On the Word Order of Quantificational Elements in Passamaquoddy*

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- Word order of quantificational elements in Passamaquoddy is not related to their quantificational status.
- Position is related to object shift, verbal clitics ("tense clitics").
- These phenomena are not about strong/weak, presuppositionality, specificity, information status, etc.
- (Strong thesis: such notions play no role in the syntax.)

1 Background on Passamaquoddy

- Algonquian language family;
- Spoken in Sipayik (Pleasant Point) and Indian Township, Maine;
- Mutually intelligible Maliseet spoken in New Brunswick, Canada.

1.1 Morphology

- Head-marking, complex morphology and agreement ("polysynthetic");
- Direct-inverse voice system:[1]

(1) a. N-tokom-**a**-k.
1-hit-**1Subj**-3P
'I hit them.'

b. N-tokom-**oku**-k.
1-hit-**1Obj**-3P
'They hit me.'

c. '-tokom-**a**-l.
3-hit-**3Subj**-Obv
'S/he (Prox) hit him/her (Obv).'

d. '-tokom-**oku**-l.
3-hit-**3Obj**-Obv
'S/he (Obv) hit him/her (Prox).'

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[1]Examples are given in the practical orthography in use in the Passamaquoddy community. Passamaquoddy is a pitch-accent language (see LeSourd 1993), but in general I will not mark accent here (also following general practice). Letters have their usual values except that <o> = schwa, <c> = [č], <q> = [kw], and <'> is an initial [h] whose phonetic effect is aspiration of the following stop or tensing of *s*. Consonants are voiced or tensed intervocalically and initially.

Abbreviations: **1** = first person; **2** = second person; **12** = first person plural inclusive; **3** = proximate third person; **3P** = proximate third person plural; **Abs** = absentative; **An** = animate; **C** = complementizer; **Conj** = Conjunct inflection (subordinate clauses, wh-questions); **Ditr** = ditransitivizing morpheme; **Emph** = emphatic particle; **Fut** = future; **IC** = Initial Change (ablout); **Inan** = inanimate; **Indef** = indefinite argument; **Loc** = locative; **Obv** = obviative third person; **ObvP** = obviative third person plural; **N** = marker of secondary object; **Neg** = negative; **P** = plural; **Perf** = preverb that usually has perfective or past tense interpretation; **Pret** = preterite; **Prog** = progressive; **Recip** = reciprocal; **Sub** = Subordinate mode of the Independent Order; **Top** = (contrastive) topic marker.

1.2 Obviation

(2) Mahtoqehs '-toli-nuhsuphoqal-ku-l muwinu-**wol**.
rabbit 3-Prog-chase-3Obj-Obv bear-Obv
'A rabbit (Prox) was being chased by a bear (Obv).'

- More on morphology (and phonology): Sherwood (1986), LeSourd (1993), Leavitt (1996), and Bruening (2001).

2 Word Order

- Native speakers permit (and produce) any order of S, V, and O.
- Bruening 2001, chapter 1:
  1. Textual counts show overwhelming SVO preference;
  2. Certain syntactic environments *require* SVO.
- Texts examined in Bruening 2001, chapter 1:
  1. Subjects precede the verb 71% of the time;
  2. Objects follow the verb 81% of the time;
  3. If both a subject and an object is present, the order is SVO 79% of the time.
  4. Most of the preverbal objects are grammatical, often nonreferential elements.

2.1 Referential NPs

Subjects can precede or follow the verb:

(3) a. Neqt ewasis-uw-ulti-li-t, **Koluskap** witap-ehkam-a-sopon-ihi.
once IC.child-be-Plural-Obv-3Conj Koluskap (3)-friend-make-3Subj-Pret-ObvP
'Once, when they were children, Koluskap has befriended them.' (Mitchell 1921/1976b, line 7)

b. Qeni al-onawona-t **Pokomk**, Pukcinsqehs tuciw
IC.during around-gather.eggs-3Conj Pokomk Pukcinsqehs right.away
nekoth-a-t.
IC.leave.behind-3Subj-3Conj
'Pokomk gathers eggs, whereupon Pukcinsqehs leaves him.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 19)

Objects can precede or follow the verb:

(4) a. **Kotok-ihi wasis** macekon-a.
other-ObvP child.ObvP (3)-raise-3Subj.ObvPObj
'She (also) raises other children.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 104)

b. Etuci-moci-ki-t, musqitaham-a-l **sakoma-l**.
X.extent-bad-be-3Conj (3)-hate-Dir-Obv chief-Obv
'She is very evil, and she hates the chief.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 14)

If negation is present and NP is preverbal, tends to precede negation:

(5) *Subjects:*

a. Neke tuciw **Pokomk** kotama kisi-pihce-hom-u.
then.Past right.away Pokomk Neg Able-far-swim-3.Neg
'At that time, Pokomk could not swim far.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 33)

b. Nit **Wiwilomeq** kotama nomihtu-w-on ktakmiq.
then Wiwilomeq Neg (3)-see-Neg-InanObj land
'Wiwilomeq does not see the land in front of him.' (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 97)

(6) *Objects:* The only examples I have with negation and a full NP have the full NP after the verb. (Elicitation: informants generally assent to any order.)

Can precede left-edge particles, in what is probably a hanging topic position (often set off with a prosodic break, and often marked with *olu*):

(7) a. Espons olu nitte macephuwa-n, '-pistehsin-on piqekit opos.
Espons Top right.away (3)-run.away-N 3-fall.into-InanObj hollow tree
'But Espons immediately starts running away, and dives into a hollow tree.' (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 7)

b. Yat olu Nimaqsuwehs, nitte wet-ahke-mok mipi-sis-ihku-k
that.Rem.An Top Nimaqsuwehs, right.away IC.from-throw-IndefS bush-Dim-place.of-Loc
tahalu=te=hp opos.
like=Emph=would stick
'Right away, Nimaqsuwehs gets dropped into the bushes as if he were a stick.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 65)

2.2 Non-Referential NPs

(8) a. wen /keq /tama
who /what /where
'someone/something/somewhere'

b. psi=te wen /keq /tama
all=Emph who /what /where
'everyone/everything/everywhere'

c. yat=te wen
Dem.An.Rem=Emph who
'each'

d. psí(=te) /psìw
all(=Emph) /all
'all'

Cannot appear before left-edge particles:

(9) a. Nitte **psi=te** **wen** '-peci=naciph-a-n nomehs-um-ol.
right.away all=Emph who 3-come=take-3Subj-Sub (3)-fish-Poss-Obv
'Right away everyone$_1$ comes to get his$_1$ fish.'

b. * **Psi=te** **wen** nitte '-peci=naciph-a-n nomehs-um-ol.
all=Emph who right.away 3-come=take-3Subj-Sub (3)-fish-Poss-Obv
'Right away everyone$_1$ comes to get his$_1$ fish.'

Almost always come right before the verb:

(10) a. Kehtaqs kahk **psi=te** **tama** kisi=yali-ye, peci=te lampeq.
ghost Contr all=Emph where able=around-go.3, even=Emph underwater
'A ghost can go anywhere—even under water.' (Newell 1979, line 23)

b. Tokec olu **msi=te** **keq** ’-kiwacehtu-n.
now Top all=Emph what 3-make.lonely-InanObj
‘But now, he makes everything feel lonely.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976c, line 23)

(11) a. ’T-olintuwakon ewehke-t, **msi=te** ’-kisi-qolopehl-a.
3-song IC.use-3Conj all=Emph 3-Perf-transform-3Subj.ObvPObj
‘With his song, he transforms them all.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976b, line 65)

b. **Msi=te** wekihtu-ni-ya-l.
all=Emph (3)-break-InanObj-3P-InanP
‘They have ruined them all.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 86)

(12) a. Solahkiw **wen** ’t-iy-a-n, “kat not kil k-ikuwoss.”
suddenly who 3-say.to-Dir-N Neg that.An 2 2-mother
‘Suddenly, someone says to him, “That is not your mother.” ’ (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 108)

b. Tan te **keq** **wen-il** yah-a-htit, nit te=hc eley-ik.
Quant Emph what who-Obv tell-3Subj-3PConj that.Inan Emph=Fut IC.happen-InanConj
‘[Whatever they told someone, it would happen.]’ (Newell 1979, line 4)

But are not required to:

(13) a. Nehpah-a musu naka muwiniyi, ’-kotomakelk-e(h)k(a)h-a-n **msi=te**.
(3)-kill-3Subj.ObvPObj moose.ObvP and bear.ObvP 3-pity-use-3Subj-Sub all=Emph
‘He kills moose and bears, using all he kills for acts of kindness.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 4)

b. Mali San nit uci=nuhsuhk-aku-n **wen-il**.
Mary Jane there 3.from=chase-3Obj-Sub who-Obv
‘Something [An.] chased after Mary Jane.’ (Newell 1979, line 15)

If negation is present, tend to come between negation and the verb (virtually obligatory for wh-indefinite):

(14) Ma=te **psi=te** ’-poth-a-wi nomehsu.
Neg=Emph all=Emph 3-hook-3Subj-Neg.ObvP fish.ObvP
‘He didn’t catch all the fish.’ (either scope possible)

(15) a. Temonuk apc kotuhpu-lti-pon skat **wen** naci=kotunke-hq.
later again (2)-be.hungry-Plural-2P Neg who go=hunt-3ConjNeg
‘We’ll all starve if someone doesn’t go hunting.’ (Newell 1974b, line 3)

b. Eli-qolopessi-li-t w-ikuwoss-ol, kotama=te **wen-il** nomiy-a-wiy-il.
IC.thus-turn.around-Obv-3Conj 3-mother-Obv Neg=Emph who-Obv 3-see-3Subj-Neg-Obv
‘When his mother turns, she sees no one.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 60)

c. Kasq olu kat=te **keq** itom-u,
Kasq Top Neg=Emph what say-Neg
‘Kasq says nothing at all,’ (Francis and Leavitt 1995, line 224)

2.3 Wh-Words

Always initial in the clause in which they take scope:

(16) a. Qecimul-a, **Keq** olu kil pawatom-on?
ask-IndefS/3Obj what Top 2 want-2Conj
‘He is asked, And what is it you want?’ (Mitchell 1921/1976c, line 59)

b. … uli=wewitahatom-oni-ya **wen** nit el-uhke-t.
3.good=remember-InanObj-3P who that.Inan IC.thus-do-3Conj
'—they know very well who did that.' (Francis and Leavitt 1995, line 263)

If not initial, interpreted as indefinite (above).

2.4 Discontinuous Constituents

Only one pattern: Quantifier, demonstrative, or similar element preverbal, noun postverbal:

(17) a. Neqt te wiqsonep-a-l, **msi=te** 'kihkay-aqote te **'tomaweyaw**.
one Emph (3)-inhale.from-3Subj-Obv all=Emph completely-burn.Inan Emph tobacco
'With one huge puff, all the tobacco is burned away.' (Mitchell 1921/1976b, line 42)

b. **Msi=te**=hc 't-iy-ulti-ni-ya **naksqiy-ik**.
all=Emph=Fut 3-be-Plural-N-3P young.woman-3P
'All the young girls will be there.' (Mitchell 1921/1976d, line 20)

c. Keq **nikt** itom-uk **sipsis-ok**?
what those.An say-3P bird-3P
'What are those birds saying?' (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 95)

d. On yaq **nihtol** wihqim-a-n **kosqehsuhs-ol**,
then Quot that.Obv (3)-call.to-3Subj-Sub old.woman-Obv
'[Then she] called for that old lady,' (Newell 1979, 15)

Preverbal position is between negation and the verb:

(18) Ma=te **psi=te** '-poth-a-wi **nomehsu**.
Neg=Emph all=Emph 3-hook-3Subj-Neg.ObvP fish.ObvP
'He didn't catch all the fish.' (= 14)

2.5 Summary: Referential Versus Nonreferential

There seems to be a position that non-referential NPs like to appear in and referential NPs do not like to appear in:

(19) Referential topic, — Wh-words/left-edge particles — Referential NPs — Negation — Nonref. NPs — Verb — Referential NPs

3 Some Theories that Won't Work

First problem, which points toward a theory:

- It's not just non-referential quantifiers that like this position!

(20) a. Kamotop **wot** komuci=maceph-a-ne-n oloqiw kcihku-k,
would.be.better this.An (2)-secretly=take.away-12Subj-Sub-1P that.direction forest-Loc
'It would be better if we secretly take it in that direction through the forest,' (Newell 1974b, line 49)

b. Eci **yut** kmasi-naqa-k-pon.
very this.Inan easy-appear-Inan-Pret
'It looked so easy.' (Newell 1974b, line 29)

c. Wot n-ikowoss el-eyi-t, nit te **nihtol** '-tahsihpil-a-n.
this.An 1-mother IC.thus-be-3Conj then Emph this.Obv 3-give.medicine-3Subj-Sub
'The way my mother was, she did give her [medicine].' (Newell 1979, line 28)

- Note that there are no pronouns in Passamaquoddy for third persons that are not proximate animates:

	Sing.	Plural	
1	nil	nilun (Excl)	kilun (Incl)
2	kil	kiluwaw	
3	nekom	nekomaw	

- Demonstratives are used like pronouns for obviatives and inanimates, as in the examples above.

3.1 Presuppositional NPs Move

Diesing 1992, 1996, Diesing and Jelinek 1993:

- Presuppositional NPs have to move out of the VP (to be part of the restrictive clause; see below).
- In many languages, only pronouns are forced/allowed to move overtly.
- This theory explains the preferred preverbal position of:
  1. Universal quantifiers;
  2. Demonstratives.
- Presumably there is a difference between demonstratives by themselves, and demonstrative + noun, because of the general cross-linguistic distinction between weak pronouns and full NPs:

(21) a. Wot n-ikowoss el-eyi-t, nit te **nihtol** ’-tahsihpil-a-n.
this.An 1-mother IC.thus-be-3Conj then Emph that.Obv 3-give.medicine-3Subj-Sub
‘The way my mother was, she did give her [medicine].’ (Newell 1979, line 28)

b. On wot pahtoliyas ’-kispekehl-a-n **nihtol** **skitapi-yil**,
then this.An priest 3-sprinkle-3Subj-Sub that.Obv man-Obv
‘The priest sprinkled [that man] (with holy water),’ (Gabriel 1979, line 36)

- And we might claim that demonstratives and quantifiers splitting off in the discontinuous pattern is part of the same desire of presuppositional things to escape the VP:

(22) On yaq **nihtol** wihqim-a-n **kosqehsuhs-ol**,
then Quot that.Obv (3)-call.to-3Subj-Sub old.woman-Obv
‘[Then she] called for that old lady,’ (Newell 1979, 15)

Problem: Wh-words as indefinites are weak existentials, not presuppositional at all, but they show the same pattern:

(23) a. Solahkiw **wen** ’t-iy-a-n, “kat not kil k-ikuwoss.”
suddenly who 3-say.to-Dir-N Neg that.An 2 2-mother
‘Suddenly, someone says to him, “That is not your mother.” ’ (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 108)

b. Ahcossis naka Henry Mahciw **wen-il** ’-kisi=nuhsuhka-ku-wa-pon-il.
Archie and Henry Mahciw who-Obv 3-Perf=chase-3Obj-3P-Pret-Obv
‘Archie LaCoote and Henry Socoby were followed by something.’ (Newell 1979, line 15)

c. Temonuk apc kotuhpu-lti-pon skat **wen** naci=kotunke-hq.
later again (2)-be.hungry-Plural-2P Neg who go=hunt-3ConjNeg
‘We’ll all starve if someone doesn’t go hunting.’ (Newell 1974b, line 3)

Unlike universal quantifiers in the same position, a wh-indefinite must take narrow scope:

(24) a. Ma=te **psi=te** ’-poth-a-wi nomehsu.
Neg=Emph all=Emph 3-hook-3Subj-Neg.ObvP fish.ObvP
‘He didn’t catch all the fish.’ (either scope possible)

b. Ma=te **wen** ’-kisi-tomh-a-wiy-il Piyel-ol.
Neg=Emph who 3-Perf-beat-Dir-Neg-Obv P.-Obv
‘No one beat Piyel.’ (*‘There is someone who didn’t beat Piyel.’ Bruening 2007)

(25) Komac op n-ulitahas **wen** peciya-t etolimawiyayek.
very would 1-be.happy who come-3Conj gathering
‘I’ll be happy if anyone comes to the party.’ (nonspecific only; Bruening 2007)

3.2 Tree-Splitting

A different interpretation of Diesing (1992):

- Tree-Splitting Algorithm divides sentence into restrictive clause and nuclear scope;
- VP is nuclear scope, everything outside VP is restrictive clause;
- Existential closure applies to VP, binding all free variables within VP.
- If demonstratives by themselves are basically pronouns, and we think pronouns are free variables, they need to get out of the domain of existential closure.
- Might think wh-words would move, then, just when they are the restriction on some quantifier:

(26) *Universal Quantifier*

a. Tokec olu msi=te **keq** ’-kiwacehtu-n.
now Top all=Emph what 3-make.lonely-InanObj
‘But now, he makes everything feel lonely.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976c, line 23)

b. $\forall$x [x is inanimate] $\rightarrow$…

(27) *Quantifier TAN*

a. Tan te **keq wen-il** yah-a-htit, nit te=hc eley-ik.
Quant Emph what who-Obv tell-3Subj-3PConj that.Inan Emph=Fut IC.happen-IIConj
‘[Whatever they told someone, it would happen.]’ (Newell 1979, line 4)

b. $\forall$x,y [x is inanimate & y is animate & they tell y x] $\rightarrow$…

Problem: Why doesn’t the NP restriction on the universal move with it in the discontinuous construction? (same question for split demonstrative)

(28) a. **Msi=te**=hc ’t-iy-ulti-ni-ya **naksqiy-ik**.
all=Emph=Fut 3-be-Plural-N-3P young.woman-3P
‘All the young girls will be there.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976d, line 20)

b. * $\forall$x [?] $\rightarrow$ [$\exists$y. y is a young woman & y will be there] (*existential closure*)

c. $\forall$x [x is a young woman] $\rightarrow$ [x will be there]

Problem: Wh-words as indefinites have the same tendency to be immediately preverbal, even when they are best analyzed as existentially closed:

(29) a. Kasq olu kat=te **keq** itom-u,
Kasq Top Neg=Emph what say-Neg
‘Kasq says nothing at all,’ (Francis and Leavitt 1995, line 224)

b. ¬∃ x. x is inanimate & Kasq says x

(30) a. Ahcossis naka Henry Mahciw **wen-il** '-kisi=nuhsuhka-ku-wa-pon-il.
Archie and Henry Mahciw who-Obv 3-Perf=chase-3Obj-3P-Pret-Obv
'Archie LaCoote and Henry Socoby were followed by something.' (Newell 1979, line 15)

b. ∃x. x is animate & x chases Archie and Henry

Want their existential interpretation to come from existential closure, because they show quantificational variability (these examples all from Bruening 2007):

(31) *Adverb of quantification*

a. Mecimi=te **wen** '-kis-apem-a-l Bobby-wol.
always=Emph who 3-Perf-rely.on-Dir-Obv B.-Obv
'Everyone relies on Bobby.' or 'People always rely on Bobby.'

b. ∀x [x is animate] → [x relies on Bobby]

(32) *Free relative (universal?), universal quantifier, distributive quantifier*

a. Tan kahk **wen** piluwitposi-t, nokomasi-tahatom-on tahalu eli acehtasi-k
TAN Emph who have.power-3Conj (3)-easy-think-InanObj like C change-InanConj
loqtewakon-ol.
clothing-InanP
'He who [whoever] possesses supernatural powers thinks it an easy task to change mere clothing.' (Mitchell 1921/1976d, 7)

b. Msi=te=hc **wen** nuto-k, wolsotom-on.
all=Emph=Fut who hear-3Conj (3)-like.sound-InanObj
'Everyone that hears it will like its sound.' (Mitchell 1921/1976c, 14)

c. On yatte **wen** 't-oloqi-ya-n 't-utene-k.
then each who 3-that.direction-go-Sub 3-village-Loc
'Then each one goes toward his own village.' (Mitchell 1921/1976c, 18)

(33) *"Bare conditional"* (see Cheng and Huang 1996 on Chinese)

a. Naka **wen** mahqalsi-t wapahkuhs-is-ol **wen** '-kotuw-akomitehtu-n micuwakon.
and who borrow-3Conj bucket-Dim-Obv who 3-will-boil-InanObj food
'and—whoever borrows a cooking-pot will be boiling food.' [lit. 'Who borrows a cooking-pot, who will be boiling food.'] (Francis and Leavitt 1995, line 17)

b. **Wen** tama etoli-nomiy-a-t mahtoqehsu-wol cu **wen** wolelomoqe.
who where IC.there-see-3Subj-3Conj rabbit-Obv surely who have.good.luck.3
'If X sees a rabbit somewhere X will have good luck.'

Problem: First, second, and proximate third person pronouns behave differently, do not have a clear preference for preverbal position (possibly because they're usually absent unless for special discourse effect):

(34) a. . . . qenoq olu kilowaw k-peci=nomihtu-ni-ya k-naci=wicuhkem-i-ni-ya **nil**.
however Top 2P 2-come=see-InanObj-3P 2-go.do=help-2Subj/1Obj-Sub-2P 1
'. . . still you come to see if you can help me.' (Newell 1974b, line 88)

3.3 Summary: Diesing

Neither part of Diesing's theory really explains the full pattern.

- Elements are preverbal that are not presuppositional;
- Elements are preverbal that are best analyzed as existentially closed (or at least lacking in their own quantificational force).

3.4 Sportiche 1996; Various Handouts

Sportiche 1996:

- Clitic doubling in Romance languages gives rise to specificity effects just like object shift in Germanic because the two are the same phenomenon.
- Clitics are the head of a clitic phrase; specific objects move to the specifier:

(35) $[_{\text{ClP}}\text{NP}\ [\text{Cl}\ \ldots\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{V}\ t\ ]]]$

Sportiche 1997:

- Predicates select only N, not D;
- Strong determiners are generated outside VP, N moves to them:

(36) a. the [[girls] sleep]
b. [[the girls] [[~~girls~~] sleep]]

Gives nice account of split pattern—quantifier or demonstrative starts out there:

(37) a. **Msi=te**=hc ’t-iy-ulti-ni-ya **naksqiy-ik**.
all=Emph=Fut 3-be-Plural-N-3P young.woman-3P
‘All the young girls will be there.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976d, line 20)
b. Keq **nikt** itom-uk **sipsis-ok**?
what those.An say-3P bird-3P
‘What are those birds saying?’ (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 95)

Problems same as for Diesing:

- Weak wh-indefinites show strongest preference for preverbal position;
- Numerals, which are weak, also prefer the preverbal position and split in the discontinuous construction:

(38) a. Ipa **pesq** mahkuwiy-iq.
well one lend-2PImp
‘Here, let me have one.’ (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 63)
b. … wot olu mahtoqehs pcossol **pesqon** eyi-t **piyaqtihikon**.
this.An Top rabbit just one IC.have-3Conj wood.chip
‘…this Rabbit had only one chip left.’ (Newell 1974a, line 52)

General Problem: Class of elements that go in preverbal position not the same as the class of elements apparently involved in clitic doubling, object shift.

3.5 Information Structure

Perhaps preverbal position is associated with some kind of information structural interpretation? Unlikely:

- Wh-words in questions are focused, but occupy a different position;
- Wh-indefinites as existentials are new information (assert existence):

(39) On yaka wesuwiy-apasi-htit, wot yaq **wen** pemi=sakhiya-t.
then then.Fut going.back-walk.away-3PConj this.An Quot who IC.along=come.into.view-3Conj
'Then, on their way back, **something** [animate] came into sight.' (Newell 1979, 25)

- Demonstratives are often old information:

(40) Kamotop **wot** komuci=maceph-a-ne-n oloqiw kcihku-k,
would.be.better this.An (2)-secretly=take.away-12Subj-Sub-1P that.direction forest-Loc
'It would be better if we secretly take **it** [An.] in that direction through the forest,' (Newell 1974b, line 49)
Demonstrative here refers to a deer that the speakers have killed; it was mentioned by a full NP in the immediately preceding line.

- Focused NPs often appear preverbally (and Bruening 2004 argues that when they don't overtly, they do covertly);
- Split numeral/quantifier can be focused:

(41) **Nison-ul** tepeltom ahsosuwon-ol makahk newon-ol.
two-InanP own.1Conj hat-InanP but.not four-InanP
'I own two hats, not four.'

- But preverbal elements are not always focused (e.g., demonstratives above).
- When a demonstrative is emphasized, occupies a different position:

(42) a. **Yut** kahk <u>kotama</u> tep-oluhke-wakon-i-w.
this.Inan Emph Neg enough-work-Nominal-be-Neg
'This is not powerful enough.' (Mitchell 1921/1976b, line 48)

b. Nil <u>kat</u> op apc **nit** n-toli=komoqi-w-on,
1 Neg would again there 1-there=dive-Neg-Sub
'I'm not going down there again,' (Newell 1979, line 15)

3.6 The Problem

Started out with a difference between referential NPs and non-referential NPs, but that's not actually the distinction. Elements that go in preverbal position:

1. Universal quantifiers;
2. Wh-words used as indefinites (whether bound by some other quantifier or by existential closure);
3. Demonstratives;
4. Numerals.

Generalization: These are just the *functional* nominal elements of Passamaquoddy.

4 A Suggested Analogy

- Pronouns *do* appear in preverbal position, it's just that the preference is not overwhelming, because they are often emphatic or constrastive:

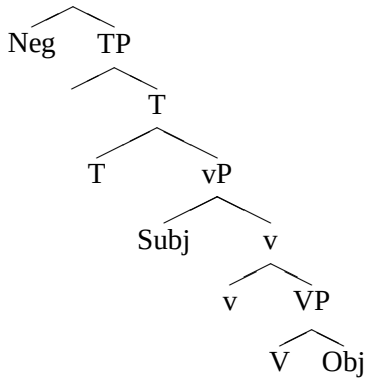
(43) a. Pol **nil** maceph-iq. (*preverbal*)
first 1 take.away-2P/1Imp
'Take me home first.' (Newell 1979, line 9)

b. **Nil** kat op apc nit n-toli=komoqi-w-on, (*emphatic*)
1 Neg would again there 1-there=dive-Neg-Sub
'I'm not going down there again,' (Newell 1979, line 15)

(44) Preverbal: Universal quantifiers, indefinite pronouns, numerals, pronouns, demonstratives

Suggestion: Preverbal position is somewhere around T(ense).

(45)



Preverbal element sometimes comes *between* parts of the verb:

(46) a. Kisi **nil** motewolonuwihponol-ol
(2)-Perf 1 curse-1Subj/2Obj
'I've been putting a curse on you.' (Newell 1979, line 22)

b. . . . eli **nilun** kisi=nehpeh-ek not otuhk.
C 1P Perf=kill-1PConj this.An deer
'. . . that we (Excl) killed that deer.' (Newell 1974b, line 81)

Kisi is some kind of tense/aspect preverb.

(47) **Suggested Analogy:**
Preverbal position : tense clitics :: V2 : 2nd position clitics

4.1 V2 and Second-Position Clitics

- Wackernagel (see Anderson 1993): V2 related to second-position clitics (unclear how though);
- Consensus (?) on 2P clitics: syntactic rule puts them in general domain of C (or other high functional projection), phonological rule places them in actual position (e.g., Halpern 1995).

(48) *2P clitics attach to complementizer if one is present:*

a. Espons '-kocicihtu-n eli**=hc** opos kipiya-t, nitte**=hc** na nekom macaha-n.
E. 3-know-InanObj C=Fut tree fall.over-3Conj right.away=Fut also 3 (3)-leave-Sub
'Espons knows that the tree will fall, and then he will leave.' (Passamaquoddy; (Mitchell 1921/1976a, line 9))

b. Ja mislim da **=je** ona kupila šešir.
I think Comp =Aux she buy.Ppl hat
'I think that she bought the hat.' (Serbo-Croation; Halpern 1995, 22)

- Most common theory of V2: head movement to C (Williams 1974; but V-fronting goes back at least to Bach 1962; see den Besten 1983);
- Commonality: movement to somewhere in the C projection.
- Reason? Possibly just brute force, feature on C and matching feature on element attracted, grammaticalized in different ways in different languages:
  1. Functional things: 2P clitics like Fut in Passamaquoddy, Aux in S-C;
  2. Finite verb in V2 (maybe same as Aux?).

4.2 Tense Clitics

- (Also called "verbal clitics," e.g., Halpern 1995.)
- Romance, Slavic, Greek; very often pronouns:

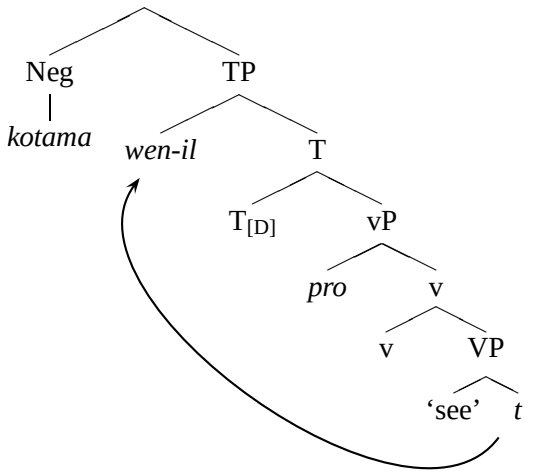
(49) a. Nən =me daftar **pe=** pαk kə.
today =1S office with.him= cleaned
'I made him clean the office today.' (Pashto; Halpern 1995, 25)

b. Pjos **to** eθkjavasen?
who it read-3S.Past
'Who read it?' (Cypriot; Revithiadou 2006, 81)

- Common theory: Syntactic rule puts them in general location of finite T, phonology orders them (recent reference: Revithiadou 2006).
- Suggest: something attracts D elements to T (see Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, Wiltschko 2003);
- Partially grammaticalized in Passamaquoddy to things with D features (quantifiers, numerals, indefinite pronouns, demonstratives, pronouns; but not proper names, lexical Ns)

(50) . . . kotama=te **wen-il** nomiy-a-wiy-il.
Neg=Emph who-Obv 3-see-3Subj-Neg-Obv
'. . . she sees no one.' (Mitchell 1921/1976e, line 60)

(51)



- IMPORTANT: NOT cliticization, just like V2 is not cliticization

4.3 Back to Clitic Doubling, Object Shift

- Passamaquoddy preverbal position analogized to clitics in Romance, possibly object shift in Germanic.
- Class of items not exactly the same.
- Only thing they have in common is being D-like: pronouns in Romance, Germanic.
- Many people try to give a semantic/pragmatic explanation for object shift, clitics.
- Passamaquoddy shows that this is not correct—it's about uninterpretable features and nothing else.
- A language can use syntactic mechanisms to make semantic/pragmatic distinctions, but this is not the driving force in the syntax.

Strong Thesis: The syntax makes no reference to notions like specificity, new versus old information, presuppositionality, topichood.

4.4 LeSourd 2002: Against TopicP and FocusP

LeSourd (2002) argues against a "cartographic" approach to clause structure (Rizzi 1997) on the basis of second-position clitics in Passamaquoddy:

- Second-position clitics do not care about topic, focus, etc.;
- Get a very simple statement of their distribution if such things are just adjoined to CP—clitics are second in CP, but can choose first or second CP under adjunction:

(52) a. N-muhsums w-ikuwoss-ol pihce**=yaq** wiku-sopon-ik Utoqehkik.
1-grandfather 3-mother-Obv long.ago=Quot dwell-Dubt-3P G.L.S.
'Long ago, they say, my grandfather's mother lived (with her family) at Grand Lake Stream.' (LeSourd 2002, (4))

b. Yat**=yaq=olu** nuc=tpolukemi-t olomi=kip-ihi-ya.
that.An.Rem=Quot=Contrast occupation=judge-3Conj away=down-go-3Abs
'Then that judge fell right over.' (LeSourd 2002, (20))

c. Not**=yaq=olu** nut-apek-tuh-usi-t, cu**=al=lu** '-kosicihtu-n
that=Quot=Contrast Occupation-string-strike-Refl-3 surely=Uncertain=Contrast 3-know-Inan
etoli-tp-olum-iht.
Ongoing-consider-decide-3ConjInv
'But that fiddler, they say, must have known that they were talking about him.' (LeSourd 2002, (8))

(53) $[_{CP}$ NP $[_{CP}$ cu . . .

Things that are adjoined not always NP, are a grab-bag:

(54) Kehtol '-kisi=cil-som-on**=yaq** '-pihtin.
sure.enough 3-Perf=mark-cut-InanObj=Quot 3-hand
'Sure enough, he cut his finger.' (LeSourd 2002, (5a))

- No fine structure, just adjunction.
- Consistent with strong thesis: Such discourse notions play no role in syntax, other than making use of syntactic mechanisms like adjunction.
- (To the extent that we see ordering restrictions, other syntactic effects, have to derive them from other things.)

4.5 Summary

Preverbal position in Passamaquoddy derived by purely formal uninterpretable feature.

- May be dissatisfying, just brute force;
- But there really doesn't seem to be a unifying semantic or discourse explanation.
- Note that no one has tried to claim that there's a semantic/discourse explanation for V2 or second-position clitics.

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