

DITRANSITIVE LICENSING OF LONG DISTANCE AGREEMENT IN MESKWAKI

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In this paper I propose that a variant of Meskwaki's Long Distance Agreement (LDA) construction involves ditransitive matrix verbs formed with the secondary final *-aw*.

Background: The secondary final *-aw* attaches to TI2 and TI3 stems and to TI1 themes (stem + theme sign *-am*) to form ditransitive (TA+O) stems with various functions. The resulting stem often functions as an applicative (1). The added first object typically is a beneficiary but other thematic roles (e.g. source, goal) are also possible.

(1) *mešenamaw-* 'catch (second object) for (first object)'

The *-aw* secondary final is also used in possessor raising (2), in which the possessor of a theme/patient argument is expressed as first object and the possessum is second object. Note that the possessor raising construction differs from the applicative in (1) in that the first object in possessor raising bears no thematic role in the verb's argument structure.

(2) *nehtamaw-* 'kill (first object)'s (second object)'

(3) *o·šisem-ani nehtamaw-akwe*
3.grandchild-OBV kill.O's.O2-21>3/SUBJUNCTIVE
'if we (inclusive) kill her (proximate) grandson (obviative),' W1023

Claim: An additional function associated with stems formed with *-aw* is an LDA construction.

Contrast ordinary LDA in (4), with a monotransitive TA matrix verb *kehke·nem-* 'know', with that in (5), which has a ditransitive TA+O matrix verb *nenehke·netamaw-* 'think of':

(4) *ke-kehke·nem-ene e·h-kakano·neti·h-ači*
2-know.TA-1>2/IND AOR-converse.with-2>3/AOR
'I know you have been talking to him.'
(literally: 'I know **you** [you have been talking to him].')

(5) *ki·hkehčimeko–nenehke·netamo·ne i·nokimani e·šimiyani*
ke-i·h-kehči—meko –nenehke·netamaw-ene
2-FUT-greatly—EMPH –think.of.TA+O-1>2/IND

i·noki=mani IC-išim-iyani
today=now IC-speak.so.to-2>1/PART/OBL
'I will think seriously of what you told me today.' W371
(literally: 'I think of **you** [what you told me]')

The paper contrasts the syntax of the two LDA types and draws parallels between ditransitive LDA and possessor raising.