Diagnosing object agreement vs. clitic doubling: Evidence from Inuktitut

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1 Introduction

Verbal agreement morphology is commonly analyzed as the morphological reflex of φ-feature valuation of a probing head $H^0$ by a φ-bearing goal, the result of Agree (e.g. Chomsky, 2000, 2001). However, much recent literature has 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: 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{HP} \\
H_{\text{[ arterial]}} \\
\text{DP}_\phi
\end{array}
\]

b. Clitic doubling: 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{HP} \\
H \\
D_\phi \\
\text{DP}_\phi
\end{array}
\]
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 exponing 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 exponed 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 Inuktut and Kalaallisut is not arbitrary, but converges with a broader pattern of syntactic change documented in certain Inuit varieties, including Inuktut. 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 Inuktut—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 Inuktut are the product of pronominal clitic doubling rather than φ-agreement. Crucially, the properties seen in Inuktut are absent in Kalaallisut, suggest-
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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(II)} & \quad \text{văd pe Ion} \\
\text{him.CL see-I PE John} & \quad \text{‘I saw John.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Recently, it has been claimed that many (or perhaps even all) cases of what has been taken to be object \(\phi\)-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 \(\phi\)-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 \(\phi\)-agreement from pronominal clitic doubling have focused on morphological tendencies that distinguish affixes and morphophon-
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. T⁰), 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—D⁰s 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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect:</th>
<th>Imperfect:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. säbbär-ä-ññ</td>
<td>yi-säbr-äññ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break.PERF-3MS.S-1S.O</td>
<td>3MS.S-break.IMPF-1S.O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. säbbär-ä-h</td>
<td>yi-säbr-ih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break.PERF-3MS.S-2MS.O</td>
<td>3MS.S-break.IMPF-2MS.O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. säbbär-ä-w</td>
<td>yi-säbr-äw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break.PERF-3MS.S-3MS.O</td>
<td>3MS.S-break.IMPF-3MS.O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). A novel empirical argument for this idea—and against morphological diagnostics for clitichood—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. 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’) 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)
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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-ngit-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 \(\phi\)-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
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(8), we see that this is the case in Kalaallisut. 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
‘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). 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,
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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.  

(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
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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-
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tner, 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).

   Intended: ‘I didn’t see a single person.’

   (ABS object)

b. taku-lau-nngit-tuq kisu-mi=luunniit Carol.ABS see-PST-NEG-3.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-3.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-ngi-laa who.ABS=or see-NEG-3.S
      ‘He didn’t see anyone.’

      (Fortescue, 1984)

   b. Aani-p atuagaq atkaa=luunniit Juuna-mut Aani-ERG book.ABS one.ABS=or Juuna-ALL
      ‘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 ]
    Intended: ‘Jaani doesn’t remember if he ate a single thing.’

b. Jaani iqauma-nngit-tuq [ niri-lau-mmangaa kisu-mi=luunniit ]
    ‘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 difference 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\textsuperscript{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 underlingly
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 (*l-ai) văzut
      PE who him-have (you) seen
      ‘Who did you see?’ (Non-D-linked wh-phrase; no doubling)
   b. nu (*l-am) văzut pe nimeni
      not him-I.have seen PE nobody
      ‘I didn’t see anyone.’ (Negative indefinite; no doubling)
   c. pe care *{(l-ai) văzut
      PE which him-have (you) seen
      ‘Which one did you see?’ (D-linked wh-phrase; doubling obligatory)

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). 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.
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(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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{0} at LF*  
    \[
    \text{HP} \quad \text{D}_{\phi} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{DP}
    \]

b. *Clitic interpreted as DP at LF*  
    \[
    \text{HP} \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{H} \quad \langle \text{DP} \rangle
    \]

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)
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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-minngaaniiit nuup-put Saarlo-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 $\phi$-agreement, which is simply the realization of valued $\phi$-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-qquau-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:
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(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. 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 D⁰ in the syntax proper, feeding interpretation; §4.3), I take clitic doubling to involve a syntactic dependency in which the head is a D⁰ 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. 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 D⁰ to begin with, then the syntactic dependency involves a head and a tail that are both D⁰s. 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**

\[
\text{HP} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{H} \\
\text{D}_\phi \\
\text{H} \\
\text{DP}_\phi
\end{array}
\]

b. **Pronoun cliticization**

\[
\text{HP} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{H} \\
\text{D}_\phi \\
\text{H} \
\text{DP}_\phi
\end{array}
\]

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 $\phi$-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 $\phi$-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 \textsc{abs} object asymmetries, which suggests that it lacks clitic doubling; thus, in Kalaallisut, both subject- and object-referencing morphemes are realizations of genuine $\phi$-agreement. Crucially, we arrived at this conclusion without referencing any morphological diagnostics for $\phi$-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 clitichood (both showing mood-variance), examining their morphological appearance alone would have obscured the main empirical finding of this paper—that Inuktitut and Kalaallisut object-referencing morphemes are underlyingly structurally different. In contrast, this distinction emerged from examining interpretive and distributional interactions between these morphemes and the \textsc{abs} objects they cross-reference.

\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\hline
\hline
a. & -\textit{jara} ‘1s.S/3s.O’ & a. & -\textit{vara} ‘IND.1s.S/3s.O’ \\
b. & -\textit{jait} ‘2s.S/3s.O’ & b. & -\textit{vait} ‘IND.2s.S/3s.O’ \\
c. & -\textit{jarma} ‘2s.S/1s.O’ & c. & -\textit{varma} ‘IND.2s.S/1s.O’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

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 $\phi$-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.
6.2 Extension: The status of ergativity

In the remainder of the paper, I discuss why there exists an underlying contrast between Kalaallisut and Inuktitut at all, despite their morphologically identical agreement forms. Why is it that Kalaallisut has object $\phi$-agreement while Inuktitut has object clitic doubling, rather than the other way around? Moreover, from an acquisition standpoint, what might be the cues that allow learners to arrive at these two distinct underlying structures?

I propose that these questions may be addressed by subsuming this contrast under a broader syntactic pattern across Inuit. It is already known that the ergative (ERG-ABS) case patterning is on the decline in Eastern Canadian Inuit, being replaced by the (historically) antipassive (ABS-MOD) patterning. Recall that the semantic contrast between ABS and MOD objects is narrowing in Inuktitut, as MOD objects may receive ambiguous interpretations.

In Labrador Inuttut, the most easterly Canadian dialect, speakers now generally use the antipassive construction instead of the ergative construction (e.g. Johns, 1999, 2001, 2017). Strikingly, Alana Johns (p.c.) observes that the ergative patterning still exception-ally surfaces—though only when the object is pronominal. This alternation is illustrated in (26); note that the pronominal object is encoded within transitive portmanteau morphology (just as in other Inuit varieties).

(26) Labrador Inuttut; elicited by Alana Johns (p.c.):
   a. John asiu-ji-laut-tuk jaika-mi-nik
      John.ABS lose-AP-PST-3S jacket-POSS.REFL-MOD
      ‘John lost his jacket’  (full object; antipassive only)
   b. ...siagolittilugu pulesi-up nagvå-laut-tanga tunu-a-ni ilinniavi-up
      ...later police-ERG find-PST-3S.3S back-POSS-MOD school-GEN
      ‘and later the police found it behind the school.’  (pronominal object; transitive morphology)

Based on this pattern in Labrador Inuttut, Johns (2017) proposes that object-referencing morphology is clitic in nature across the Eskimo-Aleut language family; however, what
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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). 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:

\[(27)\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Ergativity} & \text{Kalaallisut} & \text{Inuktitut} & \text{Labrador Inuttut} \\
\hline
\text{Strongly ergative} & \text{Ergative} & \text{Weakly ergative (pronouns only)} \\
\hline
\text{Obj. morphology} & \text{Agreement} & \text{Clitic doubling} & \text{Pronominal clitic only (no doubling)} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

(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.

(28) a. Kalaallisut  b. Inuktitut  c. Labrador Inuttut

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{FP} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{DP_{ERG}} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}^0 \langle \text{DP} \rangle \\
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{FP} \\
\text{D}^0 \\
\text{DP_{ERG}} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}^0 \langle \text{D}^0 \rangle \\
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{FP} \\
\text{D}^0 \\
\text{DP_{ERG}} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}^0 \langle \text{D}^0 \rangle \\
\end{array}
\]

--- = dependent case assignment; ← = movement

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 \( \phi \)-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-
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ence structural and derivational differences between $\phi$-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 $\phi$-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.

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

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

The 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.

The term ‘modalis’ (MOD) is often used in the literature on Inuit to refer to the -mik/-mit-marked object in antipassive constructions, though other labels include 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.

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

Wharram (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.

Conversely, Wharram (2003) demonstrates that these arguments take widest matrix scope, e.g. scope out of embedded clauses and even islands. On this basis, Wharram (2003) argues for a choice function analysis, building on Reinhart (1997), Kratzer (1998), Matthewson (1999, a.o.), though he nonetheless also assumes movement of the object to Spec-TP, for reasons of case. 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.
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8 Beach (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).

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

10 In 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.

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

12 Although 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.

13 A 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.

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

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