

Object licensing in Fijian and the role of adjacency*

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Abstract

Fijian displays a crosslinguistically unusual pattern of differential object marking (DOM) (e.g. Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013). In typical DOM patterns, objects higher in animacy and/or definiteness receive additional morphological marking and appear in higher syntactic positions. In Fijian, however, pronoun and proper name objects, although higher on standard DOM hierarchies, must remain verb-adjacent and are morphologically reduced. This paper shows that this pattern arises because pronoun and proper name objects undergo morphological merger with the verb at PF, which may license a nominal (Levin 2015; Branan 2017). I provide evidence that, in contrast, common noun objects in Fijian are structurally reduced, and so do not need this licensing. As a result, Fijian provides support for an approach to DOM in which objects higher in definiteness/animacy have an additional licensing need (e.g. Massam 2001; Danon 2006; Ormazabal and Romero 2013; Kalin 2016). In this view, Fijian is not unusual, except that, instead of additional case marking or agreement, it makes use of a licensing by adjacency strategy to establish DOM.

Keywords: differential object marking ◦ Fijian ◦ adjacency ◦ Case ◦ licensing

1 Introduction

Many researchers working on the syntax of Fijian have noted that it has a crosslinguistically unusual pattern of differential object marking (e.g. Dixon 1988; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013). Fijian pronoun and proper name objects must remain immediately adjacent to the verb and surface with morphologically reduced marking, without the determiner *ko/o* (1a). In contrast, common noun objects vacate the VP, and appear with a determiner (1b).

(1) Two types of objects in Fijian:

- a. e a [VP kau-ti au/Jone mai] ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.PR 1SG/Jone DIR DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought me/Jone.'
- b. e a [VP kau-ta ___ mai] na ilokoloko ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought the pillow(s).'

At first glance, the pattern in (1a–b) seems to go against familiar generalizations about differential object marking (DOM) (e.g. Comrie 1989; Bossong 1991; Aissen 2003). DOM patterns crosslinguistically involve additional morphological marking or a higher syntactic position for objects higher on animacy and definiteness hierarchies. In Pitjantjatjara, for example, pronoun and proper name objects are more morphologically complex and carry accusative case, in apparent contrast with the Fijian pattern (2a–c).

*My thanks to David Adger, Raúl Aranovich, David Hall, Claire Halpert, Daniel Harbour, Laura Kalin, Ted Levin, David Pesetsky, Masha Polinsky, and Michelle Yuan for comments and discussion, as well as the audience at LAGB 2017. I am indebted to Eroni Lomata for sharing his language with me. My thanks also to Rochelle Wild and everyone in the Spring 2017 field methods class LIN312. Abbreviations for Fijian: 1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person, c = complementizer, CAUS = causative, DET = determiner, DIR = directional, DU = dual, EXCL = exclusive, FUT = future, HAB = habitual, INCL = inclusive, N = common noun, PAUC = paucal, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PR = pronoun/proper name, PROG = progressive, PST = past, SG = singular, TR = transitive.

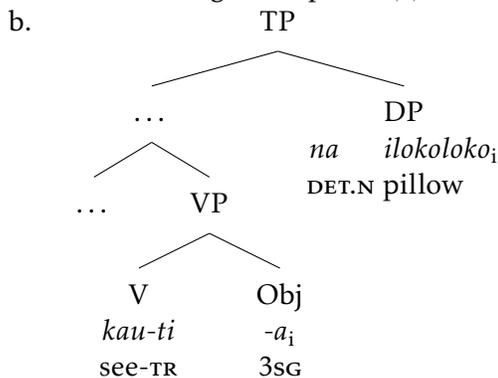
(2) *Only pronoun/proper name objects have case in Pitjantjatjara:*

- a. Tjitji-ngku **Billy-nya** nya-ngu.
child-ERG Billy-ACC see-PAST
'The child saw Billy.'
 - b. Tjitji-ngku **ngayu-nya** nya-ngu.
child-ERG 1SG-ACC see-PAST
'The child saw me.'
 - c. Billy-lu **tjitji** nya-ngu.
Billy-ERG child see-PAST
'Billy saw the child.'
- (Pitjantjatjara; Bowe 1990 in Aissen 2003)

These facts have been taken to motivate an analysis that treats Fijian as a (*partial*) *pronominal argument language* (Schütz and Nawadra 1972; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013; Schütz 2014), so that the pattern in (2a–b) is not a regular instance of DOM. This approach explains the unusual nature of object marking in Fijian by denying that common nouns, such as in (2b), are true objects of the verb. Instead, common nouns are analyzed as dislocated DPs adjoined to TP, co-indexed with a pronominal argument incorporated into the verb (the final *-a* of the transitive suffix). The structure of an example like (3a) is then really (3b). Pronouns and proper names occur immediately adjacent to the verb because they are true objects, in the complement position. In this view, the difference in (2a–b) is not DOM, but a difference between dislocated phrases and true arguments.

(3) *Fijian as a partial pronominal argument language:*

- a. e a kau-ta_i mai na ilokoloko_i ko Eroni
3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought the pillow(s).'



In this paper, I argue that the Fijian pattern is a genuine DOM pattern, and does not reflect partial polysynthesis. I present evidence that the adjacency of pronoun/proper name objects to the verb is not a side-effect of base generation, but rather reflects a requirement that such objects be licensed under adjacency with the verb (Levin 2015, Branan 2017; *cf.* Stowell 1981; Adger 2000; Ackema and Neeleman 2003). The main argument for this comes from an ECM-like configuration in Fijian, in which a pronoun/proper name can be marked as an object of a higher verb in an environment of derived adjacency. A pronoun or proper name that is initial in an embedded clause can be treated as the object of the embedding verb, as evident in the possibility of determiner omission and the morphology of the verb in (4a). Importantly, this pattern is only possible if nothing intervenes linearly between the higher verb and the pronoun/proper name (4b), and so

does not reflect an operation of raising-to-object or long-distance agreement.

(4) *Object marking is possible in embedded CP if linearly adjacent to higher verb:*

- a. au kila-i_i [CP **cei** e a rai-ca na cava]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR who 3SG PST SEE-TR.N DET.N what
 'I know who saw what.'
- b. *au kila-i_i tuga [CP **cei** iko na sureta]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR always who 2SG FUT invite
 'I know who you will invite.'

These facts reveal that adjacency is crucial to the behavior of Fijian pronoun/proper name objects, and does not reflect a contrast between true arguments and dislocated phrases. I propose that pronoun/proper name objects in Fijian must undergo an operation *m-merger* with the verb at PF in order to be licensed (Levin 2015; Branan 2017; cf. Matushansky 2006), as schematized in (5).

(5) [_{vP} V+v [Jone]] → [_{vP} V+v+Jone [Jone]]

As a result of this operation, pronouns and proper names become part of the extended verbal projection and so escape the Case Filter (see also Baker 1988; Levin 2015). I show that common noun objects in Fijian are structurally reduced (they do not encode number, definiteness or host numerals), and so do not require this licensing. In this approach, the Fijian pattern arises because pronoun/proper name objects must undergo an additional morphological process compared to other objects, one that serves to license such objects, just like accusative case in Pitjantjatjara.

These Fijian facts suggest an approach to DOM that posits an abstract difference in objects higher in definiteness/animacy compared to other objects, such that they have an additional licensing need (e.g. Massam 2001; Danon 2006; Ormazabal and Romero 2013; Kalin 2016). In this type of approach, the form this additional licensing takes may in principle vary across languages. In many languages, objects higher in definiteness/animacy surface with an adposition or additional case marking, as in Pitjantjatjara. In other languages, like Senaya (Kalin 2016), DOM involves an additional agreement process. And, in Fijian, as I will show, DOM involves licensing by adjacency.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 describes verb-initial syntax in Fijian, arguing for a VP-fronting analysis that provides us with an understanding of how to diagnose object positions. In section 3, I outline the differential object marking pattern and show that pronouns and proper names must appear without determiner and appear immediately adjacent to the verb. In section 4, I introduce the partial polysynthesis analysis of this pattern, according to which it represents a distinction between dislocated phrases and true arguments. Section 5 presents novel evidence against a polysynthesis approach, showing that the adjacency requirement on pronoun/proper name objects can hold even in derived environments. In section 6, I develop an analysis of Fijian DOM in which pronouns and proper names are licensed through morphological merger with the verb at PF (Levin 2015; Branan 2017). I also discuss other DOM patterns that may be based on adjacency, found in related Oceanic languages.

2 Verb-initial word order in Fijian

I will start by arguing for a VP-fronting account of verb-initial word order in Fijian. Identifying a fronted VP constituent will allow us to show that pronoun and proper name objects remain low, because they must be inside this fronted VP (see also Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013). The argument for VP-fronting comes from the distribution of preverbal and postverbal particles, which

“mirror” around the verb. We will see that capturing this observation requires recognizing a VP constituent before the subject, within which postverbal particles can right-attach.

2.1 Fijian word order and the distribution of preverbal and postverbal particles

Fijian is an Oceanic language spoken in Fiji by around 400,000 speakers. This paper presents original data from Standard Fijian, an Eastern Fijian dialect, collected in a field methods class and individual elicitation sessions.

Fijian is a predicate-initial language. Unmarked sentences in Fijian alternate between VOS and VSO order (e.g. Dixon 1988; Aranovich 2013), as shown in (6a–b).¹

- (6) *VOS and VSO word order are unmarked:*
- a. e a diri-ka na niu ko Eroni.
3SG PST crack-TR.N DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni cracked the coconut.'
 - b. e na diri-ka ko Eroni na niu.
3SG FUT crack-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.N COCONUT
'Eroni will crack the coconut.'

Both VOS and VSO word orders appear to be neutral. For example, both answers in (7b–c) are felicitous responses to a broad focus question like (7a).²

- (7) *VOS and VSO are both informationally neutral:*
- a. A: Na cava e yaco?
DET.N what 3SG happen
'What is happening?'
 - b. B: e a diri-ka na niu ko Jone.
3SG PST crack-TR.N DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Jone
'Jone cracked the coconut.'
 - c. B: e a diri-ka ko Jone na niu.
3SG PST crack-TR.N DET.PR Jone DET.N COCONUT
'Jone cracked the coconut.'

I will first focus on the question of how to derive predicate-initial word order in Fijian. Following Sabel (2011), I argue that VOS/VSO word order should not be derived through V-movement. The main argument for this conclusion comes from the distribution of preverbal and postverbal particles, which mirror around the verb. We will see that these particles provide evidence for an initial VP constituent, which I argue is fronted to derive verb-initial word order. Identifying this fronted VP will be important later to show that pronoun and proper name objects remain low.

¹Schütz (2014) argues against classifying Fijian as a verb-initial language on the basis of the polysynthetic analysis described in section 4. He suggests that, if the subject/object agreement markers are taken to represent the true subject and object, Fijian is SVO. Since I will present data that argues against this polysynthetic approach, I set this view aside here.

²In texts, it is difficult to detect a preferred order. In the corpus gathered by Dixon (1988), intransitive sentences or transitive sentences in which one or both of the subject and object is dropped are far more common. He estimates that “only about 2 or 3 percent of clauses are likely to have A and O NPs” (242). Among those, VSO and VOS seem to be equally distributed. As noted by Dixon (1988), however, VOS word order is by far the most common in elicitation, and so is often interpreted as the default order. VSO sentences seem to be more common if the object is inanimate. This forms an interesting contrast with tendencies in Mayan VSO/VOS languages, as recently discussed by Clemens and Coon (to appear).

Let us first examine the distribution of preverbal particles. Fijian has a set of particles that typically must appear before the predicate of the clause. These include a set of subject clitics (8a), as well as tense/aspect particles like *a* (past tense) and *dau* (habitual) (8b–c). See Schütz (2014:ch. 5) for an extensive overview of these particles.

(8) *Preverbal particles in Fijian:*

- a. **au** vosa.
1SG speak
'I speak.'
- b. e **a** diri-ka na niu ko Eroni.
3SG PST crack-TR.N DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni cracked a coconut.'
- c. au **dau** vosa.
1SG HAB talk
'I always talk.'

These particles occur in a fixed order for the most part, reflecting left-to-right scope. For example, tense particles must precede aspect particles. This is demonstrated in (9a–b) for past tense *a* and habitual *dau*.

(9) *Preverbal particles scope left-to-right:*

- a. au **a** **dau** moce.
1SG PST HAB sleep
'I used to always sleep.'
- b. *au **dau** **a** moce.
1SG HAB PAST sleep
'I used to always sleep.'

The behavior of preverbal particles can be contrasted with particles that appear after the verb. Fijian has a class of particles that must appear after the predicate, which encode direction, manner, as well as some aspectual distinctions, among other things. These include, for example, the progressive marker *tiko* (10a), *tuga* ('always') (10b), and the directional particle *mai* (10c). See Schütz (2014) for a more detailed overview.

(10) *Postverbal particles in Fijian:*

- a. e a moce **tiko**.
3SG PST sleep PROG
'S/he was sleeping.'
- b. e a laga sere **tuga**.
3SG PST sing song always
'S/he always sings songs.'
- c. sa kau-ta **mai** na ilokoloko ko Eroni.
RP bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow
'Eroni just brought the pillows.'

All such postverbal particles must precede the subject, as demonstrated for *vinaka* ('well') in (11a–b) and the directional particle *mai* in (11c–d).

(11) *Postverbal particles must precede the subject:*

- a. e a moce **tiko** ko Eroni.
3SG PST sleep PROG DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni was sleeping.'
- b. *e a moce ko Eroni **tiko**.
3SG PST sleep DET.PR Eroni PROG
'Eroni was sleeping.'
- c. e a laga sere **tuga** ko Eroni.
3SG PST sing song always DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni always sings songs.'
- d. e a laga sere ko Eroni **tuga**.
3SG PST sing song DET.PR Eroni always
'Eroni always sang.'

Preverbal particles, like postverbal particles, appear in a fixed order. However, unlike preverbal particles, these particles are ordered right-to-left, with particles that scope higher appearing further to the right. This is demonstrated for *vinaka* ('well') and *tuga* ('always') in (12a–b).

(12) *Postverbal particles appear show inverted order:*

- a. e dau laga sere **vinaka tuga**.
3SG HAB sing song well always
'S/he always sings well.'
- b. *e dau laga sere **tuga vinaka**.
3SG HAB sing song always well
'S/he always sings well.'

In essence then, preverbal and postverbal particles “mirror” around the verb. To capture this observation, I propose, following Sabel, that preverbal particles attach on the left, while postverbal particles attach on the right. Left-attachment should yield left-to-right scope, because particles that attach higher will be further on the left. Conversely, right-adjunction produces right-to-left scope. It does not matter for the purposes of this conclusion whether we take these particles to instantiate functional heads in the extended projection of the verb or adverbial modifiers. This conclusion, however, has important consequences for deriving word order in Fijian.

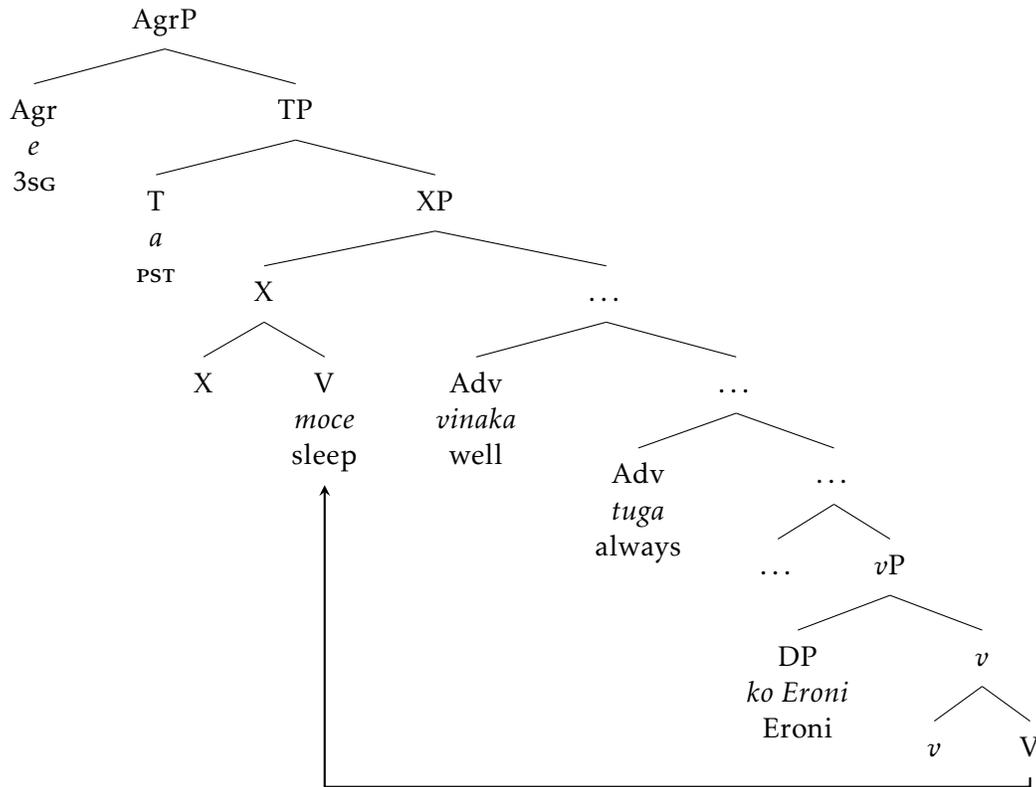
2.2 Consequences for the analysis of verb-initial word order

As Sabel (2011) points out, the conclusion about Fijian particles described above presents a problem for an approach to verb-initial word order based on movement of the verb to a clause-initial position. To see this, consider the derivation of an example with multiple postverbal particles and an overt subject, like (13).

- (13) e dau moce vinaka tuga ko Eroni.
3SG HAB sleep well always DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni always sleeps well.'

A V-movement approach must posit leftward movement of V across S, with the subject perhaps remaining in its base position. We could suggest, for instance, that the verb moves to a projection just below Tense, but above the position of postverbal particles and the subject (14).

(14) A leftward movement analysis of verb-initial word order:

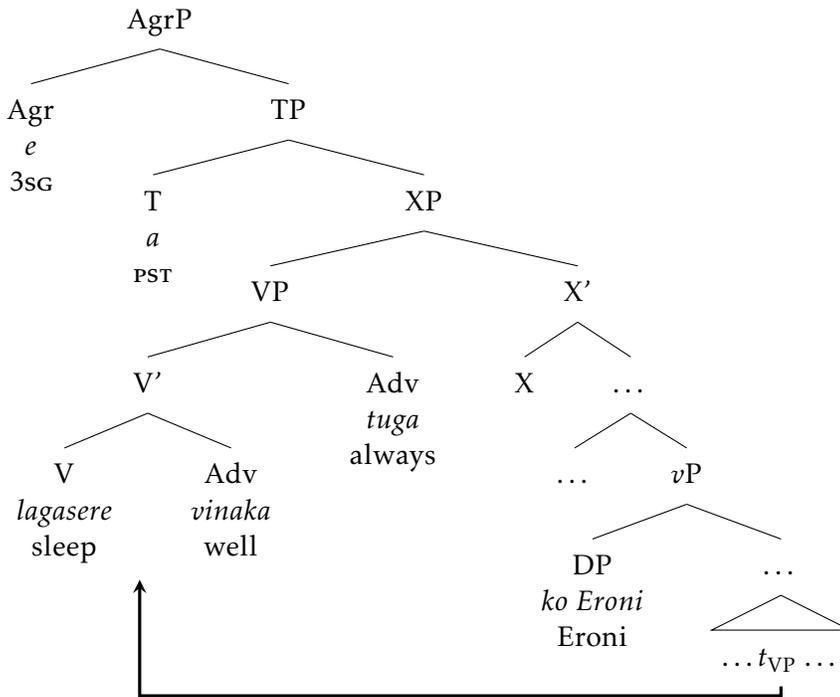


But an analysis like (14) runs into a clear problem in accounting for the behavior of multiple postverbal particles. In order for the subject to reside in a leftward specifier, it must be assumed that postverbal particles reside higher. However, this requires treating postverbal particles like *vinaka* and *tuga* as left-adjoined elements. But left-adjunction predicts that the wrong scope, as evident in tree above. Note that we cannot take postverbal particles to be part of the verbal complex, perhaps picked up as suffixes through successive applications of head movement. As we will see in section 3, postverbal particles come after pronoun/proper name objects, which can be shown not to be incorporated, at least not in the narrow syntax.

The behavior of preverbal and postverbal particles then suggests a different view of Fijian word order. Following Aranovich (2013), I suggest that postverbal particles are in fact generated below the subject, and right-adjoin in the verbal domain, which I will refer to as VP for convenience. Note that this idea also fits well with the observation that postverbal particles, when compared to preverbal particles, tend to contribute meanings that are encoded lower in the clause, such as manner and direction.

We can then derive the order of postverbal particles relative to the subject through VP-fronting. I suggest that a VP constituent containing all postverbal particles moves to the specifier of a projection X just below the tense-aspect material contributed by preverbal particles, but above the position of the subject. This analysis is schematized in (15).

(15) A VP-fronting analysis of verb-initial word order:



This VP-fronting analysis explains why postverbal particles must appear before the subject. In addition, it accommodates the observation that postverbal particles scope right-to-left, as evident in (15), because it provides right-adjunction sites that precede the subject inside the fronted VP.

The key takeaway from this discussion is that postverbal particles diagnose a VP constituent that is initial in the clause. Note that this conclusion obtains also if we treat verb-initial order as base-generated, with the subject residing in a rightward specifier. With this understanding of Fijian verb-initial syntax in place, we can look at how VP-fronting interacts with the placement of objects. In the next section, we will see that pronoun/proper name objects remain inside the fronted VP, and so must be low in the clause.

3 Three types of objects in Fijian

In this section, I introduce the problem of differential object marking in Fijian. We will see that Fijian morphologically distinguishes between three types of objects: pronouns/proper names, common nouns, and incorporated nouns. The distinction between pronouns/proper names and common nouns represents a differential object marking pattern, but it will be useful to compare it to the behavior of incorporated nouns. As already noted, contrary to common DOM tendencies, I show that objects higher on DOM hierarchies appear with reduced marking and must remain in a lower syntactic position. Specifically, pronoun and proper name objects must omit their determiner and appear immediately adjacent to the verb, before postverbal particles, and so inside the fronted VP identified in the previous section.

3.1 Pronoun/proper name objects are morphologically reduced

Let me focus first on the morphological side of differential object marking. DOM in Fijian is associated both with morphological reflexes on the object itself as well as on the verb. Fijian verbs distinguish between three types of objects in the morphology of the transitive suffix (Dixon 1988; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013). Transitive verbs appear with the transitive suffix *-Ca/-Ci*.³ If the object is a common noun with the determiner *na*, then the verb has the *-Ca* suffix, as in (16a). If the object is a pronoun or proper name, then the suffix is *-Ci* (16b). In addition to this, the bare form of the verb may appear before a common noun without determiner, (16c), in what I will analyze as noun incorporation, following Alderete (1998) and Aranovich (2013).

(16) *Three types of objects in Fijian:*

- a. e a **kau-ta** mai na ilokoloko ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought the pillow(s).'
- b. e a **kau-ti** au mai ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.PR 1SG DIR DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought me.'
- c. e dau **kau** ilokoloko tuga mai ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring pillow always DIR DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni always brings pillows.'

As noted above, the DOM pattern also has a morphological reflex on the objects themselves. Fijian lacks a system of overt case marking, but distinguishes nominals through the behavior of the determiner they appear with. Fijian has two determiners, one for pronouns and proper names and one for common nouns. We can see this with subjects, for example. Pronoun and proper name subjects appear with the determiner *ko/o* (17a–b).

(17) *Pronoun/proper name subjects appear with determiner ko/o:*

- a. e a rai-ca na koli **ko** Eroni.
3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni saw the dog.'
- b. au dau vosa **ko** yau.
1SG HAB talk DET.PR 1SG
'I always talk.'

In contrast, common noun subjects are accompanied by the determiner *na* (18a–b).

(18) *Common noun subjects appear with determiner na:*

- a. e a rai-ca na koli **na** gone
3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.N child
'The child saw the dog.'
- b. e a rai-ci Eroni **na** koli.
3SG PST see-TR.PR Eroni DET.N dog
'The dog saw Eroni.'

The most natural translation of *na* is often as a definite article (see also Schütz 2014), but *na* should not be viewed as definite, as discussed in more detail in section 6.2. I will simply treat it as a

³The consonant used depends on the verb and seems to be idiosyncratically determined (though see Arms 1974 for some apparently systematic correspondences).

general-purpose article here.

As already alluded to, the determiners *na* and *ko/o* diverge in behavior when it comes to objects of transitive verbs. Common noun objects must combine with the determiner *na*, just like subjects, so that *na* can appear on subject and object at the same time:

(19) *Determiner na must appear on object of transitive:*

- a. e a rai-ca **na** **koli** na gone
3SG PST SEE-TR.N DET.N dog DET.N child
'The child saw the dog.'
- b. *e a rai-ca **koli** ko Eroni
3SG PST SEE-TR.N dog DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni saw the dog.'

The determiner *na* may only be omitted in cases of noun incorporation, in which case the verb must be in the bare form. In contrast, a pronoun or proper name object cannot appear with its determiner at all. The determiner *ko/o* is obligatorily *absent* on pronoun and proper name objects (20a–b), regardless of the morphology of the verb.

(20) *Determiner must be omitted on pronoun/proper name object:*

- a. e a rai-ci **Eroni** na koli.
3SG PST SEE-TR.PR Eroni DET.N dog
'The dog saw Eroni.'
- b. *e a rai-ci **ko** **Eroni** na koli.
3SG PST SEE-TR.PR DET.PR Eroni DET.N dog
'The dog saw Eroni.'

The absence of the determiner means that pronoun and proper name objects are morphologically less complex than other objects, and less complex than pronoun and proper name subjects, in apparent contrast with more familiar DOM patterns.

Such morphological differences between pronouns and proper names on the one hand and common nouns in the other are not uncommon in Fijian. Some prepositions morphologically distinguish the two classes of nominals as well. The preposition *vei/vua* ('to'), for example, also comes in two forms depending on the type of object (21a–b).

(21) *Choice of vei/vua varies according to type of object:*

- a. e a sali-a ko Eroni na yaqona **vei** Jakope.
3SG PST give-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.N kava to.PR Jacob
'Eroni gave kava to Jacob.'
- b. e a sali-a ko Eroni na kakau **vua** na koli.
3SG PST give-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.N food to.N DET.N dog
'Eroni gave food to the dog.'

Similar distinctions exist in the expression of possession. For example, the possessive marker *ni* is used with common nouns (22a), but is blocked with pronouns or proper names (22b–c).⁴

⁴What possessive strategy is used with pronouns and proper names depends on the properties of the noun (see Dixon 1988:ch. 10) for an overview.

(22) *Possessive marker ni only possible with common nouns:*

- a. yalo ni gone
spirit poss child
'a child's spirit'
- b. *yalo ni Eroni
spirit poss Eroni
'Eroni's spirit'
- c. *yalo ni keimami
spirit poss 1EXCL.PL
'our (exclusive, plural) spirit'

I propose that the morphological differences between pronouns/proper names and common nouns in object position represents a system of differential object marking (see also Aranovich 2013). The cut-off between pronoun/proper names and common nouns obeys familiar DOM hierarchies. DOM patterns are based either on animacy (23), or definiteness (24).

(23) **Animacy hierarchy:**

Pronoun > Name > Human > Animate > Inanimate

(24) **Definiteness hierarchy:**

Pronoun > Name > Definite > Specific > Non-specific

Either one could be active in Fijian, since pronouns and proper names are highest on both hierarchies.⁵

What is unusual in Fijian is that the objects higher on the hierarchy appear with *reduced* marking, since pronouns and proper names must appear without the determiner *ko/o*. An apparent crosslinguistic generalization about DOM otherwise is that objects higher in definiteness or animacy appear with more marking, such as a case marker. In Pitjantjatjara, for example, only pronouns and proper names appear with accusative case, in apparent contrast to the Fijian pattern:

(25) *Only pronoun/proper name objects have case in Pitjantjatjara:*

- a. Tjitji-ngku **Billy-nya** nya-ngu.
child-ERG Billy-ACC see-PAST
'The child saw Billy.'
 - b. Tjitji-ngku **ngayu-nya** nya-ngu.
child-ERG 1SG-ACC see-PAST
'The child saw me.'
 - c. Billy-lu **tjitji** nya-ngu.
Billy-ERG child see-PAST
'Billy saw the child.'
- (Pitjantjatjara; Bowe 1990 in Aissen 2003)

In the next section, I show that, in addition to this, pronoun and proper name objects must be in a lower position than common nouns, in that they must remain VP-internal.

⁵There is some evidence in the domain of possession that Fijian cares about animacy. With inalienable nouns, only pronouns, proper names, and common nouns denoting humans may be introduced by the possessive marker *-i*.

3.2 Pronoun/proper name objects remain low

The second surprising property of differential object marking in Fijian is that pronoun and proper name object must remain VP-internal, like incorporated nouns, while common nouns surface VP-externally. This is again unexpected from the perspective of crosslinguistic patterns of DOM, since objects higher on DOM hierarchies tend to occur in higher positions.

To see that there are multiple object positions in Fijian, we can make use of the postverbal particles discussed in section 2.2. As outlined there, such particles mark the edge of a fronted verb phrase constituent (see also Aranovich 2013). Using such particles, we can investigate the position of an object in VOS word order. Note, first of all, that pronouns/proper names and common nouns differ in whether they permit both VOS and VSO. As shown in the examples in (26a–b), repeated from (6a–b), common noun objects may follow or precede the subject.

- (26) *Common noun objects permit VSO/VOS:*
- a. e a diri-ka **na niu** ko Eroni.
3SG PST crack-TR.N DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni cracked the coconut.'
 - b. e na diri-ka ko Eroni **na niu**.
3SG FUT crack-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.N COCONUT
'Eroni will crack the coconut.'

Pronoun and proper name objects are different: they must occur in VOS order (27a–b).

- (27) *Pronoun/proper name objects only allow VOS:*
- a. e a cage-ti **au** ko Eroni.
3SG PST kick-TR.PR 1SG DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni kicked me.'
 - b. *e a cage-ti ko Eroni **au**.
3SG PST kick-TR.PR DET.PR Eroni 1SG
'Eroni kicked me.'

In fact, pronouns/proper name objects must remain inside the fronted VP, as is revealed by their position relative to postverbal particles. A pronoun/proper name object must surface immediately adjacent to the verb, preceding any postverbal particles, such as the directional particle *mai* in (28a–b).

- (28) *Pronouns/proper names must be adjacent to the verb:*
- a. e a [_{VP} kau-ti **au** mai] ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.PR 1SG DIR DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought me.'
 - b. *e a [_{VP} kau-ti/ta ___ mai] **au** ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.PR/TR.N DIR 1SG DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought me.'

Common nouns show exactly the opposite behavior, even in VOS order. A common noun object must follow any postverbal particles and cannot appear before them (29a–b).

- (29) *Common nouns follow postverbal particles:*
- a. e a [_{VP} kau-ta ___ mai] **na ilokoloko** ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni

- ‘Eroni brought the pillows.’
- b. *e a [VP kau-ta na ilokoloko mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.N DET.N pillow DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought the pillows.’

Pronouns and proper names behave similarly to incorporated nouns in this respect. Incorporated nouns too must also appear in the fronted VP, before any postverbal particles (30a–b).

(30) *Bare noun object must appear before postverbal particles:*

- a. e dau [VP kau ilokoloko tuga mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG HAB bring pillow always DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni always brings pillows.’
- b. *e dau [VP kau(-ta) ___ tuga mai] ilokoloko ko Eroni.
 3SG HAB bring(-TR.N) always DIR pillow DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni always bring pillows.’ (3–40)/(3–44)

What these facts appear to show is that pronoun and proper name objects must remain inside the VP, along with incorporated nouns, while common noun objects apparently must vacate it.

The behavior of common noun objects is found also with all categories of internal arguments. PP and CP objects must always vacate the VP also, regardless of how they are ordered relative to the subject. The PP argument of *vosa* (‘talk’), for example, must appear after postverbal particles (31a–b). As (31a) shows, such arguments may still precede the subject, like common noun objects.

(31) *PP arguments must vacate the VP:*

- a. e a [VP vosa tiko] vei Jone ko Eroni.
 3SG PST talk PROG TO.PR Jone DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni talked to Jone.’
- b. *e a [VP vosa vei Jone tiko] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST talk TO.PR Jone PROG DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni talked to Jone.’

Complement clauses also have to appear after postverbal particles (32a–b).⁶

(32) *CP arguments must vacate the VP:*

- a. au [VP kila-a tiko] [CP ni o iko vuku].
 1SG think-TR.N PROG C DET.PR 2SG smart
 ‘I am thinking that you are smart.’
- b. *au [VP kila-a [CP ni vuku ko Eroni] tiko].
 1SG know-TR.N C smart DET.PR Eroni PROG
 ‘I am thinking that Eroni is smart.’

Like the determiner omission pattern, this positional difference appears to go against crosslinguistic DOM tendencies. In other languages in which DOM involves a difference in object position, objects that are higher in definiteness/animacy appear in a *higher* position. For example, Baker and Vinakoruva (2010) show that, in Sakha, objects with accusative case must be higher than unmarked objects, as diagnosed by their position relative to adverbs (33a–b).

⁶However, unlike other arguments, complement clauses must be in VSO order, and cannot precede the subject. Complement clauses then presumably must undergo an independent extraposition operation.

(33) *Sakha accusative objects precede adverbs, while unmarked objects follow:*

- a. Masha **salamaat**-(y) türgennik sie-te.
Masha porridge-ACC quickly eat-PAST.3SG
'Masha ate the porridge quickly.'
- b. Masha türgennik **salamaat**-(#y) sie-te.
Masha quickly porridge-ACC eat-PAST.3SG
'Masha ate porridge quickly.'

(Baker and Vinakurova 2010)

Some languages even distinguish objects exclusively through position. In Dutch, for example, non-specific indefinites must be lower than other objects. A non-specific indefinite can only follow an adverb like *morgen* ('tomorrow') (34a–b), while other objects can both precede and follow (34c–d).

(34) *Non-specific indefinites in Dutch must follow adverbs:*

- a. Ik ga morgen **boeken** lezen.
I go tomorrow books read
'I will read books tomorrow.'
- b. *Ik ga **boeken** morgen lezen.
I go books tomorrow read
'I will read books tomorrow.'
- c. Ik ga **dat boek** morgen lezen.
I go that book tomorrow read
'I will read that book tomorrow.'
- d. Ik ga morgen **dat boek** lezen.
I go tomorrow that book read
'I will read that book tomorrow.'

These facts about morphological marking and syntactic position seem to go against familiar DOM tendencies. Pronouns and proper names, while higher on DOM hierarchies, display reduced marking and appear in a lower position. One attractive analysis of this pattern may be to say that pronouns and proper names may incorporate into the verb. Before proceeding, I will show, following Aranovich (2013), that pronouns and proper names do not incorporate into the verb, but instead reside in an argument position, such that we still need an explanation of the DOM pattern.

3.3 Pronouns and proper names are not incorporated

Some noun incorporation languages allow pronouns and proper names to incorporate alongside other nouns. Inuktitut, for example, permits incorporation both of nouns, pronouns, and proper names (35a–b).

(35) *Inuktitut allows incorporation of pronouns/proper names:*

- a. **iglu**-jjua-liu-lauq-tuq
house-big-make-PAST-DECL.3SG
'S/he made a big house.'
 - b. **alaana**-u-quuji-juq
Alana-COP-seem-DECL.3SG
'She looks like Alana.'
- (Compton and Pittman 2010:2168)

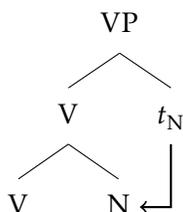
To establish that the behavior of verb-adjacent pronouns and proper names should not be attributed to a syntactic process of incorporation, let us first examine noun incorporation in more detail. As mentioned above, objects may appear as bare nouns, without *na*, and must then be immediately verb-adjacent (36a–b).

(36) *Bare noun object is verb-adjacent:*

- a. e dau kau **ilokoloko** tuga mai ko Eroni.
 3SG HAB bring pillow always DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni always bring pillows.’
- b. eratou a caka **iri**.
 3PC PST make fan
 ‘They made fans.’

The first noticeable difference with pronouns/proper names is that transitive verbs lose their transitive suffix when the noun incorporates (36a–b).⁷ Alderete (1998) and Aranovich (2013) analyze these as bare N heads that undergo head movement into the verb (37), in the sense of Baker (1988), with a detransitivizing effect.

(37) *Noun incorporation in Fijian:*



There are a number of arguments for thinking of noun incorporation in Fijian as a syntactic process and not a lexical one. Many examples of noun incorporation are in some way prototypical (38a), but we can also find examples that are clearly not (38b).⁸

(38) *Noun incorporation does not have to be prototypical:*

- a. e a gunu **yaqona** ko Eroni.
 3SG PST drink kava DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni drank kava.’

⁷The intransitive form of most verbs is also bare, so that we could think of this as detransitivization. However, there is a small set of verbs whose intransitive form is marked by a prefix, such as *voro* (‘break’) (ia). These verbs must still be bare under noun incorporation (ib).

(i) *Incorporated nouns trigger omission of intransitive prefix:*

- a. e na **(ka)**-voro na yalo.
 3SG FUT INTR-break DET.N soul
 ‘Hearts will break.’
- b. e dau **(ka)**-voro yalo ko Eroni.
 3SG HAB INTR-break soul DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni breaks hearts.’

⁸Noun incorporation is particularly productive with the verbs *gunu* (‘drink’) and *kana* (‘eat’), as Dixon (1988) notes. Most other verbs put restrictions on which common nouns may incorporate. The fact that such restrictions are never found with pronoun and proper name objects is another reason to think they do not undergo incorporation.

- b. iko a kana cava?
 2SG PST eat what
 'What did you eat?'

In addition to this, incorporated nouns remain referential. As we see in (39), an incorporated noun can be referred to with a pronoun (in this case, an object pronoun that is a part of the *-Ca* suffix, see section 4.1).

- (39) au a tali iri kau a qai vaka-caca-na_i tale.
 1SG PST make fan then.1SG PST GAI CAUS-destroy-TR.N again
 'I made fans and then I destroyed them.'

Particularly clear evidence that noun incorporation in Fijian is true noun incorporation comes from causative and applicative constructions, as pointed out by Aranovich (2013). I will focus here on the causative. The causative prefix *vaka-/va-* can combine either with an intransitive or a transitive with an incorporated noun to form a complex verb. In this case, noun incorporation co-occurs with a transitive suffix. Importantly, the incorporated noun must appear *before* the suffix (40a–b), inside of the verbal complex.

- (40) *Noun incorporation places noun before transitive suffix:*
 a. au a va-kana-ika-taki Jone.
 1SG PST CAUS-eat-fish-TR.PR Jone
 'I made Jone eat fish.'
 b. e a vaka-gunu-yaqona-taki Jone ko Mere.
 3SG PST CAUS-drink-kava-TR.PR Jone DET.PR Mere
 'Mere made Jone drink kava.'

These facts argue strongly for the conclusion that noun incorporation is syntactic and can be accounted for straightforwardly under the analysis in (37). The incorporated noun moves into *V*, forming a complex head that moves to *v*. The order of bare noun and transitive suffix in (40a–b) follows from the Mirror Principle.⁹

This construction distinguishes noun incorporation from the adjacency effect found with pronoun/proper name objects. Pronouns and proper names can never appear inside the verbal complex, in between the verb and the transitive suffix (41a–b).

- (41) *Pronoun/proper name objects cannot appear in verbal complex:*
 a. *au a va-kana-koya-taki Jone.
 1SG PST CAUS-eat-3SG-TR.PR Jone
 'I made Jone eat it/him/her.'
 b. *e a vaka-gunu-Jone-taka na yaqona ko Mere.
 3SG PST CAUS-drink-Jone-TR.N DET.N kava DET.PR Mere
 'Mary made John drink kava.'

Instead, as we expect from material that is not incorporated, pronoun and proper name objects can only follow the entire verb, including the transitive suffix, as in examples like (42a–b).

⁹A question that arises is why the bare nouns does not cause suppression of the transitive suffix in this case. One option is that the causative superstructure introduces an additional *v* layer, so that such causative constructions contain two *v* heads that would spell out as the transitive suffix (one of which is deleted to avoid a haplology effect in examples without incorporation). The incorporated noun triggers deletion of one, but the other is preserved.

- (42) *Pronoun/proper name objects follow entire causative verb:*
- a. e a va-kan-i **Jone** ko Mere va na niu.
 3SG PST CAUS-eat-TR.PR Jone DET.PR Mere P DET.N coconut
 ‘Mere made Jone eat coconut.’
- b. au a va-kana-ika-taki **Jone**.
 1SG PST CAUS-eat-fish-TR.PR Jone
 ‘I made Jone eat fish.’

As Aranovich points out, these patterns provide clear evidence that noun incorporation in Fijian reflects a distinct process from the DOM pattern under consideration. In particular, it seems to show that bare nouns undergo movement into the verbal complex, while pronouns and proper names remain in an argument position, presumably the complement position of V. I adopt this conclusion here as well.

4 A partial polysynthesis analysis

The differential object marking pattern outlined in section 2 is surprising when we consider crosslinguistic generalizations about DOM. As a result, much previous work on Fijian have analyzed Fijian as a partially polysynthetic language (Schütz and Nawadra 1972; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013; Schütz 2014). In this approach, proper names and pronouns are different from common nouns in that they appear as true objects of the verb, in the complement to V. Common noun objects, however, are analyzed as adjoined phrases, co-indexed with an incorporated pronoun. The advantage of this is that traditional DOM effects can be reserved for languages in which all objects are true arguments. It will be important for my analysis of DOM to show that a partial polysynthesis approach cannot account for the DOM effect. To do this, I will present the partial polysynthesis analysis, as developed in Alderete (1998) and Aranovich (2013), before offering evidence in section 5 that Fijian DOM does not reflect a distinction between dislocated phrases and true arguments, since it holds in derived environments as well.

4.1 Fijian as a pronominal argument language

Much previous research on Fijian adopts a partial polysynthesis analysis of the unusual differential object marking pattern (Schütz and Nawadra 1972; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013) As mentioned above, the main claim of this account is that common nouns are adjoined phrases, co-indexed with an incorporated pronoun.

This approach to the object alternation exploits the morphological alternation between the *-Ci* and *-Ca* suffix. The *-Ca* suffix is usually decomposed into *-Ci+a*, where *-a* represents a reduced form of the 3rd person singular *koya*. There is historical evidence that *-Ca* derives from *-Ci-a* in Proto-Fijian (see Pawley and Sayaba 1971 and Clark 1974, for example). In addition, the idea that the *-Ca* suffix contains an object pronoun is evident in the fact that the *-Ca* suffix may also be used in isolation, with the object interpreted as a pronominal (43).

- (43) *-Ca suffix in isolation accompanies object drop:*
- e a cage-ta.
 3SG PST kick-TR.N
 ‘S/he kicked it.’

This makes sense if *-Ca* incorporates an object clitic. It might make sense to think that common

nouns occur with the *-Ca* suffix because they are always doubled by an object clitic (44).

(44) *Common noun objects doubled by object clitic:*

e a rai-**ca**_i na **koli**_i ko Eroni.
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni saw the dog.’

Such an analysis would draw a parallel between objects and subjects. Common noun subjects are always cross-referenced by a preverbal subject clitic, such as the 3rd person singular *e* in (44). These subject clitics are also frequently used in isolation (45a–b).

(45) *Subject clitics may be doubled or occur in isolation:*

- a. **au** dau vosa.
 1SG HAB speak
 ‘I always talk.’
- b. **era** vosa vaka Viti.
 3PL speak vaka Fiji
 ‘They speak Fijian.’

Although Fijian common nouns are number-neutral, their number is indicated on the doubling subject clitic (46a–b).

(46) *Doubling subject clitic may indicate number of common noun subject:*

- a. **e**_i a rai-**ca** na **koli** na **gone**.
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.N child
 ‘The child saw the dog.’
- b. **era**_i a rai-**ca** na **koli** na **gone**.
 3PL PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.N child
 ‘The children saw the dog.’

At first glance, a similar option seems to be available with common noun objects, although I will later show that these are appositive constructions and do not reflect the same type of doubling as in (46a–b), as observed also by Ott (2008). In any case, a common noun object may appear alongside an unreduced 3rd person pronoun as well, signaling the number of the common noun (47a–b). In this construction, the verb appears with the *-Ci* suffix and the pronoun is immediately verb-adjacent, like other pronoun objects.

(47) *Doubling object pronoun may indicate number of common noun object:*

- a. e rai-**ci** **ira**_i na **koli**_i ko Eroni.
 3SG see-TR.PR 3PL DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni sees the dogs.’
- b. e a diri-**ki** **rau**_i na **niu**_i ko Eroni.
 3SG PST crack-TR.PR 3DU DET.N coconut DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni cracked the coconuts (dual).’

These facts can be interpreted to suggest an analysis of the *-Ci/-Ca* in which common noun objects are always doubled by an object clitic. The object clitic always follows the suffix *-Ci*, but, with the 3rd person singular clitic, a special reduced form appears, *-Ca*. In this view, the representation of (48a) is really (48b).

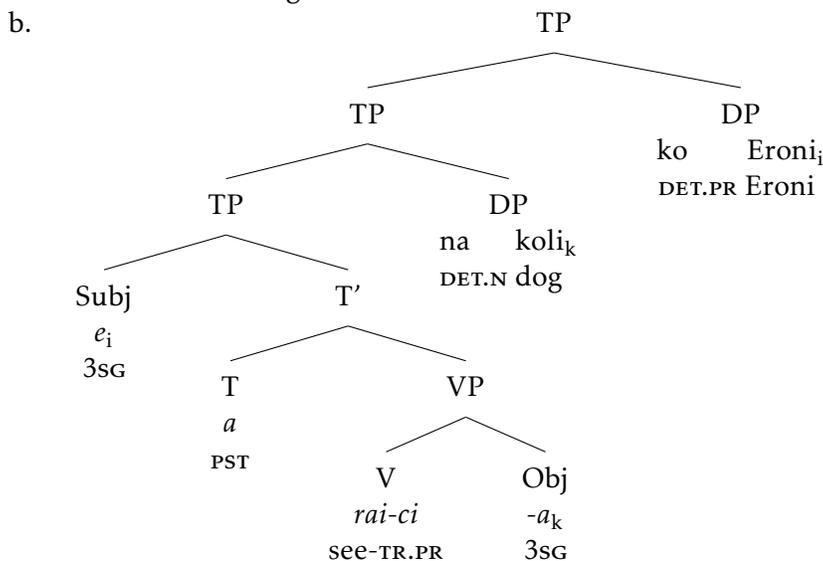
(48) *Representation of -Ca suffix:*

- a. e a rai-ca_i na koli_i ko Eroni.
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
 'Eroni saw the dog.'
- b. e a rai-ci+koya_i na koli_i ko Eroni.
 3SG PST see-TR.N+3SG DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni

Building on this view of the transitive suffix, a common approach to Fijian syntax is to treat it as a polysynthetic language (Schütz and Nawadra 1972; Alderete 1998; Aranovich 2013; Schütz 2014), in which these subject and object clitics represent the true subject and object, in the sense of Jelinek (1984). In this approach, the postverbal DPs that appear following postverbal particles actually represent optional dislocated phrases that are adjoined to TP and co-indexed with a clitic. In other words, subjects and common noun objects are base-generated as adjuncts, co-indexed with the incorporated object in the *-Ca* suffix. This analysis is schematized in (49a–b).¹⁰

(49) *Partial polysynthesis analysis of Fijian:*

- a. [TP e_i a rai-ca_k] [DP na koli]_k [DP ko Eroni]_i
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
 'Eroni saw the dog.'



This approach explains why subjects and common noun objects must appear peripherally, after postverbal particles, on the assumption that such particles mark the right edge of the verbal domain. In addition, this view explains why pronoun objects seem to be subject to an adjacency requirement. In this analysis, the verb-adjacent position is just the ordinary complement position of a true object. Also, the determiner omission pattern can be viewed as a difference between adjoined phrases and true arguments: only dislocated phrases are introduced by the determiner *ko/na*. Finally, as Aranovich points out, this polysynthetic approach provides a straightforward account for the alternation between VSO and VOS word order. Since subjects and objects are adjoined phrases, they should be able to adjoin in any order.

¹⁰Alderete (1998) only treats objects as optional adjoined phrases, and not subjects. This is derived from a semantic treatment of the DOM effect. I will not discuss this particular version of the partial polysynthesis account, since it runs into the same issues.

This polysynthetic perspective runs into an issue with proper names, which, as previously discussed, do not behave like common nouns in object position. Like common noun subjects, proper name subjects are doubled by a preverbal subject clitic. But, in object position, proper names appear verb-adjacent and surface without their determiner, just like pronouns (50a–b).

- (50) *Proper name objects must be verb-adjacent:*
- a. e a kau-ti **Jone** mai ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR Jone DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought Jone.’
- b. *e a kau-ti mai **Jone** ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR DIR Jone DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought Jone.’

To accommodate the behavior of proper names, a polysynthetic approach must treat Fijian as a *partially* polysynthetic language, in which proper names can act as true objects as well and must reside in the complement position of V as well. Aranovich’s analysis accomplishes this by incorporating a restriction on the complement position of V that restricts the types of objects that are allowed. Specifically, Aranovich adopts the constraint in (51), which bans all objects that are not higher than human on the person/animacy scale in (52).¹¹

- (51) **Fijian Transitivity Constraint (Aranovich 2013:492):**
 In Fijian, the features of the VP complement must outrank the feature [human] in the person/animacy scale.
- (52) **Person/animacy scale (Aranovich 2013:492):**
 pronominal > proper > human > animate > inanimate

Such a constraint allows proper names to function as true objects in addition to pronouns. Note also that the constraint in (51) must differ from the constraint assumed to restrict the subject position, since proper name subjects cannot appear in the same position as preverbal subject clitics. To accommodate the divergence between subjects and objects, this perspective on Fijian syntax must then assume that subjects obey an even stricter requirement and can only be pronominal in nature.

Aranovich presents one additional argument for a partial polysynthesis approach that is useful to discuss here. In the polysynthesis view just outlined, the *-Ca* suffix is used for right dislocation structures. Aranovich points out that the *-Ca* suffix also appears with left-dislocated phrases. We can see this, for example, with fronted *wh*-phrases. Fijian permits both *wh*-fronting and *wh*- in situ. In their in situ use, we can see that *cei* (‘who’) is treated as part of the class of pronouns (53a). Like pronouns and proper names, *cei* appears with the transitive suffix *-Ci*. In addition, *cei* appears with the determiner *ko/o* when it comes with a determiner (54a). In contrast, *cava* (‘what’) is part of the class of common nouns and appears with the determiner *na* (53b).

- (53) *‘Who’ is pronoun, ‘what’ is common noun:*
- a. e a rai-ci **cei** ko Eroni?
 3SG PST see-TR.PR who DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Who did Eroni see?’

¹¹ Alderete (1998) adopts a semantic analysis. He suggests that, while pronouns and proper names are all of type *e*, common noun DPs are all of type $\langle et, t \rangle$ and so must QR to combine with a transitive verb. He proposes that Fijian lacks the requisite operation of QR, so that only a right-dislocated structure allows for the introduction of a common noun.

- b. e a rai-ca na cava ko Eroni?
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N what DET.PR Eroni
 ‘What did Eroni see?’

However, when a *wh*-object is fronted, *cei* (‘who’) appears with the determiner *ko/o* and the transitive verb must have the *-Ca* suffix (54a–b).

(54) *Transitive suffix must be -Ca when object is fronted:*

- a. o cei e a rai-ca/*ci ko Eroni?
 DET.PR who 3SG PST see-TR.N/TR.PR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Who did Eroni see?’
- b. au kila-a [_{CP} ko cei o iko na sure-ta/*ti]
 1SG know-TR.N DET.PR who 2SG FUT invite-TR.N/TR.PR
 ‘I know who you will invite.’

Aranovich points out that these facts support the division between dislocated phrases and true arguments. That a left-dislocated pronoun object appears with a determiner follows if determiners only appear with dislocated phrases.¹² In addition, the idea that *-Ca* incorporates a 3rd person singular pronoun can account for the apparent mismatch between the type of object and the form of the transitive suffix. In particular, this allows for an analysis of Fijian in which all dislocation structures involve a clitic pronoun. Fronting of a *wh*-pronoun like *cei* (‘who’) will then require the 3rd person singular pronoun *-a*, incorporated into the transitive suffix. As a result, the appearance of *-Ca* in (54a–b) is unsurprising.

In the rest of this paper, I argue against this partial polysynthesis analysis. I show that the adjacency effect found with pronouns and proper names does not reflect base-generation, but surfaces in derived environments as well. As a result, the object marking differences in Fijian cannot be a distinction between dislocated phrases and true arguments, but must reflect a genuine DOM pattern.

5 Adjacency in derived environments

In this section, I argue that Fijian DOM does not arise due to polysynthesis, but is an ordinary pattern of differential object marking. I first discuss problems for the claim that object pronouns double dislocated phrases and the assumptions about structures involving left dislocation. The main argument against a polysynthesis account, however, comes from an ECM-like construction in which a DP in a lower clause can be marked like an argument of a higher verb. In particular, I show that a left-dislocated pronoun/proper name at the edge of an embedded clause can also be marked as an object of a higher verb. As a result, the Fijian DOM pattern cannot reflect a distinction between dislocated phrases and true arguments. In addition, the adjacency effect cannot simply reflect base-generation. Instead, I argue that the position of pronoun/proper names reflects the role of adjacency in nominal licensing.

¹²Such an analysis still needs to account for why right dislocation is impossible with common noun objects. I will later show that left-dislocated structures involve clefts, following Potsdam (2009), providing an account of this difference without the need to appeal to polysynthesis.

5.1 Problems with a partial polysynthesis approach

Let me first critically discuss some of the evidence in favor of a partial polysynthesis approach, as discussed in section 4.2. One of the arguments for thinking that common noun objects are doubled by an incorporated pronoun (which surfaces as *-Ca* for 3rd person singular) comes from the fact that common noun objects may be doubled by independent pronouns as well (55a–b).

- (55) *Pronouns double common noun:*
- a. e rai-ci **ira**_i na koli_i ko Eroni.
3SG see-TR.PR 3PL DET.N dog DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni sees the dogs.'
 - b. e a diri-ki **rau**_i na niu_i ko Eroni.
3SG PST crack-TR.PR 3DU DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni cracked the coconuts (dual).'

In this way, common noun objects seem similar to subjects, which are always doubled by a preverbal subject clitic.

There are several reasons, however, to reject a doubling analysis of cases like (55a–b). As we will see, the pronoun actually forms a constituent with the common noun, in a type of appositive construction, as also noted by Ott (2008). We can see this, for example, in the fact that the common noun object may precede postverbal particles, together with the pronoun (56a), unlike other common noun objects (56b). Also, the common noun object cannot appear right-dislocated (56c).

- (56) *Common noun objects with pronouns precede postverbal particle:*
- a. e a kau-ti [_{DP} **iratou** na ilokoloko] mai ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring-TR.PR 3PAUC DET.N pillow DIR DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought the pillows (paucal).'
 - b. *au a kau-ta na ilokoloko mai ike.
1SG PST bring-TR.N DET.N pillow DIR here
'I brought the pillows here.'
 - c. *e a kau-ti **iratou** mai ko Eroni na ilokoloko .
3SG PST bring-TR.PR 3PAUC DIR DET.PR Eroni DET.N pillow
'Eroni brought the pillows (paucal).'

In addition to this, left-dislocation in such constructions requires fronting the pronoun and common noun together (57a). Fronting the common noun without the pronoun is ungrammatical (57b).

- (57) *Pronoun and common noun front together:*
- a. [_{DP} ko **iratou** na gone oqo] e a rai-ca ko Eroni.
DET.PR 3PAUC DET.N child this 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.PR Eroni
'These children (paucal), Eroni saw.'
 - b. *[_{DP} na gone oqo]_i e a rai-ci **iratou**_i ko Eroni.
DET.N child this 3SG PST see-TR.PR 3PAUC DET.PR Eroni
'These children (paucal), Eroni saw.'

Finally, it is possible to coordinate two objects both containing a pronoun and common noun (58).

- (58) *Pronoun and common noun can be coordinated:*
- e a kan-i [_{DP} **ira** na niu] kei [_{DP} **ira** na ika].
3SG PST eat-TR.PR 3PL DET.N COCONUT and 3PL DET.N fish

‘S/he ate the coconut and the fish.’

All of these facts suggest that the pronoun and common noun are not in a doubling relationship, but form a constituent. As a result, this construction is best analyzed as an appositive. This casts doubt on the idea that common nouns are always doubled by a pronoun, because we would have to say that this doubling is limited to the 3rd person singular pronoun.

There is also reason to doubt Aranovich’s argument from left dislocation structures. Recall that left dislocation of a pronoun/proper name object involves the determiner *ko/o* and the *-Ca* suffix on the verb, as in (59a–b).

(59) *Fronted objects appear with ko and -Ca suffix:*

- a. au kila-a [CP **ko** cei iko na sure-ta ____]
 1SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR who 2SG FUT invite-TR.N
 ‘I know who you will invite.’
- b. au a nanu-ma [CP **ko** cei iko a rai-ca ____]
 1SG PST remember-TR.N DET.PR who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘I remembered who you saw.’

Potsdam (2009), however, shows that fronting in Fijian involves a biclausal cleft structure, so that the initial phrases in (59a–b) are not truly left-dislocated. To see this, note that Fijian is a predicate-initial language with no overt copula. It permits *wh-* in situ, as shown in the examples in (60a–b).

(60) *Fijian allows wh- in situ:*

- a. e a rai-ci **cei** ko Eroni?
 3SG PST see-TR.PR who DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Who did Eroni see?’
- b. e a rai-ca **na cava** ko Eroni?
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N what DET.PR Eroni
 ‘What did Eroni see?’

As a result of these properties, left-dislocation structures could also be analyzed as clefts, in which the dislocated phrase functions as an initial predicate followed by a headless relative. In this type of analysis, the structure of an example like (61a) is really (61b). The *wh-* phrases is the main predicate and combines with a headless relative clauses, formed by operator movement (or perhaps raising).¹³

(61) *Cleft analysis of left-dislocation:*

- a. o cei e a rai-ca ko Eroni?
 DET.PR who 3SG PST see-TR.N/TR.PR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Who did Eroni see?’
- b. [_{PredP} o cei] [_{CP} *Op* e a rai-ca ko Eroni]?
 DET.PR who 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.PR Eroni

Potsdam (2009) presents evidence that a cleft analysis like (61b) is in fact correct. In particular, he points out that fronted *wh-* phrases behave syntactically like predicates. Recall that Fijian has a set of postverbal particles that contribute adverbial information about the predicate. Like other

¹³As Potsdam (2009) notes, evidence for such a movement step comes from the fact that left-dislocation is island-sensitive.

predicates, fronted *wh*-phrases may be modified by such particles. For example, *dina* ('really') is a postverbal particle (62a). It cannot surface initially (62b). (Note that all of the examples in this discussion are based on Potsdam's.)

(62) *Dina is a postverbal particle:*

- a. e a regu-ca **dina** na koli ko Pita.
3SG PST kiss-TR.N really DET.N dog DET.PR Peter
'Peter really kissed the dog.'
- b. ***dina** e a regu-ca na koli ko Pita.
really 3SG PST kiss-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR Peter
'Peter really kissed the dog.'

When a *wh*-phrase is fronted, however, *dina* can appear after the verb (63a), just as in other environments, but also after the fronted *wh*-phrase (63b).

(63) *Dina may act as postverbal particle with fronted wh-phrase:*

- a. ko cei e a regu-ca **dina** na koli?
DET.PR who 3SG PST kiss-TR.N really DET.N dog
'Who really kissed the dog?'
- b. ko cei **dina** e a regu-ca na koli?
DET.PR who really 3SG PST kiss-TR.N DET.N dog
'Who really kissed the dog?'

This makes sense if the fronted *wh*-phrase is a predicate, which may also be associated with its own postverbal particles. In contrast, examples like (63b) are hard to account for under a *wh*-movement analysis. Particles like *dina* otherwise occur only in post-predicate position. In addition, note that *dina* cannot be analyzed as directly modifying the *wh*-phrase, since in situ *wh*-phrases cannot be followed by *dina* (64a–b).

(64) *Dina is not licensed by an in situ wh-phrase:*

- a. e a regu-ca **dina** na koli ko cei?
3SG PST kiss-TR.N really DET.N dog DET.PR who
'Who really kissed the dog?'
- b. e a regu-ca na koli ko cei **dina**?
3SG PST kiss-TR.N DET.N dog DET.PR who really
'Who really kissed the dog?'

Other postverbal particles show similar behavior, as Potsdam (2009) discusses.¹⁴

This cleft analysis provides an explanation of the fact that fronted *wh*-phrases always appear with determiners. Nominal predicates have an independent licensing source, and so can surface with *ko* or *na*. The presence of the determiner then cannot be attributed to left dislocation.¹⁵

The two pieces of independent evidence for a partial polysynthesis analysis of Fijian then do not seem work out after close scrutiny. In the next section, I present new evidence from an ECM-like construction in favor of treating Fijian as a non-polysynthetic language, but one with an unusual DOM pattern.

¹⁴Fronted *wh*-phrases do not seem to be able to combine as easily with preverbal particles encoding tense and aspect, but nominal predicates in Fijian show similar restrictions independently.

¹⁵That the verb appears with the *-Ca* suffix regardless of clefted constituent still requires explanation. One possibility that I will adopt for the sake of concreteness is that *-Ca* reflects the features of a null operator that moves into the left periphery of the lower clause.

5.2 Determiner omission and derived adjacency

Having presented some difficulties for the partial polysynthesis approach, let me now provide evidence that Fijian DOM does not reflect a difference between dislocated phrases and true arguments. The main argument I will present for this comes from an ECM-like configuration in which the adjacency requirement can still affect the way in which pronouns and proper names are marked. Specifically, I will show that pronouns and proper names inside an embedded clause can be marked like an object of the embedding verb, as long as they are surface-adjacent. These facts mean that the adjacency effect cannot be an epiphenomenon of the base-generated position of objects, as in a partial polysynthesis account of Fijian.

The relevant effect emerges with verbs that embed CP complements, like *nanu* ('think/remember') and *kila* ('know'). Unlike nominal objects, CP complements obligatorily occur in VSO order, as the examples in (65a–b) demonstrate.

(65) *CP complements appear in VSO order:*

- a. e kila-a ko Eroni [CP ko cei iko a rai-ca].
 3SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.PR who 2SG PST SEE-TR.N
 'Eroni knows who you saw.'
- b. *e kila-a [CP ko cei iko a rai-ca] ko Eroni.
 3SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR who 2SG PST SEE-TR.N DET.PR Eroni
 'Eroni knows who you saw.'

At the same time, like nominal objects, CP objects occur with the transitive suffix. Complement clauses pattern with common nouns in that the suffix must be *-Ca*, whether the CP object is interrogative or declarative (66a–c).

(66) *Transitive verbs that embed a CP occur with -Ca:*

- a. au nanu-**ma** [CP na cava iko a tuku-na]
 1SG remember-TR.N DET.N what 2SG PST say-TR.N
 'I remember what you said.'
- b. au kila-**a** [CP ko cei iko a rai-ca]
 1SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR who 2SG PST SEE-TR.N
 'I know who you saw.'
- c. au kila-**a** [CP ni iko na sure-ti Jone]
 1SG KNOW-TR.N c 2SG FUT invite-TR.PR Jone
 'I know that you will invite Jone.'

Strikingly, embedding verbs also allow an ECM-like configuration, in which a nominal in the embedded clause can be treated morphologically as an object of the higher verb. Specifically, if a pronoun or proper name is at the edge of an embedded CP, for example in an embedded cleft construction, the determiner *ko/o* can be omitted, causing the higher verb to surface with the *-Ci* suffix (67a–b).¹⁶

(67) *Determiner ko/o omitted with -Ci on embedding verb:*

- a. au kila-i [CP **cei** e a rai-ca na cava]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR who 3SG PST SEE-TR.N DET.N what
 'I know who saw what.'

¹⁶Note that this construction cannot be analyzed as a free relative, because it is available in a multiple *wh*-question, as in (82a). My thanks to Masha Polinsky (p.c.) for discussion of this point.

- b. au kila-i [CP **Eroni** e na sure-ti Jone]
 1SG know-TR.PR Eroni 3SG FUT invite-TR.PR Jone
 ‘I know Eroni will invite Jone.’

As with regular pronoun/proper name objects, determiner omission is impossible when the verb carries the *-Ca* suffix (68a–b).

(68) *Determiner ko/o cannot be omitted with -Ca on embedding verb:*

- a. au kila-a [CP ***(ko)** cei iko na sure-ta]
 1SG know-TR.PR DET.PR who 2SG FUT invite-TR.N
 ‘I know who you will invite.’
- b. au a nanu-ma [CP ***(ko)** cei iko a rai-ca]
 1SG PST remember-TR.PR DET.PR who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘I remembered who you saw.’

Similarly, the *-Ci* suffix is only possible if the determiner is omitted (69a–b).

(69) *Determiner must be omitted if -Ci suffix is used:*

- a. au kila-i [CP ***(ko)** cei iko a rai-ca].
 1SG know-TR.PR DET.PR who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘I know who you saw.’
- b. au nanu-mi [CP ***(ko)** cei iko a sure-ta].
 1SG remember-TR.PR DET.PR who 2SG PST invite-TR.N
 ‘I remember who you invited.’

It is difficult to determine whether common nouns participate in this as well, because object marking with these is only visible in the *-Ca* suffix. As noted above, the *-Ca* suffix surfaces anyway with embedded CP objects. We can show, however, that noun incorporation is not possible in this derived environment. The verb *kila* (‘know’) allows noun incorporation with the object *ka* (‘thing’) (70a). Noun incorporation is impossible across a clause boundary (70b).

(70) *No noun incorporation after fronting:*

- a. au kila ka
 1SG know thing
 ‘I know things.’
- b. *au kila [CP **ka** iko a tuku-na].
 1SG know thing 2SG PST say-TR.N
 ‘I know you said things.’

This is another way then in which noun incorporation can be distinguished from the adjacency effect with pronouns and proper names (see also section 3.3).

The ECM-like construction described above is reminiscent of long-distance agreement into embedded clauses, as in languages like Tsez and Innu-aimûn (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001; Branigan and MacKenzie 2002), or raising-to-object out of finite CPs (e.g. Deal 2016; Zyman 2017). However, we will see that, unlike long-distance agreement or object raising, determiner omission in Fijian is only possible with surface adjacency. A pronoun or proper name in the embedded clause can only be treated as an object if the higher verb *if no overt material intervenes*. I will conclude from this that no object agreement or object raising is involved. Instead, determiner omission is licensed strictly through adjacency at PF, which I suggest reflects the application of morphological merger.

We can see the effects of surface adjacency in a number of ways. Let me first show that the

relevant nominal must be initial in the embedded clause. Determiner omission is only possible if the pronoun or proper name is left-dislocated, through the clefting construction discussed in the previous section.

(71) *Determiner omission is impossible without clefting:*

*au kila-i [CP ni e na sure-ti Jone Eroni]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR C 3SG FUT invite-TR.PR Jone Eroni
 ‘I know Eroni will invite Jone.’

Complementizers also disrupt the effect. In an embedded declarative, the complementizer *ni* is optional after a verb like *kila* (‘know’). Determiner omission is only possible when the complementizer is omitted (72a–b).

(72) *Determiner omission is impossible:*

- a. au kila-i [CP Eroni e na sure-ti Jone]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR Eroni 3SG FUT invite-TR.PR Jone
 ‘I know Eroni will invite Jone.’
- b. *au kila-i [CP ni Eroni e na sure-ti Jone]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR C Eroni 3SG FUT invite-TR.PR Jone
 ‘I know Eroni will invite Jone.’

So far, these facts are consistent with treating this as a long-distance agreement effect. Such agreement typically requires the target of agreement to be at the edge of the embedded clause (see Polinsky and Potsdam 2001 and Branigan and MacKenzie 2002, for instance). However, in Fijian, determiner omission places restrictions on the higher clause as well. Because it is only possible with strict adjacency, no overt material can intervene in the higher clause either. For example, since CP objects occur in VSO order, determiner omission is disrupted when the higher verb has an overt subject, which must appear in between the verb and embedded clause (73a–b). This can only be fixed by clefting the overt subject (73c).

(73) *Overt subject in VSO disrupts determiner omission:*

- a. e kila-a ko Eroni [CP ko cei iko a rai-ca]
 3SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR Eroni DET.PR who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘Eroni knows who you saw.’
- b. *e kila-i [ko Eroni] [CP cei iko a rai-ca]
 3SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR Eroni who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘Eroni knows who you saw.’
- c. ko Eroni e kila-i [CP cei iko rai-ca]
 DET.PR Eroni 3SG KNOW-TR.N who 2SG see-TR.N
 ‘It is Eroni who knows who you see.’

Other overt material has the same effect. For example, if a postverbal particle surfaces after the embedding verb, *o/ko* can no longer be omitted (74a–b).

(74) *Postverbal particle after higher verb disrupts determiner omission:*

- a. au kila-a tuga [CP ko cei iko na sureta]
 1SG KNOW-TR.N always DET.PR who 2SG FUT invite
 ‘I know who you will invite.’
- b. *au kila-i [tuga] [CP cei iko na sureta]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR always who 2SG FUT invite

'I know who you will invite.'

The same effect is found with higher adverbs, like *nanoa* ('yesterday'). Determiner omission is impossible if *nanoa* intervenes between the verb and complement clause (75a–b). Determiner omission is only licit if the adverb follows the complement clause (75c).

(75) *Adverb after higher verb disrupts determiner omission:*

- a. au a gai kila-a nanoa [CP ko cei e talei-taka ko Eroni]
 1SG PST GAI KNOW-TR.N yesterday DET.PR who 3SG like-TR.N DET.PR Eroni
 'I found out yesterday who Eroni likes.'
- b. *au a gai kila-i nanoa [CP cei e talei-taka ko Eroni]
 1SG PST GAI KNOW-TR.N yesterday who 3SG like-TR.N DET.PR Eroni
 'I found out yesterday who Eroni likes.'
- c. au a gai kila-i [CP cei e talei-taka ko Eroni] nanoa.
 1SG PST GAI KNOW-TR.PR who 3SG like-TR.N DET.PR Eroni yesterday
 'I found out yesterday who Eroni likes.'

We can also use overt material in the higher clause to rule out an analysis that posits that the pronoun/proper name is actually in the higher clause, either because it is a proleptic object or because it undergoes object raising or scrambling. As the examples in (76a–c) attest, the pronoun/proper name cannot appear before material in the higher clause, such as a subject (76a), postverbal particle (76b), or adverb (76c).

(76) *Pronoun/proper name cannot appear in higher clause:*

- a. *e kila-i cei ko Eroni [CP iko a rai-ca]
 3SG KNOW-TR.N who DET.PR Eroni 2SG PST see-TR.N
 'Eroni knows who you saw.'
- b. *au kila-i cei tuga [CP iko na sureta]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR who always 2SG FUT invite
 'I know who you will invite.'
- c. *au a gai kila-i cei nanoa [CP e talei-taka ko Eroni]
 1SG PST GAI KNOW-TR.N who yesterday 3SG like-TR.N DET.PR Eroni
 'I found out yesterday who Eroni likes.'

The clefted *wh*-phrase then remains in the lower clause and does not scramble into the higher clause, since any such operation should permit it to precede some matrix clause material. In addition, *wh*-phrases presumably must remain in the lower clause for interpretation.

We can rule out even the idea of string-vacuous object movement by putting a *wh*-phrase in a disjunctive structure¹⁷ Fijian permits a disjunction of *wh*-phrases as the predicate of a *wh*-cleft (77a–b).

(77) *Disjunction of wh-phrases can be predicate of wh-cleft:*

- a. [OrP ko cei se na cava] iko a rai-ca?
 DET.PR who OR DET.N what 2SG PST see-TR.N
 'Who or what did you see?'
- b. au kila-a [CP [OrP ko cei se na cava] iko a rai-ca]
 1SG KNOW-TR.N DET.PR who OR DET.N what 2SG PAST see-TR.N
 'I know who or what you saw.'

¹⁷Fijian coordination seems to involve a comitative structure, so does not provide a good test for the CSC.

Even a pronoun/proper name in such a disjunctive structure can license determiner omission, but only if it is the *first* disjunct and the conditions on surface adjacency are met. If headed by *ko/o*, the first disjunct can trigger *-Ci* marking on the higher verb (78a), but not the second (78b):

(78) *Determiner omission is possible if pronoun/proper name is first disjunct:*

- a. au kila-i [CP [OrP **cei** se na cava] iko a rai-ca]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR who OR DET.N what 2SG PAST see-TR.N
 ‘I know who or what you saw.’
- b. *au kila-i [CP [OrP na cava se **cei**] iko a rai-ca]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR DET.N what OR who 2SG PAST see-TR.N
 ‘I know who or what you saw.’

It is clear from such examples that the *wh*-phrase has not undergone any movement, because this would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint. In addition, the ordering effect is another piece of evidence that only surface adjacency matters.

The facts presented in this section make clear then that the Fijian DOM pattern is not a contrast between dislocated phrases and true arguments, as in a polysynthesis analysis. Adjacency cannot be treated as an epiphenomenon of base-generation, since it surfaces in derived environments as well. Instead, I argue that adjacency can serve as a licensing mechanism (Levin 2015; Branan 2017), through the application of *m*-merger at PF. How this proposal works exactly is the focus of the next section.

6 The role of adjacency in licensing

DOM patterns crosslinguistically involve additional case morphology on objects higher on an animacy or definiteness hierarchy. I take the above to show that Fijian is no different: a novel licensing mechanism is used with such objects, but this licensing mechanism is licensing through adjacency. In this section, I argue that licensing through adjacency reflects the application of Matushansky’s (2006) *m*-merger at PF (Levin 2015; Branan 2017; *cf.* Ackema and Neeleman 2003). I develop an approach to Fijian DOM based on the idea that Fijian lacks accusative case assignment. In order to be licensed, pronouns and proper names undergo morphological merger with the verb. I show that common nouns, in contrast, are structurally reduced and lack the requisite structure for a [*uCase*] feature.

6.1 Morphological merger licenses pronouns and proper names

In this section, I present a novel approach to the Fijian DOM pattern that is the topic of this paper, repeated in (79a–b).

(79) *Two types of objects in Fijian:*

- a. e a [VP kau-ti **au** mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR 1SG DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought me/Jone.’
- b. e a [VP kau-ta mai] **na ilokoloko** ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought the pillow(s).’

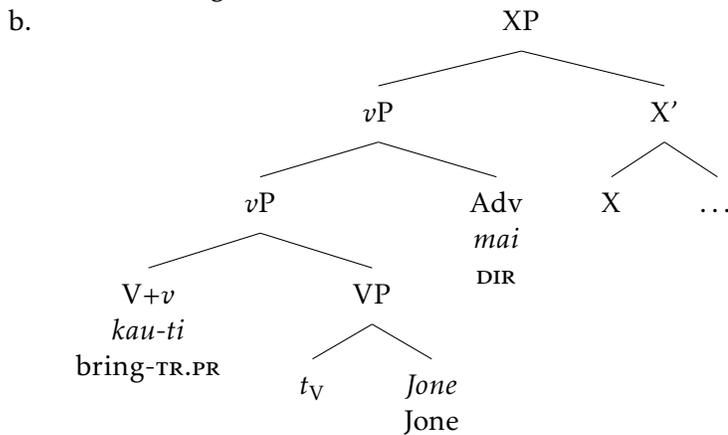
I take the position of the pronoun object in (79a) and the common noun object in (79b) to both reflect object positions of Fijian, in principle available to all objects. An object can either remain

inside the fronted VP or move out before VP-fronting applies. However, I propose that Fijian lacks a mechanism assigning accusative case to objects in the syntax. It does not matter for present purposes what theory of case this is stated in. We could interpret the absence of accusative case either as an inability of *v* to assign Case or as the absence of a dependent case rule. In any case, I suggest that, regardless of which of the two positions in (79a–b) an object occupies, Fijian objects are never case-licensed in the syntax. If all DPs require licensing (Vergnaud 1977), the consequence of this is that a repair mechanism is required for a DP object to surface. I propose that the adjacency effect reflects the fact that such a repair has been applied. Specifically, I posit that, in order to be licensed, pronouns and proper names undergo *m-merger* with the verb at PF.

To see how this approach works, consider the structure of an example like (80a). Since a postverbal particle is present, the object must reside in the complement at V, to be verb-adjacent (80b). Occupying this object position enables the pronoun/proper name to undergo m-merger under adjacency with the verb at PF (or, more specifically, the verb and *v*) (80c).

(80) *Proper name/pronoun objects undergo morphological merger:*

- a. e a [_{VP} kau-ti **Jone** mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR Jone DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought Jone.’



- c. [_{vP} V+v [Jone]] → [_{vP} V+v+**Jone** [~~Jone~~]]

This operation of morphological merger means that the pronoun/proper name is part of the extended verbal projection, and so is exempt from the Case Filter, which applies to nominals. See also Baker (1988) and Levin (2015:sec. 4.3) for similar ideas on how incorporation or m-merger can allow a nominal to be licensed. In addition, because the pronoun/proper name is now part of the verbal projection, no nominal morphology, like the determiner *ko/o*, can be realized.¹⁸

There is some prosodic evidence for the idea that the pronoun/proper name forms a tighter morphophonological unit with the verb than other elements. Scott (1948:p. 748), in his description of Fijian intonation, observes that object pronouns are treated as part of the same prosodic phrase as the verb. In contrast, common noun objects are set off in their own prosodic phrase. The same conclusion is evident in Schütz’s (2014) description of Fijian prosody (p. 402).¹⁹

¹⁸An alternative might be to think that it is the determiner that undergoes m-merger. However, as discussed below, the pronoun/proper name seems to form a word with the verb, as diagnosed by prosodic and morphophonological evidence.

¹⁹There may be some morphophonological evidence for word formation as well. As Schütz (2014) points out, Fijian displays adjacent vowels can form diphthongs across morpheme boundaries word-internally. The final *i* of the transitive suffix can optionally form a diphthong with a suitable initial vowel of the following proper name, such as *iu* (81a). Similarly, when the pronoun/proper name starts with *i* as well, the two adjacent vowels can be pronounced as a long

This view accounts for the observation that pronoun/proper name object must remain adjacent to the verb and cannot vacate the VP when a postverbal particle is around. An example like (81) is ungrammatical, because the pronoun/proper name is not adjacent to the verb and so could not be licensed through morphological merger.

- (81) *e a [VP kau-ti/ta _____ mai] (ko) au ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR/TR.N DIR DET.PR 1SG DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought me.’

In addition to this, an adjacency account provides an explanation of why clefted pronouns and proper names are optionally marked like objects of a higher verb in examples like (82a–b).

- (82) *Determiner ko/o omitted with -Ci on embedding verb:*
 a. au kila-i [CP **cei** e a rai-ca na cava]
 1SG KNOW-TR.PR who 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N what
 ‘I know who saw what.’
 b. au a nanu-mi [CP **cei** iko a rai-ca]
 1SG PST remember-TR.PR who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘I remembered who you saw.’

M-merger only requires surface adjacency, and so is in principle insensitive to whether the nominal in question originates in the same clause. In examples like (82a–b), the pronoun/proper name has an independent licensing source in the lower clause, as the predicate in a cleft structure. However, as long as the environment for morphological merger is met, it is possible for the pronoun/proper name to undergo m-merger with the higher verb (83).

- (83) [_{VP} V+v [_{CP} [cei] ...]] → [_{VP} V+v+**cei** [_{CP} [e*ei*] ...]]

This view then explains why such left-dislocated phrases can optionally be marked as objects of a higher verb, but only if there is surface adjacency.²⁰ If any material surfaces in the higher clause, in between the verb and the pronoun/proper name, m-merger is blocked, as examples like (84a–b), repeated from section 5.2, demonstrate.

- (84) *Overt material in higher clause blocks m-merger:*

vowel (81b).

- (i) *Long vowels and diphthongs can form across verb and object:*
 a. au a rai-ci Ulita.
 1SG PST see-TR.PR Ulita
 ‘I saw Ulita.’
 b. au a rai-ci iratou.
 1SG PST see-TR.PR 3PAUC
 ‘I saw them.’

²⁰An interesting question is whether the clefted predicate *should* be accessible for morphophonological operations in the higher clause, in light of contemporary assumptions about cyclicity (e.g. Chomsky 2001). Although a clefted predicate is the initial element in the embedded CP, it is presumably not on the phase edge, and so should perhaps be in an opaque domain for PF operations. There are at least two options for dealing with this issue. One is to simply deny that morphological merger must be sensitive to syntactic cyclicity and allow it to operate purely on the linear string. The second is to posit that Fijian nominal predicates do not project a fully-fledged clause, so that they are not associated with a full syntactic domain. There is some independent evidence that this latter suggestion is on the right track, since nominal predicates in general lack preverbal material in Fijian, such as subject clitics and tense/aspect markers.

- a. *e kila-i ko Eroni [CP cei iko a rai-ca]
 3SG know-TR.N DET.PR Eroni who 2SG PST see-TR.N
 ‘Eroni knows who you saw.’
- b. *au kila-i tuga [CP cei iko na sureta]
 1SG know-TR.PR always who 2SG FUT invite
 ‘I know who you will invite.’

In this way, the idea that pronouns and proper names may be licensed through morphological merger at PF can capture the apparently unusual restrictions on their distribution: that the determiner is absent and that they must be verb-adjacent. In addition, this view of the licensing of pronouns and proper names extends straightforwardly to the the phenomenon of object marking across clause boundaries discussed in section 5, and its sensitivity to surface adjacency.

6.2 Common noun objects are caseless

I focus now on the syntax of common noun objects. Recall that common noun objects must appear with the determiner *na* and obligatorily vacate the VP (85a–b).

(85) *Common nouns follow postverbal particles:*

- a. e a [VP kau-ta ___ mai] na ilokoloko ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought the pillows.’
- b. *e a [VP kau-ta na ilokoloko mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.N DET.N pillow DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought the pillows.’

In this section, I argue that common noun objects are not subject to the adjacency requirement because they lack a Case feature always. I propose that common nouns are caseless because they are structurally reduced, and so do not require licensing (see Danon 2006 and Ormazabal and Romero 2013 for similar approaches to DOM patterns, among others).

The first question that arises is why common nouns are able to surface with their determiner *na* and do not need to be licensed by adjacency. I propose that a complete common noun object is always structurally reduced, and lacks a DP layer. If the DP layer is what introduces the [*u*Case] feature, as suggested in the previous section, then such nominals then will not require licensing. There are a number of pieces of evidence to suggest that common nouns are indeed not full DPs. First of all, common nouns in Fijian lack number. As we can see in examples like (86a–b), the form of the noun does not change regardless of whether it expresses singular or plural (or paucal and dual).

(86) *Common nouns do not show number:*

- a. e a rai-ca na koli na gone
 3SG PST see-TR.N DET.N dog DET.N child
 ‘The child saw the dog.’
- b. era a rai-ci ira na koli na gone
 3PL PST see-TR.PR 3PL DET.N dog DET.N child
 ‘The children saw the dogs.’

In contrast, Fijian pronouns distinguish four numbers, as evident in Table 1: singular, dual, paucal and plural.

(87) **Table 1. Fijian independent pronouns.**

	SG	DU	PAUC	PL
1EXCL	au	keirau	keitou	keimami
1INCL	-	keidaru	kedatou	keda
2	iko	kemudrau	kemudou	kemuni
3	koya	rau	iratou	ira

This follows if common nouns lack a Num(ber) projection that is present in other DPs.

The second piece of evidence for the idea that common nouns do not project a full DP is that they do not combine directly with numerals. As discussed by Dixon (1988), numerals are added to the noun phrase in a relative clause, in which the numeral is the main predicate (88).²¹

(88) *Numerals are introduced through relative clauses:*

au vaqara tiko [[_{CP} e **dua**] na gone].
1SG look.for PROG 3SG one DET.N child
'I am looking for a child.'
(lit.) 'I am looking for a child that is one.'

We can explain this if common nouns lack the requisite projection for introducing numerals.²²

Finally, Fijian does not have definite or indefinite determiners. The one candidate for this is the determiner *na*, which is often used in contexts in which a definite interpretation is most natural, as pointed out by Schütz (1988). The numeral *dua* ('one') is typically used for singular indefinites instead, regardless of specificity, as in (89a). However, *dua*, like other numerals, must still appear with *na*.

(89) *Numeral is used for singular indefinites:*

- a. au vaqara tiko e **dua** na gone.
1SG look.for PROG 3SG one DET.N child
'I am looking for a child (specific/non-specific).'
- b. au vaqa-ra tiko **na** gone.
1SG look.for-TR.N PROG DET.N child
'I am looking for the/*a child.'

Na can also yield a plural definite interpretation (90a). Indefinite objects are usually preferentially expressed with noun incorporation (90b).

(90) *Noun incorporation used for plural indefinites:*

- a. e a kau-ta mai na ilokoloko ko Eroni
3SG PST bring-TR.N DIR DET.N pillow DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought the pillows.'
- b. e a kau ilokoloko ko Eroni.
3SG PST bring pillow DET.PR Eroni
'Eroni brought pillows.'

However, in subject position, where incorporation is not available, *na* is compatible with indefinite interpretations as well (91).

²¹As evident in (88), relative clauses with numerals in them differ from other relative clauses in that they may be preposed before the determiner *na*.

²²A possible alternative explanation is that numerals in Fijian must be verbs.

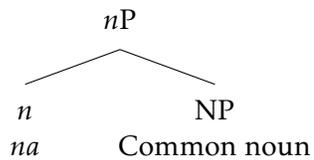
(91) *Determiner na ambiguous in subject position:*

- a. e a luku-ti au na niu.
 3SG PST fall-TR.PR 1SG DET.N COCONUT
 '(The) coconuts fell on me.'
- b. e levu na koli.
 3SG many DET.N dog
 'There are many dogs.' (lit. 'Dogs are many.')

I conclude then that *na* is not a genuine definite article in Fijian. We can explain this if common nouns do not project a DP layer where definiteness would be encoded.²³

To capture these facts, I propose that common nouns in Fijian only ever project up until *nP*, with *na* instantiating *n* (92), and so lack the requisite structure to contain a [*uCase*] feature.

(92) *Structure of common nouns:*



In this view then, common nouns and proper names/pronouns project nominals of different sizes. The result of this is that only pronouns and proper names require licensing.²⁴

Let me turn now to the alternation between *-Ci/Ca*. We have already seen reasons to doubt that the *-Ca* suffix represents a doubling pronoun, as a close examination of these constructions revealed. At the same time, the idea that *-Ca* incorporates the 3rd person singular pronoun captures the observation that it can be used in isolation. I propose then that, when no nominal undergoes m-merger with the verb, an expletive version of 3rd person singular *-a* is inserted as a dummy morpheme. This analysis encodes the similarity between *-Ca* and an incorporated pronoun, without requiring a clitic doubling analysis, and so avoids the problem of the absence of non-singular doubling with common noun objects.²⁵

A final question that remains is why common noun objects must vacate the VP. Even if common nouns do not need to undergo morphological merger, they should in principle be able to remain inside the fronting VP, since they do not need to be licensed. We might wonder then why examples such as (93) are impossible.

(93) *Common noun object cannot appear inside VP:*

- *e a [_{VP} kau-ta na ilokoloko mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.N DET.N pillow DIR DET.PR Eroni
 'Eroni brought the pillows.'

I will argue that the obligatory evacuation of the VP by common noun objects is unrelated to case licensing. As previously noted in section 3.2, *all* internal arguments aside from pronouns and proper names vacate the VP, regardless of category. PP arguments also cannot remain inside the fronted VP, as the examples in (94a–b) demonstrate.

²³Note that, demonstratives appear after the noun, with adjectives, and can be treated as adjuncts.

²⁴See Kalin (2016) for a theory that extends this type of approach across differential object marking patterns.

²⁵An alternative is to treat the alternation between *-Ci/Ca* as allomorphy, depending on the following morpheme. We could treat *-Ca* as the default form of the transitive suffix, with *-Ci* surfacing only in the context of a pronoun and proper name that has undergone morphological merger with the verb.

- (94) *PP arguments must vacate the VP:*
- a. e a [VP vosa tiko] **vei** **Jone** ko Eroni.
 3SG PST talk PROG to.PR Jone DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni talked to Jone.’
- b. *e a [VP vosa **vei** **Jone** tiko] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST talk to.PR Jone PROG DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni talked to Jone.’

The same can be observed with complement clauses, which also must appear after postverbal particles (95a–b).

- (95) *CP arguments must vacate the VP:*
- a. au [VP kila-a ___ tiko] [CP ni o iko vuku].
 1SG think-TR.N PROG C DET.PR 2SG smart
 ‘I am thinking that you are smart.’
- b. *au [VP kila-a [CP ni vuku ko Eroni] tiko].
 1SG know-TR.N C smart DET.PR Eroni PROG
 ‘I am thinking that Eroni is smart.’

There must then be a pressure independent of licensing that forces arguments of the verb to vacate the VP before it fronts. As a result, the fact that common noun objects appear outside the VP is independent of DOM: this is true of all arguments that do not undergo morphological merger.

One possibility is that this pressure is prosodic in nature, although a proper evaluation of it requires more detailed study of Fijian prosody. In a study of VOS/VSO alternation in Niuean, Clemens (2014) argues that the object positioning can be influenced by the prosodic constraint *STRONGSTART*, defined in (96).

- (96) *STRONGSTART* (Selkirk 2011):
 A prosodic constituent optimally begins with a leftmost daughter constituent which is not lower in the prosodic hierarchy than the constituent that immediately follows.

In short, *STRONGSTART* penalizes prosodic phrases that consist of a prosodic word followed by a prosodic phrase. As discussed, Fijian verbs form a prosodic phrase with the material that follows inside the fronted VP, including pronoun/proper name objects and postverbal particles. *STRONGSTART* is satisfied when the element that follows the verb is a pronoun, proper name, or postverbal particle, since these also represent prosodic words. If we assume that common noun objects, PP objects, and complement clause are always prosodic phrases, by virtue of their internal complexity, such objects would violate *STRONGSTART* if they remain inside the fronted VP. This approach might also explain why appositive constructions such as (97a–b) are permitted inside the fronted VP. Since the pronoun precedes the common noun object, it can form a prosodic phrase with the verb that satisfies *STRONGSTART*.

- (97) *Common noun objects with pronouns precede postverbal particle:*
- a. e a [VP diri-ki **rau**_i na niu_i] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST crack-TR.PR 3DU DET.N COCONUT DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni cracked the coconuts (dual).’
- b. e a [VP kau-ti [DP **iratou** na ilokoloko] mai] ko Eroni.
 3SG PST bring-TR.PR 3PAUC DET.N pillow DIR DET.PR Eroni
 ‘Eroni brought the pillows (paucal).’

To sum up, I have argued that common noun objects are caseless because they are structurally reduced and that they move out of the fronting VP for reasons that are independent of licensing, much like PP and CP arguments.

6.3 The role of adjacency in other DOM patterns

If licensing by adjacency is can be one of the mechanisms involved in DOM, we expect to find similar patterns in other languages, with familiar variation in which types of objects require additional licensing. I discuss some similar patterns in other Oceanic languages in this section. In addition, I discuss the proposal that m-merger lies behind instances of pseudo-noun incorporation (e.g. Massam 2001; Levin 2015).

Pearce (2000, 2001) points out that Iaaï has a DOM pattern that is similar to Fijian. Like Fijian, Iaaï distinguishes between pronoun and proper name objects and common nouns. Iaaï lacks the determiner alternation found in Fijian, but requires pronoun and proper name objects to immediately follow the verb (98a–b), before any aspectual particles. Common noun objects, on the other hand, must occur after aspectual particles (98c–d).

(98) *Iaaï pronoun/proper name objects are verb-adjacent:*

- a. a-me ka kuc **Pou** thibut.
3SG-PROC SIMUL hit Pou COMPL
'And he hit Pou.'
 - b. oge oo u dhö.
1SG see 2SG PUNCT
'I've found you.'
 - c. a-me an dhö jee wââ.
3SG-PROC eat PUNCT PL fish
'S/he ate the fish.'
 - d. a-me uny jut anyin ûxaaû.
3SG-PROC take.off COMPL his shirt
'S/he is taking off his shirt.'
- (Pearce 2000:25–26)

Pearce (2000, 2001) analyzes the adjacency effect in (98a–b) as a process of D-incorporation, much like the proposal pursued here. Evidence for this word formation process comes from the observation that pronoun and proper name objects trigger allomorphy on the preceding verb. Many Iaaï verbs have distinct forms depending on whether they combine with a common noun or pronoun/proper name object, like the verb *kot* ('hit/kill') (99a–c).²⁶

(99) *Pronoun/proper name objects trigger allomorphy in Iaaï:*

- a. a-me **kot** tep.
3SG-PROC hit rat
'S/he is killing the rat.'
- b. a-me **kuc** u.
3SG-PROC hit 2SG
'S/he is hitting you.'

²⁶As Pearce discusses, these allomorphy effects appear to have their origins in an *-i* suffix present with pronoun/proper name objects, triggering vowel raising and palatalization. In the synchronic language, however, the patterns are no longer phonologically predictable.

- c. a-me **kuc** Poou.
 3SG-PROC hit Poou
 'S/he is hitting Poou.'
 (Pearce 2000:23)

Otsuka (2000) observes that Tongan has a related pattern, except that only pronouns undergo incorporation. Like Fijian, Tongan is verb-initial. In addition, subjects and objects appear with ergative/absolutive case markers (100a). Otsuka observes that object pronouns, and not other objects, can appear without their case marker when immediately following the verb (100b–c).

(100) *Pronouns in Tongan can appear verb-adjacent without case marker:*

- a. Na'e 'ave 'e Sione 'a **au**.
 PST take ERG Sione ABS 1SG
 'Sione took me.'
- b. Na'e 'ave **au** 'e Sione.
 PST take 1SG ERG Sione
 'Sione took me.'
- c. *Na'e 'ave **Mele** 'e Sione.
 PST take Mele ERG Sione
 'Sione took Mele.'
 (Otsuka 2000:149)

To capture this, Otsuka posits an optional rule that right-adjoins pronouns to the verb. I suggest that we can understand this incorporation process as m-merger at PF, like in the Fijian pattern. The main difference between Fijian and Tongan is then that Tongan limits m-merger to pronominal objects.²⁷ As noted by Aranovich (2013), similar patterns to the Tongan one can be found in Rotuman and Western Fijian languages (Kikusawa 2001; Kissonock 2003).

The existence of such patterns provides additional evidence that differential object marking can be based around licensing by adjacency. All languages in this small sample limit this type of licensing to pronoun/proper name objects. What this restriction could reveal is that m-merger is limited to heads, as in Matushansky (2006).

The idea that m-merger of objects might be restricted to objects that are sufficiently small may also allow us to make sense of the idea that m-merger plays a role in cases of *pseudo-noun incorporation*. As first noted by Massam (2001), a number of languages have DOM patterns in which objects lower in definiteness and animacy must appear immediately adjacent to the verb, as in the Niuean alternation in (101a–b), without having undergone syntactic incorporation.

(101) *Adjacency in Niuean:*

- a. Takafaga tūmau nī e ia e **tau ika**
 hunt always EMPH ERG he ABS PL fish
 'He is always hunting fish.'
- b. Takafaga **ika** nī a ia
 hunt fish EMPH ABS he
 'He is always hunting fish.'
 (Niuean; Seiter 1980)

²⁷ Another difference is that absolutive case appears to be available to all objects, which is difficult to square with the caselessness I posited for common noun objects in Fijian. One option is that the absolutive morpheme is a default marker of some sorts and not a reflex of case licensing.

Levin (2015) develops an m-merger analysis of such patterns, arguing that a DOM pattern of this type can arise when a structurally reduced object is licensed by m-merger, in much the same fashion as I proposed for Fijian. As Levin (2015:sec. 3.1) discusses in detail, objects that undergo pseudo-noun incorporation are always structurally reduced in some sense, disallowing DP-level material and sometimes more. We can make sense of this if m-merger is limited to nominals that are sufficiently small, like pronouns, proper names and reduced nouns.

A question that arises, however, is why, in pseudo-noun incorporation constructions, objects lower in definiteness and animacy require a special type of licensing, given the licensing approach to DOM I adopted above. As Keine and Müller (2008) argue, there are other cases of DOM in which there is no difference in licensing, but a difference in the type of licensing strategy. In Finnish, for example, DOM involves a distinction between genitive/accusative case, on the one hand, and partitive case, on the other. If this is right, then some DOM patterns do not involve a difference in the presence or absence of licensing, but in the difference in the type of licensing strategy that is used. This type of view could work for Niuean: objects that undergo pseudo-noun incorporation are licensed by adjacency, and objects that do not are licensed by absolutive case. One piece of evidence in favor of this perspective is the observation that objects lower in definiteness or animacy are not universally subject to verb-adjacency requirements. Kalin (2016) points out that, in Senaya, non-specific objects (which do not trigger object agreement) occupy exactly the same positions as other objects and can be separated from the verb, for example by other arguments (102a–b).

(102) *Nonagreeing objects in Senaya are not verb-adjacent:*

- a. Āna ō ksūta [ta d-on yāle] maxw-an-ā.
I that book to GEN-those children show.IMPf-S.1FS-L.3FS
'I (will) show that book to the children.'
- b. Āna xa ksūta [ta d-on yāle] maxw-an.
I a book to GEN-those children show.IMPf-S.1FS
'I (will) show a book to the children.'
(Senaya; Kalin 2016:16–17)

The existence of cases like the Senaya one alongside the Niuean one suggest a view of DOM in which some DOM patterns are characterized by the presence or absence of licensing, and some by the presence of two different licensing strategies.

Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that Fijian has a crosslinguistically unusual pattern of differential object marking, in which objects higher in definiteness or animacy show reduced marking and appear in a lower position. I presented evidence that this pattern arises because pronoun/proper name objects are licensed by adjacency with the verb, specifically an operation of morphological merger at PF (Levin 2015, Branam 2017; cf. Stowell 1981, Ackema and Neeleman 2003). These facts suggest an approach to DOM in which objects higher in definiteness and animacy have an additional licensing need (e.g. Massam 2001; Danon 2006; Ormazabal and Romero 2013; Kalin 2016). In this approach, Fijian DOM is no different from other DOM patterns in that an additional licensing strategy is used with objects higher in animacy/definiteness. What is different is only that Fijian uses licensing under adjacency rather than an additional case marker or agreement. In this way, the Fijian facts provide support for the idea that nominals require licensing (Vergnaud 1977).

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