Diagnosing object agreement vs. clitic doubling:

An Inuit case study

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1 Introduction

Verbal agreement morphology is commonly analyzed as the morphological reflex of ϕ-feature valuation of a probing head H^0 by a ϕ-bearing goal, the result of Agree (e.g. Chomsky, 2000, 2001). However, much recent literature has argued for a contrast between the agreement morphemes cross-referencing *subjects* and those cross-referencing *objects*: while subject agreement is often considered to be genuine ϕ-agreement, many cases of apparent object agreement have been reanalyzed as *pronominal clitic doubling* (Woolford, 2008; Preminger, 2009; Nevins, 2011; Kramer, 2014; Anagnostopoulou, 2016, a.o.). Unlike true agreement, clitic doubling involves a pronominal D^0-element co-occurring and co-referring with a DP associate. The clitic and its associate are moreover often claimed to be related via a movement chain (Torrego, 1988; Uriagereka, 1995; Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Arregi and Nevins, 2012; Harizanov, 2014; Baker and Kramer, 2016, to appear). The structural difference between ϕ-agreement and clitic doubling is schematized below:
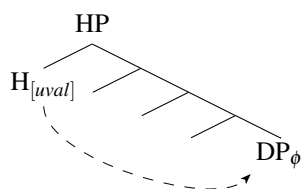
(1) a. *Agreement:* b. *Clitic doubling:*
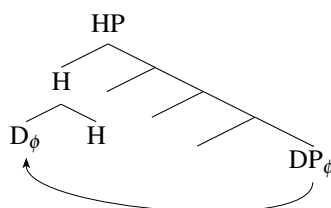
Concomitantly, there has been much discussion on how to identify whether a given ϕ-bearing

morpheme results from true agreement or clitic doubling. Some of the authors cited above have suggested morphosyntactic diagnostics for distinguishing the structures in (1) (e.g. Kramer, 2014; Baker and Kramer, 2016, to appear). For example, if the morpheme in question is a doubled clitic, then it should behave like a pronoun or determiner, and behave as though it is linked to its associate by movement. In contrast, if the morpheme is genuine ϕ-agreement, then it is not expected to have such properties. At the same time, it has also been long assumed that true ϕ-agreement displays morphological properties typical of 'affixes,' while doubled clitics crucially do not (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983; Nevins, 2011; Compton, 2016). However, as these latter criteria are often heuristic in nature, they are ultimately only contentful if the morphological properties in question correlate with other independent factors that differentiate ϕ-agreement and pronominal clitics.

This paper presents a case study showing that the underlying status of this object-referencing morphology should be determined without appealing to its surface appearance. The argument comes from variation within the Inuit (Eskimo-Aleut) dialect continuum, in which object-referencing morphology targets ABS objects. I identify a constellation of grammatical differences between two Inuit varieties—Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic) and Inuktitut—and argue that this follows from a dialectal split between object ϕ-agreement (in Kalaallisut) and pronominal clitic doubling (in Inuktitut). In Kalaallisut, ABS object DPs raise to a structurally high position (Spec-AgrOP, to be motivated later) and are cross-referenced by genuine ϕ-agreement, (2a) (Bittner, 1994; Bittner and Hale, 1996b; Woolford, 2017). In contrast, based on novel fieldwork, I propose that the raising element in Inuktitut is not a full DP, but rather a *ϕ-bearing D^0 doubling an* ABS *object DP*, (2b).
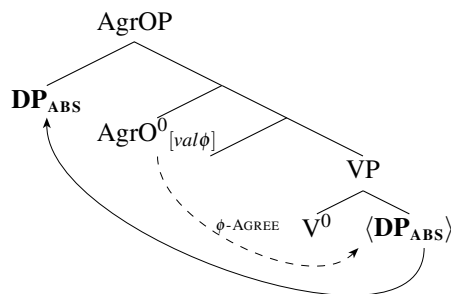
(2)   a.   *Kalaallisut:*   b.   *Inuktitut:*
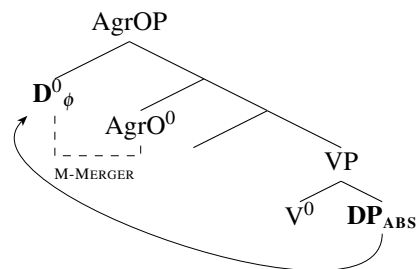
Crucially, the object-referencing forms in Kalaallisut and Inuktitut are morphologically uniform, and display properties typically associated with affixes and not morphophonological clitics. Appealing to morphological appearance alone would thus obscure the structural difference argued for here.

Evidence instead comes from an array of ABS *object asymmetries* in Inuktitut, in that ABS objects pattern distinctly from all other arguments, including ABS subjects. As I will show, the exact constellation of properties seen in Inuktitut is highly reminiscent of clitic-doubled objects cross-linguistically. Thus, whereas the verbal morphology encoding ERG and ABS subjects in Inuktitut is true ϕ-agreement, its ABS object-referencing counterpart is best analyzed as a pronominal D^0. In contrast, these asymmetries are wholly absent in Kalaallisut, suggesting that Kalaallisut lacks object clitic doubling—thus, its object-referencing morphemes are genuine ϕ-agreement, on par with its subject-referencing morphemes. Finally, as independent support for this proposal, I show that this split is not arbitrary, but may be subsumed within broader variation in the degree of *object shift* across the Eskimo-Aleut language family, building on an insight from Woolford (2017).

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I outline previous literature on the object ϕ-agreement and clitic doubling distinction. In section 3, I provide an overview of Inuit morphosyntax, paying particular attention to the properties of the object-referencing morphemes under investigation. Sections 4-5 argue that these morphemes in Inuktitut are the product of pronominal clitic doubling, and, concomitantly, that the analogous morphemes in Kalaallisut are genuine ϕ-agreement. I also develop an analysis of object clitic doubling that accounts for the morphological idiosyncrasies found in Inuktitut. Finally, section 6 shows how this analysis sheds light on variation in object shift across Eskimo-Aleut.

2   Object agreement vs. clitic doubling

Clitic doubling is the co-occurrence of a reduced pronominal element (a clitic) with a full DP. Unlike Clitic Left- or Right-Dislocation, the full DP is in its base position, not dislocated, and the doubled clitic is generally optional. This paper focuses on the clitic doubling of *direct objects*.[1] A canonical example of clitic doubling is given below, from Romanian:

(3)   **(Il)**   văd   pe Ion
      him.CL see-I PE John
      'I saw John.' (Farkas, 1978)

Recently, it has been claimed that many (or perhaps even all) cases of what has been taken to be object ϕ-agreement should actually be analyzed as clitic doubling (Woolford, 2008; Nevins, 2011). According to these proposals, these morphemes have the same underlying structure as the Romanian clitic above, despite surface appearances. This idea stems from the observation that, even in languages in which the object-referencing morphology does not *look* clitic in nature, it nonetheless displays the syntactic and semantic properties otherwise characteristic of clitic doubling (e.g. Riedel, 2009; Kramer, 2014; Baker and Kramer, 2016; Anagnostopoulou, 2016). On the other hand, it has been argued that there does exist object ϕ-agreement that is distinct from clitic doubling (e.g. Oxford, 2014). The status of object-referencing morphology has also been debated in the context of the Inuit languages (Johns, 2017; Johns and Kučerová, 2017; Compton, 2016).

Traditionally, diagnostics to distinguish genuine ϕ-agreement from pronominal clitic doubling have focused on morphological tendencies that distinguish affixes and morphophonological clitics, rather than sentence-level properties (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983; Woolford, 2008; Nevins, 2011). For example, Zwicky and Pullum argue that agreement morphemes often display allomorphy and morphological irregularities, while clitics are expected to be invariant; moreover, while clitics are able to attach to stems that contain affixes, affixes cannot attach outside of clitics. However, as noted above, these distinctions are not universal and do not obvi-

ously follow from any theoretically-grounded differences between the two. Thus, it is not clear that there is a reliable link between affixes and agreement, and morphophonological clitics and pronominal clitics.[2]

For this reason, Nevins (2011) offers an alternative diagnostic based on contextual morphological variance, proposing that, since agreement expones ϕ-features on some functional head (for instance, T^0), it may interact with other features on that head. Conversely, he suggests that clitics—D^0s that adjoin to their host (again, T^0)—are expected to be invariant.[3] This contrast is borne out in Spanish, in which subject ϕ-agreement is tense-variant, but object pronominal clitics are not, (4):

(4) a. $\boxed{\text{Lo}}$ compr**ó**
    3S.ACC bought.3S
    'She bought it.'

   b. $\boxed{\text{Lo}}$ compr**ará**
    3S.ACC will.buy.3S
    'She will buy it.'

However, this diagnostic falls prey to the same issues that Nevins identifies for Zwicky and Pullum (1983). It is not obvious how to rule out this type of variance between a pronominal clitic and its host within a post-lexicalist framework such as Distributed Morphology,[4] as these elements are structurally immediately adjacent, shown earlier in (1b). Furthermore, allomorphy between a verbal head and an adjacent pronoun is in fact attested in natural language. For instance, as summarized in Bennett et al. (2019), different varieties of Irish display alternations of this very sort. In the Donegal and Mayo dialects, the forms of various verbal morphemes are conditioned by the presence of a subject pronoun (analyzed by Bennett et al. as a bare D^0). The reverse holds in the coastal Munster dialects, in which the form of the subject pronoun itself is conditioned by verbal inflection. These effects—especially the latter—contradict *both* Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Nevins (2011).

Thus, I contend that it is more fruitful to frame diagnostics for clitic doubling around the *structural and derivational* relationship between the clitic and its associate. For example, if clitic doubling involves a syntactic dependency between a D^0 and a co-indexed DP, then the pronominal status of the clitic should have consequences for the distribution and interpretation

of the DP associate (cf. Baker and Kramer, 2016).[5] A novel empirical argument for this idea will come from variation within Inuit.

3   Properties of the Inuit case and agreement system

The Inuit languages are a continuum of dialects from the Eskimo-Aleut language family, spoken across the North American Arctic and Greenland. The data in this paper represent Kalaallisut (Greenland), based on previous work by Fortescue (1984), Bittner (1994), Berge (2011), and others, and Inuktitut (Nunavut), based on Beach (2011) as well as the author's fieldwork.[6] The Inuit languages are polysynthetic, and the order of morphemes within a word generally adheres to the Mirror Principle. A word begins with a leftmost root, followed by a series of suffixes corresponding to successively-higher heads along the functional spine, (5). Because agreement morphemes occupy the right edge of the verb complex and are morphologically conditioned by mood/clause type, they are taken to be located in the extended CP-domain (Johns, 2007; Compton, 2016).[7]

(5) a. V-MOD-TNS-NEG-**AGR.S/O**
         niri-juma-lau-nngit-**tait**
         eat-want-PST-NEG-2S.S/3S.O
         'You did not want to eat it.'

     b. V-ADV-TNS-**MOOD.AGR.S-AGR.O**
         matui-saali-qqau-**vi-uk**
         open-early-REC.PST-INT.2S.S-3S.O
         'Did you open it early?'

The agreement forms in (5) target both the subject and the object, which display an ERG-ABS case patterning, shown in (6a). In intransitive contexts, only the ABS subject is cross-referenced, (6b). Finally, the transitive ergative construction in (6a) alternates with an antipassive construction, in which the transitive subject is ABS and the object bears MOD ("modalis") case, (6c); here, the MOD object does not appear with agreement morphology, which can only encode ERG and ABS arguments (Murasugi, 1994; Bobaljik, 2008).[8]

(6) a. qimmi-**up Jaani**   kii-lauq-**tanga**
         dog-ERG   Jaani.ABS bite-PST-3S.S/3S.O
         'The dog bit John.'   *(transitive;* ERG-ABS*)*

    b.   **Jaani**   ani-lauq-**tuq**
            Jaani.ABS leave-PST-3S.S
            'John left.'   *(intransitive;* ABS*)*

    c.   **qimmiq** kii-si-lauq-**tuq**   Jaani-**mit**
            dog.ABS bite-AP-PST-3S.S Jaani-MOD
            'The dog bit John.'   *(antipassive;* ABS-MOD*)*

The argument-referencing agreement forms often surface as morphologically opaque portmanteaux, such that they do not separately encode the ϕ-features of the subject and object, as indicated in (5) and (6a) above. Comparing the declarative and interrogative forms in (5), we also see that mood/clause type may idiosyncratically trigger suppletive allomorphy on the adjacent agreement morpheme(s) (e.g. Fortescue, 1984; Dorais, 1986). The nearly identical forms from Kalaallisut in (7) below show that these properties hold across Inuit.[9]

(7)   *Kalaallisut forms*
    a.   -vait 'DECL.2S.S/3S.O'
    b.   -vi-uk 'INT.2S.S-3S.O'

Compton (2016) argues that the non-predictability of these forms are expected of agreement markers, not pronominal clitics. Moreover, he observes that the mood-sensitive allomorphy passes Nevins's (2011) tense-variance diagnostic—instantiated in Inuit as *mood-variance*. As this variance affects the collective realization of subject and object features in portmanteaux, Compton concludes that the object-referencing portions of these agreement complexes cannot be clitic in nature.[10]

    However, a close comparison between Kalaallisut and Inuktitut reveals several previously unnoticed differences concerning the distribution and interpretation of ABS objects—the arguments cross-referenced by object-referencing morphology. I argue that the exact constellations of properties reveal the object ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling distinction argued for here. Crucially, this cannot be determined by examining the morphemes themselves—which, as shown above, are uniform in both varieties.

4 The interpretation of ABS objects across Inuit

It is often noted that ergative and antipassive constructions across Inuit display distinct semantic properties. While the exact effect is somewhat difficult to pinpoint, I will follow Bittner (1994), Bittner and Hale (1996a,b) in characterizing it in terms of scope, that is, correlating with syntactic height.[11] Regardless, it is almost universally assumed that the locus of the distinction differentiates ABS arguments (both subjects and objects) on the one hand from MOD objects on the other. However, I demonstrate below that these properties are true for Kalaallisut—but cannot extend to Inuit as a whole.

4.1 ABS arguments in Kalaallisut

In Kalaallisut, the contrast described above can be illustrated by comparing the interpretations of ABS and MOD-marked arguments relative to sentential operators such as negation. In (8), we see that ABS subjects and objects obligatorily scope above negation, while MOD objects in antipassive constructions obligatorily scope below negation.

(8) a. **atuagaq ataasiq** tikis-sima-<u>nngi</u>-laq
   book.ABS one.ABS come-PERF-NEG-3S.S
   'There is one (particular) book that hasn't arrived.' (ABS subj.)
   Available reading: ∃ > NEG; *NEG > ∃

  b. suli Juuna-p **atuagaq ataasiq** tigu-sima-<u>nngi</u>-laa
   still Juuna-ERG book.ABS one.ABS get-PERF-NEG-3S.S/3S.O
   'There is one (particular) book Juuna hasn't received yet.' (ABS obj.)
   Available reading: ∃ > NEG; *NEG > ∃

  c. suli Juuna **atuakka-mik ataatsi-mik** tigu-si-sima-<u>nngi</u>-laq
   still Juuna.ABS book-MOD one-MOD get-AP-PERF-NEG-3S.S
   'Juuna hasn't received (even) one book yet.' (MOD obj.)
   Available reading: NEG > ∃; *∃ > NEG (Bittner, 1994)

Various authors explain this scope difference as a consequence of movement of the ABS argument to a structurally high position, above the locus of sentential negation (e.g. Bittner 1994; Bittner and Hale 1996a,b; Manga 1996; Woolford 2017, cf. Diesing 1992).[12] In contrast, an-

tipassive (MOD) objects remain in situ within the VP domain. Under this view, the interpretive contrast between ABS and MOD objects is fed by the syntax, as the scope of a given argument is determined by its structural height. As observed by Woolford (2017), this is reminiscent of object shift in Icelandic, which is optional for DPs and has similar semantic consequences; we will return to this parallel in §6. Finally, the idea that ABS subjects and objects raise to a uniformly high position, above the locus of non-ABS arguments, fits with the *syntactically ergative* profile of the Inuit languages.

(9)   a.   *High* ABS *subject:*   b.   *High* ABS *object:*   c.   *In situ* MOD *object:*
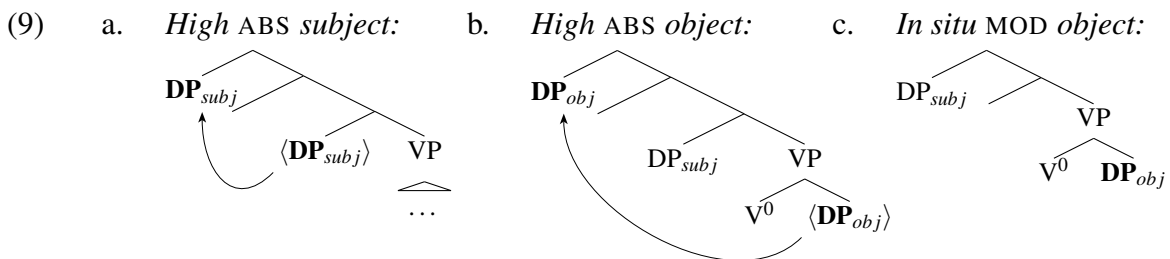
Another relevant property concerns the distribution of NPIs. Under negation, a negative indefinite can be created by attaching the disjunctive clitic =*luunniit* 'or' to a quantifier or wh-indeterminate (Bittner, 1994; Hallman, 2008). Bittner (1994) additionally shows that the licensing of this NPI is sensitive to c-command. The examples in (10) show that, as long as the c-command requirement is met, the NPI may surface in any argument position, including ABS object position (10b). Since ABS arguments in Kalaallisut otherwise exhibit wide scope, Bittner (1994) proposes that, while ABS NPIs undergo Ā-movement to the clausal left periphery, they reconstruct at LF in order to be licensed by negation.

(10)   a.   atuagaq **ataasir=luunniit** tiki-sima-<u>nngi</u>-laq
            book.ABS one.ABS=or   come-PERF-NEG-3S.S
            'No book has come (yet).'   (ABS subj.; Bittner 1994)

       b.   **kina=luunniit** taku-<u>nngi</u>-laa
            who.ABS=or   see-NEG-3S.S/3S.O
            'He didn't see anyone.'   (ABS obj.; Fortescue 1984)

       c.   kuruuni-nik   **marlu-innar-nil=luunniit** piqa-<u>nngi</u>-langa
            kroner-MOD.PL two-just-MOD.PL=or   have-NEG-1S.S
            'I don't have even two kroner.'   (MOD obj.; Fortescue 1984)

9

I now show that these properties of Kalaallisut cannot be replicated in Inuktitut.

4.2   ABS object asymmetries in Inuktitut

The Inuktitut examples in (11), from Beach (2011), are on the surface morphosyntactically analogous to the Kalaallisut examples in (8). However, consider the available interpretations relative to the quantificational adverb *qautamaat* 'each day.' The ABS subject and MOD object may *both* be interpreted as taking apparent wide scope or narrow scope relative to each other, (11a-b). In contrast, the ABS object in (11c) appears to permit *only* the wide scope interpretation. The fact that ABS subjects and ABS objects pattern differently provides a first clue that our analysis of Kalaallisut cannot be extended to Inuktitut.[13]

(11)   a.   <u>qautamaat</u> **ujaraq**   kata-qatta-tuq
           every day rock.ABS fall-HAB-3S.S
           'Every day, a rock falls (i.e. not necessarily the same rock).'   (ABS subj.)
           Available readings: every day > ∃; ∃ > every day

       b.   <u>qautamaat</u> **qimmi-mik** taku-qatta-tunga
           every day dog-MOD   see-HAB-1S.S
           'Every day, I see a dog (i.e. not necessarily the same dog).'   (MOD obj.)
           Available readings: every day > ∃; ∃ > every day

       c.   <u>qautamaat</u> **qimmiq** taku-qatta-tara
           every day dog.ABS see-HAB-1S.S/3S.O
           'Every day, I see a dog (i.e. the same dog).'   (ABS obj.)
           Available reading: ∃ > every day; *every day > ∃   (Beach, 2011)

Evidence from NPI-licensing in Inuktitut corroborates this point, and moreover reveals that the wide scope-like effect seen in (11c) does not arise from structural height—again, in contrast to Kalaallisut. In Kalaallisut, we saw that NPIs may surface in all argument positions, including ABS object position; recall, moreover, Bittner's (1994) analysis based on syntactic movement and LF reconstruction. In contrast, (12) shows that, in Inuktitut, the same NPI may appear in any position *except* ABS object position.[14]

(12) a. **kina=luunniit** saqi-lau-nngit-tuq
          who.ABS=or   show.up-PST-NEG-3S.S
          'Not a single person showed up.'   (ABS subj.)

      b. taku-lau-nngit-tuq **kisu-mi=luunniit**
          see-PST-NEG-3S.S what-MOD=or
          'S/he didn't see a single thing.'   (MOD obj.)

      c. *taku-lau-nngit-tara   **kina=luunniit**
          see-PST-NEG-1S.S/3S.O who.ABS=or
          Intended: 'I didn't see a single person.'   (ABS obj.)

Given Bittner's (1994) analysis of Kalaallisut, we might initially want to analyze the ill-formedness of (12c) as an exceptional inability for structurally high ABS objects to reconstruct. However, this cannot be the case: NPIs trapped in syntactic islands (ruling out covert movement past matrix negation) still may not surface in ABS object position, (13).

(13) a. Jaani   iqauma-nngit-tuq   [niri-lau-mmangaa **kisu-mi=luunniit**]
          Jaani.ABS remember-NEG-3S.S   eat-PST-DUB.3S.S what-MOD=or
          'Jaani doesn't remember if he ate a single thing.'   (MOD obj.)

      b. *Jaani   iqauma-nngit-tuq   [niri-lau-mmangaagu   **kisu=luunniit**]
          Jaani.ABS remember-NEG-3S.S   eat-PST-DUB.3S.S/3S.O what.ABS=or
          Intended: 'Jaani doesn't remember if he ate a single thing.' (ABS obj.)

In summary, we have seen that, whereas ABS subjects and objects pattern together in Kalaallisut, Inuktitut displays ABS object asymmetries. Moreover, whereas ABS arguments in Kalaallisut can be uniformly analyzed as raising to a structurally high position, the exact nature of the asymmetries in Inuktitut indicates that the exceptional semantic behaviour of ABS objects requires an alternative explanation. I will argue below that the key difference lies in the object ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling distinction, which shapes the degree of ABS object movement across Inuit.

4.3   Object clitic doubling in Inuktitut

The fact that ABS objects seem to be exceptional in Inuktitut requires an analysis that isolates this particular combination of case and argument position from the others in the language (e.g.

ABS subject, MOD object). Now observe that ABS objects happen to be the only nominals cross-referenced by object agreement morphology. I propose that this is the relevant factor, and the semantic asymmetry arises because object-referencing morphology in Inuktitut is underlyingly *pronominal clitic doubling*. In contrast, because Kalaallisut lacks these semantic asymmetries, I conclude that the surface-equivalent morphemes in Kalaallisut expone genuine object ϕ-agreement.

The kinds of effects observed in Inuktitut are robustly attested cross-linguistically: clitic doubling languages generally forbid clitic doubling of non-referential, non-specific objects, including negative indefinites, but require clitic doubling of referential (i.e. D-linked) or specific objects (e.g. Suñer, 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990; Franks and Rudin, 2005; Kramer, 2014; Baker and Kramer, 2016, to appear). Examples from Romanian are provided in (14).

(14) a. **pe cine (*l-)**ai   văzut
          PE who him-have (you) seen
          'Who did you see?'   *(Non-D-linked wh-phrase; no doubling)*

      b. nu **(*l-)**am   văzut **pe nimeni**
          not him-I.have seen PE nobody
          'I didn't see anyone.'   *(Negative indefinite; no doubling)*

      c. **pe care** ***(l-)**ai   văzut
          PE which him-have (you) seen
          'Which one did you see?'   *(D-linked wh-phrase; doubling obligatory)*
          (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990)

Although there is much debate over how to characterize and derive the semantic contribution of clitic doubling, this may be due to cross-linguistic variation in the exact effect that arises (see §5.1). Regardless, the *directionality* of the effect appears to be universal—clitic-doubled nominals tend to have special interpretations reminiscent of those associated with pronouns or definite determiners, while nominals that are not doubled do not.

Indeed, this pattern is also observable in Inuktitut. We already saw in §4.2 that Inuktitut ABS objects appear to take wide scope and are incompatible with NPI-licensing. Below, I additionally show that wh-phrases in ABS object position in Inuktitut are obligatorily D-linked,

thus following the same general pattern.[15] Whereas simplex wh-phrases (e.g. *kisu* 'what') need not be interpreted as D-linked in ABS subject and MOD object position, (15a-b), the same phrases *are* interpreted as D-linked in ABS object position, (15c).

(15) a. *Context:* You're trying to identify something that's partly obstructed.
          kisu   inna
          what.ABS DEM.PRON
          'What's that?' (#'Which one is that?')   (ABS subj.)

     b. *Context:* You and a friend are discussing what to eat for dinner.
          kisu-mit   niri-guma-vit
          what-MOD eat-want-INT.2S.S
          'What do you want to eat?' (#'Which one do you want to eat?')   (MOD obj.)

     c. *Context:* You and a friend are now at the grocery store, looking at the options.
          kisu   niri-guma-viuk
          what.ABS eat-want-INT.2S.S/3S.O
          'Which one do you want?'   (ABS obj.)

Crucially, this effect is *obligatory*, as illustrated with aggressively non-D-linked arguments[16] in Inuktitut (e.g. 'wh-the-hell'), expressed with the vagueness enclitic =*kiaq*. As predicted, they are ruled out in ABS object position.

(16) a. *Context:* You've been getting calls from an unfamiliar number.
          kina=kiar=imna   uqaluq-tap-paa   uvam-nut
          who.ABS=vague=DEM.PRON call-ITER-INT.3S.S 1S-ALLAT
          'Who on earth keeps calling me?'   (ABS subj.)

     b. *Context:* You see that I'm experiencing symptoms of a food allergy.
          (i)   **kisu-mi=kiaq**   niri-qqau-vit
                what-MOD=vague eat-REC.PST-INT.2S.S
                'What on earth did you eat?'   (MOD obj.)

          (ii) ***kisu=kiaq**   niri-qqau-viuk
                what.ABS=vague eat-REC.PST-INT.2S.S/3S.O
   *Intended:* 'What on earth did you eat?'   (ABS obj.)

In summary, I have shown that Inuktitut displays a semantic asymmetry that diverges from Kalaallisut. Whereas ABS subjects and objects pattern together in Kalaallisut, in Inuktitut ABS objects contrast with all other arguments, including ABS subjects. Based on cross-linguistic parallels with better studied languages, I proposed that Inuktitut ABS objects are clitic doubled.

Below, I develop an explicit derivation of clitic doubling that accounts for both the Inuktitut data shown above and its morphological similarities with Kalaallisut.

5 The morphosyntax of object clitic doubling

5.1 Derivation of clitic doubling

Building on Baker and Kramer (2016, to appear), I propose that object clitic doubling in Inuktitut involves three steps. First, $AgrO^0$ Agrees[17] with the ABS object DP, triggering phrasal movement to Spec-AgrOP in the clausal left-periphery, (17a). This first step takes place in both Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. However, in Inuktitut the DP undergoes an additional syntactic operation—termed *Reduce* by Baker and Kramer—which converts the DP into a pronominal D^0, (17b). M-Merger then applies postsyntactically, rebracketing the Spec-Head configuration in (17b) into a complex head, (17c) (Matushansky, 2006).[18]

(17)   a.
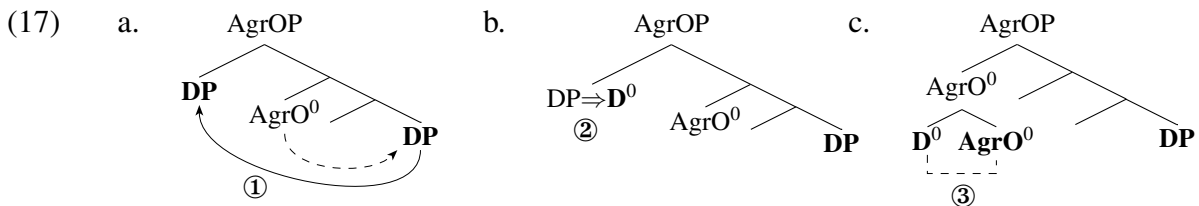
It is crucial that the operation that converts the raised DP to a bare D^0 takes place in the *syntactic component*. This contrasts with the analysis of clitic doubling of Harizanov (2014), whose proposed DP→D^0 process is postsyntactic. These approaches can be differentiated in their predictions for the interpretation of object clitic doubling at LF. Under the present analysis, because the creation of the clitic is syntactic, this element is also interpreted as a D^0 at LF. In contrast, if the clitic is generated postsyntactically, then the raised element should be interpreted as a full DP at LF. Indeed, one motivation for Harizanov's (2014) account is to draw syntactic and semantic parallels between object clitic doubling and object shift—both understood as DP movement under his analysis.

However, this is not viable for Inuktitut, given the contrast with Kalaallisut identified above. If the uniform interpretation of ABS subjects and objects in Kalaallisut is derived from syntactic movement of a DP (i.e. object shift), then the behaviour of ABS objects in Inuktitut cannot also be derived by this process.

A syntactic operation like Reduce instead ensures that the interpretation of clitic-doubled ABS objects is distinct from genuinely structurally-high elements, like ABS subjects. Building on Suñer (1988), I propose that the special interpretation of clitic-doubled objects arises from a Matching Principle imposed between the D^0 and its DP associate; the two must match in both ϕ-features and semantic features because they are co-indexed members of a chain. In Inuktitut, pronominal D^0s are standardly interpreted as referential, (18). As such, quantificational DPs must be interpreted as D-linked when doubled by a pronominal D^0.

(18)　a.　*Context:* Jaani took a pencil from the pencil case. . .
　　　　amma tuni-**janga**　　Miali-mut
　　　　and　give-3S.S/3S.O Miali-ALLAT
　　　　'. . . and gave it to Mary.'

　　　b.　*Context:* David bought a new shirt. . .
　　　　#amma=lu Kiuru-p　niuvi-lau-mmi-**janga**
　　　　and=CONJ Carol-ERG buy-PST-also-3S.S/3S.O
　　　　'. . . and Carol bought it too.' (*Unavailable:* '. . . and Carol bought one too.')

As independent evidence, it has been observed by Runić (2014) that languages whose pronominal clitics are semantically flexible, e.g. Serbian in (19a), do not impose special interpretive effects on their doubled associates. Under the present analysis, this is because the Matching Principle can be more easily satisfied. In non-standard Serbian varieties that permit clitic doubling, clitic-doubled objects can be understood as non-specific, (19b).

(19)　a.　Nikola je　　vidio **film**, a　vidio **ga**　　je　　i　Danilo
　　　　Nikola AUX.3S saw　film　and saw　it.CL.ACC AUX.3S and Danilo
　　　　'Nikola saw a movie and Danilo saw it / one too.'

b.   *Context:* There is a considerable number of old and sick people in the village. However, there is no doctor in the village.

Opština   **(ga)**   **novog lekara** traži
municipality him.CL.ACC new   doctor look.for.3S
'The municipality is looking for a new doctor.'   (Runić, 2014)

We are now in a position to derive the morphologically idiosyncratic properties of Inuktitut clitic doubling, as well as why their morphological similarities with Kalaallisut. As illustrated below, the mood-agreement complex in Inuit can be schematized as comprising a series of contiguous heads, $Mood^0$, $AgrS^0$, and $AgrO^0$. In Kalaallisut, (20a), both $AgrS^0$ and $AgrO^0$ bear ϕ-probes, which are valued by the ERG subject and ABS object, respectively. In Inuktitut, (20b), the crucial difference is that the ABS object's ϕ-features are encoded by D^0, rather than by $AgrO^0$.
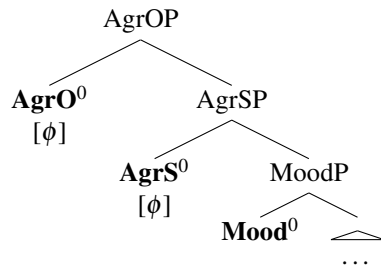
(20)   a.   *Kalaallisut:*   b.   *Inuktitut:*
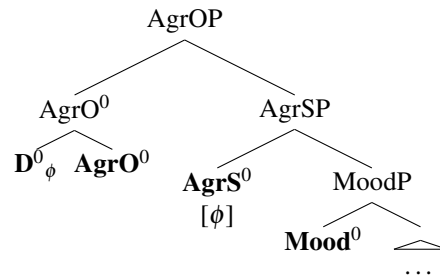
Because D^0 forms a complex head with $AgrO^0$ in (20b), standard locality conditions on subsequent morphological operations—such as those responsible for portmanteaux—are met. As one illustration, consider the Spanning approach to portmanteaux proposed by Svenonius (2012) and Merchant (2015). Because the relevant heads are contiguous and occur within a single extended projection (here, the extended CP), they may be exponed by a single morph. In Kalaallisut, the relevant span contains the bolded heads in (20a); in Inuktitut, the span also includes the pronominal D^0.

    In sum, I have shown that pronominal clitic doubling structures are compatible with portmanteaux and other morphological effects, contrary to both Zwicky and Pullum (1983) and Nevins (2011). Because the pronominal D^0 is structurally adjacent to its host (which, in turn, may be adjacent to a subsequent head, and so on) there is no theoretical reason why these heads

cannot interact morphologically.

5.2   Pronominal clitics without doubling

Whereas §4 uncovered an asymmetry in Inuktitut concerning the interpretation of ABS objects, I now provide additional evidence for Inuktitut clitic doubling based on distributional restrictions on *independent pronouns* in ABS object position. This, in turn, will help furnish the idea that clitic doubling is derived by *syntactic movement*, by delineating the conditions governing copy spell-out in clitic doubling constructions.

I start by establishing that independent pronouns in Inuit are bare D^0s, not phrasal DPs (e.g. Postal, 1966; Abney, 1987; Elbourne, 2005). This treatment is evidenced by the observation that they may function as determiners in so-called Adnominal Pronoun Constructions (APCs)[19], e.g. "we linguists." Although APCs have not been studied in detail in Inuit, Fortescue's (1984) grammar offers (21a), from Kalaallisut.[20] In contrast, pronouns in APCs in Inuktitut surface as ϕ-bearing bound morphemes on the NPs that they modify, (21b); this option seems to be unattested in Kalaallisut.

(21) a. *Kalaallisut:*   b. *Inuktitut:*
          kalaalliit   **uagut**   ilisaiji-**tigut**
          Greenlanders 1P   teacher-1P
          'We Greelanders' (Fortescue, 1984)   'We teachers'

I take this contrast to indicate that M-Merger of D^0 with a structurally adjacent head is a *generalized* rule in Inuktitut (though not in Kalaallisut), regardless of the exact syntactic environment. In the clausal left-periphery, D^0 undergoes M-Merger with $AgrO^0$, as shown in §5.1; in the nominal domain, we see this operation apply in APCs, (21b).

Having established the structure of independent pronouns in Inuktitut, let us now turn to how they interact with clitic doubling. The Inuit languages are generally *pro* drop, with the features of the unpronounced pronoun recoverable from the verbal agreement morphology. However, although Inuktitut allows ERG and ABS subject pronouns to co-occur with subject ϕ-agreement,

(22a-b), ABS object pronouns are *forbidden* from co-occurring with object clitics. The examples in (22c) are therefore grammatical only if the overt pronoun is suppressed. Though there was some inter-speaker variation in the acceptability of (22a-b) (with many speakers finding these examples slightly redundant, though otherwise fine), all speakers consulted judged examples like (22c) as completely ungrammatical. Furthermore, the consultant's comment in (22c) clearly suggests that the ungrammaticality is due to the co-occurrence of the ABS object pronoun and the object-referencing morpheme.[21]

(22) a. **(uvanga)** Jaani   ilisaiji-gi-**jara**
          1S.ERG   Jaani.ABS teacher-have.as-1S.S/3S.O
          'I have Jaani as a teacher.'   (ERG subject)

      b. **(uvanga)** taku-**junga**   surusim-mit
          (1S.ABS) see-INTR.1S child-MOD
          'I saw the child.'   (ABS subject)

      c. Jamesi-up   **(*uvanga)** taku-qqau-**jaanga**
          Jamesie-ERG (*1S.ABS) see-REC.PST-3S.S/1S.O
          'Jamesie saw me.'   (ABS object)
          Comment: "No, because you're saying, 'me,' and then, 'he saw me.'"

Since Kalaallisut is hypothesized to lack pronominal clitics altogether, we predict that independent pronouns may co-occur with verbal agreement in all positions, including ABS object position. Naturally-occurring data from Berge (2011) show that this is borne out:

(23) a. **uanga** eqqaama-**vara**   umiaasa-qa-raluar-poq
          1S.ERG remember-IND.1S.S/3S.O l.f.b.rowboat-have-CONS-3s.S
          'I remember it had little flat-bottomed rowboats.'   (ERG subj.)

      b. **uanga** Nuum-mi inunngor-**vunga**
          1S.ABS Nuuk-LOC be.born-1S.S
          'I was born in Nuuk.'   (ABS subj.)

      c. …**uanga** cigaritsi-p   aju-le-**raminga**
          …1S.ABS cigarette-ERG be.bad-begin-3S.S/1S.O
          '(I stopped smoking,) Cigarettes didn't like me anymore.'   (ABS obj.)
          (Berge, 1997)

I propose that the asymmetry instantiated in (22) follows from the idea that the pronominal

clitic (a D^0) and its associate (also a D^0 in this context) are identical members of a movement chain, established in §5.1. Following Landau (2006), the pronunciation of movement chains is constrained by an Economy condition that normally triggers deletion of all but one copy. More-over, the choice of which copy to pronounce is subject to various considerations applying at PF. Together, these derive the co-occurrence restriction in Inuktitut: the higher copy is obligatorily pronounced because it undergoes M-Merger with AgrO^0; deleting it would violate the Stray Affix Filter (Lasnik, 1995). The lower copy is instead deleted to satisfy Economy. In contrast, clitic doubling permits the D^0 and DP to co-occur because they are syntactically distinct.

Of course, object clitics often do co-occur with pronouns cross-linguistically. However, the pronouns in these cases are often emphasized or are otherwise understood as information-structurally salient. This is also true for Inuktitut, in which contrastively focusing an ABS object pronoun (boxed) obviates the co-occurrence restriction, (24).
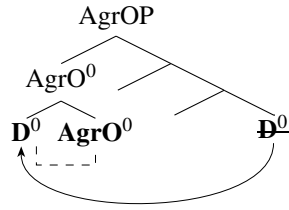
(24) $\boxed{\textbf{uvanga}}$ Taiviti-up taku-qqau-**jaanga**,   Carol   taku-nngi-&uni-uk
         1S.ABS   Taiviti-ERG see-REC.PST-3S.S/1S.O Carol.ABS see-NEG-CTMP.3S.S-3S.O
         'It's ME that Taiviti saw, not Carol.'

According to Landau (2006), this is because the aforementioned Economy condition may be *overridden* by other conditions. In (24), this may be attributed to intonational requirements imposed on F-marked elements. Below, we further see that pronouncing an ABS object pronoun in its base position is also possible, if it itself undergoes M-Merger with the head of an adjacent element—e.g. an adjective, (25a), or a nominal complement in an APC as previously discussed, (25b).
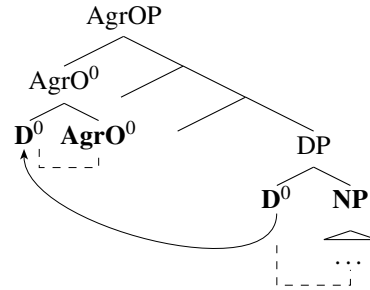
(25)   a.   Taiviti-up $\boxed{\textbf{igvi}}$-**kuluk** taku-qqau-**jaatit**
            Taiviti-ERG 2S.ABS-dear see-REC.PST-3S.S/2S.O
            'Taiviti saw dear you.'

       b.   Jaani-up   piu-gi-nngit-**taatigut**   **ilisaiji**-$\boxed{\textbf{tigut}}$
            Jaani-ERG like-have.as-NEG-3S.S/1P.O teacher-1P.ASSOC.ABS
            'Jaani doesn't like us teachers.'

For concreteness, (26) provides a schematization of these patterns:

(26)   a.   *No co-occurrence:*

AgrOP
AgrO^0
D^0 AgrO^0 ~~D~~^{0}

   b.   *Co-occurrence:*

AgrOP
AgrO^0
D^0 AgrO^0 DP
                        D^0 NP
                              …

Again, none of the above discussion is relevant to Kalaallisut, in which bare pronouns may surface in all environments and in pragmatically-neutral contexts, including ABS object position. As I suggested, this contrast is located in the different underlying structures of the object-referencing morphemes in Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. Because Kalaallisut only has genuine ϕ-agreement, we predict an absence of co-occurrence restrictions between pronouns and argument-referencing morphology.

6   Broader discussion: Object shift across Inuit

In the remainder of the paper, I provide further theoretical context for the object ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling distinction across Inuit. Why is it that Kalaallisut has object ϕ-agreement while Inuktitut has object clitic doubling, rather than the other way around? Moreover, why do the morphological properties seen in Inuktitut appear so idiosyncratic from the perspective of clitic doubling cross-linguistically?[22] And, finally, from an acquisition standpoint, what might be the cues that allow learners to arrive at these two distinct underlying structures?

I propose that this contrast can be tied to a broader point of variation in *object shift* across the Eskimo-Aleut language family, akin to the pattern in Scandinavian (Holmberg, 1986; Vikner, 2006; Thráinsson, 2008, a.o.). In Icelandic, object shift of DPs is optional and correlates with a semantic distinction similar to specificity (Diesing, 1992, 1996); object shift of pronouns is obligatory, though omitted here for space. In contrast, Mainland Scandinavian languages such

as Danish only permit pronominal object shift, (28).

(27)   *Icelandic:*

    a.   Hann les   sjaldan **lengstu bókina**
        He   reads seldom longest the.book
        'He rarely reads the longest book.'
        Reading: 'Given any group of books, he rarely reads the longest one.'

    b.   Hann les   **lengstu bókina** sjaldan
        He   reads longest the.book seldom
        'He rarely reads the longest book.'
        Reading: 'There is a book longer than all the others that he rarely reads.' (Diesing, 1996)

(28)   *Danish:*

    a.   Studenten læste **den** ikke (*ikke **den**)
        student   read it   not
        'The student didn't read it.'

    b.   Studenten læste ikke **bogen**   (***bogen** ikke)
        student-the read not book-the
        'The student didn't read the book.'   (Thráinsson, 2008)

As already mentioned in §4.1, the behaviour of objects in Icelandic is parallel to that in Kalaallisut, though object movement in Kalaallisut is reflected by a difference in case morphology (ABS vs. MOD) rather than word order. Strikingly, Woolford (2017) draws an additional parallel between Mainland Scandinavian and Aleut, which is distantly related to the Inuit languages. In Aleut transitive sentences, the subject is always cross-referenced by ϕ-morphology, while the object normally is not, (29a). However, when the object is a pronoun, it appears on the verb *within a portmanteau with subject ϕ-agreement*, (29b).[23]

(29)   a. **hla-x̂**   &boxed{asxinu-x̂} kidu-ku-**x̂**
        boy-ABS girl-ABS help-PRES-3S.S
        'The boy is helping the girl.'

    b. **Piitra-m** kidu-ku-⟨u⟩
        Peter-REL help-PRES-3S.S/3S.O
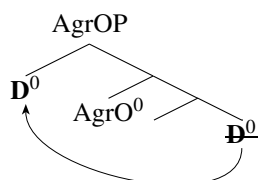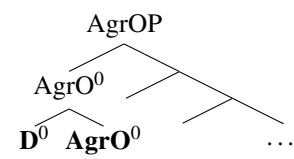   'Peter is helping him/her.'   (Bergsland, 1997)

As Woolford points out, this is highly reminiscent of the agreement patterns in antipassive (ABS-

MOD) and ergative (ERG-ABS) transitive sentences in Inuit. Thus, the Aleut examples above can be analyzed as featuring an in situ object DP in (29a), but a structurally high pronominal object in (29b)—just like in Mainland Scandinavian.

Here, I point out an additional cross-linguistic similarity. In many languages, e.g. Romance, pronominal objects that obligatory move are realized as *verb-adjacent clitics*, (30). I suggest that the Aleut example in (29b) displays an analogous effect.

(30)   a.   Marie voit **Jean**   b.   Marie **le** voit
              'Marie sees Jean.'   Marie sees him.'

This triangulation between Mainland Scandinavian, Aleut, and Romance is reminiscent of proposals that have recast Mainland Scandinavian object shift as pronominal cliticization (e.g. Josefsson, 1993; Bobaljik and Jonas, 1996). As pointed out by Holmberg and Platzlack (1995), however, there are several morphological reasons against adopting such an analysis wholesale. To resolve this (though I leave a fuller development for future work), I suggest that *all three* of these language groups display object shift of a pronominal D^0—however, M-Merger applies only in Aleut and Romance, yielding a clitic, (31).[24]

(31)   a.   *Pronominal object shift:*   b.   *M-Merger in Aleut/Romance:*

The preceding discussion provides crucial new insights into our question of why Kalaallisut and Inuktitut display a ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling split. As demonstrated in (32), there is an *inverse correlation* between the relative "pronominality" of object agreement and the degree of object shift permitted. Moreover, Inuktitut occupies an intermediate position between Kalaallisut and Aleut along *both* dimensions. Like Kalaallisut, object-referencing morphology in Inuktitut may cross-referencing a full ABS DP; however, like Aleut, this morphology is a pronominal clitic. Furthermore, although D^0s and DPs in Inuktitut may both undergo object

shift, on par with Kalaallisut, the application of the operation Reduce (§5.1) means that Inuktitut also patterns with Aleut in that the nominal element in AgrOP is structurally a D^0.

(32)

	Kalaallisut	Inuktitut	Aleut
Obj. morphology	ϕ-agreement	Clitic doubling	Pronominal clitic only (no doubling)
Object shift	D^0s and full DPs	D^0s and full DPs (which undergo Reduce)	D^0s only

Therefore, in addition to the independent evidence for object clitic doubling in Inuktitut, this section has provided broader context to the core empirical proposal of this paper—that the object-referencing forms in Kalaallisut and Inuktitut are underlyingly distinct at a structural level, despite their morphological similarities.

7   Conclusion

In this paper, I showed that genuine object ϕ-agreement and pronominal clitic doubling co-exist within the Inuit languages. I demonstrated that Inuktitut displays a number of ABS object asymmetries and argued that this follows from an analysis in which subject-referencing morphology is genuine ϕ-agreement, while object-referencing morphology is actually clitic in nature—a pronominal D^0. Furthermore, the Inuktitut data presented in this paper are at odds with many previous characterizations of the Inuit languages—particularly Kalaallisut (e.g. Bittner, 1994). Unlike Inuktitut, Kalaallisut exhibits no ABS object asymmetries, which suggests that it lacks clitic doubling; thus, in Kalaallisut, both subject- and object-referencing morphemes are realizations of genuine ϕ-agreement. Finally, I demonstrated that identifying these two divergent patterns in Inuit permits us a more nuanced understanding of variation within Eskimo-Aleut morphosyntax.

Crucially, we arrived at this conclusion without referencing *any* morphological diagnostics for ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling. Recall that Inuktitut and Kalaallisut have nearly identical agreement forms, shown in (5) and (7) in §2, and that they uniformly fail standard morphologi-

cal tests for clitichood (both showing mood-variance). Examining their morphological appearance alone would have obscured the main empirical finding of this paper—that Inuktitut and Kalaallisut object-referencing morphemes are underlyingly structurally different. This distinction instead emerged from examining interpretive and distributional interactions between these morphemes and the ABS objects they cross-reference.

More broadly, although there has been some recent work suggesting that all apparent instances of object-referencing morphology are doubled clitics (Woolford, 2008; Nevins, 2011), the analysis presented here suggests that such a treatment is too strong. Both are attested in natural language and may even co-exist within a single language family.

Acknowledgments

Notes

[1]In some languages, the clitic doubling of direct objects yields certain readings of the doubled DP that do not arise when other kinds of arguments (such as indirect objects) are clitic doubled (e.g. Suñer, 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990; Bleam, 2000). The clitic doubling of direct objects may also contrast with the clitic doubling of experiencers of psych predicates or raised possessors; whereas the former is usually optional, driven by information

structural considerations, the latter is obligatory in many languages (e.g. Kallulli, 2000; Krapova and Cinque, 2008; Harizanov, 2014; Kramer, 2014).

[2]See also Zribi-Hertz and Diagne (2002) and Tyler (to appear) for further discussion of this point.

[3]More precisely, Nevins (2011) proposes that, if a given argument-referencing morpheme displays tense-variance, it must be genuine ϕ-agreement and not clitic doubling; if it is tense-invariant, then the diagnostic is inconclusive, not suggestive of either analytic option. In addition to tense-(in)variance, Nevins also proposes *person-complementarity* (i.e. PCC) and *omnivorous number* effects as diagnostics for clitic doubling. Neither of these effects exist in Inuit, so cannot be tested. Moreover, it has been shown by Preminger (2011, 2014) that omnivorous number effects can also arise in languages with genuine ϕ-agreement. Thus, in what follows, I concentrate on Nevins' morphological invariance diagnostic.

[4]In the same vein, another purportedly morphosyntactic diagnostic for the ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling distinction comes from the idea that pronominal clitics might be expected to resemble the independent pronouns of the language, if both are D^0s (e.g. Preminger, 2014). However, morphological similarity is still compatible with a ϕ-agreement account, as there is nothing to rule out exponing a ϕ-feature bundle with some form that resembles a pronoun with the same ϕ-features.

[5]Similarly, if clitic doubling is derived by movement, then it should display effects of movement; for instance, it might be subject to intervention or be able to create new antecedents for anaphor binding (Preminger, 2009; Anagnostopoulou, 2003, 2016; Harizanov, 2014). However, because these movement-based diagnostics are difficult to test in Inuit, due to the relative freedom of word order and some complicating factors concerning the distribution of anaphors (Bok-Bennema, 1991; Beach, 2011), I will set them aside in this paper.

[6]The uncited Inuktitut data in this paper were elicited by the author in the community of Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada, during three fieldwork trips in August 2016, August 2017, and October 2017.

[7]In the data below, I do not gloss declarative mood/clause type, for simplicity.

[8]The term 'modalis' (MOD) is often used in the literature on Inuit to refer to the *-mik/-mit*-marked object in antipassive constructions, though other labels include ACC, OBL, or simply 'MIK' case. Outside of antipassive objects, this case morpheme has a variety of functions, as it is also used to mark certain instrumentals, secondary predicates, and stranded modifiers of incorporated objects.

[9]The declarative forms provided for Inuktitut and Kalaallisut differ slightly, because in Inuktitut the declarative is expressed using what is called the *participial mood*, while in Kalaallisut the relevant declarative-encoding mood is the *indicative mood* (Dorais, 1988).

[10]In contrast to Compton (2016), Johns (2017) and Johns and Kučerová (2017) argue for a clitic doubling analysis of Inuit object-referencing morphology. Their evidence is mainly drawn from Eastern Canadian Inuktitut

dialects (including the varieties presented here), though they generalize their proposal to all of Inuit. As I will show throughout the rest of this paper, however, this generalization is incomplete given the contrast between Inuktitut and Kalaallisut.

[11]Other authors have described this distinction in terms of definiteness (Fortescue, 1984; Hallman, 2008), topicality (Berge, 1997, 2011; Johns and Kučerová, 2017), and specificity (Manga, 1996; Wharram, 2003; Beach, 2011).

[12]Conversely, Wharram (2003) demonstrates that these arguments take widest matrix scope, e.g. scope out of embedded clauses and even islands. On this basis, Wharram (2003) argues for a choice function analysis, building on Reinhart (1997), Kratzer (1998), Matthewson (1999, a.o.), though he nonetheless also assumes movement of the object to Spec-TP, for reasons of case. See also López (2012, pp. 151–154) for a hybrid analysis that makes use of both object shift and choice functions.

[13]See also Carrier (2016) for similar discussion along these lines, based on sociolinguistic evidence.

[14]See also Hallman 2008 for a similar observation.

[15]Note also that the appearance of wide scope is notoriously difficult to discern from surface-similar notions such as referentiality and topicality (e.g. Fodor and Sag, 1982; Kratzer, 1998; Endriss, 2011)—which, in turn, are often taken to be properties of D-linking.

[16]See Pesetsky (1987) and den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002) for discussion.

[17]The idea that clitic doubling is triggered by Agree is also assumed by Kramer (2014) and Preminger (2019), among others.

[18]The Inuktitut data are in principle also compatible with a Big DP treatment of object clitic doubling, whereby the pronominal D^0 and its associated DP are generated as a constituent before the clitic undergoes long head movement to its final landing site (Torrego, 1988; Uriagereka, 1995; Arregi and Nevins, 2012). However, as I discuss in §6, it becomes difficult to reconcile this treatment with other Inuit varieties, such as Kalaallisut, which do not have object clitic doubling.

[19]Terminology from Höhn (2016, 2017).

[20]The NP-D^0 word order presumably follows from Inuit's head-final nature.

[21]This inability to co-occur with independent pronouns is not specific to Inuktitut; it has also been observed as a property of clitics in dialects of Zapotec (Sichel and Toosarvandani, 2018).

[22]This question was raised by an anonymous reviewer. Although this section suggests that the answer lies in the broader variation in object shift across Eskimo-Aleut, note that a prediction made by this paper is that these properties are *not* as rare as previously assumed. Rather, if most previous literature has relied on morphological diagnostics for ϕ-agreement vs. clitic doubling, then we would of course only find ϕ-agreement as affixes and

pronominal clitics as morphophonological clitics. If the contributions of this paper are on the right track, however, then we expect the reanalysis of previous data to yield different results.

[23]This is accompanied by a change in case morphology on the transitive subject, termed the Aleut Effect (e.g. Bergsland, 1997; Sadock, 2000). See Merchant (2011) and Yuan (2018) for recent analyses of this alternation. Interestingly, certain Inuit varieties spoken in Labrador, Canada have been observed to display a similar patterning to Aleut (Johns, 1999, 2001, 2017). Why two very distantly related Eskimo-Aleut grammars have converged in this way is outside of the scope of this paper, but is an intriguing puzzle for future research.

[24]In (33), I follow Johnson (1991) and Collins and Thráinsson (1996), among others, in taking the locus of pronominal object shift and cliticization to be Spec-AgrOP.

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