

THE SYNTAX OF THE CONJUNCT AND INDEPENDENT ORDERS
IN WAMPANOAG¹

Wampanoag, like a number of other Algonquian languages, makes a distinction between Conjunct and Independent orders of verbal morphology. I investigate the syntactic factors conditioning the choice between orders, and conclude that Conjunct verbs are structurally lower than Independent verbs, as they are used in syntactic contexts in which verb-movement to high structural positions is often prevented cross-linguistically. Wampanoag is shown to exhibit a form of anti-agreement; this adds considerable complexity to the distribution of Conjunct and Independent, since Wampanoag's agreement system is itself quite complex. Phillips' (1998) approach to anti-agreement as a ban on certain kinds of verb movement is supported.

keywords: Wampanoag, Massachusetts, Conjunct, Independent, anti-agreement

1 Introduction

Verbal morphology in a number of Algonquian languages can be classified into so-called Conjunct and Independent Orders. The choice between these orders of verb morphology is conditioned by a number of syntactic factors.

(1) gives examples of Independent and Conjunct translations of a sentence in Wampanoag, an Algonquian language once spoken in eastern Massachusetts:

(1) a. ku-nâw-uk -uwô -pan -eek [Independent]

2 see INV non1.PL PRET PL

'They saw you (PL)'

b. nâw-uqy-âk -up [Conjunct]

see INV 2PL PRET

'They saw you (PL)'

In this paper I will consider the syntactic conditions determining the choice between Independent and Conjunct verb forms. We will see that Conjunct verbs are used in a superficially diverse array of syntactic constructions, but I will try to show that there is a unifying principle dealing with them all; specifically, I will argue that Independent verbs raise to C in Wampanoag, while Conjunct verbs do not.² The Wampanoag data to be analyzed come from Eliot's (1685) translation of the Bible and Mayhew's (1709) translation of Psalms and John³.

The conclusion that Conjunct verbs are structurally lower than Independent verbs is also the one reached by Halle and Marantz (1993) for Potawatomi, and the opposite of that reached by Campana (1996) for Passamaquoddy-Malecite, by Brittain (1997) for Sheshatshit Montagnais, and by Brittain (1999) for Western Naskapi. In principle, of course, the Conjunct/Independent split could have different syntactic correlates in different languages, and a full comparison of the syntactic conditions on this split in different languages is beyond the scope of this paper. I will comment on this question briefly in section 4, but for almost all of what follows, I will concentrate specifically on the Wampanoag facts.

2 Independent and Conjunct: Form and Use

In this section I will offer a preliminary description of the two orders. Section 2.1 will briefly describe the morphological differences between the Conjunct and Independent orders, and will make explicit my assumptions about

the phrase structure of the Wampanoag clause. In section 2.2 I will sketch an overview of the syntactic conditions on the two orders, which will be made more precise and extensive in later sections.

2.1 The morphology of Independent and Conjunct

The main morphological difference between the two orders has to do with agreement morphology; very roughly, the Conjunct verb has comparatively impoverished morphology, compared to the Independent verb. In the following discussion I will offer a picture of the morphology which is somewhat simplified, though not in ways that are important to the discussion here; for a more careful examination of the agreement morphology, see Goddard and Bragdon (1988). Let us consider the structure of the Independent verb in (2):

(2) ku-nâw-uk -uwô -pan -eek [Independent]

2 see INV non1.PL PRET PL

‘They saw you (PL)’

The verb in (2) begins with a prefix *ku-*. The prefix agrees with the highest argument on the hierarchy in (3):

(3) 2nd person > 1st person > 3rd person proximate > 3rd person obviative⁴
> inanimate

In this case, because 2nd person outranks 3rd on the hierarchy, agreement is with the 2nd person direct object. I will refer to the argument of a verb which is highest on the hierarchy as the “central” argument, and the non-central argument

(if any) as the “peripheral” argument; thus, in (2), the central argument is the direct object, and the subject is the peripheral argument (see Goddard 1974, 1979, Goddard and Bragdon 1988 for details of this analysis). After this prefix comes the verb stem *nâw* ‘see’. Next comes a “theme sign” which indicates the relation of the central and peripheral arguments; in this case, because the central argument is the object and the peripheral argument is the subject, the verb has the Inverse suffix *-uq* (changed here to *-uk* because of the following /w/). After this comes a suffix which agrees with plural central arguments (in this case, *-uwô* ‘non1.PL’). The next suffix, *-pan*, marks past tense, and the verb ends in another suffix which agrees with plural or obviative arguments, typically peripheral (in this case, the animate plural suffix *-eek*, agreeing with the peripheral subject ‘they’).

This last suffix has a property which will become important later: although it agrees with the peripheral argument in (2), it can also agree with the central argument just in case no agreement with a peripheral argument is present, as in (4):

- (4) nup-u-pan -eek
 die 3 PRET PL
 ‘They died.’

Here there is no peripheral argument to agree with, and the suffix *-eek* is therefore used to agree with the plural subject.⁵

and to verbs which do not as “Unchanged Conjunct”. These are exemplified below with the verb *nup* ‘die’⁸:

- (6) a. *nup-uk* [Unchanged Conjunct]
 die 3SG
 ‘when he dies’
- b. *nâp -uk* [Changed Conjunct]
 CHANGE.die 3SG
 ‘when he died’

I will have to leave investigation of the conditions determining the choice between these varieties of the Conjunct for future work. In what follows I will label Conjunct verbs as either Changed (Ch.) or Unchanged (Un.). Since initial change only affects verbs with certain vowels in their initial syllables (*u*, *a*, and, in some dialects, *ee*, but not *ô*, *ø*, or *â*), there are verbs for which the distinction between Changed and Unchanged is not morphologically expressed; I will label these verbs on the basis of observations of other verbs in the same syntactic context.

The Bible translations being analyzed here, with certain systematic exceptions, generally preserve the word order of the English texts. Because of this property of the data, the arguments I will present here about the position of the verb will necessarily differ in character from the familiar ones found in the syntactic literature on this topic, which often have to do with the position of the

verb with respect to certain adverbs (e.g., Pollock 1989). Rather, I will be trying to show that the Conjunct is used in Wampanoag in contexts in which, in other languages, the verb typically fails to raise as high as it normally does in the tree. I will suggest that whatever accounts for the failure of the verb to raise in these other languages will deal with the distribution of Conjunct in Wampanoag, if we assume that Conjunct is a symptom of failure of the verb to raise to C. The argument is quite independent of decisions we might make about the phrase structure of Wampanoag or the labels we might assign to the heads that act as hosts for movement.

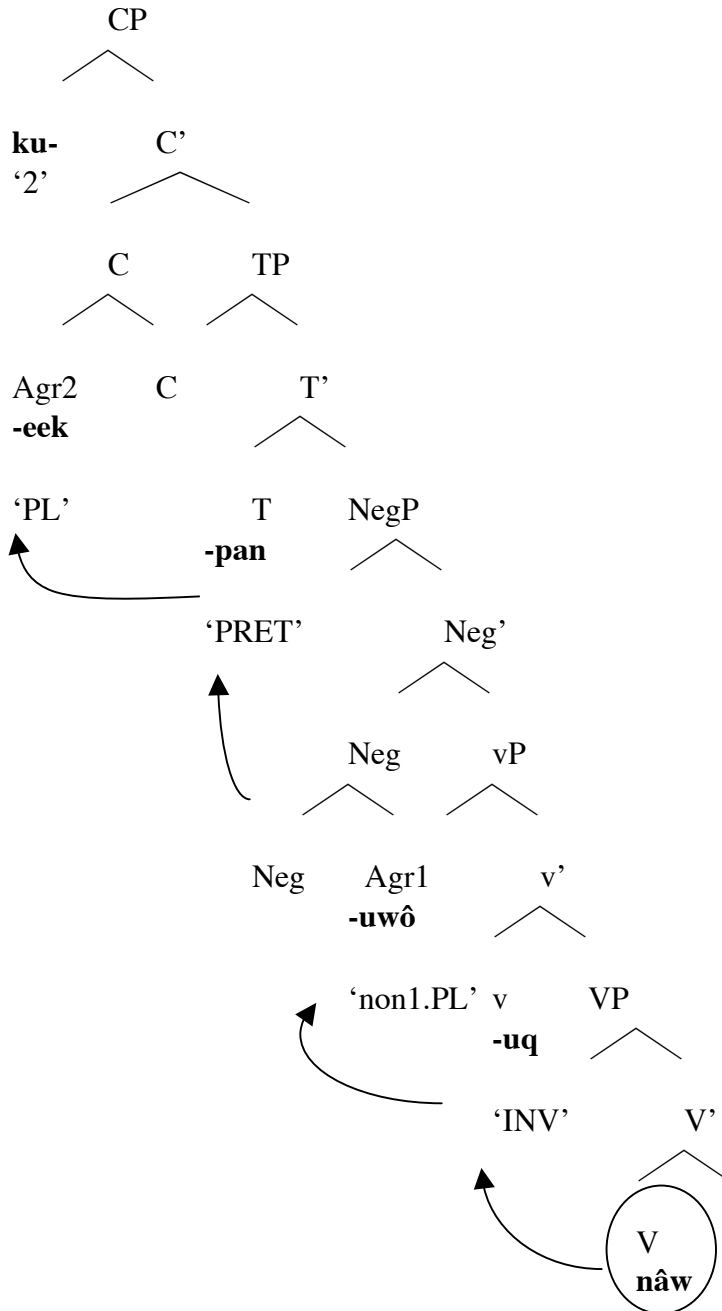
Still, in the interests of concreteness, let us assume the following phrase structure tree for the Wampanoag clause (adapted from Rackowski 2000, Bruening and Rackowski 2001). The example in (2), repeated as (7a), would have the tree in (7b):

(7) a. ku-nâw-uk -uwô -pan -eek **[Independent]**

2 see INV non1.PL PRET PL

‘They saw you (PL)’

b.



‘see’

This tree features two Agreement heads, which I have labelled Agr1 and Agr2. Following much work on the syntactic nature of agreement (see Halle and Marantz 1994 for discussion), I represent these heads as entering the derivation adjoined to other heads⁹ in the tree (rather than as heading their own maximal projections). Agr1 is responsible for central agreement, which agrees with the highest argument on the hierarchy in (3) above, while Agr2 hosts both peripheral agreement, realized as a suffix, and central agreement, realized as a prefix; following the proposal of Halle and Marantz (1993) for Potawatomi, I will represent the prefix as a clitic, which I have generated in the specifier of C (though it could equally well be taken to move there from a lower position).

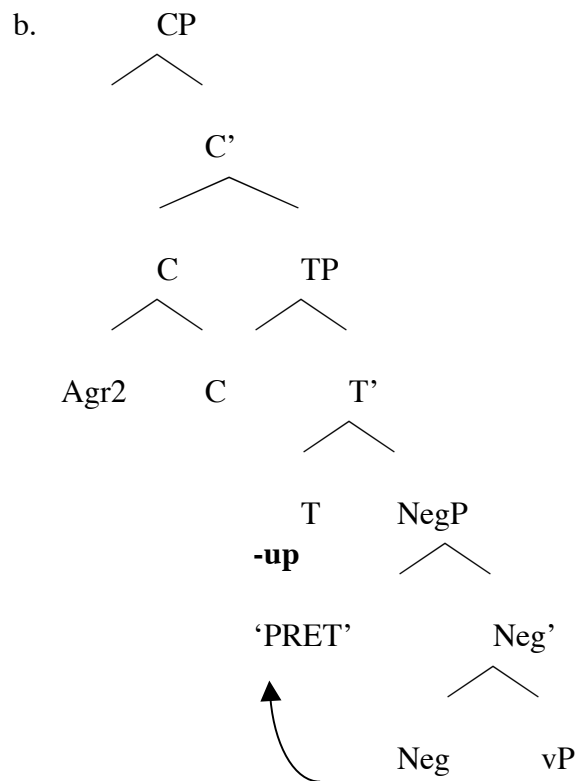
Ordinarily, I will claim, the verb moves from its base position all the way to C; this is the derivation that results in the use of Independent order morphology on the verb. I will assume that these movement operations are triggered by features on all the heads of the tree which “attract” the verb to raise and adjoin to them. Movement of the verb into C can be blocked by several factors, resulting in the use of Conjunct order morphology on the verb. In what follows we will see two types of cases in which verb movement to C does not take place. Section 3.1 will concentrate on instances in which C fails to attract the verb; we will see that Conjunct is used in contexts where head-movement into C is blocked in other languages. In section 3.2, we will see that head-movement can also be blocked by

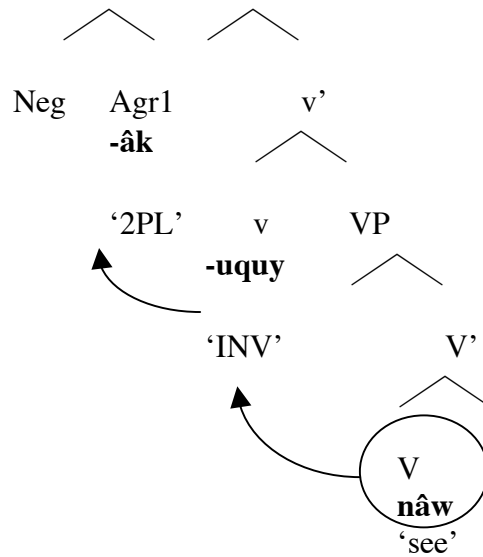
properties of the Agr heads; if an agreement head would exhibit agreement with a wh-phrase, then the head to which it has adjoined does not attract the verb. The result of this, in each case, will be that the verb raises to T, and then stops. And, in fact, as we have seen in this section, Conjunct verbs differ from Independent ones in that they lack the morphemes which are generated above T. The prefix agreeing with the central argument, and the final suffix agreement with the peripheral argument, are both missing:

(8) a. nâw-uquy-âk -up [Conjunct]

see INV 2PL PRET

‘They saw you (PL)’





The phrase structure tree in (8b), then, together with claims to be developed below about the syntactic conditions on head-movement in Wampanoag, seems to make the correct predictions about some of the morphological differences between the Conjunct and Independent orders.¹⁰

2.2 The syntax of Independent and Conjunct

In this section I will very briefly summarize the syntactic conditions on the choice between Conjunct and Independent orders; these conditions will be explored in more depth in section 3. There are three main syntactic contexts in which Conjunct verbs are used. They are used in relative clauses, quite systematically:

- (9) Qut wame yeug **paubuhanum-ukque-an -eg** [Ch. Conjunct]
 but all those trust INV 2SG PL
 weekontamohettich

rejoice-IMPER-3PL

‘But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice...’ [Psalms 5:11]

Conjunct verbs are also used in certain classes of adjunct clauses¹¹:

(10) a. [Tokonogque **nush-ikque-on**], [Un. Conjunct]

though kill INV 1SG

onk onch woh nuppábuhtanum

and yet MOD¹² 1SG-trust

‘Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him...’ [Job 13:15]

b. [Tohneit kod **pohquttum-on** [Un. Conjunct]

if want declare 1SG

kah **weogquttum-on**]... [Un. Conjunct]

and discuss 1SG

‘If I would declare and speak of them...’ [Psalms 40:5]

c. ...[noh **peyon-t**] [Un. Conjunct]

he come 3SG

pish nummushomunkqun wame teaquasinish.

will 1-tell-INV-1PL all things

‘...when he is come, he will tell us all things.’ [John 4:25]

Finally, Conjunct verbs are used in some, though not all, wh-questions (most of the rest of the paper will be spent making this statement more precise)¹³:

(11) a. Toohkish, tohwaje **kaue-an**, woi Jehovah?... [Ch. Conjunct]

awake-IMPER why¹⁴ sleep-2SG o Jehovah

‘Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?...’ [Psalms 44:23]

b. Nussontimom, howan **matchesei-t**, [Ch. Conjunct]

1-master who sin 3SG

yeuoh, asuh oochetuongah...

this or 3-parents-OBV

‘Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents...?’ [John 9:2]

Independent verbs are used in contexts other than the ones listed above.

3 The Conjunct Order and verb height

In this section I will consider more closely the conditions on the distribution of Conjunct verbs. We will see that Conjunct is used in contexts in which verb movement is blocked in other languages, suggesting that Conjunct verbs in Wampanoag are ones which undergo comparatively little verb movement.

3.1 Conjunct and failure of I-to-C

The Conjunct occurs in Wampanoag in a number of syntactic contexts in which verb movement to C is blocked in other languages. We have already seen one such context: Conjunct (specifically, Changed Conjunct) is quite regularly used in relative clauses:

(12) kesukod

day

[adt **pohquohwhun-uh** -p wutch matwaut] [Ch. Conjunct]

on deliver 3SG PRET from enemy-LOC

‘...the day when he delivered them from the enemy’ [Psalms 78:42]

(13) kutt8wongash [nish **n8tam-an-ish**], [Ch. Conjunct]

words that hear 2SG PL

[nish nashpe wuttinneumoh Assyriae ketass8t

that with servant Assyria's king

blasphem-ukqueh-Ø [Ch. Conjunct]

blaspheme INV 1SG

‘...the words which you have heard, with which the servants of the king of

Assyria have blasphemed me’ [2 Kings 19:6]

(14) noh quoshodtumwáenin

that prophet

[woh **paon -t** yeu muttaohket] [Ch. Conjunct]

MOD come 3SG this world-LOC

‘...that prophet that should come into the world.’ [John 6:14]

Movement to C is blocked in relative clauses in languages like English:

(15) a. the day [when he delivered them from the enemy]

b. *the day [when did he deliver them from the enemy]

Conjunct verbs also appear in all embedded wh-questions^{15,16}:

(16) ...wehquetush teaguas **anumau-un** [Ch. Conjunct]

ask-IMPER what give 1SG.2SG

‘...Ask what I shall give thee.’ [I Kings 3:5]

(17) wahteunk nanawanuk week,

know-3 rule-3 3-house

[ahquompak **peyon-t** komm8towaen] [Un. Conjunct]

when come 3SG thief

‘...if the goodman of the house had known in what watch

the thief would come...’ [Matthew 24:43]

(18) matta wahteauoog [toh **ase-hettit**]

[Ch. Conjunct]

not 3-know how do 3PL

‘...they know not what they do...’ [Luke 23:34]

(19) Newutche mehquontash [uttoh waj **penusha-on**][Ch. Conjunct]

therefore remember-IMPER where from fall 2SG

‘Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen...’ [Revelations 2:5]

Again, this is a context in which head-movement to C is blocked in standard

English:

(20) a. We know [what we worship]

b. *We know [what do we worship]

Finally, Conjunct verbs always appear in wh-questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’¹⁷:

(21) Tohwaje **mushshoowa-an** ut woskehhoowaonkanit... [Ch. Conjunct]

why boast 2SG in mischief-LOC

‘Why boastest thou thyself in mischief?...’ [Psalms 52:1]

(22) tohwutch **kutchessummuwa-an...** [Unch. Conjunct]

why baptize -2SG

‘Why baptizest thou?...’

[John 1:25]

As noted by Rizzi (1990), questions with *pourquoi* ‘why’ fail to trigger subject-verb inversion in French:

(23) a. De quoi a parlé Jean?

of what has spoken Jean

‘Of what has John spoken?’

b. Comment a parlé Jean?

how has spoken Jean

‘How has John spoken?’

c. *Pourquoi a parlé Jean?

why has spoken Jean

‘Why has John spoken?’

[*French*: Rizzi 1990:47-48]

Thus, we have seen that Conjunct verbs appear in Wampanoag in a number of contexts in which verb raising to C is blocked in other languages. I have nothing new to say about why verb raising fails to occur in these contexts. If we assume, however, that the verb ordinarily raises to C in Wampanoag and is prevented from doing so in these contexts, these Wampanoag data receive a fairly straightforward account; the verb is Independent when it raises to C, and Conjunct when it cannot. On this account, Wampanoag, like English and French, uses a version of C in

these contexts which cannot attract the head of its complement, and movement into C is therefore impossible. In the next section we will see another instance in which verb raising has been argued to be blocked in other languages, and I will suggest that this phenomenon is present in Wampanoag as well.

3.2 Conjunct and Anti-agreement

A number of unrelated languages exhibit anti-agreement in wh-questions; the verb fails to agree with wh-words, or exhibits a special type of agreement:

(24) a. mac xc -ach 7il -ni? [Jakaltek: Craig 1979, 150]
 who ASP-2.ABS see-AC

‘Who saw you?’

b. *mac xc -ach y -7il -ni?
 who ASP-2.ABS 3.ERG-see-AC

‘Who saw you?’

(25) a. nó.o o- tEm -írE@ mote? [Kikuyu: Clements
 1984, 39]

who-CL1 WH.AGR cut TNS tree

‘Who cut a tree?’

b. *nó.o á- !tE@m -írE@ mote&!?
 who-CL1 CL1-cut TNS tree

‘Who cut a tree?’

(26) a. Quante ragazze gli è venuto con te? [*Fiorentino*: Brandi and

how-many girls it is come with you Cordin 1989, 124-125]

‘How many girls came with you?’

b.* Quante ragazze **le sono** venute con te?

how-many girls 3.PL.FEM. are come-FEM.PL with you

‘How many girls came with you?’

The Jakaltek examples in (24), for example, show that the prefix *y-* which normally agrees with 3rd person singular ergative subjects is absent when the subject is a *wh*-phrase. Similarly, the *Fiorentino* examples in (26) show that when the subject is a *wh*-phrase, the verb must use default masculine singular agreement to agree with it, even if the *wh*-phrase is feminine and plural. The three examples in (24-26) are just a very small sample; anti-agreement is found all over the world, in a host of unrelated languages.

Phillips (1998) analyzes anti-agreement as involving failure of the verb to raise high enough to reach the head responsible for agreement with the *wh*-word. One of his arguments for this conclusion comes from a discovery by Ouhalla (1993) about the interaction of anti-agreement with negation in various languages. Berber is one language with anti-agreement, as (27) shows; the feminine singular agreement prefix *t-* vanishes when the subject is a *wh*-phrase. However, anti-agreement fails when the verb is negated, as we see in (28); in negative questions, the verb must agree with the subject even if it is a *wh*-word:

(27) a. man tamghart ay yzrin Mohand? [*Berber*: Ouhalla 1993, 479,
which woman COMP see-PART Mohand 499]

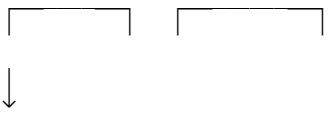
‘Which woman saw Mohand?’

b. *man tamghart ay t- zra Mohand?
which woman COMP 3FEM.SG.-saw Mohand

(28) man tamghart ay ur t- ssn Mohand?
which woman COMP NEG 3FEM.SG. know Mohand

‘Which woman does not know Mohand?’

According to Phillips, failure of anti-agreement in (27) is due to the need of the verb to raise to negation; because the negative morpheme is further from the root than agreement (hence, assuming some version of the Mirror Principle, structurally higher), raising of the verb to negation entails raising first to agreement:



(29) Neg Agr V

In (27), then, the verb remains too low to pick up the agreement morpheme and thus fails to agree with the subject, but in (28) this is impossible for independent morphological reasons; the verb must raise high enough to pick up negation, and this forces it to raise through agreement.

This account predicts that in languages with anti-agreement in which the relevant agreement morpheme is structurally higher than negation, negated questions will be no different from non-negated questions; the verb can raise to negation without raising high enough to pick up agreement. As Ouhalla and Phillips point out, the Turkish data in (30-31) bear out this prediction:

(30) a. hoca -yi gör -en öğ&renciler [Turkish: Ouhalla 1993, 484]

lecturer ACC see PART students

‘the students who saw the lecturer’

b. *hoca -yi gör -en -ler öğ&renciler

lecturer ACC see PART PL students

‘the students who saw the lecturer’

(31) a. [hoca -yi gör -me -yen] öğ&renciler

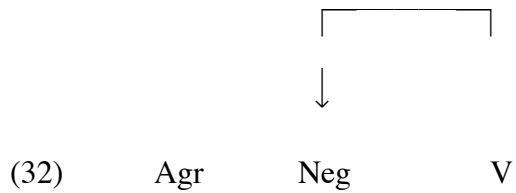
lecturer ACC see NEG PART students

‘the students who did not see the lecturer’

b.*[hoca -yi gör -me -yen -ler] öğ&renciler

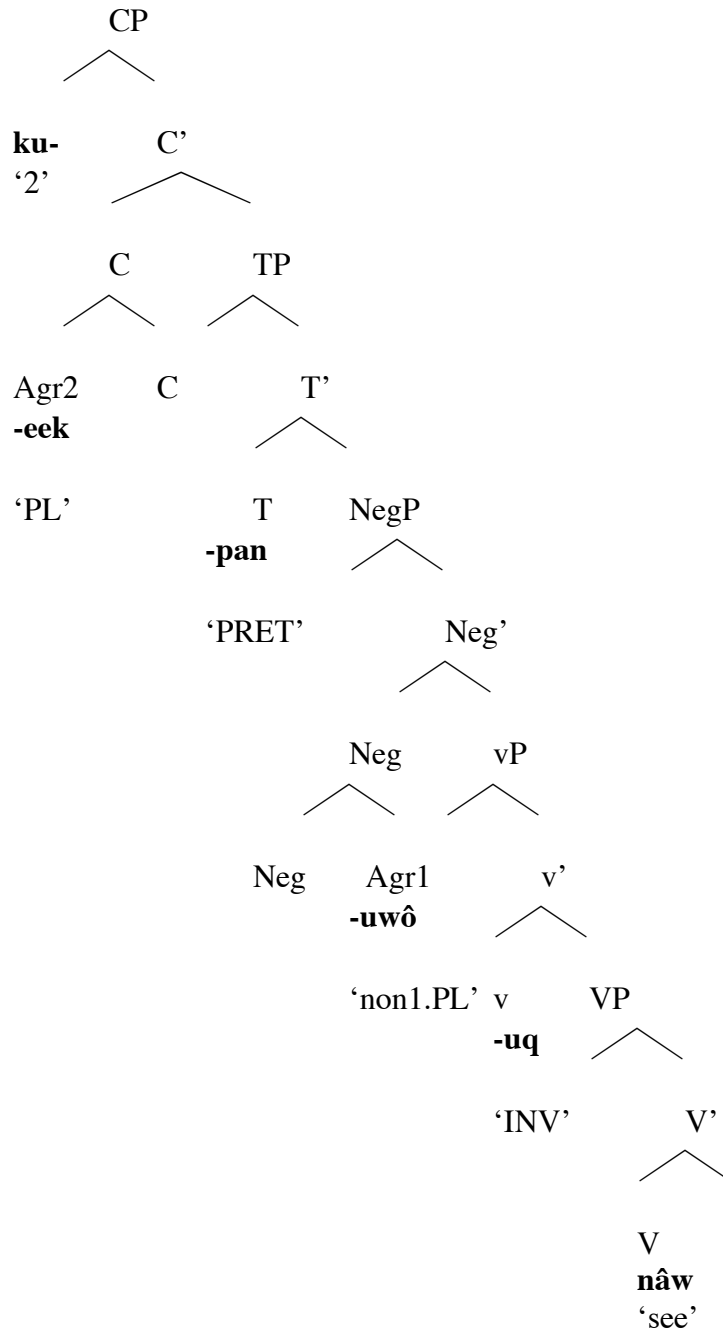
lecturer ACC see NEG PART PL students

(30) shows an instance of anti-agreement in a Turkish relative clause. In (31), we can see that negation has no effect on anti-agreement in Turkish; the verb must still fail to agree. This is as we expect, since Turkish negation is quite close to the verb stem, closer than the agreement suffix which is involved in anti-agreement.



Suppose we conclude, then, that Phillips is right; anti-agreement involves failure of the verb to raise to the syntactic position responsible for agreement. The reason that anti-agreement exists is still a matter of debate in the syntactic literature, and I think it is fair to say that no clear answer has emerged. Phillips' approach, however, makes the correct predictions when we combine it with the assumptions about Wampanoag phrase structure embodied in the tree in (7b), repeated here as (33), for the verb *kunâwukuwôpaneek* 'They saw you (pl.)':

(33)



Under normal circumstances, all of the heads in this tree attract the verb, and as a result, the verb typically moves all the way to C. Recall that Agr1 is responsible

for agreement with the central argument (the highest argument in the animacy hierarchy). Agr2 typically agrees with the peripheral argument (the lowest argument in the animacy hierarchy), but we saw that it will agree with the central argument if it cannot agree with a peripheral argument. For example, the peripheral suffix *-eek* agrees with the peripheral argument in (34a), but with the central one in (34b):

- (34) a. ku-nâw-uk -uwô -pan -eek [Independent]
 2 see INV non1.PL PRET PL
 ‘They saw you (PL)’
- b. nup-u-pan -eek [Independent]
 die 3 PRET PL
 ‘They died’

If Phillips is right, then we expect that when one of the arguments of the verb is a wh-phrase, any Agr heads which agree with the wh-phrase will become unable to attract the verb. If, for example, a wh-phrase is the peripheral argument and triggers peripheral agreement, then we ought to expect Agr2, which hosts peripheral agreement, to become unable to attract the verb. The verb would then move to T, which is the highest head that does attract the verb, and stop there.

If the central argument is a wh-phrase, then Agr1 will become unable to attract the verb, since it hosts agreement with the central argument. And under certain circumstances, Agr2 would also become unable to attract the verb; we

have seen that Agr2 will also agree with the central argument, if it cannot agree with a peripheral argument. Here the observations above about the interaction of anti-agreement with negation become relevant. We saw there that anti-agreement is ‘fragile’; even in a language with anti-agreement, anti-agreement can be overridden when a functional head above the agreement node in question forces the verb to raise. Phillips’ theory of anti-agreement predicts, then, that anti-agreement will affect only those agreement nodes which lie on the periphery of the verbal complex. In the tree in (33), we expect that even if Agr1 loses its ability to attract the verb, the verb will still be attracted by T--and, as a result, will be required by locality conditions on head movement to raise through Agr1. The properties of Agr1, in other words, will have no effect on the choice between Conjunct and Independent.

Agr2, on the other hand, can be subject to anti-agreement, since there is no head above it that attracts the verb. For a central wh-phrase, the effects of anti-agreement will depend on whether the wh-phrase controls agreement on Agr2. If it does, anti-agreement will force the verb to stop at T and be realized with Conjunct morphology. If, on the other hand, there is a peripheral argument controlling agreement on Agr2, then anti-agreement should have no effect, and we should find Independent verbs¹⁸.

It is worth emphasizing that although the notion of anti-agreement will play an important role in the account of the distribution of the Conjunct in

Wampanoag, the prediction is not that verbs will always be unable to agree with *wh*-phrases. Because of the principles established on independent grounds by Phillips, anti-agreement is only able to affect the agreement generated in the head I have labelled Agr2. The requirement that the verb raise to T, along with general locality conditions on head-movement, guarantees that the morphology generated in Agr1 will be present on the verb, and this morphology can reflect features of the *wh*-phrase. And (as several reviewers point out), the theme sign, which I have generated in *v*, can also be viewed as a form of agreement; in the tree in (33), for example, the Inverse theme sign *-uq* indicates that the peripheral argument is 3rd person (and not 1st, which would trigger the use of a different theme sign, *-un*). To claim that Wampanoag exhibits anti-agreement, then, is not to claim that all agreement with *wh*-words will be banned. Phillips' approach to anti-agreement predicts, correctly, that it is just the agreement on the morphological edge of the verb which is affected by anti-agreement.

In the next few sections I will try to show that the predictions outlined here are correct. The Wampanoag verb is required to remain comparatively low in the structure, and thus to surface in the Conjunct form, whenever *wh*-phrases would be expected to control peripheral agreement on the verb.

3.2.1 Central *wh*-arguments, part 1

We have seen that with intransitive verbs, the central argument controls peripheral agreement:

(35) nup-u-pan -eek [Independent]

die 3 PRET PL

‘They died’

The prediction is therefore that when the central argument of an intransitive verb is a wh-phrase, the verb will be in the (Changed) Conjunct form. In terms of the theory being developed here, agreement with a wh-phrase forces anti-agreement in Agr2, which is realized in Wampanoag as the Conjunct.

(36) Asuh howan womussu-t en m8noiyeuut? [Ch. Conjunct]

or who descend 3SG to deep-LOC

‘Or, Who shall descend into the deep?’ [Romans 10:7]

(37) howan tapenu -k woshwunnumunat ne b8k...? [Ch. Conjunct]

who is.worthy 3SG to.open that book

‘Who is worthy to open the book...?’ [Revelations 5:2]

(38) howan woh nepau-t anuhquabeau [Ch. Conjunct]

who MOD stand 3SG be.located-2SG

‘Who may stand in thy sight?’ [Psalms 76:7]

Next we will move on to consider the behavior of transitive verbs, beginning by investigating the properties of peripheral agreement with these verbs.

3.2.2 Peripheral wh-arguments

Goddard (1967, 1974) notes that peripheral agreement in transitive verbs in the related language Delaware is sensitive to the specificity of the peripheral

argument, and Bruening and Rackowski (2001) extend his observations to Wampanoag (see also Laurent (1884) on Abenaki). In all these languages, specific peripheral arguments control peripheral agreement, while non-specific ones do not. Some of Goddard's Munsee Delaware examples are given below (Goddard 1974, 318, 320):

(39) a. **w'&-níhl-á•w-al** máxkwál

3 kill DIR OBV bear-OBV

'He killed the bears'

b. xwé•lí máxkwál **níhl-e•w**

many bear-OBV kill DIR.3

'He killed many bears'

(40) a. **w'&-níhl-ko• -l** máxkwál

3 kill INV OBV bear-OBV

'The bears killed him'

b. máxkwál **níhl-´kw**

bear-OBV kill INV

'A bear killed him'

In all of these examples, the peripheral argument is *máxkwál* 'bear-OBV', and the central argument is an (unexpressed) proximate pronoun 'he'. Recall that proximate arguments outrank obviative ones in the hierarchy in (3), repeated as (41):

(41) 2nd person > 1st person > 3rd person proximate > 3rd person obviative¹⁹
 > inanimate

In the examples in (39), the subject is proximate and the object obviative, so the Direct form of the verb is used; in the examples in (40), the Inverse form of the verb indicates that it is the subject which is obviative and the object proximate. In the (a) examples above, the peripheral argument *máxkwál* ‘bear-OBV’ is specific, and therefore triggers agreement on the verb (the agreement suffix *-(a)l* ‘OBV’); this type of verb is referred to as the “Objective” in the Algonquian literature. In the (b) examples, the peripheral argument is non-specific, and the verb therefore agrees only with the central argument; these verbs are called “Absolute”.

In Wampanoag, the nominals that are reliably treated as ‘specific’ in the relevant sense include pronouns (which are often null), demonstratives, and topics²⁰. Thus, a specific direct object like the one in (42a) controls peripheral agreement; we find the Objective form of the verb, bearing not only a prefix agreeing with the 3rd person subject but also a suffix agreeing with the inanimate plural object. The non-specific direct object in (42b), by contrast, does not control peripheral agreement, and therefore uses the Absolute form of the verb, in which the prefix and the last suffix both agree with the subject, while the theme sign *ô* indicates only that the peripheral argument is the object and is 3rd person:

(42) a. Koshkuhtaukquainnin shanuh

K. these

wut-ahtauw-unâsh mitcheme [Independent]

3 has INAN.PL forever

‘Koshkuhtaukquainnin has these (inan.)

forever’ (Goddard and Bragdon 1988, 74:6-7)

b. **Nu-ssoh -ô -mun** J8nesognag [Independent]

1 send.out DIR 1PL jurymen

‘We sent out jurymen’ (Goddard and Bragdon 1988, 17:14)

In considering the behavior of wh-phrases which might be in a position to control peripheral agreement, then, we need to know whether wh-words are specific or non-specific. In fact, there is some reason to believe that the answer to this question might depend on the wh-word. Macedonian, for instance, allows clitic-doubling with specific nominals, but not with non-specific nominals:

(43) a. Vidov eden çovek [Macedonian: Browne 1970, 267]

I-saw a man

‘I saw a man’

b. **Go** vidov çovekot

him I-saw the-man

‘I saw the man’

By this test, *kogo* ‘who’ is specific, and *što* ‘what’ is non-specific:

(44) a. Yto barate?

[*Macedonian*: Browne 1970, 269]

what you-seek

‘What are you looking for?’

b. Kogo **go** barate?

who him you-seek

‘Who are you looking for?’

Similarly, in English, *what* can have either a de dicto or a de re reading in intentional contexts, while *who* seems to only be able to have a de re reading, a standard hallmark of specificity. (45a) is consistent with me thinking that you are looking for any instantiation of some class (for example, that you need a book to hold your window open, and are looking for one, without much caring which book it is). To utter (45b), by contrast, I have to be assuming that you are looking for a specific person:

(45) a. What are you looking for?

b. Who are you looking for?

By these tests, *who* appears to be specific and *what* non-specific.

It is possible that this is true in Wampanoag as well. In fact, however, it is quite difficult to determine this from the data being analyzed, which are translations of English texts. From the properties of English wh-words that were just discussed, it follows that whenever the translators were translating a question involving *who*, for example, it would have to have been a specific version of *who*,

regardless of whether Wampanoag *hawân* ‘who’ is confined to this meaning.²¹

Bearing this in mind, then, we are ready to make a prediction about the distribution of anti-agreement in questions with a wh-phrase in a peripheral argument position. The prediction, in general, is that the Conjunct will be used whenever a wh-phrase would trigger peripheral agreement on the verb. If we are right to think that *tyâqas* ‘what’ is non-specific (at least in the English questions being translated, and possibly also in Wampanoag), then when *tyâqas* is the peripheral argument, it will not trigger peripheral agreement; such agreement is confined to specific arguments. Thus, the Conjunct should not appear in this case, since the verb will not agree with the wh-phrase and anti-agreement will therefore not be triggered; rather, we should find the Independent form which does not agree with the peripheral argument (the so-called Independent Absolute). The wh-phrase *hawân* ‘who’, by contrast, is specific, and therefore would trigger peripheral agreement when it appears as a peripheral argument; thus, anti-agreement should force the use of the Conjunct in this case.

We predict, in short, that *hawân* ‘who’ in peripheral argument position will force the use of the Conjunct form of the verb, but *tyâqas* ‘what’ will not. This seems to be correct²²:

- (46) ...howan woh **quosh -og?** [Ch. Conjunct]
 who MOD fear DIR.1SG
 ‘...Whom shall I fear?’ [Psalms 27:1]

(47) yeuyeu howan **pabahtanum-adt**, [Ch. Conjunct]

now who trust DIR.2SG

waj ayeuuhkonittue chekehtaian?

that against rebel-1-2

‘Now on whom dost thou trust,

that thou rebellest against me?’ [II Kings 18:20]

(48) Kah ketassoot wuttinuh, ahque wabesit,

and king 3-say-DIR-OBV NEG.IMP be-afraid

teguas **ke-naum**?... [Independent]

what 2 see

‘And the king said unto her, Be not afraid:

for what sawest thou?...’ [I Samuel 28:13]

(49) Kah yeuyeu Jehovah,

and now Jehovah

teguas **nu-ppahtissoowontom**? [Independent]

what 1 await

‘And now, Lord, what wait I for?’ [Psalms 39:7]

The anti-agreement hypothesis seems to be serving us well; when the wh-phrase is in a position to control agreement on the verb, the Conjunct form of the verb is used²³.

3.2.3 Central arguments, revisited

In section 3.2.1, we saw that intransitive verbs with wh-phrase arguments invariably use the Conjunct; I claimed that this was anti-agreement triggered by the agreement relation between Agr2 and the central argument:

- (50) howan woh **nepau-i-t** anuhquabean [Ch. Conjunct]
 who MOD stand 3SG be.located-2SG
 ‘Who may stand in thy sight?’ [Psalms 76:7]

In the last section, we saw that transitive verbs may be divided into two types. If the peripheral argument is specific, it controls peripheral agreement, yielding what Algonquianists call the “objective” form of the verb (and we saw that specific wh-phrases, as expected, trigger anti-agreement in this position, realized as the Conjunct). If the peripheral argument is not specific, however, it does not control peripheral agreement, and we get the so-called “absolute” form of the verb. Under these circumstances, peripheral agreement is with the central argument, as it is in intransitive verbs. Thus, the peripheral agreement on the objective verb in (51a) agrees with the specific peripheral argument, while in (51b), because the peripheral argument is not specific, peripheral agreement is with the central argument. The peripheral agreement is in boldface, in both cases:

(51) a. wu-takatam-unâwô -p -ash [Independent Objective]

3 hit non1.PL PRET INAN.PL

‘They hit them’

b. takatam-u-pan -eek ahsunash [Independent Absolute]

hit 3 PRET PL rocks

‘They hit rocks’

Thus, we expect that a wh-phrase central argument will trigger the use of the Conjunct even in transitive verbs, as long as the peripheral argument is not specific. This is correct:²⁴

(52) Howan **masunu-k** nuthogkoo [Ch. Conjunct]

who touch 3SG 1-clothes

‘Who touched my clothes?’

[Mark 5:30]

(53) Howan woh **namhe-on -t** [Ch. Conjunct]

who MOD find DIR 3SG

wunneetupanatamwe mittamwussisoh...

virtuous woman-OBV

‘Who can find a virtuous woman?...’

[Proverbs 31:10]

(54) Lord, howan **wanomuh-to-g -us** [Ch. Conjunct]

Lord who believe 3SG PRET

nuttonchum8onkanun?

1-report-1PL

‘Lord, who hath believed our report?’ [John 12:38]

On the other hand, when the peripheral argument is specific, it should control peripheral agreement, and a central wh-phrase should have no effect. This is also correct; although central wh-arguments ordinarily trigger the use of the Conjunct, as we have seen, they do not do so when the peripheral argument is specific. This can be seen in (55-59), which have pronominal peripheral arguments and wh-phrase central arguments (morphemes agreeing with the peripheral argument are underlined)^{25,26}:

(55) howan woh **wu-nnanompanwonsh-uh**? [Independent]

who MOD 3 intreat-for OBV

‘Who shall intreat for him?’ [I Samuel 2:25]

(56) wunnutcheg summagohteau,

his-hand is-stretched-out

kah howan woh **u-kqushkinnu-un**? [Independent]

and who MOD 3 turn-back INAN

‘His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?’ [Isaiah 14:27]

(57) Metah anne as8kekodteam8wontam onk wame teanteaguasinish

heart more deceitful than all things

kah unkqueneunku8matchetou,

and desperately-wicked

howan woh **8-wahteau-un** [Independent]

who MOD 3 know INAN

‘The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can

know it?’ [Jeremiah 17:9]

(58) Wunohteaonk magukish, neit howan **oo-tamehe-uh**, [Independent]

quietness give-3-INAN.PL²⁷ then who 3 trouble OBV

kah ahtahtunk wuskesuk,

and hide-3 his-face

neit howan woh **u-mmononneau-oh**? [Independent]

then who MOD 3 behold OBV

‘When he giveth quietness, who then can make trouble?

and when he hideth his face, who can then behold him?’ [Job 34:29]

(59) Yeu siógkiyeuonk, howan woh **wu-nn8tám-un**? [Independent]

this hard-saying who MOD 3 hear INAN

‘This is a hard saying; who can hear it?’ [John 6:60]

We find similar kinds of exceptions with demonstrative or topicalized peripheral arguments, for similar reasons:

- (60) Howan yeu **wut-usse-n**? [Independent]
 who this 3 do INAN
 ‘Who hath done this thing?’ [Judges 6:29]
- (61) Howan wame yeuh **wu-nnush-uh**? [Independent]
 who all these-obv 3 kill OBV
 ‘Who slew all these?’ [II Kings 10:9]
- (62) n8chumwetahhamwe nashauonk
 wounded spirit
 howan woh **wu-ttohshinum-un**? [Independent]
 who MOD 3 bear INAN
 ‘But a wounded spirit who can bear?’ [Chronicles 18:14]
- (63) Neit yeush wame nish quoshauwehtomahpash
 then these all that you-have-provided
 howan woh **wut-ahtau-unash**? [Independent]
 who MOD 3 have INAN.PL
 ‘Then whose whall those things be,
 which thou hast provided?’ [Luke 12:20]

It is worth emphasizing that this class of counterexamples is restricted to the contexts which I have described here in terms of anti-agreement. The claim being developed in this paper is that Conjunct verbs are unified by their failure to raise as high in the tree as Independent verbs (specifically, that they raise to T,

instead of C), but this failure to raise can have a number of different causes. In section 3.1 above I suggested that questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’ and embedded questions, among others, use the Conjunct because verb raising is blocked by the same factors that block it in languages like English and French in these contexts; in terms of the tree in (33), the C used in these contexts is incapable of attracting verb-movement. Section 3.2 has been dedicated to anti-agreement, a phenomenon which is subject to being overridden by other morphological considerations in the other languages that exhibit it, as we have seen. In Wampanoag, if the account given here is correct, anti-agreement can be overridden by a requirement that verbs agree with specific peripheral arguments. The contexts described in section 3.1 above, on the other hand, are not instances of anti-agreement in this theory. It should not be too surprising, then, to discover that the Conjunct is invariably used in these contexts. Questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’, for instance, use the Conjunct even if the peripheral argument is a pronoun²⁸:

(64) tohwutch matta **togkom-o -adt** en ohkeit [Un. Conjunct]

why not smite NEG DIR.2SG to ground-LOC

‘Why didst thou not smite him there to the ground?’ [I Samuel 18:11]

(65) tohwutch noh **nooswehtáhwh-ogut** [Un. Conjunct]

why him persecute DIR.1PL

‘Why persecute we him?’ [Job 19:28]

Similarly, embedded questions always use the conjunct, again regardless of the status of the peripheral argument:

(66) numwonkquottou weenauweetuonganash, kah matta wahteooo

heap-3 riches and not know-NEG-3

[howane pish nash **muhmounu-k**] [Ch. Conjunct]

who will them-INAN gather 3SG

‘he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them’

[Psalms 39:6]

(67) Howan namehit nushau...

one found-PASS slain-PASS

kah matta wahteomuk [howan **nash-on -t**] [Ch. Conjunct]

and not known-PASS who slay DIR 3SG

‘If one be found slain...and it be not known who hath slain him’

[Deuteronomy 21:1]

The same is true of relative clauses, which are always in the Changed Conjunct form²⁹:

(68) a. Kah Judas wonk, [noh **wanass8m-u -h -p**], [**Ch. Conjunct**]

and Judas also who betray DIR 3SG PRET

8wahteauunnap ne ayeuonk...

3-know-INAN-PRET that place

‘And Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place...’

[John 18:2]

b. ...newutche matta 8namptamoneau nahoh,

because not 3-believe-DIR-3PL them

[neg **nau-on-ch-eg** mahche omohkit].

that see DIR 3 PL PERF rise-3

‘...because they believed not them

which had seen him after he was risen.’ [Mark 16:14]

This theory, then, makes a useful distinction between cases of use of the Conjunct. Those described in section 3.1 above are predicted to be exceptionless, and seem to be. Those described in section 3.2 in terms of anti-agreement, on the other hand, seem to have exceptions, of a more or less expected kind; given the cross-linguistically attested “fragility” of anti-agreement, this is no great surprise.³⁰

3.2.3 No agreement with wh-phrases

The previous sections have concentrated on type of agreement which can be controlled by wh-phrases, and we have seen that if a wh-phrase would trigger

peripheral agreement, the Conjunct form of the verb is used. The account predicts that wh-phrases which do not control agreement on the verb at all should never trigger the use of the Conjunct.

This is true, for instance, in the following ditransitive examples; here the verb agrees with two arguments, neither of which is the wh-phrase:

(69) ...kah howan yeu **kutt-innumun-kq-un** [Independent]

and who this 2 give INV INAN

kummenuhkesuonk.

2-authority

‘...and who gave thee this authority?’ [Matthew 21:23]

central argument (**kutt-** ‘2’): indirect object (*you*)

peripheral argument (**-un** ‘INAN’): direct object (*this authority*)

(70) Neit mittamwossis n8wau

then woman say-3

howan woh **ku-ppaudta -sh?** [Independent]

who MOD 2 bring-up 1>2

‘Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee?’ [I Samuel 28:11]

central argument (**ku-** ‘2’): indirect object (*you*)

peripheral argument (**-sh** ‘1>2’³¹): subject (*I*)

(71) Howan **ku-mmishamun-gq-un** kupposkissuonk? [**Independent**]

who 2 tell.about INV INAN 2-nakedness

‘Who told thee that thou wast naked?’ [Genesis 3:11]

central argument (**ku-‘2’**): indirect object (*you*)

peripheral argument (**-un** ‘INAN’): direct object (*your nakedness*)

Most adjunct wh-questions also use the Independent; again, this is not surprising, given that the verb does not agree with them:

(72) Kah n8wau, Hagar wuttinnúmoh Sarai

and say-3 Hagar 3-servant-OBV Sarai

tunoh **k-8m**, kah tunoh **kutt-om...** [**Independent**]

where 2 come.from and where 2 go

‘And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid,

whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go?...' [Genesis 16:8]

(73) Toh utt8che **ku-ssekeneam** hahpáun anaquabeh? [**Independent**]

how long 2 refuse to-be-humble be.located-1

‘How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?’ [Exodus 10:3]

(74) ahquompak woh **nut-omohke-m**, [**Independent**]

when MOD 1 arise SG

kah nuhkon mahtsheau?

and night be-gone

‘When shall I arise, and the night be gone?’ [Job 7:4]

We have already seen two exceptions to this generalization about adjunct wh-questions: questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’, and embedded questions, always use the Conjunct form of the verb, as discussed in section 3.1. In the next section, we will consider another class of adjunct questions, which will offer additional evidence for the crucial role played by peripheral agreement in the distribution of the Conjunct.

3.2.4 The importance of being peripheral: Subordinatives

The discussion of agreement so far has focussed on agreement with canonical arguments of the verb (i.e., subjects and objects). Like a number of other Algonquian languages, however, Wampanoag has another type of verbal agreement, shown in the boldfaced Independent verbs in the examples below:

- (75) Uspeon en kesukqut, na **kutt-i** **-in,** **[Ind.]**
 ascend-1SG to heaven-LOC there 2 be.located INAN
 ayimon nuttappin chepiohkomukqut, kusseh, na **kutt-i** **-in.** **[Ind.]**
 make-1SG1-bed hell-LOC behold there 2 be.located INAN
 ‘If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there:
 if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there.’ [Psalms 139:8]
- (76) ...sun yeu **kutt-inne nomp8humau-o** **-n** negone sephausuenin? **[Ind.]**
 Q this 2 thus answer DIR INAN high priest
 ‘...Answerest thou the high priest so?’ [John 18:22]

(75-76) exemplify a verb form referred to in the Algonquian literature as the “subordinative”, which exhibits agreement with adjuncts (often adjuncts of location or manner) that are specific. In (75), the suffix *-un* on the verb, glossed ‘INAN’, agrees with the adjunct *na* ‘there’, while in (76) the same suffix is used to agree with *yeu* ‘this’. Subordinatives typically require the use of what Algonquianists call a “relative root”, which sits between the verb and its prefix, if any, and contributes information about the semantic role of the adjunct controlling agreement. The relative root in (76) is *inne* ‘thus’, which indicates that the adjunct is one of manner; other common locative relative roots in Wampanoag include *ut* ‘at, in, on’ and *wuchee* ‘from’. Certain verbs (often verbs expressing position or location) do not require relative roots to agree with a particular type of adjunct. The verb in (75), *i* ‘dwell’, is one of these, and can agree with the locative adjunct expressing the dwelling place without a relative root. For further discussion of the nature of relative roots and the subordinative, see Bloomfield (1962), Voorhis (1974), Rhodes (1990, 1998), Rackowski (2000), Valentine (2001), and references cited there.

Subordinatives have another property which will be relevant for our purposes: the agreement morphology controlled by the adjunct is not on the morphological edge of the verb. The relevant morpheme is in boldface in (77):

(77) Na kut-ayu **-neâ** -p

there 2 live INAN PRET

‘You lived there’

Here the agreement morpheme *-neâ*, which agrees with the adjunct *na* ‘there’, is followed by the Preterite suffix *-p*. This indicates that *-neâ* is not on the morphological edge of the verb; even if *-neâ* were agreeing with a wh-phrase, the verb would have to raise through agreement to get to Tense. In terms of the phrase structure proposed above for Wampanoag, subordinative agreement is generated in the head I have labelled Agr1, not the one I have labelled Agr2.

I have claimed that use of the Conjunct is sometimes a form of anti-agreement; the verb is unable to raise to the heads that are responsible for agreement with a wh-phrase, and the relatively impoverished agreement morphology of the Conjunct is the result. In particular, I have claimed that anti-agreement can only be triggered by wh-phrases which control peripheral agreement; following Phillips, the idea has been that head-movement through all the structurally lower agreement positions is forced by independent factors, but that the verb is capable of stopping short of the head responsible for peripheral agreement, since it is on the morphological edge of the verb.

Because Subordinative verbs do not show peripheral agreement with their adjuncts, we do not expect to find Conjunct when these adjuncts are wh-extracted. This seems to be the right result; the verbs in (78) are all Independent and Subordinative (and the wh-word in both is *utah*, which has a variety of meanings; see footnote 14 for discussion³²):

(78) a. Toh woh **nut-une unnoohumo-na -n**

how MOD 1 thus sing INAN1PL

wutt-unoohomaonk Jehovah ut penoowohteaohkomukqut?

3 song Jehovah in strange.land-LOC

‘How shall we sing

the Lord’s song in a strange land?’ [Psalms 137:4]

b. ...ut toh **k-8ch mukkupashquo-n** yeu kesukok?

where 2 from gather.food INAN this day

kah uttoh **kutt-it anákaus-in?**...

and where 2 at work INAN

‘Where hast thou gleaned to day? and where wroughtest thou?’

[Ruth 2:19]

3.2.4 Inverse

I claimed above that when *hawân* ‘who’ is in a position to control peripheral agreement, the Conjunct is used. The idea was that *hawân*, being specific, would trigger peripheral agreement, and therefore requires anti-agreement. (79) is one of the examples I used above to show this:

(79) ...howan woh **quosh -og?** [Ch. Conjunct]

who MOD fear DIR.1SG

‘...Whom shall I fear?’ [Psalms 27:1]

However, all of the examples that show this straightforwardly are, like (79), examples with Direct verbs, in which the subject outranks the object on the animacy hierarchy. When the verb is Inverse, the situation is somewhat more complicated, as we will see in this section.

We saw in section 3.2.2 above that peripheral agreement is sensitive to the semantics of the peripheral argument; in Wampanoag, peripheral agreement only appears if the argument is a pronoun, a demonstrative, or a topic. This is true for peripheral arguments of direct verbs, and it is also true for peripheral arguments of most inverse verbs; it holds for inverse verbs with inanimate subjects, for example, and also inverse verbs for which both arguments are third person (with an obviative subject and a proximate object, triggering the use of the inverse).

The inverse verbs that we will be concerned with in this section, however, are ones with third person subjects and first or second person objects (the verbs that one would use to ask a question like “Who touched me?”). And it turns out that the semantic conditions on peripheral agreement are quite different for just these verbs. With these verbs, in fact, peripheral agreement is almost always found, not just with the restricted set of nominals that ordinarily trigger it, but with almost everything. The only nominals which fail to trigger peripheral agreement with these verbs are a restricted class of indefinites, which seem to be the ones Giannakidou (1998, 1999) refers to as “nonveridical”; these are indefinites which do not presuppose or assert the existence of a referent, which

are typically used when the speaker wishes to make it clear that she has no idea what the referent might be, or whether there even is one. The examples below all have subjects in this restricted set, and therefore have (boldfaced) verbs which are Independent, Inverse, and Absolute:

(80) a. Nenuun 8skaneuminneoh Abraham,

we-EXCL 3-3rd-OBV Abraham

kah matta howan

and not someone

nu-mmamussunohkon-ukk -8 -mun; ...

1 have.as.servant INV NEG 1PL

‘We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man...’

[John 8:33]

b. Matta mech8ogq 8weyaus Wunnamonoh wosketomp,

not eat-NEG-2PL 3-flesh 3-son-OBV man

kah wuttattamogq 8shquehheonk,

and drink-2PL 3-blood

wanne **kutt-apehtun-k -8 -mw8** pomantam8onk.

there.is.no 2 be.in INV NEG 2PL life

‘Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood,

ye have no life in you.’

[John 6:53]

c. ...yeu appeog pajeh mohtompanit,

here sit-1PL until dawn-LOC

ne teagwe wosketuonk **ke-nuhkekon -k -umun**,...

that some mischief 2 come.upon INV 1PL

‘...if we tarry till the morning light,

some mischief will come upon us:...’ [2 Kings 7:9]

Apart from this restricted set of cases, however, peripheral agreement seems to be obligatory with inverse verbs with non-3rd person objects.

Now we can begin investigating the nature of wh-questions involving this type of verb. The prediction of the theory developed here is that Conjunct verbs will appear whenever the wh-phrase might trigger peripheral agreement. We have seen that the verbs under discussion here do show peripheral agreement with most kinds of nominals, and we therefore expect that wh-phrases ought to trigger the use of the Conjunct when they are peripheral arguments with this type of verb.

This does seem to be the case:

(81) a. Howan woh **kuhkuhqueansh-ikque-og** [Un. Conjunct]

who MOD go.up.for INV 1PL

ayeuuhkonittue Cananitsog...

against Canaanites

‘Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites...’ [Judges 1:1]

b. howan woh **pabahtanum-ukque-og** [Ch. Conjunct]

who MOD entrust INV 2PL

wunamuhkut wenaeltuongash?

true riches

‘Who will commit to your trust the true riches?’ [Luke 16:11]

However, we have also just seen that there is another way for a peripheral argument of this type of verb to avoid triggering agreement; it can be an instance of what Giannakidou (1998, 1999) calls the “nonveridical indefinites”, the indefinites which speakers use to indicate that they have no idea what might constitute a referent for the nominal in question. den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002) argue that Pesetsky’s (1987) “aggressively non-D-linked” wh-phrases are instances of nonveridical indefinites:

(82) **Who the hell** would buy that book?

Aggressively non-D-linked expressions like *who the hell* in English are like other nonveridical indefinites in that they are used when a speaker wishes to express complete ignorance about what might constitute a referent for the nominal. We might expect, then, that Wampanoag questions with this type of inverse verb would be allowed to be Independent just when the subject wh-phrase was “aggressively non-D-linked” in Pesetsky’s sense, since it is just this type of wh-phrase which should be able to avoid triggering agreement without having to use

the Conjunct. And there do in fact seem to be a number of cases of the relevant type in the corpus:

- (83) a. Kuttappehtunk mattannit: Howan **ku-kkod nush-uk?** [Ind.]
 2-be.in-INV devil who 2 wants.to kill INV
 ‘Thou hast a devil; who goeth about to kill thee?’ [John 7:20]
- b. howan **kut-ayimun-k** santimáen kah wussittumun, [Ind.]
 who 2 make INV prince and judge
 k8suminneanónut?
 2-to.judge-1PL
 ‘Who made thee a prince and a judge over us?’ [Exodus 2:14]
- c. howan **kut-ann8n-uk -umw8** yeu ayimunat wetu, [Ind.]
 who 2 order INV 2PL this to.make house
 kah wunehtauunat yeush pummeneutongash?
 and to.repair these-INAN walls
 ‘Who commanded you to build this house,
 and to make up these walls?’ [Ezra 5:9]

In context, these are all clearly examples in which the speaker wishes to express skepticism that there could be an accurate answer; (83a), for example, is a response made by a crowd of people to Jesus, when he has just claimed that people are planning to kill him. The relevant Independent examples all seem to have this quality, which is what we expect on the theory developed here; in order

to be a peripheral argument of this type of verb and avoid triggering peripheral agreement while still allowing the verb to raise to C and surface in the Independent form, a *wh*-phrase must be “aggressively non-D-linked”. As we expect, in the cases where the Absolute and Objective forms of these verbs are morphologically distinct ((83c) is one such case), the Absolute is much more common.³³

3.2.5 Intensional contexts

Intensional contexts behave in ways that are puzzling for the theory developed here.³⁴ We do find instances of *hawân* ‘who’ in peripheral position triggering the use of the Conjunct, as expected:

- (84) Howan **natinneahwh-adt?** [Ch. Conjunct]
 who seek 2SG
 ‘Whom seekest thou?’ [John 20:15]

However, we also find instances of the Independent being used:

- (85) Howan **ke-natinneahwh-omw8?** [Independent]
 who 2 seek 2PL
 ‘Whom seek ye?’ [John 18:4, 18:7]

Conversely, *tyâqas* ‘what’, which ordinarily cooccurs with the Independent, sometimes appears with Conjunct verbs in intensional contexts:

(86) Teaguas **natinneahham-an?** [Ch. Conjunct]

what seek 2SG

‘What seekest thou?’ [John 4:27]

Ideally, we would probably want to relate these facts to the sensitivity of peripheral agreement to specificity. The data might be taken to shed light on a question that was raised earlier, in section 3.2.2: are *hawân* ‘who’ and *tyâqas* ‘what’ being treated as specific and non-specific, respectively, because these are properties of their meanings in Wampanoag, or because these texts are being translated from English and these are the properties of ‘who’ and ‘what’ in English? In intensional contexts, the specific/non-specific distinction is more salient, and one could imagine the translators trying to pick a translation that would convey either a de re or a de dicto reading, depending on which seemed appropriate. The de dicto/de re contrast could then be linked to the Independent/Conjunct contrast; specific wh-phrases, which have the de re reading, require the Conjunct, while non-specific, de dicto wh-phrases can appear with an Independent Absolute verb.

Though this account seems reasonably plausible a priori, it is difficult to find support for it. In particular, there is no obvious sense, given the contexts in which they appear, in which the questions in (84) and (86) are de re while the one in (85) is de dicto.

4 Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to show that the Wampanoag Conjunct Order is attested in syntactic contexts in which verbs are comparatively low in the structure in other languages. We saw in section 3.1 above that the Conjunct appears in several contexts involving operator movement in which I-to-C is blocked in languages like English and French, including relative clauses, embedded questions, and questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’. In section 3.2 I argued that Wampanoag exhibits a correlate of the widespread phenomenon of anti-agreement; when a wh-phrase is in a position to agree with a verb, the verb is in the Conjunct form. We have also seen that Wampanoag anti-agreement, like anti-agreement in other languages, is subject to being overridden by other morphological requirements on the verb. To the extent that the parallel with anti-agreement is compelling, the Wampanoag facts lead us to a particular understanding of the nature of anti-agreement; the relevant condition is not a requirement that verbs fail to bear morphology agreeing with wh-phrases, but rather a ban on attraction of the verb by heads containing features which agree with a wh-phrase. Since it is possible for the verb to be attracted by features of other heads, anti-agreement is “fragile” in the sense discussed here; it can be overridden by the properties of other heads in the clause, and will take effect only if the movement of the verb is driven solely by properties of the agreeing features in question.

- (88) a. ...newutche n8wahteoun yeuyeu
 for 1-know-INAN now
 [ku-kqush GOD,]... [Independent]
 2 fear God
 ‘...for now I know that thou fearest God...’ [Genesis 22:12]
- b. ...sun woh mat n8wowog
 Q MOD not say-NEG-PL
 [ku-kkogkea-mw8]? [Independent]
 2 be.mad 2PL
 ‘...will they not say that ye are mad?’ [1 Corinthians 14:23]
- c. Matta wunnamptam8
 not believe-NEG
 [noh pish quinnupp-u wutch pohkenahtu...] [Independent]
 he will return 3 from darkness-LOC
 ‘He believeth not that he shall return out of darkness...’ [Job 15:22]

If we were to discover that Algonquian verbs of the Independent order generally raise to C, while Conjunct verbs raise only to lower positions, then this split between Wampanoag and the other Algonquian languages would have a parallel in the Germanic family. The V2 (or “verb-second”) phenomenon in Germanic is typically analyzed as involving movement of the verb into the C domain (where it is preceded by some constituent which has moved to the specifier of the head

occupied by the verb). Most of the Germanic languages exhibit V2 in main clauses, but in embedded clauses they differ. In German, for example, the verb fails to raise to C in embedded statements with overt complementizers (as well as in embedded questions), and the verb is therefore clause-final, rather than in the V2 position. Icelandic, by contrast, does exhibit V2 in embedded statements (Iatridou and Kroch 1992):

- (89) a. Ich glaube, [daß gestern Hans zu Hause geblieben **ist**]
 I believe that yesterday Hans at home stayed is
 ‘I believe that Hans stayed at home yesterday’
- b. Jón efast um [að [á morgun] **fari** María snemma á fætur]
 John doubts that tomorrow gets Mary early up
 ‘John doubts that Mary will get up early tomorrow’

The account developed here of the contrast between Conjunct and Independent orders claims that Independent verbs, like verbs in Germanic V2 clauses, raise to C, while Conjunct verbs do not. If it did turn out to be possible to generalize this account to other Algonquian languages, then we would conclude that Wampanoag, like Icelandic, has verb movement to C (realized as the Independent order of morphology) in embedded statements, while languages like Sheshatshit Montagnais, Western Naskapi, and Rainy River Ojibwa, like German, ban verb movement to C (and thus use the Conjunct) in these contexts. A full cross-linguistic comparison will have to wait for future work, however.

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1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
non1	non-1st person
ABS	absolute
AC	agentive construction (Mayan; indicates extraction of subject)
ACC	accusative
AGR	agreement
ASP	aspect
CL	noun class
COMP	complementizer
DIR	direct

ERG	ergative
FEM	feminine
IMPER	imperative
INAN	inanimate
INV	inverse
LOC	locative
MOD	modal
NEG	negation
OBV	obviative
PART	participle
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PRET	preterite
Q	question particle
SG	singular
TNS	tense

In quoted Wampanoag examples I will retain the original orthography; see Goddard (1981, 1990) for a careful discussion of the nature of this orthography. In constructed examples I use the orthography developed by Jessie Little Doe

Fermino and Ken Hale, discussed in Fermino (2000). In this orthography $\hat{a}=/a:/$, $\hat{o}=/\hat{a}:/$, $\hat{8}=/u:/$, $ee=/i:/$, $u=/'/$, and $q=/kw/$.

¹ This language has gone by a number of names, including Natick (Trumbull 1903, Aubin 1975, Goddard 1979), Massachussee (Siebert 1975), and Massachusett (Goddard 1981, 1990, Goddard and Bragdon 1988). I refer to it here as Wampanoag because this is the name for it preferred by the people who are attempting to revive its use. For discussion of the Wampanoag revival project, see Ash, Fermino, and Hale (2001).

² Independent verbs do appear in clauses with overt complementizers in Wampanoag, which means we will need to resort either to a more fine-grained structure for the phrase I will label CP (breaking it down into multiple projections, as in Rizzi 1997), or, equivalently for our purposes, to CP-recursion (Iatridou and Kroch 1992).

³ Biblical citations are from Eliot (1685), except for citations from Psalms and John, which are from Mayhew (1709).

⁴ In sentences with two 3rd person arguments, typically one is proximate and the other is obviative. The proximate argument is generally the one which was previously under discussion, while the obviative is new in the discourse.

⁵ In a sense, given that this verb has only one argument, we could think of that argument as being both central (since it is the highest argument on the hierarchy in (3)) and peripheral (since it is also the lowest argument on the hierarchy in (3)).

⁶ Conjunct verbs do have another agreement morpheme when they are used in relative clauses, which agrees with the head of the relative clause. This agreement is like Independent peripheral agreement in being sensitive specifically to number and obviation, but is not necessarily with the peripheral argument (though it can be, if this is the relative clause head).

⁷ For discussion of initial change in various Algonquian languages, see Costa (1996).

⁸ As the translations suggest, in *when*-clauses, Changed Conjunct is used when the event described by the *when*-clause is in the past, Unchanged Conjunct when it is in the present. Interestingly, the Wampanoag past-tense marker *-(u)p(an)* is systematically absent in these clauses (though it does appear in other kinds of Conjunct clauses).

⁹ I have represented Agr1 as adjoining to Neg. Since Agr1 is present even in positive sentences, a better name for this projection might be Laka's (1990) Σ , which can have both positive and negative values.

b. ...matcheetoowog onchepunahteag:

wicked-PL bend.bow-3PL

quashinumwog ukkounkquodtou, ut wutahtumannoowout,

prepare-3PL 3-arrow-PL on 3-bowstring-PL-LOC

[onk woh keme **pumw -a -og** sampwutteahonutcheh]. [Ind.]

so.that MOD secretly shoot.at DIR PL upright.in.heart-OBV

‘...the wicked bend their bow, they make ready their arrow upon the string;

that they may privily shoot at the upright in heart.’ [Psalms 11:2]

c. ...ahque wonk matcheussésh,

NEG.IMP again sin-IMP

[ishkont k8che uhquinneukquohk **ku-ppeyâon-ukq-un**]. [Ind.]

lest more bad.thing 2 come.to INV INAN

‘...sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.’ [John 5:14]

-
- d. Qut [tokonogque ne **wu-ttashe usse-na** -p] [Ind.]
 but although that 3 many do INAN PRET
 muhchantam8onkash anuhquabhitit],
 miracles be.located-3PL
 onch matta 8nomuhtunkk8pah:
 yet not 3-believe-INV-NEG-PRET-OBV
 ‘But though he had done so many miracles before them,
 yet they believed not on him:’ [John 12:37]

¹² The word *woh* seems to have a general modal force; it is used to translate English ‘should’, ‘ought to’, ‘can’, among others.

¹³ A reviewer suggests that these wh-questions might involve relative clauses, and thus be assimilated to the example in (9). On this account, the wh-question in (11b) would be more literally translated ‘Who was the one that sinned?’ This type of account has a long history in the Algonquian literature, and may well be correct for some Algonquian languages; see Wolfart 1973, Johns 1982, Reinholtz and Russell 1995, Blain 1996, 1997, and references cited there for discussion. On the other hand, Brittain 1999 and Bruening 2001 argue convincingly against this conclusion for related languages (Western Naskapi and Passamaquoddy, respectively). We will see in section 3.2 that this approach appears not to work well for Wampanoag, either; the facts about the distribution of Independent and

Conjunct in Wampanoag wh-questions are quite complex, in ways that are not paralleled by relative clauses.

¹⁴ As a reviewer correctly points out, the Wampanoag phrase *utah wâchee* (here spelled *tohwaje*) is polymorphemic (a property it shares with the other English expressions roughly meaning “why”, namely “how come” and “what for”). It consists of a preverbal particle *wuchee*, here undergoing initial change to *wâchee*, which means something like ‘for’, and an independent wh-word *utah* which has a variety of meanings, including ‘how’ and ‘what (intangible)’:

(i) Asuh **toh** woh wuttin petukon menuhkoshketomp wekit?

or how MOD 3-thus enter strong.man 3-house-LOC

‘Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house...?’

[Matthew 12:29]

(ii) **Toh** kussim papaume kohhog?

how 2-say about 2-self

‘What sayest thou of thyself?’

[John 1:22]

In this regard *utah* resembles the Warlpiri wh-word *nyarrpa* (Legate 2002), with which it also shares the property of appearing in the “scope-marking” construction, a cross-linguistically attested construction in which a wh-word fails to move long-distance to its scope position and this position is occupied by a “wh-expletive” (here *utah*):

(iii) Qut **toh** kussimwoo, **howan** nen?

but how 2PL-say who I

‘But whom say ye that I am?’

[Matthew 16:15]

The closest literal translation of *utah wâchee* into English, then, might be “what for”.

¹⁵ For the most part, these verbs are in the Changed Conjunct form. Eliot’s translation of the book of Matthew has five instances of Unchanged Conjunct in this context, however, one of which is given in (17) (there are also four instances of Changed Conjunct in this context in Matthew). I do not know whether the clustering of these instances in Matthew is an accident, or what it could signify (in particular, whether it is a translation error or reflects Eliot’s working with a speaker from a different dialect).

¹⁶ A reviewer claims that these are actually relative clauses, and the elements I have identified as wh-words are actually the head nouns modified by the relative clauses; the embedded clause in (17) for example, is taken to literally mean ‘the time that the thief came’. This suggestion is apparently prompted by the fact that like relative clauses, the clauses in question almost always have verbs in the Changed Conjunct form (though, ironically, (17) is one of the few exceptions to this for embedded questions; see footnote 15). It is not clear to me how this approach can be generalized to examples like (16), where the wh-phrase is

something that never appears to be modified by a relative clause. The reviewer also asserts that *ahquompak* means ‘time’ and cannot be a wh-word, but it is hard to see how to reconcile this with wh-questions like the one below:

(i) ...kah kenau mattammagquog **ahquompag** pish koowaantammumwoo.

and you-PL fools when will 2-be-wise-PL

‘And ye fools, when will ye be wise?’ [Psalms 94:8]

If the claim is that examples like (i) contain a null ‘what’, then I am quite prepared to posit a similar null ‘what’ in (17); nothing crucial seems to me to hinge on this.

¹⁷ It is unclear to me what conditions the distribution of Changed and Unchanged Conjunct in questions with *utah wuch* ‘why’.

¹⁸ The particular examples under consideration here have an overt morpheme in T, *-pan* ‘PRET’. However, the facts do not change if there is no overt tense morphology. Similarly, we will see that wh-phrases can trigger anti-agreement even if they are singular and non-obviative--that is, even if they are the type of argument for which peripheral agreement would be phonologically null. For the account to be successful, then, we will have to be willing to posit phonologically null (but syntactically active) morphemes in these cases.

¹⁹ As was mentioned in footnote 4 above, in sentences with two 3rd person arguments, typically one is proximate and the other is obviative. The proximate

argument is generally the one which was previously under discussion, while the obviative is new in the discourse.

²⁰ The documents collected in Goddard and Bragdon 1988, which were written by native speakers, also reliably treat names as specific in the relevant sense, though this is not true of Eliot's Bible translation.

²¹ See section 3.2.5 for some more data which may be relevant to this question.

²² There are two unexpected counterexamples to this generalization that I have been able to find so far, both from the book of Isaiah:

(i) a. ...qut howan **ku-ppabahtanum**, waj chekéhtanwean? [**Ind. Abs.**]

but who 2 trust so.that rebel.against-1-2

'...now on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against me?'

[Isaiah 36:5]

b. Howan **ku-kkékom**, kah **ku-pblasphemon**? [**Ind. Abs.**]

who 2 reproach and 2 blaspheme

'Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed?' [Isaiah 37:23]

The book of Isaiah will also contribute one of the counterexamples in footnote 24 below, which raises the possibility that these are either translation errors or reflect the contributions of a speaker of a different dialect.

²³ Returning to the previous section, we note that the examples of a wh-phrase controlling central agreement all involve *hawân* 'who'; we might wonder what

would happen if *tyâqas* ‘what’ controlled central agreement. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find any examples of the relevant kind.

²⁴ There are two unexpected counterexamples in the corpus, which are given below:

- (i) Howan **wahe-a -u** wunnashauonguh **[Independent]**
 who know DIR 3 3-spirit-OBV
 wosketomp noh waabeit
 man that goes.up-3
 kah wunnashauonguh puppinashim noh w8msit en ohkeit?
 and 3-spirit-OBV beast that goes.down-3 to earth-LOC
 ‘Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the
 beast that goeth downward to the earth?’ [Ecclesiastes 3:21]

- (iii) ...kah howan woh **wahteauwahuau** uppometuonk? **[Independent]**
 ...and who MOD declare-DIR-3 3-generation
 ‘...and who shall declare his generation?’ [Isaiah 53:8]

²⁵ There are, again, a few counterexamples to this generalization in the corpus:

- (i) Howan noh **kohquttumau-on-t** u-mmay? **[Ch. Conjunct]**
 who him enjoin -DIR-3 3-way
 ‘Who hath enjoined him his way?’ [Job 36:23]

(ii) Howan ne ási-t kah kezteun-k, [Ch. Conjunct]

who it do-3 and make-3

wehquetu-k pometuongash wutch waj kutchissik?

call-3 generations from beginning

‘Who hath wrought and done it,

calling the generations from the beginning?’ [Isaiah 41:4]

(iii) Neniveh mahchumwushin,

Nineveh is.laid.waste

howan woh maueetog? [Ch. Conjunct]

who MOD bemoan-3

‘Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her?’ [Nahum 3:7]

Example (ii) is from the book of Isaiah, which, as we have seen in footnotes 22 and 24, is a rich source of counterexamples.

²⁶ Not all of the underlined morphemes are actually generated in what I have called Agr2, the Agr node adjoined to C; in particular, *-un* is a form of Agr1 which is conditioned by the presence of a specific inanimate object. For the account discussed here to work, we must posit a phonologically null affix in Agr2 which agrees with inanimate singular nominals and drives verb movement to C.

²⁷ The plural inanimate agreement on *magukish* is an instance of the participial agreement that I alluded to briefly in footnote 6. This agreement appears in

relative clauses, and in *when*-clauses like this one which refer to conditions that hold repeatedly over a period of time (referred to by Goddard and Bragdon (1988, 548) as the “conjunct iterative”). One possibility is that these *when*-clauses are indeed headless relative clauses; this one would have a literal meaning something like “the times when he gives quietness”. Like relative clauses, these *when*-clauses are invariably in the Changed Conjunct.

²⁸ Use of overt pronouns is rather rare, and usually seems to be reserved for positions of emphasis. It is interesting that some of these questions do have overt pronominal objects (e.g., *nah* ‘him’ in (65), or *nash* ‘them-INAN’ in (66)); I have no data on whether such objects are more common in this construction than we would expect, however.

²⁹ This is an argument against the suggestion, mentioned in footnote 13, that Wampanoag questions might be cleft constructions, involving a headless relative clause which triggers the use of the Conjunct. In the theory developed here, the differences between *wh*-questions and relative clauses are attributed to the fact that the Conjunct is used in *wh*-questions for reasons having to do with anti-agreement, while in relative clauses it is the properties of the C involved in forming relative clauses that are relevant.

³⁰ A reviewer offers an alternative theory of the use of Independent verbs in examples like (55), repeated as (i):

-
- (i) howan woh **wu-nnanompanwonsh-uh?** [Independent]
 who MOD 3 intreat-for OBV
 ‘Who shall intreat for him?’ [I Samuel 2:25]

Correctly pointing out that *hawân* can mean ‘someone’ as well as ‘who’ (as it does in (67) above, for example), the reviewer suggests that (i) might be a yes-no question, ‘Will someone intreat for him?’, in which case the use of the Independent would be entirely unsurprising. He suggests, in other words, that (i) ought to be understood as having the same syntactic structure as (ii):

- (ii) Sun howan **u-ppapattauosohh-oh** ne woh machuk? [Independent]
 Q anyone 3 bring-to OBV that MOD eat-3
 ‘Hath any man brought him ought to eat?’ [John 4:33]

This approach seems to me to miss a generalization, however; why should questions with pronominal objects reliably be altered by the translators to yes-no questions about indefinites, while questions without such objects never are?

³¹ This is in fact a theme sign, indicating that the subject is 1st person and the object 2nd.

³² Wampanoag has another word for ‘where’, *tônah*, which does not use the Subordinative. In Eliot’s Bible translations, this word is confined to questions about origins and endpoints of motion (which may also be made with *utah*); see example (72) above, the relevant part of which is repeated here:

(i) ...**tunoh** k-8m, kah **tunoh** kutt-o -m...

where 2 come.from and where 2 go SG

‘...whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go?...’ [Genesis 16:8]

³³ I have only been able to find three instances of Objective forms being used in this context:

(i) howan pish **ku-ppohquohwhun-ukq-un** [Ind. Obj.]

who will 2 save INV 1PL

wutch wunnutcheگان8out yeug matikkenukeg manitt8og?

from 3-hand-PL-LOC these mighty gods

‘Who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods?’ [I Samuel 4:8]

(ii) howan woh **kut-assamh-ukq-un** weyaus, mechinat? [Ind. Obj.]

who MOD 2 feed INV 1PL meat to.eat

‘Who shall give us flesh to eat?’ [Numbers 11:4]

(iii) Howan pish **ku-tchippunun-kq -un** [Ind. Obj.]

who will 2 separate INV 1PL

wutch womononat Christ...

from to.love Christ

‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?’ [Romans 8:35]

These are all compatible with the “aggressively non-D-linked” semantics that I have attributed above to questions of this kind with Independent Inverse verbs,

but the fact that they are in the Objective form is surprising, and on the theory developed here I have to regard them as errors in translation. They are particularly reasonable errors, given how rare this type of Independent Inverse Absolute verb is; one can easily imagine someone ‘correcting’ such verbs to their Objective forms automatically, without thinking about their meaning.

³⁴ Intensional contexts, roughly speaking, are domains in which the speaker can utter expressions without committing herself to the existence of objects to which the expressions refer. For example, to utter (ia), I have to believe that there are such things as unicorns, while this is not true of (ib):

- (i) a. John is eating a unicorn.
- b. John is looking for a unicorn.

Thus, the object of *look for* is in an intensional context, while the object of *eat* is not.