



reflexive; OBJ<sub>θ</sub> cannot be the target of these processes. The gender of OBJ influences the shape of the verb stem, but OBJ<sub>θ</sub> may be either animate or inanimate without affecting the form of the verb. Moreover, verbs are inflected for OBJ but not for OBJ<sub>θ</sub>. Pronominal OBJ is expressed by the inflection on the verb if no OBJ NP is present. Pronominal OBJ<sub>θ</sub>, in contrast, is expressed by an independent personal pronoun – a grammaticalized possessed form of ‘body’ – under certain syntactic circumstances (described in the full paper), and by zero anaphora elsewhere. The syntax of independent reflexive pronouns also reveals an asymmetry between OBJ and OBJ<sub>θ</sub>. The antecedent of an OBJ<sub>θ</sub> reflexive may be either SUBJ or OBJ; an OBJ reflexive pronoun cannot have an OBJ<sub>θ</sub> antecedent.

Using the above criteria for distinguishing OBJ from OBJ<sub>θ</sub>, we must analyze some two-place verbs as being subcategorized for a SUBJ and an OBJ<sub>θ</sub>, not an OBJ. The subcategorization frame of SUBJ plus OBJ<sub>θ</sub> may be the result of an OBJ-suppressing process, such as antipassive, reflexive, or reciprocal, applying to a ditransitive stem:

- |     |    |          |  |               |
|-----|----|----------|--|---------------|
| (5) | a. | mi·šiwe- | 'give O <sub>θ</sub> away <S O <sub>θ</sub> >'       | [antipassive] |
|     | b. | ašameti- | 'feed each other O <sub>θ</sub> <S O <sub>θ</sub> >' | [reciprocal]  |

Other verbs are inherently subcategorized for a SUBJ and OBJ<sub>θ</sub>:

- |     |    |            |                                 |
|-----|----|------------|---------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | ahpe·nemo- | 'depend on <S O <sub>θ</sub> >' |
|     | b. | we·pa·hke- | 'throw <S O <sub>θ</sub> >'     |
|     | c. | takwi-     | 'join <S O <sub>θ</sub> >'      |

The nonsubject argument of the verbs in (5-6) cannot be the target of antipassive, reflexive or reciprocal formation, it may be either animate or inanimate without changing the form of the verb stem, it does not trigger agreement on the verb, and it may be expressed by pronouns from the 'body' series or by zero anaphora: all properties of OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.

Other sections of the full paper argue that the nonsubject argument in (5-6) is not OBL (evidence from word order and relative clauses) and investigate the range of thematic roles associated with Meskwaki OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.

Analyzing the nonsubject argument in (5-6) as OBJ<sub>θ</sub> requires modification of standard views such as: "... not all languages have OBJ<sub>θ</sub> and even in those that do non-Patient themes are only mapped to OBJ<sub>θ</sub> if there is also an OBJ." (Falk 2001:106) The markedness of OBJ<sub>θ</sub> mapping is evidenced by the rarity of the Meskwaki pattern, not by its absolute absence. The unusual nature of Meskwaki OBJ<sub>θ</sub> can also contribute to current conversations regarding the inventory of GFs (e.g. Alsina et al 2005), the nature of OBJ (Börjars & Vincent 2008), and the syntax of ditransitives (Maling 2001, Kibort 2008). In a sense, the Meskwaki pattern is the mirror image of the problem presented by symmetrical double object languages: instead of multiple arguments displaying primary object properties here we find a non-subject, non-oblique argument bereft of the expected primary object properties.

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