

# Ditransitive licensing of Long Distance Agreement in Meskwaki

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Amy Dahlstrom  
University of Chicago

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# Introduction

- The phenomenon of **Long Distance Agreement** (LDA) is well known across the Algonquian family, where a matrix verb is inflected to agree with an argument of its complement clause
- The familiar sort of LDA involves a monotransitive Transitive Animate (TA) matrix verb
- ▶ In today's paper, I argue that Meskwaki also has ditransitive **TA+O** matrix verbs, formed with the secondary final **-aw**, which license the LDA construction

# Example of the construction

- (1) *ki·hkehčimeko–nenehke·netamo·ne i·nokimani e·šimiyani*  
*ke-i·h-kehči–=meko –nenehke·netamaw-ene*  
*2-FUT-greatly–=EMPH –think.of.TA+O-1>2/IND*

[i·noki=mani IC-išim-iyani]

today=now IC-speak.so.to-2>1/PART/OBL

‘I will think seriously of what you told me today.’ W371  
 (literally: ‘I think of **you** [what you told me]’)

# Road map

1. Functions of the secondary final *-aw*
  1. Applicatives
  2. Possessor Raising
2. Familiar type of Long Distance Agreement
3. LDA constructions with ditransitive matrix verbs
4. Syntactic differences between the two types
5. Ditransitive LDA and Possessor Raising

# 1. Functions of *-aw*

(2a)	mešen-	‘catch’	TI class 1: theme sign <i>-am</i>
(2b)	[[mešen]am] <b>aw</b> -	‘catch for’	
(3a)	awat-	‘take away’	TI class 2: theme sign <i>-o·</i>
(3b)	awata <b>aw</b> -	‘take away for’	
(4a)	na·t-	‘go after, fetch’	TI class 3: theme sign: <i>-∅</i>
(4b)	na·ta <b>aw</b> -	‘go after, fetch for’	



## 1.2. Possessor Raising -aw

- (10a) *awat-* ‘take away’  
 (10b) *awataw-* ‘take away O’s O2’

- (11) *[aša·hahi] e·hawata·kotehe oči·ma·ni*  
*[aša·h-ahi] e·h-awataw-ekotehe o-či·ma·n-i*  
 Sioux-OBV.PL AOR-take.away.O’s.O2-3’>3/PAST.AOR 3-canoe-SG

‘[the Sioux] had apparently taken his canoe away’ (Dahlstrom 2015:157)

# Lexical entry for Possessor Raising

- (12) *awataw*- ‘take away O’s O2 < SUBJ OBJ2 > OBJ’  
agent theme  
OBJ = (OBJ2 POSS)



# Possessor Raising not obligatory

- (13) *i·nini ihkwe·wani otasayani e·hawana·či*  
 i·nini                ihkwe·w-ani    o-asay-ani        e·h-**awan**-a·či  
 that.OBV            woman-OBV    3-skin-OBV        AOR-take.away-3>3'/AOR  
 'he took away that woman's skin' W844G  
 (*awan*- monotransitive Transitive Animate form of 'take away')

## 2. Familiar type of LDA

- (14) *nekehke·neta e·hkakano·neti·hači*  
 ne-kehke·net-a e·h-kakano·neti·h-ači  
 1-know-1>0/IND AOR-converse.with-2>3/AOR  
 ‘I know you have been talking to him.’

→ No LDA; Transitive Inanimate matrix verb stem *kehke·net-* ‘know’

- (15) *ke-kehke·nem-ene e·h-kakano·neti·h-ači*  
 2-know-1>2/IND AOR-converse.with-2>3/AOR  
 ‘I know you have been talking to him.’  
 (literally: ‘I know **you** [you have been talking to him].’)

→ LDA; Transitive Animate matrix verb stem *kehke·nem-* ‘know’

(16) Sample of matrix verbs permitting the familiar type of LDA

	<i>No LDA</i>	<i>LDA</i>	
a.	ša·kwe·nemo- AI	ša·kwe·nem- TA	‘be unwilling’
b.	išite·he·- AI	ine·nem- TA	‘think thus, intend thus’
c.	kehke·net- TI	kehke·nem- TA	‘know’
d.	wa·wane·net- TI	wa·wane·nem- TA	‘fail to know’
e.	natawe·net- TI	natawe·nem- TA	‘want, seek to know’
f.	aka·wa·t- TI	aka·wa·n- TA	‘desire’
g.	menwe·net- TI	menwe·nem- TA	‘like’
h.	tane·net- TI	tane·nem- TA	‘expect’

[primary final *-e·net* (TI1)/*-e·nem* (TA) forms verbs of mental action]

# Lexical entries

- (17) *ša·kwe·nemo-* ‘be unwilling < SUBJ COMP>’  
exp proposition
- (18) *kehke·net-* ‘know < SUBJ COMP> OBJ’ [TI-O]  
exp proposition  
(OBJ GEND) = INAN & (OBJ NUM) = SG
- (19) *a·hkwamat-* ‘be sick <SUBJ> OBJ’ [TI-O]  
theme  
(OBJ GEND) = INAN & (OBJ NUM) = SG







### 3. LDA with ditransitive matrix verbs

(24) = (1)

*ki·hkehčimeko–nenehke·netamo·ne i·nokimani e·šimiyani*

*ke-i·h-kehči–=meko –nenehke·netamaw-ene*

2-FUT-greatly–=EMPH –think.of. **TA+O**-1>2/IND

*i·noki=mani IC-išim-iyani*

today=now IC-speak.so.to-2>1/PART/OBL

‘I will think seriously of what you told me today.’ W371

(literally: ‘I think of **you** [what you told me]’)





# Ditransitive type of LDA is optional

- (26) *e·nenako·w=meko ahpene·či ki·hnenehke·neta·pwa*  
 IC-in-enako·we=meko                      ahpene·či              ke-i·h-**nenehke**·**net**-a·pwa  
 IC-say.thus.to-1>2P/PART/OBL=EMPH      every.time              2-FUT-think.of-2P>0/IND

‘You should always think about exactly what I said to you.’ W531K

## Example with ‘disagree, consider wrong’

- (27) “*o·mani taswi i·noki pe·hte·netamawiye·kwe mani e·nowe·ya·ni, ...*”  
 o·=mani      taswi      i·noki      IC-pehte·netamaw-iye·kwe  
 oh,=this      so.many      now      IC-consider.wrong. **TA+O**-2P>1/PART/OBL

mani    IC-inowe·-ya·ni,  
 this    IC-declare.thus-1/PART/OBL

‘Oh, since this many of you disagree now with what I said...’ W403L

(literally, ‘Oh, since this many of you now consider **about me** [what I said] wrong’)

# Example with ‘dislike, consider bad’

- (28) *o·ni mya·ne·netamawiya·ke e·nowe·wa·ke·ni,*  
*o·ni mya·ne·netamaw-iya·ke* IC-inowe·-wa·ke·ni,  
 and dislike. **TA+O**-2>1P/SUBJUNCT IC-declare.thus-1P/INTERR.PART/OBL  
 ‘and if you don’t like whatever we may say,’ W407D

(literally, ‘and if you consider [whatever we may say] bad **regarding us**’)

## Example with ‘remember’

- (29) *pwa·wimeko— manaha ko·hkomesena·na —me·mehkwe·netamawate e·šimehki,*  
 pwa·wi—=meko            manaha            ke-o·hkomes-ena·n-a  
 not==EMPH            this.ANIM            2-grandmother-21-SG
- me·-mehkwe·netamaw-ate            IC-išim-ehki,  
 —REDUP-remember. **TA+O**-2>3/SUBJUNCT            IC-speak.so.to-3>2/PART/OBL  
 ‘if you don’t remember what our grandmother said to you,’ W646E

(literally, ‘if you don’t remember **about our grandmother** [what she said to you]’



# Participle as object of ‘remember’

A PARTICIPLE is a nominalized clause:

- (32) *ča·kimeko nemehkwe·neta e·nahina·čimohitehe*  
 ča·ki=meko    ne-**mehkwe·net**-a    IC-inah-ina·čimoh-itehe  
 all=EMPH    1-remember-1>0/IND    IC-REDUP-inform.so-3>1/PRET.PART/OBL  
 ‘I remembered everything she had ever told me.’ (Goddard 2006:117)

The syntax of the verb in (32) is identical to that seen with a simple NP object:

- (33) *mehkwe·net*- ‘remember < SUBJ OBJ>’  
    exp theme



# Ditransitive 'remember'

- (29) *pwa·wimeko—manaha ko·hkomesena·na —me·mehkwe·netamawate e·šimehki,*  
 pwa·wi—meko                      manaha                      ke-o·hkomes-ena·n-a  
 not—EMPH                      this.ANIM                      2-grandmother-21-SG

–me·-mehkwe·netamaw-ate IC-išim-ehki,  
 –REDUP-remember.**TA+O**-2>3/SUBJUNCT IC-speak.so.to-3>2/PART/OBL  
 ‘if you don’t remember what our grandmother said to you,’ W646E

(literally, ‘if you don’t remember **about our grandmother** [what she said to you]’

- [illegible]

# Evidence for topic as relevant notion

context: ['My uncle hung some kind of hide there, and I really hate the smell of it.']

- (35) *a·kwike·hmeko kehke·netamawakini we·kone·henikwe·ni.*  
 a·kwi=ke·hi=meko    kehke·netamaw-akini    IC-we·kone·h-enikwe·ni.  
 not=moreover=EMPH    know.**TA+O**-1>3/NEG    IC-be.what-0'/INTERR.PART/0'  
 'I have no idea what it is.' W856J

(literally, 'I don't know **regarding him** [what it is]')



## 4. Syntactic differences

(36)	monotransitive LDA:	SUBJ OBJ <b>COMP</b>	&	OBJ = ( <b>COMP</b> TOPIC)
	ditransitive LDA:	SUBJ OBJ <b>OBJ2</b>	&	OBJ = ( <b>OBJ2</b> TOPIC)

The OBJ2 of the ditransitive variant is expressed as a *participle*, a nominalized clause.

## 5. Ditransitive LDA & Poss Raising

- (37) Both ditransitive  
Both formed with the secondary final *-aw*  
In both, the first object does not bear a thematic role to the (matrix) verb
- (38) Possessor Raising: OBJ = OBJ2 POSS  
Ditransitive LDA: OBJ = OBJ2 TOPIC

## 6. Conclusion

- (39) Possessor Raising (OBJ = OBJ2 POSS)  
 Monotransitive LDA (OBJ = COMP TOPIC)  
 Ditransitive LDA (OBJ = OBJ2 TOPIC)
- (40) Phrasal category of the embedded proposition determines form of matrix verb:
- |                                      |   |                            |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| if a clause                          | → | monotransitive matrix verb |
| if a participle (nominalized clause) | → | ditransitive matrix verb   |

Thank you!

## (relational verbs)

- (41) For further investigation: the RELATIONAL forms of Meskwaki and Cree (“ghost participants” in Marie-Odile Junker’s terminology), similar to ethical datives in European languages or adversative passives in Japanese
- (42) Relational forms in Plains Cree are homophonous with Possessor Raising; in Meskwaki there is special morphology, argued to be inflectional by Goddard (1995)
- (42) e·h·ki·ši–anwe·we·ht-amoweči  
 AOR-PERF–blow.TI-X>3.REL/AOR  
 ‘When [the flute] had been sounded (in relation to him), ...’ W508