

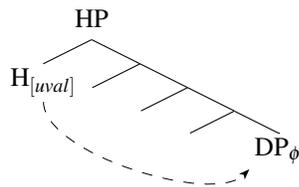
Diagnosing object agreement vs. clitic doubling: Evidence from Inuktitut

Michelle Yuan, MIT

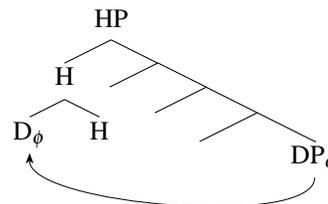
1 Introduction

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

(1) a. *Agreement:*



b. *Clitic doubling:*



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

This paper presents a case study showing that the underlying status of this kind of morphology (henceforth, *object-referencing* in this paper) can—and should—be determined without appealing to its surface appearance. Instead, it is more fruitful to examine how the morphemes in question interact with the nominals they cross-reference, beyond expounding their ϕ -features. The argument comes from Inuit, a dialect continuum spanning the North American Arctic and Greenland. In Inuit, object agreement morphology cross-references ABS objects. Based on new fieldwork by the author, I show that Inuktitut, a member of this dialect continuum, displays an array of ABS *object asymmetries*, in that ABS objects pattern distinctly from all other arguments (including ABS subjects). The exact constellation of properties seen in Inuktitut is highly reminiscent of the behaviour of clitic doubled objects cross-linguistically, and finds a straightforward explanation in the pronominal (determiner-based) structure of doubled clitics. However, these ABS object asymmetries are wholly absent in Kalaallisut, another member of this dialect continuum, suggesting the absence of object clitic doubling as well. Thus, whereas Inuktitut ABS objects are clitic doubled, in

Kalaallisut they are cross-referenced by genuine ϕ -agreement.

Importantly, one cannot arrive at this conclusion based on any properties of the object-referencing morphology itself, which is uniform across Inuit and often expounded in subject/object portmanteaux. As a result, one might be tempted to analyze the object-referencing portions of these portmanteaux as genuine ϕ -agreement across all Inuit varieties, as recently argued for by Compton (2016). The fact that there is nonetheless a split within the Inuit languages provides a cautionary argument against relying on surface morphological appearance as a diagnostic.

Finally, as independent support for this proposal, I propose that this split between Inuktitut and Kalaallisut is not arbitrary, but converges with a broader pattern of syntactic change documented in certain Inuit varieties, including Inuktitut. In these varieties, the ergative pattern seems to be declining, suggesting a shift towards accusativity (Johns, 2001, 2006, 2017; Allen and Schroeder, 2003; Beach, 2011; Carrier, 2012; Murasugi, 2014, 2017, a.o.). Putting these observations together, we find an *inverse correlation* between the robustness of ergativity in a given dialect and the pronominality of object-referencing morphology—revealing a systematic connection between these two factors. This, in turn, seems to be related to the distribution and structural position of ABS objects in each particular variety of Inuit. Crucially, it is only after correctly distinguishing between ϕ -agreement and pronominal clitic doubling in Kalaallisut and Inuktitut—as well as identifying this point of variation in the first place—that this generalization emerges.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I outline previous literature on the object agreement and clitic doubling distinction. In section 3, I provide an overview of Inuit morphosyntax, paying particular attention to the properties of the object-referencing morphemes under investigation. Sections 4-5 present two independent arguments that these morphemes in Inuktitut are the product of pronominal clitic doubling rather than ϕ -agreement. Crucially, the properties seen in Inuktitut are absent in Kalaallisut, suggest-

ing that Kalaallisut has true object ϕ -agreement. Finally, in section 6, I extend the analysis to the decline of ergativity taking place in certain Inuit varieties.

2 Object agreement vs. clitic doubling

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

- (2) *Romanian; Farkas (1978)*
(II) vād pe Ion
him.CL see-I PE John
'I saw John.'

Recently, it has been claimed that many (or perhaps even all) cases of what has been taken to be object ϕ -agreement should actually be analyzed as object clitic doubling (Woolford, 2008; Nevins, 2011). According to these proposals, this morphology has the same underlying structure as the Romanian clitic above, despite surface appearances. One reason comes from the observation that even in languages in which the object-referencing morphology does not *look* clitic in nature, it is often optional and its presence seems to be correlated with certain semantic effects (e.g. Riedel, 2009; Kramer, 2014; Baker and Kramer, 2016; Anagnostopoulou, 2016). On the other hand, it has been argued that there does exist object ϕ -agreement that is distinct from clitic doubling (e.g. Oxford, 2014). As will be discussed in §3, the status of object-referencing morphology has also been debated in the context of the Inuit languages (Johns, 2017; Johns and Kučerová, 2017; Compton, 2016).

Traditionally, diagnostics to distinguish genuine ϕ -agreement from pronominal clitic doubling have focused on morphological tendencies that distinguish affixes and morphophono-

logical clitics, rather than sentence-level properties (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983; Woolford, 2008; Nevins, 2011). For example, Zwicky and Pullum argue that agreement morphemes are often subject to allomorphy and display morphological irregularities, while clitics are expected to be regular; moreover, while clitics are able to attach to stems that contain affixes, affixes cannot attach outside of clitics. However, as noted above, these distinctions are not universal and do not obviously follow from any theoretically-grounded differences between the two. Thus, it is not clear that there is a reliable link between affixes and agreement, and morphophonological clitics and pronominal clitics.

Stemming from this, Nevins (2011) offers an alternative diagnostic based on contextual morphological variance, proposing that, since agreement expones ϕ -features on some functional head (e.g. T^0), it may interact with other features on that head. This explains why the surface realization of ϕ -agreement often co-varies with tense. Conversely, he suggests that clitics— D^0 s that adjoin to their host—are expected to be invariant. Kramer (2014) observes that this claim is indeed borne out in Amharic, in which the realization of subject-referencing morphology (ϕ -agreement, italicized) is tense-dependent, but object-referencing forms (doubled clitics under her analysis, bolded) are invariant:

- (3) *Amharic; Kramer (2014)*
- | | Perfect: | Imperfect: |
|----|--|--|
| a. | säbbär-ä- ññ
break.PERF-3MS.S-1S.O | yí-säbr- äññ
3MS.S-break.IMPF-1S.O |
| b. | säbbär-ä- h
break.PERF-3MS.S-2MS.O | yí-säbr- ih
3MS.S-break.IMPF-2MS.O |
| c. | säbbär-ä- w
break.PERF-3MS.S-3MS.O | yí-säbr- äw
3MS.S-break.IMPF-3MS.O |

However, it is not obvious why contextual allomorphy between the clitic and its host should be universally ruled out, given that they too are adjacent heads (hence extremely local), as shown in (1b). Instead, I argue that it is more fruitful to frame diagnostics for clitic doubling around the *structural* and *derivational* relationship between the clitic and its associate. For

example, if clitic doubling involves a syntactic dependency between a D^0 and a co-indexed DP, then the pronominal status of the clitic should have consequences for the distribution and interpretation of the DP associate (cf. Baker and Kramer, 2016).² A novel empirical argument for this idea—and against morphological diagnostics for cliticity—will come from Inuktitut and Kalaallisut.

3 Inuit morphosyntax

3.1 Overview

The Inuit languages are a continuum of dialects from the Eskimo-Aleut language family, spoken across the North American Arctic and Greenland. The core data in this paper are drawn from the author’s fieldwork on Inuktitut (spoken in and around eastern Nunavut) and comparisons with Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic), for which there is a relative wealth of existing literature (e.g. Fortescue, 1984; Bittner, 1987, 1994; Bittner and Hale, 1996a,b; Berge, 1997, 2011; Sadock, 2003). Uncited examples represent Inuktitut data elicited in the author’s fieldwork.³ The baseline data presented in this section are illustrated with Inuktitut, but are also true of the other varieties under consideration.

The Inuit languages exhibit an ERG-ABS patterning, as shown in (4a-b), as well as an ABS-MOD (‘modalis’)⁴ antipassive patterning, (4c). Only ERG and ABS arguments are cross-referenced by agreement morphology. When both arguments are cross-referenced, as in (4a), the agreement morphology is often realized as a portmanteau.

- (4) a. qimmi-**up Jaani** kii-lauq-**tanga**
dog-ERG Jaani.ABS bite-PST-3S.S/3S.O
‘The dog bit John.’ (*transitive*; ERG-ABS)
- b. **Jaani** ani-lauq-**tuq**
Jaani.ABS leave-PST-3S.S
‘John left.’ (*intransitive*; ABS)

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

The Inuit languages are considered polysynthetic, in that a verbal complex can contain a large number of morphemes and be interpreted as a proposition. The order of morphemes generally follows the Mirror Principle, so the morphemes further to the right of a word occupy a higher syntactic position in the tree. For our purposes, it is important to note that agreement morphology always occupies the right edge of the verb complex and is conditioned by mood/clause type, suggesting that it is located in the CP domain (Johns, 2007; Compton and Pittman, 2010).

- (5) a. V-MOD-TNS-NEG-AGR
 b. niri-juma-qqau-nngit-**tara**
 eat-want-REC.PST-NEG-1S.S/3S.O
 ‘I did not want to eat it (earlier today).’

3.2 Properties of Inuit object-referencing morphology

The portmanteau subject/object-referencing forms in Inuit are *morphologically opaque*, and do not separately expone the ϕ -features of the subject and object, (6). Moreover, these forms are sensitive to mood/clause type, which idiosyncratically triggers suppletive allomorphy on the agreement forms (e.g. Fortescue, 1984; Dorais, 1986). This can be seen by comparing declarative and interrogative subject/object combinations below, (6)-(7).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----|---|----|--|
| (6) | a. | taku-jara
see-1S.S/3S.O
‘I saw her.’ | b. | taku-jait
see-2S.S/3S.O
‘You saw her.’ | c. | taku-jarma
see-2S.S/1S.O
‘You saw me.’ |
| (7) | a. | taku-vigu
see-INT.1S.S/3S.O
‘Did I see her?’ | b. | taku-viuk
see-INT.2S.S/3S.O
‘Did you see her?’ | c. | taku-vinga
‘see-INT.2S.S/1S.O
‘Did you see me?’ |

Compton (2016) argues that the non-predictability of these portmanteaux are expected of agreement markers, not pronominal clitics. Moreover, he observes that the mood-sensitive allomorphy passes Nevins's (2011) tense-variance diagnostic—instantiated in Inuit as *mood-variance*. As this variance affects the collective realization of subject and object features in portmanteaux, Compton concludes that the object-referencing portions of these portmanteaux cannot be clitic in nature.⁵

However, a closer examination of one dialect group, Inuktitut, reveals several previously unnoticed patterns concerning the distribution and interpretation of ABS objects—the arguments cross-referenced by object-referencing morphology. I show that these patterns are robustly attested across languages with pronominal clitics, and moreover may be straightforwardly explained by a clitic doubling analysis, assuming that the clitic is a D^0 . Thus, although Inuktitut passes morphological tests for object ϕ -agreement, the morphemes in question are clitics. Crucially, I also show that these patterns are wholly absent in Kalaallisut, revealing a cross-dialectal split in the nature of object-referencing morphology.

4 The semantics of ABS objects

4.1 An interpretational asymmetry

It is often noted that ergative and antipassive constructions across Inuit display distinct semantic properties. The exact effect is difficult to pinpoint, as it is variably characterized as pertaining to definiteness (Fortescue, 1984; Hallman, 2008), topicality (Berge, 1997, 2011; Johns and Kučerová, 2017), and specificity or scope (Bittner, 1987, 1994; Manga, 1996; Wharram, 2003); I will treat the distinction as scopal, following Bittner (1994). Nonetheless, there is consensus among most researchers that the divide distinguishes between ABS arguments (both subjects and objects) on the one hand, and MOD objects on the other. In

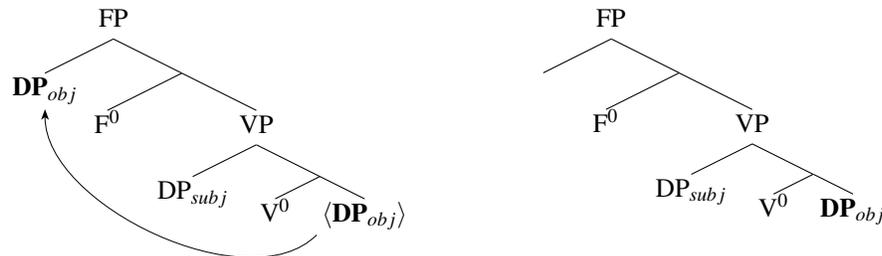
(8), we see that this is the case in Kalaallisut.⁶ These examples show that transitive constructions only permit collective readings of the ABS object (i.e. three women altogether), while antipassive constructions only permit distributive readings of the MOD object (i.e. three women each). Bittner (1994) additionally demonstrates that both ABS subjects and objects obligatorily scope above operators such as negation, while MOD objects scope below such operators.

(8) *Kalaallisut; Bittner (1994)*

- a. qimmit marluk **arnat** pingasut kii-vaat
 dog.PL.ERG two.ERG women.PL.ABS three.ABS bite-3P.S/3P.O
 ‘Two dogs bit three women.’ (ABS obj; 3 > 2, *2 > 3)
- b. qimmit marluk arna-**nik** pingasu-**nik** kii-si-pput
 dog.PL.ABS two.ABS woman-PL.MOD three-MOD bite-AP-3P.S
 ‘Two dogs bit three women.’ (MOD obj; 2 > 3, *3 > 2)

Various authors explain this semantic effect as a consequence of movement of the ABS object out of the domain of existential closure to some position c-commanding the ERG subject, schematized below as Spec-FP (e.g. Bittner 1994, Bittner and Hale 1996a,b, Manga 1996, cf. Diesing 1992).⁷ In contrast, antipassive (MOD) objects remain in situ within the VP domain. The scope-based account also captures the wide scope property of ABS arguments relative to operators such as negation, if FP is located in the clausal left periphery.

- (9) a. *Object moves to Spec-FP (ABS)* b. *VP-internal object (MOD)*



However, this link between morphological case and semantic interpretation is less clear-cut in the Eastern Canadian Inuit varieties, including Inuktitut. In these varieties, MOD objects may receive flexible interpretations (Johns, 1999, 2001, 2006, 2017; Allen and Schroeder,

2003; Carrier, 2012; Murasugi, 2014, 2017, a.o.).

This is most comprehensively shown by Beach (2011), who also makes a broader generalization: ABS objects are obligatorily specific, while other arguments—even ABS subjects—are ambiguous. Beach illustrates this generalization by testing the relative scope of arguments and quantificational adverbs such as *qautamaat* ‘each day.’ As shown below, an ABS object may only be understood as taking scope over the adverb, yielding a specific interpretation, while non-ABS objects (e.g. ABS subjects and MOD objects) are ambiguous.⁸

- (10) a. qautamaat **qimmiq** taku-qatta-tara
each.day dog.ABS see-HAB-1S.S/3S.O
‘Each day, I see a dog (i.e. the same dog).’ (*each > a)
- b. qautamaat **ujaraq** kata-qatta-tuq
each.day rock.ABS fall-HAB-3S.S
‘Each day, a rock falls (i.e. not necessarily the same rock).’ (each > a, a > each)
- c. qautamaat qimmi-**mik** taku-qatta-tunga
each.day dog-MOD see-HAB-1S.S
‘Each day, I see a dog (i.e. not necessarily the same dog).’ (each > a, a > each)
(Beach, 2011)

Below, I present novel data from Inuktitut corroborating Beach’s generalization. These data moreover demonstrate that the relevant semantic effect in Inuktitut pertains to *domain restriction*, a subclass of specificity (e.g. von Heusinger, 2011).⁹ Crucially, this effect is distinct from syntactic scope, indicating that it cannot be derived from movement alone. Instead, I argue that these facts follow from the clitic doubling of ABS objects in Inuktitut.

4.2 New evidence from quantified objects

The Inuktitut examples in (11) are analogous to the Kalaallisut examples from (8). In (11a), we see that ABS objects in Inuktitut must be interpreted as collective, like in Kalaallisut. However, (11b) diverges from its Kalaallisut counterpart. Antipassive constructions permit

the MOD object to be interpreted as *either* collective (MOD > ABS, i.e. two children shared three cookies) or distributive (ABS > MOD, i.e. two children had three cookies each). Thus, unlike in Kalaallisut, neither MOD objects nor ABS subjects in Inuktitut are scope rigid.

- (11) a. **marruuk surusiit niri-qqau-jangit pingasut sivalaat**
 two.ERG child.PL.ERG eat-REC.PST-3P.S/3P.O three.ABS cookie.PL.ABS
 ‘Two children ate three cookies (i.e. shared three cookies in total).’ (3 > 2, *2 > 3)
- b. **marruuk surusiit niri-qqau-jut pingasu-nit sivalaar-nit**
 two.ABS child.PL.ABS eat-REC.PST-3P.S three-PL.MOD cookie-PL.MOD
 ‘Two children ate three cookies (i.e. shared three cookies in total or ate three cookies each).’ (3 > 2, 2 > 3)

This ABS object asymmetry is shown again in (12). These data additionally reveal that the interpretation of the ABS object in Inuktitut is actually a *domain restriction* effect. This is most easily seen with wh-phrases. In ABS object position, simple wh-phrases such as *kisu* ‘what’ must be interpreted as D-linked (i.e. as ‘which one’), so that the interlocutor must select between a few salient things, (12a). In contrast, there is no such requirement on the same nominals in other grammatical positions, (12b-c).

- (12) a. **kisu pi-juma-viuk**
 what.ABS get-want-INT.2S.S/3S.O
 ‘Which one do you want? (i.e. among these things)’ (ABS object)
- b. **kisu-mit pi-juma-vit**
 what-MOD get-want-INT.2S.S
 ‘What do you want?’ (MOD object)
- c. **kisu inna**
 what.ABS DEM.DIST
 ‘What’s that (from far away)?’ (ABS subject)

Finally, the behaviour of negation reveals that this semantic effect does not arise from syntactic scope, in contrast to Kalaallisut. Under negation, a negative indefinite can be created by attaching the disjunctive clitic =*luunniit* ‘or’ to a quantifier or wh-indeterminate (Bit-

ner, 1994; Hallman, 2008). Bittner (1994) additionally shows that the licensing of this NPI is sensitive to c-command. Crucially, the behaviour of this NPI in Inuktitut reveals another ABS object asymmetry, as well as another difference between Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. In Inuktitut, these NPIs may appear in any position *except* ABS object position (see also Hallman 2008 for a similar observation).¹⁰

- (13) a. *taku-lau-nngit-tara **kina=luunniit**
 see-PST-NEG-1S.S/3S.O who.ABS=or
 Intended: ‘I didn’t see a single person.’ (ABS *object*)
- b. taku-lau-nngit-tuq **kisu-mi=luunniit**
 see-PST-NEG-3S.S what-MOD=or
 ‘S/he didn’t see a single thing.’ (MOD *object*)
- c. **kina=luunniit** saqi-lau-nngit-tuq
 who.ABS=or show.up-PST-NEG-3S.S
 ‘Not a single person showed up.’ (ABS *subject*)

In contrast, Kalaallisut allows these NPIs to occur in any position, including ABS object position (Fortescue, 1984; Bittner, 1994; Sadock, 2003), (14). Since ABS subjects and objects in Kalaallisut otherwise scope above negation, Bittner (1994) proposes that they reconstruct into their base-generated position in order to be licensed by the NPI. Note that these ABS object NPIs in Kalaallisut are indeed interpreted as taking narrow scope relative to negation, in support of Bittner’s proposal.

- (14) *Kalaallisut NPIs in ABS object position*
- a. **kina=luunniit** taku-nngi-laa
 who.ABS=or see-NEG-3S.S
 ‘He didn’t see anyone.’ (Fortescue, 1984)
- b. Aani-p **atuagaq ataasir=luunniit** Juuna-mut
 Aani-ERG book.ABS one.ABS=or Juuna-ALL
 tigu-sima-nngin-nirar-paa
 get-PERF-NEG-say-3S.S/3S.O
 ‘Aani said that Juuna hasn’t received any book.’ (Bittner, 1994)

Finally, the examples below further support the idea that the ill-formedness of (13a) is not

due to some exceptional ability for Inuktitut ABS objects to outscope negation. The NPIs in these examples are trapped in syntactic islands, so covert movement past negation in the matrix clause is not possible. Crucially, the NPI in (15a) is still ill-formed in ABS object position, though its MOD object counterpart is acceptable.

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

I propose that the inability for these NPIs to occur in ABS object position in Inuktitut may be subsumed under the broader interpretive differences between Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. Whereas the interpretation of ABS objects in Kalaallisut is derived by *movement* to a scope-taking position, in Inuktitut it arises via a *domain restriction* mechanism, to be explicated below. Thus, whereas ABS object NPIs in Kalaallisut may reconstruct under negation, the impossibility of such NPIs in ABS object position in Inuktitut has a different source: negative indefinites are simply incompatible with the domain restricted interpretation imposed on ABS objects, given that they are by nature non-restricted.

4.3 Domain restriction and bare D^0 s

The semantic asymmetry between ABS objects and other arguments in Inuktitut is not derivable from morphological case nor structural position (contra Bittner 1987, 1994; Manga 1996; Wharram 2003), given that ABS objects exhibit properties distinct from ABS subjects and MOD objects. However, ABS objects happen to be the only arguments cross-referenced by object agreement morphology, suggesting that this is the relevant factor. I propose that the semantic asymmetry arises because this agreement morphology is underlyingly

pronominal clitic doubling.

In fact, the semantic effects seen above in Inuktitut are robustly attested cross-linguistically: clitic doubling languages generally forbid clitic doubling of non-referential, non-specific objects, including negative indefinites, but require clitic doubling of referential (i.e. D-linked) or specific objects (e.g. Suner, 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990; Franks and Rudin, 2005; Kramer, 2014). Examples from Romanian are provided in (16).

- (16) *Romanian; Dobrovie-Sorin (1990)*
- a. **pe cine** (*I-)ai văzut
PE who him-have (you) seen
'Who did you see?' *(Non-D-linked wh-phrase; no doubling)*
- b. nu (*I-)am văzut **pe nimeni**
not him-I.have seen PE nobody
'I didn't see anyone.' *(Negative indefinite; no doubling)*
- c. **pe care** *(I-)ai văzut
PE which him-have (you) seen
'Which one did you see?' *(D-linked wh-phrase; doubling obligatory)*

Although there is much general debate over how to derive the semantic effect of clitic doubling, this is confounded by much cross-linguistic heterogeneity in the kinds of nominals that undergo clitic doubling in the first place. For example, in contrast to Romanian, D-linked wh-phrases in Albanian are only clitic doubled if they are also presupposed to exist (Kallulli 2008).¹¹ In Inuktitut, most quantificational expressions—even ones that tend to resist clitic doubling in other languages—may appear in ABS object position and consequently receive a domain restricted interpretation, (17). Nonetheless, the *directionality* of the pattern is the same across these languages; there do not appear to be any languages in which non-D-linked objects undergo clitic doubling while D-linked objects do not. Clitic doubling therefore cross-linguistically correlates with a particular semantic property. Adding to this, I suggest that in some languages, such as Inuktitut, this effect may even be *directly triggered* by clitic doubling.

- (17) a. **qanuit-tuq** uqalimaagaq pi-juma-viuk
 how-PART.ABS book.ABS get-want-INT.2S.S/3S.O
 ‘What kind of book do you want to get (i.e. among a few selections)?’
- b. **inu-usaq-tut** qaujima-jakka tavvani
 person-few-PART.PL.ABS know-1S.S/3P.O here
 ‘I know few people here.’

I propose that in Inuktitut the pronominal clitic is responsible for restricting the domain of its associate. Though I leave a full semantic analysis for future work, this idea is supported by a body of literature that takes definite determiners (D^0 s) to restrict the domain of their complements (Giannakidou, 2004; Etxeberria, 2005; Gillon, 2013; Lyon, 2015).

It is worth noting at this point that this account requires that the clitic be interpreted as a D^0 at LF (e.g Baker and Kramer, 2016)—and is incompatible with an alternative view under which the doubled clitic is interpreted as a full DP (Anagnostopoulou, 2006; Harizanov, 2014). These two LF structures under consideration are schematized below:

- (18) a. *Clitic interpreted as D^0 at LF* b. *Clitic interpreted as DP at LF*
-
- Diagram (a) illustrates the clitic interpreted as D^0 at LF. It shows a tree structure where the root node is HP. HP branches into H and a complement. The complement branches into H and DP. A clitic D_ϕ is shown moving from the DP complement to the H position. An arrow indicates the movement from DP to D_ϕ .
- Diagram (b) illustrates the clitic interpreted as DP at LF. It shows a tree structure where the root node is HP. HP branches into DP and a complement. The complement branches into H and DP. A clitic DP is shown moving from the DP complement to the DP position. An arrow indicates the movement from DP to DP.

Under the latter approach, object clitic doubling is semantically identical to A-movement, but the higher movement copy is pronounced as a clitic. However, this is not a viable analysis for Inuktitut, given the contrast with Kalaallisut. If the interpretation of ABS objects in Kalaallisut is to be derived from syntactic movement into a scope-taking position, then the interpretation of ABS objects in Inuktitut must involve a different process.

In summary, I have shown that Inuktitut displays a semantic asymmetry that diverges from Kalaallisut, as revealed by examining the interpretations of quantificational expressions in Inuktitut. Whereas ABS subjects and objects pattern together in Kalaallisut, in Inuktitut ABS objects contrast with ABS subjects. To account for both the directionality of

this effect as well as the particular domain-restricted interpretation that arises, I proposed that Inuktitut ABS objects are clitic doubled. The domain-restricting effect, in turn, is due to the underlying structure of the clitic—which in Inuktitut is a bare D^0 . Below, I will extend this analysis to capture distributional restrictions on ABS object pronouns.

5 A pronominal asymmetry

5.1 Co-occurrence restrictions

Inuktitut displays another type of ABS object asymmetry concerning the distribution of overt pronouns. This again contrasts with Kalaallisut, which, as I will show, exhibits no pronominal asymmetries at all. I will argue that this pattern points to the same conclusion made above—that Inuktitut object-referencing morphemes are pronominal D^0 s.

The Inuit languages are generally *pro* drop, with the features of the unpronounced pronoun recoverable from the verbal agreement morphology. However, I show that, though Inuktitut allows ERG and ABS subject pronouns to co-occur with subject agreement, (19a-b), ABS object pronouns are *forbidden* from co-occurring with object-referencing morphology. The examples in (19c) are therefore grammatical only if the overt pronoun is suppressed. Though there was some inter-speaker variation in the acceptability of (19a-b) (with many speakers finding these examples slightly redundant, though otherwise fine), all speakers consulted judged examples like (19c) as completely ungrammatical. Moreover, the consultant’s comment in (19c) clearly suggests that the ungrammaticality is due to the co-occurrence of the ABS object pronoun and the object-referencing morpheme.

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

- b. (**uvanga**) taku-junga surusim-mit
 (1S.ABS) see-INTR.1S child-MOD
 ‘I saw the child.’ (ABS subject)
- c. Jamesi-up (***uvanga**) taku-qqau-**jaanga**
 Jamesie-ERG (*1S.ABS) see-REC.PST-3S.S/1S.O
 ‘Jamesie saw me.’ (ABS object)
Comment: “No, because you’re saying, ‘me,’ and then, ‘he saw me.’”

In contrast, the Kalaallisut examples below show that independent pronouns may co-occur with verbal agreement in *all* positions, including ABS object position. Note that, as can be seen in these examples, the overt pronouns are not emphasized or topicalized.

(20) *Kalaallisut; Berge (1997)*

- a. Qaqortu-mi **uanga** eqqaama-vara
 Qaqortoq-LOC 1S.ERG remember-IND.1S.S/3S.O
 umiaasa-qa-raluar-poq
 little.flat.bottomed.rowboat-have-CONSEQ-IND.3S.S
 ‘In Qaqortoq I remember it had little flat-bottomed rowboats.’ (ERG subject)
- b. **uanga** meeraaner-pia-ma nalaani
 1S.ABS childhood-exactly-POSS.1S.GEN time.period
 Qaarusum-minngaanniit nuup-put Saarlu-mut
 Qaarusuk-ABL move-IND.3P.S Saarloq-ALL
 ‘When I was just a child at this time, they moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq.’
 (ABS subject)
- c. 1987-arsi-mi tassannga-annar-suaq pujorta-runnaa-rama **uanga**
 1987-years-LOC from.then.on-only-big smoke-no.more-CAUS.1S.S 1S.ABS
 cigaritsi-p aju-le-raminga
 cigarette-ERG be.bad-begin-3S.S/1S.O
 ‘In 1987 from then on I stopped smoking, cigarettes didn’t like me anymore.’
 (ABS object)

I argue that the unavailability of ABS object pronouns in Inuktitut, though not in Kalaallisut, again follows from object clitic doubling. Assuming that the independent pronouns are also bare D⁰s (cf. Postal, 1966; Abney, 1987; Stanton, 2016), the non-doubling of ABS pronominal objects is due to the obligatory deletion of identical pronominal copies, building on Landau (2006). Landau proposes that copy spell-out is constrained by an Economy

condition that generally triggers deletion of all but one copy, and that the choice of which copy to pronounce may be determined by phonological requirements imposed on certain syntactic positions. Together, these derive the co-occurrence restriction in Inuktitut. The higher copy is obligatorily spelled out because it is part of the verb complex; the lower copy is deleted to satisfy the Economy condition. In contrast, no co-occurrence restrictions are expected to take place with true ϕ -agreement, which is simply the realization of valued ϕ -features on an independent head. This is also why Kalaallisut allows independent pronouns to surface overtly in all positions.

Below, I elaborate on this proposal, showing that ABS object pronouns in Inuktitut may in certain circumstances be clitic doubled. However, in these cases, the pronoun can be analyzed as forming part of a larger constituent (i.e. DP rather than D^0). I then use this observation to sketch a general analysis of clitic doubling in Inuktitut.

5.2 Clitic (non-)doubling and copy spell-out

In other languages with clitic doubling, the additional presence of an overt pronoun is generally taken to indicate emphasis or some other information structural consideration. Interestingly, this is also true for Inuktitut, (21b); contrastively focusing an ABS object pronoun obviates the co-occurrence restriction.

- (21) **uvanga** Taiviti-up taku-qqau-**jaanga**, Carol
1S.ABS Taiviti-ERG see-REC.PST-3S.S/1S.O Carol.ABS
taku-nngi-&uni-uk
see-NEG-CTMP.3S.S-3S.O
'It's me that Taiviti saw, not Carol.'

Beyond focus, ABS object pronouns may also co-occur with pronominal clitics in some other contexts. As shown in (22), clitic doubling is possible if the ABS object is modified, coordinated, or takes an overt NP complement:

- (22) a. Taiviti-up **igvi-kuluk** taku-qqau-**jaatit**
 Taiviti-ERG 2S.ABS-dear see-REC.PST-3S.S/2S.O
 ‘Taiviti saw dear you.’ (modification)
- b. Jaani-up **Miali=lu ilitsi** taku-qqau-**jaatsi**
 Jaani-ERG Miali=CONJ 2P.ABS see-REC.PST-3S.S/2P.O
 ‘Jaani saw Miali and you.’ (coordination)
- c. Jaani-up **piu-gi-nngit-taatigut uvagut ilisaiji-tigut**
 Jaani-ERG like-have.as-NEG-3S.S/1P.O 1P.ABS teacher-1P.ASSOC.ABS
 ‘Jaani doesn’t like us teachers.’ (with NP complement)

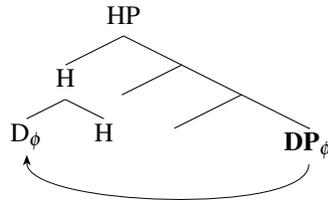
Crucially, this observation concerning the distribution of ABS object pronouns in Inuktitut mirrors the distribution of deficient vs. strong pronouns discovered by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). Cardinaletti and Starke observe that deficient (structurally reduced) pronoun forms are cross-linguistically forbidden in the contexts in (21) and (22), which instead require strong (full) pronoun forms.¹² Though Cardinaletti and Starke account for this in terms of Structural Economy and nominal licensing, I argue that the contrast between (19c) and (21)-(22) is again due to conditions on copy spell-out, extending our previous discussion of Landau (2006). Multiple spell-out of movement copies is permitted if the copies are *non-identical*, or if other phonological conditions prevent a particular copy from being deleted.

Abstracting away from the details of the analysis (other than the condition that the clitic be a bare D^0 in the syntax proper, feeding interpretation; §4.3), I take clitic doubling to involve a syntactic dependency in which the head is a D^0 while the tail is a full DP; the non-identical nature of this dependency is extensively discussed and defended by Baker and Kramer (2016). This non-identity entails that both copies are able to be spelled out.¹³ This accounts for the possibility of clitic doubling in (22). For (21b), I propose that F-marking the pronoun blocks copy deletion.

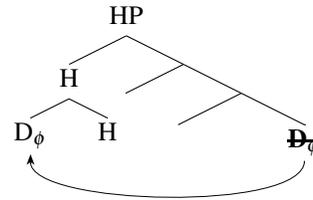
However, if the lower copy is a (non-F-marked) bare pronominal D^0 to begin with, then the syntactic dependency involves a head and a tail that are both D^0 s. Copy deletion

applies, yielding the co-occurrence restriction shown above. In this case, the lower copy is deleted, since the higher one cliticizes to the clausal spine, as discussed above. The contrast between clitic doubling and bare pronominal cliticization is shown below:

(23) a. *Clitic doubling*



b. *Pronoun cliticization*



In contrast, none of the above discussion is relevant to Kalaallisut, in which bare pronouns may surface in all environments and in pragmatically-neutral contexts, including ABS object position. As suggested above, I locate this contrast in the different underlying structures of the object-referencing morphemes in Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. While Inuktitut allows the co-occurrence of bare pronouns only in ERG and ABS subject position with subject ϕ -agreement, Kalaallisut, which lacks pronominal clitics altogether, allows this co-occurrence in all positions.

6 The status of object-referencing morphology across Inuit

6.1 Discussion

I demonstrated that Inuktitut displays a number of ABS object asymmetries, in that special restrictions are placed on the ABS objects. I argued that, in Inuktitut, subject-referencing morphology is genuine ϕ -agreement, while object-referencing morphology is actually clitic in nature—a pronominal D^0 . Semantically, the clitic functions as a domain restrictor, most clearly seen when its associate is quantificational. Co-occurrence restrictions between the clitic and a bare ABS object pronoun may be reduced to the deletion of identical copies.

The Inuktitut data presented in this paper are at odds with many previous characteriza-

tions of the Inuit languages—particularly Kalaallisut (Bittner, 1987, 1994). Unlike Inuktitut, Kalaallisut exhibits no ABS object asymmetries, which suggests that it lacks clitic doubling; thus, in Kalaallisut, both subject- and object-referencing morphemes are realizations of genuine ϕ -agreement. Crucially, we arrived at this conclusion without referencing *any* morphological diagnostics for ϕ -agreement vs. clitic doubling. In fact, given that Inuktitut and Kalaallisut have nearly identical agreement forms, shown below with the declarative paradigms, and given that they uniformly fail standard morphological tests for cliticness (both showing mood-variance), examining their morphological appearance alone would have obscured the main empirical finding of this paper—that Inuktitut and Kalaallisut object-referencing morphemes are underlyingly structurally different. In contrast, this distinction emerged from examining interpretive and distributional interactions between these morphemes and the ABS objects they cross-reference.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| (24) | <i>Inuktitut</i> | (25) | <i>Kalaallisut; Fortescue (1984)</i> |
| a. | -jara ‘1s.S/3s.O’ | a. | -vara ‘IND.1s.S/3s.O’ |
| b. | -jait ‘2s.S/3s.O’ | b. | -vait ‘IND.2s.S/3s.O’ |
| c. | -jarma ‘2s.S/1s.O’ | c. | -varma ‘IND.2s.S/1s.O’ |

Finally, the idea that there are two divergent patterns permits a more nuanced approach to studying the Inuit languages. Recall, for instance, that Compton (2016) takes Inuit agreement morphology to uniformly instantiate ϕ -agreement. Similarly, Johns (2017) suggests that these morphemes should uniformly be analyzed as pronominal clitics (with variation in whether individual varieties permit doubling between the clitic and its DP associate; see §6 below). However, as shown above, these “uniform” analyses miss important systematic contrasts between different varieties.

sets Labrador Inuttut apart is that it disallows doubling between the clitic and a full DP object (given that full DP objects in Labrador Inuttut are always MOD).¹⁴ Interestingly, once we integrate the Labrador Inuttut facts with the analyses of Kalaallisut and Inuktitut developed in this paper, a novel generalization emerges. Across Inuit, the relative robustness of ergativity is inversely correlated with the relative *pronominality of object-referencing morphology*. This is summarized below:

(27)

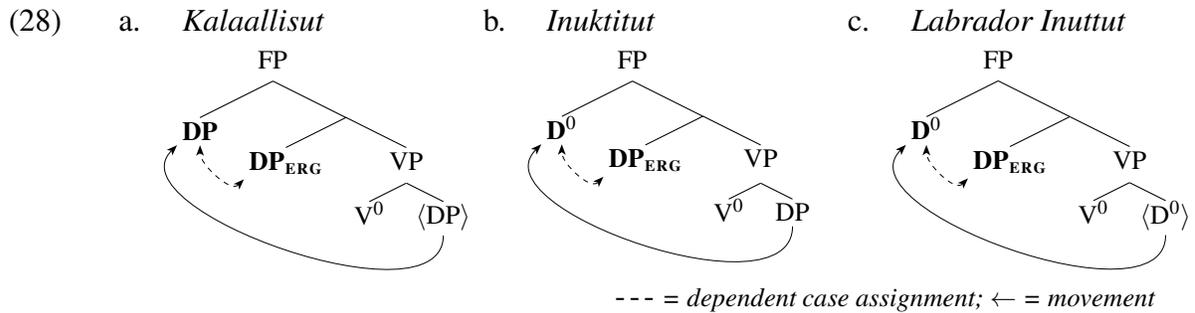
	Kalaallisut	Inuktitut	Labrador Inuttut
Ergativity	Strongly ergative	Ergative	Weakly ergative (pronouns only)
Obj. morphology	Agreement	Clitic doubling	Pronominal clitic only (no doubling)

(first row of table from Johns 2001)

The present analysis of Inuktitut thus yields a dialectal spectrum that would not have been obvious otherwise, since it occupies an intermediate position between Kalaallisut and Labrador Inuttut along both correlates given above. The ergative pattern in Inuktitut is more robust than in Labrador Inuttut, given that it may occur in non-pronominal contexts; however, it is also less robust than in Kalaallisut, given that Inuktitut ABS objects do not raise out of VP. Inuktitut’s object-referencing morphology is clitic in nature, like in Labrador Inuttut; however, it may cross-reference full ABS objects, like in Kalaallisut.

I conjecture that the narrowing distribution of the ergative pattern may be modeled in a *dependent case* approach to ergative alignment (e.g. Marantz, 1991; Bittner and Hale, 1996b), such that ERG case is assigned to a subject only in the presence of another VP-external argument, its case competitor. The inverse correlation summarized in (27) may therefore be recast as increasingly greater restrictions on object movement across Inuit, which, in turn, limits dependent ERG case assignment. Following Bittner and Hale (1996b), ERG case in Kalaallisut is assigned when a *full DP* raises into the same local domain as

the subject, schematized (28a); conversely, in Labrador Inuttut, only *pronouns* move into that domain (cf. Merchant, 2011; Johns, 2017), shown in (28c). Finally, Inuktitut is like Labrador Inuttut in that the case competitor is pronominal; however, this pronoun doubles an in situ DP, (28b). Note that the extracted object c-commands the subject, following Bitner and Hale (1996b), even though dependent ERG case is canonically taken to be assigned to the *higher* of two nominals. Since verbal agreement across Inuit is in CP, pronominal clitics in Inuktitut and Labrador Inuttut also conceivably c-command the subject.



Although I leave the ramifications of this proposal for future research, the connection between the pronominality of object-referencing morphology and the ongoing decline of ergativity provides independent evidence for the core proposal of this paper—that the object-referencing forms in Kalaallisut and Inuktitut are underlyingly distinct at a structural level, and that this cannot be detected from their morphological properties.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I showed that genuine object ϕ -agreement and pronominal clitic doubling co-exist within the Inuit languages. However, this could not be concluded solely based on the morphological properties of the agreement morphemes in question, which are uniform across Inuit varieties, suggesting that these types of diagnostics are not necessarily reliable. Instead, this paper advocates for the usage of syntactic diagnostics that specifically refer-

ence structural and derivational differences between ϕ -agreement and clitic doubling. As I demonstrated above in my comparison of Kalaallisut and Inuktitut, clitic doubling yields a number of syntactic and semantic effects that are not predicted—or attested—in languages with genuine ϕ -agreement.

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

Acknowledgments

Thank you to Ragilee Attagootak, Susan Idlout, Shirley Kunuk, Jeanine Nowdluk, Jasmine and Jonah Oolayou, Jamesie Padluq, and two anonymous Inuktitut speakers for their discussion of the data included here and for sharing their language with me, and to the Nunavut Research Institute for logistical assistance. Thank you to Athulya Aravind, Nico Baier, Kenyon Branan, Julien Carrier, Amy Rose Deal, Vera Gribanova, Heidi Harley, Sabine Iatridou, Alana Johns, Edwin Ko, Ivona Kucerova, Nick Longenbaugh, David Pesetsky, Norvin Richards, Jerry Sadock, Coppe van Urk, and audiences at LSA 2017, WSCLA 22, and CamCoS 6 for helpful discussion and comments. I am partially supported by a SSHRC doctoral fellowship and an NSF Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant. All errors are mine.

Notes

¹In some languages, the clitic doubling of direct objects yields certain readings of the doubled DP that do not arise when other kinds of arguments (such as indirect objects) are clitic doubled (e.g. Suner, 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990; Blear, 2000). The clitic doubling of direct objects may also contrast with the clitic

doubling of experiencers of psych predicates or raised possessors; whereas the former is usually optional, driven by information structural considerations, the latter is obligatory in many languages (e.g. Kallulli, 2000; Krapova and Cinque, 2008; Harizanov, 2014; Kramer, 2014).

²Similarly, if clitic doubling is derived by movement, then it should display effects of movement; for instance, it might be subject to intervention or be able to create new antecedents for anaphor binding (Preminger, 2009; Anagnostopoulou, 2003, 2016; Harizanov, 2014). However, because these movement-based diagnostics are difficult to test in Inuit, due to the relative freedom of word order and some complicating factors concerning the distribution of anaphors (Bok-Bennema, 1991; Beach, 2011), I will set them aside in this paper.

³The Inuktitut data were elicited in Iqaluit, Nunavut, Canada, during three fieldwork trips in August 2016, August 2017, and October 2017. The data represent several speakers of the South Baffin and North Baffin varieties of Inuktitut.

⁴The term ‘modalis’ (MOD) is often used in the literature on Inuit to refer to the *-mik/-mit*-marked object in antipassive constructions, though other labels include MIK, ACC, or OBL. Outside of antipassive objects, this case morpheme has a variety of functions, as it is also used to mark certain instrumentals, secondary predicates, and stranded modifiers of incorporated objects, among other things.

⁵In contrast to Compton (2016), Johns (2017) and Johns and Kučerová (2017) argue for a clitic doubling analysis of Inuit object-referencing morphology. Their evidence is mainly drawn from Eastern Canadian Inuktitut dialects (including the varieties presented here), though they generalize their proposal to all of Inuit. As I will show throughout the rest of this paper, however, this generalization is incomplete given the contrast between Inuktitut and Kalaallisut. I will provide a more detailed discussion of this analysis in §6.

⁶Wharram (2003) shows that a similar pattern holds for Inuktitut speakers of the Baffin varieties similar to the ones represented in this paper. However, some of his generalizations have been disputed by Johns (2006), and I was unable to replicate them in my own fieldwork. The Inuktitut speakers consulted by Wharram might be more linguistically conservative than other members of the dialect group.

⁷Conversely, Wharram (2003) demonstrates that these arguments take widest matrix scope, e.g. scope out of embedded clauses and even islands. On this basis, Wharram (2003) argues for a choice function analysis, building on Reinhart (1997), Kratzer (1998), Matthewson (1999, a.o.), though he nonetheless also assumes movement of the object to Spec-TP, for reasons of case. In this paper, I will not adjudicate between approaches, though see López (2012, pp. 151–154) for a hybrid analysis that makes use of both object shift and choice functions.

⁸Beach (2011) additionally shows that ERG subjects behave the same as other non-ABS objects. I have omitted ERG subjects from the discussion for conciseness, since Kalaallisut ERG subjects are also scopally ambiguous (Bittner, 1994).

⁹See Özge (2011) for a similar analysis of Turkish ACC-marked indefinites.

¹⁰In both Hallman's (2008) and my own Inuktitut data, these NPIs tend to be translated into English as minimizers (i.e. 'not even a single') rather than just simple negative indefinites. This is reflected in the English translations below.

¹¹Kallulli (2008) proposes on this basis that Albanian clitic doubling constructions are actually biclausal, containing a concealed relative clause.

¹²Although Cardinaletti and Starke's sample of languages was biased towards Indo-European languages, Harley and Trueman (2010) extend their proposal to Hiaki (Uto-Aztecan). However, see Manzini (2014) for an empirical and conceptual criticism of this proposal.

¹³A slightly different approach might posit that the head is a D^0 while the tail is a D^0 *inside* the DP associate; the same conditions on copy-spell out would delete the lower D^0 but spell-out its NP complement. However, such an approach would erroneously rule out examples like (22c), in which the clitic and the overt pronominal determiner may co-occur.

¹⁴Johns (2017) notes that this effect is also found in non-ergative Unangax (Fortescue, 1985).

References

- Abney, Steven Paul. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect*. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.
- Allen, Shanley E.M., and Heike Schroeder. 2003. Preferred argument structure in early Inuktitut spontaneous speech data. In *Preferred argument structure: Grammar as architecture for function*, ed. John W. Du Bois, Lorraine E. Kumpf, and William J. Ashby, 301–338. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. *The syntax of ditransitives: Evidence from clitics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2006. Clitic doubling. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, ed. Martin Everaert and Hank van Riemsdijk, volume 1, 519–581. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2016. Clitic doubling and object agreement. In *Proceedings of the VII Nereus International Workshop*, ed. Susann Fischer and Mario Navarro, 11–42. Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft.
- Arregi, Karlos, and Andrew Nevins. 2012. *Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of spellout*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Baker, Mark, and Ruth Kramer. 2016. Clitics are pronouns: Reduce and interpret.
- Beach, Matthew. 2011. Studies in Inuktitut grammar. Doctoral Dissertation, SUNY Buffalo, Buffalo, NY.
- Berge, Anna. 1997. Topic and discourse structure in West Greenlandic agreement constructions. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- Berge, Anna. 2011. *Topic and discourse structure in West Greenlandic agreement constructions*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bittner, Maria. 1987. On the semantics of the Greenlandic antipassive and related constructions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 53:194–231.
- Bittner, Maria. 1994. *Case, scope, and binding*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996a. Ergativity: Toward a theory of a heterogeneous class. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:531–604.
- Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996b. The structural determination of case and agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:1–68.

- Bleam, Tonia. 2000. *Leista Spanish and the syntax of clitic doubling*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Delaware, Newark, DE.
- Bok-Bennema, Reineke. 1991. *Case and agreement in Inuit*. Berlin: Foris Publications.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Michal Starke. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, ed. Henk van Riemsdijk, 145–233. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Carrier, Julien. 2012. *Analyse de la transitivité dans le dialecte Inuktitut de la Baie d’Hudson*. Master’s thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, Montreal, QC.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Compton, Richard. 2016. Mutually conditioned mood and object agreement in Inuit. In *Proceedings of NELS 46*, ed. Christopher Hammerly and Brandon Prickett, 241–250. Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- Compton, Richard, and Christine Pittman. 2010. Word-formation by phase in Inuit. *Lingua* 120:2167–2192.
- Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1990. Clitic doubling, wh-movement, and quantification in Romanian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:351–397.

- Dorais, Louis-Jacques. 1986. Inuktitut surface phonology: A trans-dialectal survey. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52:20–53.
- Etxeberria, Urtzi. 2005. Quantification and domain restriction in Basque. Doctoral Dissertation, University of the Basque Country.
- Farkas, Donka. 1978. Direct and indirect object reduplication in Romanian. In *Papers from the Fourteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. Donka Farkas, Wesley Jacobsen, and Karol Trodryns, 88–97. CLS.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1984. *West Greenlandic*. London: Croom Helm.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1985. Anaphoric agreement in Aleut. In *Predicates and terms*, ed. Machtelt Bolkestein, Casper de Groot, and Lachlan Mackenzie, 105–126. Foris.
- Franks, Steven, and Catherine Rudin. 2005. Bulgarian clitics as K0 heads. In *Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics: The South Carolina meeting*, ed. Steven Franks, Frank Y. Gladney, and Mila Tasseva-Kurktchieva, 104–116. Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2004. Domain restriction and the arguments of quantificational determiners. In *Proceedings of SALT 14*, ed. Kazuha Watanabe and Robert B. Young, 110–128. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.
- Gillon, Carrie. 2013. *The semantics of determiners: Domain restriction in Skw̄wú7mesh*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hallman, Peter. 2008. Definiteness in inuktitut. Ms., University of Toronto.
- Harizanov, Boris. 2014. Clitic doubling at the syntax-morphophonology interface: A-movement and morphological merger in Bulgarian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32:1033–1088.

- Harley, Heidi, and Alex Trueman. 2010. Hiaki pronominals and the typology of deficiency. *Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics* 21:40–54.
- von Heusinger, Klaus. 2011. Specificity. In *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning*, ed. Klaus von Heusinger, Claudia Maienborn, and Paul Portner, 1025–1058. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Johns, Alana. 1999. The decline of ergativity in Labrador Inuttut. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 17:73–90.
- Johns, Alana. 2001. An inclination towards accusative. *Linguistica Atlantica* 23:127–144.
- Johns, Alana. 2006. Ergativity and change in Inuktitut. In *Ergativity: Emerging issues*, ed. Alana Johns, Diane Massam, and Juvenal Ndayiragije, 293–311. Springer.
- Johns, Alana. 2007. Restricting noun incorporation: root movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:535–576.
- Johns, Alana. 2017. Anaphoric arguments in Unangax and Eastern Canadian Inuktitut. In *Studies in Inuit linguistics. In honor of Michael Fortescue*. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Language Center.
- Johns, Alana, and Ivona Kučerová. 2017. Towards an information structure analysis of ergative patterning in the Inuit language. In *The Oxford handbook of ergativity*, ed. Jessica Coon, Diane Massam, and Lisa Travis, 397–418. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 2000. Direct object clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek. In *Clitic phenomena in European languages*, ed. Frits Beukema and Marcel den Dikken, 209–248. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Kallulli, Dalina. 2008. Clitic doubling, agreement, and information structure. In *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*, ed. Dalina Kallulli and Liliane Tasmowski, 227–255. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kramer, Ruth. 2014. Clitic doubling or object agreement: The view from Amharic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32:593–634.
- Krapova, Iliyana, and Guglielmo Cinque. 2008. Clitic reduplication constructions in Bulgarian. In *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*, ed. Dalina Kallulli and Liliane Tasmowski, 257–286. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1998. Scope or pseudo-scope? Are there wide-scope indefinites? In *Events in grammar*, ed. Susan Rothstein, 163–196. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Landau, Idan. 2006. Chain resolution in Hebrew V(P)-fronting. *Syntax* 9:32–66.
- López, Luis. 2012. *Indefinite objects: Scrambling, choice functions, and differential marking*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lyon, John. 2015. Okanagan determiner phrases and domain restriction. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 81:187–219.
- Manga, Louise. 1996. An explanation for ergative versus accusative languages. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Ottawa.
- Manzini, Rita. 2014. Grammatical categories: Strong and weak pronouns in Romance. *Lingua* 150:171–201.
- Marantz, Alec. 1991. Case and licensing. In *ESCOL 91: Proceedings of the Eighth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, ed. German Westphal, Benjamin Ao, and Hee-Rahk Chae, 234–253. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications.

- Matthewson, Lisa. 1999. On the interpretation of wide scope indefinite. *Natural Language Semantics* 7:79–134.
- Merchant, Jason. 2011. Aleut case matters. In *Pragmatics and autolexical grammar: In honor of Jerry Sadock*, ed. Etsuyo Yuasa, Tista Bagchi, and Katharine Beals, 193–210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Murasugi, Kumiko. 2014. A hierarchical view of the ergative and antipassive in Inuktitut. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association, Brock University.
- Murasugi, Kumiko. 2017. Linguistic fieldwork and scientific methodology. In *A Pesky Set: Papers for David Pesetsky*, ed. Claire Halpert, Hadas Kotek, and Coppe van Urk, 111–120. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: Person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29:939–971.
- Oxford, Will. 2014. Multiple instances of agreement in the clausal spine: Evidence from Algonquian. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 31*, ed. Robert Santana-LaBarge, 335–343. Cascadia Press.
- Özge, Umut. 2011. Turkish indefinites and accusative marking. In *Proceedings of WAFL 7*, ed. Andrew Simpson, 253–267. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Postal, Paul. 1966. On so-called 'pronouns' in English. *Monograph series in language and linguistics* 19:177–206.
- Preminger, Omer. 2009. Breaking agreements: Distinguishing agreement and clitic doubling by their failures. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40:619–666.

- Reinhart, Tanya. 1997. Quantifier scope: How labor is divided between QR and choice functions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20:335–397.
- Riedel, Kristina. 2009. The syntax of object marking in Sambaa: A comparative Bantu perspective. Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden.
- Sadock, Jerrold. 2003. *A grammar of Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic Inuttut)*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Stanton, Juliet. 2016. Wholesale Late Merger in \bar{a} -movement: Evidence from preposition stranding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47:89–126.
- Suner, Margarita. 1988. The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6:391–434.
- Torrego, Esther. 1988. Pronouns and determiners: A DP analysis of Spanish nominals. Ms., University of Massachusetts Boston.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26:79–124.
- Wharram, Douglas. 2003. On the interpretation of (un)certain indefinites in Inuktitut and related languages. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Woolford, Ellen. 2008. Active-stative agreement in Lakota: Person and number alignment and portmanteau formation.
- Zwicky, Arnold, and Geoffrey Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't. *Language* 59:501–513.