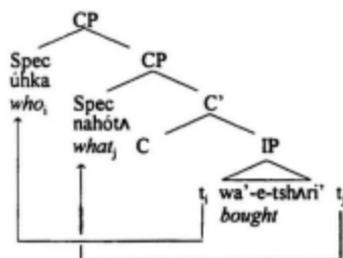
a. *Ūhka wa'-e-tshAri-' nahóta?
 who FACT-FsS-find-PUNC what
Who found what?

b. Tak-hróri ūhka nahóta wa'-e-hninu-'.
 2sS.IMPER/1sO-tell who what FACT-FsS-buy-PUNC
Tell me who bought what.

(Baker 1996:71-72)

Baker does not specify the type of structure which will accommodate (190b) but a multiple specifier construction like (191) has been proposed to account for multiple *wh*-questions in other languages (see, for example, Rudin 1988).

(191) *Mohawk multiple CP Specifiers: PF structure for subordinate clause in (190b)*



Mohawk is thus a language which requires multiple fronted *wh*-phrases, comparable to Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian:

(192) *Bulgarian multiple fronted wh-phrases*

Koj kogo e vidjal?
 who whom is seen
Who saw whom?

(Rudin 1988)

The Western Naskapi data shows that Algonquian is different from Mohawk: *wh*-phrases

need not raise overtly to an \bar{A} -position. Thus, in Algonquian, the problem of having an overt DP in a Case position in the overt syntax may be solved by raising the *wh*-phrase to a non-Case A-position. The Western Naskapi data in (189) is different from both Mohawk and English. Plains Cree differs again, as multiple *wh*-questions are ungrammatical in this dialect:

- (193) *Plains Cree*
***Awina ê-itwê-t kîkwây?**
 awina ê-itwê-t kîkwây
 who conj-say so-3 what
Who said what? (Blain 1997:90)

The data in (193) is central to Blain's argument against a uni-clausal analysis of *wh*-question formation in Plains Cree:

Blain 1997:88
 "In Nêhiyawêwin, the clearest evidence of the absence of overt *wh*-movement involves the prohibition of multiple *wh*-questions."

This prohibition is accounted for by proposing that what appear to be uni-clausal *wh*-questions are cleft constructions into which a maximum of one *wh*-phrase can be fronted for the purposes of binding a *wh*-operator in the SpecCP of the Conjunct clause:

- (194) *Blain 1997 accounts for absence of multiple wh-questions in Plains Cree*

* [what] [who]_i is it t_i [Op_i ... kî- ... t_i]

The structure in (194) cannot account for the Western Naskapi data in (189). First, as Blain observes, (194) cannot deal with the extra *wh*-phrase. Second, even if two *wh*-

phrases could somehow be accommodated, both will be fronted, ruling out the constituent order in (189a). Assuming there is a way to accommodate two *wh*-phrases in a cleft structure, two nominal clauses will be required, each with predicate fronting and each being associated in some way to the Conjunct clause. The *wh*-phrases will then be in separate clauses, unable to form the complex *wh*-phrase at LF which elicits a paired response such as (in answer to 189) *Peter bought a CD*.¹²⁶

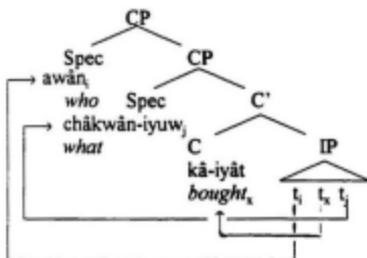
Whatever analysis of *wh*-questions is adopted must be able to account for all CMN dialect variations in a uniform manner. As stated earlier, this will preclude, for example, claiming of one dialect that it has bi-clausal *wh*-questions and of another that the equivalent constructions are uni-clausal. The analysis which can account for both dialects, and which respects Economy considerations, is the one which should be adopted. The cleft analysis in (194) fails to account for the Western Naskapi in (189) (as well as for the Mohawk in 190). The uni-clausal analysis, on the other hand, accounts for (189) (and for 190). As for the Plains Cree data in (193), we must now conclude that whatever accounts for the ungrammaticality of these constructions in Plains Cree, it cannot be that *wh*-questions are cleft structures. The dialect variation must be due to microparametric variation in the grammar of the CMN complex: thus, I argue that the difference between the two dialects can be attributed to the availability of the non-Case A-position, SpecTP, in Western Naskapi but not in Plains Cree -- a head T which checks the feature [wh] will

¹²⁶See May (1985) for discussion of LF representation of multiple *wh*-constructions.

permit a structure which has two *wh*-phrases. In order to see how this works, consider how the Western Naskapi multiple *wh*-question data in (189) differs from comparable structures in English and Mohawk.

Example (189a) (*wh*-phrase V *wh*-phrase) is illicit in Mohawk but grammatical in English whereas (189b) (*wh*-phrase *wh*-phrase V) is illicit in English and grammatical in Mohawk. How can these two facts be reconciled? Judging from (189a), *wh*-raising in Western Naskapi is the same as in English: it can be regarded as a case of self-enlightened movement to check a strong feature in C; as in English, the object *wh*-phrase need not raise to its scope position until LF. The structure in (195) shows the LF representation of (189a-b).

(195) *Western Naskapi multiple CP Specifiers: LF structure for (189a-b)*



The variation in PF representations attested by (189a-b) cannot be explained in terms of flexible constituent ordering since all the evidence suggests that Algonquian *wh*-phrases are not adjuncts. Moreover, the ordering in (189a-b) represent the limits of *wh*-phrase

flexibility. The following constituent ordering, for example, is semantically ill-formed, parallel to the ordering of the equivalent lexical items in English:

- (196) *Western Naskapi*
!chăkwăniyuw awân kă-iyât
what who bought

What permits the variation evidenced by (189a-b)? One possibility is that the basic difference between English and Algonquian derives from the prohibition of Case assignment to overt DPs in Algonquian. In both languages, and this is determined by universal principles, only the *wh*-phrase which is closest to the attracting head (C specified for the feature [wh]) is obliged to raise to SpecCP in the overt syntax -- this will be the *wh*-subject 'who'. The *wh*-object 'what' in English and Algonquian need not raise to SpecCP until LF. The languages differ in two ways. First, the location of the *wh*-object 'what' at PF differs -- in languages like English, which allow overt DPs in Case position, 'what' will be in SpecAgrO at either PF or LF depending on the strength of the Case feature of AgrO. In Algonquian, the overt (*wh*) DP is required to be in a non-Case position at PF. Second, in Algonquian the *wh*-object has the option of raising overtly to SpecCP. I propose that the constituent orders shown in (189a-b) reflect the two options open to the *wh*-phrase most distant from the attracting head C: (i) to account for (189a), "what" moves in the overt syntax to a non-Case A-position within IP, remaining to the right of the verbal complex in the overt syntax; (ii) to account for (189b), "what" raises in the overt syntax to SpecCP, via SpecTP. The only way to maintain the generalization that *wh*-movement is altruistic is to propose that in certain circumstances the head T has a

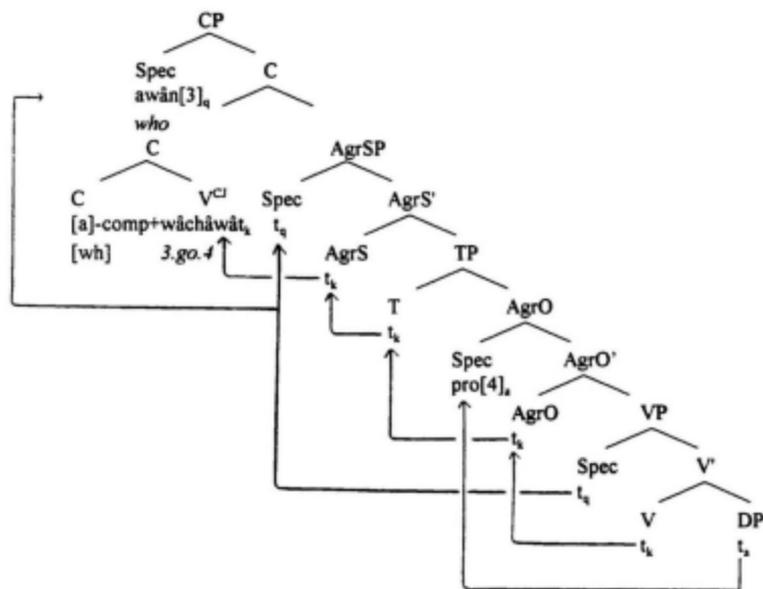
strong [wh] feature. This will motivate movement of the object *wh*-phrase from SpecAgrO to SpecTP in the overt syntax, satisfying the condition that the *wh*-trace is in SpecAgrO by the PF level of representation.

If T were able to check [wh] under any circumstances, there would be no motivation for a CP level in single *wh*-phrase questions, nor in multiple *wh*-questions like (189) so long as there is cross-linguistic evidence for multiple specifier structures. Without motivation for a CP level, Independent rather than Conjunct morphology would be expected for all uni-clausal *wh*-questions; in fact, as Chapter 5 shows, this is the situation found in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (if T is specified for the feature [past]). A T which can check [wh] must be constrained by selection then: a C which checks [wh] selects a TP headed by a T which, exceptionally, bears the feature [wh]. Since this lower head must not interfere with the subject *wh*-phrase raising to SpecCP, T[wh] must be selected by C[wh] (in cases where the initial lexical array includes two *wh*-phrases). The absence of multiple *wh*-questions in Plains Cree can now be accounted for by proposing that Plains Cree C[wh] lacks the option of selecting TP headed by T[wh]. With no way to raise beyond the Case position, SpecAgrO, a second *wh*-phrase will always cause a derivational crash. It must also be the case that an object *wh*-phrase in Plains Cree cannot be checked by C[wh] by raising to a second SpecCP (as in Mohawk). This seems to be the same in Western Naskapi -- the constituent order of the Western Naskapi data in (189a) indicates that a maximum of one *wh*-phrase is checked by C[wh]. Raising of the second *wh*-phrase to SpecCP is optional in the overt syntax and not driven by the need to check a

[wh] feature. In CMN dialects, then, the head of CP is specified for a maximum of one [wh] feature -- a second *wh*-phrase can only be accommodated if C[wh] selects T[wh].

Before discussing the details of the derivation of the data in (189) (Western Naskapi multiple *wh*-questions), consider the issue of Case assignment with respect to the data in (186-187) which is simpler because it has only one *wh*-phrase:

(197) *PF level representation of (186a-b)*

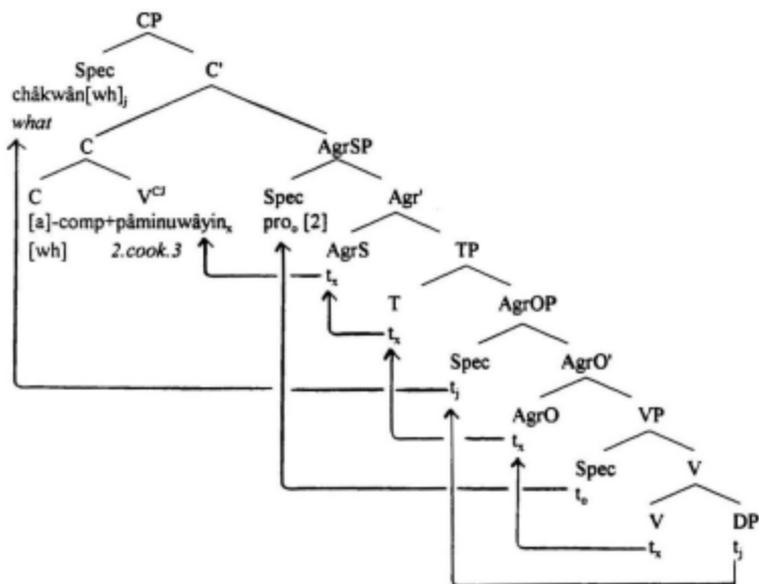


V raises to AgrO allowing object-*pro* to raise to SpecAgrO and *phi*-features and Case are checked. I have shown that Case features must be weak. This raises a problem in (197): the object-*pro* must raise overtly to SpecAgrO in order for the structure to expand and allow the *wh*-phrase to raise overtly to SpecCP. It must be assumed then that object-*pro* raises for non-Case reasons.¹²⁷ V then raises to T and AgrS. The *wh*-subject raises to SpecAgrSP checking *phi*-features, and then raises to SpecCP to check the [wh] feature in C. The trace of the *wh*-subject is Case-checked at SpecAgrSP. V^{CI} raises to C to check the feature [CJ].

The phrase structure in (198) shows the PF representation of (187a). Subject-*pro* Case is checked at SpecAgrSP and the trace of the *wh*-object (which raises in the overt syntax to SpecCP) is checked at SpecAgrOP:

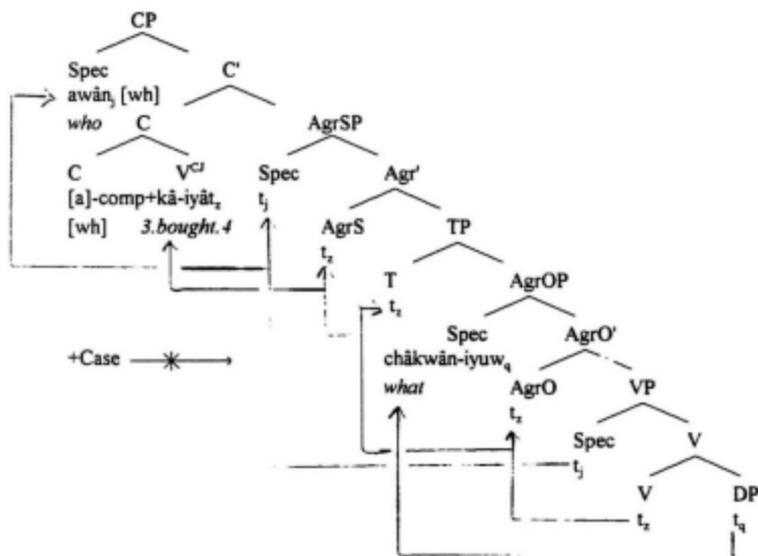
¹²⁷This suggestion has cross-linguistic parallels: Collins and Thráinsson (1996) argue that pronouns in Icelandic raise for non-Case reasons.

(198) PF level phrase structure for (187a)



What are the implications for (189a) (*wh*-phrase V *wh*-phrase) of the hypothesis that Case is assigned to the trace of the moved *wh*-phrase? The following structure represents (189a), with 'what' in the Case position SpecAgrOP.

(199) *PF level phrase structure for (189a): overt DP in A-position causes derivational crash*¹²⁸

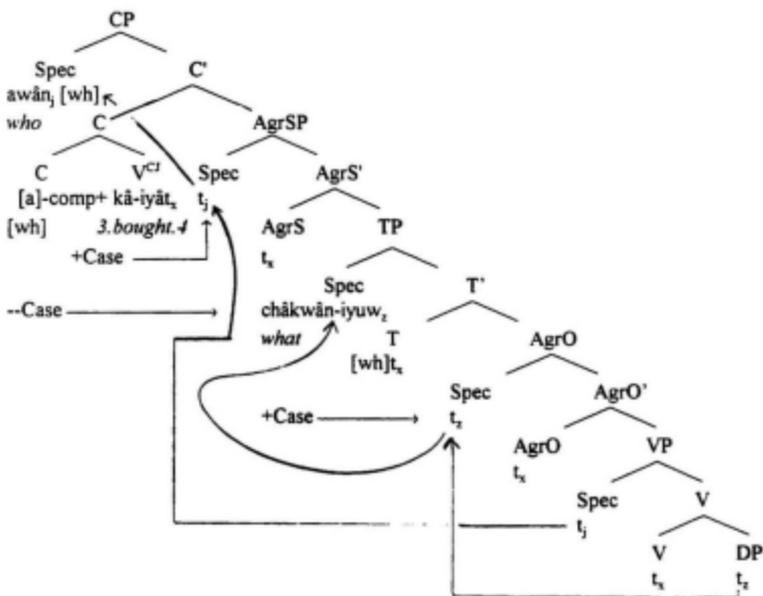


If the *wh*-phrase does not raise overtly to SpecCP -- and in (189a) it does not -- the object *wh*-phrase has no position to escape to, from SpecAgrOP, and causes a derivational crash by occupying a Case position. SpecTP is a possible alternative (non-Case) A-position below the verb to which the object *wh*-phrase can move in just this case, allowing Case to be assigned to the *wh*-trace in SpecAgrOP. The following structure shows this suggested

¹²⁸This structure is not permitted under the polysynthesis parameter which predicts that overt NPs should be in an \bar{A} -position by PF.

overt object raising:

(200) *Revised PF level phrase structure for (189a)*



There are cross-linguistic parallels supporting the structure in (200). Hallman (1997) argues for German that in cases like (201), the apparent *in situ* *wh*-object occupies "a clause medial" *wh*-landing site; that is, in (201) *was* 'what' is located below C (to which the auxiliary verb *has* raises) but above SpecAgrOP.

- (201) *German*
Wer hat denn was gekauft?
who has so what bought
Who bought what? (Hallman 1997:118)

In Chapter 5, we shall see that in cases where T is specified for the feature [past] in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, an IP-internal checking position is available for *wh*-phrases; this position is, I propose, SpecTP. Under a restricted set of circumstances then, at least in dialects of Montagnais and Naskapi (but perhaps not in the more westerly CMN dialects, Plains Cree being a case in point), T checks the feature [wh]. Plains Cree and Naskapi are located geographically at opposite ends of the CMN continuum. One of the ways in dialects of Naskapi and Montagnais are distinguished from dialects of Cree is that there is a greater number of paradigms in the eastern dialects -- this permits a wider range of tense distinctions in Naskapi and Montagnais than in Cree. The additional paradigms attested in Western Naskapi and Montagnais encode past temporal reference (MacKenzie 1995). Even among the palatalized dialects of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula this difference is evident, with East Cree having fewer paradigms than the two more easterly dialects. An example of this is shown in (202).¹²⁹

¹²⁹The facts remain to be established for Eastern Naskapi but it is likely that it will pattern with Western Naskapi and with sub-dialects of Montagnais.

(202) *Greater number of past temporal reference paradigms in eastern-most dialects*¹³⁰

	Moose Cree Swampy Cree East Cree Atikamekw Cree	Western Naskapi	Montagnais
Independent Indicative Preterit Subjective	✗	✓	✓
Independent Indirect Past	✗	✓	✓
Independent Indirect Past Subjective	✗	✓	✓

Given these differences, it is possible that the properties of the head T are different in dialects of Cree than in Naskapi and Montagnais; that is, it may be that in Naskapi and Montagnais T has more extensive checking capabilities (i.e., able to check the feature [wh]). If so, the dialect variation proposed in this chapter will not be unexpected.

In summary, we have seen that a bi-clausal analysis fails to account for the Western Naskapi multiple *wh*-question data. A uni-clausal analysis, on the other hand, accounts for multiple *wh*-question data in Western Naskapi and Plains Cree if the dialect differences are reduced to the availability of a TP, selected by C[wh], the head of which checks the object *wh*-phrase (i.e., the *wh*-phrase most distant from C[wh]).

¹³⁰In Moose Cree, Southern East Cree, Swampy Cree and Atikamekw Cree, however, there is a Conjunct Indicative Preterit paradigm – this is not attested in Naskapi, Montagnais or Northern East Cree.

4.2 Alternative analyses: a review of the literature

A number of researchers have argued that Algonquian direct *wh*-questions are bi-clausal. These arguments are reviewed here in chronological order, starting with the earliest. The evidence we have seen so far not only fails to support the bi-clausal analysis of *wh*-constructions, but it shows that only the smaller structure will account for multiple *wh*-questions. The following three analyses fail to provide any motivation for abandoning the uni-clausal analysis.

4.2.1 Wolfart 1973: Plains Cree

Wolfart (1973:34) says of Plains Cree *awina* 'who' that it "has two distinct but clearly related uses: it may occur "as part of an equational sentence" (shown in 203a) or "it may function predicatively with a Conjunct clause depending on it" (shown in 203b).

(203) *Plains Cree*¹³¹

a. **Awīna naha nētē?**

awīna naha nētē
who yonder there
Who is that one yonder?

b. **Awīna kā-nakatih?**

awīna kā-nakat-ih
who Comp+leave_behind-CIN.3sg
Who was left behind?

(Wolfart 1973:34)

The construction in (203a) lacks a verbal element. Although Wolfart does not discuss this, assuming that all clauses have a verb, a null copula must be assumed to be present in (203a). If there is a universal requirement that every clause have a verb, the insertion of a null verbal element can be viewed as a last resort mechanism. There is no reason then to propose that this last resort mechanism is required in (203b), since there is a verb in this construction. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that (203b) is uni-clausal. I further assume that the *wh*-phrase raises to SpecCP. Wolfart claims that (204) is bi-clausal.

(204) *Plains Cree*

Awīna ana naha kā-pē-sākēwēt?

awīna ana naha kā-pē-sākēwēt
who Dem yonder Comp-preverb-come.CIN.3.sg
Who is that, that one yonder, coming into the open?

(Wolfart 1973:34)

¹³¹Note that Wolfart does not provide a gloss for these data, nor for the data in (204). Rather than committing to an analysis of *kā-* (as bi-morphemic or reanalyzed), I gloss it “Comp”. Note also that (203a) is a predicative construction, and not an equative construction, because the subject is more referential than the *wh*-predicate. For further discussion of equative and predicative nominal clauses in Algonquian, see Blain (1997:106ff).

In fact, the same argument made for (203b) applies to (204), in spite of the English gloss which implies that there are two verbs (and two clauses): there is no support for inserting a last resort null copula into a structure which already has the required verbal element. In both (203b) and (204), Economy favours a uni-clausal analysis. This has implications for Blain's (1997) analysis.

Blain (1997:91) proposes that *wh*-questions and cleft focus constructions have the same structure:

(205) *Plains Cree*

a. *Blain's "Cleft focus construction"*

John ana Mary kâ-wâpamât.

John ana Mary kâ-wâpam-â-t

John that (one)Mary REL-see-dir-3

It is John that Mary saw.

b. *Blain's "Wh-cleft"*

Awîna ana Mary kâ-wâpamât?

awîna ana Mary kâ-wâpam-â-t

who that (one) Mary REL-see-dir-3

Who is it that Mary saw?

(Blain 1997:91)

However, if the conclusions drawn with respect to the data in (203-204) are extended to (205a), then (205b) is also uni-clausal. This is consistent with the analysis of focus constructions which appears in Chapter 3, which assumes fronting of *pro*[focus] and *wh*-phrases to the SpecCP of the Conjunct clause.

4.2.2 Johns 1982: (Rainy River) Ojibwa

The CMN language complex and Ojibwa are both Central Algonquian languages.

Nevertheless, the data discussed by Johns differs in important ways from comparable Western Naskapi data. Johns' analysis of simple *wh*-questions in Rainy River Ojibwa as bi-clausal constructions is not central to the paper, but a necessary consequence of analyzing the Changed form and the preverb *kā-* as relative pronouns rather than as complementizers, as earlier work does (Lees 1979; Pagatto 1980).¹³² The motivation underlying Johns' analysis is that the distribution of the Changed form and the preverb *kā-* coincides exclusively with clauses in which *wh*-movement is presumed to have occurred:

"The fact that these morphemes [*kā-* and the Changed form] are never found in simple sentential complements where there has been no WH-movement ... would indicate that they are not complementizers." (Johns 1982:164).

It is interesting, however, that in CMN dialects the facts are quite different: the Changed form and the preverb *kā-* occur in *wh* and non-*wh* environments. To illustrate this, some of the data presented in Chapter 3 is repeated here for ease of reference. In (206-208), the Changed form occurs in a non-*wh*-environment in Western Naskapi.

(206) *Western Naskapi: example (125a), plain subordinate clause, data type (S.i)*
Changed form

Chischâyih̄tim wiyâpim̄itân.

chischâyih̄t-imw wiyâpim̄-itân

know(TI)-IIN.3>Inan [a]-comp+see(TA).CIN.O:2.sg\S:1.sg

S/he knows that I see you.sg

¹³²Although *kā-* is itself a Changed form under my analysis, in this section, to be consistent with Johns 1982, I refer to "*kā-* and the Changed form".

- (207) *Western Naskapi: example (173a), negated main clause, data type (M.ii)*
Åku nāsch ākā chāschāyihāhk chā-itūhtāt.
 āku nāsch ākā chāschāyihāhk chā-itūhtāt-t
 DisP really Neg [a]-comp+know(TI)-CIN.3.sg [a]-comp+Fut-go(AI)-CIN.3.sg
Well, he really didn't know where to go.
- (208) *Western Naskapi: example (177a), plain main clause with [a]-comp, data type (M.i.a)*
Mīn nākitāhk, mīn chātūhtāt, mīn wātīhtāt.
 mīn nākit-āhk mīn chātūhtāt-t
 again [a]-comp+leave(TI)-CIN.3.sg again [a]-comp+set_off(AI)-CIN.3.sg

 mīn wātīhtāt-t
 again [a]-comp+arrive(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Again he leaves (the campsite) behind, again he sets off (walking), again he reaches (another campsite).

Phrased in terms of the analysis laid out in Chapter 3, in RR Ojibwa [a]-comp only checks a *wh*-phrase whereas in the CMN dialects discussed in this thesis, [a]-comp checks either a *wh*-phrase or *pro*[focus]. The RR Ojibwa data does not require that any amendment be made to the analysis laid out in Chapter 3.

Returning to Johns (1982), if the Changed form and the preverb *kā-* are relative pronouns, and if it is further assumed that these morphemes raise to the SpecCP of their clause of origin, then data of the type shown in Chapter 3 as (M.iii) -- main clauses consisting of [*wh*-phrase [a]-comp+V^{CP}] -- is regarded as problematic. Data of this type is repeated here for ease of reference:

- (209) *Western Naskapi: example (163a), main wh-clause, data type (M.iii)*
Changed form

Awān pāminuwāt wiyāsiyuw?

awān pāminuwāt-t wiyās-iyiw

who [a]-comp+cook(AI)-CTN.S:3.sg meat-obv

Who's cooking the meat?

Data of the type shown in (209) is problematic under Johns' analysis because it contains an overt *wh*-phrase as well as a Changed form (or *kā-*) and two *wh*-elements cannot raise to SpecCP. Direct *wh*-questions are thus analyzed as being bi-clausal in order to have two SpecCPs available to accommodate the two proposed relative pronouns. Like Blain (1997), in Johns' bi-clausal analysis, *wh*-questions and focus constructions are both clefts. The structure in (210b) represents the data in (210a).

- (210a) *Rainy River Ojibwa*

Wenen kā-ʔbimipatôt?

wenen kā-ʔbimipatôt-t

who (*wh*-past)-run-3(conjunct)

Who ran?

(Johns 1982:165)

- (210b) [_{CP} [wenen]_{NP} [_{CP} kā- [_{IP} ʔbimipatôt]]]

Subsequent literature accommodates multiple *wh*-phrases within a multiple Specifier structure (for example, Rudin 1988) and this has been the line argued for in the previous section of this chapter. But this issue can be set aside in view of the fact that there is a more compelling argument against extending Johns' analysis to Western Naskapi: the data which is crucial to Johns' argument that the Changed form and *kā-* are relative pronouns differ in the two languages. Of RR Ojibwa, Johns observes that "the addition of either the morphemes *kā-* or the changed form will alter the meaning of a

simple sentential complement to a relative clause, as can be seen in [211]”:

(211) *Rainy River Ojibwa*

a. *Sentential complement*

ngikenimâ ikwe izât
I-know-(1>3) woman go-3(conjunct)
I know that the woman is going.

b. *Relative clause*

ngikenimâ ikwe (ê-) kâ-izât
I-know-(1>3) woman WH-go-3(conjunct)
I know (a woman) the woman who is going.

In Western Naskapi, the difference between a sentential complement and a relative clause cannot be reduced to the absence or presence of *kâ-* or the Changed form. In (212), *kâ-* occurs (in its bi-morphemic role) in both constructions. The difference between the sentential complement and the relative clause is due to the presence (or absence) of the overt relative pronoun *awân*:

(212) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Sentential complement*

Nichischâyimâw kâ-nikimut
Nî-chischâyim-âw kâ-nikimu-t
I-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 [a]-comp+Past-sing(AI)-CIN.3sg
I know he sang.

b. *Relative clause*

Nichischâyimâw awân kâ-nikimut
Nî-chischâyim-âw awân kâ-nikimu-t
I-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 who [a]-comp+Past-sing(AI)-CIN.3sg
I know the one who sang.

Clearly, there are substantial structural differences between RR Ojibwa and Western Naskapi. Nevertheless, what is relevant to the present discussion is the fact that Johns' analysis of *wh*-questions as cleft constructions rests on the assumption that *kâ-* and the

Changed form are not complementizers but relative pronouns. Thus, the data does not support extending this bi-clausal analysis of *wh*-questions to Western Naskapi.

4.2.3 Reinholtz and Russell 1995

Baker (1996:53ff.) predicts that non-referential (strongly) quantified NPs such as 'everything', 'everyone' and 'nobody' should be illicit in polysynthetic languages and demonstrates this to be the case in Mohawk.¹³³ Baker's hypothesis that all overt NPs are adjoined to the clause and coindexed with *pro* forces this prediction because of the universal ban on a quantifier binding *pro* from an \bar{A} -position (i.e., an adjunct position). Reinholtz and Russell (1995) show (for Swampy Cree), however, that strongly quantified NPs do occur in Algonquian. Their Anti-Locality Condition (ALC) ensures a quantifier will not bind *pro*:

- (213) *Reinholtz and Reinholtz 1995: Anti-Locality Condition*
A pronoun must be locally quantifier free.

Reinholtz and Russell reject Baker's version of *wh*-movement, claiming it weakens the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis to propose that *pro* and *wh*-traces occupy an A-position. The only way to maintain the hypothesis that A-positions are occupied uniquely by *pro* is to propose that the structure of *wh*-questions involves a *wh*-phrase which binds a *pro*. While a *wh*-trace in A-position will be bound by an antecedent in the same clause,

¹³³A strongly quantified NP must have universal force and be singular in reference. The term "strongly quantified NP" is used by Reinholtz and Russell (1995).

Binding Condition B requires that *pro* be bound by an antecedent in a higher clause. This forces a bi-clausal analysis of *wh*-constructions in which the *wh*-phrase merges to a position outside of the clause containing the *pro* it binds. The argument is driven by the need to account for strongly quantified NPs in Algonquian and by the rejection of Baker's analysis of *wh*-constructions on theoretical grounds. The data in (214a) is thus treated as having the structure shown in (214b):

(214a) *Swampy Cree*

Awēna kā-kī-wāpamat?

awēna kā-kī-wāpamat

who that-PAST-you-see-her

Who did you see?

b awēna, [Op_i [kā-kī-wāpamat *pro*,]] (Reinholtz and Russell 1995:400-401)

The ALC in (213) is not violated by the structure in (214b) because coindexation of *awēna* and *pro* is mediated through the null Operator. It is this (cleft) analysis of *wh*-questions which is developed in Blain (1997).

There are two empirical reasons for rejecting Reinholtz and Russell's argument for a bi-casual analysis of data like (214a). First, as demonstrated in the previous section, a cleft analysis cannot account for the Western Naskapi multiple *wh*-questions data in (189). The structure in (214b) differs slightly from that proposed by Blain, but there is no way to accommodate the data in (189) in this kind of structure and to obtain the correct LF representation (or the PF representation for (189a)). Second, Reinholtz and Russell justify extending their analysis of quantifier constructions to *wh*-constructions by claiming that

Conjunct morphology is subordinate morphology (and that Independent morphology is main clause morphology): *wh*-questions have Conjunct morphology and are therefore likely to be bi-clausal constructions. However, in this thesis, it is not the clause type which determines the verbal morphology but the presence or absence of an independently motivated CP level which requires a Conjunct verb.¹³⁴ This permits data type (M.i-ii) in Chapter 3 to be analyzed as being uni-clausal and, by analogy, data type (M.iii-iv). The data Reinholtz and Russell cite in their argument in favour of a cleft analysis of *wh*-constructions can be accounted for under a uni-clausal analysis. The following text is from Reinholtz and Russell (1995:400-401):

“Where a Wh-word is homophonous with an indefinite pronoun, it can only be interpreted as an indefinite in any sentence that uses main-clause morphology:

- [215] kĕkwān ki-kī-wāpahtĕn
 what you-PAST-see-it
 **What did you see?*
You saw something.

Wh-phrases must be sentence-initial, a restriction which is placed on no other kind of NP:

- [216] *kā-kī-wāpamat awĕna
 that-PAST-you-see-her who

The requirement for Wh-phrases to occur in strict sentence-initial position, together with the requirement that the verb in Wh-questions take subordinate

¹³⁴In Chapter 5, I argue that, in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun where *wh*-questions have Independent verbal morphology, this is because a CP level is not required. Since subordinate clauses in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun consistently require Conjunct morphology, here is one case where, using Reinholtz and Russell’s reasoning, *wh*-questions must be regarded as being uni-clausal.

clause morphology ... suggest that we are dealing with a cleft construction."

In my analysis, the data in (215) does not have a *wh*-interpretation because, as the Independent verbal morphology indicates, there is no CP level (and therefore no Conjunct verb); without the feature [wh] in the initial lexical array, there is no motivation for a CP level. In (216), the Conjunct verbal morphology indicates a CP level, presumably motivated by the feature [wh]. The ungrammaticality of (216) is due to the failure of the *wh*-phrase to raise to SpecCP to check [wh]. The clause initial position of the *wh*-phrase, as demonstrated in this chapter, can be accounted for under an overt move *wh*-phrase to SpecCP single clause analysis.

4.3 Crossover effects in Plains Cree, Western Naskapi and Mohawk

Crossover facts are used as a diagnostic to test for overt *wh*-movement. This section examines crossover facts for Algonquian and, to a lesser extent, for Mohawk (drawing on data from Baker 1996), in order to explore further the hypothesis that *wh*-phrases in CMN dialects raise overtly to the SpecCP of the Conjunct clause. I argue that the constraints imposed by the Algonquian system of obviation are such that in certain structures which have a crossover configuration, crossover effects do not appear. Section 4.3.1 describes Strong Crossover (SCO) facts. Blain (1997:93) says of Plains Cree that "SCO effects cannot be checked" because of the distinction between proximate and obviative third persons. I suggest that this claim, if formalized and developed sufficiently to cover the

absence (in Algonquian) of WCO effects as well, provides us with an alternative account of what the absence of crossover effects in Algonquian signifies. Rather than saying SCO facts cannot be checked in Algonquian, my argument is that, because of the obviation system, crossover configurations will not give rise to either SCO or WCO effects in this language. Crossover facts cannot therefore be used to support the view that Algonquian lacks *wh*-movement (in the Conjunct clause). SCO is discussed in section 4.3.1 and WCO is discussed in section 4.3.2.

4.3.1 Strong Crossover

The data in (217) are ungrammatical with the bound reading of the pronominal shown by the sub-indexation.

(217) *SCO in English*

- a. *Who_i did [she_i hit t_i]
- b. *Who_i does [she_i know [she_i hit t_i]]
- c. *Who_i does [she_i know [t_i hit her_i]]

The ungrammaticality of a bound reading in SCO contexts can be derived from general Binding Conditions. SCO effects occur if a *wh*-trace (an R-expression) is bound by a c-commanding pronoun (constituting a Principle C Binding violation).

The following example shows that SCO does not hold in Plains Cree:

- (218) *Plains Cree equivalent to (217b)*
Awina ê-itwê-t Mary-wa ê-miywëyimikot?
awina ê-itwê-t Mary-wa ê-miywëyim-iko-t
who conj-say-3 Mary-obv conj-like-inv-3
Who, did he, say Mary likes t? (Blain 1997:94)

In the equivalent construction in English, disjoint reference is forced, as shown in (217b).

In Algonquian, there is co-reference in spite of Principle C:

- (219) who_i he_i say Mary likes t_i


Example (219) reveals two important differences between Algonquian and English: first, since disjoint reference is not obligatory, either Binding Conditions do not apply to Algonquian or there is some component of the Algonquian grammar which exempts data like this from creating a Binding Condition C violation; second, disjoint reference is not an option for (218) – co-reference is obligatory. There is ample evidence that Binding Conditions do apply in non-configurational languages (see, for example, Baker 1996 for Mohawk) so the co-reference in (218) must be permitted by some feature of Algonquian grammar which overrides Binding Principle C. Blain says the following of (218):

“Since the *wh*-word is proximate and the subject of the main clause is proximate, they must be the same person.” (Blain 1997:94)

If we question what constraints exist in the grammar of Algonquian to force co-reference in a context in which universal principles should enforce disjoint reference, we find a good starting place to address the issue of why WCO does not hold in Algonquian either. I propose that the reason for the unexpected co-reference in (218) is as follows:

while there may be more than one obviative nominal in a derivation, there can only be one proximate NP. In simple single clause constructions, a reflexive morpheme satisfies this requirement by detransitivizing a verb which has two pronominals with identical *phi* features. In the more complex constructions examined in this section, we are concerned with the case of co-reference between a *wh*-phrase and a *pro* embedded within a complex DP. In these cases, a proximate \bar{A} -binder is necessarily interpreted as co-referential with any proximate *pro* it c-commands. This idea is formalized as follows:

(220) *One proximate pro per derivation (OPPD) Condition*

Wherever a proximate *wh*-phrase c-commands a proximate *pro*, these are necessarily interpreted as co-referent in order to avoid having more than one proximate referent per derivation.

The binding configuration created by the OPPD Condition is thus as follows:

(221) $wh[prox]_i \quad pro[prox]_i$

In the next section, we shall see that an obviative *wh*-phrase is not necessarily co-referent with any obviative *pro* that it c-commands.

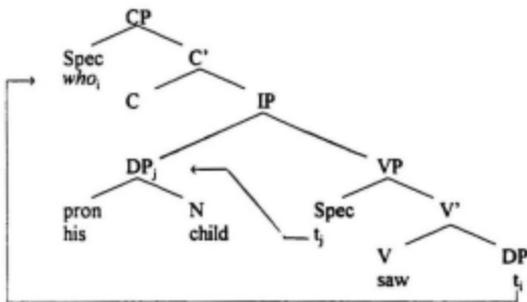
How does the OPPD Condition avert a Binding Condition C violation for (218)?

The problem is that the trace of the moved *wh*-phrase is bound by the pronominal -- either *wh*-traces have different properties in Algonquian, or somehow the *pro* which c-commands it is rendered "invisible" at the relevant level of representation. The situation with WCO sheds more light on this issue.

4.3.2 Weak Crossover

This section examines WCO facts for Western Naskapi, Plains Cree, Mohawk and English. WCO describes a situation of forced disjoint reference in the case that *wh*-movement takes a phrase from a position below a pronoun embedded within a complex DP to a position above it, resulting in the pronoun being located to the left of the *wh*-trace. In this configuration, neither the trace nor the pronoun c-command each other so the disjoint reference cannot be attributed to the constraints of Binding Condition C. The structure in (222) shows the type of configuration in which the effect would be expected to appear (and does in English).

(222) *Configuration expected to yield WCO effects*



In English, a WCO subject/object asymmetry is evident in possessed DP constructions and in relative clause constructions: a subject *wh*-phrase optionally binds the pronoun embedded in a complex DP in object position but an object *wh*-phrase does not bind the pronoun embedded in a complex DP subject:

(223) *English: wh-movement in complex DP constructions*

a. *No WCO effects result from wh-extraction from subject position*

i. *Possessed DP* Who_i [t_i hit [her_{i,x} friend]?



ii. *Relative clause* Who_i [t_i hit [the girl that she_{i,x} knows] ?



b. *WCO effects result from wh-extraction from object position*

i. *Possessed DP* Who_x did [her_{i,x} friend] hit t_x



ii. *Relative clause* Who_x did [the girl that she_{i,x} knows] hit t_x



How the ungrammaticality of a bound reading in (223b.i-ii) is accounted for is crucial to the discussion in this chapter. The term “The Leftness Condition” (Chomsky 1976; Koopman and Sportiche 1982) is used to capture, descriptively, the relationship between configurations like (222) and obligatory disjoint reference:

(224) *The Leftness Condition*

A *wh*-trace cannot be co-indexed with a pronoun to its left.

This correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of a bound reading for (223b.i-ii) even although it fails to account for it in a theoretically principled way.

Assuming (224), the appearance (or absence) of WCO effects in structures like (222) is cited as evidence in favour of (or against) overt *wh*-movement. Blain (1997) cites

as evidence against overt *wh*-movement (from the Conjunct clause), the absence of WCO effects in Plains Cree possessed DP structures and relative clauses. Baker (1996), on the other hand, uses WCO facts in Mohawk to support his argument in favour of overt *wh*-movement in that language. As we shall see in this section, the facts for possessed DP structures in Plains Cree, Western Naskapi and Mohawk are identical (WCO effects are not found) whereas the Mohawk relative clause data differs from Algonquian; that is, in Mohawk, regardless of the base-position of the extracted *wh*-phrase, relative clauses do not permit co-reference of the relevant nominal elements. Algonquian relative clauses do permit co-reference. WCO facts thus constitute one of the two principal arguments Blain makes against a uni-clausal overt *wh*-movement analysis for Plains Cree:

- (225) *Blain 1997: evidence against a wh-movement hypothesis*
- a. the absence of multiple *wh*-questions in Plains Cree
 - b. the absence of Weak Cross Over effects (in relative clauses) in Plains Cree

The first of these arguments has already been discussed and found to yield just the opposite conclusions when Western Naskapi is taken into consideration. For the following two reasons, I argue that WCO facts do not provide evidence against a uni-clausal analysis of Algonquian *wh*-constructions either.

First, Safir (1986), Lasnik and Stowell (1991) and Postal (1993) discuss cases where apparent WCO configurations fail to give rise to the expected WCO effects (for example, in cases of tough movement and topicalization). More recently, Grewendorf and Sabel (1999) provide examples from German where WCO effects do not appear in a WCO configuration. The German data in (226) is equivalent to (223.b.i).

- (226) *WCO configuration in German fails to yield WCO effects*
 [_{CP} Wen [_C liebt [_{IP} seine_i Mutter t_i t_v]]]?
who loves his mother

Who, does his, mother love? (Grewendorf and Sabel 1999:17)

Grewendorf and Sabel thus conclude that WCO is not a reliable diagnostic of *wh*-movement.¹³⁵ The Leftness Condition thus over-predicts the distribution of WCO effects, making it necessary to define in a more precise manner the conditions under which WCO effects arise. The analysis of WCO provided by Safir (1996) accurately predicts WCO effects for the subset of structures he examines, accounting for WCO configurations in which WCO effects do not appear. I adopt this more restrictive analysis to examine WCO in Algonquian.

Second, the proximate-obviative distinction is central to the Algonquian system of argument identification and is an important way in which English and Algonquian differ from one another. I argue that the OPPD Condition (which applies in Algonquian and not in English) ensures co-reference in contexts which normally give rise to WCO effects. Under this view, the absence of WCO effects in WCO configurations cannot be used to support an argument against overt *wh*-movement.

More generally, it would seem prudent to be wary of taking a diagnostic for *wh*-movement in a configurational language and applying it to a non-configurational language.

¹³⁵Further arguments along these lines can be found in Cho (1991), Georgopoulos (1991), Nemoto (1993), Browning and Karimi (1994), Williams (1994), Hornstein (1995) and Bresnan (1996).

This seems a sensible caution just because the nature of nominal arguments differs fundamentally in the two language types, exemplified here by Algonquian and English. An obvious question to consider is, for example, whether WCO facts differ in languages which have *pro* arguments than in languages which have overt nominal arguments. I return to this issue presently.

Safir (1996) shows that WCO effects arise in cases where an \bar{A} binder simultaneously heads a representational and a derivational chain. A representational chain has an overt pronominal tail and a derivational chain has a trace as its tail. WCO effects are obtained not from the “crossover” configuration which results from overt *wh*-movement from object position (as the terms SCO and WCO suggest) but rather from a violation of what Safir refers to as \bar{A} -Consistency:

(227) \bar{A} Consistency (Safir 1996:318)

An \bar{A} -chain is either consistently derivational \bar{A} -binding ($d\bar{A}$ -binding) or representational \bar{A} -binding ($r\bar{A}$ -binding).¹³⁶

\bar{A} -Consistency prevents a *wh*-phrase from simultaneously binding a *wh*-trace and a pronoun (or epithet); these are regarded as being “incompatible chain tails”. This incompatibility can be seen in (222): the \bar{A} -binder *who* simultaneously $r\bar{A}$ -binds [*who ... his*] and $d\bar{A}$ -binds [*who, ... t_i*]. The overt pronoun “his” and the *wh*-trace are incompatible chain tails. The issue relevant to Algonquian is whether *pro* arguments count as being incompatible with *wh*-traces. Safir specifies that $r\bar{A}$ -chains have “overt”

¹³⁶Movement to form the $d\bar{A}$ -chain can occur at either PF or LF.

pronominal tails but also notes that, although the ungrammaticality of a bound reading is less bad than if the pair of tails are an overt pronoun and a *wh*-trace, the chains [*who* ... *pro*] and [*who*, ... *t*_i] also give rise to WCO effects (cf. Jaeggli and Safir 1989; Cinque 1990). The CMN data which is discussed shortly supports these findings, indicating that *pro* and *wh*-traces are indeed incompatible chain tails. However, wherever the OPPD Condition applies, the r \bar{A} -chain is exempt from clashing with the d \bar{A} -chain by the same process that prevents a binding Condition C violation in the SCO configurations discussed in the previous section. (The OPPD Condition is not a last resort mechanism used to avoid crossover effects -- it constitutes part of the proximate-obviative system but its effect is evident because of crossover facts.) The following data shows the *wh*-phrase binding *pro* obligatorily, irrespective of the *wh*-extraction site. Note that WCO effects will be found in the English equivalent to (229).

(228) *Western Naskapi*

a. *wh*-extraction from subject position

Awān kā-wāpimāt utawāsima?

awān kā-wāpimā-t

ut-awās-īm-a

who [a]-comp+Past-see(TA)-CIN.O:4/S:3 Poss(3)-child-Poss-obv

Who, saw his, child?

b. wh_i t_i see [_{CP} [_i his_i child-obv]]



(229) *Western Naskapi*

a. *wh-extraction from object position*

Awân kâ-wâpimikut utawâsîma?

awân kâ-wâpim-iku-t ut-awâs-îm-a

who [a]-comp+Past-see(TA)-CIN.O:3/S:4 Poss(3)-child-Poss-obv

Who, did his, child see?

b. wh_i [_{DP} [his]_i child-obv] see t_i



The same facts hold of Plains Cree and Mohawk:

(230) *Plains Cree*

a. *wh-extraction from subject position*

Awîna kâ-nawaswâtât otêma?

awîna kâ-nawaswât-â-t o-têm-a

who REL-chase-dir-3>3' 3-dog-obv

Who, is chasing his, dog?

b. *wh-extraction from object position*

Awîna otêma kâ-nawaswâtîkot?

awîna o-têm-a kâ-nawaswât-îko-t

who 3-dog-obv REL-chase-dir-3>3'

Who, is his, dog chasing?

(Blain 1997:97)

(231) *Mohawk*

a. Úhka wa'-te-shako-noru'kwányu-' raó-skare'?

who FACT-DUP-MsS/FsO-kiss-PUNC MsP-friend

Who, kissed his, girlfriend?

b. Úhka wa'-te-shako-noru'kwányu-' akó-skare'?

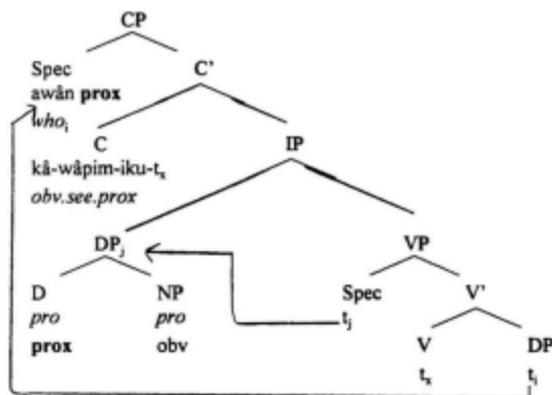
who FACT-DUP-MsS/FsO-kiss-PUNC FsP-friend

Who, did her, boyfriend kiss (her)?

(Baker 1996:80)

The simplified phrase structure in (232) shows the Western Naskapi data in (229a):

(232) Configuration yields WCO effects in English but not in Western Naskapi (or Plains Cree or Mohawk), data (229a)



A difference between the English (see the phrase structure in (222)) and the Algonquian is that in (232) both possessor and possessee are *pros*. Thus, in a configuration which has two \bar{A} -bound chains in a configurational language like English, the non-configurational language has three. To rule out \bar{A} -binding of two representational chains, the possessed *pro* is exempt from $r\bar{A}$ -binding because it is c-commanded by the possessed *pro*.

One way to account for the co-reference in (229a) is to appeal to the OPPD Condition – *wh-pro*[prox] c-commands *pro*[prox]. Consider first the more general case, that binding occurs in (229a) for the following reason: *pro* and *wh*-traces do not cause a binding clash in Algonquian (or in Mohawk) because they are not incompatible chain tails. This would make the OPPD Condition redundant and derive the absence of WCO effects

in the non-configurational languages from one of the properties by which they are defined. (Note, however, that this solution does not account for the absence of SCO effects.)

There is some motivation for suggesting that *pro* and *wh*-traces are not incompatible chain tails: if the assumptions of this thesis are correct, and Case and θ -roles are assigned exclusively to these two null elements in Algonquian, in a sense they form a natural class that English (covert) traces and (overt) pronouns do not form. However, by Safir's definition of derivational and representational chains, the Algonquian configuration in (232) still violates the \bar{A} -Consistency condition in (227). More compellingly, if we turn to evidence from relative clauses, we find empirical reasons for rejecting this solution and retaining the OPPD Condition, which also has the advantage of explaining the Algonquian SCO facts.

Assuming the *wh*-phrase \bar{A} -binder has equivalent features to a *pro* *c*-commands, so long as *pro* and *wh*-traces are regarded as compatible chain tails, there is nothing to prevent co-reference between an obviative \bar{A} -binder and an obviative *pro* *c*-commands. Thus we must incorrectly predict co-reference between the obviative 'who' in (233) and the obviative *pros* *c*-commands.

(233) *Plains Cree relative clause: wh-extraction from object position*

Awinihi nāpēw kā-sākihāt kā-ocēmāt?
 awini-hi nāpēw kā-sākih-ā-t kā-ocēm-ā-t?
 who-obv man REL-love-dir-3 REL-kiss-dir-3
Who, did the man who loves her₃ kiss?

(Blain 1997:219)

The data in (233) has the following structure:

(234) *Structure of (233)*

[CP who-obv_i prox.kiss.obv_j [DP [prox.love.obv_k] t_i]

Compare the disjoint reference in (233), which Blain does not account for, to the following example which has a proximate *wh*-phrase: co-reference with the proximate *pros* it c-commands is obligatory.

(235) *Western Naskapi: wh-phrase extracted from object position: bound reading only*

a. **Awān kā-suwāyimikut nāpāwa māywāyihāt?**

awān kā-suwāyim-iku-t nāpāw-a māywāyihāt-t
 who [a]-comp+Past-kiss(TA).CIN-O:3/S:4 man-obv like(TA).CIN-O:4/S:3
Who, did the man she_i likes kiss?

b. [who-prox]_i kissed [DP *pro*-obv [CP she-prox_i likes him-obv] t_i]

The difference between the Plains Cree example in (233) and the Western Naskapi example in (235) is in the grammatical relations within the relative clause: in (233), the subject of the main clause is proximate because it is also the subject of the relative clause. This forces an obviative *wh*-phrase. In (235), the *wh*-phrase is proximate (and binds any *pro*[prox] it c-commands).

The following phrase structure shows (233):

Cree data in (233), although a WCO configuration, does not give rise to WCO effects because the \bar{A} -binder is obviative and therefore cannot be co-referent with the proximate subject of the main and relative clauses.

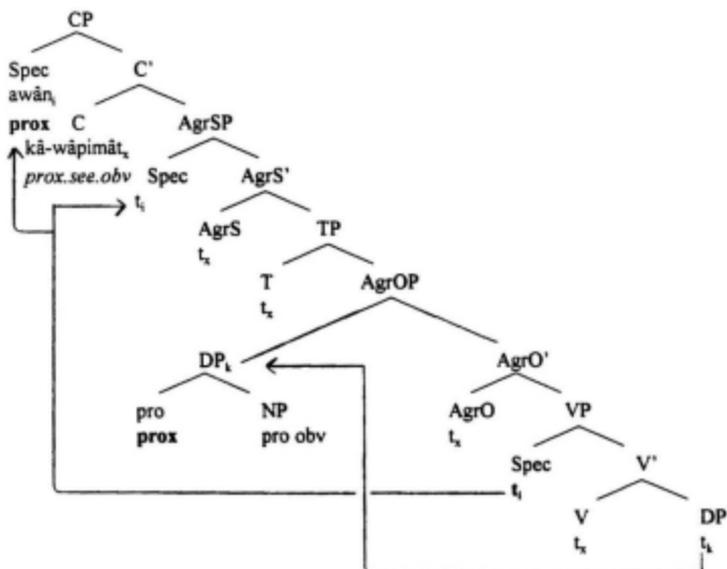
The possessed DP data has already been shown for all three non-configurational language (Plains Cree, Western Naskapi and Mohawk).¹³⁷ Here are more detailed phrase structures for the Algonquian data in (228-230): phrase structure (238) shows the Western Naskapi (228) and phrase structure (239) shows Western Naskapi (229); I assume Plains Cree to be the same. In the case of subject extraction (i.e., 228), no WCO effects are expected.¹³⁸ The OPPD Condition applies here to enforce co-reference, even though it does not serve to exempt the *pro* from creating an \bar{A} -Consistency violation: the crucial difference between this data and the English equivalent is the fact that disjoint reference is not an option here -- the proximate *wh*-phrase is obligatorily interpreted as being co-referent with the possessor *pro*:

¹³⁷Baker accounts for the Mohawk facts by means of a parasitic gap analysis, discussion of which I defer to later in this chapter.

¹³⁸Under Safir's view this is because the *wh*-trace is not locally \bar{A} -bound and does not therefore enter into the \bar{A} -chain headed by the *wh*-phrase -- no inconsistency arises in the chain [*who**t*].

(238) *Western Naskapi, wh-extraction from subject position: data (228)*

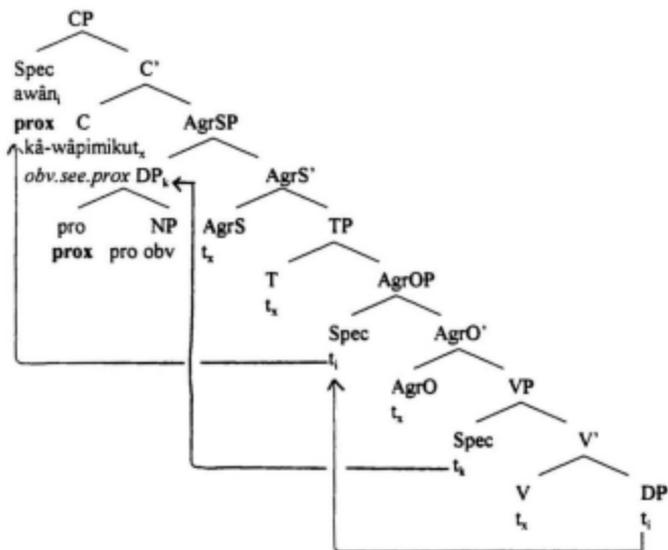
Awān kā-wāpimāt utawāsīma?
Who_i saw his_i child?



The OPPD Condition exempts (239) from causing an \bar{A} -Consistency violation:

(239) *Western Naskapi: wh-extraction from object position: data (229)*

Awān kā-wāpimikut utawāsīma?
Who, did his, child see?



As example (240) illustrates, disjoint reference between the possessor *pro* and a *wh*-object or subject occurs when the *wh*-phrase is marked for obviative agreement. The obviative *wh*-phrase, even though it $r\bar{A}$ -binds the possessor, is not co-referent with it because they are different with respect to proximate-obviative status:

(240) *Western Naskapi: disjoint reference*

Awāyuwa kā-wāpimāyichī utawāsima?

awā-iyi-wa kā-wāpimā-iyichī ut-awās-īm-a

who-obv [a]-comp+Past-see(TA)-CIN-O/5/S:4 Poss(3)-child-Poss-obv

i. *Who, saw his_{1,2} child?*

ii. *Whom, did his_{1,2} child see?*

It is interesting that (240) is structurally ambiguous between a *wh*-object extraction reading and a *wh*-subject extraction reading; this is in spite of the fact that the verbal agreement (4>5) indicates only the latter interpretation.¹³⁹ The LF representations for (240.i-ii) are as follows:

(241) *LF representations for (240.i-ii)*

a. (240.i) wh-obv_i t_i [[his]_{1,2} child-obv] see



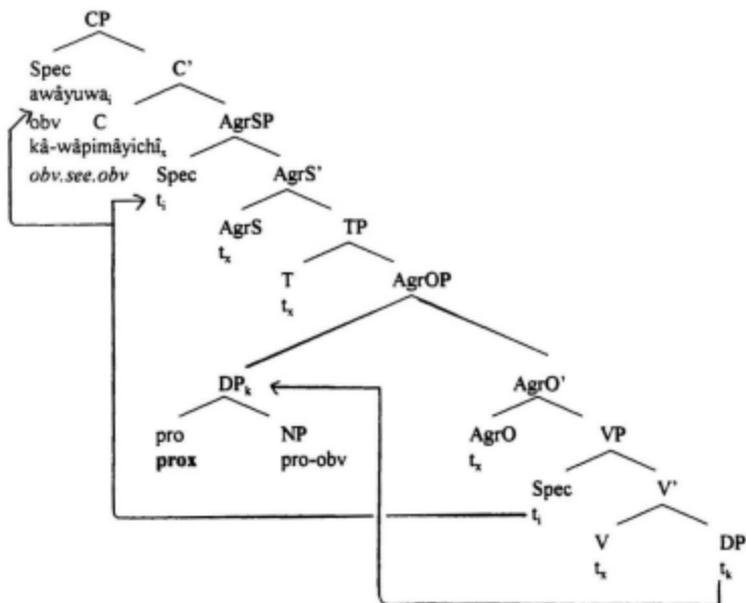
b. (240.ii) wh-obv_i [[his]_{1,2} child-obv] see t_i



The LF representation in (241a) is shown in the following phrase structure:

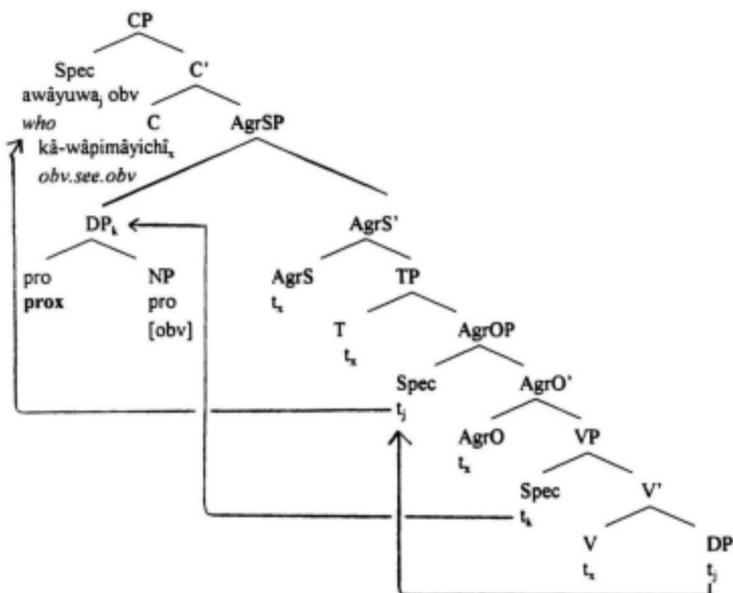
¹³⁹All five of the informants who were asked about this sentence agreed that it had both these readings and that in either case co-reference is not a possibility.

(242) *LF representation: wh-subject: (241a), consistent with verbal agreement*



The phrase structure in (243) shows the LF representation in (241b) -- the *wh*-phrase is extracted from object position -- which should have 5>4 (inverse) verbal agreement.

(243) *Wh-object reading: (241b)*



The phrase structures in (242-243) show that the position to which the complex DP raises (to SpecAgrS or to SpecAgrO) is irrelevant in determining co-reference relations. It is the proximate-obviative-status of the \bar{A} -binder that is the crucial factor. Co-reference of the *wh*-phrase and the possessor is ruled out because they differ in proximate-obviative status.

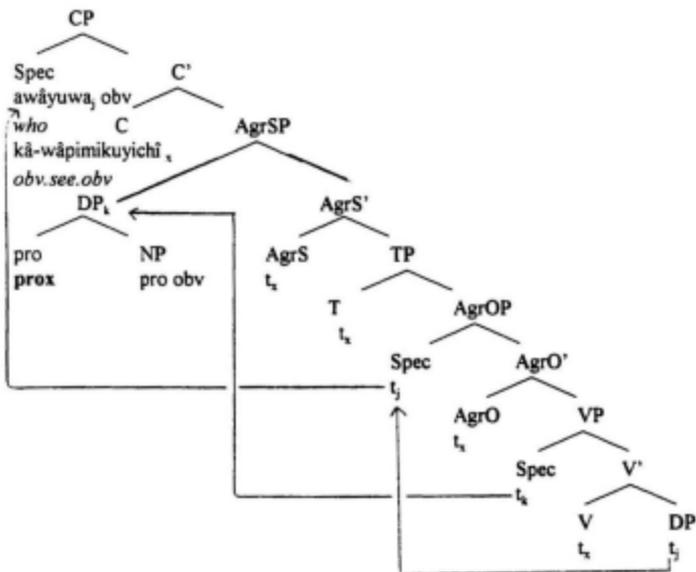
Where the context fails to disambiguate (240), a *wh*-object reading is obtained by

specifying grammatical functions by means of the verbal agreement -- an inverse form is used:

- (244) *Western Naskapi: (240) disambiguated (to 240.ii)*
Awáyuwa kâ-wâpimikuyichî utâwâsîma?
 awâ-iyi-wa kâ-wâpim-ikuiyichî ut-âwâs-îm-a
 who-obv [a]-comp+Past-see(TA)-CIN.O:4/S:5 Poss-child-Poss-obv
Whom, did his_{child} child see?

The following phrase structure illustrates (244):

- (245) *Wh-object reading represented by LF in (241b), data (244)*



Disjoint reference is obtained in (247): in (247a) the *wh*-subject is proximate and the object-*pro* is obviative (which results in the relative clause verb being inflected for an obviative subject); in (247b), the proximate subject-*pro* inside the relative clause is obligatorily disjoint from the obviative *wh*-phrase object (which results in a main clause verb inflected for an obviative subject):

- (247) *Western Naskapi: disjoint reference forced by obviative/proximate distinction*
 a. *wh-extraction from subject position*

Awân kâ-suwâyimât aniya nâpâwa mâywâyihâtâyichî?

awân kâ-suwâyim-ât an-iyâ nâpâw-a
 who [a]-comp+Past-kiss(TA)-CIN.O:4/S:3 Dem-obv man-obv

mâywâyihât-iyichî
 like(TA)-CIN.O:5/S:4

[*Who*]_i kissed [*the man she*_{obv} likes]_j?

[who]_i t_j kissed [DP pro-obv [CP Comp+she likes him-obv]]


- b. *wh-extraction from object position*

Awâyüwa kâ-suwâyimâyichî nâpâwa mâywâyihât?

awây-uwa kâ-suwâyimâ-iyichî nâpâw-a
 who-obv [a]-comp+Past-kiss(TA)-CIN.O:5/S:4 man-obv

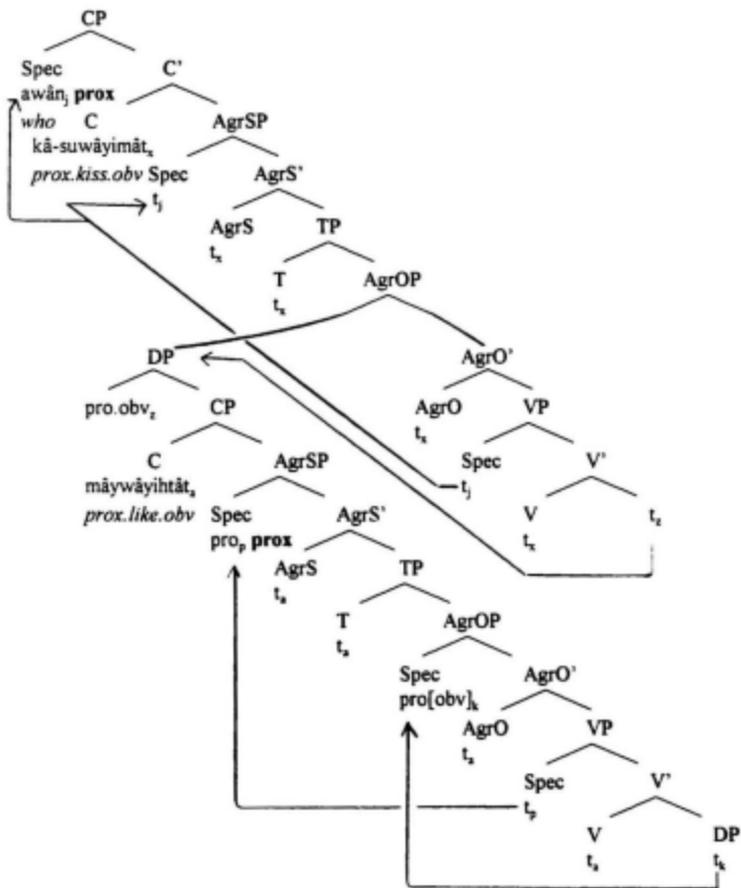
mâywâyihât-ât
 like(TA)-CIN.O:4/S:3

[*Who*]_i did the man [*she*_{obv} likes]_j kiss?

[who]-obv kissed [DP pro-obv [CP Comp+she likes him-obv] t_j]

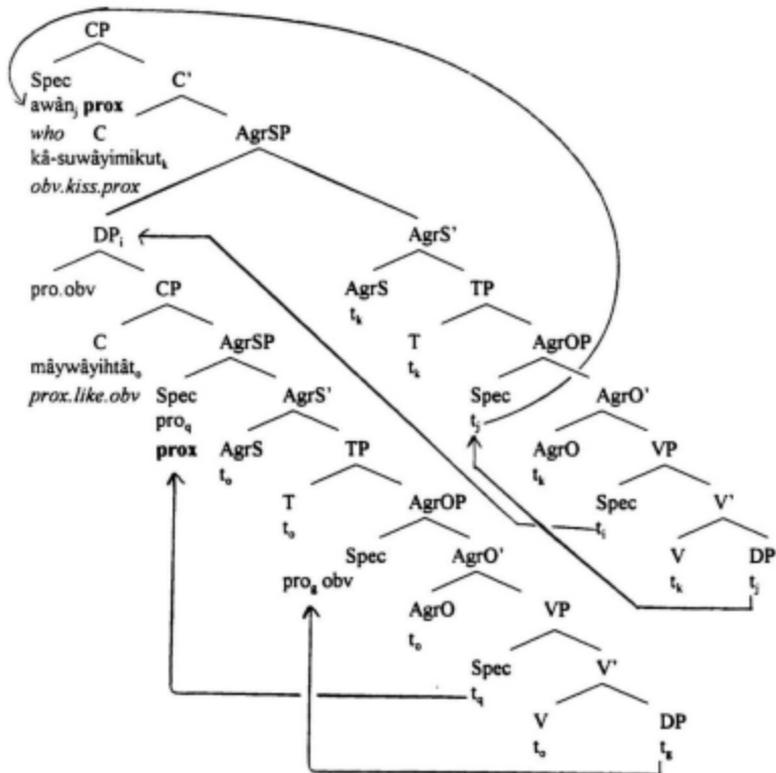

There are no co-reference relations extending into the relative clause because none of the arguments there have equivalent features with the \bar{A} -binder. Compare (247a) with (246a): in (246a), the *wh*-phrase binds the *pro* in the relative clause. The same is true if (246b) is contrasted with (247b): in (247b), the obviative *wh*-phrase fails to bind any *pro* it c-commands because of feature incompatibility. In (246b), the *wh*-phrase binds a *pro*[prox] in the relative clause. WCO effects do not appear in a WCO configuration, not because of the absence of *wh*-movement, but because the OPPD Condition exempts the structure from an \bar{A} -Consistency clash. Phrase structure (248) shows (246a) and (249) shows (246b). In (248), *awán* 'who' binds the subject of the relative clause.

(248) *Wh*-phrase extracted from subject position: bound reading only (246a)



Awân 'who' also binds the subject of the relative clause in (249):

(249) *Wh*-phrase extracted from object position: bound reading only (246b)



The assumption that the OPPD Condition constitutes a central component of Algonquian grammar ensures that the kind of ambiguity found in English (between a

bound and unbound reading of, for example, a construction like *Who saw his dog?*) is not permitted. This simple analysis predicts that WCO effects will not be found in Algonquian.

The Mohawk relative clause data are different: Baker (1996) shows that a bound reading cannot be obtained even in the case of *wh*-extraction from subject position:

(250) *Mohawk relative clauses*

a. *wh*-phrase extracted from subject position

Úhka wa' t-huwa-noru'kwányu-' ne rúkwe ne ruwa-núhwe'-s?
 who FACT-DUP-FsS/MsO-kiss-PUNC NE man NE FsS/MsO-like-HAB
Who, kissed the man that she_{wh} likes?

b. *wh*-phrase extracted from object position

Úhka wa' ti-shako-noru'kwányu-' ne rúkwe ne shako-núhwe'-s?
 who FACT-DUP-MsS/FsO-kiss-PUNC NE man NE MsS/FsO-like-HAB
Who, did the man who likes her_{wh} kiss?

(Baker 1996:82)

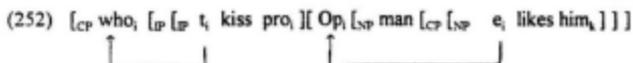
Baker provides a parasitic gap analysis for the data in (250), as well as for the possessed DP Mohawk data in (231). The relevant data are (231b) and (250b) since it is these which should not permit co-reference if there is overt *wh*-movement. WCO effects are avoided by having Operator movement shadow overt *wh*-movement:

(251) *Structure for (231b) assuming parasitic gap analysis*

[_{CP} who_i [_{IP} [_{IP} pro kiss t_i] [_{Op} [_{NP} e_i boyfriend]]]

Baker supports his parasitic gap analysis by showing how it rules out co-reference in relative clauses. A parasitic gap analysis of the data in both (231) and (250) accounts for the facts -- in the former, WCO effects are avoided, in the latter, a parasitic gap analysis

results in subjacency violations. The fact that the pronoun in the relative clause is not c-commanded by the trace of the *wh*-phrase rules out co-reference:



The facts for the Mohawk data differ from the Algonquian facts. Because my account of the Algonquian data relies on the proximate-obviative system, it is language-specific. For this reason (and because this thesis is about Algonquian and not Mohawk), the data in (231) and (250) are not discussed any further here.

4.4 Implications for a uni-clausal analysis

Blain does not account for the ungrammaticality of the bound reading for (233). The analysis I have outlined here, which assumes that *wh*-questions are uni-clausal and that co-reference is forced in the contexts defined by the OPPD Condition in (220), does account for (233). Blain provides the following construction, which permits a bound interpretation, as an alternative to (233):

- (253) Awina ana ana nâpêw kâ-sâkih-â-t kâ-ocêm-â-t?
 who that that man REL-love-dir-3 REL-kiss-dir-3
Who is it that the man loves and kisses? (Blain 1997:219)

The grammaticality of the bound reading in (253) can also be accounted for without proposing that *wh*-questions are cleft constructions: a proximate *wh*-phrase \bar{A} -binds the *pro*[prox] arguments in (254).

(254) [who_i -**prox** pro_i-**prox** .loves t_i & pro_i **prox** kisses t_i]]

The *wh*-phrase lacks overt obviative agreement in spite of the fact the verbal agreement is 3>4 (and the *wh*-phrase is the object) -- this absence of obviative agreement permits co-reference.

Blain's account of the absence of WCO effects in WCO configurations in Plains Cree relies on a bi-clausal structure which has null-operator movement in the Conjoint clause. Lasnik and Stowell (1991) argue on the basis of English data that raising a non-quantificational operator (a null operator) in the same context as overt *wh*-movement cause WCO effects does not trigger WCO effects; this is referred to as situation of "weakest crossover". Blain (1997) exploits the difference between overt *wh*-movement and null operator movement to account for the Plains Cree, supporting the view that Plains Cree *wh*-constructions involve null operator movement in the Conjoint clause. This type of structure is used to motivate a bi-clausal analysis of *wh*-questions.

(255) *Blain 1997:220, structure for (253)*

[Who_i [pro_i [Op_i [_{CP} the man_j love t_i] & [Op_i [_{CP} pro_j kisses t_i]]]]]

Given evidence presented in this chapter against a bi-clausal analysis, together with the fact that the absence of both SCO and WCO effects can be attributed to the fact that the fundamental difference between English and Algonquian lies in the Algonquian system of

argument identification requiring a obviative/proximate distinction, I maintain that the phrase structures in Chapter 3 are well-motivated.

The table in (256) provides a summary of the relevant facts for relative clauses and possessed DP structures for Algonquian, English and Mohawk.

(256) *Binding facts in relative clauses and in constructions containing possessed DPs*

	Mohawk	English	Plains Cree	Western Naskapi
Possessed DP				
WH=SUBJECT <i>who, chased his, dog?</i>	bound	(un)bound optional	bound	bound
WH=OBJECT <i>who, did his, dog chase?</i>	bound	unbound WCO	bound	bound
Relative clause				
Unbound reading: WH=SUBJECT <i>who, kissed the man she, likes?</i>	unbound	(un)bound optional	bound	bound
WH=OBJECT <i>who, did the man who loves her, kiss? (233)</i> <i>who, did the man she, likes kiss? (235)</i>	unbound	unbound WCO	(233) unbound ¹⁴⁰	(235) bound

¹⁴⁰Bound data are not available, but a construction like (233) in Plains Cree which has a proximate *wh*-phrase is predicted to provide a bound reading only.

The table in (256) shows that both CMN dialects pattern the same way. I assume the Mohawk data are accounted for under Baker's PG analysis. As Blain observes, Baker's hypothesis makes the wrong predictions for Plains Cree (and for Western Naskapi) relative clauses. Given that Algonquian is exempt from Baker's set of polysynthetic languages, however, this fact has no implications viz-a-viz the validity of the hypothesis. To the extent that Algonquian and Iroquoian are both non-configurational, the differences are of interest but the significance of these comparative data is not pursued here. Blain concludes (i) that Baker's parasitic gap analysis cannot be extended to cover the absence of WCO effects in Algonquian possessed DP structures and (ii) that the absence of WCO effects in Algonquian should be regarded as evidence of the absence of overt *wh*-movement in the Conjunct clause in Algonquian. But this chapter shows that a cleft analysis does not account for multiple *wh*-question data and that a uni-clausal analysis, together with the OPPD Condition, accounts for the facts for Western Naskapi and Plains Cree which are summarized in table (256).

Thus far in this thesis I have argued that in CMN dialects a *wh*-phrase and V^C move, respectively, to SpecCP and C in the overt syntax. Assuming this to be so, what are the implications for determining the location of *ekā*? Given the fact that the constituent order *wh*-phrase -- *ekā* -- V^C is fixed, a CP-internal position must be assumed of *ekā*. In order to establish the details of negated Conjunct constructions, and to justify the phrase structures which appear in Chapter 3, the location of the three negators -- *ekā*, *nama* and *apū* -- is examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Negation

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides supporting argumentation for the syntactic positions assumed of the negative morphemes in Chapter 3. Section 5.1 focuses on the syntax of two of the principal CMN complex negators, the *ekā* negator, and the *nama* negator which surfaces as the proclitic *mi-* in Western Naskapi. The syntax of the Montagnais (Sheshatshu Innu-aimun) main clause negator, *apū*, is also discussed in this section. Section 5.2 examines two Sheshatshu Innu-aimun constructions which are different from comparable structures in other CMN dialects: main clause past tense affirmative *wh*-questions, which have an Independent (rather than the expected Conjunct) verb; and the negated equivalent which, although the verb is obligatorily Conjunct, has the *apū* negator rather than the *ekā* negator required in main clause Conjunct clauses in all other CMN dialects. Concluding remarks appear in section 5.3.

5.1 *Nama* and *ekā*

The *nama* negator is discussed in section 5.1.1 and section 5.1.2 deals with the *ekā* negator. By way of introduction, the table in (257) shows the distribution of negative morphemes in Western Naskapi.

(257) *Western Naskapi negators*¹⁴¹

Order	Mode	Tense	Subjective	Negative	
Independent	Indicative	Neutral	No	<i>mi-</i>	
			Yes	<i>áká</i>	
	Indirect	Present	No	<i>mi-</i>	
			Yes	<i>áká</i>	
		Past	No	<i>mi-</i>	
			Yes	<i>áká</i>	
			Tense	Negative	
		Dubitative	Neutral	<i>mi-</i>	
Conjunct	Indicative	Neutral	<i>áká</i>		
	Dubitative	Neutral			
		Preterit			
	Subjunctive				
		Negative			
Imperative	Immediate	<i>áká</i>			

In summary, the negator *áká* occurs in the following contexts: In the Independent Subjective, in the Conjunct and in the Imperative. The negator *mi-* occurs elsewhere.

5.1.1 The *nama* negator

In Western Naskapi and in other CMN dialects (except for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun), phonological variants of the negative particle *nama* occur primarily with an Independent

¹⁴¹The Independent negator, *tápá*, which is briefly referred to in Chapter 3, is omitted from this table. Its distribution remains to be established.

verb in main clauses which have no *wh*-phrase (MacKenzie 1992:276). Example (258a) illustrates this for Western Naskapi, (258b) shows East Cree and (258c) illustrates negation in Eastern Naskapi.

(258) *Negated main clauses*

a. *Western Naskapi*

Mi-niwâpâhtân.

mi-ni-wâpâht-ân

Neg-S:1-see(TI)-IIN.1>Inan

I don't see it.

b. *East Cree*

Namuy niwâpimâw.

namuy ni-wâpim-âw

Neg S:1-see(TA)-IIN.1>3

I don't see him/her.

(Ford 1982)

c. *Eastern Naskapi*

Ama takun.

ama takun-w.

Neg be(II)-IIN.Inan

There is not.

In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, the main clause negator is *apû*. A verb negated by *apû* requires Conjunct morphology:

(259) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*

Apû uâpamak Pien.

Apû uâpam-ak

Pien

Neg see(TA)-CIN.O:3.sg/S:1.sg Peter

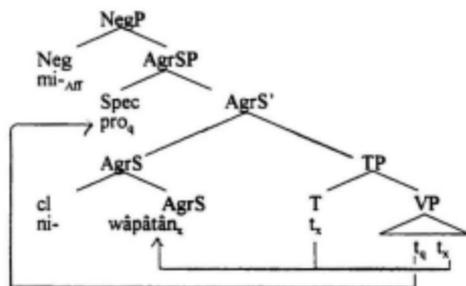
I don't see Peter.

The occurrence of the Conjunct in Montagnais negated main clauses, and of the Independent in the same context in the other dialects, is attributed to the properties of the negative morphemes available: *nama* selects an IP complement, resulting in a structure

which has the default Independent verb while *apû* selects a CP complement, resulting in a structure which requires a Conjunct verb. The following phrase structure represents

(258a):

(260) *Phrase structure for (258a)*



Given that *mi-* is phonologically dependent on the verb complex, and that SpecAgrSP intervenes between this negative clitic and its host, I propose that further raising of the verb to Neg (not shown in 260) is motivated by the affixal status of *mi-*. The negative clitic occurs to the left of the pronominal clitic. Thus, the position to which *mi-* and *chi-* raise (see Chapter 2) must be presumed to be lower than NegP.

In Western Naskapi, if two negated clauses are conjoined, negation does not have scope over both clauses. Compare (261a) with (261b).

(261) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Both clauses negated*

Mi-nûhch-mîchisun kiyâ mi-nûhchimîn.
mi-ni-ûhchi-mîchisu-n kiyâ
Neg-S:1-Neg/Past-eat(AI)-IIN.S:Person and

mi-ni-ûhchi-mini-n
Neg-S:1-Neg/Past-drink(AI)-IIN.S:Person

I didn't eat and I didn't drink.

b. *Left-most clause only negated*

Mi-nûhch-mîchisun kiyâ nichî-min.
mi-ni-ûhchi-mîchisu-n kiyâ ni-chî-mini-n
Neg-S:1-Neg/Past-eat(AI)-IIN.Person and S:1-Past-drink(AI)-IIN.S:Person
I didn't eat and I did drink.

If the negative is not in a position to have scope over both verbs, conjunction must occur at a level higher than AgrSP (e.g., NegP).

5.1.2 The *ekâ* negator: Western Naskapi

Although it is likely that the claims made in this section can be extended at least to other CMN dialects, I restrict the scope of my remarks here to Western Naskapi. As Chapter 3 shows, in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun the data for *ekâ* differs slightly: in Western Naskapi subordinate clauses *ekâ* selects the marked complementizer, null-comp; in the same context in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun *ekâ* co-occurs with the default complementizer, [a]-comp. The issue of which of the complementizers *ekâ* occurs with remains to be established for CMN dialects in general.

In Western Naskapi, *ekâ* occurs in a CP environment: in Chapter 3 it was argued

that, in a main clause context, *eká* negates clauses which contain a *wh*-phrase or a *pro*[focus] fronted to SpecCP. *Eká* occurs in subordinate clause contexts in general. The following data shows the invariable order of the three morphemes *wh*-phrase, Negative and V^{CI} in main and subordinate contexts:¹⁴²

(262) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Negation of a main clause containing a wh-phrase*

Awán áká niyátáu-pimipiyyihtát utápányuw?

awán áká niyátáu-pimipiyyihtát-t utápán-iyuw

who Neg [a]-comp+know_{how to drive}(AI)-CIN.S.3.sg car-Inan/obv

Who doesn't know how to drive a car?

b. *Negation of a subordinate clause containing a wh-phrase*

Wihtimuwí chákwan áká itúhtáyin á-chiskutimákuwiyin.

wihtimw-í chákwan áká é-itúhta-ayin

tell-Imp what Neg null-comp+go(AI)-CIN.2.sg

á-chiskutimáku-wiyin

[a]-comp+be_schooled(AI)-CIN.passive

Tell me why you do not go to be schooled (go to school).

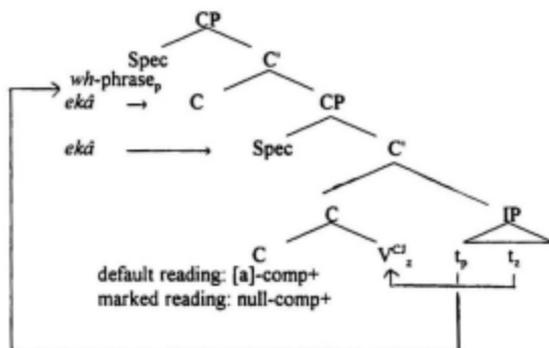
Assuming the *wh*-phrase (*awán* or *chákwan* above) raises overtly to the SpecCP of the Conjunct clause (see Chapter 4), and that V^{CI} raises to C (see Chapter 3), *eká* must merge to a position somewhere between the two. If *eká* merges to a CP position, three CP constituents (*wh*-phrase -- V^{CI} -- *eká*) can only be accommodated by a double CP structure. At first glance it appears that there are two possible locations for *eká*: the

¹⁴²Note that in (262a) the complex [a]-comp+preverb *niyátáu* does not raise to the left of the negative. Based on the arguments made in Chapter 3, the presence of the *wh*-phrase would prevent preverb-raising so it is not possible to tell from this example whether *niyátáu* would otherwise raise.

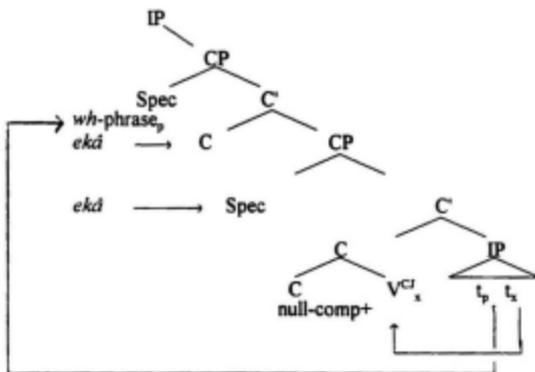
specifier position of the lower CP, or the C position of the higher CP:

(263) *Two possible positions for ekā in Western Naskapi?*

a. *Main clause*

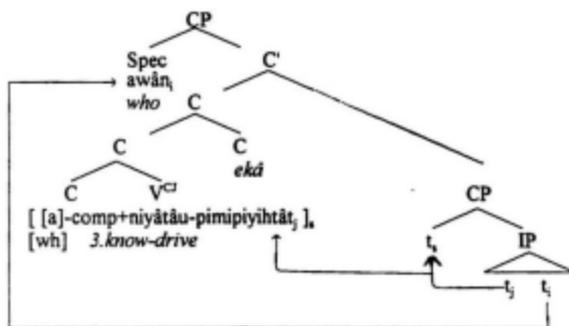


b. *Subordinate clause*



In Chapter 3, *wh*-movement in main clause constructions (like 262a) was accounted for by proposing that the default complementizer [a]-comp appears in a main clause context to provide the default reading; null-comp selection results in a semantically marked reading (i.e., a non-*wh* reading for data equivalent in form to 262a). In subordinate clauses (see 262b), *eká* consistently selects null-comp in Western Naskapi. In a double CP structure, the lower SpecCP position is always absent, allowing *wh*-movement to the Specifier of the highest CP. In cases where the initial lexical array contains both a negative morpheme and either a *wh*-phrase or *pro*[focus], covert C-to-C raising (as described in Chapter 3) permits the nominals to establish checking relations with non-Neg-C. The data in (262a) is represented in the following LF phrase structure in which C-to-C raising is presumed to have taken place:

(266) LF level Phrase structure for (262a)



On the basis of data which has three CP constituents, an argument has been made in favour of placing *eká* in the uppermost C of a double CP structure. For data which has two CP constituents: *eká* and $V^{C\bar{I}}$ (type (S/M.ii) data), both CPs are specifierless; without the features [wh] or [focus] in the initial lexical array, there is no motivation for a Specifier at the upper CP and the lower CP -- projected by null-comp -- always lacks a specifier.

The data in (267) lacks a *wh*-phrase.

(267) *Western Naskapi: Environment (S.ii), negated subordinate clause*

Nichischâyimâw ákâ úhchi-miywâyihât átímwa.

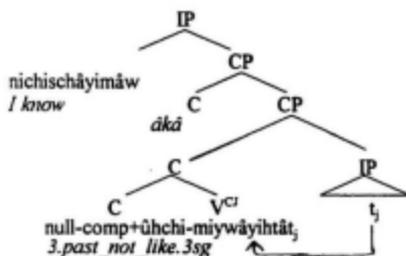
ni-chischâyim-âw ákâ 6-úhchi-miywâyihât-ât átímw-a

S: 1-know(TA)-IIN. 1>3 Neg null-comp+Neg/Past-like(TA)-CIN.O:4/S:3 dog-pl

I know that he didn't like dogs.

Although Economy favours a single CP analysis of (267), *eká* has been shown to head its own CP, supporting the double CP structure shown in (268).

(268) *Phrase structure for (267)*



Finally, conjoined clauses negated by *ákâ* each require a negative morpheme indicating that conjunction applies at the CP level:

(269)

- a. Nichischâyimâw **âkâ** ûhchi-miywâyihât atimwa **kiyâ âkâ** ûhchi-miywâyihât
mînûsa.
Neg and Neg
I know that he didn't like dogs and that he didn't like cats.
- b. Nichischâyimâw **âkâ** ûhchi-miywâyihât atimwa **kiyâ** chî-miywâyihât mînûsa.
Neg and
I know that he didn't like dogs and that he liked cats.

The distribution of *ekâ* in Western Naskapi is thus accounted for in a straightforward manner. In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, the situation is complicated by the fact that the Conjunction occurs with two distinct negative morphemes -- *ekâ* in subordinate clauses and *apû* in main clauses.

5.2 Sheshatshu Innu-aimun

As stated in Chapter 1, my default assumption in accounting for equivalent data in different dialects is that a minimal number of differences exist between Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun. Wherever possible, then, the analyses proposed to account for Western Naskapi are extended to cover Sheshatshu Innu-aimun.

5.2.1 Negation: *ekâ* and *apû*

The claim made of Western Naskapi *ekâ* negated structures is extended to equivalent structures in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, and I assume that *ekâ* merges to the uppermost C of a double CP structure in both dialects, selecting a CP headed either by null-comp (Western

Naskapi) or [a]-comp (Sheshatshu Innu-aimun). For ease of reference, data (130a) from Chapter 3 is repeated here to show *ekā* co-occurring with [a]-comp in a subordinate clause context:

- (270) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun: lower CP headed by [a]-comp*
Nitshissenimāu ekā tiāt mûsh nete Africa.
 ni-tshissenim-āu ekā tiāt-t mûsh nete Africa
 S:1-know(TA)-IIN.1>3 Neg [a]-comp+be(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg moose there Africa
I know there are not moose in Africa.

In Western Naskapi main clauses, the opposition of null-comp vs. [a]-comp selection provides the marked vs. default reading contrast. Judging from the data on which this thesis is based, this opposition is not available in Western Naskapi negated subordinate clauses. In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun subordinate clauses, *ekā* selects the default complementizer; it is possible then that the default vs. marked complementizer contrast available in the Western Naskapi main clause may also be available in subordinate clauses in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, although this suggestion is highly speculative and remains to be established. It is possible, for example, that there are sentences equivalent in structure to (270) which have an Unchanged form of the verb (i.e., that null-comp may also be selected by *ekā*) but I do not have data attesting to this. Since the primary focus of this thesis is Western Naskapi, the implications of this dialect difference between Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun are not pursued further here.

In the Independent Indicative Neutral paradigm, the *apî* negator occurs in the following highly restricted environment:

(271) *The apû negator occurs exclusively:*

- in a main clause context
- with a Conjunct verb
- in association with null-comp

Example (259) is repeated here for ease of reference:

(272) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*

Apû uâpamak Pien.

Apû ê-uâpam-ak Pien

Neg null-comp+see(TA)-CIN.S:1.sg/O:3.sg Peter

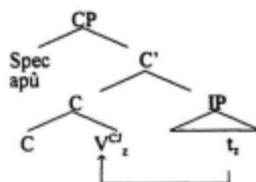
I don't see Peter.

Drapeau (1984) reports the use of *apû* in the Conjunct Dubitative Neutral, as the negative correlate of the Independent Indirect Past forms, in LNS Montagnais. MacKenzie (1992) notes that this use is also attested in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun. The discussion which follows here pertains to data from the Independent Indicative Neutral only.

Brittain (1997) argues that *apû* merges to the SpecCP of a single CP (see 273).¹⁴³

However, this hypothesis is revised in this chapter in the light of the discussion in Chapter 3. In so doing, some of the problems raised by the 1997 analysis are resolved:

(273) *Brittain 1997: location of the apû negator*



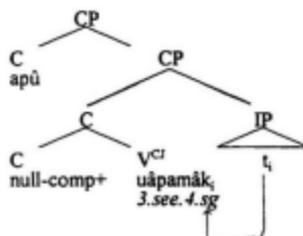
The proposal that *apû* merges to the SpecCP of a single CP structure raises a

¹⁴³I have found no examples of *apû* occurring with a Changed form of the verb.

number of problems. First, evidence was presented in Chapter 3 in support of the view that null-comp (i) only occurs in a double CP structure and (ii) never projects a specifier position. Assuming Sheshatshu Innu-aimun differs minimally from Western Naskapi, the structure in (273) should be ruled out on both counts; to allow (273) means exceptionally permitting null-comp to occur in a single CP structure and to project a specifier position. Additionally, without adding the stipulation that any verb which selects a sentential complement selects a complement which has no specifier, the distribution of *apû* cannot be restricted to main clauses. This stipulation, however, will also rule out subordinate clauses which have a nominal (*wh*-phrase or *pro*{focus}) fronted to SpecCP. Thus, in order to avoid modifying the claims made in Chapter 3, which account for the Western Naskapi data, I propose that *apû* merges to the head of a second CP level. *Apû* selects null-comp and thus always occurs with a Conjunct verb. In this way, the generalization that null-comp occurs in a double CP structure is maintained.

If both negatives (*apû* and *eká*) occupy the same syntactic position, how does the learner know when to use which negative? I propose that the syntactic context is what differentiates each negator -- *apû* is used only in main clause contexts and thus serves to distinguish main clauses from subordinate clauses, both of which are CP environments in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun:

(274) Revised phrase structure for (272)



The revised phrase structure in (274) also has implications for the analysis of the structure of negated main clauses which contain a *wh*-phrase. In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, these are negated by means of *ekâ*, not *apû*:

(275) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*

Auen ekâ nepât?

auen ekâ nepâ-t

who Neg [a]-comp+sleep(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

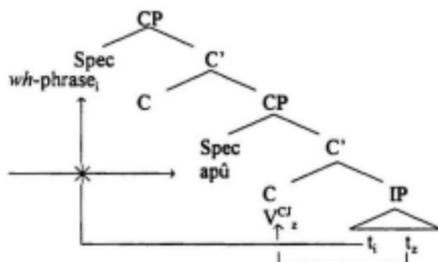
Who isn't sleeping?

Brittain (1997) predicts that *apû* will not appear in clauses which contain a *wh*-phrase because a negator in SpecCP will block *wh*-raising to a higher SpecCP.¹⁴⁴ With *apû* in SpecCP, *wh*-raising to a position above the negative causes a Shortest Move violation.

There will also be an empty C head:

¹⁴⁴The exception to this generalization, in cases where the clause has past temporal reference, is discussed in section 5.2.2.

(276) *Brittain 1997: apû blocks wh-movement*



The revised analysis which places *apû* at the head of CP removes the problem shown in (276). In Western Naskapi main clauses, null-comp does not check the feature [wh]. This can be seen most clearly in the contrast between (277a) and (277b):¹⁴⁵

(277) *Western Naskapi*

a. *[a]-comp (wh-reading)*

Châkwân âkâ mâhkwâch?

châkwân âkâ mâhkwâ-ch

what Neg [a]-comp+be_red(II)-CIN-Inan

What isn't red?

b. *null-comp (non-wh-reading)*

Châkwân âkâ mihkwâch.

châkwân âkâ é-mihkwâ-ch

what Neg null-comp+be_red(II)-CIN-Inan

The thing which isn't red.

If (271c) is correct, and *apû* consistently selects null-comp, then, assuming Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun differ minimally, co-occurrence of a *wh*-phrase and

¹⁴⁵These data first appear as (163a-b) in Chapter 3.

apû should still be ruled out on the grounds that the *wh*-phrase cannot be checked.¹⁴⁶ The *ekâ* negator is thus expected in negated main clause *wh*-questions in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, accounting for data like (275).

Main clause *wh*-questions which have past temporal reference remain exceptional because they are negated by *apû*.¹⁴⁷

(278) *Exceptional co-occurrence of apû and a wh-phrase*

Auen apû tût-tshishkutamâtîshut?

auen apû ǫ-tût-tshishkutamâtîshu-t

who Neg null-comp+Neg/Past-go_to_school(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Who didn't go to school?

Data like (278) is accounted for in section 5.2.2.

There are two main clause negators in other CMN dialects -- the IP *nama* negator of non-focus constructions and the *ekâ* negator of constructions which have either a *wh*-phrase or a *pro*[focus] in their initial lexical array. If Sheshatshu Innu-aimun *apû* fulfills the equivalent function to *nama*, this correctly predicts that, in this dialect, negated (non-past) main clause *wh*-questions are negated by means of *ekâ*. It also predicts that Sheshatshu Innu-aimun have a negative focus construction (equivalent to data type M.ii

¹⁴⁶Null-comp checks [wh] in a subordinate environment in Western Naskapi. This is evidenced by data types (S.iv: [V [*wh*-phrase NEG V^{CJ}]]) but only main clause environments concern us in this section -- *apû* doesn't occur in subordinate clauses.

¹⁴⁷Justification for glossing the complementizer in (278) as null-comp is provided in the following section.

[*pro*[focus] NEG V^{CI}]) which is negated by *ekā*.¹⁴⁸

In summary, in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, in both types of negated constructions (negated by *apū* or *ekā*), a CP level is generated and a successful derivation depends on V^{CI} appearing in the initial lexical array; in other words, all negated clauses in this dialect require a Conjunct verb. In all CMN dialects, including Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, null-comp occurs exclusively in a double CP structure. Sheshatshu Innu-aimun lacks the IP negator *nama* but marks main clauses by selection of *apū* over *ekā*.

5.2.2 Main clause past tense *wh*-questions

The exceptional occurrence of the Conjunct in all negated main clauses in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun (i.e., in non-focus main clauses) has been accounted for in terms of the availability of a CP constituent negator (and the absence of the IP negator *nama*). In this section, the exceptional occurrence of the Independent in an environment where the Conjunct is obligatory in other CMN dialects (in Western Naskapi, for example) is accounted for.

Exceptionally, a *wh*-phrase co-occurs with *apū* in cases where the preverb *tūt-* is part of the structure. Another example of this type of structure (see also 278) is shown in (279).

¹⁴⁸Data of these type are not available; these constructions are best confirmed by use of textual material.

(279) *Exceptional co-occurrence of wh-phrase and apû*

Auen apû tût-nipât?

Auen apû ó-tût-nipâ-t

who Neg null-comp+Neg/Past-sleep(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Who didn't sleep?

The complementizer in (278) and (279) is glossed as null-comp in spite of the fact that there is no Changed/Unchanged distinction for the preverb *tût-*. *Apû* selects null-comp in non-*wh* environments (see 272). However, in a main clause environment, only [a]-comp checks [wh] features, so what justifies the decision to gloss the complementizer in (278) and (279) as null-comp? The following non-*wh* data presumably shows the form of the past/negative preverb *tût-* merged with null-comp:

(280) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*[†]

Apû tût-pituaïän.

apû ó-tût-pituaï-än

Neg null-comp+Neg/Past-smoke(AI)-CIN.3.sg

He didn't smoke.

(Clarke 1982:87)

By analogy with (280), I assume the complementizer in (278) and (279) to be null-comp because it has not undergone the phonological shift that would result if [a]-comp affixation took place. Now the question is: if null-comp does not check [wh] in a main clause, how is *auen* checked in (279)? There must be some exceptional checking mechanism available in this kind of construction. In order to examine the nature of the *wh*-checking mechanism for (278) and (279), consider the fact that past tense main clause *wh*-questions display unexpected syntactic behaviour in the affirmative also:

- (281) **Auen nipāpan?**
Auen nipā-pan
who sleep(AI)-IIP.3.sg
Who slept?

The Independent verb in (281) is unexpected, first because main clause *wh*-questions in non-past tenses require a Conunct verb and, second, because the CP projection which is assumed to accommodate the *wh*-phrase is predicted to require a Conunct verb in its head position.¹⁴⁹ The data in (278) and (280-281) all have past temporal reference. It is the fact that the head T is specified for past tense which, I propose, accounts for the exceptional properties displayed by this data. The affirmative data in (281) is considered in section 5.2.2.1 and in 5.2.2.2 the negative data in (278) and (279) is examined further.

5.2.2.1 Affirmative constructions

The presence of a *wh*-phrase in (281) suggests a single CP structure but the Independent verb suggests that in fact the highest projection is an IP. There are two ways to proceed with an analysis of (281): (i) assume a CP projection and propose that in exceptional circumstances an Independent verb occurs in this context; (ii) assume that the highest projection is IP and propose that under exceptional circumstances a *wh*-phrase can be checked in IP. In Chapter 4, it was argued that the *wh*-phrase most distant from C[*wh*] (the *wh*-object) in a multiple *wh*-question could exceptionally be checked in SpecTP. In

¹⁴⁹Presumably, however, a Conunct verb could occur in this context if motivated by discourse factors (the presence of *pro*[focus]).

this case, C[wh] selects T[wh], providing an IP-internal checking position for a *wh*-phrase in the restrictive context of multiple *wh*-questions. What sets data like (281) apart from other main clause *wh*-questions is its tense so it is reasonable to explore the possibility that the feature [Past], as the only feature these anomalous affirmative and negated structures have in common, is responsible for their exceptional syntactic properties. The second option -- that a *wh*-phrase can be checked within IP -- seems to be the most likely because there is cross-linguistic evidence for it (for example, Rizzi 1990; Motapanyane 1998). It is also the option which respects Economy considerations.

In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, an Independent verb occurs in main clause past tense *wh*-questions whether the *wh*-phrase is subject or object, indicating that there is a *wh*-checking position within IP regardless of the base-position of the *wh*-phrase:

(282)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | <i>Wh-Phrase as Subject</i>
Auen takushinīpan?
Auen takushinī-pan?
who arrive(AI)-IIP.3.sg
<i>Who arrived?</i> | b. | <i>Wh-Phrase as Object</i>
Auen tshi-uāpamā?
auen tshi-uāpamā-6
who S:2-see(TA)-IIP.2>3
<i>Whom did you see?</i> |
|----|---|----|---|

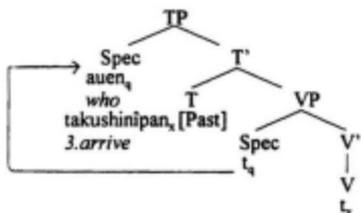
The constituent order in (282a-b) is fixed. Positioning of the *wh*-phrase to the right of the verb results in ungrammaticality in Independent clauses.

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------|--------|
| (283) a. | *Takushinīpan auen? | (282a) |
| b. | *Tshiuāpamā auen? | (282b) |

The *wh*-phrase, irrespective of its base-position, must raise to a position above the Independent verb in the overt syntax. Since the Independent verb is inflected for Tense,

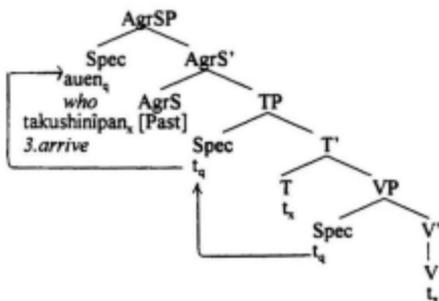
[Past] might be a strong feature; the highest position to which V might raise overtly then is T.¹⁵⁰ Assuming this, a *wh*-phrase in SpecTP will be to the left of the verb:

(284) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*: subject *wh*-phrase checked at SpecTP at PF (282a)



Further covert raising of the verb to AgrS and of the subject to SpecAgrS, to check Case and *phi* features is assumed:

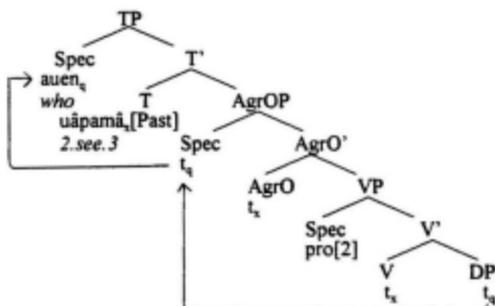
(285) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun*: LF level representation for (282a)



¹⁵⁰Phrase structure (287) shows that if the verb raises beyond TP in the overt syntax (in the case where the *wh*-phrase is extracted from object position), the surface order of (282a-b) cannot be accounted for.

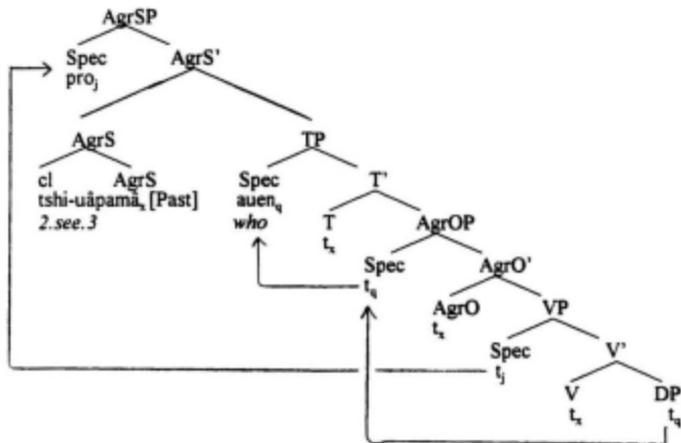
The data in (282b) is represented by the PF structure in (286).

(286) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun: object wh-phrase checked at SpecTP at PF (282b)*



Further raising to an AgrSP level is assumed at LF:

(287) *Sheshatshu Innu-aimun: LF level representation for (282b)*



Assuming that T[*Past*] checks a *wh*-phrase in SpecTP, I return to looking at the negated main clause past tense questions in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun.

5.2.2.2 Negated constructions

Further illustration of the kind of data shown in (278) is as follows:

(288) *Exceptional co-occurrence of apû and a wh-phrase*

Auen apû tût-tshîtûtet?

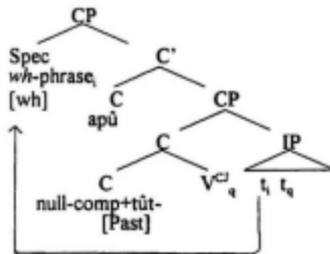
Auen apû \emptyset -tût-tshîtûte-t

who Neg null-comp+Neg/Past-leave(AI)-CIN.3.sg

Who didn't leave?

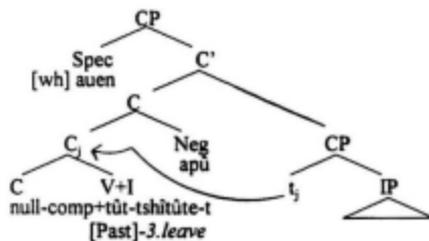
What sets negated constructions like (278) and (288) apart from other main clause *wh*-questions is the fact of their past temporal reference. In this respect they can be compared to their affirmative counterparts. But the important difference between the affirmative past tense *wh*-questions and the negated data in (278) and (288) is that in the latter cases the verb is Conjunct. Is there any reason to suppose that the *wh*-phrase is checked in an exceptional manner in (278) and (288)? (by, for example, the past tense/negative preverb *tût-*)? There is, in fact, reason to suppose that this is the case because null-comp does not check [wh] in main clauses. *Apû* only occurs with a *wh*-phrase when the tense preverb *tût-* is also present. It is reasonable to suspect then that the two elements are, in some sense, dependent on each other. The main clause negator *apû* selects null-comp without exception so that a Conjunct verb is always required. If there is also a *wh*-phrase in the lexical array, the preverb *tût-*, specified for past tense, checks the *wh*-phrase in SpecCP, presumably via covert C-to-C movement:

(289) *Preverb tût- in lexical array: [Past] checks [wh]*



Covert C-to-C raising permits checking relations to be established:

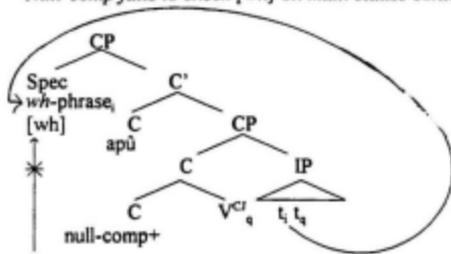
(290) *LF level: tût-[Past] checks wh-phrase via Spec-Head relationship, data (288)*



If *tût-* is not included in the lexical array (see (a) below), the *wh*-phrase cannot be checked and the derivation crashes:

(291)

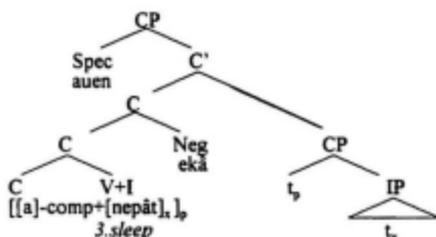
- a. *Auen apü tshütüet (*Who NEG leave?*)
b. *Null-comp fails to check [wh] on main clause context*



Feature [wh] cannot be checked

In non-past main clause *wh*-questions, the *ekä* negator appears, and the default [a]-comp checks the *wh*-phrase:

(292) *LF level: [a]-comp checks wh-phrase via Spec-Head relationship, data (275)*



5.3 Concluding remarks

In summary, in a subordinate environment, Western Naskapi *ekä* selects null-comp and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun *ekä* selects [a]-comp. In a main clause environment, the Western

Naskapi negator is *nama* and the Sheshatshu Innu-aimun negator is *apû*. If the cases where the feature [Past] (supplied by the preverb *tût-* or by preterit suffixation) checks [wh] are set aside as exceptional, the following generalization can be made: that in both dialects, where a main clause negator appears in the construction, there is no mechanism for checking a *wh*-phrase. In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, if the feature [Past] is supplied, the feature [wh] is checked exceptionally. In all other cases, where a *wh*-phrase is contained in the lexical array of a single clause derivation, the negator *eká* is required -- it selects the default complementizer [a]-comp which checks [wh]. Although the distribution of *apû* and *nama* are, broadly speaking, equivalent, the grammatical constraints which govern their respective distributions are different. *Nama* selects an IP complement (requiring an Independent verb) and thus cannot co-occur with a *wh*-phrase because IP lacks a compatible checking head for the feature [wh]. *Apû* does not co-occur with a *wh*-phrase (apart from in the exceptional cases noted above) but this is not because there is no CP level to raise the *wh*-phrase to. It is due to the fact that *apû* selects null-comp which doesn't check [wh] in a main clause environment. Western Naskapi lacks both the preverb *tût-* and past tense suffixation in the Conjunct; the exceptional contexts in which [wh] is checked in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun are not therefore expected in Western Naskapi. The areas where the grammars of Western Naskapi and Sheshatshu Innu-aimun differ are thus seen to be due to (i) what type of phrase the negators select (IP or CP) and (ii) the availability of the feature [Past] to check [wh].

The syntax of constructions containing a Conjunct verb has now been discussed in

some detail, in this and in the two preceding chapters. In Chapter 3, the C-checks-V^{Cl} hypothesis was laid out and found to account for a range of data within the CMN complex. This hypothesis was found to be compatible with the uni-clausal analysis of simple direct *wh*-constructions, in which there is overt *wh*-movement to SpecCP, discussed in Chapter 4. In this chapter, CP internal positions have been proposed for the CMN negator *ekā* and the Sheshatshu Innu-aimun main clause negator *apū*. In the discussion of raising constructions provided in Chapter 6, I assume the C-checks-V^{Cl} hypothesis to be correct.

Chapter 6

Raising Constructions

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines bi-clausal constructions which have the morpheme *-nāku* 'look like' contained within the matrix verb. An example of this type of construction is shown in (293).

- (293) *Western Naskapi*
Minunākun.
mina-nāku-n
good-looks_like(II)-IIN.Inan(sg)
It looks good.

These types of constructions are analyzed as raising constructions, following earlier analyses of equivalent constructions in two CMN complex dialects: Shrofel (1977) and James (1979) for James Bay Cree, and James (1984) for Moose Cree. I show that distinct syntactic properties hold of raising constructions in Western Naskapi on the one hand, and of the equivalent constructions in Moose Cree and James Bay Cree on the other.¹⁵¹ This dialect variation is accounted for in terms of variation in the feature composition of the AgrS projected by the raising predicate.

By definition, a raising predicate fails to assign a θ -role to its subject so that the matrix SpecVP position is presumed to be absent. I take this to be the motivation for

¹⁵¹Hereafter, for convenience, the two Cree dialects are referred to as "Cree". Raising constructions display the same syntactic properties in both Cree dialects.

raising in Algonquian. I show that in both Cree and Western Naskapi, the subject requirements of the raising predicate can be met by subject-to-subject NP-raising.¹⁵² I further argue that in Cree only (i.e., not in Western Naskapi) the CP complement of a raising predicate may be raised to the matrix SpecAgrSP. These options are summarized as follows:

(294) *To satisfy the subject requirements of the raising predicate:*

Cree	Western Naskapi
✓ Raise NP	✓ Raise NP
✓ Raise CP	✗ Raise CP

Because all clauses in Algonquian are finite, NP-raising necessarily involves A-movement from finite clause to finite clause. The complex Verb+Tense is presumed to provide Case features to the head of the AgrSP to which it raises, so that a raised subject should, in theory, pass through two Case positions: (i) the SpecAgrSP projected by the subordinate clause and (ii) the SpecAgrSP projected by the raising predicate. However, since the NP checks its Case features only once, if both AgrS heads are Case positions, one of them will be left with unchecked Case properties, resulting in a derivational crash. Necessarily, then, one of the AgrS heads lacks Case properties. One of the questions this chapter addresses is, therefore, in Algonquian raising constructions, which of the two

¹⁵²Object-to-subject NP-raising is attested in Cree (James 1979, 1984), but does not seem to be an option in Western Naskapi. Discussion of these types of constructions appears in section 6.7. Unless specified otherwise, the term "NP-raising" refers to subject-to-subject raising (of the overt category *pro*).

SpecAgrSP positions is the non-Case position?

I argue that Cree permits NP-raising and CP-raising. Thus, determining whether or not the raised CP has Case features to check in turn establishes the Case properties of the matrix AgrSP: if CPs are non-Case constituents, then they can only raise to a non-Case position; a +Case CP, on the other hand, is required to raise to a Case position. Stowell (1981) claims that, cross-linguistically, finite CPs are non-Case constituents and the data examined in this chapter support this claim for Algonquian. I therefore argue that CPs in Algonquian are non-Case constituents. Thus, in order to permit CP-raising in Cree, the AgrS projected by the Cree raising predicate must lack Case properties. In Cree subject-to-subject raising, then, *pro* is Case-checked at the subordinate AgrS. Retaining the assumption that the grammars of Western Naskapi and Cree vary in minimal ways, the claim that the SpecAgrSP projected by the Cree raising predicate is a non-Case position necessarily extends to Western Naskapi. A unified account of NP-raising in both Western Naskapi and Cree is thus obtained.

The claim that the upper SpecAgrSP is a non-Case position has theoretical implications: under this view, A-movement to the matrix SpecAgrSP is not motivated by the requirement to check Case, but solely by the requirement that the raising predicate be provided with a subject; that is, raising takes place in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP, Chomsky 1982). This type of A-movement thus constitutes an exception to the Chain Condition:

(295) *The Chain Condition (Chomsky 1995:130)*

A-chains are headed by a Case position and terminate in a θ -position.

As shown in section 6.5, exceptions to (295) are readily available from other languages; the claim that NP-raising and CP-raising in CMN dialects constitutes an exception to (295) is therefore non-problematic.

NP-raising results in the raising predicate agreeing with whatever *phi* features the raised *pro* bears. In the cases of what I claim are CP-raising, the raising predicate is inflected to agree with an inanimate singular argument. As James (1984) observes of raising constructions in Cree, null expletive insertion is also predicted to result in inanimate singular matrix verb agreement. It is thus necessary (i) to review the evidence in favour of a null expletive element in Algonquian and (ii) to determine whether, in those cases where the raising predicate agrees with an inanimate singular argument, this is evidence of CP-raising (a Move operation) or null expletive insertion (a Merge operation). In terms of Economy of Effort, Move is more costly than Merge (Chomsky 1995, 1998). Thus, Merge must be blocked in order for either Move-NP or Move-CP to apply.

The data examined in this chapter supports the claim that a null expletive is made available by the grammar of Algonquian. However, I argue that the null expletive does not appear in raising constructions in either of the dialects in question. Assuming that the matrix SpecAgrSP, the position to which a null expletive element would be expected to merge, is a non-Case position, the further claim is made that the Algonquian null expletive bears a Case feature and thus cannot merge to the non-Case SpecAgrSP of the raising

predicate. Move-NP (both dialects) or Move-CP (Cree only) then applies as a last resort option to satisfy the EPP. This information is summarized as follows:

(296) *To satisfy the subject requirements of the raising predicate:*

	Cree	Western Naskapi
1. Merge	✗ Merge null expletive	✗ Merge null expletive
2. Move	✓ Raise NP ✓ Raise CP	✓ Raise NP ✗ Raise CP

CP-raising is permitted in Cree and prohibited in Western Naskapi by proposing dialect variation in the feature composition of the head of AgrS projected by the raising predicate such that in Cree only can a CP argument can be licensed in the matrix SpecAgrSP. I propose that in Western Naskapi the AgrS projected by the raising predicate obligatorily checks the feature [+An] or [-An], features carried by an NP but, crucially, not by a CP. In Cree, the AgrS projected by the raising predicate optionally checks these features, permitting either an NP or a CP as subject.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 6.1, illustrative data from Cree and Western Naskapi are presented in support of the analysis of complex verbs containing *-ndku* as raising predicates. It is argued that raising predicate (i) fails to assign a θ -role to SpecVP (i.e., there is no matrix SpecVP position) and (ii) fails to check objective Case for a complement (i.e., there is no matrix AgrOP projection). In section 6.2, NP-raising is illustrated for both dialects. Also, the dialect difference under discussion in this chapter -- the fact that CP-raising is legitimate in Cree but prohibited in Western Naskapi -- is

illustrated. Section 6.3 argues that either CP-raising to subject or null expletive insertion will result in the raising predicate being inflected for an inanimate singular subject. In section 6.4, I argue in favour of the view that the grammar of Algonquian makes a null expletive element available, but show that it does not appear as the subject of the Algonquian raising predicate. This section includes a review of Dahlstrom's (1994) analysis of tough movement in Fox. Although Fox is not a CMN dialect, and although tough movement is \bar{A} -movement rather than A-movement, discussion of this article is relevant because it argues in favour of a null expletive in Algonquian. The details of NP-raising and CP-raising in Cree and Western Naskapi are examined in section 6.5. In section 6.6, raising constructions which have an "unspecified" (i.e., indefinite) subject are discussed, and in section 6.7 the issue of NP-raising from object position is briefly considered. Concluding remarks appear in section 6.8.

6.1 The lexical properties of *isinākun/isinākusuw*

In advance of examining raising data in detail, some observations about the syntactic lexical properties of *-nāku* predicates are in order since it is from these properties that the characteristics of the A-movement discussed here are derived.

6.1.1 The affixal status of *-nāku*

In none of the data elicited for this chapter, nor in the textual material reviewed, does *-nāku* occur as a base to which inflection is added; both AI and II forms of the verb occur

in combination with a preverb. In (297), *nākun/nākusuw* (II/AI) combines with an adjectival preverb.¹⁵³

(297) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Inanimate intransitive*

Minunākun.

mina-nāku-n

good-looks like(II)-IIN.Inan(sg)

It looks good.

b. *Animate intransitive*

Īyiyūnākusuw.

Īyiyūnākusu-w

Īyiyū-looks like(AI)-IIN.3(sg)

S/he looks Īyiyū.

In (298), and in other illustrative data introduced in this chapter, *nākun/nākusuw* is found in combination with *isi-* 'thus', a pre-verbal or pre-nominal adverbial morpheme in CMN dialects (Bloomfield 1946:116).

¹⁵³The feature "singular" is placed in brackets in the gloss for data (297a-b) to show the reader that, although not morphologically marked, agreement with a singular argument must be assumed. Up to now I have not glossed "singular" for verbs of the Independent order. In this chapter, because the distinction between Singular and Plural is crucial to the discussion, both categories are marked for the convenience of the reader. Both categories are also represented on the phrase structures where this is relevant to the discussion.

(298) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Text (8:7)*

Niyátáhk míchiwáhpá, iyiyíhch tántá isinákusuw.

niyát-áhk míchiwáhp-a iyiyi-íhch
[a]-comp.go_fetch_it(TI)-CIN.S:3.sg tent-pl person-Loc

tántá isi-nákusu-w
where thus-look_like(AI)-IIN.S:3(sg)

He goes from tent to tent, because (where) he looks like a person.

b. *Text (8:119)*

Máy iyiyíhch isinákun, inánuwa.

máy iyiyi-íhch isi-náku-n iyí-nánuw-a
human_feces person-Loc thus-look_like(II)-IIN.Inan(sg) say(AI)-IIN.S:unspec?
'Shit [Inan] looks like a person', it is said.

The data in (299) shows a three-morpheme verbal complex; the root *kustá-* incorporates into *isinákusuw*.

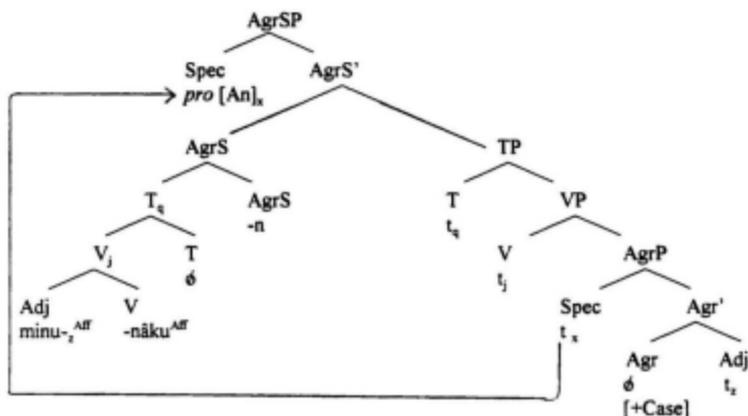
(299) *Western Naskapi*

Kustásinákusuw á-músáskut.

kustá-isi-nákusu-w á-músásku-t
frighten-thus-look_like(AI)-IIN.S:3(sg) [a]-comp-go_on_ice(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg
S/he looks frightening that s/he goes out on the ice.

Thus, *-náku* predicates are affixal, combining with elements which have the feature [+V] in their feature complex, and are subcategorized for either a CP (see 299), or for a small clause (see 297 and 297), the head of which is represented here as Agr. The data in (297a) is represented by the following structure:

(300) *Phrase structure for (297a)*



The small clause complement *minu-* raises to incorporate into the verb. Whether in fact *minu-* is an affix or not is irrelevant (though preverbs by definition are bound morphemes) since the affixal status of *-nāku* is sufficient to ensure that *minu-* raises. The verb complex raises through T and AgrS. Discussion of the AgrS projected by the raising predicate *-nāku* as a non-Case position is deferred until section 6.5; for the moment, assume this to be a non-Case position so that subject-*pro* is Case-checked (and θ -marked) *in situ*, by the Agr head of the small clause. Subject-*pro* thus raises to SpecAgrSP, not to check Case features, but to satisfy the EPP.

6.1.2 θ -role assignment and Case features

Cross-linguistically, a raising verb necessarily fails to assign a θ -role to the specifier of the VP within which it is base-generated. Thus, neither a covert argument (*pro*) nor an overt argument can be licensed in the matrix SpecVP of a raising construction. In order to satisfy the EPP for the matrix clause then, either an expletive element has to be available, or a θ -marked argument has to be extracted from elsewhere. Detailed consideration of the implications these options have for the analysis of raising in Algonquian appears in section 6.4.

Evidence of raising in Cree is shown in (301). The II.plural agreement of the matrix verb in (301b) shows that the subject of the subordinate clause raises to matrix subject position. The II.singular matrix verb agreement in (301a), by contrast, indicates at least that NP-raising has not occurred. The two English translations reflect the fact that the II matrix agreement may be interpreted either as agreement with a null expletive (301a.i) or as agreement with a raised CP (301a.ii).

(301) *Moose Cree raising constructions*¹⁵⁴

a. *Inanimate intransitive singular matrix verb*[†]

Išinákwan čimāna ê-kosâpêki.

iši-nâkwān-w čimān-a ê-kosâpê-ki

look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan(sg) boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl

(i) *It appears that the boats are sinking.*

(ii) *[That the boats are sinking] appears.*

b. *Inanimate Intransitive plural matrix verb*

Išinákwanow čimāna ê-kosâpêki.

iši-nâkwān-wa čimān-a ê-kosâpê-ki

look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan.pl boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl

The boats appear to be sinking.

(James 1984:208-9)

Burzio (1986) observes that, cross-linguistically, verbs which fail to assign “an external theta role” also fail to assign objective Case.¹⁵⁵

(302) *Burzio’s Generalization*

A verb Case-marks its object if and only if it theta marks its subject.

(Burzio 1986)

The data in (298) suggests that this descriptive generalization holds of Western Naskapi also; in both the (a) and (b) examples, the overt DP which serves as the logical object of *isínâkun/isínâkusîw*, bears oblique morphology, the locative suffix *-ihch*. Since the process of co-indexation of *pro* with a lexical DP is assumed to involve feature-matching (Jelinek 1984; Baker 1996), I assume the Case properties of the lexical DP *iyiyi-* ‘person’

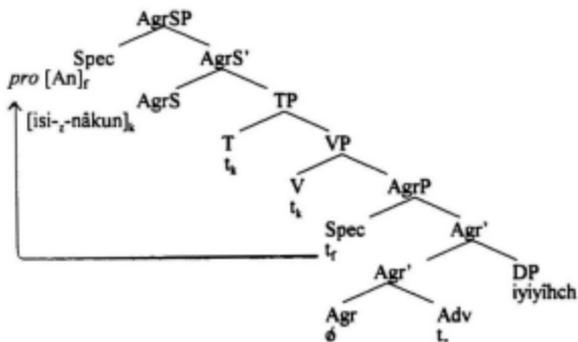
¹⁵⁴In the (a) example here, line 2 shows an underlying [w] morpheme. This deletes when it follows a nasal and occurs in word-final position. The differences between lines 1 and 2 in the (b) example (see matrix verb) are also due to predictable phonological processes which do not concern us here.

¹⁵⁵The term “external theta role” refers to the theta role assigned to the nominal in the SpecVP position assuming the VP-internal subject analysis adopted here.

to be overt manifestation of the properties of the *pro* with which it is coindexed. The suffix *-ihch* is also referred to as the simulative suffix (referring, perhaps, to the use of the locative in this context only). Thus, *isinākun/isinākusuw* fails to assign structural Case (which is not morphologically overt in Algonquian) to its object, assigning instead a non-accusative Case.

I take [*pro iyiyihch*] in (298a-b) to be a locative small clause complement from which *pro* raises to SpecAgrS to satisfy the EPP:

(303) *Phrase structure for data (298a-b)*

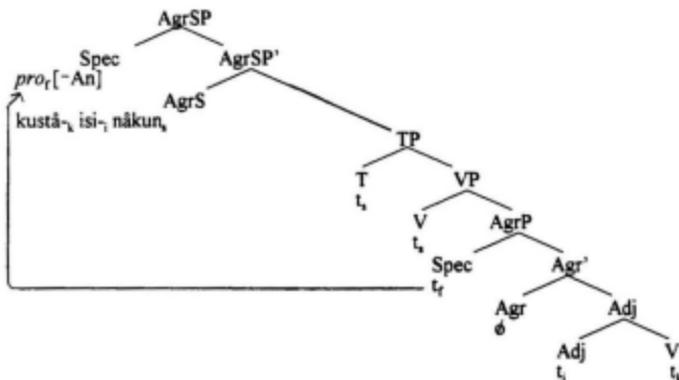


The data in (304) is also presumed to consist of a raising predicate and a small clause complement.

- (304) **Kustâsinâkun nipy.**¹⁵⁶
 kustâsi-nâkun- \emptyset nipy
 be_afraid-look_like(II)-IIN.S:Inan(sg) lake
The lake [Inan] looks frightening.

The following phrase structure represents data (304):

- (305) *Phrase structure for (304)*

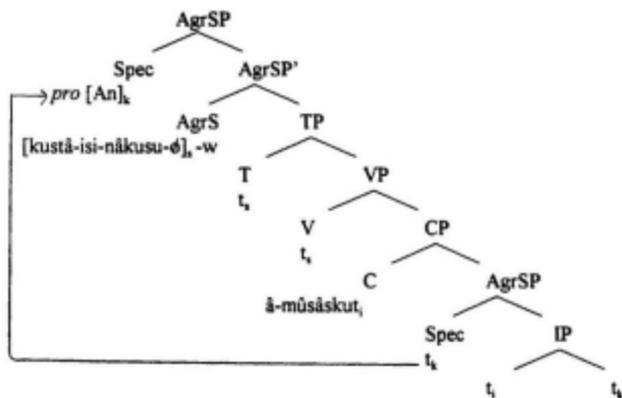


The variable word order can be accounted for by assuming DP adjunction either to AgrSP or to VP, the latter being the preferred position.

In (299), the matrix subject is extracted from a CP complement:

¹⁵⁶The word order is variable, but this is preferred.

(306) *Phrase structure for (299)*



The phrase structures shown in this section are discussed in detail in section 6.5.

To sum up, consistent with Burzio's Generalization, the object of *isinâkun/isinâkusuw* fails to receive the expected (unmarked) structural Case, but receives instead (oblique) locative Case marking. The matrix verb agreement in (301b) provides evidence that the subject of the lower clause has been extracted to serve as the matrix subject. Since arguments are presumed to be θ -marked in their base-positions, and cannot be θ -marked twice, the fact that NP-raising is attested in (301b) shows that the raising predicate fails to project a SpecVP position. In these two key respects -- Case checking of the object and θ -marking of the subject, *isinâkun/isinâkusuw* behaves like a raising predicate.

One final observation should be made regarding the fact that the subject NP of the subordinate clause is extracted in (301b). This provides evidence that *isinákuw/isinákusiw* licenses a clausal complement because extraction from an adjunct clause is prohibited (Huang 1982, Condition on Extraction Domains). It is important to point this out because the raising predicate, whether inflected to agree with an animate subject or an inanimate subject, always bears what is traditionally referred to as “intransitive” morphology. I retain this traditional terminology (i.e., use of the terms “inanimate intransitive” and “animate intransitive”) in spite of the contrary evidence that the raising predicate is subcategorized either for a clausal complement (a small clause or a CP), or for an NP complement. There are numerous examples in the grammar of Algonquian where AI verbs can be shown to be syntactically transitive (e.g., the so-called “pseudo-transitive” forms listed by Bloomfield 1946:112).¹⁵⁷ It is thus not surprising to find the same “mismatch” between transitivity and morphology in the data examined here. I take this “mismatch” to be significant of nothing more than the fact that Algonquian verbs need to be reclassified according to their syntactic properties (rather than according to their formal properties).

¹⁵⁷Brittain (1993) observes of Sheshatshu Innu-aimun that a high proportion of “pseudo TT” verbs contain the causative morpheme *-i(i)l*. It is argued that this morpheme licenses a second argument in the verb complex, deriving a syntactically transitive verb which, nevertheless, retains “intransitive” morphology.

6.2 Raising constructions

In section 6.2.1, the basic properties of raising constructions in Cree are illustrated and the equivalent data in Western Naskapi is discussed in section 6.2.2.

6.2.1 Cree data

James (1984) observes of Moose Cree that verbs denoting psychological state permit the alternation of the matrix verb morphology shown in (301) (II.sg-II.pl). In order to allow comparison of this data with the James Bay Cree, (301) is repeated here:

(307) *Moose Cree*¹⁵⁸

a. *Inanimate intransitive singular matrix verb*

Išinâkwân čimâna ê-kosâpêki.

iši-nâkwân-w čimân-a ê-kosâpê-ki

look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl

(i) *It appears that the boats are sinking.*

(ii) *[That the boats are sinking] appears.*

b. *Inanimate Intransitive plural matrix verb*

Išinâkwânôw čimâna ê-kosâpêki.

iši-nâkwân-wa čimân-a ê-kosâpê-ki

look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan.pl boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl

The boats appear to be sinking.

(James 1984:208-9)

James (1984, 1979) provides examples of raising in Cree with the matrix verb *itêlihtâkosiw/itêlihtâkwân* 's/he (AI)/it(II) thinks thus'.¹⁵⁸ In terms of semantic lexical

properties, it is interesting that the raising verbs which have been identified in CMN

dialects can be subsumed within a semantic group identified by Roberts (1997:423). The

¹⁵⁸This is not a raising predicate in Western Naskapi.

predicates examined by Roberts “are of a semantically fairly well defined type, being typically modal or aspectual” and permit raising across a clausal boundary (e.g., subject-to-subject raising and clitic raising). To the extent that *isinâkwan/isinâkwanow* and *itêlihtâkosiw/itêlihtâkwan* express possibility, they can be considered modal. James (1984, 1979) also lists *alimêlihtâkosiw/alimêlihtâkwan* ‘s/he(AI)/it(II) is difficult’ as a raising verb. However, Dahlstrom (1994) shows for Fox that the NP movement associated with this predicate (and others like it) should be analyzed as undergoing tough movement (see section 6.4.2).

The following James Bay Cree data is identical to (307):

(308) *James Bay Cree**

- a. **Iĭinâkwan ċimâna ê-kosapêki.**
 iĭi-nâkwan-w ċimân-a ê-kosapê-ki
 look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.Inan.pl
 (i) *It appears that the boats are sinking.*
 (ii) *[That the boats are sinking] appears.*
- b. **Iĭinâkwanow ċimâna ê-kosapêki.**
 iĭi-nâkwan-wa ċimân-a ê-kosâpe-ki
 look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan.pl boat-Inan.pl Comp-sink(II)-CIN.Inan.pl
The boats appear to be sinking.

(James 1979:88)

Assuming that (307a-b) and (308a-b) are, respectively, paraphrases, the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH, Baker 1988) predicts that they will have the same underlying structure:

(309) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis*

Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.
 (Baker 1988:46)

The matrix verb in (307b) and (308b) agrees with the only plural inanimate nominal in the construction, *ālmāna*, indicating that (subject-to-subject) NP-raising has taken place. Both matrix and subordinate verbs inflect to agree with the inanimate plural nominal so that raising of the *pro* bearing the features [-An Pl], from the SpecVP of the verb complex *ē-kosāpēki* 'that they are sinking' to the upper SpecAgrSP, is assumed. The course of this derivation, and the potential problem posed by A-movement from finite clause to finite clause is taken up in section 6.5. As stated earlier, *isinākuv/isinākusuw* is, in spite of its intransitive morphology, presumed to be subcategorized for a complement clause, either a CP or a small clause. Assuming the UTAH, two claims made of the data in (307b) and (308b) are extended to the data in (307a) and (308a): firstly, that (307a) and (308a) have a CP complement; secondly, (since raising occurs in 307b and 308b), that the projections of the matrix verbs in (307a) and (308a) lack a SpecVP position. This raises the following question for both the (a) and the (b) examples: is the matrix subject position filled by means of Merge (a null expletive) or Move? The (b) examples evidence NP-raising while the II.sg inflection of the matrix verbs in the (a) examples could signify agreement either with a raised CP or with a null expletive. As James (1984) observes (for her analysis) of Cree, in effect it makes no difference which agreement analysis (CP agreement or expletive agreement) is assumed of data like (307a) and (308a):

"Thus the embedded sentence in this construction will henceforth be considered to be a sentential subject, although in fact the arguments to follow hold regardless of whether the embedded sentence or a dummy element is subject."
(James 1984:208)

(311) *Western Naskapi*

a. *Animate plural matrix & subordinate subject: NP-raising (subject-to-subject)*

Isinākusūch nāpāsich â-miywâyâhchiyuch.

isi-nākusu-w-ich nāpās-ich â-miywâyâhchiyu-ch

thus-look_like(AI)-IIN.S:3-pl boy-An.pl [a]-comp+feel_better(AI)-CIN.S:3.pl

The boys look like they feel better.

b. *Ungrammatical: Inanimate singular matrix subject*

***Isinākun nāpāsich â-miywâyâhchiyuch.**

isi-nākun-ø nāpās-ich â-miywâyâhchiyu-ch

thus-look_like(II)-IIN.S:Inan(sg) boy-An.pl [a]-comp+feel_better(AI)-CIN.S:3.pl

(i) *It looks like the boys feel better.*

(ii) *[That the boys feel better] looks like.*

The same facts hold of complex matrix verbs containing *nākun/nākusuw*:

(312) *Western Naskapi: Animate singular matrix and subordinate subject*

a. *NP-raising*

Kustâsinākusuw â-mûsâskut.

kustâsi-nākusu-w â-mûsâsku-t

frighten-look_like(AI)IIN.S:3(sg) [a]-comp+go_on_ice-CIN(AI)S:3.sg

S/he looks frightening when s/he goes out on the ice.

b. *Ungrammatical: Inanimate singular matrix subject*

***Kustâsinākun â-mûsâskut.**

kustâsi-nākun-ø â-mûsâsku-t

frighten-look_like(II)-IIN.S:Inan(sg) [a]-comp-go_on_ice(AI)-CIN.S:3.sg

(i) *It looks frightening when s/he goes out on ice.*

(ii) *[When s/he goes out on ice] looks frightening.*

The following data show the same pattern, although in these cases the subordinate verb precedes the matrix verb.

- (314) *Western Naskapi: Inanimate matrix & subordinate subject*
Muyâm kwâsâpâtwâwî ûta kwâsinâkwâchî.
 muyâm kwâsâpâ-twâwî ût-a
 just_like [a]-comp+sink(II)-C.ITR.S:Inan.pl boat-Inan.pl
 kwâ-isi-nâku-âchî
 preverb-thus-look_like(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl
The boats look like they are sinking.
- (315) *Western Naskapi: Animate plural matrix and subordinate subject*
Muyâm pâkupâtwâwî asâmich kwâsinâkusich.
 muyâm pâkupâ-t-wâwî asâm-ich
 just_like [a]-comp+break(AI)-C.ITR.S:An.pl snowshoe-Inan.pl
 kwâ-isi-nâkusi-ch
 preverb-thus-look.like(AI)-CIN.S:3(An).pl
The snow shoes look like they are broken.

Examples (310-315) show that the subject requirements of the Western Naskapi raising predicate are satisfied uniquely by NP-raising. The constituent ordering in (313a-b), (314) and (315) is marked, with the subordinate verb occurring to the left of the matrix verb (whether the matrix verb is Independent, as in (313a), or Conjunct, as in (314) and (315)). In order to deal descriptively with this data, I propose a requirement that *muyâm* (which is clause-initial) and a Conjunct clause be adjacent. The validity of this proposal should be confirmed against a larger body of data. I do not pursue the issue of what property of grammar might account for such a requirement.

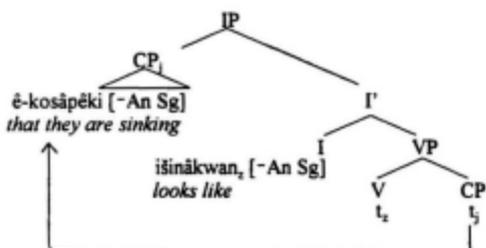
We turn now to the question of whether the II.sg matrix verb agreement illustrated in the examples (307a) and (308a), which is prohibited in Western Naskapi (see (b) examples for 310-313), is CP agreement or null expletive agreement.

6.3 Expletive agreement vs. CP agreement

A CP agreement analysis of the II.sg matrix verb entails the following: in Cree the requirement for a matrix subject can be satisfied either by NP-raising, deriving (307b) and (308b)), or by CP-raising, deriving (307a) and (308a). Each option involves movement of a different type of constituent (CP vs. NP) as well as differences in the extraction site: CP-raising involves intra-clausal object-to-subject raising (i.e., extraposition) whereas NP-raising involves subject-to-subject raising across the clausal boundary. These options are schematized for the data in (307a):

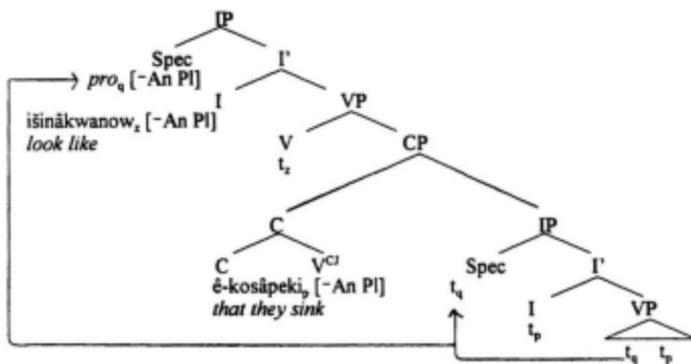
(316)

- a. *Extraposition of VP complement to matrix subject position, example (307a.ii)*
(Not permitted in Western Naskapi)



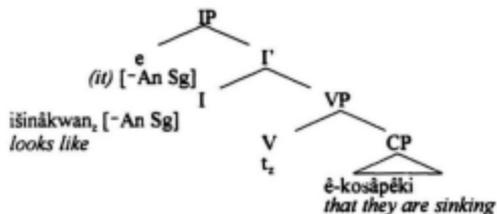
(316)

- b. *Subject-to-subject (pro) raising, example (307b): an option in Cree, obligatory in Western Naskapi*



A null expletive analysis of the II.sg agreement pattern will account for the difference between Cree and Western Naskapi in terms of the unavailability of an expletive in Western Naskapi (and its availability in Cree). Example (307a), assuming the English translation in (307a.i), is shown in structure (317).

- (317) *Null expletive element (e) in subject position, example (307a.i): Available in Cree but not in Western Naskapi*



James (1984:208) accounts for the II morphology in (307a) and (308a) in terms of CP agreement, rejecting an expletive agreement analysis on the grounds that expletives would have to be restricted in ad hoc ways (i.e., they would only occur with certain verbs, only in subject position and only when the verb takes a clausal complement). Restrictions such as these are, however, common to raising predicates cross-linguistically and can be derived from the interaction of general principles with the individual properties of lexical items; for example, an expletive element will only occur in subject position because it merges to satisfy the EPP. James (1979) rules out an expletive analysis on the grounds that the Conjunct clause would have to be analysed as a complement clause, which is inconsistent with the II morphology of the matrix verb (arguing that TI morphology would be expected in this case). However, as mentioned earlier, there is a “mismatch” between the matrix verb morphology and its transitivity in the case of either analysis (and this mismatch is not considered to be significant).

The view that agreement with a CP triggers inanimate verbal agreement is consistent with the analysis of so-called “subject copy” (ECM) constructions in Algonquian (Frantz 1978 for Blackfoot; Dahlstrom 1991 for Plains Cree; Starks 1995 for Woods Cree). This alternation is illustrated in (318) for Western Naskapi.

- (319) *Raising constructions in Western Naskapi and Cree: potential sources of dialect variation*
- i. *(Assuming CP agreement) microparametric variation results from a difference in the type of A-movement that can be licensed:*
In Western Naskapi, intra-clausal object-to-subject raising is prohibited but in Cree it is permitted.
 - ii. *(Assuming expletive agreement) microparametric variation results from a difference in the availability of a null expletive element:*
The grammar of Western Naskapi does not make a null expletive available. The grammar of Cree makes a null expletive available.
 - iii. *(Assuming expletive agreement) microparametric variation results from a difference in the type of construction a null expletive can occur in:*
In both dialects (and by extension, in all Algonquian languages) a null expletive element is available. The null expletive is licensed in the SpecAgrSP projected by the Cree raising predicate but not in the SpecAgrSP projected by the Western Naskapi raising predicate.
 - iv. *(Assuming Algonquian makes a null expletive available), a null expletive is licensed in raising constructions in neither dialect. Merge is not an option, and Move applies as a last resort – microparametric variation results from differences with respect to the type of constituent (NP or CP) which can be licensed in the SpecAgrSP projected by the raising predicates in each dialect:*
In Western Naskapi, only an NP can be licensed in SpecAgrSP projected by the raising predicate. In Cree, either NP or CP can be licensed in this position.

In the next section, options (319.i-iii) are considered and discounted as possible sources of dialect variation, leaving option (319.iv) as the correct analysis.

6.4 Western Naskapi and Cree raising constructions: sources of dialect variation

The options listed (319) are dealt with, respectively, in sub-sections 6.4.1 through 6.4.4.

6.4.1 Variation due to the type of A-movement permitted

Option (319.i) -- that (intra-clausal) object-to-subject raising is prohibited in Western Naskapi but permitted in Cree -- is considered to be an unlikely source of dialect variation given that passive constructions are attested in all CMN dialects:

- (320) *Western Naskapi*
Niwâpimikûn.
ni-wâpim-ikû-n
S:1-see(TA)-passive-S:Person
I am seen.

It is unlikely that object-to-subject raising would be permitted in the passive but restricted in the case of raising constructions. On the basis of this argument, I exclude option (319.i).

6.4.2 Variation due to the availability of a null expletive

Consider option (319.ii): can the differences between the Cree and Western Naskapi raising data be derived by proposing the absence of a null expletive in Western Naskapi only? This option is represented by the following table:

(321) *Option (319.ii)*

	Null expletive available in this dialect?	Null expletive is licensed in SpecAgrSP projected by raising predicate?	Raise NP?
Western Naskapi	No	(No)	Yes
Cree	Yes	Yes	

Discussion of option (319.ii) is necessarily prefaced with a review of the evidence for a null expletive element in Algonquian in general. To this end, Western Naskapi data is examined in sub-section 6.4.2.1 and Dahlstrom's (1994) discussion of Tough Movement in Fox is reviewed in sub-section 6.4.2.2.

6.4.2.1 Evidence for a null expletive element in Algonquian

Many languages present evidence for a null expletive element; for example, Italian (Burzio 1986). Accounting for the acquisition of a null element is, however, problematic because the learner must rely on the non-occurrence of a specific structure (i.e., negative data).

Research supports the theory-driven hypothesis that primary linguistic (parameter-setting) data does not include access to negative data (e.g., Grimshaw and Pinker 1989).

Chomsky (1981:9), however, speculates that learners may have indirect access to negative data in the case that specific options are provided by UG:

"[I]f certain structures fail to be exemplified in relatively simple expressions, where they would be expected to be found, then a (possibly marked) option is selected excluding them in the grammar, so that a kind of 'negative evidence' can be available ..."

The “null-subject” parameter is a case in point here; failure to hear sentences lacking an overt subject will be taken as indirect evidence of their ungrammaticality in the target language (e.g., as is the case in English) while the null-subject parameter is set on the basis of hearing constructions which lack an overt subject. In either case, information regarding these choices must be provided by UG. In the same way, the fact that null expletive elements are attested in some languages suggests that the option permitting indirect access to negative evidence is provided by UG. It seems likely that information about null expletives is subsumed under a general “null elements” parameter which informs the learner of the grammatical status of null elements in general in his or her language. If this is so, since Algonquian is rich in null argument elements (e.g., *pro*), a null expletive element will not be unexpected. There is indeed evidence for a null expletive in Algonquian. Consider the following data:

(322)

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| a. | chimûn (II.sg)
<i>pro is raining.</i> | b. | *[overt DP] chimûn.
<i>pro is raining.</i>
↓
*
DP |
|----|--|----|---|

(323)

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|---|
| a. | mîhkwâw (II.sg)
<i>pro is red.</i> | b. | michiwâhp mîhkwâw (II.sg)/asâm mîhkusiw (AI.sg)
<i>pro is red.</i>
↓
DP (house/snowshoe) |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|---|

The data in (322) and (323) are structurally distinct. The verb in (323) can enter into different agreement relations with the verb (for Number, Gender and Person), and thus,

for example, it has the AI counterpart *mihkusʰv* 's/he is red'. Significantly, the data in (322) has no AI counterpart, and thus fails to enter into [+An] or [Person] agreement relations with a nominal (which bears these features). Both the plural proximate and the plural obviative forms of (322) are ungrammatical:

(324)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| a. | <p>*Chimûna.
 chimûn-a
 rain(II)-IIN.S:Inan.pl
 <i>It.pl is raining.</i></p> | b. | <p>*Chimûniyuwa.
 chimûn-iyuw-a
 rain(II)-IIN.S:obv-Inan.pl
 <i>It.pl.obv is raining.</i></p> |
|----|---|----|--|

The source of the ungrammaticality in (324) is the plural agreement, not the obviative agreement; as (325) shows, the verb in (322) can be marked obviative.

- (325) **Chimûniyuw.**
 chimûn-iyuw
 rain(II)-S:Inan.obv
It.obv is raining.

The grammaticality of (325) suggests that obviation contributes to the identification of *pro* in a different manner than the *phi* features checked by Agr and Num. There is no evidence that a nominal checks obviative agreement by entering into a Spec-Head relationship with Agr (i.e., agreement is not local); it is not surprising then that distinct properties hold of *phi* feature agreement and obviative agreement.

I propose that the null element in (323) is referential *pro* whereas in (322) (and 325) it is non-referential (expletive) *pro*. Since a singular inanimate *pro* can be linked with an overt DP, the features [-An Sg] are sufficient to license the appearance of a nominal adjunct:

- (326) **(Utâpân) wâpâw.**
 (utâpân) wâpâ-w
 (car) be_{white}(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg
 (The car) is white.

This suggests that the II agreement in (322) is not for the feature [-An] (nor for [Sg]), but rather that it represents the absence of agreement with any *phi* feature. The ungrammaticality of (322b) may thus be attributed to the fact that the lack of agreement does not permit *pro* and an overt DP to be interpreted as coreferential -- in other words, the conditions for co-indexation are not present. In addition, non-referential *pro* lacks a θ -role and θ -linking is required for co-indexation of null elements with optional overt elements. The distinctions between the data in (322) and (323) are found in both dialects; on the strength of the arguments made for (322), I therefore propose that a null expletive is available in Western Naskapi and in Cree. More generally, if a null expletive is supplied by UG, it must be concluded that it is available in all Algonquian languages. Option (319.ii) can thus be ruled out as a possible source of dialect variation between Western Naskapi and Cree.

6.4.2.2 Dahlstrom 1994: tough movement constructions

Dahlstrom (1994:62), in a discussion of tough movement in Fox, analyzes the II.sg agreement of matrix verbs as null expletive agreement. The properties of tough movement cross-linguistically resemble \bar{A} -bar movement (and in this, as Dahlstrom demonstrates, Algonquian is no exception). Although this is a different type of movement than the

movement required by raising predicates, brief consideration of Dahlstrom's argument is relevant here:

"An expletive subject of the matrix verb is marked obviative if the subject of the lower clause is marked third person [It's difficult for **them** to make you angry]. But if the lower clause contains a third person object, [It's easy for us to get to know **her**]... the expletive subject remains proximate." (Dahlstrom 1994:63)

The relevant Fox data is as follows:

(327)

- a. *Obviative matrix verb (lower subject is third person)**

Sanakateniwi wih=âhkwêhehki

sanakateniwi wih=âhkwêhehki

be_difficult(II)IIN.3.obv FUT=make_angry(TA).CIN.3.pl>2

It's difficult for them to make you angry.

- b. *Proximate matrix verb (lower object is third person)*

Wêcinowatwi wih=anehkawakwe

wêcinowatwi wih=anehkawakwe

be_easy(II)IIN.3 FUT=get_to_know(TA).CIN.1.pl.incl>3.sg

It's easy for us.incl to get to know her.

(Dahlstrom 1994:62-63)

Dahlstrom argues that the status of the NPs in the subordinate shouldn't affect the proximate/obviative status of the matrix verb if the II.sg matrix agreement is CP agreement. Dahlstrom thus argues for a null expletive agreement analysis. However, the grammatical status of the 3rd person nominal (i.e., whether it is subject or object) should not affect the obviation status of the null expletive because syntactic obviation is sensitive to the co-occurrence of nonSAP nominals, regardless of their respective grammatical roles. This is the case in Western Naskapi at least, where elicitation of constructions comparable to (327) failed to yield equivalent results. In (328), the subject of the verbal

complex *châchi-iskwâtâch* is third person and the matrix verb is proximate.

(328) *Western Naskapi*

Wâhtin châchi-iskwâtâch mîchiwâhp.

wâhtin-ø châchi-iskwâtâ-ch mîchiwâhp

be_easy(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg Comp-burn(II)-CIN.S:Inan.sg house

It's easy that the house burns down/That the house burns down is easy.

The matrix verb remains proximate even in the case that the subject of the lower clause is obviative:

(329) *Western Naskapi*

Âimin châchi-miskâkanûwiyichî sikutâwa.

âimin-ø châchi-misk-âkanuiyichî sikutâw-a

be_difficult(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg Comp-find(TI)-CIN.S:unspec.obv bakeapple-Inan.pl

It's difficult for X-obv to find bakeapples/That X finds bakeapples is difficult.

Notice in (329) that the II.sg matrix verb is permitted with Western Naskapi tough movement (but not raising), evidence at least that these are distinct types of movement, though the issue of whether this is expletive agreement or CP raising is set aside here as a topic for future research. The data in (330) again attests to either null expletive agreement or CP agreement, but fails to replicate the results of the Fox data.

(330) *Western Naskapi*

a. *3rd lower subject (matrix verb isn't obviative - see (327a))*

Wâhtin châchi-chiswâhiskich.

wâhtin-ø châchi-chiswâh-iskich

be_easy(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg Comp-make_angry(TA)-CIN.O:2.sg/S:3.pl

It's easy for them to make you.sg angry./That they make you.sg angry is easy.

b. *3rd plural subordinate object*

Wâhtin châchi-chiswâhitwâw.

wâhtin-ø châchi-chiswâh-itwâw

be_easy(II)-IIN.S:Inan.sg Comp-make_angry(TA)-CIN.O:3.pl/S:2.sg

It's easy for you to make them angry/That you make them angry is easy.

Either the trigger of the obviation in (327a) is outside of the immediate syntactic environment (i.e., discourse-motivated rather than syntactic) or the grammar of Fox differs in this respect from the grammar of Western Naskapi. The results of this section are inconclusive -- all that can be said is that, like the Cree raising data, Western Naskapi tough movement constructions may permit either CP-raising or null expletive insertion, but Economy favours a null expletive analysis (assuming there is no (micro)parametric variation to be accounted for). On the basis of the arguments made in section 6.4.2.2, however, I conclude that there is an Algonquian null expletive.

6.4.3 Variation is due to the type of construction a null expletive can occur in

Assuming that the grammar of Algonquian makes a null expletive element available, both dialects have access to this type of nominal. Thus, is there any reason not to suggest that the dialect differences under examination here are derived in the following manner? The expletive is available to Cree raising constructions but not to Western Naskapi raising constructions (option 319.iii):

(331) *Option (319.iii)*

	Null expletive available?	Null expletive is licensed in SpecAgrSP projected by raising predicate?	Raise NP?
Western Naskapi	Yes	No	Yes
Cree		Yes	

If raising were a more desirable option in theoretical terms than expletive insertion, this could explain why it is the only option in Western Naskapi. As stated earlier, however, the opposite is true: within the Minimalist Program, Merge (expletive insertion) ranks more highly on a scale of Economy of effort than Move (raising) (Chomsky 1995, 1998). Thus, Move should never pre-empt Merge; that is, if an expletive is included in the initial lexical array, raising should occur only if conditions do not permit the expletive to be licensed.

It has already been argued that a null expletive is available to at least some constructions in Algonquian (see example 322). Presumably if an item is contained in the lexicon, in theory it can be selected for any initial lexical array; however, it does not follow that all initial lexical arrays, when fed through the computational system, will result in successful derivations. Thus, although the lexicon of, for example, Algonquian, contains a null expletive, if its inclusion in the lexical array of (for example) a raising construction leads to a derivational crash, then Merge ceases to be an option, allowing Move to apply as a last resort.¹⁶² The relevant question at this point then is: under what circumstances would the inclusion of a null expletive in the lexical array of a raising construction lead to a derivational crash? In order to account for the dialect differences under consideration in a manner consistent with option (319.iii), the circumstances which lead to a crash must

¹⁶²Chomsky (1998:13) proposes that the complexity of a computation is reduced by restricting access to the lexicon after the subset of lexical items required for a given expression has been selected. The term "lexical array" (as opposed to "initial lexical array") refers to this unique selection of lexical items.

hold in Western Naskapi only so that “Merge expletive” remains an option unique to Cree. Given that the expletive is merged to the SpecAgrSP projected by the raising verb, it makes sense to focus on the nature of the matrix AgrS -- the specific questions to ask of the data in this chapter are therefore: what evidence is there that an expletive (i) cannot be licensed in the SpecAgrSP projected by a raising predicate in Western Naskapi and (ii) can be licensed in parallel constructions in Cree?

Cross-linguistically, there is evidence that expletives vary in their Case requirements; the English expletive element “there”, for example, requires Case-checking while the French expletive *il* does not. The Case requirements of the Algonquian expletive, since it is presumed to be an element supplied by UG, must be presumed to be the same in all Algonquian languages. Thus, in Cree and Naskapi, the null expletive either requires Case-checking or it doesn't; it would be theoretically undesirable to propose that its Case requirements varied. If expletive agreement is assumed of (307a) and (308a), we are forced to find conditions under which the inclusion of an expletive in the lexical array of a Cree raising structure permits a derivation to converge, while in Western Naskapi selection of the same lexical items leads to a derivational crash. Consider these two possibilities as sources of dialect variation: (i) the Algonquian null expletive bears the feature [Case]. The dialect differences will then be derived by proposing that the Cree SpecAgrSP projected by the raising predicate is a +Case position (and in Western Naskapi this same SpecAgrSP is a non-Case position). Alternatively, suppose that (ii) the Algonquian expletive does not bear the feature [Case] and can only merge to a non-Case

SpecAgrSP. The dialect variation can then be attributed to the Cree SpecAgrSP being a non-Case position (and the equivalent position in Western Naskapi being +Case).

Both of these solutions, however, raise the same problem: recall that in both dialects NP-raising satisfies the subject requirements of the raising predicate. Ideally, maintaining the assumption that the grammars of Western Naskapi and Cree vary minimally, NP-raising will be accounted for in the same way in both dialects. The raised NP must therefore be Case-checked in the same position in both dialects: either at the subordinate SpecAgrSP (in which case the matrix SpecAgrSP is always a non-Case position and raising is motivated solely by EPP requirements) or at the matrix SpecAgrSP (in which case the matrix SpecAgrSP is always a +Case position and raising is Case-driven). To suggest that variation exists in the location of NP Case-checking is to be unnecessarily abstract, suggesting underlying structural differences between the same structure, for the same language. The Case requirements of the null expletive must be presumed to be constant; likewise, the Case-checking properties of the matrix AgrS and the subordinate AgrS must also be presumed to be constant. Thus, I rule out the possibility that an expletive can be licensed in Cree but not Western Naskapi (option 319.iii).

6.4.4 Variation due to the type of constituent licensed in the raising predicate SpecAgrSP

The only remaining option is now (319.iv). The following proposal derives the dialect variation in question: the matrix AgrS projected by a raising predicate in Cree and Western Naskapi is a non-Case position (and raising is not Case-driven in either dialect). Data and discussion supporting this claim appear in the following section. The Case requirements of the Algonquian expletive remain to be established by further research. However, I have argued that the null expletive is not available to raising constructions -- if the position to which it merges (SpecAgrSP) is, as I argue here, a non-Case position, this gap in the distribution of the null expletive can be accounted for by proposing that it bears Case features. The more economical Merge option is thus blocked and Move applies to satisfy the EPP. Under this view, the II matrix agreement of (307a) and (308a) in Cree is analyzed as agreement with a raised CP and it must be concluded that the ungrammaticality of the equivalent constructions in Western Naskapi (see 310b, 311b, 312b and 313b) is due to the fact that a CP cannot be licensed in the SpecAgrSP projected by a raising verb. The question as to the difference between the dialects can now be restated in terms of restrictions on what type of constituent can be licensed in matrix SpecAgrSP. This information is summarized in the following table:

(332) *Raising constructions, assuming option (319.iv)*

	Null expletive available?	Null expletive is licensed in SpecAgrSP projected by raising predicate?	Raise CP?	Raise NP?
Western Naskapi	Yes	No Mismatch of +Case nominal and -Case head results in unsuccessful derivation	No	Yes
Cree			Yes	

To sum up, various arguments have been made against an expletive agreement analysis for (307a) and (308a). The claim is made for both Cree and Western Naskapi that a null expletive fails to be licensed in the matrix subject position of a raising structure because this is a non-Case position and Algonquian expletives have a [Case] feature to check. To save the derivation, an NP is raised and licensed in this same context in both dialects, with the option of raising a CP permitted in Cree only.

In advance of considering the facts which support these claims, one final set of data is relevant to the present discussion: non-raising bi-clausal constructions. These constructions provide further support in favour of a null expletive element in Algonquian.

6.4.4.1 Non-raising bi-clausal constructions and the null expletive element

In the following data, raising is not permitted in James Bay Cree -- only the (a) sentences in (333) and (334) are grammatical:¹⁶³

¹⁶³Full glosses are not provided here because all that is relevant to the present discussion is the specifics of the matrix verb agreement.

(333)

- a. *Non-raising verb*
Tápwémakan cân ê-kítakošihk.
II.sg matrix
It is true that John came.
- b. **Raise Animate NP*
*Tápwésiw cân ê-kítakošihk
AI.sg matrix
**John is true that he came.*
- c. **Raise Inanimate NP*
*Tápwémakanow čimāna ê-kosápěki
II.pl matrix
The boats are true that they are sinking.

(James 1979:95)

(334)

- a. *Non-raising verb*
Milôšin cân ê-kítakošihk
II.sg matrix
It is good that John came.
- b. **Raise Animate NP*
*Milôšiw cân ê-kítakošihk
AI.sg matrix
**John is good that he came.*
- c. **Raise Inanimate NP*
*Milôšinow čimāna ê-kosápěki
II.pl matrix
The boats are good that they are sinking.

(James 1979:95)

The same facts hold of Western Naskapi. Only (333a) and (334a) (i.e., data with II matrix verbs) could be elicited in Western Naskapi; the (b) and (c) examples were judged to be ungrammatical:

- (335) **Tāpwānuw Chān kā-tikusihk.**
 tāpw-ānuw Chān kā-tikusih-k
 be_true(II).S:indef John [a]-comp+Past-arrive(AI)-CIN.3.sg
It's true that John came.
- (336) **Miywāsiyuw John kā-tikusihk.**
 miywās-iyi-uw John kā-tikusih-k
 be_good(II)-obv-sg John [a]-comp+Past-arrive(AI)-CIN.3.sg
It's good that John came.

The ungrammaticality of (333b-c) and (334b-c), and of the Western Naskapi equivalents, shows that NP-raising is not an option for these matrix verbs, a fact which James attributes to the properties of individual predicates. NP-raising would be prohibited in the case that the matrix subject requirements are satisfied in the Cree (a) examples, and in (335) and (336). Since NP-raising is not permitted, I assume CP-raising is likewise not an option here and that the II morphology of the matrix verb is not agreement with a CP but with a null expletive. I assume that the null expletive is Case-checked in the matrix SpecAgrSP of the (non-raising) verb; the matrix AgrS in these bi-clausal constructions is thus the +Case position, conforming to the Chain Condition.

There are two more reasons to believe that these examples have a null expletive subject. Firstly, although 'be good' has an AI counterpart, indicating that it can have *pro* as its subject, 'be true' has no AI counterpart. Recalling the arguments made of the differences between (322) and (323), I suggest that the matrix subject of (333a) and (335) is a null expletive and not *pro*. By analogy, the same structure is assumed of (334a) and

(336).¹⁶⁴ Secondly, even if the conditions for raising existed for the data in (333-336), Merge (rather than Move) can apply here (although it could not apply in the case of option 319.iii) because there are no dialect differences to account for -- these structures pattern the same way in both dialects:

(337) *Non-raising constructions*

	Expletive available?	Merge expletive?	Move CP/ NP?
Western Naskapi	Yes	Economy favours Merge expletive to SpecAgrSP. AgrS (of non-raising verb) checks Case of expletive.	No
Cree			

Given the line of argument thus far, the following question remains:

(338) Can the restrictions on CP raising in Western Naskapi be accounted for in terms of the properties of individual heads (i.e., Case or *phi* features)?

This question is taken up in the next section.

6.5 NP-raising and CP-raising

The details of subject-to-subject raising are discussed first because it occurs in both dialects. The following discussion supports the claim made in the previous section that the subordinate SpecAgrSP is the Case position in a raising construction.

As stated earlier, subject-to-subject raising in Algonquian involves movement from finite clause to finite clause. Balkan languages also attest this type of A-movement in

¹⁶⁴This would mean saying that a predicate which can have a *pro* subject can also have null expletive subject but not vice versa.

raising predicates:

- (339) *Modern Greek NP-raising from finite clause*
[Oi ánthropoi]_i phainontai [_{CP} óti [_{IP} t_i einai philoi mou]]
the men seem that are friends mine
The men seem to be my friends. (Rivero 1991:274)

Rivero (1991) in fact claims that the upper SpecAgrS in constructions like (339) is the Case position. However, the claim that A-movement in the Algonquian raising construction is an exception to the Chain Condition is non-problematic because instances where A-movement is not driven by Case requirements are attested in other languages. In English, for example, CP-raising, locative inversion (Ohba 1982; Coopmans 1989; Bresnan 1994) and predicate inversion (Moro 1994) provide evidence of non-Case driven A-movement.¹⁶⁵

In an English raising construction, consistent with the Chain Condition, NP raising is arguably motivated by Case requirements because the embedded clause is non-finite (and AgrS does not check structural case):

- (340) Peter_i seems [_{t_i} to have impressed the jury]

In cases of CP-raising however, the alternation shown in (341) presents a problem for the Chain Condition.

¹⁶⁵For details of locative inversion and predicate inversion see references provided; for reasons of space only English CP-raising is discussed in any detail here.

(341) *English: an exception to the Chain Condition*

- a. It seems [_{CP} to have impressed the jury [_{CP} that Peter cried on the stand]]
b. [_{CP} that Peter cried on the stand]_k seems [t_i to have impressed the jury t_i]]

In (341a) the CP remains in object position, requiring expletive insertion (in the upper SpecAgrSP). Either the CP *that Peter cried on the stand* has Case features (checked by the matrix AgrO) or it lacks Case features; either way, CP-raising (in 341b) cannot be motivated by the need to check Case features. Although both of these possibilities are examined here, Burzio's Generalization (see 302) predicts the latter to be the most likely. Stowell (1981) proposes that finite clauses need not (and therefore cannot) be assigned Case:

(342) *The Case Resistance Principle (CRP)*

Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case-assigning feature.
(Stowell 1981:146)

Specifically, the CRP predicts that a tensed clause is not assigned Case because it contains the feature [+Tense] which is itself a Case assigner. If we follow Stowell and assume the CP in (341a) has no Case features to be checked, it must be further assumed that the CP does not raise to a Case position within the matrix clause. Framed in terms of Stowell (1981), Case resistant constituents cannot be licensed in Case positions; for example, English gerunds (which carry Case features) can appear in subject position of an infinitival clause to which Case is assigned by a governing verb:

(343) *Stowell 1981:143*

- a. I consider [_S [John's having come home] to be fortunate]]
- b. Bill showed [_S [John's having lied] to be a fact]]

A tensed clause is ungrammatical in this same position:

(344) *Stowell 1981:143*

- a. *I consider [_S [that John came home] to be fortunate]]
- b. *Bill showed [_S [that John lied] to be a fact]]

CP-raising in English presents an exception to the Chain Condition because the chain $\langle \dots t_1 \dots t_i \rangle$ in (341b) is not headed by a Case position. Assuming the possibility that the CP is assigned structural Case within its VP, there would still remain the problem of why a Case-marked constituent (CP or NP) would raise. This situation still presents an exception to the Chain Condition, forming a chain which terminates in both a θ -position and a Case position. Thus, movement motivated solely by the need to satisfy the EPP must be permitted in general (even if the Chain Condition predicts that non-Case motivated movement occurs in the minority of cases). Whether one assumes the English CP complement to be Case resistant or not, the issue remains of how a constituent which does not require Case-checking can raise to the matrix SpecAgrSP of a finite clause.

We have seen that precedent exists for claiming that the Chain Condition is not an inviolable principle but is, rather, a descriptive device which covers some number of languages. What evidence is there that Algonquian is also an exception? The Case problem just described with respect to CP-raising in English is encountered in Cree; if, as argued earlier, the subordinate clause subject (NP) raises to the non-Case SpecAgrSP of the matrix verb in a sentence like (307b) (repeated as (345a) for ease of reference), CP-

raising to the same position can only take place if (i) the CP is Case resistant or (ii) it is not Case resistant and a matrix AgrO is present and checks objective Case.

(345)

- a. Moose Cree* (James 1984: 209, ex. 6) [II.pl IIN [II.pl CIN]]
Išinákwanow čimâna êkosâpêki.
 iši-nâkwan-wa čimân-a ê-kosâpê-ki
 look so(II)-IIN.S:Inan-pl boat-Inan.pl sub-sink(II)-CIN.S:Inan.pl
The boats appear to be sinking.

- b. [_{AgrOP} pro_i išinákwanow [_{CP} t_i [_{DP} čimâna] êkosâpêki]]¹⁶⁶

In section 6.1, evidence was presented in support of the view that verb complexes containing *-nâku* (i.e., raising predicates) in Cree and Western Naskapi lack an AgrO projection, ruling out option (ii) above -- nominal complements bear oblique Case.¹⁶⁷ If this is so, a CP complement must be Case resistant because a structure lacking an AgrO is unable to check Case for a CP complement. Let us consider some additional evidence that a raising predicate fails to project an AgrOP.

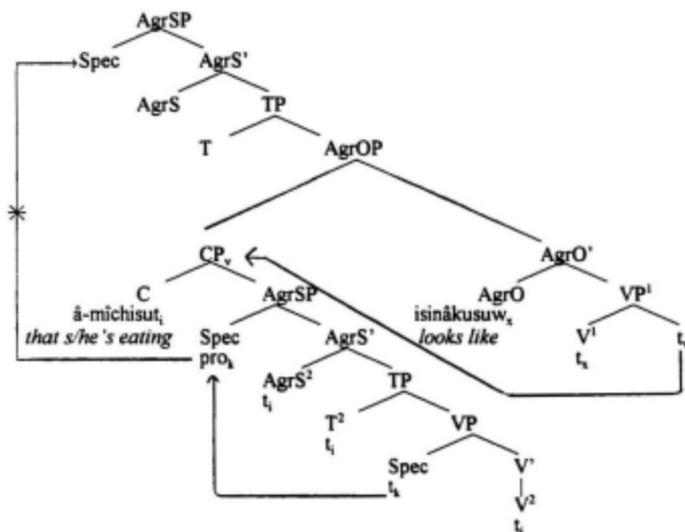
First, while intransitive morphology (i.e., the AI/II morphology of raising predicates) is not a reliable indicator of the transitivity of an Algonquian verb, at least the absence of transitive morphology leaves open the option that AgrO (or AgrAn) is missing. Second, in an NP-raising structure, the presence of an AgrO projection leads to a violation of the Left Branch Condition (Ross 1967). Consider the structure in (346). Raising the

¹⁶⁶The position of the DP adjunct is not important.

¹⁶⁷By extension, this claim extends to Algonquian in general.

CP to SpecAgrO creates a structure from which the subject can only be obtained by extracting it from the moved CP:

- (346) Example (310a), subject-to-subject raising for all dialects
 If AgrO is present, a Left Branch Violation occurs (if CP raises to SpecAgrOP, pro must be extracted from CP):



Extracting *pro*_v from the CP results in a structure which gives rise to a Left Branch violation. Left Branch violations, cross-linguistically, lead to ungrammaticality; I therefore assume that a Left Branch Violation also leads to ungrammaticality in Algonquian.

There is, in fact, no motivation for an AgrO projection in the functional projection

of a raising predicate. The raising predicate fails to check object Case for an NP complement, nor can a CP complement be Case-checked. It can thus be concluded that the CP is indeed a non-Case constituent. The CP does not, therefore, need AgrO for Case-checking purposes, but what about *phi* features? If there is no AgrOP projection in the matrix clause, there is no way to check *phi* features either. In chapter 2 it was argued that Agr in Algonquian checks the features [Animate] and [Person]. If a CP constituent carries either of these features, we must suppose there is an AgrO projection. Never marked for the feature [+An], a CP is obviously not marked with the feature [Person]. Thus, the only *phi* feature that CP might carry (which AgrO might be required to check) is [-An].

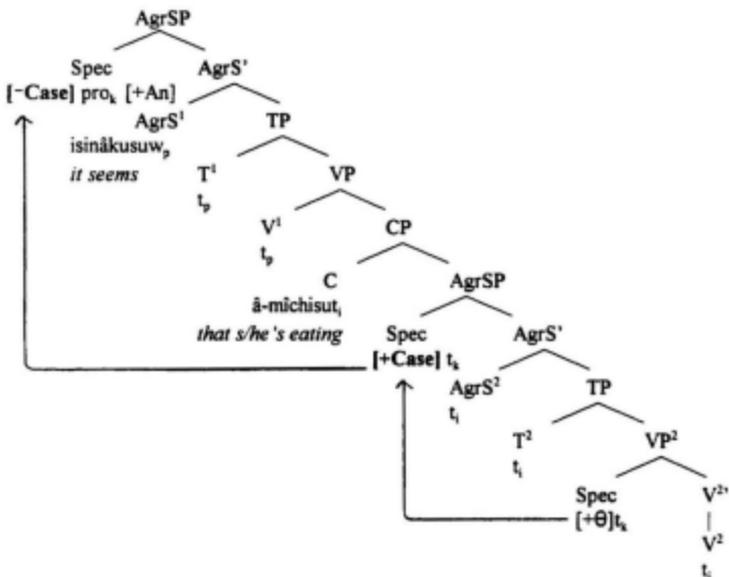
We saw in section 6.3 that a matrix verb which has a CP complement is inflected to agree with an inanimate singular argument. It may be overly simplistic, however, to treat "inanimate agreement" as agreement for the feature [-An]. Inanimate agreement could be viewed as signifying either the absence of Animacy agreement (i.e. neither [+An] agreement nor [-An] agreement) or agreement for the feature [-An]. Thus, the absence of [+An] agreement could indicate either agreement with a constituent bearing the feature [-An] or the complete absence of Animacy agreement. In fact, it has already been shown that a verb which fails to enter into agreement relations with a nominal (for *phi* features) is inflected with inanimate intransitive morphology (see example 322). Although the absence of agreement and agreement with the feature [-An] form a natural class (in both cases agreement is not with the feature [+An]), they are distinct. Suppose that CP does

not carry the feature [-An] and that the matrix agreement in data like (318a) reflects a lack of Animacy agreement. Thus, the proposal that the raising predicate fails to project an AgrOP is non-problematic -- AgrOP is required neither for Case-checking nor for *phi* feature checking; moreover, the problem of the Left Branch violation provides support for the view that an AgrOP projection is required to be absent in a raising construction.

The main point of this discussion is to determine the Case requirements of the CP so that we can establish whether or not the Cree matrix SpecAgrSP is a Case position. It has been shown that the CP lacks Case features, in Cree at least, and thus I conclude that the matrix SpecAgrSP is a non-Case position. It therefore follows that where NP-raising occurs in Cree, the embedded SpecAgrSP Case-checks *pro* (which then raises to the non-Case matrix SpecAgrSP). With no evidence that NP-raising is different in Western Naskapi, it must be presumed to be the same. The AgrSP projected by the raising verb thus consistently lacks Case properties. Movement to the higher SpecAgrSP is thus motivated not by the need for Case-checking but, for both CP and NP, the requirements of the EPP. This contrasts with the situation for other (i.e., non-raising) bi-clausal constructions -- in the previous section it was argued that the matrix AgrSP checks Case. These claims must be extended to Algonquian in general because they involve interaction with an element supplied by UG -- the null expletive.

Having established that a raising predicate fails to project an AgrOP, how does the derivation proceed for NP-raising? Consider structure (347).

- (347) *Subject-to-subject raising for all dialects (using data (310a) for illustration)
CP remains in VP¹ and matrix clause lacks AgrO projection.*

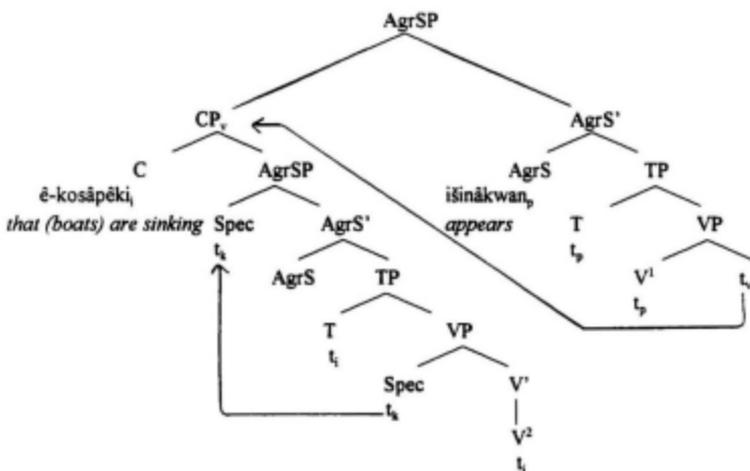


Movement in the lower clause is straightforward: V^2 raises to C to check [CJ] and the subject-*pro* is Case-checked at SpecAgrSP². In the matrix clause, V^1 raises to T^1 , and then on to AgrS¹, and *pro* raises to SpecAgrSP¹. Both verbs enter into agreement with *pro*. Case is presumed to be checked in the lower clause only.

For both dialects, subject-to-subject raising has been accounted for in a straightforward manner, assuming (i) raising predicates lack an AgrO projection and (ii)

the matrix clause V+T complex does not provide AgrS with Case features. We turn now to the derivation of constructions in which CP-raising applies, and to the issue of how to account for the dialect difference between Cree and Western Naskapi. The following structure illustrates the Cree data in (308):

- (348) *CP-raising, Cree dialects only*
Data (308a): [That the boats are sinking] appears.



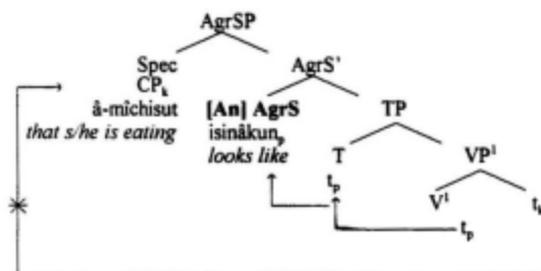
The derivation proceeds in the subordinate clause as described for (347). In the matrix clause, V¹ raises to T¹ and to AgrS¹. The CP raises to SpecAgrS¹ to fulfill the EPP.

Finally, how can CP-raising be prohibited in Western Naskapi? Suppose that in Western Naskapi AgrS has a feature to check which can only be checked against a feature

carried by *pro* (as opposed to CP). Thus, only NP-raising will permit the derivation to converge in Western Naskapi. The fact that an inanimate NP can be raised in Western Naskapi shows that [Person] is not the relevant feature; this leaves [Animate] as the only option. I have already suggested that the absence of AgrO in the matrix clause forces us to conclude that the CP lacks the feature [+An] as well as [-An]. Suppose that in Western Naskapi AgrS must check one of these features. In this case, CP-raising will cause a derivational crash because AgrS will be left with an unchecked feature:

- (349) *CP lacks specification for [+An] or [-An]: Western Naskapi AgrS needs to check [-An] or [-An], resulting in a mismatch of features between AgrSP & CP in SpecAgrP and leaving an uninterpretable feature unchecked*

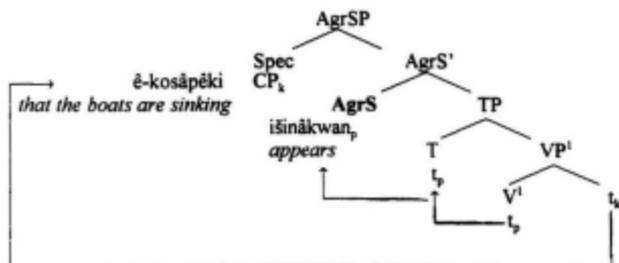
*Western Naskapi: data (310b) *[That s/he is eating] looks like.*



CP-raising is permitted in Cree because AgrS need not check the feature [Animate]:

- (350) *CP lacks specification for [Animate]: Cree AgrS need not check [+/-An], resulting in a successful derivation*

Cree: data (308a) [That the boats are sinking] appears.



Under this view, the source of microparametric variation is due to variation in the *phi* features inherent to the Agreement head projected by the raising predicate.

In the next section, raising constructions which have an unspecified (indefinite) subject are considered. The claims made thus far of raising constructions in Western Naskapi are extended to these forms.

6.6 Raising from clauses which have an unspecified (indefinite) subject form

In this section, only Western Naskapi data is examined.¹⁶⁸ NP-raising has been shown to be obligatory in Western Naskapi wherever the matrix verb contains *-nâku*. It must be assumed then that (351), in which both matrix and subordinate verbs are indefinite subject

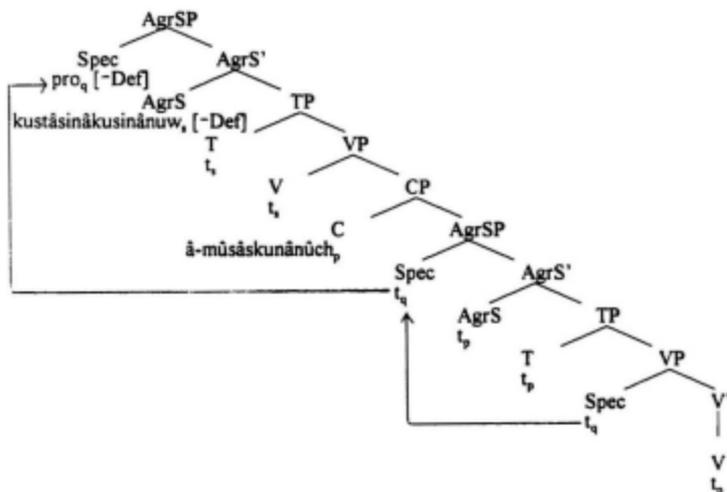
¹⁶⁸I do not have access to equivalent data in Cree as these forms are not discussed by other authors.

forms, is also a raising structure (and that NP-raising has occurred).

- (351) **Kustâsinâkusinânânuw â-mûsâskunânûch.**
 kustâ-isi-nâkusu-nânânuw â-mûsâsku-nânûch
 frighten-thus-look_like(AI)-IIN.S:indef [a]-comp+go_on_ice(AI)-CTN.S:indef
X looks frightening that X goes out on the ice.

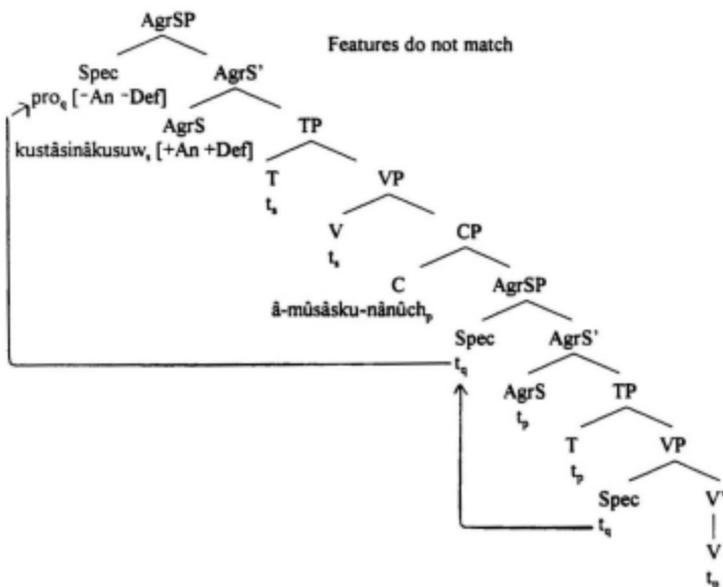
I propose that the *pro* which is the argument of an indefinite subject form carries the feature [-Definite]; the structure in (352) will then account for (351).

- (352) *NP-raising, where pro carries the feature [-Definite]*



The following construction, in which the lower verb is an indefinite subject form and the matrix verb has II morphology, is also grammatical:

(355) *Ungrammaticality of (354) due to lack of specifier-head feature matching in matrix clause*



Although space permits only a brief look at these forms, the analysis of raising argued for in this chapter accounts for at least the basic syntactic properties displayed by this type of construction.

6.7 Object-to-subject raising

All of the Western Naskapi raising data examined thus far has an intransitive subordinate clause. Due to the constraints of space, object-to-subject raising has not been dealt with in this chapter. However, this section provides two Western Naskapi examples elicited in order to try to replicate Cree examples attesting to object-to-subject raising. A larger body of data is required to confirm these results, but on the basis of the two examples which appear here, object-to-subject raising is not an option in Western Naskapi. In the case that this is confirmed, it will represent another area of dialect difference between Western Naskapi and Cree.

James (1984) shows for both Moose Cree and James Bay Cree that the raised NP can originate as either subject or object of the subordinate clause so that (356a) and (356b) are synonymous.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹Consistent with universally observed constraints against extracting an NP from non-complement clauses, James (1979) shows that NPs in James Bay Cree cannot be raised from either an adverbial clause or from a relative clause serving as sentential subject.

(356) *Moose Cree*⁷

a. *Subject-to-subject raising*

Kititēlihtākosiŋ ēkiskēlimiyan

kit-itēlihtākosiŋ ē-kiskēlim-iyan

S:2-seem(AI).IIN.S:Person Comp-know(TA)-CIN.O:1.sg/S:2.sg

You seem you know me. (You seem to know me.)

b. *Object-to-subject raising*

Nititēlihtākosiŋ ēkiskēlimiyan

nit-itēlihtākosiŋ ē-kiskēlim-iyan

S:1-seem(AI).IIN.S:Person Comp-know(TA)-CIN.O:1.sg/S:2.sg

I seem you know me. (You seem to know me)

(James 1984:209)

In Western Naskapi, only the subject-to-subject raising example is grammatical:

(357)

a. **Chitāyihtākusiŋ ā-chischāyimiyan.**

chit-itāyihtākusiŋ-ø ā-chischāyim-iyan

S:2-think(AI)-IIN.S:Person [a]-comp+know(TA)-CIN.O:1.sg/S:2.sg

You think you know me. (You seem to know me.)

b. ***Nititāyihtākusiŋ ā-chischāyimiyan.**

nit-itāyihtākusiŋ-ø ā-chischāyim-iyan

S:1-think(AI)-IIN.S:Person [a]-comp+know(TA)-CIN.O:1.sg/S:2.sg

I think you know me. (You seem to know me.)

Speculation as to the source of these dialect differences is not offered here and this topic is set aside for future research.

6.8 Concluding remarks

In summary, this chapter has argued that Algonquian raising predicates do not assign a θ -role to their subject and, lacking an AgrO projection, do not check structural Case or *phi* features for an object. NP complements receive locative Case and CP complements

(and, presumably, small clause complements) are non-Case constituents. NP-raising is not Case-driven as it is the subordinate AgrS which checks Case. Algonquian is thus another example of a language which provides evidence of exception to the Chain Condition. It has also been argued that an Algonquian null expletive exists, but that it is not licensed by a raising construction (possibly because the matrix AgrS projected by this type of construction is a non-Case position and the Algonquian expletive carries Case features). The non-raising data discussed in this chapter suggests that the upper AgrS of a bi-clausal construction is a Case position; it can, therefore, license a null expletive subject. This means that the subordinate AgrS is the non-Case position in non-raising constructions and that A-movement is Case-driven. CP-raising is permitted in Cree and barred from Western Naskapi. It has been proposed that the prohibition against CP-raising in Western Naskapi is due to a requirement in Western Naskapi that AgrS obligatorily check the feature [+An] or [-An].

There is one final matter which the data discussed in this chapter raises: if the AgrS projected by the raising predicate attracts the closest compatible head, then in Cree subject-to-subject raising should never be an option because the CP complement is always closer to the matrix AgrS.¹⁷⁰ Were it not the case that null expletive insertion has been ruled out for theoretical reasons, this fact would support the view that II raising predicate agreement indicates agreement with a null expletive. It must be concluded that, in Cree,

¹⁷⁰Thanks to Doug Wharram for drawing my attention to this fact.

subject-to-subject raising is permitted in spite of the fact that a closer head is available.

This has implications for the MLC, which is repeated here for ease of reference:

(358) *Minimal Link Condition*

K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β
(Chomsky 1995:311)

I presume that there are semantic differences between a pair of raising constructions which differ only in terms of which type of constituent is raised to subject position (CP or NP).

For example, while (307a) and (307b) may be paraphrases in the broad sense of having equivalent truth conditions, they must be presumed to differ semantically at some level.

The MLC does not permit the grammar to distinguish between Raise-CP and Raise-NP and yet, since this option is apparently available to Algonquian speakers, it would seem to be a feature of the grammar which should be accounted for within the theory. Raising in Cree thus highlights what seems to be an issue which the MLC fails to address, and which, consequently, merits further investigation.

Conclusion

Chapter 7

7.0 Introduction

This thesis has focused on a range of Western Naskapi constructions which contain a Conjunct verb form. In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, I have argued in favour of the hypothesis that, wherever a non-Neg CP projection is motivated (by any lexical item contained in the initial lexical array of a derivation), a verb bearing Conjunct morphology uniquely meets the checking requirements of the head of that projection. Thus, the constructions which have been the focus of this thesis are more precisely described as constructions which contain at least one non-Neg CP projection.

In this chapter, a summary of the principal conclusions arrived at in this thesis is provided. The questions which have been raised during the course of the discussions are restated and recommendations are made for further research. Sections 7.1 through 7.5, respectively, cover the topics dealt with in Chapters 2 through 6. Final remarks appear in section 7.6.

7.1 Argument identification without the Algonquian Person/Gender hierarchy

In Chapter 2 of this thesis I have shown how the grammatical functions and thematic roles of the arguments of a TA verb can be uniquely identified without appealing to the Algonquian Person/Gender hierarchy. Under this view, the hierarchy does not constitute a

component of the Algonquian speaker's linguistic competence, but is merely a succinct device for describing epiphenomena which I presume arise from the interaction of language-particular properties with deeper grammatical principles.

My analysis of TA argument identification has three key components. First, I claim that the formal split attested throughout the Algonquian morphological system, referred to as "local" and "non-local", reflects a fundamental difference between the *phi* feature composition of SAP nominals and nonSAP nominals. Following a hypothesis forwarded by Benveniste (1971), and developed in the work of Ritter (1991, 1993, 1995, 1997), Rice and Saxon (1994) and Noyer (1992), I assume that only SAP nominals are inherently marked for the feature [Person]. Second, I claim that TA theme signs are not "direction markers" (in the sense of indicating which direction the hierarchy applies), but rather that they are object agreement morphology. Third, I claim that the value of the morphology I identify as subject agreement morphology (i.e., slot 5 morphology) is determined relative to the properties checked by AgrO. The view that the morphology checked by AgrS is default morphology accounts for two of its characteristic features: first, because it encodes redundant information, it does not appear consistently throughout the paradigms; second, it does not have a constant value. Necessarily, in this analysis object agreement is checked earlier in the computation than subject agreement. Assuming the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), this claim is consistent with the fact that object agreement is closer to the root than subject agreement.

Assuming these three key components, TA arguments are uniquely identified by

exploiting the following system of feature opposition: for local verb forms, [Person] vs. [Person 1]; for non-local verb forms, [Person] vs. [Animate]. Local agreement suffixes do not specify the feature [2] (i.e., Agr does not check [2]). Non-local agreement suffixes specify neither the feature [1] nor the feature [2] (i.e., Agr does not check [1] or [2]). The pronominal clitics *ni-* (1st person) and *chi-* (2nd person) adjoin to whichever agreement head checks the feature [Person], providing further specification for the features [1] and [2]. This correctly predicts the distribution of the pronominal clitics for both local forms (to which only the 2nd person *chi-* adjoins) and non-local forms (to which either 1st person *ni-* or 2nd person *chi-* adjoins). In addition, the analysis assumes that wherever a feature contrast is not present, as in, for example, the case of a 3>4 form where both arguments are presumed to be marked for the feature [+An], a rule of *phi* feature dissimilation applies to create the required contrast (see 66 in Chapter 2). Although in detail this rule is a language-particular device, feature dissimilation is a universally attested process.

To claim, as I have done, that the Person/Gender hierarchy is not a component of the Algonquian speaker's linguistic competence raises the issue of how the Algonquian speaker acquires that part of the grammar which identifies verbal arguments. I suggest that my analysis accounts for the acquisition of this area of grammar no less elegantly than the traditional analysis which assumes the hierarchy to be a linguistic device. Indeed, assuming that certain key components of my analysis are supplied by UG, it must be regarded as considerably less cumbersome than the analysis which relies on the hierarchy.

What follows is a rough proposal of how the information presumed to be provided by the hierarchy is made available to the learner, assuming my analysis.

Because the SAP/nonSAP formal split is well-attested cross-linguistically, I assume that information that SAP and nonSAP nominals are distinguished on the basis of the feature [Person] is provided by UG. Depending on the language, this inherent distinction may (or may not) be morphologically encoded; in Algonquian it frequently is. I propose that, in order to identify the grammatical functions and thematic roles of TA arguments, the Algonquian speaker learns that there are two distinct systems of feature opposition. The fact that only the 2nd person clitic appears on local verb forms provides the learner with the information that the feature [2] is not checked by the agreement heads, indicating the relevant feature opposition for local verb forms is [Person] vs. [Person 1]. Likewise, the fact that 1st and 2nd person clitics appear on non-local verb forms provides the learner with the information that the features [1] and [2] are not checked by the agreement heads; the relevant feature opposition is thus at a grosser level in the non-local paradigm: [Person] vs. [Animate]. Other pieces of information have to be worked out; for example, that subject agreement is determined by default and that a feature opposition is always necessary. However, the information provided by the pronominal clitics and the object agreement morphology constitutes the core of the system. I do not speculate on the nature of the parameters which assist the learner in obtaining this information but I presume that options are provided by UG.

The proposal to remove the hierarchy from the prominent position it currently

occupies in more traditional theories of Algonquian grammar leaves the way open for further research. A few of the most obvious issues raised by the analysis in Chapter 2 are listed here. First, Chapter 2 deals only with data from one paradigm. Confirmation that this analysis is proceeding along the right lines will be obtained in the case that it accounts for TA data in other paradigms of the Independent. Second, I have suggested that TI theme signs should also be treated as object agreement. This is a proposal which remains to be tested against the relevant data. Third, I have argued that the absence of pronominal clitics in the Conjunct can be attributed to the fact that the inflectional morphology in this order is more highly specified than in the Independent order (i.e., the agreement heads in the Conjunct check the full set of *phi* features present in Algonquian). Nevertheless, there is a distinction between local and non-local morphology even in the Conjunct and so the analysis in Chapter 2 ought to be able to account for this type of data as well. Fourth, I have focused mainly on the SAP/nonSAP distinction in the verbal paradigms of the Independent order, touching only briefly on the role the obviation system plays in argument identification. The role of the obviation system needs to be more sharply defined in order to deal fully with the issue of how the grammatical functions and thematic roles of arguments are identified in Algonquian.

On a more general level, since the Person/Gender hierarchy is a feature of all Algonquian languages, my analysis necessarily has implications extending to Algonquian in general. Obviously, an important step in determining the validity of this analysis will be to test it against data from other Algonquian languages. Finally, the phrase structures used in

the thesis are motivated on the basis of the IIN paradigm and, for this reason, are basic representations of the clausal architecture of Algonquian. Further application of these structures in the analysis of Algonquian will define the details of the architecture of the Algonquian clause.

7.2 The C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis

In Chapter 3, I detail the C-checks- V^{CJ} hypothesis and show how it accounts for a variety of data within the CMN complex. Due to the constraints imposed by space, many of the issues raised in this chapter had to be set aside as topics for future investigation. This section provides a summary of the most obvious directions for future research on this topic.

Two pieces of evidence are cited as principal support for the view that there is a relationship of dependency between Conjunct verbs and the head of a non-Neg CP projection: (i) the fact that Conjunct verbs are affected by a morpho-phonological process (Initial Change) which, it is claimed, takes place at the head of a non-Neg CP projection; and (ii), the fact that Conjunct verbs occur in contexts which are, cross-linguistically, associated with the presence of a CP projection (subordinate environments, focus constructions and *wh*-constructions). These arguments are summed up in separate subsections, beginning with a review of the [a]-comp hypothesis.

7.2.1 The [a]-comp hypothesis

I argue that the process of Initial Change is the result of affixation of the default complementizer, [a]-comp, to the Conjunct verb. This hypothesis, referred to as “the [a]-comp hypothesis”, thus places a subset of Conjunct verbs in C. By implication then, it is assumed that all Conjunct verbs raise to C and that those which do not undergo Initial Change raise to non-neg C headed by the phonologically null complementizer, null-comp, selection of which obtains a marked semantic reading. The distribution of Conjunct Changed and Unchanged forms is thus restated in terms of the distribution of [a]-comp and null-comp. Because [a]-comp and null-comp are, respectively, the default and marked complementizers, this analysis not only predicts the formal properties of Conjunct verbs (i.e., Changed vs. Unchanged forms), it also predicts, in a broad sense (i.e., default vs. marked), the functions of the clauses in which they occur. The claim that (at least) two complementizers are made available by the grammar of the CMN complex necessarily extends to all Algonquian languages in which the process of Initial Change is attested.

The data examined in this thesis support the view that [a]-comp is the default complementizer and that the opposition between [a]-comp and null-comp provides a two-way grammatical contrast between a default reading and a semantically marked reading in the Western Naskapi main clause. It could be argued that this yields a rather counter-intuitive result: that it is the morphologically marked verb form -- the Changed form -- which is the less semantically marked form and, conversely, that the apparently less morphologically marked verb form -- the Unchanged form -- provides the more

semantically marked reading. However, my proposal is only counter-intuitive if one assumes that the Changed Conjoint is in fact the more morphologically marked form. Assuming the [a]-comp hypothesis, the surface form of the Conjoint verb is due to the phonological properties of the complementizer. Thus, if there is any objection to raise in regard to this “mismatch” of markedness viz-a-viz form and function, it is not the form of the Conjoint verb itself which is at issue but rather the fact that the default complementizer has phonological form and the marked complementizer is phonologically null. If this is a conceptual problem, it must be weighed against the many benefits which are derived from adopting the [a]-comp hypothesis.

The [a]-comp hypothesis is attractive for (at least) the reasons enumerated in (359). Questions arising from the points listed in (359), and recommendations for future research, appear in (360) in the following manner: the questions in (360a) corresponds to point (359a), the questions in (360b) correspond to point (359b), etc.

(359) *Arguments in favour of pursuing the [a]-comp hypothesis*

- a. The [a]-comp hypothesis provides a means of systematically deriving the morphological changes referred to as Initial Change.
- b. Analyzing [a]-comp prefixation and infixation as two options of the same process accounts for the cases where verbs which have the “dummy Conjoint prefix” are synonymous with cases where the verb stem undergoes Initial Change.

- c. Where a Changed Conjunction form appears in a subordinate clause, this has been associated with marking the subordinate verb as being tense dependent on the matrix verb. Changed forms are also associated with marking present tense. These two apparently unrelated functions of Initial Change can be reconciled under the [a]-comp hypothesis if the issue is restated in terms of identifying the conditions under which [a]-comp permits a tense dependency relationship to be established between the upper and lower clauses.
- d. The [a]-comp hypothesis accounts for the fact that only a subset of the preverbs seem to function as complementizers. With regard to which preverbs should be analyzed as complementizers, this question can be restated in the following manner: which preverbs can [a]-comp be affixed to? In general, the view that all Changed forms are minimally bi-morphemic provides a novel means of approaching a number of morpho-syntactic issues in Algonquian, one of which is the issue of the “two *ká-* morphemes”.
- e. The [a]-comp hypothesis was found to account for the distribution of the “two *ká-* morphemes” within the CMN complex: reanalyzed *ká-*, attested in the western dialects (Moose Cree, Woods Cree and Plains Cree) but not in Naskapi or Montagnais, and bi-morphemic *ká-*.
- f. In Western Naskapi, the coincidence of Changed Conjunction forms with semantically unmarked constructions suggests that [a]-comp is the default complementizer. In a main clause context, the opposition between null-comp and [a]-comp appears to

provide a two-way grammatical contrast (marked vs. default interpretation). This contrast does not seem to be available in the Western Naskapi subordinate environment: [a]-comp is the only option in affirmative constructions and null-comp is the only option in negated constructions (presumably due to the selectional properties of *eká* in this dialect). In Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, on the other hand, there may be more flexibility in terms of complementizer selection in a subordinate environment.

(360) *Questions arising from adopting the [a]-comp hypothesis and recommendations for future research*

- a. The first step in checking the validity of the [a]-comp hypothesis is to determine whether or not the morpho-phonological properties of Initial Change can be derived in other CMN dialects, and in other Algonquian languages, by proposing an underlying complementizer. As suggested in Chapter 3, this will be an [i]-comp in Woods Cree, and [e]-comp in Plains Cree, etc.
- b. In Chapter 3, it was shown that in Moose Cree, in a pair of constructions which are otherwise identical, [a]-comp prefixation obtains a reason clause reading while [a]-comp infixation obtains a temporal clause reading (James 1991). The extent to which the prefixation/infixation option gives rise to syntactically distinct structures needs to be investigated. Along these same lines, the extent to which the process of favouring [a]-comp prefixation over [a]-comp infixation is prevalent (in the

languages for which both options are available) is in need of documentation.

- c. In Chapter 3, I sketched out a rough proposal to deal with the issue of tense dependency between clauses. The most immediate questions arising from this proposal are: (i) do all Algonquian matrix verbs (or only a sub-set of them) permit a Changed Conjoint subordinate verb to enter into a relationship of tense dependency with the matrix Tense head; and (ii) what are the technical details of this relationship?
- d. With regard to the issue of which preverbs function as complementizers, further investigation into the issue of how to sub-classify preverbs in general is required. Clearly, the catch-all term “preverb” obscures the fact that not all preverbs are subject to the same syntactic requirements. One question which arises is whether immediate adjacency is a condition for [a]-comp affixation; that is, does [a]-comp only affix to preverbs which occupy the left-most morpheme slot of the verbal complex? Another question is: are the preverbs to which [a]-comp affixes characterized by properties other than the position they occupy? The fact that they “occupy the same slot” (i.e., compete for checking by the same head) presupposes that they have in common at least one (if not more) formal feature. In order to determine why only certain preverbs function as complementizers, the range of syntactic properties common to the preverbs to which [a]-comp affixes should be identified. The discussion of preverb raising in Chapter 3 raised some interesting possibilities along these lines: it was suggested that the subset of preverbs bearing

the feature [Tense] is subject to obligatory raising to a C headed by [a]-comp under certain circumstances.

- e. The discussion of bi-morphemic *kā-* and reanalyzed *kā-* provides opportunities for research in a number of directions. The first question to address will be: which CMN dialects, besides those listed in this thesis, provide evidence of reanalyzed *kā-*? This thesis offers some support for the view that dialects which do not employ reanalyzed *kā-* in relative clauses (Naskapi, Montagnais and, perhaps, East Cree), employ it in nominalization constructions; this relationship requires further investigation. More generally, the hypothesis that bi-morphemic *kā-* has been reanalyzed as the complementizer *kā-* should be investigated for other Algonquian languages (Ojibwa, for example) to see how well it accounts for the data. Further, for each dialect/language under investigation, the range of constructions in which reanalyzed *kā-* occurs needs to be enumerated in order to establish its distribution. Finally, the issue of the phonological dissimilation of reanalyzed *kā-* and bi-morphemic *kā-* attested in Woods Cree (Starks 1994) should be investigated for other dialects/languages in which *kā-* reanalysis has occurred.
- f. The issue of whether complementizer selection in the Western Naskapi main clause consistently offers a two-way grammatical contrast should be investigated further. The table in (361) summarizes the main clause constructions identified in this thesis. Data type (M.ii.b), which appears in bold, remains to be identified. The analysis predicts the ungrammaticality of data type (M.iii.b) (null-comp is

prohibited from occurring in a single CP structure), also in bold, and this has been confirmed to be the case:

(361) *Western Naskapi main clause constructions*

Data type	Clause contains	Complementizer	Construction type
M.i.a	<i>pro</i> [focus]	[a]-comp	focus construction
M.i.b		null-comp	irrealis construction
M.ii.a	<i>pro</i> [focus] Neg	[a]-comp	negated focus
M.ii.b	unattested in data		
M.iii.a	<i>wh</i> -phrase	[a]-comp	<i>wh</i> -question
M.iii.b	*null-comp cannot appear in single CP structure		
M.iv.a	<i>wh</i> -phrase Neg	[a]-comp	negated <i>wh</i> -question
M.iv.b	Neg	null-comp	negated free relative

The claim that the availability of [a]-comp and null-comp permits a two-way grammatical contrast in Western Naskapi main clauses should be tested against a wider range of data. Further, the claim needs to be investigated with respect to other CMN dialects (and other Algonquian languages). The role of complementizer selection in subordinate clauses is another area which also requires investigation.

7.2.2 The distribution of V^{Cf} and a CP projection coincide

The claim that Conjunct verbs occur in contexts where a CP level is independently motivated is non-controversial with respect to subordinate constructions, *wh*-constructions and focus constructions. In order to account for the cases where a Conjunct verb occurs in a main clause context, I propose that the initial lexical array of these constructions contains a *pro*[focus] (which is fronted to the focus position, SpecCP). In addition, the following language-specific claim is made in order to account for the obligatory occurrence of the Conjunct in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun negated main clauses: that the negator *apú* selects a CP complement (headed by null-comp). I also claim that the negator *eká* selects a CP complement (headed by either null-comp or [a]-comp, depending on the type of construction).

With respect to the distribution of the two complementizers, the following generalizations can be made of CMN complex dialects. Null-comp is restricted to double CP structures and never projects a specifier position. This assumes of Western Naskapi that negated constructions which have hypothetical illocutionary force are double CP structures, a proposal which remains to be investigated further. The default complementizer [a]-comp occurs in double or single CP structures, projecting a specifier where required. In a single CP structure, [a]-comp checks the feature [focus] or [wh] against the appropriate nominal. In double CP structure, as a last resort mechanism to establish the required Spec-Head checking relations, [a]-comp raises covertly to the head of the CP immediately dominating it (and checks the features [focus] or [wh]). In a

subordinate environment, null-comp also checks [focus] and [wh] via covert C-to-C movement; lacking a specifier position, null-comp can only enter into checking relations with a nominal by raising to the head of the CP immediately dominating it. Null-comp does not check [wh] (or [focus]) in a main clause environment. These patterns observed of Western Naskapi should be tested against a wider range of data, both within and beyond the CMN complex.

7.3 *Wh*-constructions

In Chapter 4, I argued that *wh*-phrases raise overtly to the SpecCP of the clause in which they are base-generated. The fact that multiple *wh*-questions are ungrammatical in Plains Cree and grammatical in Western Naskapi is explained by the uni-clausal analysis argued for in this thesis. I have assumed that Case is assigned to null elements only -- *pro* and the traces of *wh*-phrases. Strong Case features must not block expansion of the phrase structure such that the *wh*-phrase is prevented from raising to a non-Case position in the overt syntax. Case features must therefore be weak in Algonquian. If this is so, evidence in support of this claim should be attested elsewhere in the grammar.

I have argued that the absence of WCO effects in Algonquian cannot be taken as evidence against the type of *wh*-movement analysis provided in Chapter 4. I have proposed a unified account of the absence of both SCO effects and WCO effects in Algonquian by showing that the requirements of the obviation system take precedence over the binding relations normally imposed in a crossover configuration. This hypothesis

is formalized as the “One Proximate *pro* per Derivation” (OPPD) Condition. In the first instance, the analysis exempting the constructions to which the OPPD Condition applies from WCO effects requires further testing against a wider range of data. In addition, constructions which allow WCO effects (because the OPPD Condition does not apply) should be identified; one such structure was cited from Plains Cree (see data 224 in Chapter 4). Beyond this, while I feel the OPPD Condition provides an adequate descriptive account of why certain Algonquian constructions are exempt from crossover effects, the details of exactly how the OPPD Condition renders a *pro* “invisible” to the computation (and thus not liable to cause an \bar{A} -consistency violation) remain to be established. Development of this analysis seems to lend itself to an Optimality Theory account because it involves the ranking of constraints.

As stated in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Baker (1996) exempts Algonquian from the set of languages he identifies as polysynthetic. Thus, instances where Algonquian fails to conform to Baker’s predictions do not comment on the validity of Baker’s polysynthesis parameter. Nevertheless, the differences are of interest and, to the extent that Iroquoian and Algonquian are both non-configurational, of relevance. In Chapter 4, I showed that *wh*-movement in Algonquian differs in detail from the equivalent constructions in Iroquoian. These surface differences were attributed to the type of non-Case position available for the *wh*-phrase to “escape” to in the overt syntax; an overt element, the *wh*-phrase cannot occupy a Case position in the overt syntax. Baker claims for Mohawk that the *wh*-phrase must always be in an \bar{A} -position (and thus a non-Case position) by PF level.

In order to account for the Western Naskapi data, I propose that this non-Case position may be either an A-position or an \bar{A} -position. The details of this argument are summarized as follows.

I have proposed that in some CMN dialects (Naskapi and Montagnais), under specific circumstances the head Tense checks a *wh*-phrase: in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun, T checks [wh] if Tense is specified for the feature [Past]; in Western Naskapi [T] checks [wh] if C[wh] selects T[wh]. The second case provides a non-Case A-position for the *wh*-phrase to escape to in the overt syntax. Baker predicts of polysynthetic languages in general that the kind of multiple *wh*-construction found in Western Naskapi should always be ungrammatical (i.e., constructions which have the surface form: *wh*-phrase verb *wh*-phrase) because all *wh*-phrases must be in \bar{A} -position (i.e., to the left of the verb) by the overt syntax. I account for the grammaticality of these constructions (*wh*-phrase verb *wh*-phrase) in Western Naskapi by claiming that, while all *wh*-phrases must be in a non-Case position by the overt syntax, this is not necessarily an \bar{A} -position. The *wh*-phrase in the lowest base-position (i.e., the object) raises to the non-Case A-position SpecTP. The implications of the claim that SpecTP is available in this manner remains to be explored with regard to more complex (e.g., multi-clausal) *wh*-constructions.

An issue related to *wh*-movement also raises some questions which could not be addressed in the present thesis: I suggested that there may be a correlation between the fact that in the eastern dialects the head Tense appears to have more extensive checking capabilities than in the more westerly dialects and the larger number of paradigms which

have past temporal reference in the eastern dialects (i.e., cases where T is specified for the feature [Past]). This proposal can be tested by verifying whether or not the western dialects permit T[Past] to check [wh] -- i.e., whether a *wh*-phrase can occur in a construction which has Independent morphology. So far, this type of construction has only been identified for Sheshatshu Innu-aimun.

7.4 Negation

The claim was made that the Sheshatshu Innu-aimun negator *apî* selects a CP headed by null-comp (and marks the clause it occurs in as a main clause). The Independent morphology of the affirmative main clause past tense *wh*-question in Sheshatshu Innu-aimun is accounted for by claiming that the head T[Past] checks [wh]. In the equivalent negated structure, because null-comp does not check [wh] in a main clause context, I have proposed that the preverb *nîr-*, specified for [Past], checks the *wh*-phrase.

That the distribution of negators cannot be predicted on the basis of the morphology of the negated verb supports the view that the selectional properties of at least some negators are such that either a CP complement or an IP complement can be selected (accounting for the co-occurrence of certain negators with either Conjunct or Independent verb forms). No such flexibility has been found in the Western Naskapi data examined in this thesis but this is not to say that it does not exist. Documentation of the distribution of negators relative to verbal morphology will establish the selectional properties of the negative morphemes for each dialect.

7.5 Raising constructions

In Chapter 6, I showed that matrix verbs in Western Naskapi which contain the root *náku-* 'look like' (i) fail to assign a θ -role to a SpecVP position and (ii) fail to assign objective case to an object. In this regard they display syntactic properties characteristic of raising predicates. The principal claims made in Chapter 6 are as follows: (i) that while Algonquian makes a null expletive element available, it is not licensed in the SpecAgrSP projected by a raising verb; (ii) given that the operation Merge cannot provide the raising predicate with a subject, Move applies as a last resort -- the subject requirements of the raising predicate are met by (subject-to-subject) NP-raising in Cree and Western Naskapi, with CP-raising being an additional option in Cree only; (iii) that CP-raising is prohibited in Western Naskapi because the AgrS projected by the raising predicate obligatorily checks the feature [+An] or [-An]; (iv) that CPs are non-Case constituents; and (v) that the subordinate AgrS is a +Case position and the AgrS projected by the raising predicate is a -Case position. Algonquian raising constructions thus constitute an exception to the Chain Condition. The issues covered in Chapter 6 point to a number of specific areas for further research.

In order to account for the absence of evidence that the null expletive merges to the subject position of the raising verb, I have suggested that the expletive is a +Case element. Because the null expletive element is viewed as being supplied by UG, the claim that the grammar of the CMN complex makes a null expletive available, and that it requires Case-checking, must be extended to Algonquian in general. Further research is

required (i) to confirm the presence of a null expletive in other Algonquian languages and (ii) to confirm its Case status. Likewise, the claim that CPs are non-Case constituents applies (at least) to Algonquian in general. The validity of this claim thus remains to be established by testing it against a wider range of data.

At the end of Chapter 6 the point was made that the MLC should rule out NP-raising in Cree (because the CP of the matrix verb is always closer to the matrix SpecAgrS). Why subject-to-subject raising is ever an option in Cree is thus an interesting question which remains to be addressed. Finally, the facts remain to be established for object-to-subject raising. Preliminary results indicate that this is ungrammatical in Western Naskapi.

7.6 Final remarks

In conclusion, the analyses laid out in this thesis have assumed that the grammar of Algonquian is constrained by certain universal principles (e.g., clause structure, procedures for *phi* feature and Case checking). Assuming these universals, the syntactic properties of a range of data have been accounted for by proposing a minimal number of language-particular devices, a fact which offers encouraging support for treating Algonquian within a principles and parameters framework. While this study confirms the validity of applying a universalistic model to the study of Algonquian grammar, the questions the preceding chapters have raised highlight the need to identify the nature of the parameters which give rise to this particular grammar. Ultimately, this will provide not

only a more complete account of the grammar of Algonquian, but also a more complete understanding of the limits of variation that the human language faculty gives rise to.

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Appendix I

Abbreviations used in other authors' work

Baker 1996: Mohawk data

DUP	duplicative
FACT	factual
HAB	habitual
IMPER	imperative
O	object
P	possessor
PUNC	punctual
s	singular
S	subject
F	feminine
M	masculine
1	2nd person
2	1st person

Blain 1997: Plains Cree data

conj	conjunct prefix (complementizer)
dir	direct
inv	inverse
obv	obviative (nominal agreement)
REL	relative clause marker (complementizer)
3	3rd person (animate)
3'	obviative (verbal agreement)

Dahlstrom 1991: Plains Cree data

conj	conjunct verb
inan	inanimate argument
obv	obviative
3	3rd person (animate)

Starks 1992: Woods Cree data

C	conjunct
IPV	syntactic-semantic preverb
3'	obviative (verbal agreement)

Appendix 2

Paradigms for Western Naskapi Independent Indicative Neutral (IIN) and Conjunct Indicative Neutral (CIN)¹⁷¹

Independent Indicative Neutral

IIN - II

vowel-stem

Inan.sg	wāpā-w	it is white
Inan.pl	wāpā-wa	the things are white
Inan.obv	wāpā-yuw	his/her thing is white
Inan.obv.pl	wāpā-yuwa	his/her/their things are white

IIN - II

n-stem

Inan.sg	nūkun	it is visible
Inan.pl	nūkun-a	the things are visible
Inan.obv	nūkun-iyuw	his/her thing is visible
Inan.obv.pl	nūkun-iyuwa	his/her/their things are visible

IIN - AI

1.sg	ni-nipā-n	I sleep
2.sg	chi-nipā-n	you sleep
1.pl.excl	ni-nipā-nān	we (me and her/him) sleep
1.pl.incl	chi-nipā-nānuw	we (you and me) sleep
2pl	chi-nipā-nāwāw	you.pl sleep
3.sg	nipā-w	s/he sleeps
3.pl	nipā-uch	they sleep
4	nipā-yuw	her/his (child) sleeps
indef	nipā-nuw	people sleep, everyone is asleep
indef obv	nipā-nūyuw	everyone is asleep (at someone else's house)

¹⁷¹The paradigms in this appendix are due to MacKenzie and Jancewicz (1997).

IIN - TA**Local direct**

2.sg>1.sg	chi-wāpim-in	you.sg see me
2.pl>1.sg	chi-wāpim-ināw	you.pl see me
2.sg/pl>1.pl	chi-wāpim-inān	you.sg/pl see us

IIN - TA**Local inverse**

1.sg>2.pl	chi-wāpim-itin	I see you.sg
1.sg>2.pl	chi-wāpim-itināw	I see you.pl
1.pl>2.sg/pl	chi-wāpim-itinān	we see you.sg/pl

IIN - TA**Non-local direct**

1.sg>3.sg	ni-wāpim-āw	I see him/her
1.sg>3.pl	ni-wāpim-āuch	I see them
1.sg>4	ni-wāpim-imāwa	I see the other (his son)
2.sg>3.sg	chi-wāpim-āw	you.sg see him/her
2.sg>3.pl	chi-wāpim-āuch	you.sg see them
2.sg>4	chi-wāpim-imāwa	you.sg see the other
1.pl.excl>3.sg	ni-wāpim-ānān	we (me and her/him) see him/her
1.pl.excl-3p	ni-wāpim-ānānich	we (me and her/him) see them
1p-4	ni-wāpim-imānāna	we (me and her/him) see the other
1.pl.incl>3.sg	chi-wāpim-ānuw	we (you and I) see him/her
1.pl.incl>3.pl	chi-wāpim-ānuch	we (you and I) see them
1.pl.>4	chi-wāpim-imānuwa	we (you and I) see the other
2.pl>3.sg	chi-wāpim-āwāw	you.pl see him/her
2.pl>3.pl	chi-wāpim-āwāuch	you.pl see them
2.pl>4	chi-wāpim-imāwāwa	you.pl see the other
3.sg>4	wāpim-āw	she sees him
3.pl>4	wāpim-āuch	they see him/her
3.sg>5	wāpim-āyuw	s/he sees the other (her son)

IIN - TA**Non-local inverse**

3.sg>1.sg	ni-wâpim-ikw	s/he sees me
3.pl>1.sg	ni-wâpim-ikuch	they see me
3.sg>2.sg	chi-wâpim-ikw	s/he sees you.sg
3.pl>2.sg	chi-wâpim-ikuch	they see you.sg
3.sg>1.pl.excl	ni-wâpim-ikunân	s/he sees us (me and another)
3.pl>1.pl.excl	ni-wâpim-ikunânich	they see us (me and another)
3.sg>1.pl.incl	chi-wâpim-ikunuw	s/he sees us (me and you)
3.pl>1.pl.incl	chi-wâpim-ikunûch	they see us (me and you)
3.sg>2.pl	chi-wâpim-ikuwâw	s/he sees you.pl
3.pl>2.pl	chi-wâpim-ikuwâuch	they see you.pl
4>3.sg	wâpim-ikuw	she sees him
4>3.pl	wâpim-ikuch	they see him
5>3.sg	wâpim-ikuyuw	his son sees him

IIN - TI

1.sg	ni-tût-ân	I do it
2.sg	chi-tût-ân	you.sg do it
1.pl.excl	ni-tût-ânân	we (me and her/him) do it
1.pl.incl	chi-tût-ânânuw	we (you and me) do it
2.pl	chi-tût-ânâwâw	you.pl do it
3.sg	tût-im	s/he does it
3.pl	tût-imuch	they do it
4	iûti-miyuw	her/his (child) does it
indef	tût-âkinuw	people do it, everyone is does it
indef obv	tût-âkinûyuw	everyone does it (at someone else's house)

Conjunct Indicative Neutral¹⁷²

CIN - II

vowel-stem

Inan.sg	â-wâpâ-ch	(I know) that	it is white
Inan.pl	â-wâpâ-chî		the things are white
Inan.obv.sg	â-wâpâ-yich		his/her thing is white
Inan.obv.pl	â-wâpâ-yichî		his/her/their things are white

CIN - II

n-stem

Inan.sg	â-nûkwâh-ch ~		
	â-nûkûh-ch	(I know) that	it is visible
Inan.pl	â-nûkwâh-chî		the things are visible
Inan.obv.pl	â-nûkun-iyich		his/her thing is visible
Inan.obv.pl	â-nûkun-iyichî		his/her/their things are visible

CIN - AI

1.sg	â-nipâ-yân	(he knows) that	I am asleep
2.sg	â-nipâ-yin		you.sg are asleep
1.pl	â-nipâ-yâhch		we (me and her/him) are asleep
1.pl.incl	â-nipâ-yâhkw		we (you and me) are asleep
2.pl	â-nipâ-yâkw		you.pl are asleep
3.sg	â-nipâ-t		s/he is asleep
3.pl	â-nipâ-ch		they are asleep
4	â-nipâ-yichî		her/his (child) is asleep
indef	â-nipâ-nûch		people are asleep, everyone is asleep
indef obv	â-nipâ-nûyich		everyone is asleep (at someone else's house)

¹⁷²The non-obviative CIN-II n-stem verbs are subject to the following general phonological process: [nasal] > [h] / ___ [stop]. The same process accounts for the surface forms of the CIN-TI 3.sg and 3.pl.

CIN - TA**Local direct**

2.sg>1.sg	â-wâpim-iyin (I know) that	you.sg see me
2.pl>1.sg	â-wâpim-iyâhk̄w	you.pl see me
2.sg/pl>1.pl	â-wâpim-iyâhch	you.sg/pl see us

CIN - TA**Local inverse**

1.sg>2.sg	â-wâpim-itân (I know) that	I see you.sg
1.sg>2.pl	â-wâpim-itâkuch	I see you.pl
1.pl>2.sg/pl	â-wâpim-itinâhch	we see you.sg/pl

CIN - TA**Non-local direct**

1.sg>3.sg	â-wâpim-ik (I know) that	I see him/her
1.sg>3.pl	â-wâpim-ikwâw	I see them
1.sg>4	â-wâpim-imichî	I see the other (his son)
2.sg>3.sg	â-wâpim-it	you.sg see him/her
2.sg>3.pl	â-wâpim-itwâw	you.sg see them
2.sg>4	â-wâpim-imitî	you.sg see the other
1.pl.excl>3.sg	â-wâpim-ichûhch	we (me and her/him) see him/her
1.pl.excl>3.pl	â-wâpim-ichûhch	we (me and her/him) see them
1.pl.excl>4	â-wâpim-imichûhchî	we (me and her/him) see the other
1.pl.incl>3.sg	â-wâpim-âhk̄w	we (you and I) see him/her
1.pl.incl>3.pl	â-wâpim-âhk̄kuch	we (you and I) see them
1.pl>4	â-wâpim-imâhkû	we (you and I) see the other
2.pl>3.sg	â-wâpim-âkw	you.pl see him/her
2.pl>3.pl	â-wâpim-âkuch	you.pl see them
2.pl>4	â-wâpim-imâkû	you.pl see the other
3.sg>4	â-wâpim-ât	he sees her
3.pl>4	â-wâpim-âch	they see her
3.sg>5	â-wâpim-âyichî	he sees the other (her son)

CIN - TA**Non-local inverse**

3.sg>1.sg	â-wâpim-it	(I know) that	s/he sees me
3.pl>1.sg	â-wâpim-ich		they see me
3.sg>2.sg	â-wâpim-isk		s/he sees you.sg
3.pl>2.sg	â-wâpim-iskich		they see you.sg
3.sg>1.pl	â-wâpim-imîhch		s/he sees us (me and another)
3.pl>1.pl	â-wâpim-imîhch(ich)		they see us (me and another)
3.sg>1.pl.incl	â-wâpim-itâhkw		s/he sees us (me and you)
3.pl>1.pl.incl	â-wâpim-itâhkuch		they see us (me and you)
3.sg>2.pl	â-wâpim-itâkw		s/he sees you.pl
3.pl>2.pl	â-wâpimitâkuch		they see you.pl
4>3.sg	â-wâpim-ikut		she sees him
4>3.pl	â-wâpim-ikuch		they see him
indef	â-tût-âkinûwîch		it (indef) does it to him
indef obv	â-tût-âkinûwiychî		everyone is does it (at someone else's house)

CIN - TI

1.sg	â-tûtîm-ân	(I know) that	I do it
2.sg	â-tûtîm-in		you.sg do it
1.pl.excl	â-tûtîm-âhch		we (me and her/him) do it
1.pl.incl	â-tûtîm-âhkw		we (you and me) do it
2.pl	â-tûtîm-akw		you.pl do it
3.sg	â-tûtâh-k		s/he does it
3.pl	â-tûtâh-ch		they do it
4	â-tûtîm-iyichî		her/his (child) does it



