

Enclitic Particles in Western Abenaki: The Syntax of Second Position

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In Western Abenaki, an Eastern Algonquian language, a number of enclitic particles, as well as certain cliticized words, are stationed in second position in the clause. In simple cases, second position is the position following the first phonological word of the clause, but complexities arise in particular constructions. A clause-initial conjunction may either host an enclitic or be skipped over in figuring clitic placement. A *wh*-word or focused expression may be skipped over as well, with clitics then appearing well inside the clause. Two preverbs that occupy a left-peripheral position appear to receive special treatment. These effects are shown here to follow from simple assumptions about phrase structure, coupled with a clitic placement rule that states only that clitics are stationed in second position within CP or IP.

[Western Abenaki, Algonquian, clitics, second position, left periphery]

1. Introduction. Western Abenaki, an Eastern Algonquian language spoken until recently at Odanak or St. Francis, Quebec, and by scattered individuals elsewhere, makes extensive use of a set of enclitic particles that occur in second

position within their domain of placement, which in simple cases is the clause. This property of the future and conditional clitics *=ci* and *=pa*, illustrated in (1) and (2), was pointed out by the Abenaki grammarian Joseph Laurent in his pedagogical grammar of 1884. Note that *=ci* and *=pa* are not verbal affixes. For example, we see *=ci* attached to a noun in (1c) as well as to a verb in (1a). Note further that the conditional clitic *=pa* interrupts a subordinate clause in (2b) even though it is interpreted in the main clause here.¹

(1a) *nət|əlohsa=ci molian ssanəta|k|a.*

1|go.there=FUT Montreal be.Sunday|3IN|SUBJ

‘I will go to Montreal on Sunday.’²

<N’-d-elosaji Molian Sandaga> Laurent 1884:119

= (1b) *ssanətaka=ci molian nətəlohsa.*

<Sandagaji Molian n’-d-elosa> Laurent 1884:119

= (1c) *molian=ci nətəlohsa ssanətaka.*

<Molianji n’-d-elosa Sandaga> Laurent 1884:119

(2a) *nət|əlohsa=pa New York [IP mɔni wacqɔn|əm|q|ʃqɔn|a].*

1|go.there=COND money have|TH|1SG|DUBIT.1SG|SUBJ

‘I would go to New York if I had money.’

<N’-d-elosaba New-York môni wajônemôshôna> Laurent 1884:119

(2b) [IP *m̩qni=pa* *wac̩q̩n|ə̩m|q|sh̩q̩n|a*] *nət|ə̩loh̩sa* New York.

money=COND have|TH|1SG|DUBIT.1SG|SUBJ 1|go.there

‘I would go to New York if I had money.’

<*Môniba* wajônemôshôna n’-d-elosa New-York.> Laurent 1884:119

The Abenaki examples that I cite here come largely from nineteenth-century texts, not only from Laurent’s grammar, but also from the works of the Abenaki author Peter Paul Wzôkhilain (1830a, 1830b), as well as his translation of the Gospel of Mark (1845).³ I have also taken a few examples from a Western Abenaki catechism published anonymously in 1832, which Day (1961:82) has concluded is the work of St. Francis schoolmaster Basilide Desfossés. Some more recent textual examples come from a work by the twentieth-century writer Henry L. Masta (1932). Finally, several examples are taken from tape-recorded language lessons prepared by Elie Joubert (n.d.), who recorded his mother Cécile (Wawanolett) Joubert (1908-2006), the last fully fluent speaker of the language and its steadfast champion.

The early nineteenth-century examples given here display certain archaic features, most notably the retention of word-final *h* before most enclitics in a number of particles and inflectional suffixes (LeSourd 2003). By Laurent’s time, this feature of the language had pretty much disappeared as a result of the loss of intervocalic *h*. I should note also that the phonemicizations I give for the

examples are tentative.⁴ I have accordingly included the relevant lines of text in each case as they appear in the original sources.

2. A preliminary proposal. Before we begin our investigation of clitics, we need to deal with a few basic issues concerning the phrase structure of Western Abenaki sentences. As in other Algonquian languages, word order is largely determined by pragmatic factors. While arguments are advanced here for constituency at the level of CP and IP, evidence for a VP constituent is elusive, and there is no obvious choice for a basic order of the verb and its arguments.⁵

A point of central significance for the analysis to follow is the fact that there are no overt complementizers in Abenaki. For this reason, we need to ask whether CP is actually projected in certain clauses, and if so, where. I suggest that CP is projected where it is motivated by the overt presence of a phrase in Spec(ifier) of Comp. One construction where we find such motivation is *wh*-questions. *Wh*-words are fronted in Western Abenaki, suggesting that Wh-Movement takes place in this language; and it is generally assumed that the landing site for Wh-Movement is Spec of Comp.⁶ Thus it is reasonable to assume that *wh*-questions are CPs. But ordinary declarative sentences may be assumed to be simple IPs.

Given this view of clause structure, the future enclitic may be taken to occupy second position within CP in the *wh*-question in (3a), but it should be seen

as occupying second position in IP in the declarative sentence in (3b). If speakers of Western Abenaki make the same assumptions about the phrase structures of their language, they will postulate a rule of clitic placement with the effects stated in (4).

(3a) [CP *kak^wi=ci* *nət|əlalohka waci-məsən|əm|a*

what 1|do.thus so.that-get|TH|1SG

askamqwəso|w|qkan?

live.forever|W|NOM

‘what shall I do so that I may receive eternal life?’

<kagwiji ndella-/loka waji mzenma askamowzowogan?> Mark 10:17

(3b) [IP *kə|wawalət|am|ən|q=ci* *ali- ni nipən -pahsotta|k*]

2|know|TH|N|2PL=FUT thus- that.IN summer -be.near|3IN

‘you (pl.) will know that the summer is near’

<kowawaldamnoji ali ni niben pasottak> Mark 13:28

- (4) Second-position clitics are stationed after the first phonological word of CP or IP.

It is the burden of the argument presented in this article that (4) is all that we need to say about where second-position clitics are located in Western Abenaki sentences, despite considerable apparent complexity in their distribution.

This argument proceeds as follows. Section 3 presents a survey of the second-position clitics of Western Abenaki. The next three sections then demonstrate that these clitics sometimes appear to be stationed considerably further inside the clause than second position. In 4 we see that a word-initial conjunction can host a clitic, or it may be skipped over in clitic placement. In 5 we find that a *wh*-word or focused expression may be skipped over in addition to a conjunction. Two preverbs with special word-order properties are discussed in 6. These are treated much like conjunctions, either hosting second-position clitics or being skipped over in clitic placement. The discussion to this point presupposes a model of Western Abenaki syntax in which phrase structure is hierarchically organized. Section 7 pauses to consider an alternative type of account, one which would postulate largely flat syntactic structures, as in Dahlstrom's (1995) work on Meskwaki, an Algonquian language of Iowa. Such a model is shown to be inadequate as a basis for explaining Western Abenaki clitic placement. Section 8 then returns to the main line of the argument of the paper, providing an account of a left-dislocation construction involving clause-initial indefinite expressions. These may themselves furnish domains for clitic placement, but they may also be excluded from the domain constituted by the clause to which they are attached.

These effects and all of the other seemingly diverse facts of clitic positioning introduced in this article can be accounted for, I argue, on the basis of a few simple assumptions about the phrase structure of Western Abenaki sentences. The proposed analysis is summarized in 9.

Section 10 is more speculative. It provides some remarks about how Abenaki clitics find their way into second position and about how second position is identified for one class of cliticized forms, unstressed demonstratives. This section includes some discussion of sentence-level prosody, together with impressionistic transcriptions of the prosodic properties of several relevant examples. Pitch tracks of the examples in question are provided in an Appendix.

3. The clitics. A variety of enclitic particles appear in Western Abenaki texts in addition to *=ci* and *=pa*. The attested forms are listed in (5).⁷ As the glosses there suggest, the enclitics are semantically diverse. They include a reportative particle; markers of focus, contrast, and emphasis; and several adverbial particles. The examples in (6) show the clitics in use and illustrate various clitic sequences. The clitics generally appear in the same relative order in these combinations, but there is some variation. Note, for example, that *=ci* ‘future’ and *=tahki* ‘but’ occur in this order in (6g), but in the opposite order in (6h). The emphatic clitic *=tta* that appears in (6g) is not specifically a second-position element. It can appear on a constituent in any position in a clause.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (5) = <i>ahto</i> ‘probably’ | = <i>ka</i> ‘focus’ |
| = <i>ak^wa</i> ‘they say, it is said’ | = <i>nawa</i> ‘then, therefore’ |
| = <i>ci</i> ‘future’ | = <i>pa</i> ‘conditional’ |
| = <i>hki</i> ‘contrast, focus’ | = <i>ta</i> ‘emphasis’ |
| = <i>hpək^wa</i> ‘in fact’ | = <i>tahki</i> ‘but, however’ |

(6a) *wəsqmi=ka=ahto pihta msalo|shan|ik ni tali*

because=FOC=probably very be.many|(3)|DUBIT|PROX.PL there at

koa|ak

pine|PROX.PL

‘because there must have been very many pine trees there’

<Wz8migaato pita msalozhanik nitali koaak> Masta 1932:21

(6b) *kətak|ik it|a|k|ik, kia=ka=ak^wa pasəko*

other|PROX.PL say|TH|3AN|PROX.PL you.SG=FOC=REPORT one.AN

nihkqni-wawqəmo|w|inno|w|i|c|ik

ahead-tell.knowledge|w|person|w|be|3AN|PROX.PL

‘others say, you are one of the prophets’

<kdagik idagik Kiagaagwa pazgo nikoni wawojmowinno-/wijik>

Mark 8:28

(6c) *mina=hki=ci sasos ccowi-tali-paya wskitkamik^w|a*

again=CONT=FUT Jesus must-location-come|(3) earth|PF

‘Jesus will have to come to earth again’

<Minakiji Sazos choui tali paia os-/kitkamigua> Desfossés 1832:23

(6d) *kahalqminqh^wa=tahki=hpək^wa yohi kci-niwask^w*

truly=but=in.fact this.OBV great-spirit

wə|namən|i|na|shan|i

3|son|have|N|DUBIT|OBV

‘but truly in fact God must have had this (man) as his son’

<kahalq-/minqkwadakipekwgwa uhi Kchiniwask onamōnina-/shani>

Mark 15:39

(6e) *kisi=-nawa=pa -kəkahsə|w|ak kci-niwask^w|ak?*

able==then=COND be.many|3|PROX.PL great-spirit|PROX.PL

‘Can there then be many gods?’

<Kizinauaba kōgasouak kechiniuas-/kuak?> Desfossés 1832:19

(6f) *ai|k=əta=ka wəta^waskisk^wi|ak*

be.located|3IN=EMPH=FOC apostle|PROX.PL

wə|nohsohk|am|əw|qkan|owq|k

3|follow|TH|W|NOM|3PL|LOC

‘where they (truths) are located is in the Apostles’ Creed (lit., their thing followed)’

<Aigdaga Uedauasgiskuiak uenos-/kamuôganouôk> Desfossés 1832:19

(6g) *tqni=ci=tahki=tta mil|əka|ak^w ni tociwi,*

whatever=FUT=but=EMPH give|UNSPEC/2|2PL that.IN at.time

ni it|am|ok^w

that.IN say|TH|2PL

‘but whatever you (pl.) will be given at that time, say that’

<tonijida / kitta milgaakw ni tojiwi, ni idamokw> Mark 13:11

(6h) *tqn|əwa=tahki=ci kataw|əkil|ək kiowa,*

such|this.AN=but=FUT want|be.a size|3AN you.PL

na=ci not|alohkaw|əko|ak^w

that.AN=FUT occupation|work.for|INV|2PL

‘but whoever would be great among you, he shall be a servant to you’

<tonwa-/dakiji kadawgilek kiuw_o naji nodalokawgoakw> Mark 10:43

Consonant-initial enclitics add schwa after a non-syllabic.⁸ Thus the emphatic clitic =*ta* appears as =*əta* in (6f) above. A point of notation to be aware of is that a hyphen is used in the phonemic transcriptions to join a preverb or

prenoun to the verb or noun that it modifies, as in (6a). This hyphen is written both after a preverb and before the remainder of the preverb-verb complex when this complex is discontinuous, as is not infrequently the case. An example appears in (3b), where *ni nipən* ‘the summer’ comes in the middle of the preverb-verb complex *ali-... -pahsottak* ‘that it is near’.

The particles listed in (5) are always enclitics. There are also three subordinating conjunctions that are optionally stationed in second position. These are *wəsqmi* ‘because, therefore’, *qsohka* ‘however’, and *kanəwa* ‘however’. Examples are given in (7)-(9).

(7a) *wəsqmi qtah=əpa nisəta nis wə|kikkisi-lən|əm|ow|ən*

because not=COND twice two 3|RED.able-make.thus|TH|NEG|N

waci-payqməwi|k tapawəs

so.that-come|3IN seven

‘because twice two cannot be made to come to seven’

<wzomi odahaba nisda nis wgikkizi lenmowen / waji paiomwik

tobawoz> Wzôkhilain 1830a:9

(7b) *qtah=əpa=wəsqmi paliwi kikkisi-payqməwi|wi wipiwi yaw*
 not=COND=because elsewhere RED.able-come|(3)|NEG except four
 ‘it (two times two) cannot therefore come to other than four’
 <odahaba wzomi paliwi / kikkizi paigmwii wibiwi iaw> Wzôkhilain
 1830a:9

(8a) *nika=hki nə|sqkəm|n, qsohka=nawa aləmooss|ak*
 thus=CONT 1|chief|1PL but=then dog|PROX.PL
nak^wiwi tawihpoti|k wə|talihp|q|wə
 under table|LOC 3|eat.there|DIR|PROX.PL
awqssi[s]|ak payahp|q|həti|c|i.
 child|PROX.PL leave.from.eating|DIR|PROX.PL|3AN|OBV
 ‘Yes, Lord; yet the dogs eat under the table what the children drop as
 they eat.’
 <nigaki nzogmon; / ozokanawa almossak nagwiwi tawipodik wdalipowo
 awossiak paiapohodiji.> Mark 7:28

(8b) [_{NP} [_{NP} *na=qsohka simo*] wə|sək^wəss|a] ləssin|o|ssa
 that.AN=but Simon 3|mother.in.law|OBV lie|3|DUBIT
kəsapəso|w|qkan lina|ssa
 be.warm|W|NOM ail|(3)|DUBIT
 ‘but Simon’s mother-in-law lay sick of a fever’

<Na ɔzoka Simo wzegwessa lessinossa kzabzowɔ-/gan linassa>

Mark 1:30

(9a) *kətak|ihi poləwakh|a, kanəwa akəma qta*

other|OBV save|direct|(3) but him not

kisi-poləwakh|osi|wi.

able-save|REFLEX|(3)|NEG

‘He saved others, but himself he cannot save.’

<Kdagihi pol-/wakha; kanwa agma ɔda kizi polwakhoziwi.> Mark 15:31

(9b) [_{NP} [_{NP} *ni=kanəwa kisok^w*] *tta*⁹ [*ni paməmkihpo[t]ak*]]

that.IN=but day and that.IN hour

qta awani wə|wawalət|am|ow|ən

not someone 3|know|TH|NEG|N

‘but that day and that hour no one knows’

<Ni kanwa kizokw ta ni paməmkipokak ɔda awani / owawaldamowen>

Mark 13:32

I take these subordinators to be cliticized whenever they occur in second position. Note that *qsohka* ‘however’ and *kanəwa* ‘however’ interrupt constituents in (8b) and (9b). In (8b), *qsohka* appears within a possessor NP *na simo* ‘that Simon’ that is located inside another NP. We might suppose that the possessor

phrase itself is a discontinuous constituent, since discontinuous NPs are an Algonquian staple (Dahlstrom 1987, LeSourd 2004). Perhaps, then, *qsohka* is not really interrupting the possessor here, but simply comes between segments of it. Even under this analysis, however, *qsohka* must be seen as interrupting the NP that contains this possessor phrase. Moreover, in (9b) *kanəwa* has been stationed within the first of two conjoined noun phrases. Here it is clear that this element is located within a constituent. This ability to interrupt constituents is the hallmark of second-word clitics.

Finally, it should be noted that the demonstratives *wa* ‘this (anim.)’, *na* ‘that (anim.)’, and *ni* ‘that (inan.), there’ (but not *yo* ‘this (inan.)’ or any of the longer inflected forms) may be cliticized when they occur in second position. But these are simple clitics (in the terminology of Zwicky 1977:6): they are not moved into second position, but simply become phonologically dependent on the word they follow if they happen to appear in the right location for independent reasons. Thus the initial demonstrative *ni* in the phrase *ni wski-maksahsis ahsicik^wqsik* ‘that new piece of cloth that was sewn on’ is cliticized to the particle *kakəna* ‘lest’ in (10a). The status of the demonstrative as a clitic here is revealed by the retention of the final *h* in the particle and by the fact that the demonstrative appears to add schwa after this consonant. (This additional vowel may be analyzed either as phonologically inserted or as retained from the underlying form of the pronoun. The historical source of the demonstrative was vowel-initial; see

Goddard 2003 for discussion.) Compare the form of *kakəna* without a following enclitic in (10b) and its treatment in combination with the conditional marker *=pa* in (10c).

(10a) ***kakənah***=[_{NP} *əni* *wski-maksa|hsis ahsicik^wqsi|k*]

lest=that.IN new-cloth|DIM be.sewn.on|3IN

wəci-pakanikao nəkqnia|k

from-break.off|(3) old.one|LOC

‘lest the new piece of cloth that was sewn on break away from the old’

<kagnahani wski maksasis asijigw_ozik / wji paganigao ngoniak>

Mark 2:21

(10b) ***kakəna*** *wapa|nok^wah|k ao pəmqwəso|w|inno|w|ihkok*

lest busy|event|3IN be.located|(3) live|w|person|w|PL.LOC

‘lest there be agitation among the people’

<kagna wabanogwak ao pm_owzowinnowikok> Mark 14:2

(10c) ***kakənah***=*əpa* *wski-mahk^wəpakahk potqya|k*

lest=COND new-wine bottle|PROX.PL

oci-sək^wəskihlq|n|q

(3)|from-burst|N|PROX.PL

‘lest from the new wine the bottles burst’

<kagnahaba wski makwbagak poto_iak oji seg-/weskihlong_o> Mark 2:22

4. Clitics and conjunctions. In all of the examples we have looked at so far, the clitics simply follow the first word of the sentence, a position that I have suggested is second sometimes in CP, sometimes in IP. But the distribution of clitics is not always this simple. Consider first the way clitics are positioned in clauses that are introduced by one of the conjunctions *tta* ‘and’, *ni* ‘and then’, or *ala* ‘or’. As shown in (11)-(13), clitics in such clauses may be attached either to the conjunction or to the word that follows the conjunction.

- (11a) *pihpitika=c[i] tta səssahohsa, ttah=əci msk|am micəwqkan*
 RED.enter|(3)=FUT and RED.go.out|(3) and=FUT find|TH|(3) food
 ‘he will keep on going in and going out, and he will find sustenance’
 <pipidigaja ta sessahosa, / tahaji mskam mijwogan> Wzôkhilain
 1830a:27

- (11b) *kanəwa qta ni kət|ahcəwi-wəci-macəloh|q|w|ən*
 but not that.IN 2|should-from-speak.ill|DIR|NEG|N
məsiwi kqk^w|ak, tta qtah=əpa
 all porcupine|PROX.PL and not=COND
k|olqma-kisi-it|am|o kia kə|paami-wəlqpai
 2|be.right-able-say|TH|NEG you.SG 2|more-be.handsome

qtaki kqk^w

than porcupine

‘but you (sg.) should not speak such evil of all porcupines, and you
could not properly say that you are more handsome than a
porcupine’

<kanwa oda ni kdachwi wji majlohowen / mziwi koguak; ta odahaba
koloma kizi idamo kia / kbaami wlobai odaki kogw.>

Wzôkhilain 1830b:34

(12a) *ni=ci* *məsiwi awani wət|it|am|ən nialac*

and.then=FUT all someone 3|say|TH|N amen

‘and everyone will say amen’

<niji mziwi awani wdidamen nialach> Wzôkhilain 1830a:35

(12b) *ni* *wət|ai|n|q|ssah=[_{PP} əni* *k^wahliwi*

and.then 3|be.located|N|PROX.PL|DUBIT=there near

wacəw|ihkok] *kinal|k|ik* *piks|ak*

mountain|PL.LOC be.many|3AN|PROX.PL pig|PROX.PL

pamihkatəpi|c|ik.

go.along.eating|3AN|PROX.PL

‘Then there were there near the mountains a great many pigs that were
feeding.’

<Ni wdainossahani kwahliwi wajwikok kinalkik / piksak

pamikadbijik.> Mark 5:11

(12c) *ni wə|sakəsi|n|q|ssa*

and.then 3|be.afraid|N|PROX.PL|DUBIT

‘and then they were afraid’

<ni wzagzinossa> Mark 5:15

(13a) *alah=əci kak^wi maka|t awani waci-kisi-qpatasəwən|q|t*

or=FUT what give someone so.that-able-get.back|DIR|3AN

wə|cəcahko?

3|soul|(OBV)

‘Or what shall one give in exchange for his soul?’

‘Alahaji kagwi magat awani waji kizi obodazwen-/not wjejako?>

Mark 8:37

(13b) *kak^wəss|ək=ahto=pa kisi-li-tatəpəskawi-pon|əm|ak^w*

what|LOC=probably=COND able-thus-equal-put|TH|1PL.INC

kci-niwask^w wə|kinəcaməss|əw|i-təpalət|am|əw|qkan,

great-spirit 3|king|W|PF-own|TH|W|NOM

ala kak^wəssi-təpaskotikan|ək=ahto=pa

or what-measure|LOC=probably=COND

kisi-li-tatəpəskawt|o|ak^w?

able-thus-equate|TH|1PL.INC

‘by what can we establish the measure of God’s kingdom, or by what
measure can we measure it?’

<kagwessek atoba kizi li tadbekawi / ponmakw Kchiniwaskw

wginjameswi tbaldamwogan? / ala kagwessi tbaskodiganek atoba

kizi li tadbekawtoakw> Mark 4:30

These examples require a few words of explanation. First, in (11a) we find the future clitic in its post-consonantal form =*əci* attached to *ttah* ‘and’, with final *h* preserved in the latter before the clitic. The conditional clitic =*əpa* in (11b), on the other hand, is attached not to ‘and’ but to the following word, the negator *qtah*, which also retains its final *h* here.

In (12a) the conjunction *ni* ‘and then’ bears the future clitic =*ci*, now in post-vocalic form. In (12b), the cliticized word is the locative determiner *ni* ‘there’ of the prepositional phrase *ni k^wahliwi wacəwihkok* ‘there near the mountains’. (Such determiners are a common feature of Algonquian prepositional phrases. See Oxford 2008 for an analysis of prepositional phrases in Innu-aimun.) The enclitic status of this demonstrative is revealed by the retention of word-final *h* in the dubitative suffix of the preceding verb; compare (12c), where this *h* has been dropped. Only if the demonstrative is stationed in a location that counts as

second position can we understand why it is cliticized. Thus we see that that an element that is seemingly located in third place in the sentence is counted as being in second position here.

In (13), we find that *ala* ‘or’ can likewise either serve as the host for enclitics or be skipped over in figuring clitic placement. In (13a), *=əci* ‘future’ is attached to *ala* (which therefore surfaces as *alah*), and a question word then follows in the *wh*-question introduced by the conjunction. In the second clause of (13b), on the other hand, *ala* again introduces a *wh*-question, but now the clitics (two of them) are attached not to the conjunction but to the *wh*-expression itself.

We find the same situation in clauses that are introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *wəsqmi* ‘because’, *qsohka* ‘however’, and *kanəwa*, ‘however’, in cases where these words are not themselves placed in second position. The examples with *kanəwa* in (14) are representative. Note that this conjunction is directly followed by a string of clitics in (14a), but that the clitic in (14b) is instead attached to the verb of the clause, which follows the conjunction.

(14a) *kanəwa=ka=hki=pa kət|ahcəwi- kinəq^wi nia -hl|i|n*

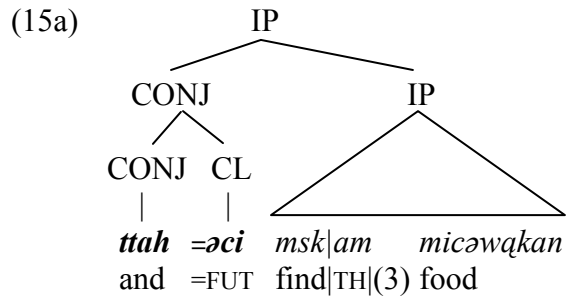
but=FOC=CONT=COND 2|should- at.least me tell|2/1|N

‘but you (sg.) should at least tell me’

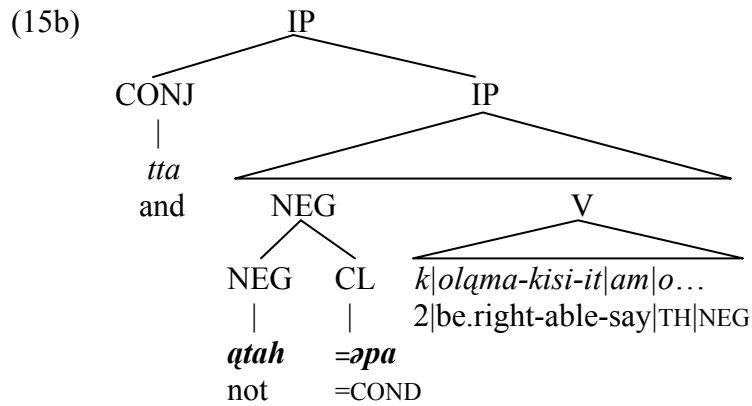
<Kanwagakiba kdachowi kin8gwi nia hlin> Masta 1932:45

- (14b) *kanəwa mil|q|n|q=ci niki tən|əyokik*
 but give|DIR|N|PROX.PL=FUT those.PROX such|these.PROX
kistaw|q|mək|ik ni.
 prepare|DIR|UNSPEC|PROX.PL that.IN
 ‘but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared’
 <kanwa miləji nigik tənu-/gik kistawəngik ni.> Mark 10:40

Overall, then, we see that the position following a conjunction is treated as parallel to the position following the first word after a conjunction: both count as second position in the clause. This situation is readily explained, I suggest, on the basis of a simple assumption: conjunctions are adjoined to the clause. The clause in question may be a CP, as it is in the case of the *wh*-question in (13b), or an IP, as it is, for example, in (11a). The way this proposal yields dual sites for clitic placement may be seen by comparing the structures for the relevant portions of (11a) and (11b), which are shown in (15a) and (15b). In both cases, the clitics are positioned after the first word in an IP domain: the top IP in (15b), the lower IP in (15b).¹⁰



‘and he will find sustenance’



‘and you could not properly say...’

Note that that *qta(h)* ‘not’ occurs at the left margin of IP in (15b). This is a location in which the negative particle frequently, though by no means invariably, appears. It has been suggested, of course, that such negators head their own NegP projection (Pollock 1989). I take no position here on this issue in the analysis of Western Abenaki.

5. Focused expressions. Clauses that include focused constituents require additional comment. The facts are these. First, a focused NP (or other focused expression) may appear between a conjunction and the word that hosts a second-position clitic. Thus *nahnipqhsat* ‘moon’ stands between ‘and’ and ‘not’ in (16a), and the future enclitic is attached to the latter. In the first clause of (16b), the NP *msalok nahtamapicik* ‘many who are first’ comes between the conjunction *kanəwa* ‘but’ and the particle *wətaok* ‘behind’, and the latter hosts the future enclitic. In the second clause, the NP *wətaok apicik* ‘those who are behind’ stands between the conjunction *ni* ‘and then’ and the verb *ntamapoak* ‘they are first’, which again hosts the future enclitic.

(16a) *kiso_{hs}=əci pəsəkahtanək^wəso, tta [nahnipqhsat_{NP}] q_{tah}=əci*

sun=FUT be.darkened|(3) and moon not=FUT

wahsak^whlanika|wi, ttah=əci spəkisk^wai-alak^ws|ak

light.up|(3)|NEG and=FUT heaven-star|PROX.PL

pənihla|k

fall|(3)|PROX.PL

‘the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the

stars of heaven will fall’

<kizosji pesgatangwezzo, ta nahnib_osat o_dahaji wasak-/whlanigawi,/

Tahaji spegiskwai alakwsak pnihlak> Mark 13:24-25

(16b) *kanəwa* [_{NP} *msalok* *nahtam|api|c|ik*] *wətaok=əci*

but many.PROX.PL first|be.located|3AN|PROX.PL behind=FUT

apo|ak, *ni* [_{NP} *wətaok*

be.located|(3)|PROX.PL and behind

api|c|ik] *ntam|apo|ak=əci.*

be.located|3AN|PROX. PL first|be.located|(3)|PROX.PL=FUT

‘But many who are first will be last, and those who are last will be

first.’

<Kanwa msalok natamabijik wdaokji aboak, ni wdaok abijik

ntamaboakji.> Mark 10:31

Note further that the bracketed NPs in these examples all represent referents that are contrasted or compared with others in the same sentence: ‘the moon’ is compared with ‘the sun’ and ‘the stars of heaven’ in (16a); ‘many who are first’ and ‘those who are last’ are contrasted in (16b). Thus is reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with focused NPs in each case.¹¹

Of course, such focused expressions do not have to follow conjunctions. In (17) we have examples where they do not. Note in particular *ənni wikəwqm* ‘that house’ in the second clause of (17a) and *spəkisk^w tta kki* ‘heaven and earth’ in (17b). Both NPs are focused: the first includes the emphatic form *ənni* of the demonstrative *ni* ‘that’; the second is explicitly contrasted with another NP in the

same sentence. In both cases, the word following the focused expression bears a second-position enclitic.

(17a) *tta wikəwqm nihlqci cacapənəssəwi|k|a,*

and house in.itself become.divided|3IN|SUBJ

[_{NP} *ənni wikəwqm*] *qtah=əpa kis|ikqpi|wi.*

that.IN house not=COND able|stand|(3)|NEG

‘And if a house becomes divided in itself, that house cannot stand.’

<Ta wigwom nihloji chajabneswiga enni wigwom / odahaba

kizigobiwi.> Mark 3.25

(17b) [_{NP} *spəkiskʷ tta kki*] *pəmiħla|l=əci; kanəwa*

heaven and earth go|(3)|IN.PL=FUT but

[_{NP} *nə|kəlosə|w|qkan*] *qtah=əpa pəmiħla|wi.*

1|speak|W|NOM not=COND go|(3)|NEG

‘Heaven and earth will pass away, but my speech will not pass away.’

<Spegiskw ta kki pemmiħlalji; kanwa ngelozwə-/gan odahaba

pemmiħlawi.> Mark 13:31

It would be surprising, however, if a focused NP could not itself bear a clitic. After all, the enclitic =*ka* is an explicit marker of focus.¹² And in fact focused expressions may serve as hosts for enclitics, as we see in (18). In (18a)

the NP *katəmqksəssicik* ‘those who are poor’ is followed by both the focus marker =*ka* and the clitic =*hki*, the latter indicating contrast. The contrasting NP in the second clause, *nia* ‘me’ is the host for the postpositive conjunction *kanəwa* ‘but’.

(18a) *tənəpa* [_{NP} *katəmqksəssi|c|ik*]=*əka=hki*

for be.poor|3AN|PROX.PL=FOC=CONT

kə|wicihlam|əko|wq|k macimiwi, tta tənə=tta

2|accompany|INV|2PL|PROX.PL always and when=EMPH

atotalət|am|ak^w kə|kisi-wəlih|q|wq|k,

think.then|TH|2PL 2|able-do.good|DIR|2PL|PROX.PL

[_{NP} *nia*]=*kanəwa* *qta macimiwi kə|wicihlam|i|ppa*.¹³

me=but not always 2|accompany|2/1|2PL.NEG

‘for the poor are always with you (pl.), and whenever you think of it

you can do them good, but you are not always with me.’

<Tonba kadmōksissijikgaki kowijihlamgowōk ma-/jimiwi, ta tonitta

adodal¹⁴damakw kgizi wlihowōk; nia / kanwa o¹⁵da majimiwi

kowijihlamippa.> Mark 14:7

(18b) *tənəpa* *kə|təli-k^wak^wihal|əko|q|k=ci*

for 2|location-betray|INV|2PL|PROX.PL=FUT

potawasə|w|qkan|ihkok

hold.discussion|W|NOM|PL.LOC

‘for they shall deliver you up to councils’

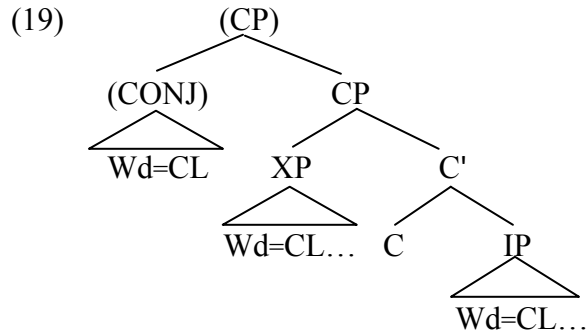
<tonba kdelli / kwagwihalgookji podawazwoganikok> Mark 13:9

Note that the conjunction *tqnəpa* ‘for’ that introduces the first clause in (18a) must be an adjunct here, since it is skipped over in figuring second position. That this is the correct analysis of *tqnəpa* is confirmed by examples like (18b), where this conjunction is similarly left out of the count in determining second position, but no focused expression is involved.

In summary, we find that clitics may appear in any of three positions. First, they may follow a clause-initial conjunction. Second, they may follow the first word of a focused expression. (An example involving an interrupted constituent in focus position is given in (9b).) Third, they may follow the first word of the clause that itself follows the focus. Of course, if there is no focus, the clitics may follow the first word after a clause-initial conjunction; and if there is no such conjunction, the clitics may simply follow the first word of the clause.

This seemingly rather complex array of possibilities falls neatly into place, I suggest, if we make two assumptions. First, clauses containing focused expressions are CPs. Second, focused expressions themselves occupy Spec of Comp. Given our earlier supposition that clitics may be stationed in second

position either in CP or in IP, this will mean that the possible locations of clitics in a clause containing a focused expression will be as shown in the tree in (19).



The focused constituent is represented by XP here. When there is an adjoined conjunction, there are two CP nodes, and therefore two CP edges. Clitics can be stationed with respect to either of these. There is also an IP in the structure, so there is a third possible site for clitic placement. And three sites for clitic placement are just what we find in the data.

Note further that there is nothing in this proposal to prevent clitics from being stationed in more than one of these possible locations in the same clause. This is in fact as it should be. In (20), one second-position clitic is located after a clause-initial conjunction; a second follows the sequence of a focused NP and the negator *qtah* ‘not’.

(20) *ni=qsohka* [*piləwahka* _{NP}] *qtaħ=əpa*

and.then=but stranger|(OBV) not=COND

wə|nohsohkaw|q|wi|wwq

3|follow|DIR|NEG|PROX.PL.NEG|(OBV)

‘and then, however, they (sheep) will not follow the stranger’

<Ni ozoka pilwaka / odahaba wnosokawowiwwo, Wzôkhilain

1830a:31

As our discussion of *wh*-questions in section 2 would lead us to expect, clitic placement in sentences of this type conforms to the predictions of this model as well. Assuming that fronted question words occupy Spec of Comp, we expect them to receive the same treatment in clitic placement as focused expressions. This appears to be correct. Frequently the *wh*-word itself bears a clitic, even if it is not the first word in the clause, as in (21). Here the conditional clitic is stationed after *kak^wi* ‘what’, even though the clause is introduced by the conjunction *tənəpa* ‘for’.

(21) *tənəpa kak^wi=pa* *awani wət|[ə]lqpat|am|ən* *kawhoa|t|a¹⁴*

for what=COND one 3|benefit.from.thus|TH|N win|3AN|SUBJ

aspahkiwik, ni wə|wanihal|q|n wə|cəcahko?

world and.then 3|lose|DIR|N 3|soul|(OBV)

‘For what does one benefit from it if he gains the world, and then he
loses his soul?’

<Tonba kagwiba awani wdolobadamen kawho-/wada aspakiwik ni
owanihalon wjejako?> Mark 8:36

Moreover, example (22) shows a possible case in which a *wh*-expression is followed by another word that then serves as the host for a clitic, thus completing the demonstration of the parallelism between *wh*-words and focused expressions with respect to clitic placement. The clitic in this case is the demonstrative *wa* ‘this (anim.)’. The evidence for its status as an enclitic here is purely orthographic, but nonetheless suggestive: it is joined together with the preceding word in the printed text. (Another example involving the same expression ‘this generation’ is in fact printed the same way in the next line of text, suggesting we are not dealing with a typesetting error.)

(22) *kak^wi waci*=[_{NP} ***wa*** *pa[m]i-nəkətət|a|k]* *-wihkot|ə|k*

what for=this.AN along-continue(?)|TH|3AN -ask.for|TH|3AN

*qshakatawqpihh|otə|w|qkan?*¹⁵

show.wonder|RECIP|W|NOM

‘Why does this generation ask for a sign?’

<Kagwi wajiwa pani ngetdodak wikodek /

oshagadawobikhodwogan?> Mark 8:12

It seems clear overall, then, that taking both focused phrases and *wh*-words to be stationed in Spec of Comp contributes to an explanatory account of clitic placement.

6. Two special preverbs. Preverbs are particles that modify verbs and preverb-verb complexes, forming compounds with syntactically separable components (LeSourd 2009). Two Western Abenaki preverbs participate in a construction that has special properties with respect to word order, including the placement of clitics. The basic forms of these preverbs are *əli* and *wəci*, but in the construction in question they undergo a grammatically conditioned ablaut process known as *initial change*, which targets the first syllable of the preverb-verb complex (Bloomfield 1946:100-103, Costa 1996). This converts them to *ali* and *waci*. In other uses, *ali* means ‘in such-and-such a manner or direction’ (and I will accordingly tag this preverb as ‘thus’), but here it is essentially a formal element,

with little discernible meaning. The basic meaning of *waci* is ‘from’, but here it has the sense ‘so that’, ‘in order to’, or ‘because’.

The native writers consistently write preverbs as separate words from the verbs that they modify. Nonetheless, a preverb-verb complex may be treated as a unit for the purpose of clitic placement, suggesting that a preverb may form a phonological word with the associated verb when the two are adjacent. We see this in (23a), where the conditional clitic has been stationed after a preverb-verb complex that includes an inflected form of *əli* ‘thus’. Likewise in (23b), the future enclitic follows both an inflected form of the preverb *askami* ‘forever, henceforth’ and the verb it modifies. It is equally possible, however, for a second-position clitic to interrupt the preverb-verb complex, as in (23c), where the clitic *=tahki* ‘but’ separates *əli* ‘thus’ from the following verb. This is not particularly surprising, since other material may intervene between preverb and verb as well. In (23d), for example, the preverb *kisi* ‘be able’ is separated from the associated verb not only by the future enclitic, but by the adverb ‘now’ and the locative demonstrative ‘here’.

- (23a) *kət|əli-wələlət|am|ən=əpa* *kə|tohkim|i|n* *nqn|qmkihpotə|k|a*
 2|thus-think.good|TH|N=COND 2|awaken|2/1|N five|be.hour|3IN|SUBJ

spqsowiwi?

in.morning

‘Would you be so kind as to wake me up when it is five o’clock in the morning?’

<K’-d-eli wlaldamenba k’tokimin nônômkipodaga spôsowiwi?>

Laurent 1884:108

(23b) *wəṭ|askami-kawahk^wən|əmən=əci wə|macikə|w|qkan*

3|henceforth-harvest|TH|N=FUT 3|be.evill|W|NOM

‘he will henceforth harvest his wickedness’

<wdaskami kawakwnemmenji wmajigwogan> Wzôkhilain 1830a:9

(23c) *kəṭ|əli=taḥki -kaṭawawim|əl|əpa taḥqlawi*

2|thus=but -warn|1/2|2PL like

nə|kəsalət|am|i-nə|nicqn|ak

1|love|TH|PF-1|child|PROX.PL

‘but I warn you (pl.) as my beloved children’

<kdeli daki katawawimleba taḥqlawi ngezaldami / nnijonak>

Wzôkhilain 1830a:34

(23d) *kəṭ|kisi=ci nihk^wapi yo -qai|na|na*

2|able=FU^T now here RED.be.located|N|1PL

‘we (inc.) can remain here now’

<K’kiziji nikwôbi u ôainana> Laurent 1884:113

At least in its more contentful uses, *ali* may appear in the interior of the clause, adjacent to the verb with which it is associated. This is the situation in (24a), for example, where *ali* modifies *namihqt* ‘he sees it (anim.)’, serving to introduce a reference to the preceding oblique expression *nohpaiwi* ‘far away’. Likewise we find *waci* in clause-internal position in (24b), following the negator and adjacent to the verb.

(24a) *ni nohpaiwi ali-namih|q|t somənahk^wam|a*

and.then far.away thus-see|DIR|3AN fig.tree|OBV

wanipak^wi|li|c|i, nəmq wət|əlohsa|n

have.leaves|OBV|3|OBV there 3|go.there|N

waci- wahta kak^wi -tali-ms[k]|a|k

so.that far.off something -location-find|TH|3AN

‘and seeing a fig tree that had leaves on it far away, he went there, so

that he could find something (to eat) over there’

<Ni nopaiwi ali namih_qt somnakwama wanibag-/wiliji, nemmo

wdellosan, waji wata kagwi tali msak> Mark 11:13

(24b) *wəsqmi n|oci-pənohsa spəmki|k, qta waci-alohkqt|am|a*

because 1|from-come.down heaven|LOC not so.that-do|TH|1SG

tqni nia nihlqciwi ali-wəlalət|am|a, tqni=tahki

such I self thus-want|TH|1SG such=but

ali-wəlalət|a|k ənna pacitahkq|l|i|t

thus-want|TH|1SG that.AN send|3/1|3AN

‘for I came down from heaven not to do what I myself wanted, but

what he who sent me wanted’

<WzomI noji pnosa Spemkik, ɔda waji alokɔda-/ma tɔni Nia nihlojiwi

ali wlaldama, tɔni daki ali / wlaldak enna pajidakolit>

Wzôkhilain1830a:28

In the construction we are interested in here, however, *ali* and *waci* typically appear at the left periphery of the clause. Not surprisingly, they often host clitics in this position, as we see in (25). Note that *waci*, in its use as ‘so that’, coocurs with *wəci* in its literal sense ‘from’ in (25b). Only the first occurrence of the preverb undergoes ablaut, because initial change only affects the first syllable of the preverb-verb complex.

(25a) *walq̣mawal[ət|a|k]=ətahki* [IP ***ali=ci*** *nilil it|a|k|il*

believe|TH|3AN=but thus-=FUT those.IN say|TH|3AN|IN.PL

-ccowi-pacitəpihlq|k], *wət|əli-məsən|əm|ən=əci*

-should-come.to.happen|3IN 3|thus-get|TH|N=FUT

tqni=tta it|a|k

what=EMPH say|TH|3AN

‘but he who believes that those things that he says shall come to pass,

he shall have whatever he says’¹⁶

<walomawal-/daki aliji nilil idagil chowi pajitbihlok; wdelli mzen

/menji tōnitta idak > Mark 11:23

(25b) *wə|winəwam|q sasos|a* [IP ***waci=pa*** *matahqnəto|a*

3|beseech|DIR|(OBV) Jesus|OBV so.that=COND devil|OBV

-wəci-katahka|t wə|tosis|ək]

-from-cast.out|3AN 3|daughter|LOC

‘she besought Jesus that he should cast the devil out of her daughter’

<owinwamô sazosa wajiba ma-/dahôndoa wji kadakat wdozizek>

Mark 7:26

The fact that *ali* and *waci* can host clitics is unremarkable. Distinguishing them from other preverbs, however, is the fact that they can also be skipped over in figuring clitic placement, with the result that clitics are not attached to the preverb, but to the following word instead. This state of affairs can be observed in (26b) and (27b). In (26a) the preverb *ali* bears the conditional clitic and the negator *qta* follows. But in (26b), *ali* has been skipped over, and the clitic is

attached to *qta* instead. The examples in (27) are parallel, except that the preverb here is *waci*.

(26a) *ni nihk^wapi kə|wawqtohkaw|əl|ən* [_{IP} *ali=pa qta*

and.then now 2|inform|1/2|N thus-=COND not

mina pahpi|ww|an spiwi awassos].

again play|NEG|2SG with bear

‘And now I’m telling you (sg.) that you will not frolic with a bear again.’

<Ni nikw8bi kowaw8dokawlen aliba 8nda mina papiwwan spiwi /
awassos.> Masta 1932:36

(26b) *wəsqmi tapalətak kət|əli-wawqtohkaw|əko|na|na* [_{IP} *ali- qtah=əpa*

because Lord 2|thus-inform|INV|N|1PL thus- not=COND

kak^wi -kisi-pitikai|nnohk^w wawahsi-kkik tqn|əyo

something -able-enter|3IN.NEG holy-land such|IN.SG

qta pahkikə|nohk^w]

not be.clean|3IN.NEG

‘because the Lord informs us that nothing can enter the Holy Land that is not clean’

<Wzomi Tabaldak kdcli / wawodokawgonana ali odahlaba kagui kizi

pidi-/gainnokw wawasi kik tonu oda pakignokw>

Wzôkhilain 1830a:4

(27a) *ni=tta* *wə|məlki-hl|q|n* [IP *waci=-pa* *qta*

and.then=EMPH 3|strong-tell|DIR|N so.that=-COND not

-*wawihal|q|həti|hk^w*].

make.known|DIR|PROX.PL|3NEG

‘Then he spoke to them firmly so that they should not make him known.’

<Nitta wmelki hlɔn wajiba oda wawihalohodikw.> Mark 3:12

(27b) *ni* [IP *waci-* *qtah=əpa* *macikə|k* *-kisi-pitikai|nnohk^w*

that.IN because- not=COND be.evil|3IN -able-enter|3IN.NEG

spəmki|k]

heaven|LOC

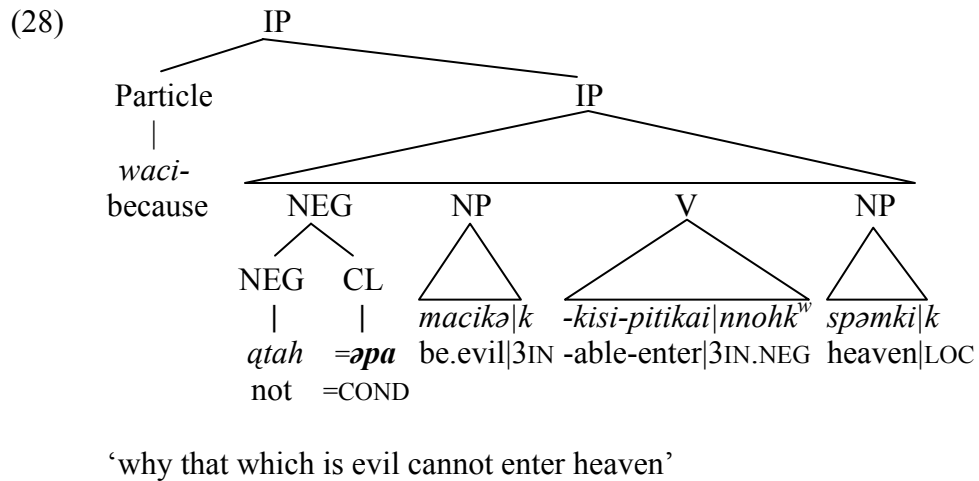
‘that is why that which is evil cannot enter heaven’

<ni waji odahaba majigek / kizi pidigainnokw Spemkik> Wzôkhilain

1830a:8

What we see in (26b) and (27b) is that *ali* and *waci* may be excluded from the domain of clitic placement when they occur at the left periphery of the clause.

This, of course, is exactly how conjunctions are treated, as we observed in section 3. It seems reasonable to pursue the same line of explanation, that is, to propose that when one of the preverbs *ali* and *waci* is dislocated to the beginning of the clause, it occupies an adjoined position.¹⁷ The bracketed clauses in (26) and (27) are plausibly taken to be IPs, so *ali* and *waci* would stand as adjuncts to IP in these cases. Taking (27b) as an example, we would have the structure shown in (28) for the bracketed expression. It is easy to see that the boldfaced conditional clitic is in second position within the lower IP in this structure. Thus the fact that this clitic is not literally the second word in the clause is accounted for.



Additional evidence for this analysis of *waci* comes from conjunction structures. Note that if *waci* occupies an adjoined position when it occurs at the left periphery of a clause, then we should expect to find sentences in which the

node to which the preverb is adjoined serves as a site for conjunction. In a sentence of the predicted type, a single occurrence of *waci* will be construed with two verbs, one in each of two conjoined expressions containing an array of material appropriate to an IP. Sentences of exactly this form in fact occur, as illustrated by (29).

- (29) *tq̃nəpa* Herod *kisi-k^wak^wakit|am|o|ssa* [IP *waci-*
 for past-send.out|TH|3|DUBIT so.that
 [IP *asq -tk^wən|q|mək* *tta*
 John arrest|DIR|UNSPEC and
 [IP *-tali-kəlapəl|q|mək* *kəpəh|otə|w|ikamik|ok*
 location-tie.up|DIR|UNSPEC confine|RECIP|W|building|LOC
wəci Herodias]]
 for

‘for Herod had made an announcement so that John would be arrested and
 he would be bound in prison for Herodias’

<Tonba Herod kizi kwagwagidamosa waji Aẕo / tkwennom̱ek ta tali
 klablom̱ek kbahodwigamigok wji / Herodias> Mark 7:17

That *waci* is construed with both verbs here is guaranteed by the fact that it bears initial change for both preverb-verb complexes in this example. Otherwise we

would have the changed stem *tahk^wən-* instead of unchanged *tk^wən-* ‘arrest’ in the verb of the first conjunct in (29), and changed *atali* would occur in place of the unchanged preverb *tali* ‘location’ in the second conjunct.¹⁸ Thus (29) has just the properties we expect if *waci* is adjoined to a conjunction of constituents, each an IP.¹⁹

Next consider the situation in a sentence in which there is a focused expression. Our account makes a clear prediction in a case of this kind. For a focused expression to occur, Spec of Comp must occur, so CP must be projected. Under these circumstances, *ali* or *waci* will be adjoined to CP rather than to IP. We therefore expect to find examples in which one or the other of these preverbs is followed by, say, a focused NP and then the negator. Moreover, it should be possible for the negator in such a configuration to bear a second-position clitic, even though it is now far from the beginning of the sentence.

Examples of exactly these types are attested. In (30a) we find the preverb *ali* followed by a focused NP and the negator, with the negator bearing the conditional enclitic *=əpa*. Example (30b) shows the same syntactic configuration with *waci*, suggesting that this preverb can likewise be followed by a focused phrase in Spec of Comp, although the confirming clitic is lacking in this case.

- (30a) *qta kə|wawin|am|ow|ən|q* [_{CP} ***ali-*** [_{NP} *təni=tta* *kak^wi*
 not 2|recognize|TH|NEG|N|2PL thus such=EMPH something

k^wacəmiwi waci-pitikatə|ko|t awani]

outside from-enter|INV|3AN someone

qtaħ=əpa -kisi-nipskih|oko|hk^w]?

not=COND -able-defile|INV|3IN.NEG

‘Don’t you (pl.) recognize that whatever thing may enter someone
from outside cannot defile him?’

<Onda kowawinamowno ali tonitta kagwi kwajmiwi waji /

pidigakadogot awani odahaba kizi nipskihogokw>

Mark 7:18

(30b) *tta winəwəsi|k^w [CP waci- [NP kə|poləwa|w|qkan|owə]*

and pray|2PL so.that 2|escape|W|NOM|2PL

qta -totta|nnohk^w pəpon|ok].

not -be.located.so.far|3IN.NEG winter|LOC

‘and pray that your (pl.) flight is not in winter.’

<Ta winwozikw waji kbolwawoganowo oda tottan-/nokw pbonok.>

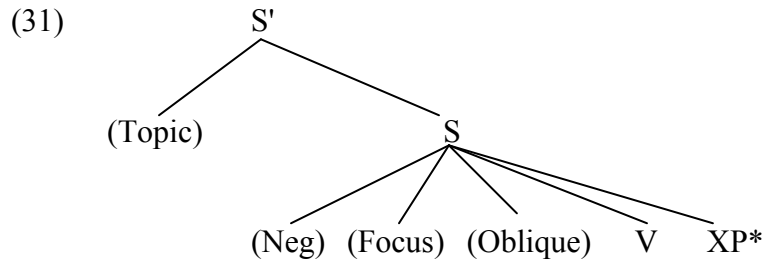
Mark 13:18

Thus there appears to be considerable support for the analysis of left-peripheral *ali* and *waci* as occupying an adjoined position.²⁰ Moreover, this proposal is consistent with the conclusions that Dahlstrom (1995:18-21) has reached concerning a cognate construction in Meskwaki. The preverb *we:či*

‘from, in order to’ of that language may be dislocated to the left periphery of the clause, where it occurs in a position external to the clause itself, which Dahlstrom equates with the location occupied by topic noun phrases. It should be noted, however, that Dahlstrom analyzes word order in Meskwaki in a syntactic framework that postulates a largely flat syntactic structure. It is worth considering, then, whether it would be possible to recast the account of clitic placement advanced here in such a model. This is the subject of the following section.

7. An alternative conception of phrase structure

Working in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar, Dahlstrom (1993:12-13, 1995:2-3, 2003:145) proposes the structure shown in (31) as a “template” that governs word order in Meskwaki clauses. A Topic position is sister to S within S'. The internal structure of S itself is then flat, consisting of a sequence of optional Negative, Focus, and Oblique positions, followed by an obligatory V position, which in turn may be followed by any number phrases of any category (XP). (The subject, one or more objects, a complement clause, and other phrases may follow the verb, in various orders.)



Can we give an account of Western Abenaki clitic placement within such a model of phrase structure?

The Topic position in (31) is where Dahlstrom stations Meskwaki *we:či* ‘so that’ when this preverb occurs at the left periphery of a clause, as we noted in the preceding section. Both S' and S are domains for the placement of second-position clitics in Meskwaki (Dahlstrom 1993:16, 2003:150). Thus if we adopt an analysis for Western Abenaki that parallels Dahlstrom’s proposal, we can readily account for the fact that *waci* ‘so that’, and likewise *ali* ‘thus’, are optionally skipped over by clitic placement when they occupy a peripheral position in the clause: if these preverbs are in Topic position, they will be visible to clitic placement on the S' domain, invisible on the S domain. Notice, however, that these items are not topical expressions (in either Meskwaki or Abenaki). Thus there is no real sense in which Topic position is functionally defined under such an analysis.

A flat-structure account modeled on Dahlstrom’s system soon encounters more serious problems, however, than issues about the functional definition of the

Topic position. Consider in this connection the examples with focused NPs given in (32a) and (32b), the latter repeated from (30a).

(32a) [S/S *wəsqmi* [S [NP **Pharisees** *tta məsiwi səwihp|ak*]

because and all Jew|PROX.PL

qtah=əpa mitsi|wi|ak ayakq

not=COND eat|(3)|NEG|PROX.PL unless

kisi-pahki-kəsiləcə|həti|t|a]]

past-clean-wash.hands|PROX.PL|3AN|SUBJ

‘for the Pharisees and all the Jews will not eat unless they have washed their hands clean’

<Wzomi Pharisees ta mziwi swipak odahaba mitsi-/wiak aiago kizi paki kziljohodida> Mark 7:3

(32b) *qta kə|wawin|am|ow|ən|q* [S' [TOPIC *ali-*] [S [NP ***tqni=tta***

not 2|recognize|TH|NEG|N|2PL thus such=EMPH

kak^wi k^wacəmiwi waci-pitikatq|ko|t awani]

something outside from-enter|INV|3AN someone

qtah=əpa -kisi-nipskih|oko|hk^w]]?

not=COND -able-defile|INV|3IN.NEG

‘Don’t you (pl.) recognize that whatever thing may enter someone from outside cannot defile him?’

<Onda kowawinamowno ali tonitta kagwi kwajmiwi waji /
pidigakadogot awani odahaba kizi nipskihogokw>
Mark 7:18

The role of the subject in (32a) in discourse shows that it is focused: the respectable hand-washing behavior of the Pharisees and the Jews is contrasted in this passage with the questionable hygiene of Jesus's disciples. The bracketed NP in (32b) is likewise focused: in this case pernicious influences that may enter one's body through food are compared with evil thoughts or actions that can proceed from one's heart. This NP is clearly not in Topic position, which is occupied in (32b) by left-peripheral *ali*. Note, however, that the negator *qta(h)* follows the focused expression in both examples. Thus if we want to adapt (31) to Western Abenaki we will first need to reorder the Negative and Focus terms seen there. (The ordering of obliques is a complex issue, which I set aside.)

Consider next where the clitics have been stationed in the examples in (32). In both cases, the conditional clitic *=apa* has been placed after the negator. In (32a), this means that the clitic follows both the clause-initial conjunction *wasqmi* 'because' and the focused NP. We can account for the fact that 'because' is skipped over if we suppose that conjunctions, like our special preverbs, are located in the Topic node, although this move will take us even farther from a functional account of Topic position. Alternatively, we might analyze the

conjunction as an adjunct to S. But why is the focused NP ignored by clitic placement? Example (32b), where Topic position is clearly filled, raises this problem still more starkly.

As we saw in section 3, Western Abenaki clitics are positioned with respect to words, not constituents. In fact, they freely interrupt constituents. On a flat-structure account of the Abenaki clause, it is entirely unexpected that a constituent of arbitrary length should be skipped over in figuring clitic placement. Yet this is exactly what we seem to find in the examples in (32), and many others like them, where the presence of a focused constituent seems to be ignored.

Once we allow ourselves access to hierarchically organized phrase structure, however, the rationale for the observed patterns immediately becomes clear. Clitic placement does not skip over constituents at all. The organization of a sentence into phrases simply determines in some cases that the sentence includes one or more internal clause boundaries, which serve as the edges of domains for clitic placement. In particular, an IP boundary follows a focused constituent, because focused constituents (at least in Western Abenaki) are located in Spec of Comp. A new domain of clitic placement accordingly begins after any such phrase.

It seems clear, then, that there is no way to explain the treatment of focused expressions in clitic placement in Western Abenaki without reference to hierarchical phrase structure. Fronted *wh*-words occur in comparable positions

and will therefore present parallel problems; see the discussion of such phrases in section 5. I conclude that a flat-structure model of phrase structure does not offer a viable alternative to the theory of clitic placement advanced here.²¹

8. Left-peripheral ‘whoever’ phrases. In a construction that appears frequently in Wzôkhilain’s works, a form of the pronoun *tqnəwa* ‘whoever’, accompanied by a modifying relative clause, occurs at the left periphery of a clause. These indefinite NPs are distinguished from focused expressions by the fact that a coreferent pronoun typically, though not invariably, appears within the body of the clause. Wzôkhilain often sets off the clause-initial phrase with a comma, suggesting that it was frequently followed by a pause, another feature that distinguishes these indefinites from focused NPs. Examples are given in (33). Note the pronouns resuming the one bracketed NP in (33a) and the second such NP in (33b). The source text has commas after the material corresponding to both bracketed phrases in (33b).

- (33a) [_{NP} *tqn|əwa=tahki=ci* *kataw|əkil|ək* *kiowa*],
such|this.AN=but=FUT want|be.a size|3AN you.PL
na=ci *not|alohkaw|əko|ak^w*
that.AN=FUT occupation|work.for|INV|2PL
‘but whoever would be great among you, he shall be a servant to you’

<tonwa-/dakiji kadawgilek kiuwo naji nodalokawgoakw> Mark 10:43

- (33b) *wəsqmi* [_{NP} *tən|əwa=ci=ttā* *katawi-poləwakt|o|k^w*
because such|this.AN=FUT=EMPH want-save|TH|3AN
wə|pəmqwəso|w|qkan], *wə|wanihat|o|n=əci*,
3|live|W|NOM 3|lose|TH|N=FUT
[_{NP} *tən|əwa=ci=qsohka* *wanihat|o|k*
such|this.AN=FUT=but lose|TH|2AN
wə|pəmqwəso|w|qkan *wəci nia tta*
3|live|W|NOM for me and
wəci wə|lqəmo|w|qkan], *na=ci* *poləwakt|o|k^w*.
for tell.good|W|NOM that.AN=FUT save|TH|3AN

‘Because whoever would save his life, he shall lose it; but whoever
will lose his life for me and for the gospel, he shall be one
who saves it.’

<Wzomi tonwajitta kadawi polwaktokw wbem-/mowzowogan,
owanihadonji; tonwaji ozoka waniha-/dokw
wbemmowzowogan wji nia ta wji wlojmowogan, / naji
polwaktokw.> Mark 8:35

Consider now where the clitics are located in these examples. In each case,
the word that follows the initial indefinite phrase bears an enclitic. This is the

resumptive pronoun in (33a) and in the second clause of (33b); it is the verb in the first clause of (33b). But the first word of each indefinite expression also bears one or more enclitics. Thus the clitic string *=tahki=ci* ('but' plus 'future') follows the first word of the peripheral NP in (33a), the first bracketed NP in (33b) bears the future enclitic, and the second such NP in (33b) is followed by a sequence of the future enclitic and the postpositive subordinating conjunction *=qsohka* 'but'.²²

What all this means is that there are two domains of clitic placement in each clause in this construction with initial indefinite phrases. The left peripheral NP lies outside the domain of clitic placement for the main clause of the sentence, but this phrase itself is a domain of clitic placement. The intonational properties of the initial NP indicate that it is only loosely joined to the sentence, suggesting that it has the status of an adjunct. If this is correct, then the facts of clitic placement in this construction follow as before: there will be a clause boundary (an IP boundary in our examples, although presumably a CP boundary is possible) after the NP headed by a form of *tqnəwa* 'whoever', so both the position following the first word of this NP and the position following the first word after this NP will count as second position.

Note finally that the first bracketed indefinite expression in (33b) follows the subordinating conjunction *wasqmi* 'because', and a second-position clitic has been placed on the verb in the main clause here, with neither the conjunction nor the indefinite NP counting in figuring its placement. This should not surprise us,

since we have seen reason to believe that subordinating conjunctions are themselves adjuncts. Adjuncts may be iterated, and here we have two.

9. Conclusions. We have been led to make the decisions concerning the structure of Western Abenaki sentences that are summarized in (34). Given these assumptions about phrase structure, the principle of clitic placement stated in (35) covers all of the apparent complexities of the distribution of second-position clitics that have been surveyed in this article.

- (34) Proposals concerning Western Abenaki clause structure:
- a) CP is only projected when Spec of Comp is filled.
 - b) Focused NPs, like fronted *wh*-words, are located in Spec of Comp.
 - c) Both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are adjuncts to CP or IP.²³
 - d) Left-peripheral *ali* ‘thus’ and *waci* ‘so that, because’ are adjuncts to CP or IP.
 - e) Left-peripheral NPs headed by *tqnəwa* ‘whoever’ are adjuncts to CP or IP.
- (35) Second-position clitics are stationed after the first phonological word of CP or IP.²⁴

A final point about these conclusions is worth noting. The picture of the left periphery of Western Abenaki clauses that emerges from the present investigation differs rather sharply from conclusions that have been reached for a number of other languages in recent syntactic work. In particular, it does not appear to be necessary to postulate functional projections like FocusP and TopicP to account for the placement of second-position clitics in Western Abenaki clauses, nor to postulate additional projections like those envisioned in the cartographic program of Rizzi 1997, Cinque and Rizzi 2008, and other work along these lines. Indeed the contrast between CP and IP—essentially the old distinction between S' and S—appears to be all that we need.²⁵

10. Postscript: Situating the clitics. Some additional remarks are in order concerning how Western Abenaki clitics get into place. We have already noted that a clitic belonging to the main clause in a sentence may be stationed within a subordinate clause; see example (2b). We have also seen that a clitic may interrupt a noun phrase, as in (8b), and may even be positioned within the first of two conjoined noun phrases, as in (9b). Another example in which an enclitic is placed within a coordinate structure is given in (36).

- (36) [NP [NP *kətəmaq̃səssə|w|q̃kan*]=*əci* *tta* [NP *akacə|w|i-*
 be.poor|W|NOM=FUT and be.ashamed|W|PF-

macal[ə^m]ə^{k^w}əso|w|qkan]] məsətohkq|k^w

have.bad.luck|w|NOM befall|INV

tqn|əwa asah|a|k kki|tə|w|qkan

such|this.AN refuse|TH|3AN teach|RECIP|w|NOM

‘poverty and shameful ill fortune shall befall anyone who refuses
instruction’

<Ketmoksēs^woganji ta agajwi majalūk^wzowo-/gan mzedok^okw tonwa
azahak kid^wogan> Wzôkhilain 1830a:35

Examples like these exclude any analysis under which the clitic or clitic string is taken to occupy a unique syntactic location, say the head of some high projection, with other material moved into the specifier of this head to host the clitics, as in analyses of Serbo-Croatian proposed by Franks and Progovac (1994) and Tomić (1996), among others. A movement analysis of this kind would require us to suppose that the coordinated NPs in (33) can be separated by movement: either the left-hand conjunct has been extracted and moved to the left of the clitic or the coordinate structure itself is a discontinuous constituent so that the left-hand conjunct may be moved on its own. The first option would involve a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. The second might not in fact be out of the question, since discontinuous coordinate structures are well attested in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (LeSourd to appear). However this may be, to handle

the other examples just noted under a movement analysis, we would need to postulate even more dramatic disruptions of syntactic structure. The clitic in (9b), for example, occurs not between conjuncts in a coordinate structure, but within the first conjunct.

It seems clear, moreover, that the enclitic particles of Western Abenaki are not placed in second position by head movement, as has been proposed for languages such as Serbo-Croatian (Franks and Progovac 1994, Franks 1998) and Warlpiri (Legate 2008), where we find clitics that are pronominals or auxiliaries. Since the Abenaki clitic particles are not elements of any such type, there would appear to be no reason to analyze them as phrasal heads. (I return to the question of enclitic demonstratives below.)

It might be argued that the postpositive subordinating conjunctions *wəsqmi* ‘because’, *qsohka* ‘however’, and *kanəwa* ‘however’ are basically clause-initial, since they may appear at the beginning of a clause as well as in second position. Thus even though there is no evidence to indicate that the obligatorily enclitic particles have an underlying or basic position in phrase structure, we might suppose that clitics in general are in some sense associated with the left edge of the CP or IP projection within which they are ultimately realized. If so, then they must be subject to a (presumably post-syntactic) operation that positions them after the first word of this projection. This operation would be analogous to the process of “prosodic inversion” that Halpern (1995) proposes for Serbo-

Croatian, which he sees as shifting a clause-initial clitic to a location after the word that follows the clitic. This analysis is further developed in King 1996. But Halpern and King's prosodic inversion is a repair mechanism that works on the output of a syntactic process of clitic placement, while syntactic movement appears to play no role in the positioning of clitics in Western Abenaki.

The weak pronouns of Chamorro offer a closer analogy to Western Abenaki clitics than the clitic pronouns and auxiliaries of Serbo-Croatian. Chung (2003) has argued that these Chamorro pronouns are placed to the right of the first phonological phrase in a clause. Clitic placement in Western Abenaki works in much the same way, except that clitics are positioned to the right of the first phonological word in the clause, rather than the first phonological phrase.²⁶

Chung states clitic placement in Chamorro as a process that prosodically adjoins a weak pronoun to the first phonological phrase in the clause, and I will suggest below that Western Abenaki clitics may correspondingly be seen as adjoined to the first phonological word in their domain of placement. Given such an analysis, it becomes unnecessary to see clitic placement as actually involving an inversion process. If we assume, with many contemporary frameworks of syntactic analysis, that the words in syntactic representations are basically unordered, with order imposed by principles of linearization, then we need not postulate any base position for clitics.²⁷ Clitic placement can simply be regarded as part of the process of linearization.

This linearization analysis remains incomplete, however, since it provides no account of the fact that certain demonstratives become enclitic when they occur in clause-second position. How does the grammar tell when a demonstrative is in an appropriate location for cliticization? After all, a cliticized demonstrative need not even form a constituent with the word on which it becomes dependent. The enclitic demonstrative in (37), for example, forms part of a complex left dislocated phrase, while the preceding conjunction is simply adjoined to this phrase. Compare also examples (10a), (12b), and (22).

- (37) [NP *ttaħ*=[_NP *əni sokənapqəsə*|w|*qəkan nia naspi-sokənapqəsi*|a]],
 and=that.IN be.baptized|w|NOM I with-be.baptized|1SG
ni=ci naspi-sokənapqəsi|ak^w
 that.IN=FUT with-be.baptized|2PL
 ‘and the baptism that I am baptized with, that is what you (pl.) shall
 be baptized with’
 <*tahani sogneboz-/wogan nia naspi sognebozia niji naspi*
sogneboziakw> Mark 10:39

To find a solution to this puzzle, I suggest, we need to look further into the prosodic properties of Western Abenaki sentences. I can only make a few tentative suggestions about such matters, since I have only heard a relatively

small sample of the language in recordings, but a few preliminary observations may be of interest.

The first point to note is that the demonstratives that may be cliticized are typically unstressed. This makes them natural candidates for clitic status. Second, the main stress in a word is on the final syllable when the word ends a sentence, but frequently shifts to the left when a word is in non-final position (presumably depending on the organization of the utterance into intonation phrases).²⁸ Third, there appears to be a distinctive sentence-initial prosody, with high pitch associated with the (shifted) main stress of the first word in the sentence and low pitch associated with the end of this word—and (usually) with any enclitics that it may bear. A high-low melody marks the end of a declarative sentence. The two tones are mapped onto the last two stressed syllables in the sentence, which may not occur in the same word. Questions are marked by a sentence-final low-high melody (and perhaps by pronouncing the entire sentence at a generally higher pitch). Stressed syllables in words in medial positions in a sentence appear in general to be pronounced at an intermediate pitch level.

Some examples may help to make this situation clearer. In (38) I give impressionistic transcriptions of the prosodic features of three sentences that appear to be typical.²⁹ (Pitch tracks of the utterances transcribed here are given in the Appendix.)

(38a) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & H & & L & & L & & H & & L \\ n\acute{a}|pam\acute{a}l\acute{a}t|am|\acute{a}n=\acute{a}pa & n\acute{a}|n\acute{a}ci-n\acute{a}mi|q|n & n\acute{a}t\acute{o}s. \end{array}$

1|want|TH|N=COND 1|go-see|DIR|N 1|daughter

‘I would like to go and see my daughter.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 10)

(38b) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & H & L & L & & M & & M & & LH \\ k\acute{a}|wiki-=pa & -pay\acute{q} & spiwi & ni\acute{a}? \end{array}$

2|like-=COND -come with me

‘Would you (sg.) like to come with me?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

(38c) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & H & L & L & & L & & H \\ k\acute{a}|s\acute{i}pki-=ci & -\acute{a}i|n|\acute{q}? \end{array}$

2|for.long-=FUT -be.located|N|2PL

‘Will you (pl.) be gone long?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 6)

In all three examples, the syllable in the clause-initial word that bears main stress is associated with high pitch. Pitch then falls to low at the end of this word, and the clitic is low-pitched and unstressed. The declarative sentence in (38a) ends with a pitch fall; the interrogatives in (38b) and (38c) end with a pitch rise.

As an aside, I should note that enclitics are not always associated with low pitch. In (39), for example, the vowel of the future enclitic =*ci* is pronounced at a high pitch—and receives stress. Apparently the high component of the sentence-final high-low melody has been mapped onto the clitic, since the last word of the sentence is short; and stress has been induced on the clitic, with

concomitant reduction of the stress (and associated pitch) of the word to which the clitic is attached.

(39) $\begin{array}{cccc} & M & L & H & L \\ n\grave{a}|n\grave{a}mi|q=c\acute{i} & sap\acute{a}. \end{array}$

1|see|DIR=FUT tomorrow

‘I will see him tomorrow.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

Consider now the prosody of sentences that contain unstressed demonstratives in second position, like those in (40).

(40a) $\begin{array}{ccccccccc} & H & L & L & & M & H & H & L \\ n\grave{a}|k^w\acute{q}sol|q & na & & s\grave{a}nqba, & n\grave{a}|s\grave{a}kpq\acute{w}\acute{a}l|\acute{\theta}k^w. \end{array}$

1|shun|DIR that.AN man 1|frighten|INV

‘I am avoiding that man; he frightens me.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 10)

(40b) $\begin{array}{ccccccccc} & H & L & L & & L & H \\ k\grave{a}|waw\acute{i}naw|q & na & & s\grave{a}nqba? \end{array}$

2|recognize|DIR that.AN man

‘Do you recognize that man?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

These sentences are much like those in (38) in their intonational properties, except that there is a rise at the end of the word *sanqba* ‘man’ in (40a), even though this

word stands at the end of a sentence. Presumably this rise represents a non-final intonation for this sentence.

Note that the demonstratives in the examples in (40) stand in the same relation to the sentence-initial prosody as an enclitic particle would. It is impossible to demonstrate that they are enclitics here, of course, since cliticization can have no phonetic consequences in these cases. But it is easy to see from such examples why a demonstrative would become cliticized when it is located in second position: it will simply be caught up like a clitic in the prosody associated with the first phonological word of the clause. What this will mean from a formal perspective is that the demonstrative will be incorporated into the clause-initial phonological word.

I propose, then, that unstressed demonstratives become enclitic in second position not through the application of any rule of syntax, but through a strictly phonological process: the demonstrative becomes a phonological adjunct to the clause-initial phonological word. Clause-initial position is not a phonological context, however. What, then, is the phonological conditioning factor at work here?

Presumably the relevant factor is the division of the utterance into intonation phrases. It seems reasonable to suppose that the left edge of an intonation phrase is aligned with the left edge of CP or IP. It also seems reasonable to expect a focused or adjoined phrase to have the potential to be

treated as a separate intonation phrase, and to see initial adjoined words (such as conjunctions and the special preverbs discussed in section 6) as having the potential to be skipped over in assigning sentence-initial prosodic features. Indeed the features that we have identified as establishing the boundaries of syntactic domains for clitic placement are all likely candidates for determining the boundaries of intonation phrases. I conclude that the cliticization of demonstratives can in all probability be described in purely phonological terms: an unstressed demonstrative is adjoined to the first phonological word in an intonation phrase, provided that this word is associated with a high-low prosody.

Consider, finally, the implications of this treatment of cliticized demonstratives for the statement of the process by which other enclitics are placed in second position. Clitic placement evidently creates the same kind of adjoined structures as we have postulated for enclitic demonstratives. Following the lead of Chung's (2003) analysis of Chamorro, we may tentatively state the Western Abenaki rule of clitic placement as in (41).

- (41) Enclitic particles and postpositive conjunctions are phonologically adjoined to the right edge of the first phonological word within the intonation phrase that is aligned with the beginning of the domain with which they are associated.

Given this formulation, it will follow that second-position clitics of all types—both special clitics and unstressed demonstratives—occupy the same type of position in prosodic structures, surely a correct result.³⁰

But by now the reader may be wondering whether this prosodic account of clitic placement does not entirely replace the syntactic account of the distribution of clitics that was given in previous sections of this article. The answer is that it does not. The prosodic process of clitic placement determines how clitics are positioned in an utterance with respect to the beginning of the domain with which they are associated. The syntactic account determines what those domains are by identifying their edges. What I have sought to establish in the preceding sections of this article is the hierarchical organization of sentences into phrases that establishes the locations of the CP and IP boundaries that are relevant for clitic placement.

Clearly much more needs to be learned about the prosody of Western Abenaki before the proposals I have advanced in this section can be properly evaluated. Fortunately, however, a substantial quantity of Western Abenaki material, including both texts and sound recordings, was collected by the late Gordon M. Day, who conducted field work on the language over many years. Other recordings were made in the 1970s by Janet L. Warne. All of this material is available in the archives of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec. Thus the proposals sketched here can be tested in further research.

Appendix: Phonetic Evidence for Intonation Patterns

Impressionistic transcriptions of the intonational features of several Western Abenaki sentences were given in section 9. In order to check these transcriptions, pitch tracks were obtained for the utterances in question using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2011). The results are presented below. In a few cases, noise in the recordings may have interfered to a certain extent with the operation of Praat's pitch-tracking algorithm. The principal intonational features of each example nonetheless appear clearly in the pitch tracks. The instrumental study appears to confirm all significant features of the transcriptions as given in the main text.

A. Examples showing typical intonation patterns

H L L H L

(38a) *nə|pamálət|am|ən=əpa nə|nəci-námi|q|n nətós.*

1|want|TH|N=COND 1|go-see|DIR|N 1|daughter

‘I would like to go and see my daughter.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 10)

[insert fig. 1 about here]

The HL melody associated with the first word of this sentence shows up clearly in the pitch track, as does the low pitch associated with the conditional clitic *=pa*. Less clear is the HL melody associated with the end of the sentence.

(38b) H L L M M LH
kə|wiki=-pa -payá spíwi niá?

2|like==COND -come with me

‘Would you (sg.) like to come with me?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

[insert fig. 2 about here]

Both the HL melody associated with the first word in the sentence and the final LH marking the sentence as a question are evident here, as is the low pitch associated with the conditional clitic *=pa*.

(38c) H L L L H
kə|sípki=-ci -àí|n|q?

2|for.long==FUT -be.located|N|2PL

‘Will you (pl.) be gone long?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 6)

[insert fig. 3 about here]

The essential features of the intonation contour of this example are again confirmed by this pitch track: the HL contour associated with the first word of the sentence, the final LH melody marking the sentence as a question, and the low pitch associated with the second-position clitic *=ci* ‘future’.

B. An example showing a stressed enclitic

M L H L

(39) *nə|nàmi|q=ci sapá.*

1|see|DIR=FUT tomorrow

‘I will see him tomorrow.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

[insert fig. 4. about here]

It is easy to see here that the future clitic *=ci* is actually associated with the highest pitch in this sentence. The sentence-initial HL melody is reduced in contrast to the pitch associated with *=ci*.

C. Examples showing unstressed demonstratives in second position

H L L M H H L

(40a) *nə|k^wqsol|q na sànpábá, nə|sàkpqəwəl|ə́k^w.*

1|shun|DIR that.AN man 1|frighten|INV

‘I am avoiding that man; he frightens me.’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 10)

[insert figure 5 about here]

In this case in particular, noise in the recording may have resulted in poor performance by the pitch-tracking software. The main features of the pitch contour of the sentence are nonetheless reasonably clear, notably the HL contour associated with the initial word, and the L associated with the immediately following demonstrative *na* ‘that (an.)’.

(40b) H L L L H
 kə|wawínaw|q na sànaqbá?

2|recognize|DIR that.AN man

‘Do you recognize that man?’ (Joubert n.d., Lesson 8)

[insert fig. 6 about here]

Here again we see a clause-initial word associated with a HL melody followed by a demonstrative *na* ‘that (an.)’ that is low in pitch. I suggest in the text that it is this configuration, low pitch on an unstressed pronoun following a clause-initial word, that led to the cliticization of unstressed demonstratives found in nineteenth-century texts.

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Notes

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Transcription. Western Abenaki has the eleven non-syllabic phonemes *p, t, c, k, s, h, m, n, l, w, y* and the five vowels *i, o, ə, a, and q*. The affricate *c* had an apicoalveolar pronunciation for most twentieth-century speakers (Day 1994:xiv), but both Masta (1932) and the nineteenth-century writers used <ch> and <j> to represent this sound, suggesting a palatalized or alveopalatal articulation. The vowel transcribed here as *q* is mid, back, unrounded, and nasal, according to Day

(1994:xv). Warne (1975) and Day (1994) distinguish a tense and a lax series of obstruents, but Warne (1975:2) notes that the tense obstruents are “optionally preaspirated.” These are interpreted here as clusters with preceding *h*. I also distinguish between single and geminate consonants. The native writers clearly note this difference, although the orthographic reflection of the distinction is complex.

Abbreviations. The following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1 first person; 2 second person; 3 third person; 1/2, etc. first-person subject acting on second-person object, etc.; AN animate; COND conditional; CONT contrast; DIM diminutive; DIR direct; DUBIT dubitative; EMPH emphasis; FOC focus; FUT future; IN inanimate; INC inclusive; INV inverse; LOC locative; N suffix *-(ə)n(a)-*, with several functions; NEG negative; NOM nominalizer; OBV obviative; PF particle final (particle-forming suffix); PL plural; PRET preterite; PROX proximate; RECIP reciprocal; RED reduplication; REFLEX reflexive; REPORT reportative; SG singular; SUBJ subjunctive; TH thematic suffix; UNSPEC unspecified subject; W suffix deriving combining forms. Glosses are given in parentheses for morphemes with no surface segmental shape.

¹ It should be noted that this example from Laurent 1884 in which an enclitic particle with main clause scope is stationed within a subordinate clause

appears to be quite unusual. No comparable examples have been located in the works of other writers.

² The expression *ssanəta|k|a* (be.Sunday|3IN|SUBJ) ‘on Sunday’ in this example and the two that follow is formally a subordinate clause. Most types of subordinate clauses are distinguished from main clauses by the use of special so-called *conjunct* inflection on verbs, distinct from the *independent* inflection characteristic of main clause verbs. (The terminology is that of Bloomfield 1946, now standard.) The third-person inanimate suffix *-k* of *ssanəta|k|a* is specifically a conjunct inflectional ending, as is the subjunctive marker *-a* (used both in ‘if’ clauses, as here, and in ‘when’ clauses with future time reference, as in example (23a)).

³ Wzôkhilain 1845 is cited here as “Mark” by chapter and verse.

⁴ A few notes on phonetics are in order here. The word *ssanətaka* ‘on Sunday’ in (2) is pronounced [sandagá]: the *ə* in this word is phonologically weak and is therefore phonetically elided; see note 8. The presence of this vowel is revealed only by the fact that the following *t* has its intervocalic allophone [d] here. A reviewer asks whether voicing (here interpreted in terms of single vs. geminate consonants) is in fact distinctive in initial and final position. Both Day (1994) and Warne (1975, 1976) concluded that there a difference between what they interpreted as lax and tense consonants in initial position in the word. In

word-final position, on the other hand, single obstruents are tense (Day 1994:xiii), although tensing in this position appears to have been optional, to judge by the orthography of Laurent 1884. There is no distinction between single consonants and geminates in final position, but a distinction between single and preaspirated obstruents (i.e., *hC* clusters) is maintained. Laurent consistently writes the latter as voiceless, while variably writing single obstruents as voiced.

⁵ The model of phrase structure that I assume here is essentially that of the Principles and Parameters framework, although I make no use of functional categories other than CP and IP. The distinction between CP (= Complementizer Phrase) and IP (= Inflection Phrase) was introduced in Chomsky 1986:2-4, replacing S' and S. See Radford 1988:499-515 for a clear account of the rationale for the change. A reviewer asks what the status of these categories is specifically for Western Abenaki. On this issue, see note 25.

⁶ Radford 1988:499-508 provides an account of the reasons for taking Spec of Comp to be the landing site for *Wh*-Movement. For general background on the type of phrase structure system assumed here, including the concepts of specifier and adjunct, see Radford 1988:167-216, 253-258.

⁷ Goddard 2008:262-270 discusses the second-position enclitics of closely related Mahican, several of which are cognate with Western Abenaki forms described here.

⁸ As in other Eastern Algonquian languages, certain occurrences of *a* and *ə* are phonologically “weak,” in the sense that they are skipped over in counting syllables when stress is assigned and are often pronounced very short or are elided altogether (compare Goddard 1982:18-19 on Munsee, LeSourd 1993 on Passamaquoddy). The native writers typically fail to write weak *a*, but the presence of this vowel is revealed by the fact that a following obstruent is written as voiced, showing that it has its intervocalic allophone (which was very likely simply lax and voiceless, rather than actually voiced). After *h*, a weak *a* is subject to a phonetic rule of assimilation that makes it match the vowel before *h* in quality (LeSourd 2002).

⁹ The initial geminate consonant of *tta(h)* ‘and’ is not distinguished from a single *t* in the orthography of the native writers. However, Day (1994:459) writes <ɾ> rather than <d> in this word, and Warne (1976) consistently transcribes it with <tt>. Both notations indicate a tense stop, here interpreted as a geminate.

¹⁰ Another construction is attested in which a clitic that usually appears in second position occurs outside such a context, attached to a conjunction that serves to connect phrases rather than clauses. An example involving the focus-marking clitic *=əka* is given in (i).

- (i) *ni=tta aspəsqakiwi|k kci-pathlihəq|ak*
 and.then=EMPH be.morning|3IN great-priest|PROX.PL

wə|kahsi-potawasi|n|q *kcia|a*
 3|with-hold.council|N|PROX.PL old.one|OBV
tta noci-awikhika|li|c|i ***ttah=əka*** *məsiwi*
 and occupation-write|OBV|3AN|OBV and=FOC all
potawasə|w|inno|a
 hold.council|w|person|OBV

‘right away in the morning the chief priests held a council with the elders
 and the scribes and all the councilors’

<NITTA aspôzakiwik kchi patlihôzak wgasi podawa-/zinô kchiaa ta noji
 awikhigaliji tahaga mziwi poda-/wazwinnoa> Mark 15:1

Comparable uses of (otherwise) second-position enclitics are found in closely
 related Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, spoken in New Brunswick and Maine.

¹¹ In a more careful analysis of the discourse status of the nominals in
 question, we would need to develop a real account of the semantics of focus for
 Western Abenaki. This would presumably involve drawing distinctions between
 contrast and other types of semantic prominence. What is important for present
 purposes, however, is that there appears to be a distinct position in phrase
 structure (arguably Spec of Comp) that is occupied by expressions with special
 discourse properties.

¹² It should not be imagined that the focus-marking enclitic *=ka* is always attached to the focused constituent itself. Examples like (14a), where a conjunction bears this enclitic, show that this is not the case. It appears instead that focus may be associated with any constituent that contains *=ka*, including the clause as a whole. Note that this situation excludes an analysis of *=ka* as the head of a Focus projection with the focused constituent as its specifier, after the fashion of Rizzi 1997:287.

¹³ Many of the orthographic double consonants in the sources for this study do not reflect actual geminates. Wzôkhilain in particular regularly writes a phonological single consonant with a double letter after an <e> that represents a phonologically strong *ə*: compare Wzôkhilain <ngweddōz> (Mark 4:20), Laurent (1884:74) <nguedôz>, both representing *nəḱ^wətqs* ‘six’. In the endings of negative verb forms, however, we often find true geminates, as Goddard (2006:170) has demonstrated. There is a geminate *p*, for example, in the suffix *-ppa* 2PL.NEG in *kə|wicihlam|i|ppa* (2|accompany|2/1|2PL.NEG) ‘you are not with me’ in (18a); corresponding positive forms have *-pa*. Several other examples in this article include suffixes with geminates that arose historically, as Goddard has shown, as secondary markers of negation. This is true of the *ww* of the negative allomorph *-wwq* of the proximate plural suffix *-wq* in *wə|nohsohkaw|q|wi|wwq* (3|follow|DIR|NEG|PROX.PL.NEG|(OBV)) ‘he does not follow them’ in (20), of the

ww of the negative suffix itself (otherwise *-(o)w(i)-*) in *pahpi|ww|an* (play|NEG|2SG) ‘you (sg.) do not play’ in (26a), and of the *nn* of the conjunct suffix *-nnohk^w* 3IN.NEG in (26b), (27b), and (29b).

¹⁴ As a reviewer has pointed out, there does not appear to be a phonemic contrast between *oa* and *owa*. I have accordingly transcribed *kawhoa|t|a* (win|3AN|SUBJ) ‘if he wins it’ with *oa* rather than *owa* here, since the second <w> of Wzôkhilain’s <kawho-/wada> presumably does not represent a phonemic glide. Compare Laurent (1884:186) <Kawhoamuk> *kawhoa|mək* (win|UNSPEC) ‘that one wins’.

¹⁵ The reciprocal suffix has a secondary use in which it derives stems with a passive sense. Here we have a nominalization of such a “reciprocal” stem: the literal meaning of *qshakatawapikh|otə|w|qkan* (show.wonder|RECIP|W|NOM) ‘sign’ is ‘that which one is shown as a wonder, as something that makes one astonished’.

¹⁶ The last few letters of the first word in this example appear to have been omitted from the printed text as a result of a type-setting error.

¹⁷ By referring to the preverbs in this construction as dislocated, I mean only to indicate that they appear away from their expected positions adjacent to the verbs with which they are construed. No claim is intended that these preverbs are moved into their dislocated positions.

¹⁸ Compare *tahk^wən|əko|c|i* (arrest|INV|3AN|OBV) ‘they (obv.) who arrested him’ <takwnegoji> Mark 14:48, *atali-payq|ak^w* (location-come|2PL) ‘where you (pl.) arrive’ <adali paioakw> Mark 6:10.

¹⁹ It might be argued that the conjoined expressions in (29) are VPs (if such exist) rather than IPs, in view of the fact that *asq* ‘John’ is the object in the first conjunct here, not the subject. (The subject in both conjuncts in this example is unspecified, as indicated by the inflection.) But note (i) below, where *waci* is again construed with conjoined expressions, but the subject in the first conjunct (*akəma* ‘he, she’) is overt.

(i) ...*wə|məlki-ccowiht|o|n wə|nəkəmkaw|q|n witəwəsom|q|c|i*

3|strong-want|TH|N 3|dominate|DIR|N live.with|DIR|3AN|OBV

[_{IP} *waci-* [_{IP} ***akəma*** *-paami-mospapi|t*], [_{IP} *-wilawiki|t*],

so.that he more-sit.up.high|3AN be.rich|3AN

tta [_{IP} *-tatapakit|a|k* *ahcəwi-lalohka|mək*]]

and command|TH|3AN should-do.thus|UNSPEC

‘...and strongly desires to dominate his neighbor so that he is in a superior position, he is rich, and he commands what ought to be done.’

<wmelki chowiton wnegômkawôn wi-/dôwzomôji waji agma paami

mospabit, wilawigit, / ta tadabagidak achwi lalokamũk.>

Wzôkhilain 1830a:76

In this example the first conjunct must be an IP, since it includes a subject. The other two conjuncts are presumably IPs as well, if they parallel the first as expected in a case of conjunction. Thus the conjoined structure in (i) must be an IP, so *waci* must be adjoined to IP here. Given that IP adjunction is motivated for this preverb, it seems best to assume that it is adjoined to IP in (29) as well.

²⁰ The Maliseet-Passamaquoddy preverb *eli* shares many of the properties of its Western Abenaki cognate *ali*, including the function of the latter as a marker of subordination (Sherwood 1986:138). Bruening (2001:165-167) has argued that subordinating *eli* occupies Comp position. In support of such an analysis, it might be noted that *eli* may be used to introduce non-verbal predicates, showing that it is no longer simply a preverb. The same is in fact true of Western Abenaki *ali*, as examples like (i) demonstrate:

(i) *nət|ihl|əka|ap* [***ali*** *wipiwi mətala*].

1|tell|UNSPEC/1|PRET thus only ten

‘I was told that it was only ten (i.e., only ten dollars for the boat fare).’

<N’-d-ilhegaab ali wibiwi mdala.> Laurent 1884:110

Given the evidence presented in the text that *ali* occupies an adjoined position, however, it seems likely that this element has the status of a subordinating conjunction in sentences like (i), rather than that of a complementizer.

²¹ There is evidence for hierarchical organization in the phrase structure of Algonquian languages not only at the left periphery of the clause, but in other domains of syntactic structure as well. Arguments for complex internal structure in the NP in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy are presented in LeSourd 2004.

Prepositional and postpositional phrases in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy likewise have a rich internal structure, including PP as well as NP complements to P and a variety of modifiers in adjunct positions.

²² It is also worth noting that the clitics =*tahki* ‘but’ in (33a) and =*qsohka* ‘however’ in (33b) have sentential scope in both of these examples, even though they are located inside the initial nominal in both cases.

²³ Coordinating conjunctions can in fact conjoin phrases of any category. See (9b) for an example of NP conjunction with *tta* ‘and’, and (33b) for an example of PP conjunction. I assume that the conjunction is adjoined to the second conjunct in such cases. Another type of example in which *tta* is adjoined to an NP appears in (37).

²⁴ Note that the reference here must be to the phonological word, not the syntactic word, to accommodate the cases discussed in section 6 involving preverb-verb complexes: preverbs are syntactic words, but the clitic string may be stationed after an entire preverb-verb complex if the complex is treated as a single phonological word.

²⁵ Clitic placement is stated in (35) in terms of an unsatisfying disjunction of categories: CP or IP. This formulation is an artifact of the Principles and Parameters framework within which we have been working, however. In other frameworks, such as contemporary versions of Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, clauses of these two kinds are readily treated as a natural class. In the Sign-Based Construction Grammar of Sag 2010, for example, constructions belong to types that are organized into multiple hierarchies. In an analysis of Western Abenaki in these terms, the analogues of various kinds of CPs and IPs would all belong to subtypes of the type *clause*. Second position could then be defined as the position following the first phonological word in a construction of this superordinate type.

²⁶ On the reasons for stating clitic placement in terms of the phonological word, see note 24.

²⁷ For some discussion of linearization in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, with particular reference to second-position phenomena, see Donohue and Sag 1999. On linearization in the Minimalist Program, see Fox and Pesetsky 2005. Linearization in the Simpler Syntax framework is discussed in Culicover and Jackendoff 2005:143-148.

²⁸ When a word is pronounced in isolation, its stressed final syllable is usually high in pitch. This pitch rise is not a part of the basic prosody of the word,

however, as shown by the fact that it is absent from a word that ends a declarative sentence.

²⁹ The transcriptions and translations given here are mine, not those of my source (Joubert n.d.).

³⁰ Note that the formulation of clitic placement as a prosodic process presented here makes a strong prediction about the correlation between clitics and prosodic structures: since every clitic cluster is associated with an intonation phrase, there must be at least as many intonation phrases in a sentence as there are clitic clusters.

Figure 1

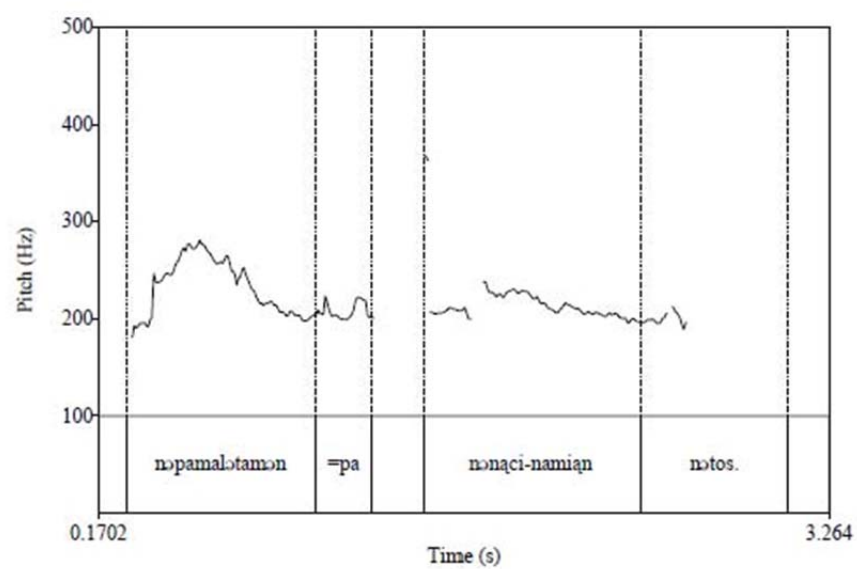


Figure 2

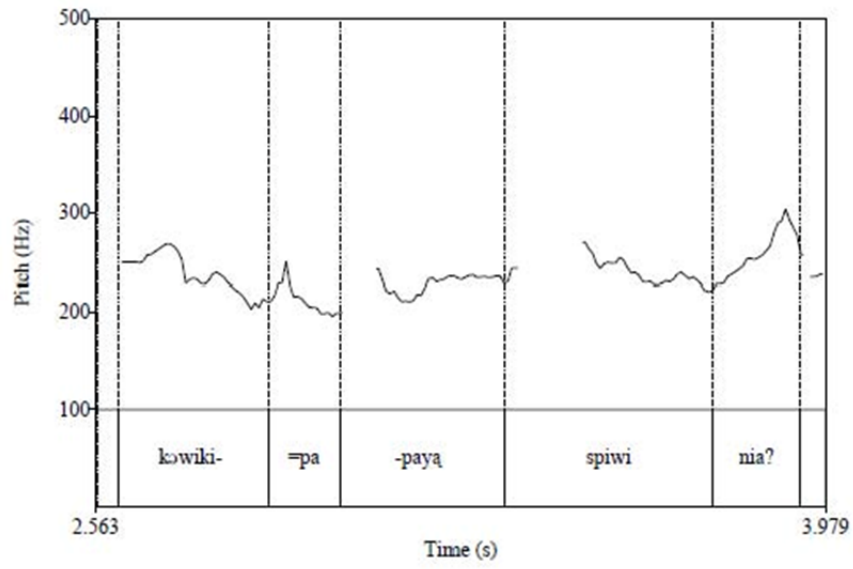


Figure 3

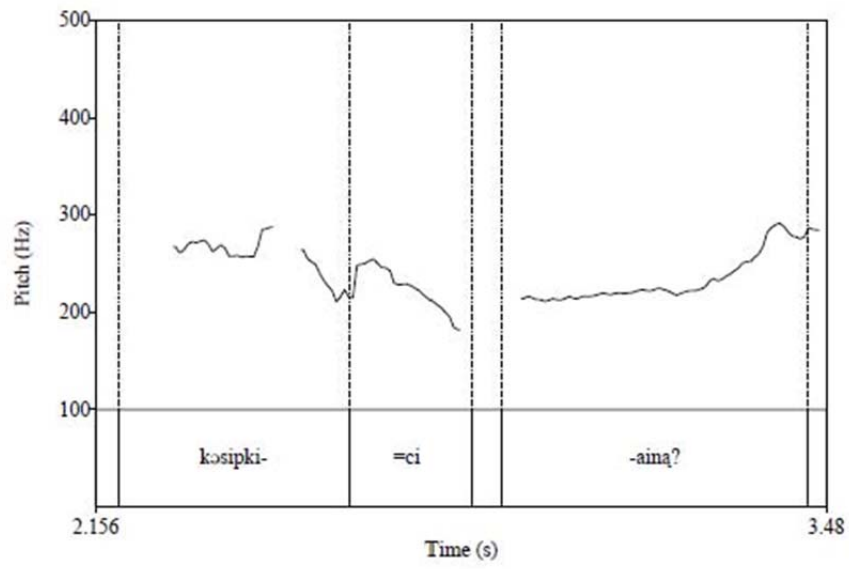


Figure 4

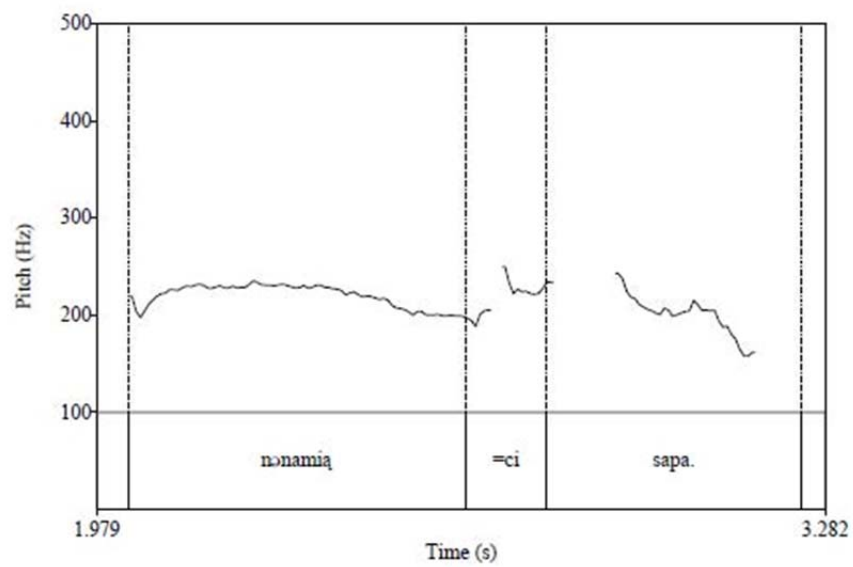


Figure 5

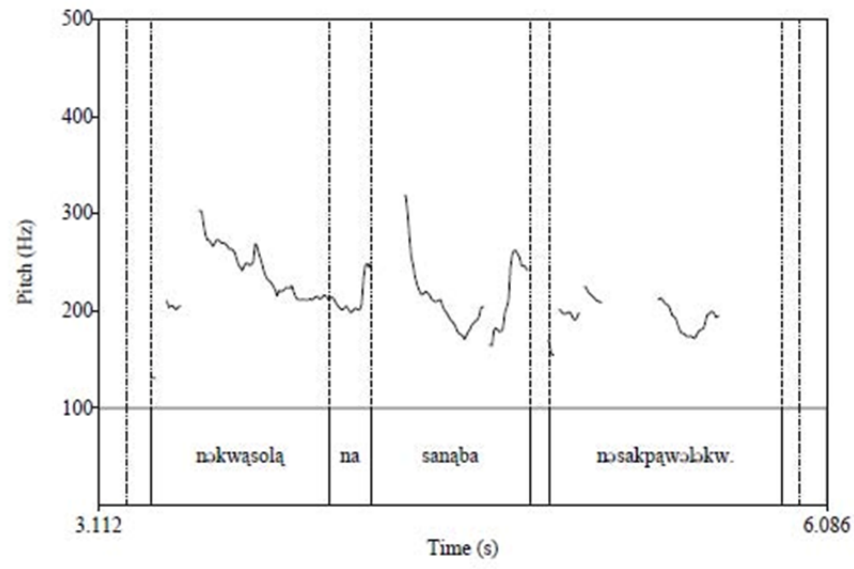


Figure 6

