Phrase structure in Mi'gmaq: A configurational account of a "non-configurational" language*

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Abstract

In this paper I argue that the syntax of Mi'gmaq (Eastern Algonquian) is underlyingly configurational despite displaying surface characteristics of non-configurationality. I present three subject-object asymmetries that cannot be principally accounted for if DPs are assumed to be adjuncts. First, I show that Mi'gmaq displays strict ordering of *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions which is a superiority effect. Next, I present disjoint reference effects within a clause which shows that Binding Condition C is active in Mi'gmaq. Finally, I present a restricted pattern of Long-Distance Agreement with embedded declaratives which shows that it is limited to the structurally highest embedded argument: subjects in the direct and objects in the inverse. Mi'gmaq is unique among Algonquian languages in that it displays all of these asymmetries, thus making it the clearest case of having an underlying configurational syntax, and justifies closer investigation of other Algonquian languages. This analysis implicates a role for discourse factors in the surface non-configurational appearance of Mi'gmaq. More broadly, this analysis has wider implications for syntactic theory, particularly for distinguishing the properties of configurational, non-configurational and discourse configurational languages.

1 Introduction

The term "non-configurational" has both a descriptive and a theoretical sense. Descriptively, "non-configurational" refers to languages which display the characteristics in (1).

(1) CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-CONFIGURATIONALITY, i.e., Hale (1983)
   a. Null anaphora
   b. DPs are freely ordered
   c. Discontinuous DPs are allowed

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Theoretically, "non-configurational" refers to an account which attributes the locus of these characteristics directly to the syntactic structure. In particular, these characteristics are taken to directly follow from overt DPs being adjuncts. However, this proposal has the consequence of creating a lack of systematic hierarchical relationships between overt DP arguments in the underlying syntactic structure.

Beginning in the late 1970's, there was a debate regarding how to analyze languages which are descriptively "non-configurational," such as Warlpiri and Japanese (Hale, 1983). At first glance, since such languages seem to be fundamentally different from rigid word order languages like English, a valid hypothesis is that the difference lies in underlying syntactic structure. Thus, theoretical "non-configurational" accounts with characteristics such as a lack of hierarchical structure and free adjunction were posited for these languages, e.g.,Farmer 1980 for Japanese and Jelinek 1984's Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) analysis of Warlpiri. However, when deeper investigation is undertaken, it becomes clear that there are certain structural factors which can only be accounted for in a principled manner with a configurational analysis. Both Saito 1985 and Legate 2002 ignore surface free word order possibilities and propose a configurational analysis for Japanese and Warlpiri, respectively, based upon structural diagnostics. The revised hypothesis is that rigid and free word order languages differ in the mapping from underlying syntactic structures to surface forms, which obscures these underlying similarities, e.g., discourse configurationality (Kiss, 1987; Miyagawa, 2010). The important point here is that word order does not relate to configurationality.

While analyses of Algonquian languages tend to attribute flexible surface word order to discourse affects, the issue of the underlying position of DPs is still under debate. Full or partial non-configurational analyses have been forwarded or assumed for Plains Cree (Dahlstrom, 1991; Blain, 1997; Wolvengrey, 2011), Meskwaki (Dahlstrom, 1995, 2012), Swampy Cree (Russell and Reinholtz, 1995, 1996, 1997), Ojibwe (Kathol and Rhodes, 1999), East Cree (Junker, 2004), and Blackfoot (Bliss, 2013). Configurational analyses have been forwarded or assumed for Western Naskapi (Brittain, 2001), Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001), Kitigan Zibi Algonquin (Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2008; Lochbihler, 2012; Mathieu and Lochbihler), and Proto-Algonquian (Oxford, 2014).

In this paper I argue that a configurational account, in which overt DPs are base-generated in argument (A-) positions, is more appropriate for Mi'gmaq (Eastern Algonquian) than a non-configurational or "hybrid" configurational account, in which overt DPs are adjuncts. I provide three subject-object asymmetries in Mi'gmaq−−interrogatives, binding, and agreement−−which taken together present evidence against non-configurational and partial non-configurational (or "hybrid") accounts, such as Jelinek (1984) and Baker (1996) respectively.[1] Mi'gmaq is the first Algonquian language shown to display these asymmetries collectively, and thus presents the clearest evidence for a configurational analysis and justifies closer investigation of other Algonquian languages. The application of the diagnostics applied here have wider implications for syntactic theory in general, specifically the distinction between configurational, non-configurational and discourse configurational languages.

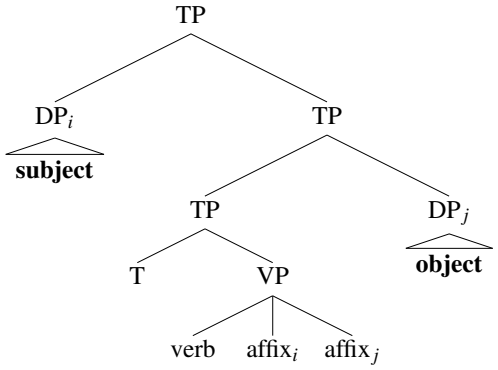
The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (PAH) (Jelinek, 1984) is a non-configurational account which posits that DPs are adjuncts, thus optional and freely ordered when present, which accounts

[1] I will use the terms "subject" and "object" as cover terms for external and internal arguments, respectively, in order to maintain consistency in discussion across direct and inverse forms.

for null anaphora and free ordering respectively. A-positions are posited to be filled with the ϕ-feature indexing affixes themselves, called pronominal arguments. Overt DPs are co-indexed with pronominal arguments, which allows for the possibility of multiple DPs being co-indexed with the same pronominal argument. This accounts for the possibility of discontinuous DPs. For declarative clauses with SVO word order in which both the subject and object are overt, the PAH predicts both of the structures in (2) to be possible. By design, there is no consistent structural relation between the overt subject and overt object in (2) since, without additional stipulations, nothing constrains the order in which DP adjuncts attach.[2] As well, the VP structure is flat and there is an absence of asymmetry in the structural relationship between A-positions.[3]

(2) PAH

a.



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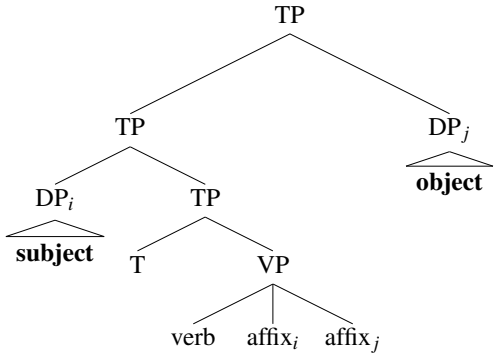


In a slight but significant revision of the PAH based on Mohawk, Baker (1996) introduces a hierarchical A-positions within the verbal domain so that the subject position asymmetrically c-commands the object position. Instead of pronominal arguments, he posits that null pronominals (*pro*) are base generated in A-positions, yet are similarly co-indexed with overt adjunct DPs. Along with *pro*, *wh*-phrases and complement clauses are also posited to be base-generated in A-positions in order to account for evidence that shows Mohawk has both *wh*-movement and binding into complement clauses. Given that this proposal introduces of hierarchical A-positions and because certain elements are allowed to be base-generated in A-positions, yet other DPs remain adjuncts, I will refer to this as a "hybrid" account. For declarative clauses with SVO word order where

[2]Throughout I adopt the definition of c-command in (i) and the assumption that DP adjuncts under the same TP are in different nodes thus stand in a c-command relationship with respect to each other. Under a different definition of node where the TP would constitute a single node (Kayne, 1994) DP adjuncts would not stand in a c-command relationship with respect to each other. I adopt the former definition of a node since it is more generous to accounts with DP adjuncts given the subject-object asymmetries discussed in this paper.

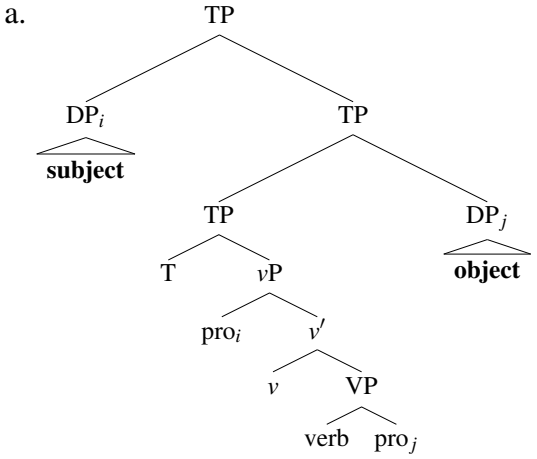
(i) C-COMMAND (Reinhart, 1976)
Node *A* c-commands node *B* if neither *A* nor *B* dominate the other and the first branching node which dominates *A* dominates *B*.

[3]The ambiguity between representations shown in (2) is predicted in word orders where the verb is ordered between the subject and object, e.g. SVO and OVS. When overt arguments adjoin on different sides, one left and one right, either argument could be structurally higher. Only one representation is possible to generate word orders where the verb is either final, e.g., SOV and OSV, or initial, e.g., VSO and VOS. When both overt arguments adjoin to the same side, either both right or both left, the argument which is structurally higher will linearly precede the lower one if they are both left-adjoined and linearly follow the lower one if they are both right-adjoined.

both the subject and object are overt, the hybrid account predicts both of the structures in (3) to be possible. The explanations for null anaphora, free word order and discontinuous elements stay the same as with the PAH, however a limited set of subject-object asymmetries are possible. Since the subject A-position asymmetrically c-commands the object A-position, subject-object asymmetries are only expected to arise between constituents base-generated in A-positions, such as between *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-interrogatives and binding of the subject into complement clauses base-generated in object position.

(3) HYBRID ACCOUNT

a.



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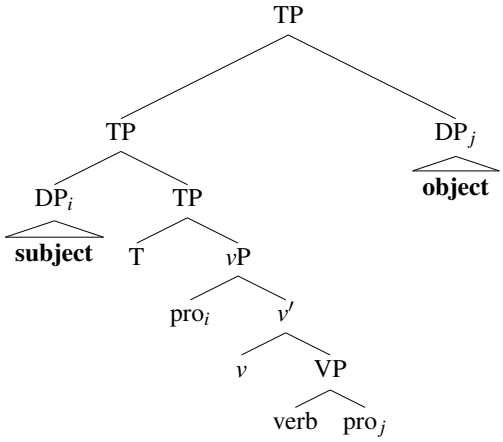


The PAH and hybrid accounts are plausible analyses for Mi'gmaq since it displays all of the characteristics in (1). DPs can be freely omitted, as verbs can appear as a complete utterance without overt arguments. In (4), the transitive verb *nemitoq* is understood as having an 3rd person animate subject (*-oq*) and an inanimate object (*-it*).[4] In general, DPs can be freely ordered such that any order of the words in (5) results in a grammatical utterance.[5] The following examples also illustrate that verbs index the ϕ-features of its arguments as suffixes. In (4) and (5), *-it* indexes the animacy of the object (inanimate) and *-oq* indexes the person features of the subject (3rd person singular).

(4) nem-*it*-**oq**
see-VTI-**3**
'**S/he** sees *it*'

[4]All examples are primary data collected by the author in consultation with a group of native speakers of the Listuguj dialect of Mi'gmaq, located in Listuguj, Quebec, Canada. Abbreviations: 0 = inanimate third person singular, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = animate third person singular proximate (discourse salient), 4 = animate third person singular obviative (non-discourse salient), AN = animate, COMP = complementizer, COOR = conjunction, DK = direct knowledge, IK = indirect knowledge, *neg* = negation, OBJ = object, OBV = obviation, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PST = past, Q = question particle, REP = repetitive, VAI = transitive verb with animate subject, VTA = transitive verb with both animate subject and object, VTI = transitive verb with animate subject and inanimate object, X>Y= X subject/subject, Y object/object.

[5]Investigation is underway into whether there is a basic word order in Mi'gmaq, see Hamilton pear. Bruening (2001) argues that SVO is the default word order in Passamaquoddy and Junker (2004) argues that there are word order restrictions in East Cree.

(5) a. **ji'nm** nem-it-oq *ptauti* (SVO)
man see-VTI-3 *table*
'**The man** sees *the table*'
b. **ji'nm** *ptauti* nemitoq (SOV)
c. *ptauti* nemitoq **ji'nm** (OVS)
d. *ptauti* **ji'nm** nemitoq (OSV)
e. nemitoq **ji'nm** *ptauti* (VSO)
f. nemitoq *ptauti* **ji'nm** (VOS)

In addition, Mi'gmaq allows certain classes of nominal modifiers to be separated from the noun it modifies by a separate element, such as a verb. In (6), the verb *etlenmit* 's/he is laughing' is intransitive and both *ala* 'that' and *ji'nm* 'man' refer to the same argument. While *ala* and *ji'nm* can appear linearly adjacent as in (6a) and (6b), they can also be separated by the verb as in (6c).[6]

(6) a. **ala ji'nm** etl-enm-it
that man PROG-laugh.VAI-3
'**That man** is laughing.'
b. etlenmit **ala ji'nm**
c. **ala** etlenmit **ji'nm**

Even though Mi'gmaq displays surface characteristics of non-configurationality, I argue that the phrase structure of Mi'gmaq is configurational. The underlying syntactic structure I adopt is shown in (7), where arguments are base-generated in canonical argument positions: the subject in the specifier of voiceP and the object in the specifier of *v*P (Hirose, 2003; Oxford, 2014).[7] In addition to the subject A-position asymmetrically c-commanding the object A-position, overt DPs are base-generated in these positions. A configurational account derives a non-configurational surface appearance through discourse related movement, i.e., discourse configurationality (Kiss,

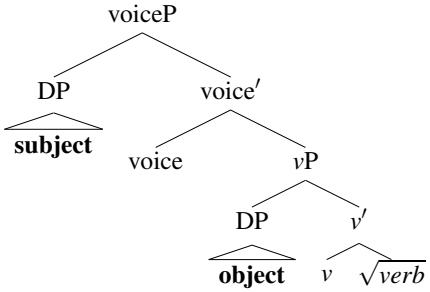
[6]In fact, one piece of evidence that has been presented against a non-configurational account in Algonquian languages is that only functional material can precede lexical material in discontinuous DPs in Meskwaki (Dahlstrom, 1987), Swampy Cree (Russell and Reinholtz, 1995), Ojibwe (Kathol and Rhodes, 1999), and Passamaquoddy (LeSourd, 2006). This is a counter argument, since there should be no ordering restrictions if both elements of the discontinuous DP are adjuncts, since they should be able to attach, and thus appear, in any order. Although not pursued in detail here, this argument also applies in Mi'gmaq. The word orders in (i), where *ji'nm* precedes *ala*, are ungrammatical.

(i) a. *__ji'nm ala__ etl-enm-it
man that PROG-laugh.VAI-3
intended: '**That man** is laughing.'
b. *etlenmit **ji'nm ala**
c. *__ji'nm__ etlenmit **ala**

[7]I adopt the clause structure in (Oxford, 2013, 2014) and argued for Mi'gmaq in Hamilton. Since this paper focuses on the position of DPs, I will leave the decomposition of the verb aside and represent it in its surface form as the complement to v^0 throughout, recognizing that it has more complex structure. See McCulloch (2013) for a recent discussion of the decomposition of the Mi'gmaq verb stem. For a discussion of arguments against the PAH which targets data from verbal inflection in Passamaquoddy see LeSourd (2006).

1987; Miyagawa, 2010).[8] Specifically, I assume a model of discourse configurationality in the sense of Miyagawa (2010), where in addition to person features (ϕ), discourse features (δ) can trigger agreement and drive movement of DPs.

(7) CONFIGURATIONAL ACCOUNT



A configurational account predicts systematic subject-object asymmetries, while these should be very limited in a hybrid account and non-existent under a non-configurational account. This important difference between predicted subject-object asymmetries will form the basis for the evaluation of which account is more appropriate for Mi'gmaq. The table in (8) summarizes the differences between the three accounts.

(8) COMPARISON OF ACCOUNTS

account	DPs	base-generated in A-positions
PAH	adjuncts	affix as pronominal argument
hybrid	adjuncts	*pro*, *wh*-phrases
configurational	arguments	arguments

I argue for a configurational analysis by presenting three subject-object asymmetries which cannot receive a principled accounted under the assumption that DPs are adjuncts. In section 2, I show that subject *wh*-phrases obligatorily precede object *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions. The hybrid and configurational accounts explain this asymmetry as a superiority effect (Chomsky, 1973; Richards, 1997). In section 3, I present disjoint reference effects in mono-clausal utterances, which the configurational account analyzes as a Binding Condition C effect (Chomsky, 1986). In section 4, I outline the Long-Distance Agreement pattern in embedded declarative clauses which is limited to the argument in the highest A-position. A configurational account analyzes this asymmetry as a direct result of the structural height of subjects and objects and the presence of inverse A-movement in Mi'gmaq. All three analyses of these asymmetries crucially rely on overt DPs being base-generated in A-positions, in which subjects asymmetrically c-command objects.

2 Ordering of *wh*-phrases

In languages with multiple *wh*-questions, patterns in which a specific ordering must hold between *wh*-phrases as well patterns where no particular ordering is necessary are attested (Rudin, 1988;

[8]Showing the affect of discourse on word order is beyond the scope of this paper, but see Hamilton pear for evidence that focus affects word order in Mi'gmaq.

Richards, 1997). In patterns in which a strict ordering must hold, subject *wh*-phrases precede object *wh*-phrases. This pattern can be accounted for by the configurational and hybrid accounts as a superiority effect (Chomsky, 1973; Richards, 1997) where the underlying c-command relationship between subject and object *wh*-phrases must be maintained after all instances of *wh*-movement have applied. This analysis is possible since both approaches base-generate *wh*-phrases in A-positions in which the subject A-position asymmetrically c-commands the object A-position.

A similar account is not possible for the PAH if *wh*-phrases are adjuncts, since there is no consistent structural relationship between *wh*-phrases, and thus no reason to think that word order should be constrained. Even if *wh*-phrases could be base-generated in A-positions (ignoring the position of pronominal arguments), there still is no reason to expect word order constraints since there is no asymmetrical relationship between *wh*-phrases given the flat VP structure. A summary of the accounts of ordering effects is shown in (9). In 2.1, I show that Mi'gmaq has *wh*-movement. In 2.2, I show that Mi'gmaq displays a strict subject before object linear order in multiple *wh*-questions, and that the hybrid and configurational accounts can derive this asymmetry as a superiority effect. In 2.3, I show that the PAH cannot principally derive this asymmetry.

(9) ACCOUNTS OF MULTIPLE *wh*-QUESTIONS

account	***wh*-phrases**	**Subject≫Object**
PAH	adjunct	✖
hybrid	argument	✔
configurational	argument	✔

2.1 *Wh*-movement

Algonquian languages have been argued to either form *wh*-questions via *wh*-clefts, e.g., Plains Cree (Wolfart, 1973; Blain, 1997), Rainy River Ojibwe (Johns, 1982), Swampy Cree (Russell and Reinholtz, 1995), or *wh*-movement, e.g., Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001), Western Naskapi (Brittain, 2001), and Kitigan Zibi Algonquin (Lochbihler and Mathieu, 2008; Lochbihler, 2012; Mathieu and Lochbihler). Although lacking weak crossover (WCO) effects, it is clear that Mi'gmaq has *wh*-movement. Below, I present evidence for the presence of typical island constraints and successive cyclic movement. The presence of multiple *wh*-questions, discussed in 2.2, also provides evidence in favour of a *wh*-movement approach, and more importantly for a superiority analysis.

In Mi'gmaq, *wh*-questions require pre-verbal *wh*-words and *wh*-words can only receive a *wh*-phrase interpretation when pre-verbal, which appears to be an effect of configurationality. In (10), when *wen* appears before the verb, it is interpreted as a *wh*-phrase ('who').[9] If *wh*-words appear post-verbal, they are interpreted as a *wh*-indefinite rather than as a *wh*-phrase. In (11), *wen* can

[9]Note that I have excluded the OSV word order in (i) since its acceptability is subject to speaker variation. My intuition is that there is a strong prosodic break between *wenju'su'n* and *wen*, thus *wenju'su'n* may be a topic and restricted specific contexts.

(i) %wenju'su'n **wen** pegwatel-g?
apple **who** buy.VTI-3
'**Who** is buying the/an apple?'

only be interpreted as a *wh*-indefinite ('anyone') when preceding the verb. The same data holds for other *wh*-words, such as *goqwei* 'what.'

(10) *Wh*-QUESTION

a. **wen** pegwatel-g wenju'su'n?
who buy.VTI-3 apple
'**Who** is buying the/an apple?'

b. **wen** wenju'su'n pegwatelg?

(11) YES-NO QUESTION

a. wenju'su'n pegwatel-g **wen**?
apple buy.VTI-3 **one**
'Is **anyone** buying the/an apple?' *'**Who** is buying the/an apple?'

b. pegwatelg wenju'su'n **wen**?

c. pegwatelg **wen** wenju'su'n?

The *wh*-phrase interpretation is the result of a Q feature on C^0 which probes, AGREEs, and attracts a *wh*-word with a corresponding Q feature to Spec-CP. Since Spec-CP is preverbal, *wh*-words undergoing *wh*-movement to satisfy the Q feature on C^0 will be preverbal and receive an interrogative interpretation. Thus, *wh*-words that are post-verbal do not undergo *wh*-movement and do not receive an interrogative interpretation.

Support for a *wh*-movement analysis comes from island constraints (Ross, 1967), such as the Coordinate Structure Constraint (12), Left-branch Condition (13), and Adjunct islands (14). In (12), *wenju'su'n aq pipnaqan* 'apple and bread' form a coordinate DP, however only one of them cannot be the target of *wh*-movement, as extraction of *wenju'su'n* in (12b) or *pipnaqan* in (12c) is not possible. In (13a), *Sa'n-ewei wi'gatign* 'John's book' forms a complex DP, and the possessor *Sa'newei* cannot be extracted from the possessive DP *Sa'newei wi'gatign*, resulting in the ungrammatical (13b). In (14a), *ge's mu weltesguagupn Sa'nal* 'before s/he met John' is an adjunct clause and extraction of an argument from it, such as *Sa'nal* 'John' is not possible, as in (14b).

(12) COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT

a. maqu-tm-u'tp **wenju'su'n** aq **pipnaqan**
eat-VTI-2.PST **apple** COOR **bread**
'You ate **an/the apple** and **bread**.'

b. ***goqwei** maqu-tm-u'sp aq **pipnaqan**?
what eat-VTI-2.IK.PST COOR **bread**
intended: '**What** did you eat and **bread**?'

c. ***goqwei** maqu-tm-u'sp **wenju'su'n** aq?
what eat-VTI-2.IK.PST **apple** COOR
intended: '**What** did you eat **apple** and ?'

(13) LEFT-BRANCH CONDITION

a. Mali pegwatel-g-p **[Sa'n-ewei wi'gatign]**
Mary buy.VTI-3-PST **[John-POSS book]**
'Mary bought **John's book**'

b. ***Wen(-ewei)** Mali pegwatel-g-'s **[wi'gatign]**?
who(-POSS) Mary buy.VTI-3-IK.PST **[book]**
intended: '**Whose book** did Mary buy?'

(14) ADJUNCT ISLAND

a. Mali maj-a'si-p **[ge's mu weltesgu-a-g-u-p-n Sa'n-al]**
Mary leave.VAI-3.PST **[while NEG meet.VTA-3.OBJ-3-NEG-PST-OBV John-OBV]**
'Mary left **[before s/he met John]**'

b. ***wen-n** Mali maj-a'si-p **[ge's mu**
who-OBV Mary leave.VAI-3.IK.PST **[while NEG**
weltesgu-a-g-u-p-n]
meet.VTA-3.OBJ-3-NEG-PST-OBV]
intended: '**Who** did Mary leave **before s/he met**?'

Mi'gmaq also displays successive cyclic *wh*-movement. The best example of this is in Long-Distance Agreement (LDA) forms, where the matrix verb shows ϕ-feature agreement with an embedded argument, see section 4 for more detail.[10] In (15), the *wh*-phrase *wen-ig* 'who-PL' is associated with object and undergoes *wh*-movement to Spec-CP of the matrix clause. We have evidence that the *wh*-phrase moves through embedded Spec-CP as the matrix verb shows ϕ-feature agreement with it (*-i*(*g*) 3.PL). Since this agreement is with a 3rd person plural DP, rather than 3rd person singular, we can be sure that agreement is with *wenig* rather than *Lance*.

(15) **wen-ig** Mali geji-a-j-**i(g)** [Lance ges-al-a-j-i]?
who-PL Mary know-VTI-3.obj-3-**3.PL** [Lance love-VTA-3.obj-3-3.PL]
'**Who** does Mary know Lance loves?'

Although WCO effects are a typical diagnostic for *wh*-movement, in Algonquian languages they have been argued to be either absent altogether (Dahlstrom, 1991) or only present in a subset of forms (Bruening, 2001; Brittain, 2001, 2013). This is because in Algonquian languages there is a proximate-obviative system of marking 3rd persons in the discourse. Only one 3rd person argument per clause can be proximate, which is morphologically unmarked and interpreted as being in the foreground of the discourse.[11] All other 3rd persons must be morphologically marked as obviative (or 4th person), which triggers obligatory disjoint reference with the proximate 3rd person. In WCO contexts in English, such as the gloss in (16), we expect that the *wh*-phrase ('who') cannot co-refer to the possessor ('her/his' of 'her/his mother'). However in Mi'gmaq example in (16), both the *wh*-phrase and possessor are interpreted as being proximate, thus they obligatorily

[10]Thanks to Norvin Richards for suggesting this data as support for successive cyclic *wh*-movement.

[11]Note that this could mean being foregrounded in a particular utterance or in a larger discourse in general, such as a narrative, thus may not hold at every point of the discourse. See Thomason 2003 for a thorough discussion of the impact of discourse on proximate-obviative marking.

co-refer. We know that they obligatorily co-refer because this example is an inverse form which is limited in Mi'gmaq to contexts in which the obviative 3rd person is the subject and the proximate 3rd person is the object. In (16), the subject is a possessive phrase *uggwijl* 'her/his mother', with the possessum 'mother' being obligatorily obviative and the possessor 'her/his' being proximate. Thus, the possessor must co-refer to the theme since there can only be a single proximate argument in this clause.

(16) wen ges-al-t-l ug-gwij-l?
who love-VTA-3-OBV 3.POSS-mother-OBV
'Who$_1$ does her/his$_{1/*2}$ mother love?'

However, WCO effects might appear is in the direct, in forms where both the *wh*-phrase and subject possessor are obviative. In this specific case, since nothing forces two obviative arguments to co-refer, we expect that WCO effects can arise, as they do in Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001) and Western Naskapi (Brittain, 2001, 2013). Unfortunately, this test does not work for Mi'gmaq, since my consultants reject forms in which the possessor is obviative. In all cases, as in (17), the possessor can only be proximate, thus the disjoint reference effect here cannot be attributed to WCO.

(17) wen-n ges-al-a-t-l ug-gwij-l?
who-OBV love-VTA-3.OBJ-3-OBV 3.POSS-mother-OBV
'Who$_1$ does her/his$_{*1/2}$ mother love?'

Even though WCO effects are absent, I do not take this as an argument against *wh*-movement, since other languages with *wh*-movement have been shown to lack WCO, e.g., Hungarian (Kiss, 1987).[12] The evidence presented above from island constraints and successive cyclicity, combined with the presence of multiple *wh*-questions below, provides ample evidence for a *wh*-movement analysis of interrogatives in Mi'gmaq.[13]

2.2 Multiple *wh*-questions

Of the Algonquian languages which show *wh*-movement, only two have been shown to display multiple *wh*-movement, Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001) and Western Naskapi (Brittain, 2001). Of these, only Western Naskapi has been shown to display ordering effects between *wh*-phrases, although this occurs in multiple *wh*-questions regardless of whether there is one or two instances of *wh*-movement (Brittain, 2001). Mi'gmaq requires multiple instances of *wh*-movement within a clause and has the additional restriction that subject *wh*-phrases must appear linearly before object *wh*-phrases. I analyze this strict ordering as a superiority effect (Chomsky, 1973; Richards, 1997), or relativized minimality (Rizzi, 1990), since the base-generated c-command relationship of *wh*-phrases must be maintained after *wh*-movement. I use this as an argument for the underlying configurational syntactic structure in Mi'gmaq.

[12]Thanks to an anonymous reviewer and Eric Mathieu for pointing this out.

[13]While a reviewer suggests that a lack of WCO is an argument against configurationality, it is controversial whether WCO has anything to do with c-command or hierarchical structure at all. What is clear is that it does involve leftward movement and linearity, see the Leftness Condition Chomsky 1976. Mi'gmaq and other descriptively "non-configurational" languages clearly show us that word order does not relate to configurationality.

The forms in (18) have verbs that show agreement with an animate subject (*wen* 'who') and an inanimate object (*goqwei* 'what').[14] The only acceptable word order for a multiple *wh*-question interpretation involves the subject *wh*-phrase ordered before the object *wh*-phrase, as in (18a).[15] Forms in which the object precedes the subject, such as in (18b), are ungrammatical, and a multiple *wh*-interpretation is not possible if a *wh*-phrase appears post-verbal, as in (18c).

(18) *Context: I tell you that I went to a pot-luck yesterday. You ask me:*

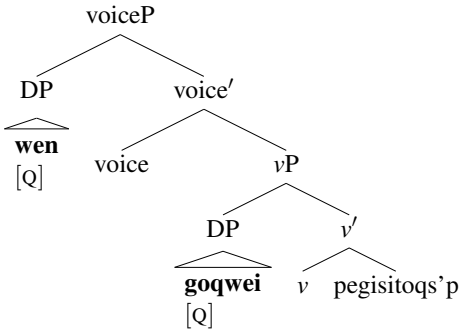
a. **wen goqwei** pegisi-toq-s'p?
   who what bring.VTI-3-PST
   '**Who** brought **what**?' [triggers a pair-list response]

b. ***goqwei wen** pegisi-toq-s'p?
   what who bring.VTI-3-PST
   intended: '**Who** brought **what**?' or '**What** did **who** buy?'

c. **wen** pegisi-toq-s'p **goqwei**?
   who bring.VTI-3-PST **what**
   '**Who** brought **anything/something**?'; *'**Who** brought **what**?'

This strict ordering of subjects before objects after *wh*-movement is predicted to be possible under the hybrid and configurational accounts. This is because in both accounts the subject A-position c-commands the object A-position and *wh*-phrases are base-generated in their respective A-positions. Both accounts propose the identical underlying structure in (19), prior to *wh*-movement.

(19) HYBRID AND CONFIGURATIONAL VOICEP STRUCTURE FOR (18)



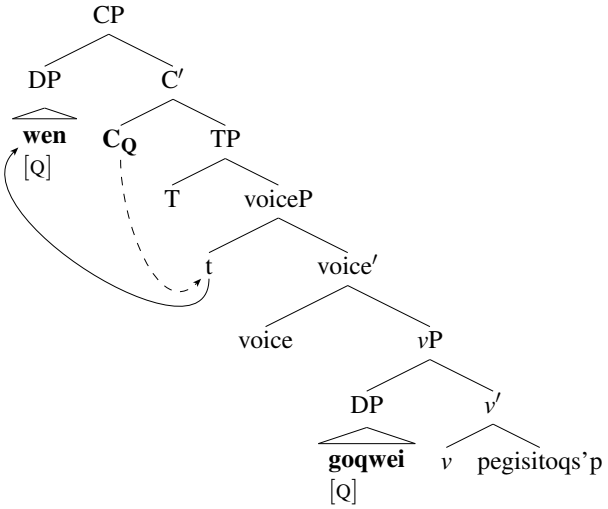
This Mi'gmaq data can be accounted for assuming a standard account of multiple *wh*-movement in languages with superiority effects, e.g., Richards (1997) for Bulgarian. The derivation of superiority effects adopts standard assumptions about *wh*-movement: (i) that it is triggered by a Q-feature (Cable, 2007) on C which is shared by *wh*-phrases, and (ii) that it involves a probe-goal AGREE relationship (Chomsky, 2001), such that (a) feature probing is limited to its c-command domain, (b) a probe can only enter into a single AGREE relation with (and raise) one DP at a time, and (c) that a probe will AGREE with (and raise) the most local, structurally closest DP if there are multiple potential goals. The derivation has two steps, the first involving the principle

[14]The same data point and generalizations hold for verbs with both animate subjects and objects (VTA).

[15]This question triggers a multiple pair-list response, which shows that it does not involve focus, an echo question or REF question, all of which would elicit a single pair-list response, see Dayal (2005).

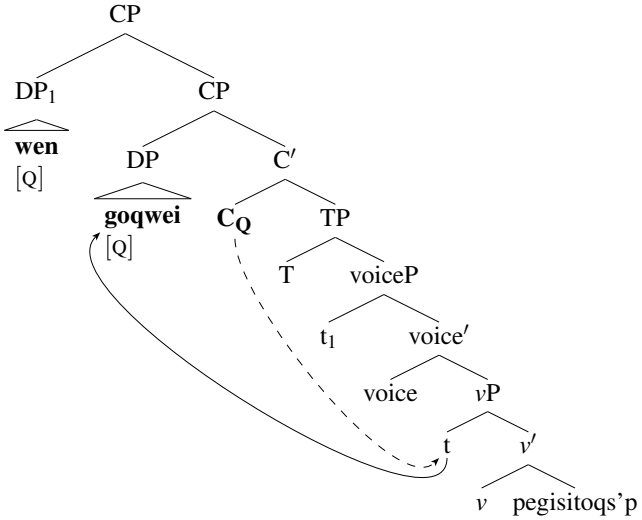
ATTRACT CLOSEST (20) and the second involving the principle SHORTEST MOVE (21) (Richards, 1997). In step one, C^0 has a Q-feature and probes, AGREEs, and raises the subject *wh*-phrase (*wen*) to Spec-CP. Although both *wh*-phrases have the relevant Q-feature, since the subject *wh*-phrase (*wen*) is structurally higher than the object *wh*-phrase (*goqwei*), the subject will be the closest relevant goal for the Q probe on C^0. This is the principle ATTRACT CLOSEST (Richards, 1997). This results in the representation in (20).

(20) HYBRID AND CONFIGURATIONAL ACCOUNT FOR (18), STEP 1: ATTRACT CLOSEST



In step two, in C^0 probes a second time and AGREEs with the object *wh*-phrase (*goqwei*) and attracts it to an inner specifier of CP. This movement is called "tucking-in" and is motivated by the principle SHORTEST MOVE, since an inner specifier is closer than an outer specifier for movement considerations (Richards, 1997). This results in the representation in (21). Thus rigid subject before object ordering with *wh*-phrases in Mi'gmaq receives a principled analysis under the hybrid and configurational accounts.

(21) HYBRID AND CONFIGURATIONAL ACCOUNT FOR (18), STEP 2: SHORTEST MOVE

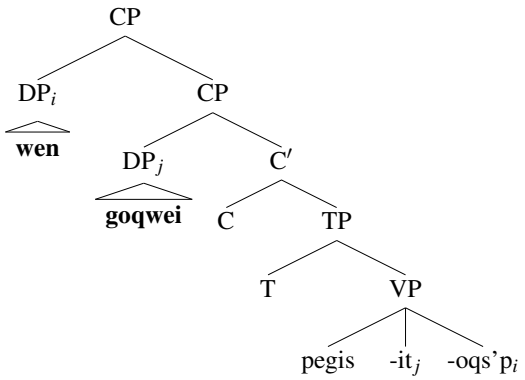


2.3 PAH account

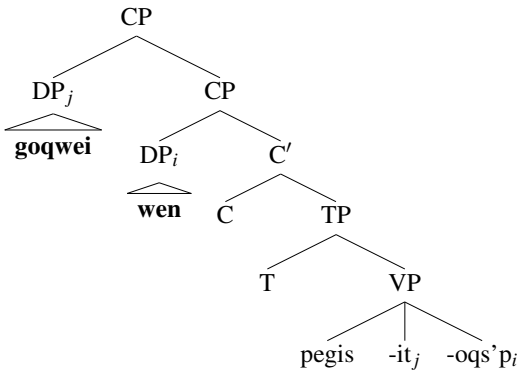
The PAH, on the other hand, cannot account for this data in a principled manner since A-positions are filled with pronominal arguments and *wh*-phrases are adjuncts. There is no underlying structural relationship between the subject and the object, so surface asymmetries are unexpected. In fact, there is no principled way to exclude any word order, which is problematic considering the basic generalization that *wh*-phrases must precede the verb in Mi'gmaq. If we add a stipulation that *wh*-phrases must be left-adjoined, then two possible representations where *wh*-phrases precede the verb are predicted, as in (22). In (22), *wen* is structurally higher than *goqwei* and both are left-adjoined to CP which correctly predicts the grammatical word order in (18a). However, in (22), *goqwei* is structurally higher than *wen*, both are left-adjoined to the CP which incorrectly predicts the possibility of the word order in (18b). Since there is no principled way to exclude either representation, both orders are expected.

(22) NON-CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF (18)

a.



b.



An additional stipulation is needed to derive the ordering in (18). Since the subject is an animate *wh*-phrase and the object is an inanimate *wh*-phrase, one possibility would be to stipulate that animate arguments must precede inanimate ones by using an articulated left-periphery, such as Rizzi (1997) and adopted for Swampy Cree (Russell and Reinholtz, 1996, 1997).[16] However, even if this could be motivated, it is unclear how to limit this animate DP before inanimate DP ordering to just interrogative contexts, since a similar restriction does not hold in declaratives, such as in (5c), (5d), and (5f).[17]

Even if the PAH were revised to allow *wh*-phrases into A-positions (leaving the position of pronominal arguments unclear), the flat structure of the VP ensures a lack of asymmetries between subjects and objects. Thus strict ordering in *wh*-phrases is still unexpected. It is clear that a *wh*-cleft analysis is not possible given the incompatibility of this account with multiple *wh*-questions (Blain, 1997). Thus, in order to provide a principled account of strict subject *wh*-phrase before object *wh*-phrase ordering, both base generation in A-positions and an asymmetric relationship between

[16]In the case of multiple *wh*-questions involving an animate subject and object in the direct voice, the subject would be proximate and the object would be marked as obviative. Some analyses argue that proximate arguments are topics and obviative arguments are not topics (Junker, 2004). Although more research is needed in order to support this claim, if it is on the right track, an articulated left periphery would aid in explaining the strict ordering of subject (proximate) before object (obviative) *wh*-phrases.

[17]Thanks to Heidi Harley for pointing out an issue with this potential solution.

the subject and object A-positions are necessary.

The strict ordering of *wh*-phrases provides the first piece of evidence that DPs are base-generated in A-positions in Mi'gmaq. Although this data supports both the configurational and hybrid accounts, the hybrid account will not be able to derive the Condition C effects presented in the next section, since all non-*wh*-DPs are posited to be adjuncts.

3 Disjoint reference effects

In this section I present a subject-object asymmetry observed in disjoint reference effects. The configurational account differs from the PAH and hybrid account in where disjoint reference effects are predicted to occur. I show that the Mi'gmaq data supports a configurational analysis. In 3.1, I discuss binding in general and the predictions of each account. In 3.2, I discuss binding in Mi'gmaq and present the configurational account. In 3.3, I present potential non-configurational accounts and outline their weaknesses.

3.1 Binding

Binding is a semantic relationship governing the interpretation of variables within the scope of a semantic operator. There are certain syntactic requirements, i.e., c-command, typically needed in order for this semantic relationship to occur. If an argument *A* binds another argument *B*, then it must be the case that *A* c-commands *B*.[18]

In clause-internal binding, we can manipulate the position of a DP in order to understand the c-command relationship between A-positions. In English, a configurational account where the subject A-position asymmetrically c-commands the object A-position is argued on the basis of binding data in which a subject can bind into the object, but not vice versa. This is the explanation given for why *Mary* can optionally bind the possessive pronoun *her* in the object DP *her book* in (23a). This is also why disjoint reference is obligatory between the subject pronoun *she* and the possessor DP *Mary* in the object DP *Mary's book* in (23b). The disjoint reference effect in (23b) has been often formalized as a Binding Condition C effect, as defined in (24). Instead of the term *R-expression*, I will refer to DPs and only use proper names in relevant Condition C examples. A configurational account predicts disjoint reference effects when a DP is c-commanded by a co-indexed pronoun.

(23) a. **Mary**$_1$ loves **her**$_{1/2}$ book.
b. **She**$_7$ loves **Mary**$_{*7/8}$'s book.

(24) BINDING CONDITION C (Chomsky, 1986)
An R-expression is free

If we were to entertain a non-configurational account of this English data, we can see that the predictions would differ from the configurational account just outlined. A non-configurational

[18] According to Büring (2005) there are some environments where semantic binding can occur without a c-command relationship. This is not relevant for the cases we are discussing.

account would propose that the DPs in (23) are adjuncts, and pronouns co-indexed with each DP would reside in corresponding A-positions. Since the typical assumption is that binding occurs between A-positions (Chomsky, 1981), only the pronouns would be relevant for binding. However, since the subject is animate and object is inanimate in both examples in (23), co-reference is not expected to be possible in either (23a) and (23b). Even if we make the non-standard assumption that the animate object possessor could be indexed on the object pronoun, no contrast is expected as this would result in a Binding Condition B effect, as defined in (25).[19] Since both pronouns would be co-indexed within the verbal domain and at least one of the pronouns would be c-commanded by the other in both accounts, disjoint reference would be triggered in both (23a) and (23b).

(25) BINDING CONDITION B (Chomsky, 1986)
A pronominal is free in a local domain

Thus only the configurational account predicts a contrast between (23a) and (23b). The table in (26) summarizes the expectations for each account. In 3.2, I show that similar data in Mi'gmaq displays the contrast predicted by the configurational account.

(26) CO-REFERENCE EFFECTS

account	DPs	in A-positions	Contrast between (23a) & (23b)
PAH	adjuncts	pronouns	✖
hybrid	adjuncts	pronouns	✖
configurational	arguments	arguments	✔

3.2 Binding in Mi'gmaq

Typically in Algonquian languages, binding is not an informative diagnostic for relative positions of subjects and objects (Bruening, 2001; Brittain, 2001; Bliss, 2013; Brittain, 2013). A potential explanation for this is because of the proximate-obviative marking on 3rd person arguments (Brittain, 2001, 2013). Only one 3rd person argument per clause can be proximate, which is morphologically unmarked and interpreted as being in the foreground of the discourse.[20] All other 3rd persons must be morphologically marked as obviative (4th person), which triggers obligatory disjoint reference with the (proximate) 3rd person.

In typical Binding Condition C examples with possession, such as (23b), the presence or absence of obviation on the possessor indicates the co-reference possibilities. The minimal pair in (27), contains a verb followed by a common possessive construction (common across Algonquian languages) where a proper name is the possessor and the possessum (the nominal that is possessed) is marked with a 3rd person possessive prefix *ugt-*.[21] They differ in the marking on the possessum,

[19] An anonymous reviewer is curious about the specific nature of pronouns in Mi'gmaq, given that this will affect our expectations regarding binding. A full analysis is outside the scope of this paper, but for the our purposes, 3rd person pronouns in Mi'gmaq have the same binding possibilities as 3rd person pronouns in English. They seem to pattern similarly to Pro-ϕ-P in the typology of pronouns in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002).

[20] Note that this could mean being foregrounded in a particular utterance or in a larger discourse in general, such as a narrative, thus may not hold at every point of the discourse.

[21] Note that the subject pronoun is dropped in both examples in (28b). Pronouns are often omitted and can take on an emphatic interpretation when used.

with *Mali* 'Mary' unmarked, thus proximate, in (27a) and marked as obviative (*Mali-al*) in (27b). The verb in both examples is in the direct, where the 3rd person is the subject (subject) and the 4th person is the object (or object).[22] The default interpretation when *Mali* is proximate is that the subject and the possessor are co-referential, thus both *Mali* (27a).[23] When *Mali* is marked as obviative, the default interpretation is that the subject and possessor cannot co-refer, thus *Mali-al* is only interpreted as the possessor (27b). So the presence of proximate-obviative marking clarifies the reference of 3rd persons in a way which makes the possessive construction in (27) uninstructive as a structural diagnostic for binding relationships. This means that we need to look for constructions where proximate-obviative marking does not apply, so we can probe for structural relations between subjects and objects.

(27) a. ges-at-g **Mali**$_1$ **ugt**-wi'gatign
like-VTI-3 **Mali** **3.POSS**-book
'**Mary**$_1$ likes **her**$_{1/*2}$ book.'; '**S/he**$_1$ like's **Mary**$_{1/*2}$'s book'

b. ges-at-g **Mali-al**$_{*1/2}$ **ugt**-wi'gatign
like-VTI-3 **Mali-OBV** **3.POSS**-book
'**S/he**$_1$ like's **Mary**$_{*1/2}$'s book'

Mi'gmaq has a unique possessive construction, to my knowledge not described for other Algonquian languages, in which the possessor is marked with the possessive suffix *-ewei* and cannot be marked for obviation. This provides us a rare glimpse into the structural relationship between subjects and objects via binding. This particular possessive construction only applies in limited contexts, as it is only possible with an alienable possessum (McClay, 2012).[24] In forms where the subject is a proper name (*Mali*) and the object possessor is a pronoun (*negm*), co-reference is possible (28a). In forms where the subject is a pronoun (*negm*) and the object possessor is a proper name (*Mali*), co-reference is not possible (28b). In (28a), disjoint reference is triggered whether the subject pronoun is overt or not. In these possessive constructions the constituency between the possessor and possessum is more rigid, as the possessor cannot be part of a discontinuous constituent with the verb intervening (29) (see section 1), nor can the possessum precede the possessor (30) (see footnote 6).[25]

[22]In inverse forms, the 4th person is the subject (or subject) and the 3rd person is the object (or object). See Bruening (2001) for a discussion of the role of the direct-inverse system in binding and WCO.

[23]Bliss (2013) notes that in forms such as (27a) in Blackfoot, it is difficult to tell if the overt DP is the subject or possessor given the tendency for freer word order and ability to drop DPs.

[24]The other possessive construction in (28b) can be used with either alienable and inalienable possessum.

[25]Given that Mi'gmaq also has possessor raising, a reviewer suggests that the rigid constituency effect here might be structural, thus related to the configurational properties of the language. Although I support this intuition for Mi'gmaq, as well as for the general limitations on specific types of discontinuous constituents in Algonquian languages (see footnote 6), a more thorough investigation of the internal structure of DPs is needed for this to be used as an argument for configurationality.

(28) a. SUBJECT DP, PRONOUN OBJECT POSSESSOR

Mali$_1$ ges-at-g [**negm**$_{1/2}$-ewei wi'gatign]
Mary like-VTI-3 [**3**-POSS book]
'**Mary**$_1$ likes **her**$_{1/2}$ book.'

b. SUBJECT PRONOUN, DP OBJECT POSSESSOR

(**negm**$_7$) ges-at-g [**Mali**$_{*7/8}$-ewei wi'gatign]
(**3**) like-VTI-3 [**Mary**-POSS book]
'**She**$_7$ likes **Mary**$_{*7/8}$'s book.'

(29) *DISCONTINUOUS DPS

a. ***Mali**$_7$ **negm**$_{7/8}$-ewei ges-at-g wi'gatign
Mary **3**-POSS like-VTI-3 book
intended: '**Mary**$_7$ likes **her**$_{7/8}$ book.'

b. *(**negm**$_7$) **Mali**$_{*7/8}$-ewei ges-at-g wi'gatign
(**3**) **Mary**-POSS like-VTI-3 book
intended: '**She**$_7$ likes **Mary**$_{*7/8}$'s book.'

(30) *POSSESSUM BEFORE POSSESSEOR ORDERING

a. ***Mali**$_1$ ges-at-g wi'gatign **negm**$_{1/2}$-ewei
Mary like-VTI-3 book **3**-POSS
intended: '**Mary**$_1$ likes **her**$_{1/2}$ book.'

b. *(**negm**$_7$) ges-at-g wi'gatign **Mali**$_{*7/8}$-ewei
(**3**) like-VTI-3 book **Mary**-POSS
'**She**$_7$ likes **Mary**$_{*7/8}$'s book.'

Evidence that this asymmetry is not a product of this particular possessive construction but is structural, comes from similar effects when the relevant pronoun or DP is embedded in a relative clause that modifies the matrix object (31). In (31a), the matrix subject is a proper name (*Mali*) and the embedded subject that modifies the matrix object is an optional 3rd person singular pronoun (*negm*). Similar to the possessive construction, the pronoun can optionally co-refer with the matrix subject. In (31b) where their positions are switched, the matrix subject is the optional 3rd person pronoun and the embedded subject is the proper name, co-reference is not possible. Note that the embedded subjects in these examples are not marked with obviation since it is optional, as it does not violate the restriction on having only one proximate argument per clause (Brittain, 2001, 2013). The lack of obviation is important because marking the embedded subject with obviation will obligatorily trigger disjoint reference, thus obscuring the structural co-reference possibilities.

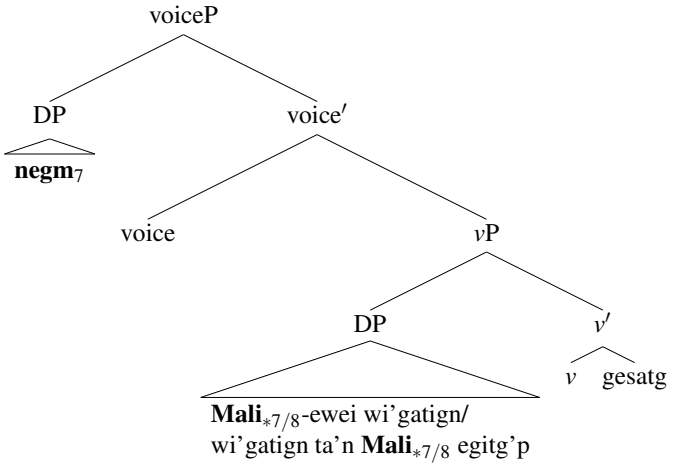
(31) OBJECTS MODIFIED BY A RELATIVE CLAUSE

a. **Mali**$_1$ ges-at-g wi'gatign [ta'n (negm$_{1/2}$) egit-g-'p]
Mary like-VTI-3 book [COMP (**3**) read-3-PST.DK]
'**Mary**$_1$ likes the book that **she**$_{1/2}$ read.'

b. (**negm**$_7$) ges-at-g wi'gatign [ta'n Mali$_{*7/8}$ egit-g-'p]
(**3**) like-VTI-3 book [COMP **Mary** read-3-PST.DK]
'**She**$_7$ likes the book that **Mary**$_{*7/8}$ read.'

Under the configurational account, the potential for subjects to bind into objects is a direct result of both arguments being base-generated in A-positions, with the subject asymmetrically c-commanding the object. Since the object contains a proper name (*Mali*) in both (28b) and (31b), the obligatory disjoint reference with the subject pronoun (*negm*) is analyzed as a Condition C effect. This is because in their base-generated positions, *negm* c-commands, thus can bind, *Mali* in both (28b) and (31b), as collapsed together and shown in (32).

(32) CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF (28b) and (31b)



3.3 Non-configurational account

Under the PAH and hybrid accounts, the source of the disjoint reference effect in (28b) and (31b) is unclear. Since the subject DP is an animate 3rd person and the object DP is inanimate, there would be no possibility for co-reference between their respective A-position pronouns, whether containing pronominal arguments or *pro*. Thus, there is no apparent trigger for disjoint reference and the contrast between (28a) and (28b), as well as between (31a) and (31b), does not receive a principled account.

If we assume that object pronouns could index the ϕ-features of the possessor, in addition to the possessum, these contrasts are still unexpected under the PAH, while some can be captured by the hybrid account. If the pronouns in A-positions are co-indexed with each other then we would expect disjoint reference in all examples under the PAH regardless of the relative position of the R-expression and pronouns. This would result in Condition B violations. However, under the hybrid analysis since the object pronoun is asymmetrically c-commanded by the subject pronoun, we would get a Condition B violation in (28b), but it is unclear how to derive the same for (31b),

since the DP and relative clause are not base generated in the object A-position. Of course, the hybrid account would need to explain why a *pro* could have the ϕ-feature content of the possessor while not changing the verbal agreement. This is because, the verbal inflection does not normally change if the inanimate object is possessed or not.

Even if we make the non-standard assumption that binding could occur between positions other than A-positions, thus allowing the DP adjuncts to bind into each other, we would still predict no contrast. Since the DPs themselves could attach in any order with respect to each other, see (3), there is no consistent structural relationship between the DPs in any of the examples. Thus, no contrast between (28a) and (28b), or between (31a) and (31b), is predicted and we still expect no subject-object asymmetries with respect to binding.

Thus, the PAH and hybrid accounts cannot principally derive the relevant contrasts in co-reference presented for Mi'gmaq in this section. The appearance of disjoint reference effects provides supporting evidence for a configurational account of Mi'gmaq. The next section provides additional support for a configurational analysis from subject-object asymmetries in Long-Distance Agreement.

4 Long-Distance Agreement

Long-Distance Agreement (LDA) is the label given to a configuration in which a matrix verb agrees with a constituent of its sentential complement (Polinsky and Potsdam, 2001; Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002). LDA is common in Algonquian languages and there are many different patterns (Hamilton and Fry; Oxford, 2014). The most commonly recognized pattern involves LDA with any argument from an embedded clause, such as in Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001, 2009; LeSourd, 2010), Innu-aimûn (Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002), and Kitigan Zibi Algonquin (Lochbihler, 2012; Mathieu and Lochbihler). However, there are differing patterns in which only a particular argument in an embedded clause can undergo LDA, such as in Plains Cree (Dahlstrom, 1991) and Ottawa (Ojibwe) (Rhodes, 1994).

LDA is optional in Mi'gmaq and when it occurs it patterns differently with respect to which arguments can undergo LDA in embedded declaratives and interrogatives. LDA with embedded declaratives in Mi'gmaq is limited to only subjects in the direct and objects in the inverse. This presents another subject-object asymmetry in which the configurational account differs from the PAH and hybrid accounts. Although the LDA pattern with embedded interrogatives can be derived via various accounts, only a configurational account can principally derive the LDA pattern with embedded declaratives. In 4.1, I introduce LDA by discussing forms with embedded interrogatives. In 4.2, I present LDA with embedded declaratives and outline a configurational analysis. In 4.3, I show that non-configurational accounts cannot principally derive the embedded declarative pattern in Mi'gmaq.[26]

4.1 Embedded interrogatives

The pattern of LDA with embedded interrogatives in Mi'gmaq is similar to more common forms of LDA in other Algonquian languages, so it will provide a good backdrop to begin a discussion

[26]The analysis presented in this section is the result of joint work with Brandon J. Fry.

of LDA. The dataset in (33), contains forms without LDA (33a) and forms with LDA (33b) and (33c). Note that in all forms the embedded clause is identical: the left-edge of the clause is marked with a complementizer *ta'n*, followed by a *wh*-phrase *wen* 'who' and ends with the embedded verb *gesal'sg* 's/he loves you.' In the form where LDA does not occur (33a), the matrix verb *ge(j)i-* 'know' has a suffix (*-tu*) that indexes an inanimate object. The inanimate object suffix can be analyzed as default agreement with the complement clause itself (Piggott, 1989), since clauses do not have ϕ-features. In the LDA form in (33b), the matrix verb has a suffix (*-g*) that indexes a 3rd person object, which is *wh*-phrase from the embedded clause. So the embedded *wh*-phrase is indexed as the object of the matrix clause and subject of the embedded clause. However, (33c) shows that a suffix that indexes the 2nd person embedded object (*-u'l*) cannot attach to the matrix verb. The generalization is that LDA is only possible with the *wh*-phrase in embedded interrogatives in Mi'gmaq.[27]

(33) MI'GMAQ, EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVE, SUBJECT *wh*-PHRASE

a. NON-LDA, DEFAULT AGREEMENT

ge(j)i-*tu* [ta'n wen ges-al-'sg]
know-VTI [COMP who love-VTA-3>2]
'I know who loves you.'

b. LDA WITH EMBEDDED SUBJECT

geji'-**g** [ta'n **wen** ges-al-'sg]
know.VTA-**3** [COMP **who** love-VTA-3>2]
'I know **who** loves you.'

c. *LDA WITH EMBEDDED OBJECT

*gej(i)-**u'l** [ta'n wen ges-al-'sg]
know.VTA-**2.OBJ** [COMP who love-VTA-3>2]
intended: 'I know who loves **you**.'

We can confirm the generalization that LDA is only possible with the *wh*-phrase by looking at embedded interrogatives with a object *wh*-phrase. What we find is that LDA is only possible the embedded object *wh*-phrase (34b), and not the embedded subject (34a). The matrix verb cannot have a suffix that indexes the 2nd person embedded subject (*-u'l*), as in (34a). However, the matrix verb can have a suffix that index the 3rd person embedded object (*-g*), which is the *wh*-phrase *wen* in (34b). This pattern holds regardless of the ϕ-feature content of the subject.

[27]In some LDA patterns, the matrix verb can undergo LDA with the non-*wh*-argument in an embedded interrogative, such as in Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001, 2009; LeSourd, 2010), Innu-aimûn (Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002), and Kitigan Zibi Algonquin (Lochbihler, 2012; Mathieu and Lochbihler).

(34) MI'GMAQ, EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVE, OBJECT *wh*-PHRASE, DIRECT VOICE

a. *LDA WITH EMBEDDED SUBJECT

*gej(i)-**u'l** [ta'n wen ges-al-t]
know.VTA-**2.OBJ** [COMP who love-VTA-2>3]
'I know who **you** love.'

b. LDA WITH EMBEDDED OBJECT

geji'-**g** [ta'n **wen** ges-al-t]
know.VTA-**3** [COMP **who** love-VTA-2>3]
'I know **who** you love.'

In sum, LDA is only possible with *wh*-phrases in embedded interrogatives, regardless of whether they are the subject or the object, as shown in (35). Although I do not show data in the inverse voice, it patterns the same as the direct in allowing only the *wh*-phrase, whether subject or object, to undergo LDA.[28]

(35) MI'GMAQ LDA PATTERN

Embedded clause	**Direct**		**Inverse**	
	subject	**object**	**subject**	**object**
Interrogative	✔	✔	✔	✔

A common analysis of LDA is one in which the agreed-with argument is base-generated in the embedded clause and raised to the left-edge of this clause, e.g., embedded Spec-CP, and thus in a more local configuration with the matrix verb (Polinsky and Potsdam, 2001; Bruening, 2001; Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002). This is compatible with this embedded interrogatives data, since, as I showed in section 2, *wh*-phrases undergo *wh*-movement to Spec-CP. In addition, all *wh*-phrases in the LDA data are preceded by the complementizer *ta'n*, which only occurs with embedded *wh*-phrases in Mi'gmaq. Thus, in these forms the *wh*-phrase is base-generated in an embedded A-position and undergoes movement to embedded Spec-CP. This places the relevant *wh*-phrase, e.g., *wen* in (36), at the left-edge of the embedded clause, thus in a position which is local enough to be visible for AGREE with matrix v^0, as shown in (36).[29] Matrix v^0 has a ϕ-feature probe, which probes and AGREEs with the structurally closest argument, the *wh*-phrase *wen*. This analysis accounts for the ability of LDA to occur only with the *wh*-phrase, and not past it to the other embedded argument. The representation in (36) is identical under both the configurational and hybrid accounts (the PAH representation differs and involves the same challenges with *wh*-phrases discussed in section 2).

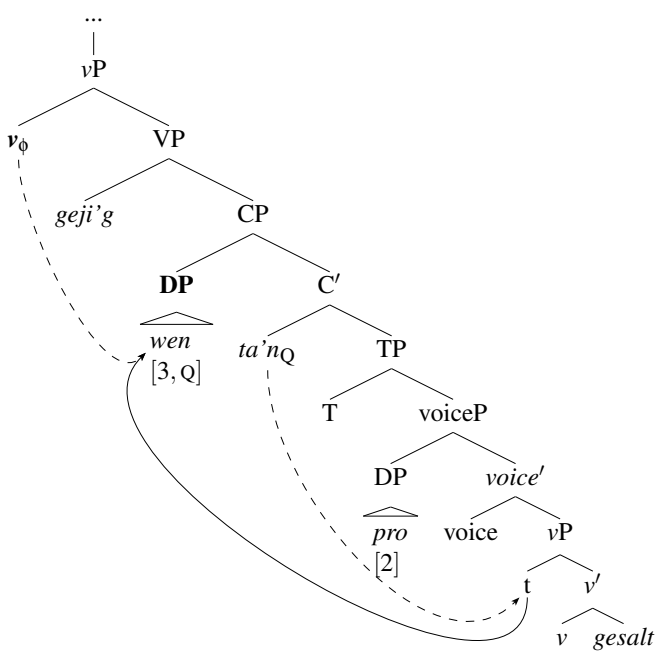
[28]LDA with embedded interrogatives with multiple *wh*-phases is a topic for further investigation, as judgements amongst consultants are not clear as to whether this is possible or not.

[29]This derivation involves further steps in order to derive the word order where the complementizer precedes the *wh*-phrase. For one possibility, see Deal (2014) for Nez Perce.

(36) ANALYSIS OF LDA WITH AN EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVE, OBJECT *wh*-PHRASE

a. geji'-**g** [ta'n **wen** ges-al-t]
know.VTA-**3** [COMP **who** love-VTA-2>3]
'I know **who** you love.'

b.



Under this analysis, the movement to embedded Spec-CP is feature-driven, in that the probe on embedded C^0 has a specific feature probe which probes, AGREEs and raises the DP with the relevant feature. With Mi'gmaq embedded interrogatives, the relevant feature is Q, while in other languages this has been argued to be a topic (Branigan and MacKenzie, 2002) or A'-feature (Bruening, 2001). As such, any DP with this specific feature will be attracted to embedded Spec-CP, thus a potential goal for LDA. In 4.2, I present the pattern with embedded declaratives, and show that it crucially involves A- rather than A'-movement, which is triggered by ϕ-feature probes.

4.2 Embedded declaratives

While *wh*-words may undergo LDA regardless of their grammatical function, in declarative sentences the pattern is more restricted. In the direct voice in Mi'gmaq, LDA is limited to the embedded subject, as in (37a). Here the suffix *-g* (3rd person singular) can appear on the matrix verb, which indexes the embedded subject *Mary*. This contrasts with (37b), as an additional suffix *-ig* (3rd person plural) cannot be attached to the verb. This shows that agreement cannot occur with the embedded object *Sa'nal aq Je'gal*.[30]

[30]Importantly, the pattern in (37) cannot be explained due to number neutralization, as suggested by a reviewer. The examples in (i) show that LDA is limited to the embedded subject, as the matrix verb can only show object agreement for 2nd person *-u'l* as in (ia) and not 3rd person *-g* as in (ib).

(37) MI'GMAQ, EMBEDDED DECLARATIVES, DIRECT VOICE

a. LDA WITH EMBEDDED SUBJECT

geji'-**g** [**Mali** ges-al-a-j-i Sa'n-al aq Je'g-al]
know.VTA-**3** [**Mary** love-VTA-DIR.3-3-3.PL John-OBV COOR Jack-OBV]
'I know that **Mary** loves John and Jack.'

b. *LDA WITH EMBEDDED OBJECT

*geji'-**g-ig** [Mali ges-al-a-j-i **Sa'n-al aq Je'g-al**]
know.VTA-**3-3.PL** [Mary love-VTA-DIR.3-3-3.PL **John-OBV COOR Jack-OBV**]
intended: 'I know that Mary loves **John and Jack**.'

It is important to note that if the embedded argument which undergoes LDA is overt (it may also be covert), it must linearly precede all other material in the embedded clause. While varying word orders are possible in embedded clauses in without LDA, only SVO and SOV word orders are acceptable in embedded clauses in which LDA occurs, such as in (37a). For (37b), however, varying the word order in the embedded clause does not improve the grammaticality. This applies for all Mi'gmaq LDA direct data.

When LDA occurs with embedded declaratives in the inverse voice, the reverse pattern appears, as LDA is only possible with the embedded object and not the subject. In (38b), the 3rd person singular (*-g*) and 3rd person plural (*-ig*) suffixes appear on the matrix verb. These suffixes combine to index the embedded object *Sa'n aq Je'g* 'John and Jack.' In (38a), however, if only the 3rd person singular suffix (*-g*) is attached to the verb, the result is ungrammatical. This is intended to index agreement with the embedded subject *Mali-al* 'Mary-OBV'. This shows that LDA cannot target the embedded object in the inverse in Mi'gmaq.[31] Importantly, the argument that undergoes LDA must precede all of the material in the embedded clause, as in the direct. However, no manipulation of word order will allow LDA to occur in (38a).

(i) a. gej(i)-u'l [ges-al-t Mali]
know.VTA-**2.OBJ** [love-VTA-2>3 Mary]
'I know that **you** love Mary.'

b. *geji'-**g** [ges-al-t Mali]
know.VTA-**3** [love-VTA-2>3 Mary]
intended: 'I know that you love **Mary**.'

[31] Since inverse forms in Mi'gmaq only have a 3rd person obviative subject and 3rd person proximate object, one alternate hypothesis is that obviative DPs cannot undergo LDA. However, in embedded intransitive declarative clauses, a 3rd person obviative subject, *Sa'n uggwijl* 'John's mother' in (i), can undergo LDA with the matrix verb.

(i) Mali geji-a-t-**l** **Sa'n ug-gwij-l** male-'nitt-l
Mary know.VTA-3.OBJ-3-**OBV** **John 3.POSS-mother-OBV** lazy-4-OBV
'Mary knows that **John's mother** is lazy'

(38) MI'GMAQ, EMBEDDED DECLARATIVES, INVERSE VOICE

a. *LDA WITH EMBEDDED SUBJECT

*geji'-**g** [Sa'n aq Je'g ges-al-gwi'-tit-l **Mali-al**]
know.VTA-**3** [John COOR Jack love-VTA-INV-3.PL-OBV **Mary-OBV**]
intended: 'I know that **Mary** loves John and Jack.'

b. LDA WITH EMBEDDED OBJECT

geji'-**g-ig** [**Sa'n aq** **Je'g** ges-al-gwi'-tit-l Mali-al]
know.VTA-**3-3.PL** [**John COOR Jack** love-VTA-INV-4.PL-OBV Mary-OBV]
'I know that Mary loves **John and Jack**.'

In sum, with embedded declaratives, LDA is only possible with the embedded subject in the direct and embedded object in the inverse. The table in (39) shows a comparison of the embedded interrogative and declarative LDA patterns.

(39) MI'GMAQ LDA PATTERNS

Embedded clause	**Direct**		**Inverse**	
	subject	**object**	**subject**	**object**
Interrogative	✔	✔	✔	✔
Declarative	✔	✖	✖	✔

The declarative pattern can be accounted for if movement to embedded Spec-CP is A-movement (Massam, 1985), rather than A'-movement as proposed for embedded interrogatives.[32] In the embedded declarative pattern, the generalization is that only the structurally highest argument can undergo LDA: the subject in the direct or the object in the inverse. Under the configurational account, this is straightforward in the direct since subjects are structurally higher than objects. In the inverse, I adopt the proposal that objects move over subjects (Bruening, 2001, 2005, 2009). Thus, the object is structurally higher in its derived position than subject in the inverse. I motivate inverse movement for Mi'gmaq below.

If LDA with embedded declaratives was driven by A'-movement triggered by a specific δ feature (Miyagawa, 2010), such as in topicalization, focus, or *wh*-movement, then we expect that any argument bearing this feature would be able to undergo LDA. This is what we find with embedded interrogatives, as embedded C^0 has a Q-feature and attracts *wh*-phrases with a Q-feature to embedded Spec-CP. In order to derive the declarative pattern under the same analysis, we would need to stipulate that only subjects in the direct and objects in the inverse can bear a specific

[32]I argue that the relevant position is embedded Spec-CP rather than embedded Spec-TP, because T shows agreement with an argument that can be different from the argument which undergoes LDA. Hamilton shows that T has ϕ-feature agreement in a Multiple Agree (Nevins, 2011) manner with which ever argument satisfies a certain person and number considerations. Coon and Bale 2013 posit that this occurs at FP above the verbal domain, but Hamilton shows that this occurs at TP, given the evidence that these agreement morpheme have different realis and irrealis sets. Given that this argument is not necessarily the same argument that undergoes LDA, I conclude that in embedded declaratives the target that undergoes LDA moves to embedded Spec-CP. See Hamilton and Fry for related discussion, and see Bliss 2013 and Mathieu and Lochbihler for analyses with movement to Spec-CP in Algonquian languages.

feature. Such an analysis only serves to describe the pattern as opposed to explaining it. I propose that the explanation resides in the structural asymmetry between subjects and objects, and involves a ϕ-feature probe on embedded C^0 which attracts the closest DP with ϕ-features to embedded Spec-CP. Although the means by which arguments get to embedded Spec-CP differs between the embedded interrogative and declarative analyses, what ties the two analyses together is that LDA occurs with the argument in embedded Spec-CP.[33]

In the direct, embedded declarative C^0 has a ϕ-feature probe. It probes, AGREEs with, and raises the structurally highest argument, the subject *Mali*, as shown in (40).[34] If subjects and objects are base generated in A-positions with the subject position c-commanding the object position, then we can explain why LDA with the object is not possible in these forms.[35] It is simply because the subject is structurally higher than the object, thus will be the closest potential goal for the ϕ-probe on embedded C^0.

[33]LeSourd (2010) pursues a prothetic argument analysis for LDA in Passamaquoddy, in which the argument that undergoes LDA is base-generated in the matrix clause and a *pro* is base-generated in the corresponding embedded A-position. Given the restrictive nature of LDA in embedded declaratives, it is unclear why the placement of *pro* would be limited to the embedded subject A-position in the direct and embedded object A-position in the inverse. As such, I reject a prothetic object analysis and adopt an account where the argument which undergoes LDA is base generated in the embedded clause, in parallel to the embedded interrogative account. For more arguments against a prothetic object analysis, see Branigan and MacKenzie (2002).

[34]The question of whether these arguments undergo further movement into the matrix clause is a topic for further research. Since LDA is presented as a diagnostic for the constituent structure of embedded clauses, the presence or absence of this movement does not affect this analysis.

[35]The only exception to this generalization is when the embedded declarative is an unspecified actor/passive construction, as LDA is only possible with the embedded object, such as 2nd person in (ib). This object LDA pattern can be explained as either the result of unspecified actor subjects not having ϕ-features (Ritter and Rosen, 2005), or the absence of passive subjects entirely (Dahlstrom, 1991). Regardless, this fact that the only possible goal with ϕ-features in this construction is the object strengthens the analysis that ϕ-features are relevant in LDA involving embedded declaratives.

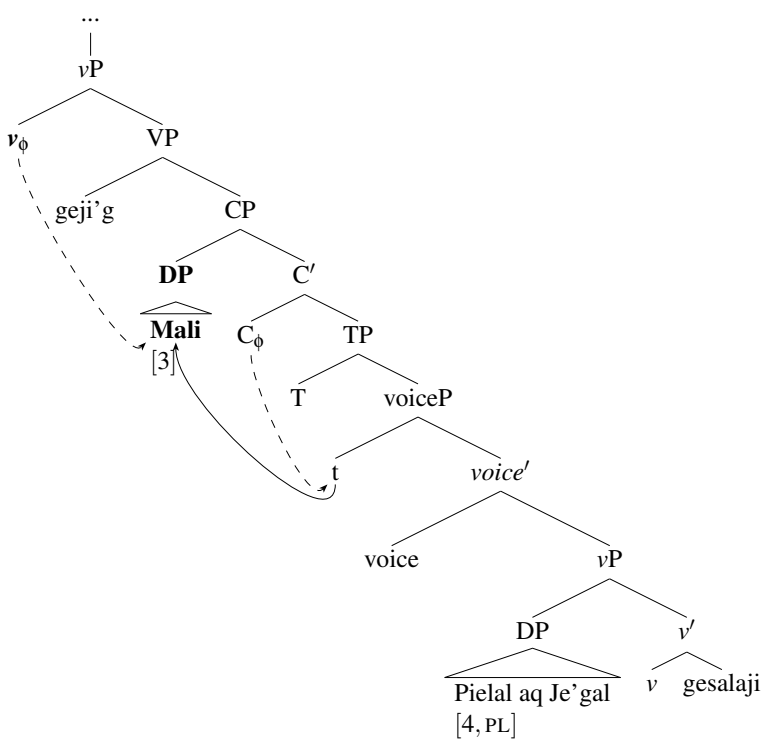
(i) a. *geji'-**g** [ges-al-ul-g]
know.VTA-**3** [love-VTA-2.OBJ-3]
intended: 'I know that **someone** loves you.'

b. gej(i)-**u'l** [ges-al-ul-g]
know.VTA-**2.OBJ** [love-VTA-2.OBJ-3]
'I know that someone loves **you**.'; 'I know that **you** are loved

(40) ANALYSIS OF LDA WITH AN EMBEDDED DECLARATIVE, DIRECT

a. geji'-**g** [**Mali** ges-al-a-j-i Sa'n-al aq Je'g-al]
know.VTA-**3** [**Mary** love-VTA-DIR.3-3-3.PL John-OBV COOR Jack-OBV]
'I know that **Mary** loves John and Jack.'

b.



In the inverse, the embedded declarative C^0 also has a ϕ-feature probe. It probes, AGREEs with, and raises the structurally highest argument, which is the object *Sa'n aq Je'g*, as in (41). The embedded object becomes structurally higher in the inverse because it undergoes A-movement over the subject to a higher functional projection, e.g., embedded Spec-TP (Bruening, 2001, 2005, 2009).[36] This movement is triggered by a ϕ-probe on T^0 which probes both the subject and object, but only AGREEs with and raises the higher-ranking one. In inverse forms, this will always be the object DP. Proposals that motivate such movement posit that the 3rd person (proximate) object DP in the inverse has more articulated person features, thus a better goal for the ϕ-probe on T^0 than the 3rd person (obviative) subject DP (Harley and Ritter, 2002; Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Lochbihler, 2012; Oxford, 2014). This analysis allows us to derive the inverse LDA pattern, as the ϕ-probe on C^0 will raise the object DP since it is the structurally highest in its derived position in embedded Spec-TP.[37]

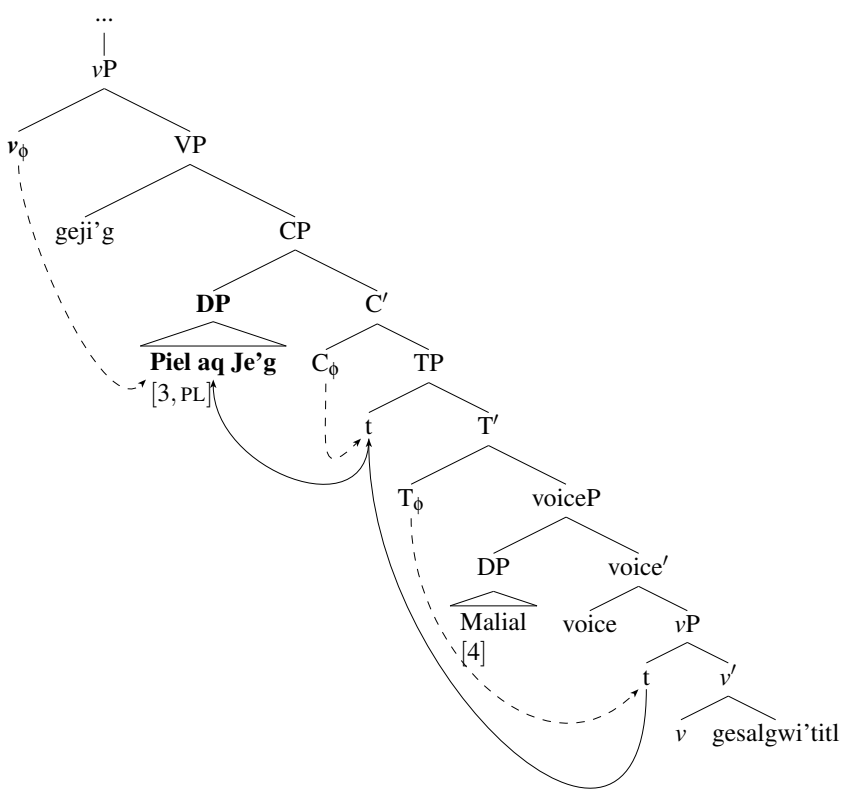
[36]Bliss et al. 2014 have also posited that such movement occurs to but to Point-Of-View (POV).

[37]Movement to embedded Spec-TP also occurs in the embedded direct and interrogative clauses, but has been omitted from (36) and (40) for simplicity. In embedded interrogatives, regardless of what embedded Tϕ attracts, C_Q will always raise the the *wh*-phrase, and in direct embedded declaratives, embedded Tϕ will always attract the embedded subject which will be subsequently attracted by C_ϕ.

(41) ANALYSIS OF LDA WITH AN EMBEDDED DECLARATIVE, INVERSE

a. geji'-**g-ig** [**Sa'n aq Je'g** ges-al-gwi'-tit-l Mali-al]
know.VTA-**3-3.PL** [**John COOR Jack** love-VTA-INV-4.PL-OBV Mary-OBV]
'I know that Mary loves **John and Jack**.'

b.



To summarize, we have seen that the pattern of LDA in embedded declaratives in Mi'gmaq is limited to subjects in the direct and objects in the inverse. Under a configurational account, this pattern of LDA is analyzed as being limited to the structurally highest argument. While the subject is base-generated as the highest in the direct, the object undergoes movement over the subject in the inverse and becomes the structurally highest argument. This movement has been argued to occur in Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001, 2005, 2009) and Proto-Algonquian (Oxford, 2014).

Initial support for inverse movement in Mi'gmaq comes from quantifier scope data in (42) which is similar to data used to support this movement in Passamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001, 2005, 2009). In transitive forms with an animate subject bare noun and an animate object with a universal quantifier, only rigid scope is possible in the direct voice, as the object cannot scope over the subject, as in (42a). However, in the inverse voice, scope is ambiguous as the object can scope above or below the subject, as in (42b).[38] In both, some speakers prefer to add the numeral *i'ngutejit* 'one' between the quantifier and the noun, possibly in order to emphasize the distributivity of these forms, although it is not necessary for all speakers. This suggests that the

[38]Note that the inverse voice indexing suffix is null in (42b).

inverse in Mi'gmaq also involves A-movement and the object can take wide scope or reconstruct to its base-generated position within the scope of the subject.[39]

(42) QUANTIFIER SCOPE

a. DIRECT

lpa'tuj ges-al-a-t-l **te's (i'-nguteji-nnitl) e'pite's-l**
boy love-VTA-3.OBJ-3-OBV **every (REP-one-3.OBV) girl-OBV**
'A boy loves **every girl**' ($\exists > \forall$; $*\forall > \exists$)

b. INVERSE

te's (i'-nguteji-t) e'pite's ges-al-t-l lpa'tuj-l
every (REP-one-3) girl love-VTA-3-OBV boy-OBV
'A boy loves **every girl**'; '**Every girl** is loved by a boy' ($\exists > \forall$; $\forall > \exists$)

4.3 Non-configurational accounts

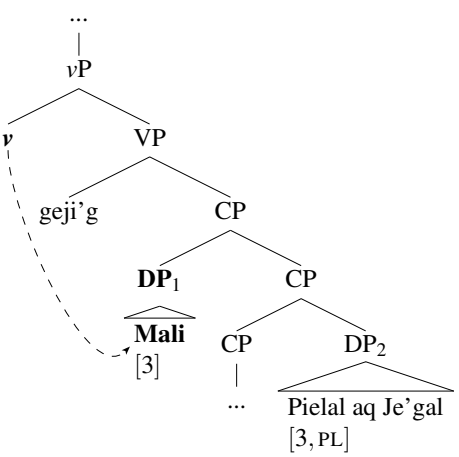
The embedded declarative analysis presented in the previous section is crucially based on a configurational analysis where subject and object DPs are base-generated in A-positions, in which the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object. Neither the PAH or hybrid account can derive the restrictive declarative LDA pattern given that the relevant DPs are not base generated in A-positions under either account. As these DPs are adjuncts, either DP can be structurally higher than the other regardless of overt word order, as shown in (43). The direct embedded declarative in (43a) could either have the representation in (43b), where *Mali* is the structurally highest, and thus undergoes LDA, or the representation in (43c), where *Pielal aq Je'gal* is the structurally highest, and thus predicted to undergo LDA. Given the account presented in 4.2, we predict that either should be available for LDA. Although I only show the hybrid account in these trees, the PAH has a similar structure with some differences in the verbal domain.

[39]Bruening (2001, 2005, 2009) also uses the lack of weak crossover (WCO) in inverse forms in Passamaquoddy to support A-movement in the inverse. However, this must be due to an independent factor since Algonquian languages which have been argued to lack inverse A-movement, such as Plains Cree, also lack WCO Dahlstrom (1991). The restricted LDA pattern in Plains Cree also supports the lack of inverse movement, see (Hamilton and Fry).

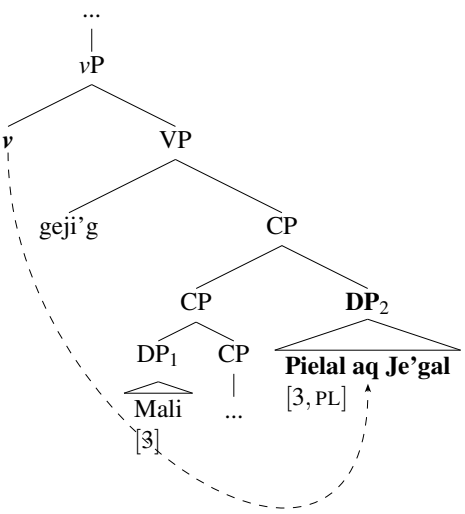
(43) HYBRID ANALYSIS OF LDA WITH AN EMBEDDED DECLARATIVE, INVERSE

a. geji'-**g** [**Mali** ges-al-a-j-i Sa'n-al aq Je'g-al]
know.VTA-**3** [**Mary** love-VTA-DIR.3-3-3.PL John-OBV COOR Jack-OBV]
'I know that **Mary** loves John and Jack.'

b.



c.



A remaining possibility would be to base-generate the argument that undergoes LDA in the left-periphery. This would ensure that the relevant argument is structurally close enough to matrix voice^0 to trigger agreement, and would result in this argument being linearly ordered before all other elements of the embedded clause. However, this is equally as stipulative as the A'-movement feature-triggered approach when applied to embedded declaratives. This is because we would need to specify that only subjects in the direct and objects in the inverse have a particular discourse role, such as topic. It is unclear if this can be motivated, but we would need strong evidence to support this claim. But even if this is the case, in non-LDA forms, we would then predict strict word orderings in declaratives which would also need to be motivated, but runs counter to the motivation for having DPs as adjuncts to begin with. As such, it is unclear how to limit LDA in

declaratives to the pattens described for Mi'gmaq with DPs as adjuncts.[40]

5 Conclusion

In this paper I presented three subject-object asymmetries to support a configurational analysis of the syntax of Mi'gmaq. The rigid ordering of subject *wh*-phrases before object *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions was explained as a superiority effect under both a hybrid and configurational account. The presence of disjoint reference effects in objects with a proper name possessor or embedded proper name was explained as a Binding Condition C effect under the configurational account. LDA constructions with embedded declaratives are shown to be limited to agreement with the structurally highest argument. The analysis of each of these asymmetries relies on the assumption that both subjects and objects are base-generated in their respective A-positions, from which the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object. The assumption that DPs are adjuncts left these accounts without principled explanation of any of these phenomena, thus could only derive these asymmetries via stipulation. It is my contention that in order to principally account for these asymmetries, DPs must be base-generated in A-positions. Thus, a configurational analysis of the syntax of Mi'gmaq is the most appropriate.

Since this is the first time that these asymmetries have been observed in a single Algonquian language, other languages in this family need to be investigated more closely to identify whether evidence for configurationality can be found. Only the syntax of a handful of Algonquian languages has been studied in depth, and the presence of subject-object asymmetries vary among them. Only Western Naskapi has been shown to have superiority effects in multiple *wh*-questions, with either single or multiple instances of *wh*-movement (Brittain, 2001). Innu-aimûn has been argued to have Binding Condition C effects within a clause (Branigan and MacKenzie, 1999), and others have it across clauses. In Blackfoot (Bliss, 2013) proximate DPs have been argues to asymmetrically c-command obviative DPs. Plains Cree (Dahlstrom, 1991) and one dialect of Ottawa (Ojibwe) (Rhodes, 1994) have been shown to have a pattern of LDA restricted to subjects in embedded declaratives, while a separate dialect of Ottawa has the same pattern as Mi'gmaq (Rhodes, 1994). Other languages lack these three subject-object asymmetries, yet are argued to be underlyingly configurational, such as Pasamaquoddy (Bruening, 2001), Kitigan Zibi Algonquin (Lochbihler, 2012), Proto-Algonquian (Oxford, 2014). Thus, combined with the evidence presented from Mi'gmaq, a configurational analysis for all Algonquian languages is plausible. It is clear that more careful work needs to be pursued in other Algonquian languages in order to see if and where evidence for configurationality exists. If all Algonquian languages are underlying configurational, then we need to explain why in some instances subject-object

[40] It is important to note that the hybrid account can derive the declarative LDA patterns under the account developed here if both DPs are absent (the status of the PAH is unclear given the status of pronominal arguments and whether they undergo movement). Given that the subject A-position asymmetrically c-commands the object A-position, if there are no intervening DPs with ϕ-features, then the subject *pro* is the structurally highest argument, thus embedded C_{ϕ} probes, AGREEs, and raises this *pro* to embedded Spec-CP. In the inverse, embedded T_{ϕ} probes, AGREEs, and raises the object *pro* to embedded Spec-TP. Thus embedded $C_{p}hi$ probes, AGREEs, and raises the object *pro* further to embedded Spec-CP since it is the structurally highest element with ϕ-features after this inverse A-movement. But, if only one DP is overt, than both the PAH and hybrid analyses predict that LDA could only occur with this DP, since it would be the closest DP with ϕ-features accessible for C_{ϕ}. However, this is not the case, as both declarative patterns hold regardless of which DPs are overt or covert.

asymmetries do not arise, e.g., see Brittain (2013) for an explanation for why subject-object asymmetries in binding do not typically arise in Algonquian.

If it is right that Mi'gmaq has a configurational syntax, we must still explain what causes its relatively free word order, which non-configurational accounts like the PAH originally set out to account for. While I have argued that arguments in Mi'gmaq originate in A-positions, the flexibility in word order suggests that they may move to A'-positions. It has been recognized elsewhere in Algonquianist literature that discourse has an effect on word order variation (Tomlin and Rhodes, 1992; Dahlstrom, 1995, 2003; Junker, 2004; Wolvengrey, 2011; Dahlstrom, 2012). This suggests a line of analysis in which Mi'gmaq patterns similarly to Japanese (Saito, 1985) and Russian (Bailyn, 2001) in manipulating word order for discourse purposes, i.e., Mi'gmaq as a discourse configurational language (Kiss, 1987; Miyagawa, 2010). Therefore it is important to study of the left-periphery and information structure notions, such as focus and topic, in order to discover the specific motivation for word order variation. In addition, Algonquian prosody has not been studied, thus it may be the case that word order and prosody are manipulated, see Hamilton pear for experimental evidence that focus has a prosodic reflex and affects word order in Mi'gmaq.

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