Argument Status and Constituent Structure in Chalcatongo Mixtec
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0. Introduction

Over the last fifteen years or so there has been a notable increase in research on the status of clitics, especially clitic pronouns. One of the questions that has been addressed is the argument status of such pronouns: do they count as arguments, or are they somehow linked to an NP (empty or filled) which has this function? This paper explores the argument status of clitic pronouns, free pronouns, and full nominals in Chalcatongo Mixtec ('CM'), in light of one proposal concerned with this problem, Jelinek's (1985) Argument Type Parameter. Jelinek argues that while in some languages NPs fulfill argument roles, in others clitics or even affixes have this function, and full NPs serve only as adjuncts.[2] In violation of this parameter, in CM either a full NP *or* a clitic pronoun may serve as the external argument, subject to certain distributional restrictions. In this paper I present an analysis of CM constituent structure which accounts for observed variations in word order, and also allows for a principled explanation of the clitic/NP argument alternation. Finally, I briefly consider analyses of two other languages, and suggest a revision of the Argument Type Parameter as two parameters, attempting to retain the original insight of the proposal while also accounting for languages like CM.

1. The Data and the Problem

CM is basically VSO, as illustrated in (1), and manifests all of the expected word order correlations noted by Greenberg (1963:62) for a type I (VSO) language: it has (some) prepositions, nouns precede modifying adjectives, and the genitive follows the head noun in possessive constructions. Furthermore, the alternative order SVO is fairly common (this is discussed further in the next section).[3]

(1) íkú ni-xą́ą́ María ndoʔò 'Yesterday Maria bought a basket'
yesterday CP-buy Maria basket

As (2)-(5) show, the subject may also be marked by one of a large set of pronominal enclitics. These are distinguished by person, and in third person, by noun class.

(2) a-ni-ndatu=rí uù órá 'I've already been waiting for two hours'
TEMP-CP-wait=1 two hour

(3) ká-xi̱nu̱=ro 'You (pl) run'
PL-run=2

(4) na-kúči=ðe 'He should/must bathe'
MOOD-bathe=3M

(5) Mexico ká-žaà=to 'They live in Mexico City'
Mexico PL-live=3POL/OLD

The full set of subject clitics is given in Table I.

TABLE I: CM SUBJECT CLITICS

PERS	GENDER	FREE	CLITIC
1	FAMILIAR	rùʔù	=rí
	POLITE	naʔa	=na
	INCLUSIVE (PL)	žóʔó	=žó
2	FAMILIAR	roʔo	=ro
	POLITE	níʔí	=ní
3	MASCULINE	čàà 'man'	=ðe
	FEMININE	ñąʔą 'woman'	=ña
	POLITE: OLDER	toʔò 'Señor'	=to
	ANIMAL	~~kiti~~ 'animal'	=~~ti~~
	SUPERNATURAL	íʔa, íža 'God'	=ža
	YOUNGER, DECEASED, etc.	(žii 'man')	=ži
	UNMARKED		=Ø

As the table shows, full pronouns exist only for first and second persons; the full forms shown for third person in Table I are corresponding nouns with generic reference. While in many cases the clitic is transparently related to the corresponding noun, note that in some cases it is not (e.g. third person masculine). CM does have a very conspicuous set of rapid speech reduction rules, and the clitics which are transparently related to the corresponding nouns do conform to these rules (e.g. the form of the third person feminine clitic would be the regular rapid speech contraction of the word for 'woman'). However, the clitics which do not show a regular relationship to the full form provide evidence that these clitics are not synchronically formed by contraction of the full forms. In addition, there are differences in the distribution of the clitics and the full forms (to be discussed immediately below), which further indicate that the clitics are forms which require a distinct lexical entry from the entry for the corresponding full form.[4] That is, there is clearly a historical relationship in many cases, but we do not want to analyze it as a synchronic relationship resulting from application of the rules of rapid speech contraction.

Furthermore, we can see that these forms are in fact clitics—and not affixes—in examples like (6)-(7), in which the pronominal element attaches to a postverbal adverb, rather than to the verb itself.[5]

(6) ni-žéé šąą̀=rí staà 'I ate a lot, I ate excessively'
CP-eat much=1 tortilla

(7) ma-kúʔni niʔi=ró 'Don't tie it tightly'
NEG/MOOD-tie tight=2

Finally, also note that there is a zero clitic, which marks third person, as in (8):

(8) nì-žee=Ø 'S/he ate'
CP-eat=3

We turn now to distributional facts about clitics and full NPs in CM, as illustrated in (9)-(12). In (9) we see that a clitic may occur with no overt NP subject present; in (10) we find that a postverbal NP may occur with no overt clitic present; in (11) we see that the subject NP may be preverbal, again with no overt clitic; and in (12) we see that a preverbal NP and a clitic pronoun may also cooccur:

(9) xi̱nu̱=ñá 'She's running'
run=3F

(10) xi̱nu̱ ñą́ʔą wą́ 'That woman is running'
run woman that

(11) ñą́ʔą wą́ xi̱nu̱ 'That woman is running'
woman that run

(12) ñą́ʔą wą́ xi̱nu̱=ñá 'That woman is running'
woman that run=3F

The distribution of the full first and second person pronouns differs from this in one important way, which is that the full pronouns cannot occur postverbally:

(13) *nì-žee rùʔù [cf. (10)] ('I ate')
CP-eat I

Given these data, the central question that this paper seeks to answer is whether the NPs and full pronouns on the one hand, or the clitics on the other satisfy the external argument position in a CM clause. We can represent these alternatives as follows:

(14) Hypothesis A: CM is a pro-drop language. The full NPs and pronouns are the arguments, and the clitic pronouns are agreement. When there is no NP or full pronoun, an empty pronominal, *pro*, is present in subject position.

(15) Hypothesis B: CM is not a pro-drop language. The clitic pronouns serve as the arguments, and the NPs are adjuncts. When no overt clitic is present a zero clitic serves as argument.

Precisely these alternatives have been examined by Jelinek (1984, 1985), and form the basis of her Argument Type Parameter (see below). This was developed to account for the fact that clauses without overt NPs are the norm in so many languages, especially languages of the Americas.[6] For example, she gives the Navajo data shown in (16)-(19), and explains their frequency and markedness as noted:

(16) yiyiiɬtsą́ 'He/she saw him/her ' (unmarked)

(17) ashkii at'ééd yiyiiɬtsą́ 'The boy saw the girl'
boy girl 3Sg-3Sg-saw
(highly marked; used when the referent of neither argument is clear in context)

(18) at'ééd yiyiiɬtsą́ 'He/she saw the girl'
girl 3Sg-3Sg-saw
(used when the referent of the patient argument is unclear or new information)

(19) ashkii biiɬtsą́ 'The boy saw him/her/it'
boy 3Sg-3Sg-saw
(used when the referent of the agent argument is unclear or new information)
[Jelinek 1985:4, examples (10)-(13)]

In formulating the Argument Type Parameter, Jelinek was reacting to Chomsky's (1982) Extended Projection Principle, which states (in part) that every clause must have a (structural) subject. This stipulation motivates the existence of an empty category when no overt subject is present. In languages such as Navajo, where a lack of overt NPs is the norm, the Extended Projection Principle forces us to include an empty subject in virtually every sentence. This is clearly not a desirable result, and so Jelinek argues that the Extended Projection Principle should be reinterpreted to allow pronominal clitics and affixes to serve as subjects in such languages. Under this hypothesis, full NPs in such languages are adjuncts, and their appearance is controlled by discourse/pragmatic factors. Jelinek achieves this reinterpretation of the Extended Projection Principle by positing the Argument Type Parameter, as follows:[7]

(20) The Argument Type Parameter (Jelinek 1985):
(a) In Lexical Argument languages, lexical items serve as arguments.
(b) In Pronominal Argument languages, only pronominal clitics and affixes serve as arguments.

The question posed earlier can now be recast as the following: Is CM a Pronominal Argument language or a Lexical Argument language? We will consider each of these possibilities in turn, and conclude that in fact, it is neither. The only way to account for the full range of data is to say that in CM, sometimes the clitics fulfill the external argument role, and sometimes the full NPs and pronouns do. In the next section, a constituent structure will be motivated which allows for exactly this result.

First, then, let us consider the possibility that CM is a Lexical Argument language (hypothesis A). If it is, then the clitics function as agreement. But recall examples (1), (10), and (11), which have no overt clitics, and therefore under this hypothesis would be lacking agreement. We could attempt to solve the problem by saying that a zero clitic is present as the agreement marker, reanalyzing e.g. (11) as in (21):

(21) ñą́ʔą wą́ xį́nų=Ø 'That woman is running'
woman that run=3

However, this solution will not work for an example like (22), below, because we cannot add a zero clitic to a sentence with a first-person subject. The zero clitic unambiguously marks third person, never first (or second). The zero clitic is a meaningful member of the clitic paradigm which just happens not to have phonetic content, and is *not* equivalent to no marking at all.[8]

(22) rùʔù nì-žee 'I ate'
I CP-eat

The Lexical Argument hypothesis, then, cannot explain the appearance or non-appearance of the clitics; thus CM must be a Pronominal Argument language (hypothesis B). But the reverse problem arises here: in (1), (10), and (11) we could say that a zero clitic fills the argument position, but in (22), again, this will not work. There is no candidate for subject in (22) under this hypothesis (i.e. assuming that only clitics can satisfy argument requirements), and so the Pronominal Argument hypothesis fails too.

Jelinek (1985) also provides a list of characteristics that Pronominal Argument languages have and Lexical Argument languages do not have. There is not space here to go into these in detail, but it should be noted that CM splits on the criteria; that is, it shows some of the characteristics of Pronominal Argument languages, as well as some of the characteristics of Lexical Argument languages.

What is needed is a solution which will allow us to say that either the clitic *or* the NP can be the argument. In order to find such a solution, we must first consider the clause structure of CM.

2. Clause Structure in CM

Any constituent may occur clause-initially in CM. (23)-(25) show an initial subject, object, and oblique, and (26) shows that the initial constituent does not have to be an argument of the clause.

(23) ñážįų wąą ni-ka-xáʔa ñųų 'Those people went to the town'
people that CP-PL-pass+by town

(24) statilá nì-saʔa Miguel 'Miguel made the bread'
bread CP-make Miguel

(25) čìì žuù wą žáá ą̨ą̨ kòò 'Under that rock lives a snake'
belly rock that live one snake

(26) íʔa žoò=žó úʔu nduči=tó 'As for our God of the moon, her eye hurts'
god moon-1PL hurt*(vi)* eye=3POL/OLD

Adverbials may also appear in preverbal position, as shown in (27):

(27) nù žoò nù žo kįʔį=rí nužáʔu 'Every month I will go to the market'
face month face month go=1 market

Prepredicate adverbials and initial NP constituents occasionally cooccur:

(28) ñáni=rí šąą kąʔą 'My brother talks a lot/too much'
brother=1 much talk

Finally, there can also be *two* NP constituents preceding the verb:

(29) kaxá wą́ tenáná ñų́ʔų 'This box contains tomatoes'
box this tomato contain

(30) burrú=ró wą nužáʔu xíndee 'Your burro is in the plaza'
burro=2 that plaza be+in

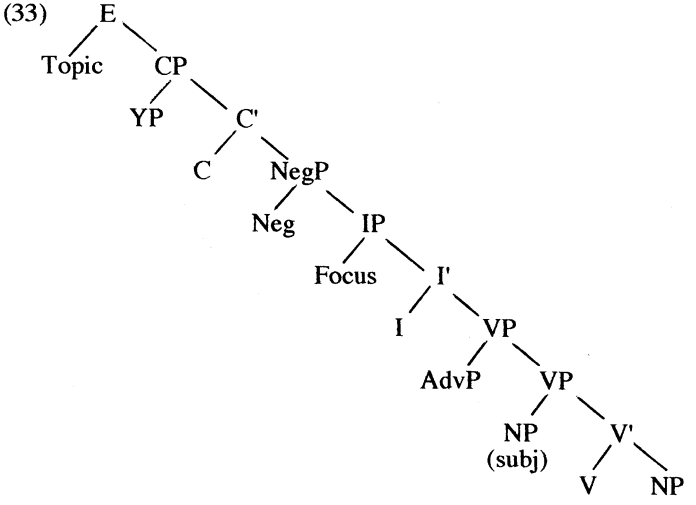
In order to account for the range of data shown in (23)-(30), I suggest, following Aissen's (1992) proposals for Mayan, that Mixtec sentences have both a clause-internal focus position as well as a clause-external topic position. These two positions are semantically distinguished as in (31) and (32), respectively. Focus can be informally characterized as the XP in 'It is XP who/that ...'; topic is more loosely what the sentence is 'about'.

(31) rùʔù kúʔu 'It's *me* that's sick; *I* am the one who is sick'
I be+sick

(32) roʔo tú=kúʔu=ro 'As for you, you aren't sick'
you NEG=be+sick=2

Following Aissen 1992, I propose an underlying structure for CM as in (33), where 'E' stands for 'Expression'.[9]

(33)



Topic, in this framework, is base-generated *in situ*, never moved from another position. Thus this constituent does not fill an argument role, although it may be coreferential with something that does. However, the constituent in focus position is always an argument of the verb, because it is moved to focus position from within VP (this is elaborated on below).

Aissen finds certain morphosyntactic and prosodic cues in Mayan which serve as evidence in favor of the constituent structure which she proposes, in particular for making the distinctions between topic and focus. CM, however, is largely lacking in such cues. There are no particles, clitics, or other elements which can appear with one but not with the other (as there are for Mayan). Furthermore, CM is a tone language, and as such, intonational cues are—to say the least—hard to discern. The one prosodic cue of which I am aware is pause, which appears to follow topic, but not focus. However, this is a sporadic enough phenomenon that it is not very reliable in making the distinction that we would like to make.

There is, however, one syntactic fact about CM which can serve as a test for topic vs. focus, and this is a special form which is used for focus negation, and which is distinct from normal sentence negation. Consider first (34) and (35), which illustrate simple negation in CM:

(34) tu=ni-xížaa=ró — 'You weren't there'
NEG=CP-be+located=2

(35) tu=ñíʔní=Ø — 'It's not hot'
NEG=hot=3

In these examples, we see that the negator tu= is a proclitic which attaches to the left of the verb or adjective which forms the predicate. (36)-(37) further illustrate that at least one preverbal constituent can precede tu=:

(36) čàà tú=žó seʔe — 'That man has no children'
man NEG=exist child — (LIT: 'As for that man, children don't exist')

(37) ndežu tú=žaʔu=Ø — 'The food is not expensive'
food NEG=expensive=3

We can tell from (36) that the preverbal constituent is a topic, because it does not fill an argument role in the sentence. Thus we know that clausal negation must follow topic. When we look at negative examples with focus constituents, however, we find a more complicated situation. Consider (38)-(39):

(38) niàsù čụ̀ụ̀ lii ká-ku či ká-ku kóní lúlí
NEG/FOC chicken chick PL-COP but PL-COP turkey+hen small
'They're not *chicken* chicks, they're *turkey* chicks'

(39) niàsù ruʔù ni-ka-sáʔa — 'It wasn't *us* who did it; *We* didn't do it'
NEG/FOC I CP-PL-do

In these examples we see that there is a special focus negator, niàsù, which always immediately precedes the focused constituent. Example (40) further shows that tu= may not negate a focused constituent:

(40) (a) niàsù roʔo kúʔu — 'It's not *you* who is sick'
NEG/FOC you be+sick

(b) *tu=ro?o kú?u ('It's not *you* who is sick')
NEG=you be+sick

Thus, niàsù can provide us with a test for topic vs. focus status in a preverbal NP: if the NP is negated with niàsù (as in (38), (39), and (40a)), we know that it is in focus position; if the only negation allowed is sentence negation with tu= (as in (36) and (37)), it must be a topic.

It might be objected that (40b) is a counterexample to the structure in (33), in which negation is located to the left of focus. If (33) is correct, why are sentences like (40b) ungrammatical? To answer this, first note that other examples show that the plain negator tu= *can* occur before a preverbal NP, as in (41)-(42):

(41) tú=kʷɨɨ xísɨkɨ=Ø 'He doesn't play (at) anything'
NEG=little+bit play=3

(42) ni-kexa?á=rí xąą=rí nužá?u te tú=šų?ų ñába?a=rí
CP-start=1 buy=1 market and NEG=money have=1
'I started to buy (things) in the market, but I didn't have any money'

The reason that (40b) is ungrammatical is that focus negation cannot be created with tu=. The pronoun ro?o 'you' is in focus position in this example, and the existence of the focus negator niàsù blocks the use of tu= in this construction. How then would a speaker of CM say simply 'you are not sick', without the contrastive emphasis of focus? (43) illustrates the answer—in that case either there would be no preverbal NP (as in (43a)), or the preverbal NP would be a topic (as in (32), repeated here as (43b)).

(43) (a) tú=ku?u=ro 'You're not sick'
NEG=be+sick=2

(b) ro?o tú=kú?u=ro 'You're not sick'
you NEG=be+sick=2

Thus, it is possible to create normal sentence negation with tu= and a preverbal NP in focus position (as in (41) and (42)), but the relative rarity of such sentences attests to the somewhat peculiar semantics that they have.

Now that we have established the structure of the CM clause, we can return to the problem posed in §1; that is, accounting for the fact that in some cases NPs and full pronouns function as subject, while in other cases pronominal clitics function as subject.

3. Accounting for the CM Facts

(33) assumes a VP-internal subject, as developed in e.g. Kuroda (1988) and Koopman and Sportiche (1991).[10] In the simplest of cases, V raises to I, creating the unmarked VSO word order (shown in greatly reduced form in (44)). It is the claim of this paper that clitics, pronouns, and full NPs may be generated in subject

position. If the subject is a clitic (as in (45)), it stays in Spec of VP, attaching leftward to the verb or, if there is one present, to a postverbal adverb (recall examples (6) and (7)).[11]

(44) [IP ni-xą́ą́$_i$ [VP María t_i ndoʔò]] 'Maria bought a basket'
CP-buy Maria basket

(45) [IP ni-tį́į$_i$ [VP =ží t_i rùʔù]] 'He [my late husband] grabbed me'
CP-grab =3POL/DEC me

If the subject is a full NP, it can stay in place (as in (44)) or be raised to [Spec, IP], which is focus position. If it is a free pronoun (as in (46), below), it *must* raise to Spec of IP, for discourse/pragmatic reasons (in a nutshell, the only reason to use a full pronoun for a non-topic in CM is to bring the relevant participant to the foreground).

(46) [IP rùʔù$_j$ [I' kúʔu$_i$ [VP t_j t_i]] 'It's *me* that's sick;
I be+sick *I* am the one who is sick'

Since a clitic and a full NP cannot both be generated in subject position, this analysis correctly predicts two things: first, that it is impossible to have both a clitic and a post-verbal subject (as in (47)), and second, that overt coreferential pronominal clitics may never cooccur with focus (as in (48)):[12]

(47) *xínu=ñá ñą́ʔą wą́ ('That woman is running')
run=3F woman that

(48) *rùʔù kúʔu=rí ('It's *me* that's sick;
I be+sick=1 *I* am the one who is sick')

Another alternative for a CM clause is to have a topic generated under E. When there is a coreferential clitic generated in subject position (as in (49)), we get clitic doubling, and the clitic counts as the argument, the topic as adjunct:

(49) [E ñą́ʔą wą́ [IP xį́nu$_i$ [VP =ñá t_i]] 'That woman is running'
woman that run =3F

Finally, in the cases with two preverbal constituents, the first is generated as a topic under E, and the second is moved to focus position, as in (50)-(51). It should be noted that these examples are quite rare, and (50) is the only one that I have found with a subject in focus position. All of the others have non-subjects in focus position (as in (51)), and have a zero clitic as subject.

(50) [E kɨ́ɨ=žó [IP soʔo=ɨ$_j$ [I' úʔu$_i$ [VP t_j t_i]]]
animal=1PL ear=3AN hurt
'Our horse's ear hurts' [LIT: 'As for our horse, its ear hurts']

(51) [E kaxá wą̀ [IP tenánáj [I' ñúʔụi [VP =Ø t_i t_j]]]
box this tomato contain =3
'This box contains tomatoes'

We have seen, then, that there is a straightforward solution to the problem of argument status in CM. It is provided both by the structure in (33) and by the idea that anything generated in subject position satisfies the external argument, whether that element is a clitic, a full pronoun, or an NP. This solution exploits the fact that while clitics do have morphophonological characteristics (that is, they are bound elements), they also have syntactic characteristics (the fact that their distribution is syntactic, rather than lexical). It is this distribution by the syntax which allows them to be generated in exactly the same place in a CM clause as a full subject would be.

4. The Argument Type Parameter

One of the results of this analysis is that Jelinek's Argument Type Parameter cannot be maintained in its present form. Here I briefly discuss two other examples of 'mixed' languages. I then return to the Argument Type Parameter, and sketch out a suggestion about how it could be modified to allow for languages like CM.

First, CM is unlike many other languages with subject clitics, because in CM the clitic appears in the same location as a full (non-clitic) subject would, and thus its complementary distribution with both postverbal and focused NP subjects follows automatically. In contrast, Safir (1986) concludes that Romance languages have a structural subject position *and* a slot in the VP for a subject clitic.[13] In his discussion of Trentino (pp. 306-337), he finds the same distribution of clitics and full NPs as we find in CM: either a subject clitic appears, an NP appears, or both appear. Safir handles these data by proposing that subject clitics can receive theta-roles when the structural subject position is filled by an 'empty expletive pronominal' (the details of which do not matter here). In Safir's analysis, then, the subject clitic may fill the external argument requirement, but the expletive pronominal fills the structural subject slot required by the Extended Projection Principle.

Another language which patterns even more like CM is Standard Arabic, although it shows affixal morphology rather than clitics. Standard Arabic is VSO, and like CM, it shows what Borer and Tuller (1985) call 'nominative/agreement complementarity'; that is, 'if there is full agreement, the subject must be empty, while if the subject is overt, the agreement is empty or incomplete' (1985:27). Furthermore, a preverbal subject may cooccur with full agreement, parallel to the topic constructions of CM. To account for these data, Borer and Tuller propose that AGR has the category feature [±N], and that VSO languages have [+N] AGR. If this [+N] AGR is generated with phonological content, it counts as subject (and the structural subject position must be empty); if AGR is generated without phonological content, the structural subject must be overt, and it counts as subject.

What both of these treatments have in common is the distinction between a locus for bound subject features (clitic or affixal) and a structural subject position. In Trentino (and other Romance languages), Safir shows that clitic pronouns can function as arguments. In Standard Arabic, Borer and Tuller show that affixes can function as arguments. These two studies provide us with further examples in

which the binary nature of Jelinek's Argument Type Parameter does not capture the range of data. Instead of two types, there appear to be three, as shown in (52):

(52) (a) Languages which only allow structural subjects
(b) Languages which allow structural and morphological subjects
(c) Languages which only allow morphological subjects

I am using the term 'morphological' here to mean either affixal or clitic, and implicit in this is the notion that a morphological subject occurs in a position other than the structural subject position. A language like English is an example of the first type, with only structural subjects. CM is also of this type, since its subjects are likewise only generated in structural subject position. Thus structural subjects may be bound or free; the critical point is that they occur in subject position. Trentino and Standard Arabic are of the mixed type: they alternate under very specific conditions between a morphological subject (verbal affixes or clitics which do not appear in subject position) and a structural subject. Finally, the languages mentioned by Jelinek (Navajo, for example) are of the last type, with only morphological subjects, and no structural subject required.

Since we have two overlapping categories, it may be the case that there are really two interacting parameters here—call them the 'Structural Subject Parameter' and the 'Morphological Subject Parameter'. The three language types in (52) would thus represent three different combinations of values for these parameters.[14] I leave elaboration of this as a direction for future research. Clearly, to justify this suggestion, it would be necessary to examine many more languages than I have in this short paper, and to consider such problems as markedness and acquisition in order to determine the range of variation. In addition, the instantiation of morphological subjects would have to be examined across languages, to discover what kinds of generalizations could be made about this topic.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, then, we have seen that CM provides us with a counterexample to the binary typology proposed in Jelinek's Argument Type Parameter. In CM, either a full NP or pronoun, or a clitic may fulfill the subject requirement of a predicate. A constituent structure has been proposed that not only handles the variation in word order and argument status found, but also correctly rules out ungrammatical possibilities. Finally, I have suggested that Jelinek's Argument Type Parameter should be recast as two independent but interacting parameters, the Structural Subject Parameter, and the Morphological Subject Parameter.

Footnotes

[1]Mixtec is an Otomanguean language spoken in south-central Mexico by approximately 320,000 people (Garza Cuarón and Lastra 1991). It is made up of a large number of mutually unintelligible varieties, called "dialects" by Mixtecanists. Chalcatongo Mixtec is an Alta dialect spoken by a few thousand people. I would like to thank Amy Dahlstrom, Wynne Janis, Joe Salmons and Ronnie Wilbur for their help and comments on this paper.

[2]Mithun (1992/1987) makes essentially the same argument.

[3]Abbreviations used in this paper are as follow: 1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons, AN - Animate, COP - Copula, CP - Completive, DEC - Deceased, F - Feminine, FOC - Focus, M - Masculine, MOOD - Deontic Mood, NEG - Negative, OLD - Older than speaker, PL - Plural, POL - Polite, TEMP - Temporal. High tone is marked with acute accent (´), mid tone is unmarked, and low tone is marked with grave accent (`).

[4]This kind of clitic has been called a "special clitic" by Zwicky (1977:3-5), and is defined as follows: "cases where an unaccented bound form acts as a variant of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning and similar phonological makeup." In addition, such clitics may show what Zwicky calls "special syntax," by which he means that they often exhibit different distributional characteristics than the corresponding free forms do.

[5]Example (6) has a direct object in the Mixtec version, but is translated into English without one to reflect the fact that the phrase žée staà is interpreted as the generic "eat."

[6]She also gives as evidence the fact that in many such languages full NPs are often separated from the verbal complex by a pause (1985:3).

[7]As Jelinek (1984) points out, Hale (1983) also addressed this problem with his "Configurationality Parameter." However, since Mixtec is not a non-configurational language, his solution would not apply in this case.

[8]Cf. the discussion of the Warlpiri zero clitic in Jelinek (1984:47).

[9]Aissen adopts this notion from Banfield (1973) and Emonds (1985). I should note that a number of other works besides Aissen (1992) have posited an external topic position (e.g. Chomsky 1977:91). I am using Aissen's category label "E" here because her work on Mayan provides such a good model for Mixtec, but I want to emphasize that I attach no great significance to the name for this category. The important point is that it is a position external to the clause proper.

Also note that Aissen proposes two topic positions for Mayan: one external (daughter of "E"), and one internal (in [Spec, CP] position). I have found no evidence that CM makes use of an internal topic.

[10]"Exploded" INFL is not directly relevant here, and so that aspect of Mixtec clause structure has been ignored in the present analysis.

[11]One result of this is that such clitics are no longer treated as phrasally affixed to their hosts in an adjunction structure. I'm not sure that this is a desirable result; we may want to appeal to some kind of restructuring in such cases. I leave it an open question.

[12]Of course (48) would be perfectly grammatical as a clause with a topic; in that case it would have the reading 'As for me, I am sick'.

[13]Safir considers French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Trentino in this article.

[14]What of the fourth possibility—a language with neither structural nor morphological subjects? On the one hand, it may simply be a logical impossibility: a language has to make use of one option, or both, but cannot fail to have subjects. On the other hand, there have been claims in the literature about the non-universality of the notion 'subject' (e.g. Schachter 1976), and this may provide us with an example of the fourth possible language type.

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