

Distinguishing object agreement and clitic doubling in Noun Incorporation constructions

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A dichotomy: Languages which generally display object-crossreferencing morphology vary as to whether that morphology is also realized in Noun Incorporation (NI) constructions (e.g. Baker 1988, 1996; Baker et al. (BAG) 2004). Languages like Mohawk (Northern Iroquoian) allow the verb to agree with an incorporated noun, as if it were any other direct object (1), while languages like Mapudungun (Araucanian) do not (2).

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| <p>(1) a. Sak shako-nuhwe'-s ne owira'a.
S. MSS/FSO-like-HAB NE baby
'Sak likes babies.'</p> <p>b. Sak ra-wir-a-nuhwe'-s.
S. MSS/NSO-baby-\emptyset-like-HAB
'Sak likes babies.'</p> | <p>(2) a. Ngilla-fi-ñ ti waka.
buy-3O-IND.1S the cow.
'I bought the cow.'</p> <p>b. Ngilla-waka-(*fi)-n.
buy-cow(*3O)-IND.1S
'I bought a cow.'</p> |
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- [BAG 2004]

Ditransitives demonstrate that the NI object and object-crossreferencing morphology *do not* compete for exponence; direct objects can incorporate, while indirect objects are crossreferenced (Baker 1996, 2009).

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| <p>(3) T-a-shako-wir-u'.</p> <p>CIS-FACT-MSS/FSO-baby-give-PUNC
'He handed her the baby.' [Baker 1996]</p> | <p>(4) Juan ngilla-waka-lel-fi-y.
J. buy-cow-APPL-3O-IND.3SS
'Juan bought a cow for him.' [Baker 2009]</p> |
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The dichotomy in (1-2) has been largely ignored in syntactic treatments of NI (but see BAG 2004).

In this paper, I claim that this difference is best attributed to whether a language's object-crossreferencing morphology is ϕ -agreement or clitic-doubling, in accordance with Preminger's (2009) diagnostic:

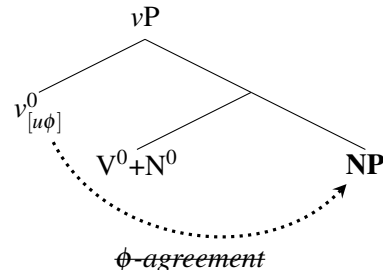
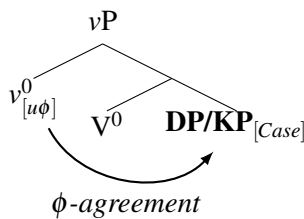
- (5) **Preminger's Diagnostic:** Given a scenario where the relation R between an agreement-morpheme M and the corresponding full noun-phrase F is broken – but the result is still a grammatical utterance – the proposed diagnostic supplies a conclusion about R as follows:
- M shows up with default ϕ -features (rather than those of F) $\Rightarrow R$ is AGREE
 - M disappears entirely $\Rightarrow R$ is clitic doubling.

The retention of object-crossreferencing morphology in (1) indicates that such morphology is ϕ -agreement. The absence of object-crossreferencing morphology in (2) indicates that such morphology is clitic doubling. These conclusions are supported by converging evidence from independent diagnostics used to distinguish clitic doubling from ϕ -agreement.

NI is a broken relationship: In order to apply (5) to the data in (1-2), we must establish that, in general, NI involves a failed attempt to establish object-crossreferencing morphology. Following Baker (1988, 1996; see also Barrie & Mathieu 2015), I maintain that any nominal that undergoes NI is *structurally reduced*, i.e. an NP, rather than a full nominal extended projection (DP/KP). An important consequence of this effect is that NI objects are incapable of receiving C /case, since C /case is hosted at the outermost nominal projection (see Baker 1988, 1996 for arguments). Because C /case-assignment is a prerequisite for ϕ -probing (e.g. Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2011, 2014), it follows that NI objects *cannot* enter into a successful ϕ -agreement relationship. The object ϕ -agreement that holds of object DP/KPs (6) is broken in NI constructions (7).

(6) *Successful object agreement*

(7) *Failed object agreement*



Because ϕ -agreement is a prerequisite for clitic doubling (e.g. Roberts 2010, Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014, Preminger 2014), the inability to agree with an NI object entails that clitic doubling is also broken in NI.

Applying Preminger’s diagnostic: In (1a) and (2a), the object does not incorporate. It is a full DP/KP, bearing C/case, and eligible for ϕ -agreement. Agreement succeeds (6). In (1b) and (2b), the object incorporates. It is a reduced NP that does not bear C/case, and is ineligible for ϕ -agreement. Agreement fails (7). Failed agreement has distinct consequences for object-crossreferencing morphology in (1) and (2). In (1b), *some* object-crossreferencing morphology appears in the portmanteau *ra-*. However, it fails to cross-reference the gender of the NI object, which is feminine (1a). Instead, the (default) neuter form is used. Given (5a), object-crossreferencing morphology in Mohawk is ϕ -agreement. In (2b), object cross-referencing morphology is entirely absent. Given (5b), object-crossreferencing morphology in Mapudungun is clitic doubling.

Additional evidence: The conclusions reached above receive further support from other diagnostics used to distinguish ϕ -agreement from clitic doubling. Mapudungun object-crossreferencing morphology patterns like clitic doubling, and Mohawk object-crossreferencing morphology patterns like ϕ -agreement with respect to: (i) formal similarity to D^0 , and (ii) optionality in realization.

Clitics often take on forms quite similar to independent D^0 s (e.g. Uriagereka 1995, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Preminger 2011, Kramer 2014). This may be because clitics *are* D^0 s. The Mapudungun object cross-referencing morpheme *-fi-* in (2) and (8) is similar in form to the deictic pronoun *fiy / fey* (9) (Smeets 2008).

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| (8) | Aneltu- fi -ñ
threaten- 3O -IND.1S one
‘I threatened him with a knife.’ | kiñe kuchillo-mew.
knife-INSTR
[BAG 2004] | (9) | a. <i>fiy / fey</i> – ‘he, she, it, that’
b. <i>fiy / fey-ew</i> – ‘to, by, etc. him / her / it’
[Smeets 2008] |
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In contrast, Mohawk object-crossreferencing morphology does not appear to bear formal resemblance to pronouns (of which only 3rd person, singular, human forms are overt) nor to determiners. Furthermore, the language lacks definite articles entirely (e.g. Baker 1996). Another issue concerning the form of Mohawk object-crossreferencing morphology is that it is a portmanteau. Woolford (2016) shows that clitics are never portmanteaux, providing another argument in favor of the treatment of this morphology as ϕ -agreement.

Clitic doubling and ϕ -agreement can also be distinguished by their obligatoriness (or lack thereof). Clitic doubling is most often optional; ϕ -agreement is most often obligatory (e.g. Jaeggli 1982, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Corbett 2006, Kramer 2014). Here too, Mohawk object cross-referencing morphology behaves like ϕ -agreement (10), while Mapudungun object-crossreferencing morphology behaves like clitic doubling (11).

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| (10) | a. Sak shako -nuhwe’-s
S. MSS/FsO -like-HAB NE baby
‘Sak likes babies.’
b. *Sak ra -nuhwe’-s
S. MSS/NsO -like-HAB NE baby
‘Sak likes babies.’ | ne owira’a.
[Baker 1996] | (11) | a. Metawe pe- fi -n.
vessel see- 3O -IND.1S
‘I see the vessel.’
b. Metawe pe-n.
vessel see-IND.1S
‘I see the vessel.’ | [BAG 2004] |
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In non-NI contexts, the realization of *-fi-* is optional. Baker (2006) describes this as true optionality (though subtle discourse/pragmatic factors may be at play). Nevertheless, this optionality stands in contrast to Mohawk where (non-default) object cross-referencing morphology *must* be realized when it can be.

Unfortunately, the interaction or (lack thereof) between object-crossreferencing morphology and binding, in the domains of Weak Crossover and backward pronominalization – which have often been used convincingly to distinguish clitic doubling from ϕ -agreement (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003, Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014) – cannot be used to compare these languages for independent reasons (see Baker 1996, 2006).

Advantages of the proposal: To my knowledge, the only other (syntactic) treatment of the variation in object-crossreferencing morphology in NI is that of BAG (2004), who argue that it is determined by the amount of ϕ -features retained by the NI object trace – in Mohawk partial ϕ -features are retained, in Mapudungun none are, yielding default and zero morphology, respectively. The present analysis fares better on (at least) two counts: (i) The proposed analysis converges with independent diagnostics which confirm the treatment of *successful* object-crossreferencing as clitic doubling in Mapudungun and ϕ -agreement in Mohawk. (ii) Unlike BAG’s proposal, the present account is consistent with copy or multidominance theories of movement, which do away entirely with traces as a grammatical category.