SOME ISSUES IN THE ORDERING OF PREVERBS IN SEVERN OJIBWE[*]

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In this paper, I discuss the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. I show that the existing accounts of preverb ordering in other Algonquian languages, that propose that the ordering of preverbs is determined by a predefined template, cannot adequately account for the ordering of these elements in Severn Ojibwe. I show that the ordering of preverbs in this dialect of Ojibwe cannot be reduced to a predefined template, but is determined simply on the basis of scopal relationship between them. I also examine the distribution of two particular preverbs that illuminates some properties of modal and aspectual preverbs.

1.   Introduction

The present paper deals with some issues in the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe[1], a dialect of Ojibwe spoken in the Northwestern Ontario. As in other Algonquian languages, preverbs in Severn Ojibwe are elements that are attached to the verb stem between inflectional prefixes (if any) and the stem. A template illustrating the order of morphemes in the Severn Ojibwe verb complex is presented below:

(1)   pronominal prefix – tense[2] – **preverb(s)** – stem – inflection

Preverbs often act as modifiers of the verb stem, and there is no logical limit to the number of preverbs in a single verb complex. The following sentence, for instance, contains six preverbs:

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[1] This dialect is referred to as 'Oji-Cree' by its speakers in Kingfisher Lake, Northern Ontario, and other communities. I use the term 'Severn Ojibwe' in order to be consistent with the existing scholarly linguistic convention.

[2] Tense markers are also traditionally called 'preverbs' but I use this term to refer to the derivational prefixes between the tense markers and the stem.

(2)   Nika-kakwe-manaa-kiiwe-kiimooci-kawehshimi-kihci-masinahtehsicike[3]
        1SG-FUT-try-avoid-again- secretly- before.bed- a.lot-watchTV.3SG.VAI[4]
        'I will try to avoid secretly watching TV again before going to bed.'

      The existing accounts of the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe and other Algonquian languages argue that these elements are ordered according to a predefined template. For example, Todd (1970) distinguishes four classes of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe (under the term 'preverb' she includes also tense markers and subordinators). Preverbs of type 1 and type 2 are subordinators and tense preverbs respectively, and I do not deal with these in this paper. Type 3 contains relative preverbs (*ahko-* 'since, as far as', *ahpihci-* 'as much as, so big', *ishi-* 'thus, in/to that place', *onci-* 'from such a place/ cause', etc.), and type 4 includes all other preverbs (*kakwe-* 'try', *ani-* 'begin', *kihci-* 'big, very' etc.). The ordering proposed by Todd is the following: type 1 > type 2 > type 3 > type 4. Todd also mentions that more than one type 4 preverb can be attached to a verb, but she does not offer a possible ordering of type 4 preverbs. It is Todd's type 3 and type 4 preverbs that I will deal with in this paper.
      Valentine (2001) distinguishes four classes of preverbs in Niishnaabemwin (a southern dialect of Ojibwe) and proposes the following template for their ordering:

(3)   Valentine (2001) for Niishnaabemwin:
        directional > relative > aspectual > manner/quality/number

Cook (2003) proposes a slightly different classification of preverbs in Menominee, arguing that preverbs in this language are ordered according to the following template:

(4)   Cook (2003) for Menominee:
        modal > aspect > spatial > adverbial

However, none of the existing accounts of preverb ordering in other Algonquian languages can adequately account for the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. In the following example, the ordering *relative-aspectual-directional-adverbial-aspectual* cannot be predicted by any of the existing templates.

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[3] The data for this paper were collected during fieldwork in Kingfisher Lake, Northern Ontario, in the summer 2005 and in Toronto in 2006.

[4] Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 'CONJ.'- conjunct order, 'INDEP' – independent order, 'OBV'-obviation, 'VAI'- animate intransitive verb, 'VII' – intransitive inanimate verb, 'FUT' - future, 'SG'- singular, 'PL'- plural, 'INC' – inclusive, 'EXCL' – exclusive, 'SUB' – subordinator.

(5)   Preverb ordering: relative-aspectual-directional-adverbial-aspectual
        Ohomaa kii- **ishi- nihtaa- pi- kiimooci-maacii**-anohkii.
        here   PAST-**REL**[5]-**usually-hither-secretly- start-** work.3SG.VAI
        'S/he used to always come here and secretly start working.'

    In the following sections I argue that the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe differs from that in other Algonquian languages in that it cannot be predicted by a predefined template, but is rather determined on the basis of scopal relationship between preverbs. Similarly to what Rice (2000) has argued for the morpheme ordering in Athapaskan langauges, I show that:

(i)   Preverbs in a fixed scopal relationship occur in a fixed order with respect to each other;
(ii)   Preverbs with reversable scopal relationship occur in a variable order;
(iii)   Preverbs that do not enter into a scopal relationship with each other may occur in different orders.

I also assume that the scopal relationship is reflected in a left-to-right linear order, so that a preverb of a larger scope appears to the left of the preverb within its scope.
    I also examine the distribution of two preverbs – a relative preverbs *ishi-* 'in a certain time/location/manner', and an argument-related preverb *caaki-* 'all' – and argue that the interaction of these preverbs with modal and aspectual preverbs provides some evidence for modal preverbs appearing higher in the structure than aspectual preverbs, and modal preverbs marking the VP boundary.

2.   The scope-governed ordering

2.1   Classes of preverbs

The classification of preverb presented here is largely based on Valentine (2001) and Cook (2003), with a few modifications. This is not an exhaustive list of preverb classes in Severn Ojibwe, but it does include all the classes that will be dealt with in this paper.
    The first class to be mentioned is the class of *relative* preverbs. These are preverbs that 'function to relate the verbal event to various associate circumstances, such as way in which it takes place, where it takes place, the reason it takes place, how long since it's taken place, how many times and how often.' (Valentine 2001, p. 160). Some of the preverbs that belong to this class are *ishi-* 'in a certain place/way/manner', *onci-* 'from a certain place', *ahpiihci-* 'to such extent'. Only the preverb *ishi-* 'in a certain place/way/manner' will be discussed in this paper.
    The class of *aspectual* preverbs includes preverbs *maacii-* 'start', *pooni-* 'stop', *kipihcii-* 'stop temporarily', *ishkwaa-* 'finish', *noomake-* 'for a while' and *ontami-* 'busy/right now. These preverbs refer to the beginning- and end-

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[5] The preverb *ishi-* 'in a certain time/place/manner' is glossed REL throughout the paper, since it is the only relative preverb that will be discussed here.

points of the event denoted by the verb stem, or to the internal structure of the event.

     Modal preverbs refer to the desire/ability of the agent to cause the event to happen. These are preverbs such as *nihtaa-* 'able to', *nanaantawi-* 'look for', *kakwe-* 'try to', *manaa-* 'avoid, refrain from', *kwenawii-* 'unable to, can't find', *noonte-* 'want, before goal is reached'.

     The last class is that of *circumstantial* preverbs, which, in its turn, consists of several subclasses: temporal, manner, accompanying circumstances, and argument-related preverbs. *Temporal* preverbs include preverbs such as *niipaa-* 'at night', *kishepaa-* 'in the morning', *kiiwe-* 'back/again', *nehpici-* 'constantly'. *Manner* preverbs are preverbs such as *kihci-* 'a lot, very', *kishahtapi-* 'quickly', *kinipii-* 'quickly', *pwaahtawi-* 'late', *wahke-* 'easily', *onsaami-* 'too much', *piyehtake-* 'quietly', *ketahtawi-* 'suddenly', *maci-* 'bad', *mino-* 'good/happy'. Preverbs that belong to the *accompanying circumstances* class are preverbs such as *pihci-* 'by accident', *wani-* 'in error', *kawehshimi-* 'before going to bed', *kiimooci-* 'secretly'. Finally, examples of *argument-related* preverbs are the preverbs *caaki-* 'all', and *wiici-* 'in company with'.

     The next sections will illustrate how the scope principle determines the ordering of preverbs.

2.2   Circumstantial preverbs

In this section I examine the ordering of circumstantial preverbs and argue that it is determined by their scopal relationships rather than by a predefined template.

     Consider first the following examples. The difference between them is that in (6) the two preverbs *kawehshimi-* 'before going to bed' and *kishahtapi-* 'quickly' can appear in any order, while in (7) the relative order of the preverbs *pwaahtawi-* 'late' and *kiimooci-* 'secretly' is fixed.

(6)   Variable ordering:

     Kawehshimi-kishahtapi-wiihsini. / -**kishahtapi-kawehshimi-**
     before.bed-   fast-   eat.3SG.VAI
     'He eats quickly before going to bed.'

(7)   Fixed ordering:

     Kiimooci-pwaahtawi-wanishkaa. / *-**pwaahtawi-kiimooci-**
     secretly- late-   wake up.3SG.VAI
     'He secretly wakes up late.'

The contrast between the two examples cannot be explained by a templatic approach since a template does not predict any variation in ordering. However, the difference between these two examples can be seen clearly through the droppability test for determining the relationship between adverbials, which is used, for example, in Ernst (2000). Ernst (2000) notices that in the following English sentence the two adverbials *hungrily* and *in the kitchen* can appear in any order without changing the meaning:

(8)   He ate hungrily in the kitchen/ He ate in the kitchen hungrily.

The droppability test when applied to this sentence results in the following entailment relationship: 'He ate hungrily in the kitchen' entails 'He ate hungrily' and 'He ate in the kitchen'. According to Ernst (2000), this is the case because these adverbials are in 'scopeless' relationship with each other, and that is why they can appear in any order. The droppability test is thus useful to determine if these adverbials enter into a relationship of scope with one another.

    If we apply the test of droppability to example (6), the result is the following: *kawehshimi-kishahtapi-wiihsini* 'he eats quickly before going to bed' entails *kawehshimi-wiishini* 'he eats before going to bed', and it also entails *kishahtapi-wiihsini* 'he eats quickly'. Thus, here, like in (8), the entailment relationship is symmetric. The conclusion is that like the two adverbials in (8), the two preverbs *kishahtapi-* 'fast' and *kawehshimi-* 'before bed' are in a scopeless relationship with each other and do not have to be rigidly ordered.

    However, this test yields a different result for the sentence in (7): *kiimooci-pwaahtawi-wanishkaa* 'he wakes up late secretly' entails *pwaahtawi-wanishkaa* 'he wakes up late', but it does not entail *kiimooci-wanishkaa* 'he wakes up secretly'. This means that the preverb *pwaahtawi-* 'late' must have a narrower scope than the preverb *kiimooci-* 'secretly', and given that scope is reflected in ordering, the element with narrower scope has to be closer to the verb stem.

    Thus, what is responsible for the difference between (6) and (7) is the scope. In (7) the preverb *pwaahtawi-* 'late' has narrower scope than the preverb *kiimooci-* 'secretly', reflecting the entailment relationship, and therefore must appear closer to the stem; while *kiimooci-* takes scope over the combination *pwaahtawi-wanishkaa* 'wakes up late', and thus, must also linearly precede *pwaahtawi-*. The preverbs in (6), on the other hand, are in a completely symmetric relationship with each other, and therefore their order is not fixed.

    Thus, the principle of scope illuminates the relationship and the order of circumstantial preverbs. If the scopes of two preverbs interact strongly, the change in their relative order results in a change in meaning. If the scopes of two preverbs do not interact, they can appear in any order, since the scope principle does not have anything to say about their relative ordering.

2.3   The intensifier *kihci-*

The intensifier *kihci-* 'a lot', 'very', 'big' is one of the most frequently occurring preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. I show here that this preverb provides more evidence in favor of the scope-governed ordering: its boundedness to its position largely depends on its relationship with the verb stem and other preverbs in the verbal complex.

    Consider first the following examples. Each of the following sentences contains two circumstantial preverbs, one of which is the intensifier *kihci-*. In the two examples in (9), the relative order of *kihci-* and the other preverb is variable, while in both sentences in (10) the order is fixed.

(9) Variable order:

    a. **Kihci-kiimooci**-tiiwiminihkwe. / **kiimooci-kihci-**
       a lot- secretly- drink tea.3SG.VAI
       'He drinks lots of tea secretly.'

    b. Nihtaa- **kihci-nehpici**- kishepaa- saakaswe. / **nehpici-kihci-**
       habitually-a lot-constantly-in the morning-smoke.3SG.VAI
       'He usually constantly smokes a lot in the morning.'

(10) Fixed order:

    a. **Kihci-kishahtapi**-onaakohshin./ *__kishahtapi-kihci__-onaakohshin
       very- quickly- be evening.VII
       'The evening comes very quickly.'

    b. **Kihci-pwaahtawi**-wanishkaa. / *__pwaahtawi-kihci__-wanishkaa
       very- late- wake up.3SG.VAI
       'He wakes up very late.'

Once again a template would fail to generate the difference between these two cases, since it cannot predict a situation where one and the same element would exhibit two different kinds of behaviour depending on the environment.

    The crucial difference between the two cases in (9) and (10) lies, of course, in the different nature of relationship between *kihci-* and other elements in the verb complex. In (9) *kihci-* modifies the verb stem, while in (10) it modifies the following preverb. Thus, when *kihci-* modifies the stem, its order relative to other preverbs is free, while when it modifies the following preverb, it is fixed to its position immediately preceding that preverb.

    The ability of the preveb *kihci-* to modify either the verb stem or the following preverb produces ambiguity in sentences where *kihci-* precedes a potentially modifiable preverb. In such cases, *kihci-* can be interpreted as modifying either the stem or the following preverb (as in (11a) and (12a) below). If, however, *kihci-* appears adjacent to the stem, the ambiguity does not arise, as it can only be interpreted as modifying the stem (as in (11b) and (12b) below).

(11) a. **Kihci- kishahtapi**-wiihsini.
       very/a lot- fast- eat.3SG.VAI
       'S/he eats a lot quickly.' / 'S/he eats very fast.'

    b. **Kishahtapi-kihci**-wiihsini.
       fast- a lot- eat.3SG.VAI
       'S/he eats a lot quickly.' / *'S/he eats very fast.'

(12) a. **Kihci-wahke**-kiishiwaasi.
       very- easily- angry.3SG.VAI
       'S/he gets very angry easily.'/ 'S/he gets angry very easily.'

     b.   **Wahke-kihci**-kiishiwaasi.
            easily-   very- angry.3SG.VAI
            'S/he gets very angry easily.'/ * 'S/he gets angry very easily.'

Interestingly, the following example, where *kihci-* is the only preverb in the verb complex, also exhibits ambiguity: the verb complex may be interpreted as either 'drink lots of sweet coffee/tea' or 'drink very sweet coffee/tea'.

(13) Ki.**kihci**-   shiiwaakaminike   na?
       2SG.a lot/very-drink.sweet.liquid.VAI YES/NO
       a. 'Do you drink a lot of sweet tea/coffee (lit: a lot of sweet liquid)?'
       b. 'Do you take lots of sugar with your tea/coffee (lit: drink very sweet liquid)?'

This ambiguity arises because *kihci-* can be interpreted either as modifying the stem *shiiwaakaminike* or the initial part of the stem *shiiw-* 'sweet', as shown below:

(14) a.   Ki.**[kihci-shiiwaakaminike]** na?
            2SG. a lot-drink.sweet.liquid.VAI YES/NO
            'Do you drink a lot of sweet tea/coffee (lit: a lot of sweet liquid)?'

      b.   Ki.**[kihci-shiiw]**aakaminike na?
            2SG. very-sweet.liquid.drink.VAI YES/NO
            'Do you take lots of sugar with your tea/coffee (lit: drink very sweet liquid)?'

For this ambiguity to arise, *kihci-* must be necessarily adjacent to the stem. Thus, the following example where *kihci-* is separated from the stem by the preverb *kiimooci-* 'secretly' is not ambiguous:

(15) **Kihci-kiimooci**-shiiwaakaminike
       a lot-   secretly-drink sweet liquid.VAI
       a. 'Secretly he drinks lots of sweet coffee / tea.'
       b. *'Secretly he drinks very sweet coffee / tea.'

These examples show that *kihci-* is able to penetrate the structure of the stem and enter into specifier-head relationship with part of the verb stem, which means that the principle of scope is, probably, responsible not only for the ordering of preverbs, but also for the ordering of morphemes within the verb stem.

2.4   Modal and aspectual preverbs

In this section I briefly discuss how the principle of scope governs the ordering of aspectual and modal preverbs. Recall that aspectual preverbs include preverbs that refer to the beginning and end-point of the event (*maacii-* 'start', *pooni-* 'stop') or to the internal structure of the event (*noomake-* 'for a while', *ontami-* 'busy, right now'); modal preverbs include preverbs *kakwe-* 'try', *nihtaa-* 'be

able to, be good at, do often', *manaa-* 'avoid', *kwenawii-* 'unable to/no place for', etc.

Recall that the existing accounts of preverb ordering in other Algonquian languages place aspectual and modal preverbs higher than circumstantial/adverbial preverbs. The following examples show that this approach cannot adequately account for the interaction of modal and aspectual preverbs with circumstantial preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. In (16), the order of the aspectual preverb *pooni-* 'stop, and the temporal circumstantial preverb *niipaa-* 'at night' is variable with each variation producing a different meaning. Similarly, in (17) the relative ordering of the modal preverb *nanaantawi-* 'look for' and the temporal circumstantial preverb *kishepaa-* 'in the morning' is also responsible for the difference in meaning between (17a) and (17b).

(16) a. Pooni-niipaa- anohkii.
          stop- at.night-work.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he stopped working at night (does not work at night anymore).'

      b. Niipaa-pooni-anohkii.
          at.night-stop- work.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he quit his job at night.'

(17) a. Nanaantawi-kishepaa- anohkii. / *kishepaa-nanaantawi-
          look.for- in.the.morning-work.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he is looking for a morning job.'

      b. Kishepaa- nanaantawi-anohkii.
          in.the.morning-look.for- work.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he is looking for a job in the morning (performing the search in the morning).'

In (16a) the aspectual preverb *pooni-* appears farther from the stem than the circumstantial preverb *niipaa-* 'at night', and the meaning of the sentence is 'S/he stopped working at night' meaning 's/he does not work at night anymore.' In (16b) *pooni-* appears closer to the stem than *niipaa-* and the meaning is 'S/he quit his job at night'. While a template cannot account for this difference, it is easily explainable by the scopal relationship between these two preverbs. In (16a) *pooni-* takes a wider scope than *niipaa-*, which is why it must appear farther from the stem, assuming that the scopal relationship is reflected in a left-to-right ordering. In (16b) *pooni-* is in the scope of *niipaa-*, which explains why it necessarily must appear closer to the stem. The same principle applies to the contrastive examples in (17a) and (17b).

The following examples show the interaction of modal and aspectual preverbs with each other. Here also every change in the relative order of the three preverbs *pooni-* 'stop', *nihtaa-* 'be able to, habitually', and *kakwe-* 'try' produces a different meaning. For instance, in (18a) where *nihtaa-* is the closest to the stem, *pooni-* is the farthest, and *kakwe-* appearing between them, the meaning is 'S/he stopped learning how to sing' or 'S/he stopped trying to be good at singing'. However, when *kakwe-* and *nihtaa-* switch places in (18b), with *nihtaa-* now appearing closer to the stem than *kakwe-*, the meaning is 'S/he

stopped trying to sing all the time.'[6] In a similar way, the meaning of each sentence in (18) is different due to different relative orders of the three preverbs. Again, the reason for this contrast is that the linear order reflects the scopal relationship between preverbs, so that when the order of two preverbs is reversed, the scopal relationship is also reversed, changing the meaning of the whole verb complex.

(18) a.   Pooni-kakwe-nihtaa-nikamo.
        stop- try-   good.at-sing.VAI.3SG.INDEP
        'S/he stopped learning how to sing (lit. 'stopped trying to be good at singing').

      b.   Pooni-nihtaa- kakwe-nikamo.
          stop- habitually-try- sing.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he stopped trying to sing all the time.'

      c.   Kakwe-nihtaa-pooni-nikamo.
          try-   habitually-stop-sing.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he learns how to stop singing.'

      d.   Kakwe-pooni-nihtaa-nikamo.
          try-   stop-habitually-sing.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he tries to stop singing all the time.'

      e.   Nihtaa- kakwe-pooni-nikamo.
          habitually-try-   stop- sing.VAI.3SG.INDEP
          'S/he always tries to stop singing.'

      f.   Nihtaa- pooni-kakwe-nikamo.
          habitually-stop- try-   sing
          'S/he always stops learning how to sing.'

Thus, the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe cannot be predicted by a predefined template, as was proposed by some researchers for other Algonquian languages, but is determined simply on the basis of scopal relationship between preverbs in the verbal complex. In the following section I discuss the interaction of two preverbs with *modal* and *aspectual* preverbs, and some interesting properties of modal and aspectual preverbs that this interaction sheds light to.

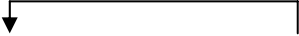## 3.   Modal and aspectual preverbs and some restrictions to the scope principle

In this section I discuss the distribution of two preverbs *ishi-* 'in a certain time/place/manner' and *caaki-* 'all', and their interaction with modal and aspectual preverbs. I provide some evidence that modal preverbs are located higher in the structure than aspectual preverbs, and that modal preverbs appear on the VP boundary.

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[6] See Slavin (2005, forthcoming) for an account of the meanings of the preverb *nihtaa-*.

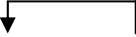### 3.1 *Ishi-* with modal and aspectual preverbs

The preverb *ishi-* 'in a certain time/place/manner' belongs to a class of relative preverbs whose function is to relate the event denoted by the verb to various circumstances associated with it. The preverb *ishi-*, in particular, relates the event to the specification of time, place or manner. As such, it often requires an antecedent in the sentence of discourse. Thus, in (19) below *ishi-* relates the verbal complex *antawi-kapahshim* 'go swimming' to the specification of time *ayinaanew kaa-ishihsenik* 'at eight o'clock'; in (20) it relates the main verb to the locative expression *Thunder Bay*, and in (21) it creates a link between two parts of the comparison.
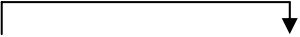
(19) *Ishi-* with a time antecedent:

[Ayinaanew kaa-ishihsenik]   ninihtaa-   **ishi**-antawi-kapaahshim.
eight   SUB-time is.CONJ 1SG.habitually-**REL**-go.to-   swim.VAI
'I usually go swimming at eight o'clock.'

(20) *Ishi-* with a place/direction antecedent:

[Thunder Bay] **ishi**-mate-nanaantawi-anohkii.
Thunder Bay   **REL**-there- look.for-   work.VAI
'He is looking for a job in Thunder Bay.'

(21) *Ishi-* with a manner antecedent:

Mii piko **ishi**-tahkaayaa weti [omaa kiishkimansiwaapoonk toohkaan].
so   just REL-be cold.VAI there here   kingfisher.water.LOC   like
'It is as cold there as here in Kingfisher Lake.'

Recall from section 1 above that the existing accounts of preverb ordering in Severn Ojibwe and other Algonquian languages locate *ishi-* and other relative preverbs closer to the left periphery of the preverb complex (Todd 1970, Valentine 2001). However, I will show below that in Severn Ojibwe, the position of this preverb relative to other preverbs in the verbal complex is really determined by its scopal relationship with these other preverbs. In particular, I show that *ishi-* does not only have to appear farther from the stem than the preverbs that fall within its scope, but it also must appear immediately preceding the portion of the verbal complex that it refers to the antecedent.

    Ishi- 'in a certain time/place/manner' interacts differently with modal and aspectual preverbs. As shown in the following examples, its position with respect to aspectual preverbs *pooni-* 'stop' and *maacii-* 'start' is fixed, with *ishi-* appearing farther from the stem than the aspectual preverb:

(22) **Ishi-pooni**-paahpiwak kaa-pintikec   awiya. / ***pooni-ishi-**
     REL- stop-laugh.3PL SUB-enter.VAI.CONJ somebody
     'They stop laughing when somebody enters.'

(23) **Ishi-maacii**-maawi kaa-kinikicinaakanoc   ociimican. / ***maacii-ishi-**
     REL- start- cry SUB-tickle.3'>3.CONJ   his.younger sibling.OBV
     'He started crying when his younger brother tickled him.'

The position of *ishi-* with modal preverbs, on the other hand, is variable, with each order producing a different meaning.

(24) a.   **Ishi-kakwe**-nihtaa-niimi   kaa-ishi- maankosaakaanik.
        REL-try-   good.at-dance.VAI SUB-REL-big room.OBV.VII.CONJ
        'S/he wants to learn how to dance in a big room (i.e. she wants dancing lessons to take place in a big room).'

      b.   **Kakwe-ishi**-nihtaa- niimi   kaa-ishi- maankosaakaanik.
        try-REL-   good.at-dance.VAI SUB-REL-big.room.OBV.VII.CONJ
        'S/he wants to learn how to dance in a big room (i.e. she already knows how to dance in a small room.'

(25) a.   Mii homaa kaa- kii-   **ishi- kwenawii**-nipaayaank.
        so   here   SUB-PAST-**REL-can't find**-sleep.VAI.1EXCL.CONJ
        'It is here that we couldn't find a place to sleep.'

      b.   Mii homaa kaa-kii-   **kwenawii-   ishi**-nipaayaank.
        so   here SUB-PAST-**can't find-   REL**-sleep.1EXCL.CONJ
        'This is where we couldn't find a place **where** to sleep.'

As these examples show, with modal preverbs, *ishi-* appears immediately preceding the portion of the verbal complex that it relates to the antecedent. For instance, in (24a), where *ishi-* appears farther from the stem than the modal preverb *kakwe-* 'try', the interpretation of the sentence is that the learning takes place in a big room, because in this position *ishi-* can take scope over everything that follows it in the verbal complex, the combination *kakwe-nihtaa-niimi* 'learn how to dance'. By contrast, in (24b) where *ishi-* appears closer to the stem than *kakwe-*, the portion of the verbal complex that it can relate to the antecedent is the sequence *nihtaa-niimi* 'be good at dancing/know how to dance', and the meaning of the sentence being 's/he wants to be good at dancing in a big room.'

     The situation in (25) is similar to that in (24), only here the contrast produced by the position of *ishi-* relative to the preverb *kwenawii-* 'can't find' is a matter of focus. In (25a), where *ishi-* appears farther from the stem than *kwenawii-*, the constituent that is focused and related by *ishi-* to the antecedent is the combination of *kwenawii-* and the stem. By contrast, in (25b), where *ishi-* appears closer to the stem than *kwenawii-*, the focused constituent is just the verb stem itself.

Moreover, with modal preverbs, the two positions available for *ishi-* can be occupied at the same time[7]:

(26) Mii homaa kaa-kii-**ishi**-kwenawii-**ishi**-nipaayaank.
     so   here SUB-PAST-REL- fail-   REL-sleep.1EXCL.CONJ
     'It is here that we couldn't find a place where to sleep.'

In this sentence, the lower *ishi-* takes scope over the verb stem and relates it to the antecedent, and the higher *ishi-* takes scope over the combination of the modal preverb *kwenawii-*, the lower *ishi-* and the stem, and relates it to the same antecedent.

Thus, I have shown that the distribution of *ishi-* cannot be accounted for by a predefined template, but is governed by the scopal relationship between *ishi-* and other preverbs in the verbal complex. The fact that *ishi-* interacts differently with modal and aspectual preverbs deserves further attention, but at this point it suffices to notice that it is consistent with the crosslinguistic generalization that modal markers appear higher in the structure than aspectual markers (Cinque 1999).

3.2 *Caaki-* 'all' with modal preverbs

In this section I discuss the distribution of the argument-related preverb *caaki-* 'all', looking, in particular, at its interaction with modal preverbs. I show that the position of this preverb relative to modal preverbs determines which argument it refers to. I argue that this evidence points to the fact that modal preverbs appear on the VP boundary.

The preverb *caaki-* 'all' is often unordered with respect to other preverbs, as shown in the following examples.

(27) **Caaki-kishepaa**-anohkiiwak / **kishepaa**-**caaki-**
     all-in the morning-work.3PL.VAI
     'They all work in the morning.'

(28) Kii-nihtaa-**caaki-kihci**-anohkiinaanowan / **kihci-caaki-**
     PAST-habitually-**all-hard**-people.are.working.INDEP
     'They all used to work hard at night.'

If one assumes that the order of preverbs is predefined by a template, then it is not clear why the preverb *caaki-* can appear in any position relative to the preverbs *kihci-* 'a lot' and *kishepaa-* 'in the morning' (and, in fact, most other preverbs in the data, too). However, by looking at the scopal relationship between *caaki-* and these other preverbs, it is possible to find an explanation for this fact.

Rice (2000) examines a similar case in Athapaskan, where D-quantifiers are unordered with respect to other affixes. She argues that this free ordering is due to the fact that these two kinds of morphemes belong to different

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[7] Constructions with two *ishi-* in the same verb complex are freely used by some speakers, but disallowed by others.

subsystems – D-quantifiers refer to arguments, while other affixes refer to events – so that their scopes do not interact which each other, and the scope principle has nothing to say about their ordering.

It seems that the same explanation can be proposed for the examples above, where *caaki-* is unordered with the preverbs *kishepaa-* 'in the morning' and *kihci-* 'a lot': while *caaki-* modifies arguments, the other two preverbs modify events, so that their scopes do not interact, and the scope principle has nothing to say about their ordering.

However, it is not the case that the preverb *caaki-* is always unordered with other preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. Consider the following examples:

(29) a.   Kiih-**kakwe-caaki**-ataawaake.wak kinooshen onaako.
               PAST-**try-all**-sell.VAI.3PL   fish.OBV   yesterday
               'They tried to sell ***all** the fish* yesterday.'

        b.   Kiih-**caaki-kakwe**-ataawaake.wak kinooshen onaako.
               PAST- **all-**   **try-**   sell. 3PL fish.OBV yesterday
               '*They **all*** tried to sell some fish yesterday.'

These two examples show that the position of the preverb *caaki-* relative to the modal preverb *kakwe-* 'try' does influence the meaning of the whole verb complex: if *caaki-* appears following *kakwe-* (as in (29a) then it is interpreted as referring to the object of the verb, however, if *caaki-* precedes *kakwe-* (as in (29b)), then it is interpreted as referring to the subject. Relating back to the data discussed in the previous section, this new set of data might be evidence that modal preverbs not only appear higher in the structure than aspectual preverbs, but in fact, mark the VP boundary. This is also not surprising because it is not unusual for modal markers crosslinguistically to appear on the edge of the VP: since modals are T-related elements, and T selects VP, we expect modals to appear at the VP edge.[8] Assuming then that the subject appears outside VP, and the object inside VP, the contrast in (29) can be easily explained. The preverb *caaki-* simply refers to the entity that is accessible to it: if it follows the modal preverb, then, according to the scope principle, it falls within its scope, and appears within VP, so that the only entity accessible to it is the object; and when it precedes the modal preverb, it consequently appears outside VP boundary, and the material inside VP is not accessible to it, but the only entity that is accessible is the subject in Spec, IP. However, more data has to be examined to provide more support for this proposal.

4.   Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed some issues in the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe. I have shown that, unlike in other Algonquian languages, the ordering of preverbs in Severn Ojibwe cannot be accounted for by a predefined template, but is governed by the principle of scope, similarly to what is proposed by Rice (2000) for morpheme order in Athapaskan languages. I have shown that, like in Athapaskan, scopal relationship between preverbs in Severn Ojibwe is reflected

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[8] I thank Peter Hallman for pointing this out to me.

in their linear order with preverbs of larger scope appearing farther from the stem than preverbs within their scope, and preverbs in a 'scopeless' relationship being unordered with each other. I have also examined the interaction of the preverbs *ishi-* 'in certain time/place/manner' and *caaki-* 'all' with modal and aspectual preverbs, arguing that modal preverbs appear higher in the structure than aspectual preverbs, and that modal preverbs appear on the VP boundary.

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