

THE ANTIPASSIVE OF OJIBWE AND ITS PHENOMENAL OBJECTS*

Maria Kyriakaki
University of Toronto

In this paper, I examine a puzzling class of pseudo-transitive verbs of Ojibwe and show that it constitutes a particular case of Antipassive. These verbs are traditionally assumed to be intransitive but may optionally occur with an object DP, with which they are inflected to agree (Rhodes, 1990). Interestingly, a closer look reveals that: (i) these verbs are inherently transitive since they have a transitive form, meaning and inflection; (ii) the object DP is a Theme (/Patient) DP with the properties of an oblique. These two observations constitute the key properties of Antipassive. Based on previous views of Antipassive (Spreng, 2006) and modern theories on object Agreement (Béjar, 2003), I then propose a derivation that integrates Larson's reanalysis (1988), thus making AGREE local.

1. Introduction

Intransitive-like verbs with transitive properties are often found to demonstrate a distinct morpho-syntactic behavior. In Ojibwe there is such a verb class, traditionally known as *pseudotransitive verbs* (Bloomfield, 1957). These verbs are assumed to be animate intransitive but can nevertheless appear with an object Patient/ Theme DP. For this reason, they are also called VAIO verbs, i.e. animate intransitive verbs with optional objects (Rhodes 1990, Valentine 2001). As shown in example (1) the VAIO verb can be inflected to agree with the object Theme DP:

- (1) N-gii-daa.we-n-an n-doodaaba-an.
1-pst-sell.IWE-N-OBV 1-car-oBV
'I sold my car (to someone)'.

Focusing on object agreement, the type of agreement that is present in these constructions is in terms of (in-/)animate number or obviation. In regular object agreement, the verb is additionally marked with person agreement by means of the so-called *theme signs*. Hence, Rhodes (1990) calls the object agreement found in VAIO *partial* (or *external*) agreement, as opposed to the additional *internal* agreement that typically marks a transitive verb.

Regarding the VAIO verb itself, its form, meaning and inflection also differ from those of a regular intransitive verb. That is, although it is assumed to be intransitive, the transitive root and suffixal morphology, its meaning and inflection suggest otherwise.

* I am most indebted to Elizabeth Cowper for her constant input and support and for the countless and most inspiring discussions. I am also especially grateful to Alana Johns and Susana Béjar for their insightful comments and great ideas. Many thanks also go to the language consultant Terry Spanish, who made this research possible.

Consequently, the questions that are raised are: First, why do VAIO verbs show a distinct inflection, i.e. are they indeed intransitive? If this is indeed the case, how can their transitive properties be accounted for? Secondly, what is the role of the Theme DP? If it is an argument of the verb, why is it optional and why is the agreement only partial? And finally, how do we account for, as well as derive these constructions within a syntactic analysis?

It is suggested that such VAIO constructions form Ojibwe's Antipassive and that the Theme DP is an oblique, in Larson's terms, a syntactic adjunct. To account for this proposal then I develop a mechanism which integrates Larson's analysis (1988) within Béjar's Agreement theory (2003) and work on Antipassive (Johns 2006, Spreng 2006).

Accordingly, this paper is organized as follows: In section (2) I present previous work on VAIO constructions and point out some first issues that need to be addressed. In section (3) it is suggested that the VAIO verb is antipassive consisting of a (di-) transitive root that is suffixed with an antipassive morpheme. In section (4) the DP interpreted as the Theme is shown to be more restricted than that of a regular transitive verb, and thus should not be found in the typical argument position. In sections (5) and (6) I present the theoretical analysis that provides an account for the properties of Ojibwe's Antipassive. In section (7) I conclude with the benefits of the proposed derivation, and discuss some further research questions.

2. Earlier work on VAIO verbs

As mentioned, the VAIO verbs are traditionally assumed to be morphologically intransitive (Rhodes 1990, Valentine 2001). Unlike transitive verbs, but similar to intransitive ones, the VAIO verb can only be prefixed with subject pronouns, i.e. no object pronouns as prefixes are allowed. Likewise, no theme signs marking agreement with the object theme DP are allowed. However, a closer look at Valentine's VAIO verb list makes clear that a transitive theme sign may often be present.¹ In example (1) for instance, the verb *ngiidaawenan* 'I sold' is suffixed with *-aa-*. This suffix is a typical transitive theme suffix that is never present in regular intransitive verbs, except in most VAIO verbs.

Rhodes showed that the VAIO verbs are marked with suffixal agreement with the Theme DP. This can be in terms of (in-/)animate number or obviation, as well as in terms of the so-called *N-registration*, where the verb is marked with the suffixe *-n* (e.g. *ngiidaawe-n-an*, 'I sold'). Rhodes assumes that this suffix is an object marker, and calls this type of agreement (in addition to number or obviation) *partial* or *external* agreement. Transitive verbs additionally show *internal* agreement. This is assumed to be the ordinary object agreement, where a theme sign attaches to the root (Rhodes 1990):

- (2) N-waabnd-aa-nan.
 1-see.IN-INpl
 'I see them (inanimate)'.

¹ See Valentine (2001: 242) for the complete VAIO verb list.

The possibility of agreement of a VAIO verb with the Theme DP suggests for Rhodes that the Theme DP is indeed the argument of the verb. Rhodes further argues that quantifier floating is possible, which for him also indicates that the theme DP is an object:

- (3) (Niizh) n-doodaabaa-n-ag n-gii-daawe-n-ag (niizh).
 (two) 1poss-car-ANpl 1-pst-sell.VAIO-N-ANpl (two)
 'I sold my two cars.'

Although Rhodes admits that these two observations do not sufficiently show that the Theme DP is an argument of the verb, he concludes that this should be the case.

Interestingly, Rhodes argues that the Theme DP of a VAIO verb does not behave like that of a regular transitive verb. That is, it does not passivize as regular Theme DPs do (ex. (4.a)), and can only be third person (ex. (4.b)):

- (4) a. * Gii-daawaajgaade damnwin.
 Pst-sell.Passive.INAN doy
 'The toy was sold.'
- b. Mii wi pii *gii/ *nii/ niwi gaa-g-gweju-daawe-d.
 EMPH that time you/ me/ him Comp-pst-try-sell-3s
 'That's when he tried to sell you/ me/ him.'

(Rhodes, 1990: 408)

To account for these restrictions, Rhodes suggests that this DP is not like the regular Theme DPs of monotransitive verbs. Within the Relational Grammar framework that Rhodes adopts, he suggests that this DP is essentially a secondary object, as opposed to primary objects, i.e. Theme DPs of regular monotransitive verbs.²

Rhodes further notices that the same restrictions hold for the Theme DPs of ditransitive constructions, i.e. the Theme DP does not passivize either and can only be 3rd person:

- (5) a. * Miinan gii-shanj-gaa-de-noon (aw gwiizens).
 Blueberry.INpl pst-feed-Pass-IN-INpl (that boy)
 'Blueberries were fed (to the boy).'
- b. Mii go naa * gii/* nii/ niwi.
 EMPH EMPH EMPH you/ me/ him
 gaa-wih-aa-d gookmis
 COMP-try.loan-ObjTheme-3s grandmother
 'Your grandmother loaned you/ me/ him.'

² According to the Relational Grammar framework, the primary object is the monotransitive patient and the ditransitive recipient argument. The secondary object is the theme argument in ditransitive constructions. Both the primary and secondary object are terms, i.e. arguments of the verb.

As Rhodes observes, these constructions constitute the counterparts of VAIO. The only difference is that in ditransitive constructions the Goal DP is explicit and that the verb exclusively agrees with it, i.e. the Theme DP is ignored by the verb. This is the case, even if the Theme is plural and inanimate. In example (6) for instance, the verb *ngiishamaa* ‘I fed’ is suffixed with the theme sign *-aa-* in agreement with the Goal DP *aw gwizens* ‘that boy’, and not with the Theme DP *miinan* ‘blueberries’, even though it is inanimate, plural:

- (6) N-gii-sham-aa-Ø miin-an aw gwizens
 1-pst-feed.VTA-3ThSignAN blueberry-INpl that boy
 ‘I fed the boy blueberries.’

Hence, in ditransitive constructions the verb is not marked with any agreement with the Theme DP. In VAIO constructions though, where it is later shown that the Goal DP is still implicit, the verb partially agrees with the Theme DP. Crucially, in both cases the Theme DP does not passivize and can only be 3rd person. Consequently, Rhodes concludes that the theme DP of both ditransitive and VAIO constructions is the same type of object. This is a secondary type of object that can also show *secondary* object agreement, i.e. what he calls *N-registration*.

In all, Rhodes intuition that the Theme DP partially functions like objects do seems to be on the right track. The verb shows indeed partial agreement with the Theme DP, while the DP is interpreted as the argument of the verb.

However, there are multiple issues that are raised from his analysis. First, it is not adequately argued that the Theme DP is indeed an argument of the verb. The partial agreement between the verb and the Theme DP does not suffice to show that this is the case. The fact is that the typical object agreement is absent. That is, there are no theme signs that mark agreement on the verb with the Theme DP. Moreover, it is not always clear what constitutes partial agreement, i.e. is it only the obviation or (in-)animate number marker or is *N-registration* also included to it? With respect to *N-registration*, it needs to be clarified further what this suffix exactly marks or at least argued why it should mark object agreement. As Valentine (2001) notes, the *n*-suffix only appears with singular subjects and could also be a marker for singular actors.

What’s more though, Rhodes’ analysis does not account for the two crucial restrictions that hold for this DP: (i) why it does not passivize; (ii) as well as why it is limited to the third person, preferably non-human. A typical object is not restricted that way. As shown below, a typical object can be of any person and can easily passivize:

- (7) N-gii-mii-n-’goo-sii.
 1-pst-give-AN-PASS-Neg
 ‘I was not given it.’

With respect to the VAIO verb itself, by assuming that it is inherently intransitive, their transitive-like root and suffixal morphology cannot be explained. As can also be observed in ex. (1), (3) and (4), the VAIO root seems

to always involve a transitive meaning, while in many cases a theme sign can be present.

Finally, the fact that the agreement in number or obviation with a Theme DP is possible is also an indication that the root hosting the marker should be transitive. This possibility is not discussed in Rhodes. As observed here, all these VAIO verbs are found to have a ditransitive counterpart, and in particular a transitive animate verb ('VTA'). For instance, the ditransitive VTA counterpart of the VAIO verb *niindaahwed* ('send') is *nindah* ('send to someone'); the ditransitive counterpart for the VAIO *gindmaaged* ('read') is *gindamaw* ('read to someone') etc. In other words, there is 1:1 correspondence between VAIO and VTA. The question then is why and how we can account for that.

3 The Antipassive VAIO

In this section, it is proposed that the answer to the question raised above is that the VAIO verbs are in essence antipassive, and in particular those with the antipassive suffix *-ige*.

Before this discussion though, it is necessary to briefly mention some of the main properties of antipassive. Generally, the antipassive is assumed to be a detransitized construction related to a corresponding transitive construction whose predicate is the same lexical item. As Polinsky (2005) observes, the properties of antipassive may vary cross-linguistically. Most commonly, the antipassive verb has a corresponding transitive verb. The verb may also show a different agreement pattern from that of a regular verb, and often this may be the only indication of antipassive. One further phenomenon that is often found to be related with antipassive is ergativity. Polinsky argues though that there is no principled correlation between ergativity and antipassive. Although there is a higher frequency of antipassive in ergative languages, antipassive constructions are possible in both accusative and ergative languages. Finally, the case where the antipassive is generally used is when the internal argument of the verb is plural, indefinite, non-specific, generic or implicit. Keeping this in mind, I now turn to Ojibwe.

To start with, all VAIO verbs in *-(i)ge* (often realized as *-(i)we*) are found to have a corresponding ditransitive (VTA) verb. For instance, the ditransitive counterpart of the VAIO *gind-maa-ge-d* 'read something (*implied* for someone)' is *gind-amaw* 'read something for someone'. Similarly, the antipassive verb *maajidaaged* 'take something along (*implied* for someone)' has the ditransitive counterpart *maajidaw* 'take something along for someone'.

Furthermore, as it can be also observed in these verbs, both VTA and VAIO verbs share the same transitive (animate) root. For instance, the VAIO verb *maajidaaged* 'take something along' bears a transitive meaning, and is also marked with the animate object theme sign *-aa-*. Therefore, we can conclude that the VAIO root is essentially a transitive VTA root. In contrast, the form as well as the meaning of a typical intransitive verb is simply intransitive, e.g. *dogshin* 'arrive'.

In addition, all VAIO verbs in *-(i)ge* (or *-(i)we*), seem to involve an implicit Goal DP as their argument. In example (1) for instance, repeated here as (8), the Goal DP is implicit:

- (8) N-gii-daa.we-n-an n-doodaaba-an.
 1-pst-sell.IWE-N-OBV 1-car-oBV
 ‘I sold my car (to someone)’.

Note that if the Goal DP is present, the ditransitive counterpart of VAIO always arises. In example (9) for instance, the Goal DP *Marian* is present, and the transitive verb *giminaan* ‘give something to someone’ is used instead, the counterpart of the VAIO *miigwe* ‘give something (*implied* to someone)’:

- (9) Wede nini jonia gi-min-aa-n Marian.
 That man money(IN) pst.give.VTA-OBV Maria-OBV
 ‘That man gave money to Maria.’

Morphologically, the VAIO verb is always suffixed with *-ige* and may only be marked with obviation or plural marking. In contrast, intransitive verbs consist of a plain intransitive root, with no theme signs or object agreement markers.

Turning to subject agreement, similar to intransitives the VAIO verb can only be marked with subject prefixes. But on the other hand, it inflects unlike regular intransitive verbs. With singular actors for instance, the VAIO verb is suffixed with *-n*, what Rhodes calls *N-registration* (e.g. *n-gii-daa.we-n-an* in example (8)). With plural actors also, the VAIO verb is suffixed with a transitive plural marker, i.e. those found in transitive verbs: e.g. *g-miigwe-naawaa* ‘you take away’ (2-take.away.VAIO-transit.PL). In contrast, a regular intransitive verb can only be suffixed with a regular intransitive plural suffix: e.g. the suffix *-m* in *g-dagoshna-m* ‘you arrive’ (2-arrive.VAI-intrans.PL). Thus, the inflectional paradigm of a VAIO verb seems to be distinct from those of other verb classes: it inflects unlike intransitive verbs, but also unlike transitive verbs, especially in the singular.

Although more evidence on this follows shortly, it can now be concluded that the VAIO verb is essentially antipassive as it exhibits all the antipassive properties mentioned earlier. With respect to the morpheme that realizes the antipassive, there seems to be an overt morpheme that spells it out, i.e. the suffix *-(i)ge* (often realized as *-(i)we*). This suffix is consistently present in VAIO and it directly attaches to the transitive VAIO root. It does not change the syntactic category of the verb, and it only occurs in this verb class. I thus, take *-ige* to be verbal.

Consequently, the antipassive VAIO verb consists of a transitive VTA root, the antipassive morpheme *-ige*, the *n*-suffix and the agreement in obviation or plural. With respect to the *n*-suffix in particular, i.e. what Rhodes refers to as *N-registration* it makes sense to assume that *n* is simply a marker for singular number, and not an object marker that strangely is only present with singular subjects. Hence, in the case of a plural subject the verb is marked with a plural suffix, while in the case of a singular subject the verb is marked with a singular

suffix. Therefore, the position that the *n*-suffix occupies is the position of a number marker in agreement with the number of the subject.

Turning to the agreement in obviation or plural, this is seems to be optional. In the following example for instance, the verb *gii-bootaa-ge-wag* ‘ground up’ is not marked with obviation in agreement with the obviative Theme DP *mdaamnan* meaning ‘corn’:

- (10) Gii-bootaa-ge-wag-Ø giw kwe-wag niw
 pst-grind.up-AP.ANpl. that.pl woman.ANpl. this.OBV
 mdaamnan iw wi-bkwezhgankewaad.
 corn.OBV that.IN make.bread.conjunct.3pl
 ‘The women ground up the corn when they were going to make bread.’

Summing up then, the antipassive verb consists of a VTA root, the antipassive morpheme, a suffix marking the number of the subject, and optionally, obviation or number. This is summarized in the following table:

Table 1: The Antipassive Ingredients

VTA-root	Antipassive	Sbj Number	OBV/ Number/
-niindaah-	-we-	-n-	-an

Furthermore, as it can also be observed in table [1] the VTA root, here the root *-niindaah-* ‘sell’ is not a bare root, but carries all the morphology of a ditransitive verb, i.e. the object theme sign *-aa-* plus any other morpheme, e.g. in this case the causative *-h-*. Hence, a VTA root of an antipassive verb may consist of the following:

Table 2: The VTA root

Root	Theme sign	Other suffixes
-niind-	-aa-	-h- (Causative)

In contrast, a regular animate intransitive verb consists of a bare intransitive root with a morpheme marking the (plural) number of the subject:

Table 3: The VAI verb ingredients

Intransitive Root	Subject Number
-dagoshna-	-m

To conclude this section, the root of the antipassive verb is not intransitive as it is previously assumed, but rather transitive with all the transitive morphology that goes along with it. This conclusion directly implies that the VAIO verb retains its two internal thematic roles, the Goal and Theme role, but also that the transitive root is somehow reanalyzed as a VAIO root.

4 The objects that are not?

Based on the conclusion that the VAIO root is essentially transitive, as well as that the Theme DP of both a ditransitive as well as a VAIO verb is the same, it is suggested here that the DP is not the syntactic argument of the verb, but rather an oblique, what Larson would call an adjunct. In effect, the only true syntactic argument of the ditransitive verb is the Goal DP with which it fully agrees.

In detail, the Theme DP can only be third person (see examples (4.b) and (5.b)), and it does not passivize. As shown in examples (4.a) and (5.a), repeated here as (11) and (12), respectively, this is the case whether it is found in VAIO or ditransitive VTA constructions:

- (11) * Gii-daawaajgaade damnwin.
 Pst-sell.Passive.INAN doy
 ‘The toy was sold.’ (VAIO)
- (12) * Miinan gii-shanj-gaa-de-noon (aw gwiizens).
 Blueberry.INpl pst-feed-Pass-IN-INpl (that boy)
 ‘Blueberries were fed (to the boy).’ (VTA)

Since the Theme DP cannot passivize, this suggests that structurally it cannot move to the corresponding subject position. It follows then that it should not be found in the typical theme position, either.

Moreover, it is shown that neither the ditransitive nor the VAIO verb show internal agreement with the theme DP, which for Rhodes (1990) and Valentine (2001) is the actual form of agreement. Also, external agreement with the Theme DP is never present in VTA verbs as already shown in example (6), repeated here as (13), and can be absent in VAIO (ex. (10) repeated as (14)):

- (13) N-gii-sham-aa-Ø miin-an aw gwiizens
 1-pst-feed.VTA-3ThSignAN blueberry-INpl that boy
 ‘I fed the boy blueberries.’ (VTA)
- (14) Gii-bootaa-ge-wag-Ø giw kwe-wag niw
 pst-grind.up-AP.ANpl. that.pl woman.ANpl. this.OBV
 mdaamnan iw wi-bkwezhgankewaad.
 corn.OBV that.IN make.bread.conjunct.3pl
 ‘The women ground up the corn when they were going to make bread.’
 (VAIO)

Thus, the ways that the Theme DP of VAIO and ditransitive VTA verbs is restricted suggest that it does not function as a syntactic argument. As mentioned, the Goal DP of a transitive verb is not restricted in any way. It freely passivizes and can be of any person:

- (15) N-gii-mii-n-’goo-sii.
 1-pst-give-AN-PASS-Neg
 ‘I was not given it.’

In effect, it is not the case that Ojibwe's objects behave that way. But rather, it is only the Theme DP of VAIO and ditransitive verbs that does not function as the typical syntactic argument. In fact, these restrictions indicate that it behaves merely as an oblique, in Larson's terms a syntactic adjunct. The Goal DP of the ditransitive on the other hand, functions as the true syntactic internal argument. It is not restricted morpho-syntactically, and as shown earlier (e.g. in example (6)), the verb fully agrees with it.

5 The theoretical pieces

In this section I present the core ideas of previous syntactic accounts that will prove essential for the purposes of our analysis.

Looking at Antipassive first, the view adopted here is the one developed for Inuktitut by Spreng (2006). In particular, Spreng argues that the antipassive in this language is verbal, i.e. structurally, it is found in little *v*. This claim is contra Baker (1988) who assumes that the antipassive is a noun. Spreng shows that in Inuktitut the antipassive morpheme does not function like a noun and it does not cause any change to the syntactic category of the verb. She suggests further that in Inuktitut this morpheme is abstract, since it is not always overt. Structurally, the root incorporates to it, forming thus the verb.

Similarly, it is concluded in this paper that in Ojibwe there is also an antipassive morpheme. This morpheme is verbal as well, but unlike Inuktitut it is not abstract. That is, in Ojibwe there is a specific morpheme that spells out the antipassive. This is the morpheme *-ige*, which for phonological reasons may surface as *-(i)we*. It can only be suffixed to a transitive verbal root, and the result is always a VAIO verb, without changing its verb category.

Turning to the syntax then, I assume following Spreng that a root \surd is incorporated to *v*. Since the incorporated element is simply a root, it follows from this that there is no VP projection in the syntax. Hence, the antipassive verb in Ojibwe has no lexical entry as a verb, but is derived through incorporation.

An important effect of this view is that the root has no argument structure, which is consistent with the assumption that the theme DP is not its syntactic argument. If the root takes no arguments though, the question is what happens to the theme DP, i.e. where is it located in the structure?

The answer to this question comes directly from Larson's work (1988) on double object constructions. Based on Barss and Lasnik's (1986) observations that the indirect object asymmetrically c-commands the direct object, Larson proposes that the verb and the indirect object make up a syntactic constituent that excludes the direct object:

(16) John [sent Mary] a letter.

The direct object on the other hand, adjoins the verbal projection. In order for the direct object then to receive case and the theme θ -role the so-called *reanalysis* takes place and verbal projection is reanalyzed as a head. As he explains, reanalysis is triggered when the head contains one undischarged internal θ -role. In that case, the projection of the head with the unsaturated θ -

role is reanalyzed as a head, and the direct object is assigned case and a θ -role, giving roughly the following³:

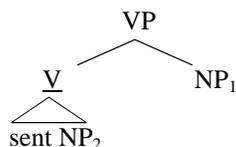


Figure 1: Larson’s reanalyzed VP-structure

In Ojibwe, it is already shown that the ditransitive verb only agrees with the Goal DP. The Theme DP on the other hand, is shown to be ignored by the verb. It is further shown that the Theme DP does not passivize and can only be 3rd person. Based on these facts then, it is concluded that the Theme DP functions as an oblique, what Larson calls an adjunct. Hence, Larson’s analysis can account for the ditransitive constructions of Ojibwe. What’s more though, since the root of the antipassive verb is essentially found to be the same ditransitive root, Larson’s structure should constitute the basis for the analysis of antipassive constructions.

With respect finally to views on agreement, and in particular on object agreement that is relevant for these constructions, I follow Béjar’s view (2003) that the locus of this type of agreement is v , rather than T, the reason being that we are dealing with internal agreement. Regarding features, I also assume that there is a split in the way these are spelled out. That is, two types of probes are triggered: (i) one looking for person features realized as prefixes; (ii) and another looking for number features, realized as suffixes.

In conclusion, these theories are the main tools that are shown next to account for all the properties of Ojibwe’s Antipassive.

6 The derivation of Ojibwe’s Antipassive

In this section, I bring together the theories presented above, and propose an analysis that offers a possible account of Ojibwe’s Antipassive.

To start with, it is argued so far that the VAIO verb essentially consists of a ditransitive VTA root that is often suffixed with a theme sign. Crucially, this theme sign is the so-called direct theme sign *-aa* that marks the verb in agreement with the third person object. In ditransitive constructions the verb is marked with the theme sign in agreement with the Goal DP. As mentioned, the same root along with the theme signs appears in VAIO (with the implicit Goal DP), e.g. *niind-aa-hwed* ‘send something (*implied* to someone)’. Often this theme sign appears in coalescence with the applicative affix *-aw* or *-amaw*: e.g. *gind-maa-ged* ‘read something (*implied* for someone)’. Therefore, the ditransitive VTA root of the antipassive VAIO with the third person theme sign carries third person features. Hence, when the root enters the derivation, it

³ Due to space limitations the details of the structure are omitted here. See Larson (1988) for more.

carries third person features, spelled out by the theme sign, and two thematic roles: the Goal role for the implicit DP and the Theme role for the oblique.

Turning to the *-ige* morpheme generated in the antipassive v , I assume that it bears uninterpretable third person features. The reason is that it only appears if a third person theme sign follows. In a parallel way then to Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's claim (1998) that agreement features can satisfy the EPP, I suggest likewise that the antipassive *-ige* bears uninterpretable third person features, which are checked by the VTA root. Hence, the VTA-root is selected by the *-ige* suffix, feature checking takes place, and the Goal role is discharged:

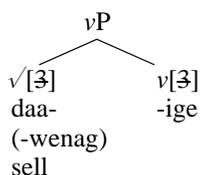


Figure 2: Merging the root

Note that by assuming that there is simply a root instead of a VP we avoid an analysis that would arbitrarily need to stipulate *pro* as the implicit Goal DP. There is no evidence that *pro* is present in antipassive constructions. First, it cannot be recovered. That is, if the Goal DP is present, the verb is automatically transitive. Secondly, if *pro* were present in VAIO constructions, passivizing of the VAIO verb should be possible. This is not possible however. Thus, the impossibility to recover the object *pro* in VAIO constructions shows that the corresponding thematic position is not available in VAIO verbs. The only way to account for this conclusion then is by assuming that there is no VP, but simply a root.

Going back to the structure, as in Larson's (1988) the DP adjoins to the vP next, and receives the Theme θ -role. Reanalysis applies and the vP is reanalyzed as a head:

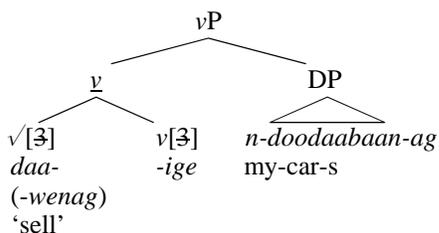


Figure 3: vP -Reanalysis

The theme DP is now a sister to the verbal head and structural case is assigned to it as the first available DP. Next, the little v has uninterpretable subject number and person features. The two probes are triggered and v agrees with the DP in spec vP :

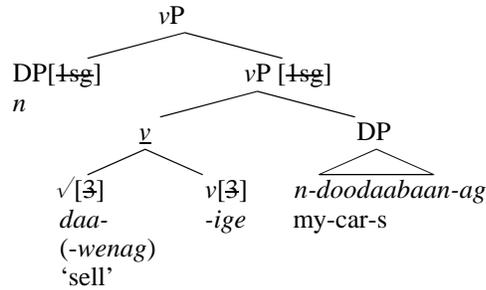


Figure 4: Subject Agreement

Finally, regarding the partial agreement between the antipassive verb and the Theme DP, it is shown that this is optional. To account for this optionality, it is suggested that partial agreement takes place at a later post-syntactic level, and in particular following *v*-reanalysis. Under this local configuration, the theme DP becomes accessible to the verb and AGREE takes place. Hence, if the DP is marked with obviation or plural, a *v*-probe is triggered and agreement between the verb and the DP is manifested. Furthermore, the way reanalysis fits in this framework is by viewing it as a mechanism that makes AGREE local and thus possible.

In conclusion, antipassive constructions of the form in (17) are derived by the structure shown in fig. [5]:

- (17) N-gii-daawen-ag n-doodaabaan-ag.
 1-pst-sell.AP-ANpl 1-car-ANpl
 'I sold my cars.'

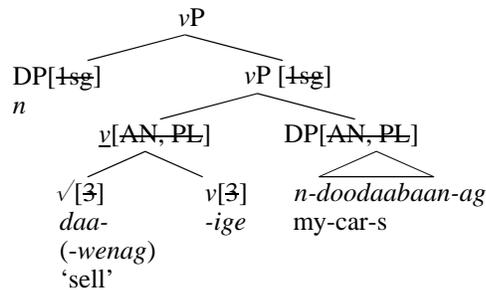


Figure 5: The antipassive vPs

7 Benefits of this analysis and some further questions

In concluding this paper, the proposed analysis can derive as well as account for the properties of the antipassive VAIO verbs. In particular, by recognizing that

VAIO verbs are antipassive and not intransitive, we can account for their transitive morphology and meaning associated with them.

Furthermore, their distinct inflectional properties do not come as a surprise, as this is a typical characteristic of antipassive. In addition, by assuming that the *N*-suffix essentially marks number agreement with the singular actors, we can account for why it only appears in the singular. As a result, the VAIO paradigm appears to inflect in a more uniform way, i.e. a singular suffix with singular actors, and a plural suffix with plural actors.

Regarding the properties of the Theme DP, i.e. its impossibility to passivize and its optionality suggest that it is not a syntactic argument of the verb. By suggesting that it is an oblique, the syntactic restrictions are expected, while it can also be explained why DPs as (internal) arguments of regular verbs are not restricted that way.

As for the object agreement, by means of Larson's reanalysis the partial and optional verb marking in agreement with the Theme DP are now possible. The actual internal agreement has already taken place, i.e. the agreement of the root that bears the theme sign with the antipassive *v*. When *v*P-reanalysis takes place agreement with the Theme DP is made possible.

The same process makes also possible that the DP receives the Theme role, and thus Rhodes' intuition that the Theme DP is an argument of the verb is also captured.

One issue that is not addressed, is why the theme DP can only be a third person. Following Béjar (2003) a possible explanation could be that third person objects do not control person agreement and can thus appear in the structure with no further consequences.

Finally, it would be interesting to examine in more detail the broader class of VAIO that seems to behave in a uniform way. Although more work on this is needed, it seems possible that a similar account can provide the basis for their analysis, as well.

References

- Alexiadou, Artemis & Anagnostopoulou Elena. 1998. Parametrizing Agr: word order, verb-movement and EPP-checking. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, Vol. 16.3:491-539.
- Baker, Mark C. 1988. *Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Barss, A. and H. Lasnik. 1986. A Note on Anaphora and Double Objects. In *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 17:347-354.
- Béjar, Susana. 2003. *Phi-Syntax: A Theory of Agreement*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Toronto.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1957. *Eastern Ojibwa: grammatical sketch, texts, and word list*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Johns, Alana. 2006. Ergativity and Change in Inuktitut. In *Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, eds. A. Johns, D. Massam & J. Ndayiragije, Vol. 65:293-311. Printed in the Netherlands.
- Larson, K. Richard. 1988. On the Double Object Construction. In *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 19:335-391. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- Polinsky, Maria. 2005. Antipassive constructions, In *The World of Atlas of Language Structures*, p. 438-441. Oxford: OUP.
- Rhodes, A. Richard. 1990. Ojibwe Secondary Objects. In *Grammatical Relations, a Cross-Theoretical Perspective*. Edited by Katarzyna Dziwirek, Patrick Farrell, & ErrapelMejias-Bikandi. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Spreng, Bettina. 2006. Antipassive morphology and case assignment in Inuktitut. Alana Johns, Diane Massam, & Juvanel Ndayiragije (eds.): *Ergativity: Emerging Issues*, Kluwer: Dordrecht. 247-270.
- Valentine, J. Randolph. 2001. Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.