IS THERE SYNTACTIC INVERSION IN OJIBWA?[*]

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1. INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that Algonquian languages feature subject-object "inversion" (Rhodes 1979; Perlmutter and Rhodes 1988; Anderson 1982, 1984). This is a operation inverting the relative grammatical relations of the subject and object.[1] The inversion analysis has mainly been motivated by patterns of morphology appearing on the verb. However, what has been described in the literature as subject-object inversion often does not involve syntactic movement of the object to subject position. Instead, some apparent instances of subject-object inversion arise from split patterns of case assignment, and/or from morphological fusion of the features of subject and object (Marantz 1989, Halle and Marantz 1993). The morphological facts of Algonquian can also be captured under such an account.

On the other hand, there are genuine cases of an object undergoing movement past an external argument to the EPP subject position, which I will assume to be the specifier of TP. This kind of movement has been argued to take place in certain Bantu focus constructions, in passives, and in constructions with clitic reflexives. The supposed cases of subject-object inversion in Ojibwa look different from any of these, and so far no syntactic argument has been made for connecting them.

I will argue that patterns of verbal morphology in Ojibwa arise at least in part from the fusion of subject and object features onto a single node in the

[1] In Relational Grammar, inversion occurs when an object is promoted to subject, while the subject is demoted to an object. The subject and object need not literally exchange relations; in Georgian, for example, the subject is said to become an indirect object when a direct object is promoted to subject. Perlmutter and Rhodes (1988) argue for a literal exchange, or *reversal*, in Ojibwa. However, the distinction makes no difference to the present discussion.

phonological component of the grammar. Under the theory of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994), underspecified vocabulary items compete for insertion into a fully specified syntactic node. The items are intrinsically ordered, such that the highest-ranked item compatible with the features of a syntactic node is inserted into it. If the features of a highly-ranked vocabulary item are present on the fused node, that item is inserted regardless of whether the features belong to the subject or object. As a result, sometimes only object features are spelled out, even though features of the subject are also present.

2. FUSION AND COMPETITION

Some of the clearest arguments in favor of subject-object inversion are made by Harris (1981) for Georgian. However, as Harris herself notes, only nominal and verbal morphology show evidence for inversion, which has no effect on syntactic/semantic relations, such as binding. Under the assumptions of Chomsky (1981) and later work, binding relations are determined after some syntactic operations take place. Given these assumptions, if A-movement of the object over the subject has effects on pronunciation, it should have effects on binding.[2] In this case, Georgian shows that what has been described as inversion need not involve syntactic movement; rather, the effects in Georgian appear to be largely morphological (cf. Anderson 1982, 1984). Halle and Marantz (1993) have argued that these effects are also not the result of *morphological* inversion, but rather of morphological fusion of syntactic nodes, and competition for vocabulary insertion into them. The Ojibwa facts can be captured under a similar analysis.

2.1. MORPHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Let us review the relevant facts of Georgian, and the account of these facts from Halle and Marantz (1993), based on Marantz (1989). The four verb classes and three tense/aspect series of Georgian yield a range of different case-marking and inflectional patterns. A pronominal proclitic and a plural suffix on the verb spell out the features of first- and second-person arguments.[3]

The examples in (1) are Class 1 transitive verbs in the present, a Series I tense/aspect. In this context the logical subject is nominative, while objects bear morphological dative case. The preverbal element in (1) is a pronominal clitic

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[2] These are, of course, not Harris's assumptions within Relational Grammar. The analysis of Georgian discussed here should be taken, not as a critique of Harris, but as an attempt to adopt some of her many insights within a different theoretical framework.

[3] The morphological interaction between these two elements suggests that they form a single syntactic node, which is spelled out as a circumfix (McGinnis 1996).

that spells out the features of a dative argument, in this case the object. Examples in (1) and (2) are based on Marantz (1989:30).[4]

(1) a. m-ḳlav-s.
         1DAT-kill-3PRES
         'She/He kills me.'

     b. gv-ḳlav-s.
         1PL.DAT-kill-3PRES
         'She/He kills us.'

     c. g-ḳlav-s.
         2DAT-kill-3PRES
         'She/He kills you (sg).'

(2) shows a Class 4 transitive "psych" verb in the present (Series I). In this environment the logical subject is dative, and the logical object nominative. The clitic spells out the dative subject in (2), as it spelled out the dative object in (1).

(2) a. m-i-qvar-s.
         1DAT-R-love-3PRES
         'I love him/her/them.'

     b. gv-i-qvar-s.
         1PL.DAT-R-love-3PRES
         'We love him/her/them.'

     c. g-i-qvar-s.
         2DAT-R-love-3PRES
         'You (sg) love him/her/them.'

The clitic in (3) is nominative (Marantz 1989:26). In (a), it spells out the nominative subject of a Class 1 transitive verb. In (b), it spells out the nominative object of a Class 4 transitive verb.

(3) a. v-çer-Ø.
         1NOM-write-1/2PRES
         'I write it.'

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[4] Marantz's data are based on Harris (1981) and Aronson (1982). Agreement is also shown by a suffix marking tense/aspect and by the applicative element, known in the Georgian literature as the "relative prefix." For further discussion, see Harris (1981) and Marantz (1989).

      b.   v-u-qvar-var.
              1NOM-R-love-1PRES
              'She/He loves me.'

These morphological patterns have been used to argue for inversion of the subject and object in Georgian. In the examples above, for instance, the prefixes spelling out the logical subject of a Class 1 verb spell out the logical object of a Class 4 verb, and vice versa.

The case-marking patterns in these environments have also been used as evidence for the inversion analysis. The examples in (4) show a Class 1 verb in (a) the present and (b) the perfect, a Series III tense/aspect (Marantz 1989:46). The inflectional and case-marking patterns described for Class 4 psych verbs are also seen with Class 1 and 3 verbs in the perfect.[5] In (a), the subject is nominative, while the object and indirect object bear morphological dative case. The subject in (b) is dative, with a nominative direct object; in this context the indirect object appears as a postpositional phrase.

(4)   a.   rezo   deda-s   samajur-s   Ø-ačukeb-s.
              Rezo.NOM   mother-DAT   bracelet-DAT R-give-3PRES
              'Rezo is giving mother a bracelet.'

        b.   rezo-s   samajur-i   u-čukeb-ia   dedis-tvis.
              Rezo-DAT   bracelet-NOM   R-give-3PERF   mother-for
              'Rezo had given a bracelet to his mother.'

A logical object in one construction appears with the same case as the logical subject in the other, and vice versa—facts that have been taken as evidence for inversion.

2.2. SYNTACTIC EFFECTS

However, the difference in case-marking and verbal inflection does not correlate with a difference in syntactic phenomena such as binding and focus. For example, a logical object can bind neither a nominative nor a dative logical subject. Word order is fairly free in Georgian, but not even an object to the left of the subject can bind it, as (5) demonstrates (Marantz 1989:18). However, the subject may bind an object regardless of case, as shown in (6). The examples in (5) and (6) show Class 1 and 4 transitive verbs in the present, a Series I tense/aspect.

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[5] The aorist tense/aspect Series II exhibits split ergativity, with ergative case-marking on arguments, and nominative-accusative agreement on the verb. I will leave the issue aside here; see Nash (1995) for an account of these facts.

(5) a. * vano-s   tavisi tav-i   e-laparaḳeb-a.
         Vano-DAT   self-NOM   R-talk-3PRES
         ('Himself is talking to Vano.')

     b. * temur-i   tavis tav-s   u-qvar-s.
         Temur-NOM   self-DAT   R-love-3PRES
         ('Himself loves Temur.')

(6) a. vano   tavis tav-s   e-laparaḳeb-a.
         Vano.NOM   self-DAT   R-talk-3PRES
         'Vano is talking to himself.'

     b. temur-s   tavisi tav-i   u-qvar-s.
         Temur-DAT   self-NOM   R-love-3PRES
         'Temur loves himself.'

Moreover, the pattern of inflection and case-marking has no effect on the interpretation of focus, as discussed in detail by Nash (1995). For example, an immediately preverbal object is presentationally focused whether it bears morphological dative or nominative case, as shown in (7) (Nash, p.c.) These examples show the present (Series I) and perfect (Series III) of Class 1 transitive verbs.

(7) a. (is)   vano-s   xaṭav-s.
         (3SG.NOM)   Vano-DAT   draw-3PRES
         'He/She is drawing *Vano*.'

     b. (mas)   vano   da-u-rçmunebi-a.
         (3SG.DAT)   Vano-NOM   PREV-R-convince-3PERF
         'He/She has convinced *Vano*.'

An immediatedly preverbal subject, on the other hand, need not be focused. This is true whether the subject is nominative or dative, as in (8) (Nash, p.c.). These are Class 1 and 4 verbs in the present (Series I).

(8) a. nino   u-mǧeri-s   vano-s.
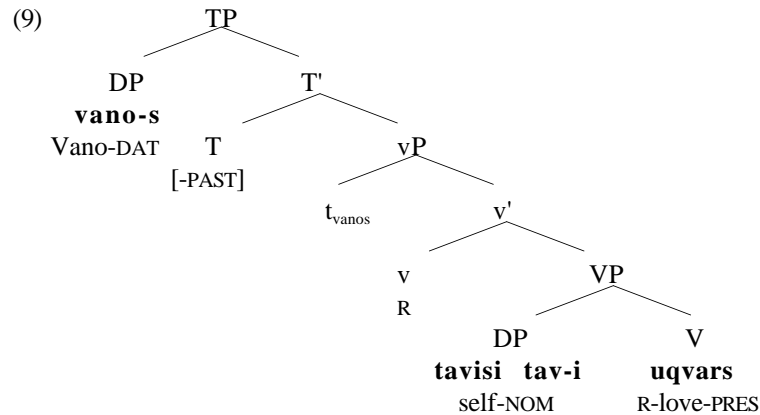   Nino.NOM   R-sing-3PRES   Vano-DAT
         'Nino is singing to Vano.'

     b. nino-s   u-qvar-s   vano.
         Nino-DAT   R-love-3PRES   Vano.NOM
         'Nino loves Vano.'

As these facts suggest, the syntactic evidence is against inversion in Georgian. The logical subject binds the logical object regardless of inflection and case-marking, and the two arguments also retain their distinct focus characteristics.

2.3. FUSION AND COMPETITION

From the evidence above, we can conclude that the dative logical subject is indeed the syntactic subject. This subject is inherently case-marked by a light verb, the relative prefix R in (9) (Marantz 1989). Under the assumptions of dependent case, an argument can only receive structural accusative case if a position with structural case is already present within the clause (Marantz 1991). Since the subject in (9) bears lexically marked inherent case, the object cannot bear dependent accusative case. It thus surfaces with unmarked "independent" nominative case. An account of this kind is needed to explain similar phenomena in other languages with dative subjects, such as Icelandic and Japanese.

(9) gives the structure for a construction with a dative logical subject in Georgian. The subject is merged in the specifier of the light verb R, then moves to the EPP position in the specifier of TP. Let us suppose that the object checks nominative structural case in the specifier of the light verb at LF.

(9)

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                        TP
                    ┌────┴────┐
                   DP         T'
                 vano-s    ┌──┴──┐
                Vano-DAT   T      vP
                         [-PAST]  ┌──┴──┐
                              t_vanos   v'
                                      ┌──┴──┐
                                      v      VP
                                      R    ┌──┴──┐
                                          DP      V
                                      tavisi tav-i  uqvars
                                        self-NOM  R-love-PRES
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The inflectional facts in (1)-(3) can be captured if we assume that the features of the subject and object fuse in the phonological component, producing a single node that surfaces as the personal proclitic (Marantz 1989, Halle and Marantz 1993). In Distributed Morphology, vocabulary items bearing phonological features are not inserted until the phonological component of the derivation. Vocabulary items are underspecified, and compete for insertion into syntactic nodes. The competition is won by the most highly specified

vocabulary item whose features are consistent with the features of the syntactic node.

Under this theory, the inflectional difference between constructions with a nominative and dative subject arises from competition of vocabulary items for insertion into the fused node bearing the person, number and case features of the subject and object. The vocabulary item that best fits these features will be inserted, regardless of whether it spells out features of the subject or of the object.

For example, consider the items in (10). These are some of the vocabulary items that compete for insertion into the fused clitic node, ranked in order of specificity (for our purposes, (b) and (c) may be considered as unranked). The relevant features on the clitic node are the same for both (11a), with a nominative subject and a morphologically dative object, and (11b), with a dative subject and a nominative object. As a result, the most specified vocabulary item that fits these features is the same in both cases, /g-/.

(10)　a.　　[+1, +PL, DAT]　　<—>　　/gv-/
　　　　b.　　[+1, DAT]　　　　<—>　　/m-/
　　　　c.　　[+2, DAT]　　　　<—>　　/g-/
　　　　d.　　[+1]　　　　　　<—>　　/v-/

(11)　a.　　g-ḳlav-Ø.
　　　　　　2-kill-1/2PRES
　　　　　　'I kill you.'

　　　　b.　　g-i-qvar-var.
　　　　　　2-R-love-1PERF
　　　　　　'You love me.'

This account captures the insight that syntactic relations between arguments are unaffected by the different case and inflectional patterns in Georgian. These patterns result from mechanisms of case assignment and morphological processes of fusion and competition for insertion. In the absence of syntactic evidence for inversion in Algonquian languages, a morphological account of the inflectional patterns is also appropriate. What has been called inversion in Ojibwa yields to an analysis parallel to the account of Georgian inflection. Subject and object features fuse onto a single node in the phonological component, and competition among vocabulary items determines the phonological realization of the node.

2.4. FUSION AND COMPETITION IN OJIBWA

It has been argued that subject-object inversion takes place in Ojibwa (Perlmutter and Rhodes 1988). The morphological facts are similar to those in Georgian. There are two basic forms of verbal inflection in Ojibwa, the independent and the conjunct form. The independent form has a pronominal proclitic, which doubles any full NP arguments present (Jelinek 1984). Focusing on this clitic, it can be seen that the second-person subject is spelled out as /g-/ in (a). In (b), a first-person subject is spelled out as /n-/. However, when a first-person subject co-occurs with a second-person object, the clitic spells out the object, not the subject, as in (c). Under the inversion analysis, second person is ranked higher than first on a person hierarchy; inversion is required when the subject is ranked lower than the object on this hierarchy, as in (c). The suffix /-i/ is taken to mark the direct form of the verb, in contrast with /-ini/, taken to mark the inverse form.

(12)   a.   G-bi:n-i.
              2-bring-1OBJ
              'You (sg) bring me.'   (Rhodes 1979:85)

        b.   N-wi:nizi.
              1-dirty
              'I am dirty.'   (Rhodes 1979:82)

        c.   G-bi:n-ini.
              2-bring-2OBJ
              'I bring you (sg).'   (Rhodes 1979:86)

However, these data come under the same kind of analysis as given for Georgian. The features of the subject and object fuse onto a single node. Among the vocabulary items competing for insertion into the fused node, the item spelling out second person is ranked higher than the item spelling out second person (13). This ranking is due to a language-particular feature hierarchy for ranking vocabulary items (cf. Noyer 1992, Harley 1994). The ranking is clear from the inclusive plural form in (14), which has both [+1] and [+2] features on the subject, but carries the second-person form of the proclitic. The presence of the [+1] feature is apparent from the first-person plural suffix /-min/.

(13)   a.   [+2]   <—>   /g-/
        b.   [+1]   <—>   /n-/
        c.   (else)   <—>   /w-/

(14)   G-wi:nizi-min-(a:)bani.
        2-dirty-1PL-PAST
        'We (incl) were dirty.'   (Rhodes 1979:91)

Under this analysis, the suffixes /-i/ and /-ini/ indicate, not direct and inverse forms of the verb, but simply object agreement on the light verb. I will assume that Agr nodes like the object agreement node are inserted in the phonological component (Halle and Marantz 1993). The vocabulary items competing for insertion into the object agreement node are shown in (15). The second-person item is again ranked higher than the first-person item, as is shown by the first-person inclusive form in (16). This is the conjunct form of the verb, which lacks the pronominal clitic of the independent forms shown above, and carries an agreement suffix with the fused features of the subject and object, which has a different form from agreement in an independent clause. The second-person vocabulary item is used, although both [+1] and [+2] features are assumed to be present, as in the independent form.[6]

(15) a. [+2] <—> /-ini/
      b. [+1] <—> /-i/
   c. (else) <—> /-a:/

(16) wa:bam-ini-angw.
      see-2OBJ-3SG.SUBJ/1PL.OBJ
      '... that he sees us.'   (Rhodes 1979:191)

The structure for the form in (12c) is given below. The logical subject raises to the EPP position in the specifier of TP. The object checks its case in the specifier of the light verb. Both arguments are clitics, which raise and cliticize to C. In the phonological component, the two clitics fuse onto a single node, and the appropriate vocabulary items are inserted into the syntactic nodes. The more highly ranked second-person item is inserted into the fused clitic node, even though first-person features are also present on the node.

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[6] Phonetically, this form has an extra [n]: [wa:bmin*n*aNg]. Rhodes (1976) argues that the morpheme here is not /-ini/, though acknowledging a departure from previous accounts. Compare /no:nto:-iN-ankw/ 'If he hears us (incl.)' (Bloomfield 1957:57), where Bloomfield's /-iN/ is the equivalent to /-ini/.

(17)   G-bi:n-ini.
       2-bring-2OBJ
       'I bring you (sg).'
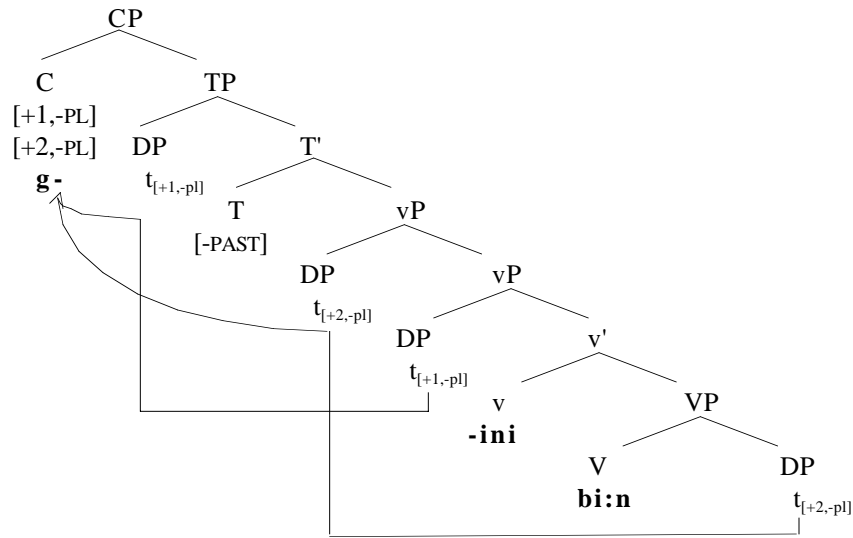
So far, I have presented only cases with first- and second-person arguments. However, the same general account can also be extended to include cases with third-person arguments.[7] My goal here is to show that what has been considered evidence for syntactic inversion can be accounted for under a morphological fusion and competition analysis.

3.   SYNTACTIC MOVEMENT

Let us now turn to the possibility that the supposed instances of inversion in Ojibwa actually do involve raising of the logical object to the EPP subject position. We consider a couple of cases from other languages in which syntactic evidence for such movement is available. The evidence for this possibility in Ojibwa is shaky, as we will see. I will leave the correct characterization of this evidence as an open question. My intention is just to illustrate the lack of correspondence between the Ojibwa facts and object-raising phenomena in other languages.

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[7] See Halle and Marantz (1993) for a thorough analysis of Potawatomi, a language closely related to Ojibwa. The details of the analysis presented here differ slightly from their analysis, but both accounts share the basic view that these agreement patterns arise from fusion and competition, rather than from syntactic inversion.

3.1. PRONOUN DOUBLING

The main syntactic evidence for object-raising in Ojibwa "inversion" cases comes from a phenomenon in which a matrix pronoun is apparently able to double either an embedded clause, or an argument within the embedded clause. As it turns out, pronoun doubling provides no evidence for object-raising to subject position in clauses with a first- or second-person subject. In clauses with a third-person subject, the evidence that exists for this kind of movement is still weakened by the fact that it has no clear parallel in the more familiar cases of object-raising.

The pronoun-doubling phenomenon can be seen in (18), with a passive embedded clause. In (a), the main verb shows agreement with a phonologically null inanimate object, which apparently doubles the entire embedded clause.[8] In (b), however, the main verb agrees with an animate third-person object. This pronoun appears to be doubling the animate argument of the embedded clause.

(18) a. Ni-giken-dam-n   [gi:-ba:shkiz-w-ind].
          1-know-INAN-3   PAST-shoot-ANIM-3PASS
          'I know that he was shot.'

      b. Ni-giken-im-a: [gi:-ba:shkiz-w-ind].
          1-know-ANIM-3OBJ   PAST-shoot-ANIM-3PASS
          'I know that he was shot.'

This phenomenon is described by Perlmutter and Rhodes (1988) as raising, or what might be considered exceptional case-marking in more recent approaches. However, the facts in question differ from ECM constructions in several ways. First, the embedded clause is a conjunct clause. Conjunct clauses are finite, showing tense distinctions as well as agreement with the arguments in the clause. Conventially, an argument gets exceptional case-marking when it cannot check case within its own, non-finite clause. Secondly, the Ojibwa pronoun-doubling phenomenon has been reported to hold between a matrix clause and a free relative clause, as in (19). As (20) exemplifies, this is not a possible context for ECM in English, since the operator in the specifier of CP intervenes between the matrix VP and the embedded subject.

(19) Ga:wi: wgi:kenima:si:n   [nmanj   gekidgwen   aw no:s]
       not   she.knew.him(obv).neg   whatever he.might.say my father
       'She didn't know what my father would say.'
                                                    (Tomlin and Rhodes 1979:310)

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[8] The following Ojibwa examples are based on Perlmutter and Rhodes (1988), except where another source is indicated. It may be that what I am calling object agreement is actually a clitic pronoun.

(20)   * She believed [CP whatever [IP him to say]].

However, it may turn out that pronoun doubling shares with ECM the property that it singles out the EPP subject position of the embedded clause. If so, then it can be used as a test for raising of the object to subject position in the embedded clause. As such, it still provides no evidence for inversion in clauses where the logical subject is first person, and the logical object second person. This is one case where inversion has been claimed to take place, as discussed for (12c).

The embedded clauses in (21) have a first-person subject and a second-person object. The object of the matrix clause is inanimate in (a), doubling the embedded clause. In (b) the matrix logical object is first-person, doubling the logical subject of the embedded clause. If pronoun doubling singles out the EPP position of the embedded clause, then the logical subject occupies the EPP position in this clause; there is no evidence that the logical object raises to subject position here (Richard Rhodes, p.c.).

(21)   a.   W-giken-dam-n   [wa:bam-ini-a:nh].
                3-know-INAN-3   see-2OBJ-AGR
                'He knows that I see you.'

        b.   N-giken-im-igw [wa:bam-ini-a:nh].
                1-know-ANIM-3   see-2OBJ-AGR
                'He knows that I see you.'

On the other hand, there is some evidence for object-raising to subject position when the conjunct clause contains a third-person subject and object. If two third-person arguments are present in the same clause, one must be marked obviative and the other nonobviative. It has been argued that inversion occurs when both arguments in the conjunct clause are third-person, with the logical subject obviative. This is a different situation from the independent clause, where inversion has also been argued to occur with a third-person subject when the logical object is first or second person. In each case, the verb bears the marker /-igw/, which I will assume is third-person agreement associated with a null pronominal in the logical subject position.

(22a) indicates that the pronoun in the matrix clause cannot double the obviative subject of the embedded clause. The obviative embedded subject may be interpreted as either singular or plural. Assuming that syntactic nodes are fully specified, the plural interpretation of the embedded subject indicates that the subject has a plural feature. However, the matrix object here can only be singular, like the embedded object. In (22b), the subject is nonobviative, and can be doubled by the object of the matrix clause. Here the embedded subject is again plural, but this time the matrix object is plural as well.

(22) a. Ni-giken-im-a:(*-ag)   Ma:gi: ba:shkiz-w-igw-d aniniw-an.
          1-know-ANIM-3OBJ(*-PL) Marge shoot-ANIM-3-3   man-OBV
          'I know that the man/men (obv) shot Marge.'

     b. Neni:zh   ni-giken-im-a:-ag   ninw-ag
         two.of   1-know-ANIM-3OBJ-PL   men-PL

         gi:-ba:shkiz-w-a:-wa:d   Ma:gi:y-an.
         PAST-shoot-ANIM-3OBJ-AGR   Marge-OBV

         'I know that two of the men shot Marge.'

                                                    (Richard Rhodes, p.c.)

   If pronoun doubling does single out the subject of the embedded clause, it constitutes evidence that the object raises to the embedded subject position in (22). However, it is not clear to what extent the effects of pronoun doubling are morphological, and to what extent they identify the syntactic position of the arguments in the embedded clause. For comparison, we will consider two instances in which syntactic evidence has been given for the object raising to the EPP subject position past an external argument. One case, from Bantu, involves focus movement of the subject to an A-bar position. The other, from Romance, involves cliticization of a reflexive subject to a head-adjoined position. In each case, the subject moves to a non-argument position. As the closest argument in an A-position, the object raises to the EPP subject position in the specifier of TP.
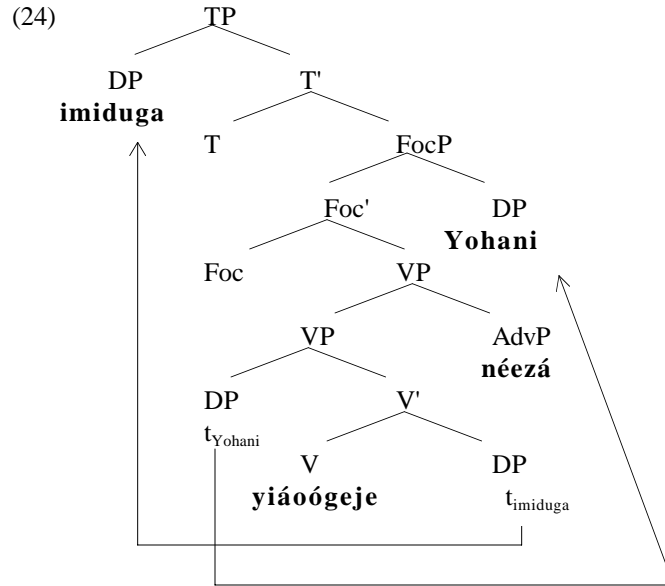
3.2. FOCUS MOVEMENT

Ndayiragije (to appear) has shown that the OVS order in the Bantu language Kirundi results from focus movement of the subject. In (23a), the SVO order, the verb includes the Focus head /ra-/. This overt form of the head indicates that no argument is focused. In (23b), the OVS order, the subject receives obligatory focus. Note that the object precedes the VP-adjoined adverb *néezá* in (a), while the logical subject follows it in (b). As these facts suggest, the subject in (b) is outside the VP, in an A-bar specifier of the Focus head.

   Ndayiragije gives considerable evidence that the object in (23b) occupies an A-position in the specifier of TP. The evidence includes weak crossover and right dislocation facts, the possibility of pro-drop in subject position, the form of negation, and agreement. Note that verb agreement is with the logical subject in (23a), and the logical object in (b).

(23) a. Yohani a-á-ra-oógeje   imiduga néezá.
          John   3sg-PAST-FOC-wash.PERF   cars   well
          'John washed cars well.'

b. Imiduga yi-á-oógeje néezá Yohani.
    cars 3PL-PAST-wash.PERF well John
    'JOHN (e.g. not Peter) washed cars well.'

The structure for (23b) is given in (24). The subject moves to the specifier of FocusP, leaving only the object available to move to the EPP position in the specifier of TP.

(24)

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                        TP
                    /        \
                  DP          T'
               imiduga      /    \
                     ↗     T       FocP
                          /     \
                       Foc'      DP
                      /    \    Yohani
                   Foc      VP
                          /     \
                        VP      AdvP
                      /    \    néezá
                    DP      V'       ↗
                  t_Yohani /   \
                         V      DP
                    yiáoógeje  t_imiduga
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We may now consider whether what has been called inversion in Algonquian involves focus movement. This would mean that the logical subject occupies an A-bar focus position, while the object raises past it to the EPP subject position in the specifier of TP. However, the focus structure of Algonquian languages does not appear to correlate with the apparent cases of object raising. Recall that one such case arises when the logical subject is third-person obviative, and the object third-person nonobviative. Under a focus analysis, the argument moving into the A-bar focus position is obligatorily the obviative subject. We would then expect focus to correlate with obviation. The evidence, though, is that no such correlation exists.

Consider the examples in (25) (Tomlin and Rhodes 1979:308). The postverbal NP in (a) is a topic, or old information, and receives a definite interpretation. The preverbal NP, in (b), is focused new information, and properly receives an indefinite interpretation. This word order corresponds to the analysis of discourse-configurational structure in Swampy Cree (Russell and Reinholz to appear). A schematic version of this structure is shown in (26). The

preverbal constituent appears in the specifier of Focus, while the postverbal constituent is the complement of a Topic head. The CP containing the inflected verb and its arguments is in the specifier of TopicP.

(25) a.   Mnopgod   wi:yas.
            it.tastes.good   meat
            'The meat tastes good.'

     b.   Wi:yas   bi:jma:god.
            meat   it.smells
            'There is a smell of meat.'

(26)
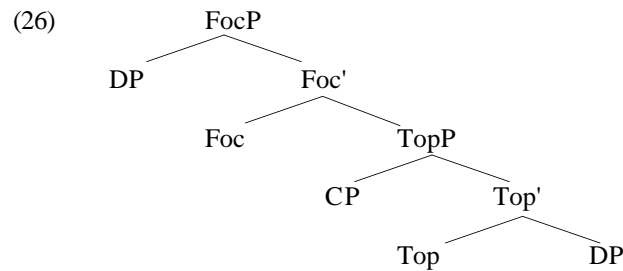
Notice that there is no correlation between focus and obviation: neither the topic NP in (a) nor the focused NP in (b) is marked for obviation. As (27) shows, an obviative inanimate argument is possible in principle here; it is simply not required for focus.

(27)   wi:n-ad-ini-w
       dirty-INAN-OBV-3
       'It (obv) is dirty.'   (Rhodes 1976:81)

The focus account of object-raising to the EPP subject position in Bantu does not appear to carry over to Algonquian languages. Moreover, the correlations with weak crossover, pro-drop, and so forth are absent. Let us consider another account, involving object raising in Romance reflexive clitic constructions.

3.3. REFLEXIVE CLITICS

It has been proposed in the literature that clitic reflexives are generated as external arguments (Marantz 1984; Pesetsky 1995). Evidence for this proposal includes the case and auxiliary-selection facts below. (28) shows a transitive clause embedded under a causative verb (based on Grimshaw 1982:123). In the usual case, as in (28a), the object is accusative, and the embedded subject shows up as a dative argument. When the embedded clause has a reflexive clitic, as

shown in (28b), the clitic is the subject, and the full NP *le juge* is the object, bearing accusative case. If the clitic were the object, the full NP would be the subject, with dative case, as in (28a).

(28)   a.   La crainte du scandale l'a fait tuer *au* juge.
                'Fear of scandal made the judge kill him.'

        b.   La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer *le* juge.
                'Fear of scandal made the judge kill himself.'

        (29) shows participles formed from a transitive verb. (a) is the nonreflexive case, with the auxiliary *avoir* 'have.' Both the case with a reflexive external argument in (b), and the passive with a null external argument in (c), take the auxiliary *être* 'be.'

(29)   a.   Jean l' a/*est frappé.
                'Jean hit him.'

        b.   Jean s' est/*a frappé.
                'Jean hit himself.'

        c.   Jean était/*avait frappé.
                'Jean was hit.'

        The structure for the reflexive construction is shown in (30), with the reflexive occurring as an external argument in the specifier of a light verb. Reflexive constructions are like passives: accusative case cannot be assigned to the object, which moves to the EPP position in the specifier of TP. Let us suppose that the clitic simultaneously has the X-bar status of an X^0 and an XP, following Chomsky (1995). Then, after the verb and the light verb raise together to T, the clitic can move to the verb in T, head-raising upwards from its position as the specifier of the light verb. Cliticization to T makes the clitic inaccessible for further movement to a specifier position, so it no longer intervenes between T and the object. The object moves directly from its base position to the specifier of TP, where it checks nominative case. From this position it can also bind the clitic reflexive.

(30)
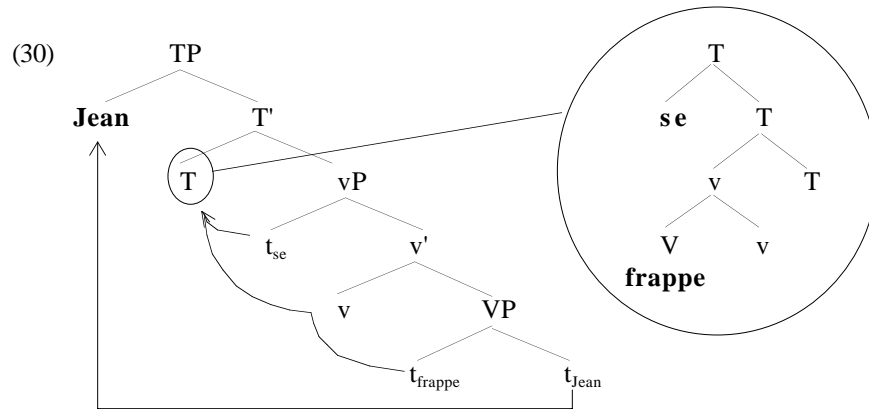
In this construction, the logical subject is a clitic and can thus clear the way for attraction of the object to the EPP position. However, the case properties of this clause also play an important role; the subject does not require nominative case-checking, while the object does. The external argument of a passive appears to have the same properties as the reflexive clitic, also allowing the object to raise to the EPP position. In Romance languages, these properties are never associated with referential pronominal subjects. The external argument in (31a) is reflexive *nous*, which allows object-raising. In (31b) the external argument is pronominal *nous*, but here object-raising is prohibited.

(31)   a.   Nous nous sommes/*avons frappés.
            'We hit ourselves.'

       b.   * Jean nous est frappé.
            'We hit Jean.'

One possibility is that what has been called inversion in Algonquian involves the same kind of configuration as shown in (30). The logical subject cliticizes to the verb, so that the object may raise past it to the EPP position to check nominative case.[9] However, adopting this account entails that even regular third-person subjects in Ojibwa allow object-raising in (22). As the French examples suggest, this property is typically not associated with referential pronominal subjects. The object-raising account account leaves an unexplained difference between the Ojibwa cases and the familiar cases of object-raising to the EPP position.

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[9] In fact, this account closely resembles the analysis given in McGinnis (1995).

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4. CONCLUSIONS

In attempting to answer the question of whether what has been called inversion has any syntactic basis in Ojibwa, we have looked at a number of languages with clearer syntactic evidence. Patterns of case and verbal inflection in Georgian, which have been used as evidence for inversion, fail to correlate with changes in syntactic properties, such as binding and focus. As a result, a morphological account of the case and inflectional patterns in Georgian is appropriate.

The inflectional patterns in Ojibwa submit to a similar analysis. However, certain facts in Ojibwa may indicate that the object raises to subject position in some cases with a third-person argument. Comparing these facts with other instances of object-raising uncovers a number of unresolved questions. The evidence for such movement in Ojibwa remains inconclusive.

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