

Altruism, \bar{A} -Movement, and Object Agreement in Innu-aimûn

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This article examines the syntactic properties of a long-distance agreement construction in Innu-aimûn (Algonquian) in which a matrix verb may agree with an argument in its complement clause, normally with an associated topic interpretation for the DP target of agreement. It is shown that this is true cross-clausal agreement into a finite complement, rather than agreement with a prothetic object or exceptional Case marking. The topic interpretation effect is shown to reflect a (covert) \bar{A} -movement that produces a complement clause with an accessible target for agreement at the left periphery.

Keywords: Algonquian, topicalization, agreement, \bar{A} , locality

1 Introduction

In Innu-aimûn (Montagnais), an Algonquian language spoken in northeastern Canada, transitive verbs agree in person, number, and animacy with their objects. The grammatical basis for this pan-Algonquian object agreement pattern has been a matter of considerable dispute for many years. The literature includes a number of distinct theoretical models for characterizing object agreement; it could be treated as a reflection of constraints built into the argument structure of the predicates involved (Grafstein 1987), as a part of the mapping relation between grammatical functions and surface forms (Perlmutter and Rhodes 1988), or as a morphological reflection of formal relations established in the course of a grammatical derivation (Frantz 1978, Dahlstrom 1986, Halle and Marantz 1993, McGinnis 1997).

In this article we present a new analysis of Innu-aimûn object agreement based on an examination of agreement patterns in the “cross-clausal agreement” (CCA) construction,¹ the theoretical significance of which has been clear since Frantz’s (1978, 1980) Standard Theory/Relational Grammar analyses of the parallel Blackfoot case. The CCA construction is similar in some respects to the English exceptional-Case-marking (ECM) construction, and like the English case, CCA

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¹ The long-distance agreement construction is referred to by several different names in the literature. Frantz (1978) refers to it as a “raising-to-object” construction. Dahlstrom calls it the “copy-to-object” operation. Our CCA terminology is chosen simply in order to begin the discussion on neutral ground.

allows us to tease apart the properties of the agreement relation from the semantic relations established by predicate-argument structures.

We show that the Innu-aimûn transitive verbs agree with objects under two distinct types of relations: they obligatorily agree with direct objects that are clausemate arguments,² and they optionally agree with objects that are associated with the verb by an \bar{A} -movement operation. This latter \bar{A} variety of object agreement occurs when a matrix verb *altruistically* checks an argument to allow a topicalization structure to be established within an embedded clause that could not otherwise occur.

The conclusions we draw from this analysis have consequences beyond the Algonquian context, in particular because the altruistic use of agreement morphology raises questions of derivational economy and the nature of movement operations. Our analysis departs from the familiar assumption, deriving from Vergnaud's (1985) and Rouveret and Vergnaud's (1980) original proposals on the syntax of Case, that agreement and core grammatical functions are coextensive with Case-checking relations. Finally, the analysis we present relies crucially on the notion that Spell-Out of \bar{A} -chains may sometimes apply to the foot of a chain, rather than to its head (Pesetsky 2000), and to the extent that it is well motivated in other respects, it therefore supports this idea of how chains are processed for the PF interface.

We assume familiarity with the minimalist model, and in particular with the theory of Agree operations and phases developed in Chomsky 2000. The structure of the article is as follows: We begin by describing the agreement system in Innu-aimûn and then examine the CCA construction. We present the evidence for \bar{A} -movement in CCA, and we propose an analysis of the topicalization effect. Finally, we compare CCA agreement with local object agreement.

2 General Grammatical Characteristics

2.1 Typological Characteristics of Innu-aimûn

A few general observations about Innu-aimûn grammar will help in evaluating the data presented below. This is a language in which rich inflection on nouns and verbs licenses null pronominal arguments and relatively free word order. Despite a superficial typological similarity, Innu-aimûn is not a true polysynthetic language in the sense defined by Baker (1996). For one thing, the free word order in this language is limited (in ways that elude analysis). For example, an embedded clause that contains both an obviative subject and an obviative object will (sometimes) exhibit rigid SVO word order. An additional word order constraint holds in double object constructions (Branigan and MacKenzie 1998).

Null arguments appear as subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects. They also appear as possessors within DP, where they are licensed by the agreement morphology on the possessed noun. There are no true adjectives or prepositions, so the question of complements in AP or PP

² Only the first object in a ditransitive structure may trigger agreement, presumably because the verbal morphology bars multiple object agreement.

is moot. Innu-aimûn makes use of *wh*-movement to form embedded and root questions, and it allows long *wh*-movement.³

Like all Algonquian languages, Innu-aimûn has two types of animate 3rd person nominal expressions: proximate and obviative. Both overt and null DPs bear proximate or obviative features, and the verbs and nouns that agree with them are sensitive to these features in their own inflection; that is, the proximate/obviative distinction shows up in the agreement morphology. The choice between proximate and obviative inflection for a given DP is controlled by a variety of factors, having to do with the number of 3rd person DPs in the clause, the binding relations between them, and obscure semantic and functional issues.

2.2 Object Agreement in Innu-aimûn Verbal Inflection

In Innu-aimûn, transitive verbs are divided into *transitive animate* (TA) verbs and *transitive inanimate* (TI) verbs, on the basis of their inflections and stem forms.⁴ TA verbs have [+animate] objects; TI verbs have [–animate] objects.

- (1) a. Tsh-uâpât-en.
2-see-TI (inanimate object)
'You see it.'
- b. N-uâpam-âu.
1-see-3
'I see him.'
- c. Tsh-uâpam-in.
2-see-1
'You see me.'
- (2) a. Ni-mishk-e mashinaikan.
1-found-TI book
'I found the book.'
- b. Ni-mishk-uâ atim^u.
1-found-3 dog
'I found the dog.'

TA verbs may appear in the *direct* voice or the *inverse* voice, depending on the person and obviation features of the subject and direct object. (Secondary objects do not participate in the alternation, or generally in the agreement system; secondary objects appear in ditransitive verb phrases, as the theme argument.) As a first approximation—inaccurate in certain details, as will be shown—the distribution of direct and inverse voice is determined as follows: TA verbs appear

³ Blain (1999) documents long *wh*-movement in Plains Cree, which is similar to Innu-aimûn in many respects.

⁴ There is a class of semantically transitive verbs in all Algonquian languages that does not show the usual object agreement pattern: the so-called pseudo-AI verbs (Bloomfield 1962, Goddard 1979). In Innu-aimûn, such verbs in the direct (noninverse) voice are not inflected with object agreement morphology at all, so that they appear morphologically identical to intransitive verbs. These are not included in the set of transitive verbs discussed in the text.

in the direct voice when they have a 2nd person subject, a 1st person subject with a 3rd person object, or a 3rd person subject with an obviative 3rd person object. Otherwise, they appear in the inverse voice.

The distinction between TA and TI verbs, and between direct and inverse voice forms, is reflected in the morphology at several points. TA and TI forms make use of distinct stems, formed by pairs of derivational suffixes that we will not discuss further. The stem is followed by a so-called thematic suffix, which distinguishes transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, TI verbs from TA verbs, and direct forms from inverse forms. The thematic suffix is then followed by the agreement morphology, which indicates person and number for subjects and objects to various extents.

The inflectional system for verbs is further complicated by a distinction between the *independent* mode and the *conjunct* mode. Independent mode is used for matrix clauses in simple declarative sentences. It is also used for past tense verbs in embedded clauses, something that is generally disallowed in related dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language continuum (MacKenzie 1980, Clarke 1982). Conjunct mode is used, with some complications, for nonpast tense embedded clauses, for negative clauses, and for *wh*-questions. The thematic suffix and the various agreement suffixes are largely distinct in the two modes.⁵ Finally, the independent mode verbs make use of proclitic subject/object markers with 1st and 2nd person arguments, while the conjunct mode verbs have no proclitic subject/object markers.

3 Subject Copy Agreement

3.1 Common Properties of CCA Agreement

In the CCA construction a matrix verb selects a complement clause, and it agrees with either the embedded subject or the embedded direct object. Such agreement is optional; if it does not take place, the matrix verb will show TI agreement, reflecting either agreement with the complement clause itself, or a default agreement triggered by the lack of [\pm animate] features in the CP complement (Piggott 1989). The complement clause may be declarative or interrogative, with full specification of present, past, or future tense.

- (3) a. Ni-tshissenitamu-ânân mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-TI-1PL visit Joseph John and Marie
 'We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.'
- b. Ni-tshissenim-ânân-at mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-1PL-3PL visit Joseph John and Marie
 'We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.'
- c. Ni-tshissenim-ânân mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-1PL-3 visit Joseph John and Marie
 'We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.'

⁵ We leave aside the imperative mode, which also makes use of distinct inflections.

- (4) a. Ni-tshissît-en kâ-uîtsî-shk Pûn utâuia.
 1-remember-TI PRT-helped-3/2PL Paul father
 'I remember that Paul's father helped you.'
- b. Tshi-tshissît-âtin kâ-uîtsî-shk Pûn utâuia.
 2-remember-1/2PL PRT-helped-3/2PL Paul father
 'I remember that Paul's father helped you.'
- (5) a. Ni-tshissenit-en Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk.
 1-know-TI Paul PRT-visited-2/INV
 'I know that Paul visited you.'
- b. Ni-tshissenim-âu Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk.
 1-know-3 Paul PRT-visited-2/INV
 'I know that Paul visited you.'
- (6) a. N-uîtsissenit-en tân ishpish Pûn mâk tshîn tshi-nîtsîpet-ûtâu.
 1-want-know-TI when Paul and you 2-stop-2PL
 'I want to know when Paul and you stopped.'
- b. Tsh-uî-tshissenim-itinâu tân ishpish Pûn mâk tshîn tshi-nîtsîpet-ûtâu.
 2-want-know-1/2PL when Paul and you 2-stop-2PL
 'I want to know when Paul and you stopped.'

When it is not pro, the DP with which the matrix verb agrees may appear inside the complement clause, as in (3a), or to the left of the complement clause.

- (7) Tshi-tshissenim-âu-â Mânî tshetuân kuet aimiât Pûna utshimâminua?
 2-know-TA-3-Q Marie why called Paul boss
 'Do you know why Marie called Paul's boss?'

In the absence of CCA agreement, the constituents of a complement clause must remain to the right of the complementizer.

- (8) a. N-uî-tshissenit-en tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit kassinu kâûpîkueshit.
 1-want-know-TI if visited-2/INV every priest
 'I want to know if every priest visited you.'
- b. *N-uî-tshissenit-en kassinu kâûpîkueshit tshetshî mûpishtuâshkuenit.

There is a semantic distinction between the nonagreeing TI examples and the CCA agreeing TA examples. In the latter the DP in the complement clause that participates in CCA agreement is interpreted as the topic of the complement clause; in the former there is no topic.

3.2 The Prothetic Object Hypothesis

There are two ways that the CCA agreement pattern might be characterized. One possibility is that object agreement is always local and that the apparent long-distance agreement seen in CCA is actually local clause-bounded agreement with a prothetic object, which is necessarily coreferential with an argument in a complement clause. This is the position taken by Dahlstrom

(1995) and others. Under this approach the Innu-aimûn (3b) would be analogous to the English (9).

(9) We know *of John and Mary* that *they* visited Joseph.

The prothetic ‘object’ *John and Mary* in (9) is necessarily interpreted as coreferential with the subject *they* of the complement clause.

The fact that CCA triggers a topic-comment interpretation follows naturally under this approach, since the prothetic object in English is also interpreted as a topic for the complement clause.

An analysis along these lines is further supported by the apparent acceptability of prothetic objects with verbs that allow direct speech complements.

(10) Pûn tshit-itenim-ik^u uâpâtinî-epan Mânûa.

Paul 2-thinks-3/INV saw-3 Marie

‘Paul thinks you saw Marie.’

(or more literally: ‘Paul thinks of you: “She saw Marie.” ’)

In (10) the matrix verb bears 2nd person agreement, which appears to be present only on the subject of the direct speech complement clause. Assuming that the contents of direct quotation are not accessible to syntactic operations from the outside, as is standard, it looks as if the matrix verb must have access to some invisible 2nd person complement in order for agreement to take place. In other words, a prothetic object seems necessary in this type of structure. If prothetic objects are possible with direct speech complements, it is natural to suppose that they occur with indirect speech complements, too.⁶

However, even though the prothetic object approach is initially attractive, it raises problems involving the relationship between the matrix object and the embedded argument that licenses its presence. In the first place, the word order in (3a) places the full DP within the complement clause. If there is a prothetic object, it must be pro, and the structure of the sentence is then as in (11).

(11) [_{TP} Ni-tshissenitamu-ânân pro_i [_{CP} mûpishtuât Shûshepa [_{DP} Tshân mâk Mânî]_i]].

But coreference of *Tshân mâk Mânî* with the c-commanding pro should violate Principle C, so there should be no way to license the matrix prothetic object. In English no comparable structure is allowed, for this reason.

(12) *We know of them_i that [_{DP} John and Mary]_i visited Joseph.

As observed in Branigan and MacKenzie 1999, Principle C plays an active role in Innu-aimûn grammar, so it cannot be the case that (3a) is acceptable because Principle C is not relevant.

⁶ In fact, even with the direct speech complements in Innu-aimûn, a prothetic object analysis appears to be quite problematic, and ultimately untenable. Although we have no concrete proposal at this point, the analysis of CCA agreement with indirect speech complements that we develop below hints at other ways in which the data of (10) might be analyzed.

This particular problem is compounded when we examine more complex structures. Complements that participate in CCA can be conjoined, the subjects of the two clauses being contained within the conjunction structure.⁷

- (13) a. Pien uîtshi-eu Mânûa niâtiniminitshî utâpânnu âku Ânûa uîtshinit.
 Peter help-3 Marie push truck rear Annie house
 'Peter helped Marie push the truck behind Annie's house.'
- b. Pien uîtshi-eu Pûna uieueshtânitshî ishkîtûnnu.
 Peter help-3 Paul fix Ski-Doo
 'Peter helped Paul fix the Ski-Doo.'
- c. Pien uîtshi-eu Mânûa niâtiniminitshî utâpânnu âku Ânûa uîtshinit kîe Pûna
 Peter help-3 Marie push truck rear Annie house and Paul
 uieueshtânitshî ishkîtûnnu.
 fix Ski-Doo
 'Peter helped Marie push the truck behind Annie's house and Paul (to) fix the Ski-Doo.'

In order for such structures to be analyzed as prothetic object structures, it would be necessary for the prothetic object to simultaneously refer to two distinct individuals, namely, the two subjects of the conjoined clauses. This is impossible in English, where both interpretations of the pronominal prothetic object violate Principle C.

- (14) *I believe of her that Marie fixed the car and Paula washed it.

The English example (14) improves if the prothetic object is plural, as in (15).

- (15) ?I believe of them that Marie fixed the car and Paula washed it.

Evidently, the effect of Principle C is weakened if the reference of the pronoun is not exhausted by the individual referents of the names it binds.⁸

In the conjoined CCA structures in Innu-aimûn, however, the opposite is true. Plural object agreement on the matrix verb is impossible if the separate subjects of the complement clauses are themselves singular.

⁷ We have found that this type of complex clause is more readily acceptable to our informants with an agentive matrix verb like 'help', rather than with experiencer matrix verbs like 'know'. We suspect that this is a pragmatic matter, rather than a grammatical one: speakers describe a set of real events more naturally than a set of coexisting opinions.

⁸ An anonymous reviewer points out that the weakening of Principle C seen in (15) does not appear in other contexts.

(i) *I told them_i that Mary_i and Paula_i were washing the car.

What the reviewer's example appears to indicate is that the weakening effect (for which we offer no explanation) is restricted to a relationship between a prothetic object and the elements in a complement clause that supply it with its semantic role. In (i) the matrix object *them* is an argument of the matrix verb, and it does not need to bind anything in the complement clause to have a legitimate interpretation.

- (16) a. N-uîtsiâu Pien uieueshtât ishkitûnnu mâk Âni niâtinâk utâpânnu âku Âni
 1-help-3 Peter fix Ski-Doo and Annie push truck rear Annie
 uîtsîhî.
 house
 'I helped Peter fix the Ski-Doo and Annie push the truck behind Annie's house.'
- b. *N-uîtsiâuat Pien uieueshtât ishkitûnnu mâk Âni niâtinâk utâpânnu âku
 1-help-3PL Peter fix Ski-Doo and Annie push truck rear
 Âni uîtsîhî.
 Annie house

Although we might imagine that prothetic objects in two quite different languages could have different binding properties, it is difficult to accept such a polar contrast between the English pronouns and the putative prothetic object pronoun in Innu-aimûn. The relative acceptability of the English example (15) must arise from Universal Grammar, under familiar poverty-of-the-stimulus reasoning. The same Universal Grammar principles must then apply to the Innu-aimûn case, so that a plural prothetic pronoun should be better, or at least no worse, than a singular prothetic pronoun in (16). Since this appears not to be true, we should conclude that in fact no such pronoun exists, and that the properties of the CCA construction must be explained in some other fashion.

Another problem with the prothetic object theory is pointed out by Frantz (1978), in a discussion of CCA in Blackfoot. Frantz observes that prothetic objects in English can be freely coreferential with DPs inside complex DPs or conjoined DPs in the complement clause. We may add to this list DPs contained within sentences embedded inside the complement clause. However, in Innu-aimûn (and Blackfoot) there is no CCA possible for DPs in these contexts.

- (17) a. I said of Tanya_i that she_i doesn't visit her mother.
 b. I said of Tanya_i that her_i daughter is a great help.
 c. I said of Tanya_i that she_i and you would work well together.
 d. I said of Tanya_i that Paul asked whether she_i would be reliable.
- (18) a. Mishta uîtsiâushu tshi-tânish it-eu Shûshep.
 very helpful 2-daughter said-3 Joseph
 'Joseph said that your daughter is very helpful.'
- b. *Mishta uîtsiâushu tshi-tânish tshit-it-ik⁹ Shûshep.
 very helpful 2-daughter 2-said-3/INV Joseph
 'Joseph said that your daughter is very helpful.'
 (Good under the interpretation 'Joseph said *to you* that your daughter is very helpful.')

⁹ The verb *iteu* may be used with a syntactically active matrix goal argument or without one. We assume that the argument structure of the verb is sufficiently flexible to allow the goal to be present or absent in the syntactic structure.

- (19) a. N-uî-tshissenit-en tân ishpush Pûn mâk tshîn tshi-nîshipêtûtâu.
 1-want-know-TI when Paul and you stopped
 'I want to know when Paul and you stopped.'
- b. *N-uî-tshissenim-âu tân ishpush Pûn mâk tshîn tshi-nitshipêtûtâu.
 1-want-know-3 when Paul and you stopped
- (20) *Tshi-tshissîtâtin kâ-kuetshitshemu-iân tân ishpush tshi-pâpî.
 2-remember-1/INV PRT-asked-1(INTR) when PRT-laughed-2
 'I remember that I asked when you laughed.'

Evidently, CCA can target only the maximally accessible DPs in the complement clause. It cannot target DPs contained within syntactic islands, or not contained in the most accessible embedded clause. There is no obvious reason why such a restriction should hold of prothetic object interpretation in Innu-aimûn, when it does not hold in English.

A prothetic object approach has difficulty as well in accounting for cases where a quantifier appears separated by the clause boundary from the phrase it modifies, a word order that is not permitted unless CCA takes place.¹⁰ In (21) the matrix verb agrees with the DP *kassinu kâûâpikueshit* 'every priest', which can appear within the complement clause, as in (21a), or in the matrix clause, as in (21b). (Translations are given that would correspond to the prothetic object analysis.)

- (21) a. N-uî-tshissenim-âu tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit kassinu kâûâpikueshit.
 1-want-know-3 if visited-2/INV every priest
 'I want to know of them if every priest visited you.'
- b. N-uî-tshissenim-âu kassinu kâûâpikueshit tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit.
 1-want-know-3 every priest if visited-2/INV
 'I want to know of every priest if they visited you.'

In the stylistically marked variant (22),¹¹ the quantifier *kassinu* appears in the matrix clause, while the head noun *kâûâpikueshit* remains in the complement clause.

- (22) N-uî-tshissenim-âu kassinu tshetshî kâûâpikueshit mûpishtâshkuenit.
 1-want-know-3 every if priest visited-2/INV
 'I want to know if every priest visited you.'

No coherent interpretation can be found for this sentence under a pure prothetic object analysis. As quantifiers appear in the same clause as the nouns they apply to, the quantifier *kassinu* must be accompanied by the noun in (22). Suppose therefore that the analysis of (22) were (23), where the prothetic object is a 3rd person *pro*, which is coreferential with the noun *kâûâpikueshit* of the complement clause.

¹⁰ Although quantifiers frequently float to the left in Innu-aimûn, they apparently cannot float past a clause boundary except in contexts where CCA occurs.

¹¹ One of our informants classifies this type of word order as "elder" speech.

- (23) [N-uî-tshissenim-âu [_{DP} kassinu pro] [_{CP} tshetshî [_{IP} kâûâpikueshit
 1-want-know-3 every if priest
 mûpishtâshkuenit]]].
 visited-2/INV

The quantifier *kassinu* now ranges over the possible referents of the prothetic object pronoun, rather than over a noun referring specifically to priests. What is more, the noun *kâûâpikueshit* has no local quantifier to restrict it, so it should be interpreted as a nonquantified plural DP, rather than as a restrictor within a quantificational expression. Standard treatments of the interpretation of quantificational DPs cannot be reconciled with this structure, given the actual interpretation we find for example (22).

Perhaps the most compelling evidence that CCA does not involve a prothetic object involves verbs that select an indirect question. Such verbs often allow CCA to target the interrogative pronoun, as in (24).

- (24) a. Tshi-tshissenim-âu-â auen ka-pâpîtaka?
 2-know-3-Q who is laughing
 'Do you know who is laughing?'
 b. Tshi-tshissenim-âut-a tân tât innût tshe-takushinit?
 2-know-3PL-Q how many people FUT-arrive
 'Do you know how many people are coming?'
 c. Nîn apu tshissît-ak auen uieueshtât utshîmâua utâpânnu.
 I not remember-1/3 who fixed boss truck
 'I don't remember who fixed the boss's truck.'

In this case there could be no coherent interpretation for a prothetic pronoun, as the putative English analogues in (25) illustrate.

- (25) a. *Do you know of him who is laughing?
 b. *Do you know of whom who is laughing?

In order to be coreferential with an interrogative pronoun, a personal pronoun must be interpreted as a variable, within the scope of the *wh*-operator. But the *wh*-phrase in (25a) has scope only over the complement clause, so the pronoun has no possible interpretation. The (25b) case is even worse. The prothetic object here is an in-situ *wh*-phrase, which cannot be understood as a part of the matrix question and which still cannot be coreferential with the interrogative pronoun of the complement clause. These structures exhaust the possibilities for treating the CCA agreement in (24) as a case of prothetic object agreement.

We can safely conclude, at this point, that CCA agreement *need not* involve a prothetic object, and that object agreement in Innu-aimûn is not necessarily local and clause-bounded. This conclusion leaves open the possibility that *some* cases of CCA might involve a prothetic object. In fact, there is evidence indicating that even this weaker position might not be tenable.

Although Innu-aimûn verbs generally agree in both person and number with their direct arguments, we also find singular forms of the verb with plural arguments.

- (26) a. Pûn mâk Mânî mûpishtuepan-at Shûshepa.
 Paul and Marie visited-3PL Joseph
 b. Pûn mâk Mânî mûpishtuepan Shûshepa.
 Paul and Marie visited-3SG Joseph
- (27) a. Pûn mâk Mânî nikamûpan-at.
 Paul and Marie sang-3PL
 b. Pûn mâk Mânî nikamûpan.
 Paul and Marie sang-3SG

The singular agreement corresponds to a distributive interpretation of the verb: in (26a) Paul and Marie visit Joseph together; in (26b) Paul and Marie visit Joseph separately, in two distinct visiting events. Similarly, in (27a) Paul and Marie sing together, while in (27b) Paul and Marie sing individually.

The distributive singular form also shows up in CCA contexts.

- (28) a. N-uî-tshissenim-âu-at tshekuânnu kuet mûpishtût-âu Pûn mâk Mânî.
 1-want-know-3PL why visited-2SG/3PL Paul and Marie
 ‘I want to know why you visited Paul and Marie.’
 b. N-uî-tshissenim-âu tshekuânnu kuet mûpishtût Pûn mâk Mânî.
 1-want-know-3SG why visited-2SG/3SG Paul and Marie
 ‘I want to know why you visited Paul and Marie.’

Thus, in (28a) the implication is that there was a single visiting event in which Paul and Marie were visited together, while in (28b) there were two separate visiting events: one in which Paul was the object, and the other in which Marie was the object.¹²

In both (28a) and (28b) the matrix verb and the embedded verb match in their number agreement: both are plural in (28a) and both are singular in (28b). The status of the sentence deteriorates if the two do not match, as in (29).

- (29) *N-uî-tshissenim-âu tshekuânnu kuet mûpishtût-âu Pûn mâk Mânî.
 1-want-know-3SG why visited-2SG/3PL Paul and Marie

Under a prothetic object analysis of this sentence, it is unclear why (29) should be ungrammatical.

3.3 The Case/Agreement Hypothesis

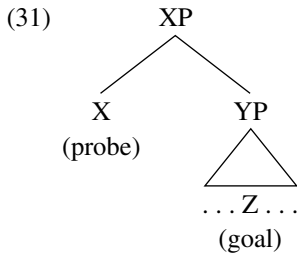
Once we put aside the idea that CCA agreement is a clause-bounded operation, the question arises how to characterize long-distance agreement (LDA) operations. Let us take Chomsky’s (2000) theory as a starting point. In this model all checking operations involve a checking head (the

¹² It is less clear whether the matrix verb is also interpreted distributively in (28b). It is evidently less obvious when a wanting-to-know counts as a set of distinct events than it is when a visiting does so.

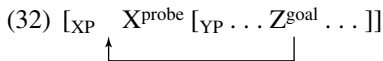
probe) and a phrase that bears matching features (the goal). A probe has uninterpretable features that it needs to check against a goal in order to erase them. A probe checks features on any phrase within (and including) its complement, subject to the usual locality constraints (Minimal Link Condition) and to the Phase Impenetrability Condition, where CP and vP are phase categories.

(30) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (informal formulation)

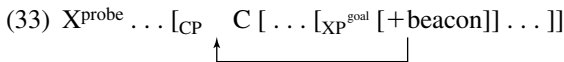
Only the head and specifier of a phase are accessible to syntactic operations outside the phase.



A checking operation triggers movement under either of two circumstances. If the probe has an EPP feature, so that it needs a specifier, then the checking operation will be a part of a complex Move operation, which leads the goal to raise to become the specifier of the probe.



Movement can be triggered indirectly by a checking relationship between a probe and a goal, too. In order to be identified, a goal needs to have an uninterpretable feature (Case, *wh*, etc.) that a probe can see. Let us call this feature the *beacon*. A beacon cannot be checked unless it is accessible under the Phase Impenetrability Condition, so no phase that contains a beacon in situ can converge. Phases containing beacons therefore may add an EPP feature to their head, in order to attract the beacon to the transparent periphery of the phase.



A subsequent checking relation between the probe external to the phase and the goal containing the beacon will then be possible.

Turning back now to the specific case of Innu-aimûn CCA agreement, consider how LDA might take place in an example like (5b), repeated here.

- (5) b. Ni-tshissenim-âu [Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk].
 1-know-3 Paul PRT-visited-2/INV
 'I know that Paul visited you.'

LDA here will involve a checking relation in which the matrix verb serves as a probe with some set of uninterpretable features to check, including the agreement features. If the subject of the

complement clause, *Pûn*, bears a beacon, the matrix verb may take this DP as its goal, and checking then erases features of the probe and goal under identity.

Checking can drive movement, as long as an EPP feature is present in the probe. Suppose that an EPP feature can be optionally added to a TA verb in Innu-aimûn. Then the optional appearance of the goal in the matrix clause follows immediately. Example (34a) is a typical instance of LDA with no movement, while (34b) is generated when an EPP feature is added to the matrix verb, so that LDA participates in a Move operation that raises the embedded subject to the matrix Spec,vP position.

- (34) a. Mâ tshi-tshissenim-âu [_{CP} tân ishpush Pûn utshimâma aimiepan Mânîua]?
 Q 2-know-3sg when Paul boss called Marie
 ‘Do you know when Paul’s boss called Marie?’
 b. Mâ tshi-tshissenim-âu Pûn utshimâma [_{CP} tân ishpush aimiepan Mânîua]?
 Q 2-know-3sg Paul boss when called Marie
 ‘Do you know when Paul’s boss called Marie?’

LDA in CCA will be subject to the general constraints on checking operations. In particular, the matrix verb in (5b) will be able to check its agreement features with the embedded subject *Pûn* as long as the conditions in (35) are met.

- (35) a. *Pûn* contains a beacon.
 b. There is no category closer to the matrix verb that could be checked (Minimal Link Condition).
 c. *Pûn* is not sheltered within the opaque part of a phase, that is, within the complement domain of C or v (Phase Impenetrability Condition).

Condition (35) can be satisfied in at least two ways. *Pûn* might contain an unchecked Case feature, or it might contain an unchecked \bar{A} -feature (*wh*, topic, etc.). The type of beacon involved has consequences for the way that conditions (35b) and (35c) are satisfied. If the beacon is a Case feature, then (35b) requires that there be no category with a Case feature that is closer to the matrix verb. As all (nonoblique) DPs have a Case feature, this means that the checked DP must be the highest one in its clause, at least at the point in the derivation when CCA agreement takes place. If the beacon is an \bar{A} -feature, on the other hand, then there can be no closer category with a similar feature, but as there is no requirement that all DPs bear any given \bar{A} -feature, this condition will be satisfied easily. As for (35c), the way that the Phase Impenetrability Condition is satisfied also depends on the type of beacon involved. At least in those examples where the complement clause contains a complementizer or a *wh*-phrase, it is clear that a CP phase will be present to block matrix agreement with DP internal to IP. Only if the target raises to Spec,CP should agreement be possible. But DPs with unchecked Case features cannot raise to a Spec,C position, because the ultimate result will be a nonuniform chain. Therefore, they can be checked by a matrix probe only if there is no CP phase in place, as in English ECM constructions. In contrast, DPs with an \bar{A} -feature as their beacon may raise freely to Spec,C to become accessible to external probes.

We now have two possible hypotheses to consider concerning the operation of LDA in Innu-aimûn.

(36) *The Case/agreement hypothesis*¹³

- a. The goal of LDA has an unchecked Case feature.
- b. The goal of LDA is the highest DP in the complement clause.
- c. The complement clause in CCA is not a CP.

(37) *The \bar{A} /agreement hypothesis*

- a. The goal of LDA has an unchecked \bar{A} -feature.
- b. The goal of LDA need not be the highest DP in the complement clause.
- c. The complement clause in CCA may be a CP.

All three propositions of the Case/agreement hypothesis (36) appear to be false. For one thing, the complement clauses that participate in the CCA construction appear to be identical in their tense/finiteness properties to other clauses, unlike English ECM complements, or even the notorious subjunctive ECM complements in Romanian (Rivero 1991). There is no justification for supposing that Case is checked on the subject in (38a) but not on the subject in (38b); the form of the complement clause is identical in both cases.

- (38) a. Ni-tshissenitamu-ânân mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-TI-1PL visit Joseph John and Marie
 'We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.'
- b. Ni-tshissenim-ânân-at mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-1PL-3PL visit Joseph John and Marie
 'We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.'

Similar conclusions can be drawn from examples like those in (39), where the matrix verb agrees with the embedded clause object, rather than with the subject.

- (39) a. Ma tshi-tshissenim-âu tshetshî matuet-uk Mânî?
 Q 2-know-3SG if called-1/3 Marie
 'Do you know if I called Marie?'
- b. Mânî ni-tshissîtakû ne kê-uîtschim-initshî Pûna utâûnua.
 Marie 1-remembered-INV PRT-helped-INV-3/1 Paul father
 'Marie remembered that Paul's father helped me.'

Case checking is constrained by the Minimal Link Condition, so that object Case in an embedded clause is not accessible to a matrix clause if there is a (closer) subject that might be checked. In (39) the subject of the embedded clause must have Case checked within the embedded clause, presumably by T, as it does not agree with the matrix verb. The object cannot therefore raise into the matrix clause to check Case, or even be targeted in situ by a matrix Agree operation.

¹³ Massam (1985) proposes a Case-based treatment of CCA for Blackfoot, in a Government-Binding Theory framework.

At the same time the example in (39) shows that the goal in CCA LDA need not be the highest DP in the clause, contrary to (36b). Regardless of the way the Case system is worked out in Innu-aimûn—as an accusative system, or as a split ergative system (Déchaine and Reinholtz 1998)—either the subject or the object must end up highest within the clause in a transitive sentence. But either the subject or the object can agree with the matrix verb in the CCA LDA.¹⁴

- (40) a. Ma tshi-tshissenim-in tân ishpish na nit-aimâ Mânî?
 Q 2-know-1 when 1-called Marie
 'Do you know when I called Marie?'
 b. Ma tshi-tshissenim-âu tân ishpish na nit-aimâ Mânî?
 Q 2-know-3 when 1-called Marie
 'Do you know when I called Marie?'

Consider now the fact that CCA can propel a goal DP to a position before the *wh*-phrase or complementizer of the complement clause. If this movement is of the familiar Case-driven variety (i.e., A-movement), then the position of the fronted DP cannot be Spec,CP. Instead, it must be some CP-external A-position in the matrix clause. But the goal can also be a *wh*-phrase in the complement clause, which appears clause-initially like other *wh*-phrases. This is illustrated by (24a), repeated here.

- (24) a. Tshi-tshissenim-âu-â auen ka-pâpîtaka?
 2-know-3-Q who is laughing
 'Do you know who is laughing?'

There is no justification for saying that the interrogative pronoun *auen* in (24a) is anywhere other than in Spec,C, as *wh*-movement is obligatory in Innu-aimûn. What is more, A-movement cannot displace the Spec,C operator *auen* to any position further to the left because the Case feature should already have been checked prior to *wh*-movement in the complement clause.¹⁵ Even if

¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer suggests that the appearance of agreement skipping over the subject of the complement clause may be illusory. It might instead be the case that the verb agrees with *both* the subject of the complement clause and the object, only the second agreement operation being registered morphologically on the verb. This alternative backfires, however, if we consider the options in a sentence like (18b), repeated here as (i).

(i) *Mishta uîtsiâushu tshi-tânish tshit-it-ik" Shûshep.
 very helpful 2-daughter 2-said-3/INV Joseph
 'Joseph said to you that your daughter is very helpful.'

With this interpretation, where the matrix goal is understood to be a 2nd person participant, the matrix verb agrees obligatorily with the matrix goal argument, and it cannot agree with the subject of the complement clause. If the matrix verb could agree with several targets in succession, then the 3rd person subject of the complement clause should be optionally registered in the verbal morphology in place of the matrix object.

¹⁵ The literature includes some discussion of sentences in which Case is not checked on a variable in an A-position, as in (i).

(i) Whom did they claim [*t* C [_{IP} *t* had resigned]]?

Kayne (1984) and Massam (1985) claim that accusative Case on the Spec,C trace is checked by the matrix verb. Regardless of the proper analysis of such examples, they do not contradict the claim made in the text that the *wh*-operator always binds the trace that has Case checked on it.

the Case feature were not checked in the complement clause, A-movement of the operator would produce an improper chain, which would have no legitimate interpretation at LF.

As for (36c), the fact that LDA is possible with a goal contained in an embedded question is sufficient to show this to be false. The *wh*-movement in (40a) and (40b) requires a CP to be the complement clause. It follows that an in-situ argument should be inaccessible for LDA with the matrix verb, under the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

In sum, the Case/agreement hypothesis fares no better than the prothetic object approach. The CCA construction is not analogous to English ECM; in fact, LDA is possible in Innu-aimûn in a manner that has no counterpart in English.

3.4 The \bar{A} /Agreement Solution

Having excluded the first two possible analytic approaches, we are now left with the \bar{A} /agreement hypothesis (37). Happily, this remaining approach handles all the data we have presented.

Consider again example (5b).

- (5) b. Ni-tshissenim-âu [Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk].
 1-know-3 Paul PRT-visited-2/INV
 'I know that Paul visited you.'

The LDA between matrix verb and embedded subject now requires that we posit a beacon other than Case that the probe can recognize in the goal. Let us call this the *O-feature*, simply to have a fixed, neutral terminology. Then *Pûn* bears an O-feature in (5b) and the matrix verb uses this beacon to identify its goal. Checking then occurs, resulting in the observed agreement features.

If the beacon in Innu-aimûn LDA is not a Case feature, then there is no reason to expect that every DP will carry this beacon. There is then no need for the goal of agreement to be the highest DP in its clause; all that is necessary is that there be no higher DP with an O-feature. Therefore, subjects and objects should be equally accessible for LDA, as is the case.

The Phase Impenetrability Condition must still be satisfied somehow, though. If the complement clause is a CP, then an external probe can find a beacon-bearing DP only if it is a specifier for CP.

We examine first the cases in which CCA cooccurs with movement of the goal from its argumental position within the complement clause.

- (41) a. Tshi-tshissenim-âu-â auen ka-pâpîtaka?
 2-know-3-Q who is laughing
 'Do you know who is laughing?'
 b. Tsh-ûi-tshissenim-itinâu Pûn mâk tshîn tân ishpush tshi-nîshipet-ûtâu.
 2-want-know-1/2PL Paul and you when 2-stopped-2PL
 'I want to know when you and Paul stopped.'
 c. N-ûi-tshissenim-âu kassinu kâûâpikueshit tshetshî mûpishtâshkuenit.
 1-want-know-3 every priest if visited-2/INV
 'I want to know of every priest if they visited you.'

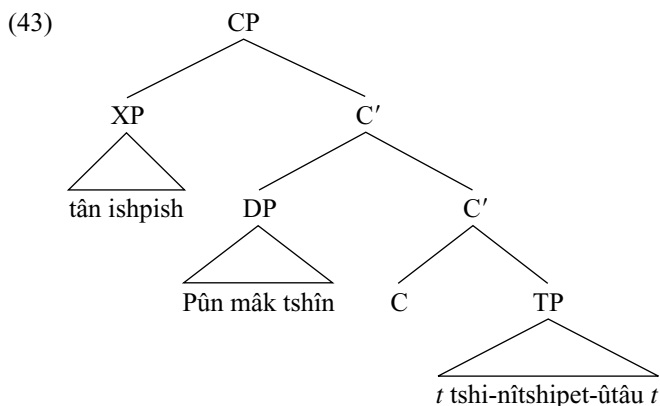
- d. Ni-tshissenim-âu Pûn kâ-mûpisht-âshk.
 1-know-3 Paul PRT-visited-2/INV
 'I know that Paul visited you.'

The easiest type of agreement pattern to explain under an \bar{A} /agreement approach is the type in (41a), where the matrix verb agrees with an interrogative pronoun in Spec,CP. (This is the most problematic case under the alternative approaches.) Agreement can take place directly between the matrix verb and its goal in this case, since the goal is in the accessible part of the CP phase.

The type of CCA in (41b) and (41c), in which the goal DP appears in front of a *wh*-phrase or complementizer, is more of an analytic challenge. Evidently, the goal DPs in these cases have been attracted out of the CP complement. The natural assumption is that they have been attracted by their matrix verbal checker, so that they raise to a Spec,vP position. (The matrix verb itself will then have raised to a higher position in the matrix clause.) The structure of (41b) is then (42).

- (42) [Tsh-uî-tshissenim-itinâu [_{VP} Pûn mâk tshîn *e*_v [_{CP} tân ishpish tshi-nîshipet-ûtâu]]].

In order for the raised DP to have escaped CP, it must have first risen to a specifier position within CP, to be accessible to the matrix probe. As CP also has a *wh*-phrase specifier, the result would have been a multiple specifier structure, of the sort familiar from multiple-*wh*-movement languages (Richards 1997). At some point in the derivation, then, the structure of the complement CP would have been (43).



This structure is generated if the presence of an O-feature on a DP within CP triggers the addition of an EPP feature to C, as occurs in successive-cyclic *wh*-movement when an unchecked *wh*-feature is detected within the CP phase (Chomsky 2000).¹⁶

¹⁶ Our informant judgments on multiple-*wh* questions have been inconclusive, so we cannot say whether Innu-aimûn actually allows multiple specifiers when both are *wh*-phrases. Blain (1999) finds that no multiple-*wh* questions are allowed in Plains Cree. Brittain (1999) finds, in contrast, that such structures are possible in Naskapi, and that multiple *wh*-specifiers are allowed in this dialect.

Cases like (41d), where the goal DP appears as the leftmost visible constituent of the complement clause, are open to a variety of analyses: we might suppose that the goal DP has been raised to Spec,vP, or that it appears in Spec,CP, or even that it has remained in situ. Little can be learned from consideration of sentences of this type, in fact.

In contrast, examination of CCA sentences where the goal DP is clearly within the TP of the complement clause is quite illuminating.

- (44) Ni-tshissenim-ânân-at mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî.
 1PL-know-1PL-3PL visit Joseph John and Marie
 ‘We know that John and Marie visited Joseph.’

The goal DP cannot be taken to be a specifier for the CP phase in (44), so the Phase Impenetrability Condition should be violated by LDA here. We might conclude from this type of example that the Phase Impenetrability Condition does not apply to Innu-aimûn CCA, for some reason. But this conclusion would be too hasty. Consider the data in (45).

- (45) a. Ni-tshissît-en kê-kuetshitshemu-iân tân ishpish tshi-pâpî.
 1-remember-TI PRT-asked-1/INTR when 2-laughed
 ‘I remember that I asked when you laughed.’
 b. *Tshi-tshissîtât-in kê-kuetshitshemu-iân tân ishpish tshi-pâpî.
 2-remember-1/INV PRT-asked-1/INTR when 2-laughed

If the Phase Impenetrability Condition were not applicable to CCA LDA, there would be no reason why agreement could not target a DP embedded many clauses down. But in fact, such agreement is not possible, unless the agreeing goal DP is connected to its verbal probe by a sequence of agreeing verbs. This pattern is strongly reminiscent of successive-cyclic *wh*-movement, which is possible only when the *wh*-phrase can raise from one Spec,CP position to another. And in fact, even successive-cyclic *wh*-movement is impossible in Innu-aimûn in the absence of a series of agreeing intermediate verbs.¹⁷

- (46) a. Auen tshit-itenim-âu aimi-epan Mânûa?
 who 2-think-3 called-3 Marie
 ‘Who do you think called Marie?’
 b. *Auen tshit-itenit-en aimi-epan Mânûa?
 who 2-think-TI called-3 Marie

¹⁷ The intermediate agreeing verb forms allow successive-cyclic movement even of nongoal *wh*-phrases.

- (i) a. Tân eshpish tshe-mishikât Mânî tshit-itenim-âu?
 when FUT-arrive Marie 2-think-3
 ‘When do you think Marie will arrive?’
 b. *Tân eshpish tshe-mishikât Mânî tshit-itenit-en?
 when FUT-arrive Marie 2-think-TI

This type of movement is presumably a Minimal Compliance effect (Richards 1997), where the Phase Impenetrability Condition is relaxed for *wh*-movement by the prior use of a CCA operation.

We assume therefore that despite the superficial evidence, CCA in Innu-aimûn does respect the Phase Impenetrability Condition. That means that the goal DP must actually occupy Spec,CP when CCA occurs, even in sentences like (46a), where the visible instance of the goal *Mânûua* appears within TP.

We propose the following description of the way Spell-Out interprets \bar{A} -chains in Innu-aimûn:

- (47) A chain link cannot express phonetic content in Spec,CP unless it bears a *wh*-feature.

This admittedly ad hoc statement is intended only to capture the disjunction between what surface word order shows and what the general patterns of the language appear to require. We have no proposal about how, specifically, a statement like (47) can be implemented in a real theory of chains and Spell-Out operations. Nevertheless, we see no reason why a descriptive statement like this should be less valid than any other statement about how chains are interpreted at the PF interface.¹⁸ In other words, we maintain that statements of the form (47) are legitimate until a real theory of the PF component comes along.

The effect of (47) is that non-*wh* \bar{A} -chains formed to allow LDA to take place by checking an O-feature will have their foot spelled out. In that case the structure of the problematic (44) will be (48).

- (48) [nitshissenimânânat [_{CP} Tshân mâk Mânî C [_{TP} mûpishtuât Shûshepa *t*]]]

LDA in (48) satisfies the Phase Impenetrability Condition in the necessary way, because the matrix verb can find the embedded DP goal in Spec,C.

The idea that an \bar{A} -chain may be spelled out at the foot also provides an account of the fact that the goal DP in CCA is interpreted as the topic of the complement clause, unless it is a *wh*-phrase. It is a phenomenon familiar in many languages, including English, that topics undergo movement to Spec,CP. For the most part, in fact, it is only by serving as a topic, focus, or *wh*-operator that a phrase in Spec,CP can be interpreted at the LF interface.¹⁹ It is then quite natural that a DP raised to Spec,CP will have a topic interpretation; otherwise, the \bar{A} -chain involved would have no interpretation at all.²⁰

This interpretation of the topic effect has an interesting consequence. Recall that a DP involved in CCA can be raised out of its original clause to Spec,vP of the matrix clause, passing through Spec,CP en route. When this occurs, the DP is still interpreted as the topic of the complement clause. Evidently, the phrase can be reconstructed to the Spec,CP position of the complement clause, where it has a legitimate LF role to play. This reconstruction effect is similar to the one

¹⁸ Pesetsky (2000) resorts to a similar mechanism in his detailed comparative study of multiple-*wh* questions. In Pesetsky's analysis secondary *wh*-chains in English are also interpreted at the foot of the \bar{A} -chain, rather than at the head.

¹⁹ We set aside the controversial issue of expletive elements in Spec,CP in Germanic verb-second constructions.

²⁰ Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) document what appears to be an identical topic effect with LDA in Tsez. It may be that the analysis provided here of the Innu-aimûn data has applications in the Tsez case, too.

seen in German imperatives, as shown by Reis and Rosengren (1992). An example of the German case appears in (49).

- (49) Wohin sag mir bitte doch mal gleich, dass Peter gegangen ist.
 where tell me please right away that Peter gone is
 'Tell me please right away where Peter went.' (from Reis and Rosengren 1992)

In both cases an element is raised from the Spec,CP position where it is interpreted to a higher \bar{A} -position.

But now the question must be asked, Why must reconstruction of the CCA DP return it to Spec,CP, rather than to an A-position inside the complement clause? In other words, given the sentence (41b), why is the reconstructed structure (50a) instead of (50b)? (If the latter were to result, then no topicalization interpretation would presumably be necessary, contrary to the actual situation.)

- (41) b. Tsh-ûî-tshissenim-itinâu Pûn mâk tshîn tân ishpish tshi-nîtshipet-ûtâu.
 2-want-know-1/2PL Paul and you when 2-stopped-2PL
 'I want to know when you and Paul stopped.'
- (50) a. [tsh-ûî-tshissenim-itinâu [_{CP} tân ishpish Pûn mâk tshîn [_{TP} *t* tshi-nîtshipet-ûtâu *t*]]]
 b. [tsh-ûî-tshissenim-itinâu [_{CP} tân ishpish [_{TP} Pûn mâk tshîn tshi-nîtshipet-ûtâu *t*]]]

The only answer that suggests itself involves the optional character of CCA agreement. The matrix verb has no implicit need to participate in a checking relationship in this construction. Depending on the course of the derivation, it may be supplied with agreement features that need to be checked, or not. If the matrix verb does bear agreement features, then it must participate in an Agree operation to eliminate them, by probing for an O-feature somewhere in its complement domain. Yet if it does serve as a probe for an O-feature, there is a semantic effect on the complement clause: a topicalization structure can be formed, which otherwise would apparently not be possible in this context. What the contrast between the legitimate LF structure (50a) and the illegitimate (50b) shows is that the LF effect actually determines whether the matrix verb is permitted to participate in the CCA. Where there is no topicalization, the matrix verb may not take on the optional O-checking features involved in CCA. In effect, CCA features are used altruistically by the verb, simply to ensure a certain interpretation within the complement clause.²¹

4 Local Object Agreement and Case

By this point there can be little doubt that the CCA agreement patterns in Innu-aimûn belong in the \bar{A} -system, where we must posit an O-feature beacon that is checked by a higher verb. The

²¹ An anonymous reviewer suggests an alternative analysis, in which the matrix agreeing forms would necessarily select a [+topic] feature on the complement clause. However, such an approach fails to account for the fact that topicalization cannot occur at all in this context unless the matrix verb is agreeing with the topic. If movement of the topic were driven entirely by the familiar feature-checking operations within the complement clause, then use of an agreeing matrix verb would not be necessary. The reviewer's suggestion covers only half of the story.

more familiar Case/agreement checking operation plays no part in CCA. The natural extension of this result would be to suppose that the agreement pattern we identify in the CCA construction is the same as is found in simpler structure. In other words, it now becomes the null hypothesis that all ‘‘object agreement’’ in Innu-aimûn is a matter of O-feature checking, where Ā-movement to Spec,vP may optionally take place alongside the checking operation. It is a matter of considerable significance therefore that this appears not to be the case. Evidence can be found to indicate that local object agreement sometimes belongs to the Case/agreement system.

In the first place, we may observe that a transitive verb with an animate object shows *obligatory* object agreement, in contrast to the optional LDA found in the CCA construction. By itself, this observation is not persuasive, since there is always *some* object agreement with any complement clause; if CCA does not occur, the matrix verb will typically be inflected as a TI form, which could be taken as agreement with the inanimate complement clause itself. But consider the agreement patterns in (51), where the matrix verb selects both a DP complement and a clausal complement.

- (51) a. Tshi-kuketshim-in auenua mûpishtâkupan Mânî.
 2-asked-2/1 who visited-3 Marie
 ‘You asked me who visited Marie.’
 b. *Tshi-kuketshim-âu auenua mûpishtâkupan Mânî.
 2-asked-TA-2/3 who visited-3 Marie

In this case local agreement is obligatory, even though TA agreement morphology would be the legitimate result of CCA (nonlocal) agreement. Evidently, agreement that participates in a Case-checking relation is obligatory, even when there is an alternative source for legitimating agreement morphology.

Other facts point in the same direction. In simple transitive sentences, if the subject is 1st or 2nd person, and the object is obviative, then the inflection includes an extra suffix, the *-im* ‘further obviative’ (FO) suffix seen in (52).

- (52) N-uâpam-im-âu Pûn ut-auâss-îma.
 1-see-FO-3 Paul 3-child-OBV
 ‘I see Paul’s child.’

The same suffix appears on the matrix verb in (53a), which selects a clausal complement together with the obviative goal argument. But in (53b), where the matrix verb agrees with the obviative object of the complement clause, there is no *-im* suffix with the matrix verb, although *-im* is added to the verb of the embedded clause.

- (53) a. Mâ tshi-uît-im-uâui Pûn u-kâuia nîn tshe-uîtsîhk.
 Q 2-tell-FO-3 Paul 3-mother I FUT-help-1
 ‘Did you tell Paul’s mother that I was going to help her?’
 b. Mâ tshit-it-âu nîn ni-ka-uîtsî-im-âui Pûn u-kâuia?
 Q 2-tell-TA-3 I 1-FUT-help-3 Paul 3-mother
 ‘Did you say that I will help Paul’s mother?’

In order to describe the distribution of the *-im* suffix, we must make a distinction between local object agreement, which uses the FO marker, and LDA, which does not. The only way we can make this distinction is by referring to the *A/Ā* distinction, where the former involves a Case beacon, and the latter does not. The *-im* suffix then occurs only if the obviative goal of agreement is involved in a Case-checking operation with the verbal probe.

5 Conclusions

We have shown that the object agreement morphology of Innu-aimûn transitive verbs has a dual function: it signals a Case-checking relation between the verb and an accusative object, and it functions altruistically to attract a DP into an embedded Spec,CP, so that a topicalization structure can be formed.

The consequences of these findings for studies of Algonquian grammar are substantial. If agreement sometimes reflects a syntactic relation other than Case, then existing theories of Case or of person hierarchies based on grammatical functions must be revised to accommodate the fact that agreement does not always reflect a relation where Case is relevant.

The consequences for linguistic theory as a whole are significant too. It may be that the notion of verbal agreement triggered by an *Ā* relationship will clarify the morphosyntax of other types of languages, outside the Algonquian family. Current debates within minimalist syntax over the nature of object shift operations and the related object agreement morphology may also be settled in some respects when it is recognized that Case and agreement are sometimes to be divorced.

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