

- c. Läm̄ma **wiffa-w-in** ayy-ä-w.
 Lemma.M dog-DEF.M-ACC see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-3.M.SG.OBJ
 ‘Lemma saw the dog.’

B&K offer two empirical considerations that address this issue, which aspire to be principled and useful crosslinguistically, but raise some unresolved theoretical issues. One consideration is that nonreferential quantifiers equivalent to ‘everyone’, ‘nobody’, and ‘who’ cannot be used in the (1c) pattern in Amharic, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. Läm̄ma **hullu-n-imm säw** ayy-ä-(*w). (Amharic)
 Lemma.M every-ACC-FOC person see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)
 ‘Lemma saw everyone.’
- b. **Mann-in** ayy-ij-(*iw)?
 who-ACC see.PFV-2.F.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)
 ‘Who did you (feminine) see?’
- c. Läm̄ma **mann-in-imm** al-ayy-ä-(*w)-imm.
 Lemma.Mone-ACC-FOC NEG-see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)-FOC
 ‘Lemma saw nobody; Lemma didn’t see anybody.’

The second consideration is that reflexive anaphors also cannot be used in the (1c) construction:

- (3) Läm̄ma **ras-u-n** ayy-ä-(*w). (Amharic)
 Lemma.M self-his-ACC see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)
 ‘Lemma saw himself.’

B&K argue that these restrictions are rather mysterious if the suffix on the verb is taken to be a pure object agreement marker, since there is no comparable ban on (say) subject agreement with a nonreferential quantifier in Amharic or other languages. If, however, the suffix on the verb is analyzed as a pronominal clitic, then these restrictions can be derived from established principles of universal grammar. Then the examples in (2) are ruled out by the Weak Crossover condition (Wasow 1979), which puts restrictions on when a pronoun can be interpreted as a variable bound by a quantifier. Similarly, (3) is ruled out because it presents an intrinsic contradiction with respect to Binding theory (Chomsky 1981): the anaphoric object must be coreferential with the subject, but the pronominal clitic which doubles it cannot be. B&K conclude that the phi-feature-manifesting suffix in Amharic must count as a pronoun at LF, and therefore the (1c) construction qualifies as an instance of clitic doubling, not (just) pure agreement. They also present data suggesting that the same is true for Spanish, Greek, and Bulgarian. Baker (2018) then extends the analysis to Haya and Swahili. In contrast, object-sensitive affixes are compatible with nonreferential quantifiers and DP anaphors (where available) in Burushaski and some other Bantu languages (Sambaa, Makhuwa, another variety of Swahili), so these languages have pure object agreement—like canonical subject agreement, but with a lower head acting as the probe.

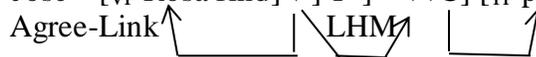
While this work addresses the core empirical question of how to distinguish clitic doubling from object agreement, it raises new theoretical questions. One stems from the simple fact that examples like (1c) sure look like agreement, not only in the pretheoretic sense that the

affix on the verb must match the features of the object, but also in that it shows the formal properties of an Agree relation as identified in Chomsky (2000, 2001) and much related work (see Baker (2012a; 2012b) and Kramer (2014); the crucial data is reviewed below). Why is that so, if the affix is fundamentally a pronoun and not a manifestation of agreement? Further questions are raised by the fact that, in the B&K account, the pronominal clitic in (1c) must not c-command the in situ direct object. If it did, then (1c) would be ungrammatical, ruled out by Principle C of the Binding theory (however this may be derived from first principles). This follows because, by hypothesis, the suffix is a pronoun visible to the Binding theory; therefore all the Binding conditions should be relevant, Principle C as well as Principle B. But if there is no c-command relationship between the pronominal clitic and the direct object, how is the structure licensed in the first place? Why is it a well-formed construction at all? The clitic and the object DP cannot be related to one another by movement plus some kind of deletion or reduction of the higher copy, because the two copies in a movement relationship must be in a c-command relationship, on standard assumptions. How then is the clitic licensed, and what is the nature of the Agree-like link that it has with the object?

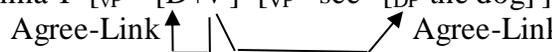
In this work, I seek to deepen the understanding of these theoretical questions regarding the syntax of object clitic doubling (OCD). I do so by forging a link between OCD in languages like Amharic and recent developments in the theory of switch-reference constructions in American languages—especially Baker and Camargo Souza (2020) (B&CS, see also Clem 2018 and Arregi and Hanink 2018, to appear for related approaches). The Panoan languages Shipibo and Yawanawa in particular have a typologically unusual construction in which an adjunct clause bearing the suffix *-a* requires that the object in the embedded clause be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (OS), as in (4).

- (4) [Jose-kan Rosa noko-**a**]=ra, *pro* sai i-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG Rosa find-OS=EV she yell do.INTR-PFV
 ‘When José found Rosa, she (=Rosa) yelled.’

B&CS argue that this construction is the result of *v* in the embedded clause entering into a kind of Agree relationship with the object of the embedded clause. More specifically, they adopt Arregi and Nevins’s (2012) proposal that Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Agree operation is decomposed into two distinct subcomponents: *Agree-Link*, which applies first and creates a pointer from a probing functional head to a nearby DP, and *Agree-Copy*, which applies later in the derivation to transfer the phi-features from the pointed-to DP to the pointing-from head, deleting the pointer. B&CS’s core proposal, then, is that switch-reference constructions like (4) arise when particular functional heads trigger *Agree-Link* but not *Agree-Copy*. Since *Agree-Copy* does not apply, the phi-features of the object are not manifested on the verb in this construction—“Agree without agreement” in B&CS’s terms. Rather, the pointer created by *Agree-Link* survives until LF, where it is interpreted as a representation of referential dependency. This happens once *v* undergoes (long) head movement to the C of the embedded clause, which itself enters into *Agree-Link* (but not *Agree-Copy*) with the matrix subject. The result is that a single head—the complex C consisting of C+*v*—bears pointers to both the embedded object and the matrix subject. LF then interprets this situation as the embedded object and the matrix subject being two instances of the same variable, bound by a single lambda-operator. This analysis is sketched in (5).

- (5) [[[[VP José [VP Rosa find] v] T] v+C] [TP pro_i [VP yell] v]
 Agree-Link  Agree-Link $v_{[D]} + C_{[D]} = -a$ (OS)

Now the OS construction in (4) has some important similarities to the OCD construction shown in (1c). First, neither *Rosa* nor *pro* c-commands the other in (4) (as in the English translation). If it did, there would be a Condition C violation in (4) or in its analog where *Rosa* is in the matrix clause and *pro* is in the embedded clause, but in fact there is no such violation. Second, both OCD and OS constructions show the locality properties that we expect if Agree is at work to identify which DP is coreferential with the matrix subject (in the case of OS) and which DP the clitic attached to the verb doubles (in the case of OCD), as I show below. Therefore, the prospect of a unified analysis comes into view, using the conceptual resources developed for switch-reference in B&CS to complete the B&K analysis of object clitic doubling. My hypothesis here, then, is that OCD constructions are another instance of “Agree without agreement”: *v* in (say) Amharic Agrees with both a D adjoined to *v* (the clitic) and the direct object inside VP, as sketched in (6). This creates a referential dependency between the two, which serves to license the clitic with respect to the principle of Full Interpretation.

- (6) [Lemma T [VP [D+v] [VP see [DP the dog]]]]
 Agree-Link  Agree-Link

The discussion unfolds as follows. Section 2 describes the OCD construction in Amharic in more detail, identifying the missing piece in the B&K analysis. Section 3 reviews the B&CS analysis of switch-reference, pointing out its high-level similarities to the OCD construction. Section 4 reviews B&CS’s use of Agree without agreement to explain how particular functional heads create referential dependency between two DPs that may not be in a c-command relationship, and applies it to the OCD construction to explain how the clitic adjoined to *v* is referentially dependent on the direct object in a way that licenses the clitic. Section 5 discusses some apparent differences between the two constructions, arguing that they do not undermine a unified analysis. Section 6 considers briefly whether the same analysis could work for OCD constructions in Romance languages, where the clitic seems to appear higher in the clause, on T rather than *v*. Section 7 concludes.

X.2 Details of the object clitic doubling construction

Two additional examples of the Amharic OCD construction, which I take as my exemplar of clitic doubling more generally, are given in (7). Note that the object suffix does indeed vary with the features of the object: both are masculine singular in (1c), both are feminine singular in (7b), and both are plural in (7a). This confirms that this is a form of “object agreement” in a general descriptive sense.

- (7) a. Almaz **hullu-n tämari-wotftf** agänn-ätftf-**atftfäw**. (Amharic)
 Almaz.F all-ACC student-PL meet.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ-3.PL.OBJ
 ‘Almaz met all the students.’
- b. ibab **Almaz-in** näkkäs-**at**.
 snake Almaz.F-ACC bite.PFV(3.M.SG.SBJ)-3.F.SG.OBJ

‘A snake bit Almaz.’

Following B&K’s interpretation of (2) and (3), the object marker is crucially a pronoun; more specifically, it is a weak pronoun in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). Therefore, we took it to be a separate head in the syntax, with the category feature D as well as its phi-features (a common enough view). It is this D feature that crucially distinguishes a pronoun from a mere collection of phi-features that may be present on a functional head as a result of Agree-Copy. As to its structural position, we claimed that it is adjoined to *v*—i.e., to a relatively low head in the hierarchical structure of the clause. The empirical evidence for this is that in complex tenses consisting of a main verb and an auxiliary, the clitic attaches to the main verb in Amharic, appearing inside of (before) the auxiliary, as in (8).¹

- (8) Läm̄ma **wiffa-w-in** y-ay-äw-all. (Amharic)
Lemma.M dog-DEF.M-ACC 3.M.SG.SBJ-see.IPFV-3.M.SG.OBJ-AUX.3.M.SG.SBJ
‘Lemma sees the dog.’

B&K also say that the clitic is adjoined to *v*, not in an argument position like Spec *v*P. Our main reason to say this was to avoid Condition C violations, as mentioned above. However, it is also consistent with the position of the clitic, suffixed to the verb. If the pronoun were in Spec *v*P, one would expect it to come before in-situ objects, given the Spec-Complement-Head order that is characteristic of Amharic.

The last major structural characteristic of the OCD construction is that the object is in situ inside (or at least near) the VP. In other words, Amharic allows true clitic doubling, like Spanish and Greek, not just clitic dislocation, like French and standard Italian. This is harder to show conclusively for Amharic than for SVO languages. However, the fact that the doubled object can come after the subject and is not separated from the rest of the sentence by a major intonation break is highly suggestive. (9) strengthens this by showing that a doubled object can come between the verb and a low VP adverb like ‘still’ or ‘yet’ (cf. Cinque 1999). If these adverbs mark the left edge of VP, then the doubled object must be inside VP.

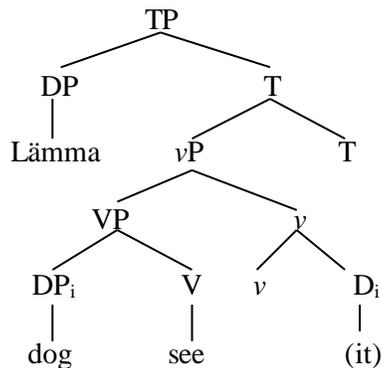
- (9) a. Läm̄ma ahunimm **wiffa-w-in** y-ay-äw-all. (Amharic)
Lemma.M still dog-DEF.M-ACC 3.M.SG.SBJ-see.PFV-3.M.SG.OBJ-AUX.3.M.SG.SBJ
‘Lemma still sees the dog.’
b. Gäna **wiffa-w-in** al-ayy-ä-w-imm.
yet dog-DEF.M-ACC NEG-see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-3.M.SG.OBJ-FOC
‘He has not seen the dog yet.’

B&K: 1043-1044 also present an additional argument for this conclusion: they show that objects doubled in-situ must be marked for accusative case in Amharic, just as undoubled objects must, whereas truly left-dislocated DPs linked to the object position need not be overtly marked for case in Amharic.

B&K conclude that the structure of OCD examples in Amharic is (roughly) as in (10).

¹ In this respect, Amharic is like its fellow African languages from the Bantu family, but different from the Romance languages, where object clitics attach to the finite auxiliary rather than to the main verb. I discuss this difference in section 6.

(10)



B&K then go on to argue that when the object is quantified, the representation in (10) violates the Weak Crossover condition (Postal 1971; Wasow 1979; see Safir 2019 for a recent review). In essence, this amounts to the claim that the contrast between (2a-c) and (1c) in Amharic is of the same nature as the contrast between (11b-d) and (11a) in English: both are manifestations of the fact that it is harder for a pronoun to be bound by a nonreferential quantifier than for it to be anteceded by a referential DP.

- (11) a. His mother loves John.
b. ?*His mother loves everyone.
c. ?*His mother loves nobody.
d. ?*Who does his mother love?

Although precise formulations vary, the Weak Crossover condition says roughly that a pronoun cannot be interpreted as a variable bound by a quantifier unless it is c-commanded by the trace of that quantifier in an A-position (see Safir 2004b, 2019 for discussion). This condition is not satisfied in (10), given that a trace of QR in the complement position of VP does not c-command the pronoun (D) adjoined to v. This explains why examples like (2a) repeated here as (12) are bad when the clitic pronoun is included.

- (12) **Lämma hullu-n-imm säw ayy-ä-(*w).** (Amharic, =(2a))
Lemma.M every-ACC-FOC person see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)
'Lemma saw everyone.'

Similarly, Condition B of the Binding theory implies that a pronominal element cannot be coreferential with the subject of the minimal clause that contains it (Chomsky 1981; Safir 2004a; Büring 2005). If the pronoun D in (10) doubles a local anaphor in the object position, which must be coreferential with the local subject (Condition A), then these two referentiality conditions contradict each other. This explains why examples like (3), repeated as (13), are bad with the object clitic.

- (13) Lamma **ras-u-n** ayy-ä-(*w). (Amharic, =(3))
 Lemma.M self-his-ACC see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-(*3.M.SG.OBJ)
 ‘Lemma saw himself.’

This is the core of the B&K analysis.

This analysis of (12) and (13) is neutral as to whether or not the object clitic c-commands the direct object—as it would if it were in (say) the Spec vP position. But simple OCD examples like (1c) and (7) strongly suggest that the object clitic must not c-command the object; if it did, then these examples should violate Condition C of the Binding theory, which says that a pronoun cannot be coreferential with a full DP that it c-commands. The alternative would be to say that clitic pronouns are subject to some of the principles that other pronouns are subject to but not all of them—to condition B and the Weak Crossover condition but not to condition C—but this is conceptually unattractive.

The conclusion that the clitic does not c-command the direct object is strengthened by the observation that examples with quantified objects have the flavor of weak crossover violations, where the pronoun does not c-command the quantifier or its trace (see (11)), rather than that of strong crossover violations in which the pronoun does c-command the quantifier or its trace (e.g. **He_i lost everyone_i's wallet*). First, speakers’ judgments of examples like (2)/(12) can be “unnatural/dispreferred” rather than “impossible”, and this varies some across examples and speakers. Second, the type of quantifier matters. This is known to be the case for weak crossover: for instance, -examples with *every N* violate this condition, whereas ones with *all (the) NPs* do not. Thus (14) in English is much better than (11b).

- (14) Their incautious statements ended up ruining all my friends. (Cinque 1990:11)

Amharic presents a similar contrast: a universally quantified DP that is grammatically singular cannot be doubled, as in (15a), but a universally quantified DP that is grammatically plural can be, as in (15b).

- (15) a. Almaz **hullu-n-imm** **tämari** agäññ-ätftj(*-iw). (Amharic)
 Almaz.F every-ACC-FOC student.M meet.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ(-*3.M.SG.OBJ)
 ‘Almaz met every student.’
- b. Almaz **hullu-n** **tämari-wotftj** agäññ-ätftj-**atftjäw**.
 Almaz.F all-ACC student-PL meet.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ-3.PL.OBJ
 ‘Almaz met all the students.’

Similarly, simple interrogative phrases like ‘who’ and ‘what’ cannot be clitic doubled, but D-linked interrogatives like *which student* can be (Kramer 2014: 601). In this respect too Amharic OCD constructions pattern in ways that parallel weak crossover in languages like English. In contrast, the type of quantifier makes no difference in strong crossover configurations, where a pronoun tries to be a variable bound by a quantifier that it c-commands (the trace of); such examples are bad whatever sort of quantifier is used (e.g. **They_i lost all my friends’_i wallets*). The contrast in (15) thus constitutes a second reason to conclude that the clitic does not c-command the DP that it doubles.

The structure in (10) is thus what is needed to carry out the program of explaining referentiality restrictions on OCD in terms of the simple assumption that the clitic counts as a pronoun, whereas ordinary agreement morphology does not. But now a cluster of theoretical questions arises. Why is this structure licit at all? How is the D licensed in its position adjoined to *v*? Does it satisfy the Theta-criterion/Full Interpretation? Intuitively, we can say that it is licensed by virtue of its relationship to the direct object. This fits with the fact that it is bad in Amharic to have a clitic on the verb that matches the thematic subject instead of the object ((16b)), or that matches neither the subject nor the object ((16a)).

- (16) a. *Almaz Aster-in ayy-ätʃf-äw. (Amharic)
 Almaz.F Aster.F-ACC see.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ-3.M.SG.OBJ
 ('Almaz saw (him) Aster.')
- b. *Almaz mäś'haf-u-n ayy-ätʃf-at.
 Almaz.F book-DEF.M-ACC see.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ-3.F.SG.OBJ
 ('Almaz saw (her) the book.')

But the question still arises, can there be enforced referential dependency between D(P)s that are not in a c-command relationship? This is not generally allowed on standard theoretical assumptions. For example, on some popular accounts of clitic doubling there is a movement relationship between the clitic and the full DP, e.g. with the clitic being a reduced version of a copy of the full DP in some way, or the clitic being a D head that moves out of the DP object, as in the influential "big DP" hypothesis of Uriagereka (1995) (see also Roberts 2010, and others). But if D and DP are two members of the same movement chain, we would expect one to c-command the other, and we have now seen evidence that that is not the case.²

There is one further dimension to the puzzle to explore. This is the fact, mentioned above, that clitic doubling in Amharic shows signs of an Agree relationship being at work, despite the clitic not being a mere agreement. In particular, it behaves like we might expect if *v* were probing for a DP to agree with (Chomsky 2000; 2001; see Baker 2013 for a review). From this perspective, the badness of (16b) could be interpreted as the fact that *v* cannot probe upward, to agree with the subject in Spec *v*P or higher, rather than downward, with an object in its c-command domain. More striking evidence comes from double object constructions, like those in (17) from Amharic. Here the clitic can double the higher of the two DPs inside the verb phrase—the goal argument in (17a) and the source/malefactive argument in (17b)—not the lower of the two arguments, the theme (Baker 2012a,b; Kramer 2014).

- (17) a. Girma lä-Almaz mäs'haf-u-n säť't'-at (*säť't'-ä-w)
 Girma.M DAT-Almaz.F book-DEF.M-ACC give.PFV(3.M.SG.SBJ)-3.F.SG.OBJ -3.M.SG.OBJ
 'Girma gave the book to Almaz.' (Amharic, Kramer 2014: 600)

² One could very well say that movement at PF does not need to respect c-command. This is true of processes like morphological merger, lowering, and local dislocation in the Distributed Morphology literature. It would not be at all surprising if pronominal clitics would undergo one of these PF movement processes. But this is not enough to resolve the issue at hand, because my reasons for saying that the clitic does not c-command the DP object (or vice versa) come crucially from conditions on binding and coreference—LF conditions, not PF conditions. Therefore, it is not enough to say that the clitic moves to a position that does not c-command the object at PF only.

- b. Läm̄ma **Aster-in** gänzäb-u-n särräk'-at. (*särräk'-ä-w)
 Lemma.M Aster.F-ACC money-DEF.M-ACC rob.PFV.3.M.SG.SBJ-3.F.SG.OBJ -
 'Lemma robbed Aster of the money.' (Amharic, Baker 2012b: 49-50)

This looks like a standard intervention effect, where a probe *v* cannot search beyond the closest DP to agree with a DP farther away (see (32b) below for a tree structure for (17a)).

Although B&K do not discuss this explicitly, clitic doubling in Amharic is also like object agreement in other languages in that it cannot cross phase boundaries. Thus one cannot have a clitic on the verb that doubles the object of an adposition ((18a,b)), nor can a clitic on the verb double a DP properly contained in a DP object instead of doubling the DP object as a whole ((18c)).³

- (18) a. Läm̄ma **b-Aster** sak'k'-ä. (*sak'k'-at)
 Lemma.M at-Aster.F laugh.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ (*laugh.PFV.3.M.SG.S.SBJ-3.F.SG.OBJ)
 'Lemma laughed at Aster.' (Amharic, fieldnotes)
- b. Läm̄ma **k-Aster** gänzäb särräk'-ä. (?*särräk'-at)
 Lemma.M from-Aster.F money steal.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ (?*...-3.F.SG.OBJ)
 'Lemma stole money from Aster.' (Amharic, fieldnotes)
- c. Yə-**aškər-e-n** mist t'ərra-h^w-(***ut**).
 POSS-servant-1.SG.POSS-ACC wife call.PFV-1.SG.SBJ-(***3.M.SG.S.OBJ**)
 'I called my servant's wife.' (Amharic, see Leslau 1995: 198)

This is what we expect if Agree is somehow at work in this construction after all. In contrast, relationships of “mere” coreference are allowed to cross phase boundaries, as in examples like *I told his mother all about John*, and *I showed his mother all of John's best work*.

An additional similarity between clitic doubling and standard Agree is that it can be parametrically sensitive to the case of goals. We can see this by comparing OCD in Amharic with OCD in Greek. The case of the object—accusative or dative—does not affect clitic doubling in Amharic in (17): the higher object is dative in (17a) and accusative in (17b), but in both instances a clitic can double the higher object but not the lower object. This contrasts with the Greek examples in (19). In (19b), both objects both bear accusative case, and only the higher one (the goal) can be clitic-doubled. This is like Amharic's (17b). However, in (19a), the higher object is in genitive case (=dative, in Modern Greek) whereas the lower object is in accusative case. In this situation, the lower object can be doubled by a clitic on the verb—different from (17a) in Amharic.

- (19) a. (**To**) edosa tu Petru **to** vivlio.
 3.N.SG.ACC gave.1.SG the.GEN Peter.GEN the.ACC book.ACC
 'I gave (it) Peter the book.' (Greek, Anagnostopoulou 2001: 15)

³ Leslau (1990: 187-188) does give a few examples similar in form to (18c), but they are all involve contact verbs that have body parts in the direct object role. I assume that this is similar to the alternation between *Ipoked John's shoulder* and *Ipoked John in the shoulder* in English and many other languages: it is variation in what can be the grammatical object of such verbs, not a true instance of agreement with the possessor inside a DP object.

- b. (***Tin**) didaksa ta pedhia **tin** **grammatiki ton** **arxion**
 3.F.SG.ACC taught.1.SG the.ACC children.ACC the.ACC grammar the.GEN ancient
ellinikon.

Greek

‘I taught the children the grammar of ancient Greek.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2001: 12)

This pattern can be accounted for in Agree-theoretic terms if one says that the relevant agreeing head is probing specifically for accusative case DPs in Greek, whereas it probes for any DP in Amharic. Therefore, any DP intervenes to block agreement with a lower DP in Amharic, whereas only an accusative DP intervenes in Greek. What can be doubled is thus a function of both the features borne by the DPs and the features specified on the probe and whether they match or not, as is normal for Agree.

Overall, then, there is evidence that the clitic agrees with the DP in object position, both in the pretheoretical sense that the clitic has to manifest the same phi-features as the object and in the more technical sense that the relation has the syntactic properties of Agree: it is downward, local, phase-bound, and feature-relative. At the same time, we know that the clitic does not c-command the direct object, as implied by the principles of anaphora. How then can Agree be at work here, if there is no c-command?

X.3 OS switch reference in comparison with object clitic doubling

At this point in their discussion, B&K (2018: 1048-1049) express openness to several possible ways of finishing off the account. One of them—the one that they tentatively adopt for expository purposes—accepts that D adjoined to *v* cannot enter into Agree with the object directly, but suggests that *v* mediates the relationship between D and DP. They write: “It could be that the D head is base-generated adjoined to *v*, in which case the link between D and DP is created entirely by Agree, mediated through *v*.” In particular, *v* enters into Agree with both the D adjoined to *v* and a DP object inside the VP complement of *v*. B&K then stipulated (20).

(20) A D adjoined to head H is referentially dependent on the DP it agrees with via H.

They also assumed that this referential dependency was enough to license the adjoined D for purposes of the principle of Full Interpretation. As a result, there is no violation in basic OCD examples like (1c), although there is in (16a), where a spurious clitic is randomly adjoined to *v* without being related to an argument of the clause.

But that is as far as B&K took the matter. The point to make here is that these assumptions make more sense, and have a more principled basis, when they are taken in the context of Baker and Camargo Souza’s theory of switch-reference (SR) in the Panoan languages. To lay the groundwork for this, I now turn to a brief sketch of the Panoan object=subject SR construction, emphasizing the high-level points of similarity with the OCD construction.

One example of the OS construction was given in (4); (21) is another. The basic description is that the verb in an embedded adjunct clause with perfective aspect bears the suffix *-a* if and only if the object of the lower clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. (In contrast, if the subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with the matrix subject, the verb bears the same subject marker *-(a)x*. If neither the subject nor the object of the

embedded clause is coreferential with the matrix subject, the embedded verb bears a different subject marker *-(tia)n*. See Valenzuela (2003) for a full description.)

- (21) [Jose-kan **ochiti** rete-kas-a]=ra, (**ja**) ka-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG dog kill-DESID-OS=EV (it) go-PFV
 ‘José wanted to kill the dog_i, so it_i left.’

Although it is not immediately obvious that OCD in Amharic or Greek has much in common with OS in Panoan, there are important similarities. It is a feature of OCD that the D must be referentially dependent on the object; similarly, it is a feature of OS that one designated DP must be referentially dependent on another one. In OCD, referential dependence is required even though there is no c-command relationship between D and the object DP, hence no Condition C violation. That is also true in the OS construction, as evidenced by the fact that either of the two DPs involved can be a full DP and either one can be a pronoun (often null), as seen in (22).⁴

- (22) a. [Jose-kan **Rosa** nook-a]=ra, **pro** sai i-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG Rosa find-OS=EV she yell do.INTR-PFV
 ‘When José found Rosa, she yelled.’
 b. [Jose-kan **pro** noko-a]=ra, **Rosa** sai i-ke.
 José-ERG her find-OS=EV Rosa yell do.INTR-PFV
 ‘When José found her, Rosa yelled.’

If either DP c-commanded the other one in (22), the c-commanded DP should not be able to be a full referential DP, on pain of violating Condition C (compare the English translations, see Camargo Souza (2020: Ch. 5) for more). So the OS construction displays the same paradoxical profile of having obligatory coreference in the absence of a direct c-command relationship that the OCD construction does.

The OS construction is also like the OCD construction in displaying the abstract-formal properties of an Agree relation. In particular, B&CS claim that OS arises in part from *v* in the embedded clause entering into an Agree relationship with a nearby DP inside that clause. This Agreed-with DP then acts as the *pivot* of the construction: the DP that is coreferential with the matrix subject. Thus, the pivot of the OS construction can be the direct object, as in (21) and (22), but it cannot be a DP inside a PP, as shown in (23). This is attributable to the phase condition on Agree, and is parallel to the fact that the object of a P cannot be clitic doubled in Amharic ((18a,b)).

- (23) *[Shukuvena [**shashu** mera] iki-a], txiuku-a. (Yawanawa)
 Shukuvena canoe into enter-OS sink-PFV

⁴ It is even possible for both coreferential DPs to be overt pronouns or full DPs, as in (i) from Yawanawa, although this is not so common. This confirms that switch-reference is to be understood as enforced coreference between ordinary DPs, not as a relationship of control that involves a specialized null element like PRO.

- (i) Kāmã-ně **e-a** naa-shũ-a, **ẽ** raruma-i. (Camargo Souza 2020: 111)
 dog-ERG 1.SG.ACC die-APPL-OS 1.SG.NOM miss IPFV
 ‘The dog died on me, and I miss it.’

(‘When Shukuvena got into the canoe_i, it_i sank.’) (OK with DS: *iki-ai-nũ*)

Similarly, the pivot of the OS construction cannot be a DP properly contained inside the object DP, such as the possessor of the object, as shown in (24). This is also attributable to the phase condition, and is parallel to the fact that the possessor of the object cannot be doubled by a clitic on the verb in Amharic ((18c)).

(24) [Jose-kan [**noko-n** ochiti] noko-a]=ra, (***e-a**) bene-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG my GEN dog find-OS=EV (*I-ABS) be.happy-PFV
 ‘José found my dog_i and it_i/*I was happy.’

A third fact along these lines is that, in an OS construction where the highest verb in the adjunct clause takes a clausal complement, the pivot cannot be the object inside that clausal complement, as in (25).

(25) ??[Jose-kan [**pro** oin-ti] shinan-a]=ra, **Rosa-n** e-a kena-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG her see-INF think-OS=EV Rosa-ERG me-ABS call-PFV
 (‘When José thought to see her_i, Rosa_i called me.’) (OK with DS *shinan-ke-tian=ra*)

This is comparable to the fact that B&K (2018: 1047) mention that clitics on a matrix verb cannot double something inside the CP complement of the verb in Amharic. If, however, the highest verb in the adjunct clause is an auxiliary or restructuring verb, then the object of the lower verb can be the pivot, as in (26).

(26) [Maria-nin [**pro** yoa a-ti] atipan-a]=ra, **nato yapa** payo-ke. (Shipibo)
 Maria-ERG it cook do.TR-INF can-OS=EV DEM fish spoil-PFV
 ‘Although Maria was able to cook it_i, the fish_i spoiled.’

This is parallel to the fact that “clitic climbing” is possible in languages like Italian and Spanish if and only if the higher verb is an auxiliary or a restructuring verb (Rizzi 1982).

Another parallel between OS and OCD is the fact that the case of the object matters in some languages but not others. In particular, the dative complement of a psych verb can be the pivot of an OS construction in Yawanawa ((27a)) but not in Shipibo ((27b)), even though the two languages’ OS constructions are the same in virtually every other respect.

(27) a. [Tika **yuma-ki** xināvenu-a] txapu-a. (Yawanawa)
 Tika fish-DAT forget-OS rot-PFV
 ‘Tika forgot about the fish_i and it_i rotted.’
 b. *[Maria **ochiti-ki** raket-a]=ra, ja natex-ke. (Shipibo)
 Maria dog-DAT fear-OS=EV her bite-PFV
 (‘Because Maria feared the dog_i, it_i bit her.’) (OK with DS *rake-ke-tian=ra*)

At a high level of analysis, this is analogous to the fact that dative DPs block clitic doubling of the theme on the head that hosts accusative object clitics in Amharic (see (17a)) but not in Greek (see (19a)). Presumably this is because the relevant probe can detect a dative DP in

Amharic, but not in Greek. This is parallel to the way that the probing *v* of OS can detect a dative object in Yawanawa but not in Shipibo.

The last characteristic property of Agree is the intervention condition. That this restricts clitic doubling in Amharic and Greek—*pace* the differing effect of dative DPs—was shown in (17) and (19b). The expected analog for OS in Shipibo and Yawanawa would be that the higher goal object could be the pivot of the construction, but the lower theme object could not be. This is not the case, however; either object can be the pivot, as shown for Shipibo in (28).

- (28) a. [Jose-kan Maria **kirika** boma-a]=ra, mano-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG Maria letter send-OS=EV get.lost-PFV
 ‘When José sent Maria a letter_i, it_i got lost.’
- b. [Jose-kan **Maria** kirika boma-a]=ra, yoyo-a-ke.
 José-ERG Maria letter send-OS=EV read-do-PFV
 ‘When José sent Maria_i a letter, she_i read it.’

This superficial difference is explained by the fact that the Panoan languages are independently known to be “symmetrical object languages”, as Valenzuela (2003) discusses in some detail. B&CS: 1065 adopt McGinnis’s (2001) view of this type of crosslinguistic variation, according to which some languages allow the theme argument to become higher than the goal argument by undergoing a movement internal to VP/ApplP. Assuming this, (28) is compatible with the view that switch-reference constructions in the Panoan languages are constrained by the intervention condition: only the highest object can be the pivot, but either object can be the highest one. B&CS: 1061-1064 show that the intervention condition clearly does restrict the subject=subject construction in these languages, a sister construction to the OS construction focused on here, for which the possibility of VP-internal movement does not play a role.

Overall, then, there are enough parallels between the OS construction in Panoan and the OCD construction in languages like Amharic to consider a unified analysis, in which both draw on the same universal grammar infrastructure. Given this, I borrow from the analysis of OS to complete the analysis of OCD begun in section 2.

X.4 Agree without agreement: from switch-reference to clitic doubling

B&CS ponder the fact that, although the OS construction in Shipibo and Yawanawa has the formal properties of Agree, the functional head on the verb does not actually manifest agreement with the pivot in phi-features. For example, the object of the embedded clause is first person singular in (29a) and third person plural in (29b), but the suffix on the embedded verb is still *-a*, the same form we see in OS examples with a third person singular pivot, such as (21).

- (29) a. [Xate-kan-**a**-kaya]=ra **e-n** a-yora-ke ja skara shinan-kin].
 cut-PL.SUBJ-OS-CONTR=EV 1.SG.ERG do-INTENS-PFV that about think- SS.IMPFV.ERG
 ‘After they cut me (after my operation), I think about that very much.’ (Shipibo)
- b. [Nawa-hãu vakehu iwe-**a**-hu], yuma pi. (Yawanawa)
 foreigner-PL.ERG children bring-OS-PL.SBJ fish eat.IPFV
 ‘The foreigners brought children_i and they_i are eating fish.’

Nor is this peculiar to Shipibo and Yawanawa: switch-reference markers are distinct from and independent of conventional agreement marking in most of the languages of the world, if not all (see B&CS: 1075-1077 for references and discussion). So the OS construction and other more common forms of switch-reference seem to involve Chomsky’s relation of Agree, but do not involve actual agreement.

B&CS make sense of this by adopting the view of Arregi and Nevins (2012) and related work that Agree consists of two different components: Agree-Link, which creates a pointer from a probing functional head to a goal DP, and Agree-Copy, which transfers the phi-features from the pointed-to DP to the pointing functional head, deleting the pointer. B&CS: 1075 state these two components as in (30), rephrasing Arregi and Nevins in minor ways.

- (30) a. *Agree-Link*: In the syntax, P has a probe feature [_G] that triggers Agree with *G* (possibly more than one). The result is a pointer from P to *G*.
 b. *Agree-Copy*: If there is a pointer from P to *G*, copy the values of the phi-features of *G* onto P and delete the pointer. (May apply early, late, *or not at all*.)

Previous literature distinguished these two components so that other grammatical processes can apply after the one but before the other. For example, linearization can be applied after Agree-Link but before Agree-Copy to account for the variable possibility of closest conjunct agreement in certain languages (Bhatt and Walkow 2013; Marušič, et al 2015). Similarly, fusion of a Number head with a K (case) head can apply after Agree-Link but before Agree-Copy to account for the variable possibility of agreement with a subject in oblique case (Atlamaz and Baker 2018; Atlamaz 2018). B&CS take this line of thought one step further: since Agree-Copy is logically distinct from Agree-Link, it is possible for Agree-Link to apply without Agree-Copy applying at all. When Agree-Copy does not apply—when it is not triggered by the presence of empty phi-slots on the probe, according to B&CS—the probing head does not pick up the phi-features of the DP that it is linked to. However, the probing head does point to a DP, and that pointer survives to LF in this scenario. This is what happens in OS constructions in Panoan. The crucial assumption, then, is that LF interprets these pointers as representations of referential dependency involving the pointed-to DP (cf. Higginbotham 1983; Safir 2004a). So “Agree without agreement”—Agree-Link without Agree-Copy—results in referential dependency mediated by particular functional heads.⁵ Switch-reference phenomena are a paradigm case of this UG possibility.

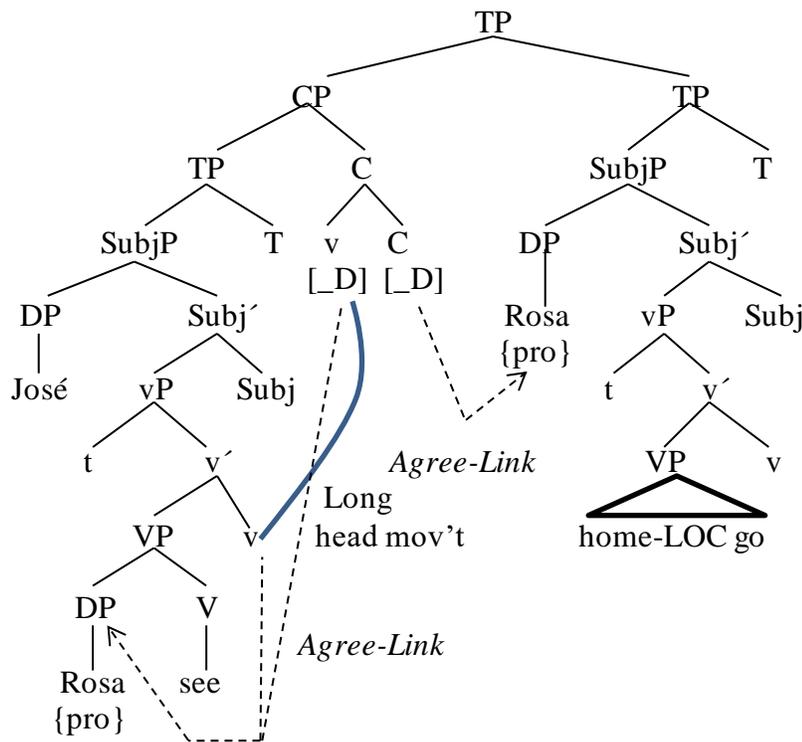
To get to this result, it is not enough to have just one pointer from a functional head like *v* to a DP. One such pointer is not naturally interpreted as coreferentiality, because *v* is not referential. What is needed is pointers from the same functional head to two different DPs. B&CS discuss two distinct ways that this could happen. One possibility is that a single functional head can undergo Agree more than once (cf. Hiraiwa 2005), now understood as multiple Agree-Link, as allowed by (30a). B&CS: 1086-1087 claim that this option is used in languages like Choctaw, where same-subject SR is the result of C in the embedded clause Agreeing both

⁵ Note that, unlike some earlier work in this tradition, B&CS do not assume that late-applying Agree-Copy is to be equated with Agree-Copy applying in PF. We assume that Agree-Copy always happens in syntax, so that whether it deletes the pointers inserted by Agree-Link is uniformly visible to LF. This captures the observed negative correlation between instances of Agree that create referential dependency and instances that result in phi-features on the probing head (see B&CS: 1075-1078 for discussion and alternatives).

upward with the matrix subject and downward with the embedded subject. Alternatively, two distinct heads could undergo Agree-Link once each and then join together when one of the heads adjoins to the other as the result of head movement. B&CS claim that the Panoan languages use this option, where same subject marking is the result of T Agreeing downward with the embedded subject and C Agreeing upward with the matrix subject, T then moving to C. The resulting network of pointers is essentially the same in Choctaw and the Panoan languages, but the morphological details of same-subject marking are a bit different. In Choctaw, same-subject marking occurs outside of the C head and is compatible with normal tense-aspect and subject agreement morphology on the verb. In contrast, in the Panoan languages the same-subject markers themselves express aspectual distinctions (perfective vs imperfective) as well as subordination, and they are in complementary distribution with the morphemes that express these notions in other contexts, as well as with subject agreement. The distinctive OS construction is another instance of the second option, where *v* undergoes Agree-Link with the lower object and C does so with the matrix subject. The two then come together via head movement—in this case a long head movement of *v* to C skipping over the functional heads related to the subject (Voice and Subj). In this way, the Panoan languages express a referential dependency between an object of the adjunct clause and the subject of the matrix clause, while leaving the subject of the embedded clause undisturbed, outside of the SR calculations. The structure in (31b) summarizes this analysis graphically for a canonical OS example like (31a).

- (31) a. [José-kan Rosa oin-a]=ra, *pro* xobo-n ka-ke.
 José-ERG Rosa see-OS=EV she house-LOC go-PFV
 ‘When José_i saw Rosa_j, she_j went home.’

b.



Technically, this is all driven by the lexical properties of the functional heads involved. The embedded *v* is specified as a probe looking for a D-feature ($_D$) which does not have unvalued phi feature slots; therefore, it enters into Agree-Link with the highest DP in its VP (or ApplP) complement, but it does not trigger subsequent Agree-Copy. Similarly, the embedded C is a D-probe (also $_D$) without phi-feature slots, so it enters into Agree-Link but not Agree-Copy with the matrix subject. B&CS argue that this happens when CP is in its base position, adjoined to *v*P, before CP optionally extraposes to the edge of the sentence, where it is shown in (31b). In addition, *v* is specified as being an affix to C and/or C is specified as being an affix to *v*. This causes *v* to move to C, carrying the tail of its pointer with it. Since this is a long head movement, skipping over T/Subj, it is much more marked than simple head movement, but not impossible (Roberts 2010).⁶ The markedness of this type of head movement is why OS constructions are typologically rarer than same-subject constructions, which can result from the simple local head movement of Tense to C. Then at PF the complex head [_C *v*_[D]+ C_[D,subj]] is spelled out as *-a*, by the Vocabulary Insertion rules of Shipibo and Yawanawa. Finally at LF, the structure is interpreted semantically by QRing a pointer to DP (*Rosa* in (31b)) to the top of the construction and replacing the two pointed-to pronouns/traces with two instances of a variable bound by the same lambda operator. Therefore, (31a) has the meaning: *Rosa* λx [[when José saw *x*] *x* went home].

The upshot is that in this analysis of SR—which covers same-subject constructions as well as OS—there is a grammatically mandated referential dependency between two DPs that do not c-command each other. This is mediated by functional heads that are in c-command relationships with the relevant DPs and thus are in a position to Agree with them. This technology can now be used complete the analysis of the OCD constructions. Recall that a crucial theoretical question that arose by the end of section 2 was how can a D (a weak pronoun) adjoined to *v* be forced to be referentially dependent on the object, and why does this have the formal properties of Agree? Using the notions employed in switch-reference, I now answer as follows. We may suppose that Amharic has a *v* that is lexically specified as being a multiple probe for D features ($_D$, $_D$), but as having no phi-feature slots—the same properties that embedded Cs can have in Choctaw. I also assume that this special *v* selects an element of category D to adjoin to it, as a further (probably related) lexical property.⁷ Because of its $_D$

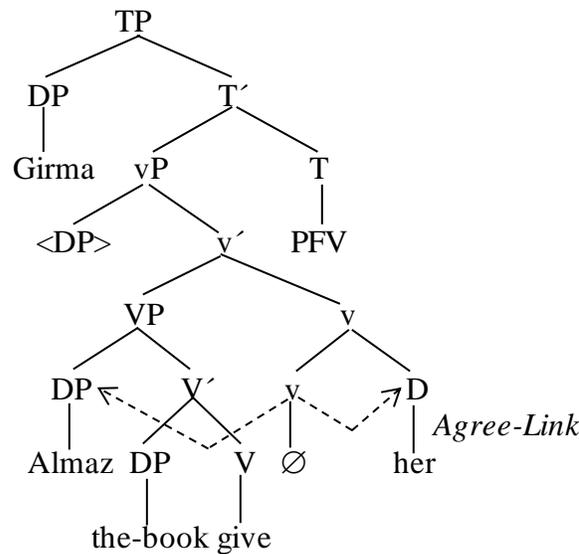
⁶ The claim that Agreeing *v* in OS constructions skips over the head(s) responsible for hosting and licensing the subject (e.g. T, or more precisely Subj in B&CS’s full implementation) captures the fact that the syntax of subjects is normal in OS constructions, and they are not involved in this form of SR. However, the head movement does not have to be long in the more radical sense of violating the Phase Impenetrability Condition. I claim below that the phase head at the clause level is Fin, and *v* can perfectly well skip T/Subj but land in Fin on the way to its final destination in C/Force. (I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this issue.)

⁷ The property of *v* selecting a D adjoined to it may seem redundant with the property of *v* probing for D features in a certain way. Perhaps one of these properties could be deduced from the other somehow. For example, one might explore the idea that Ds can freely adjoin to any head, but they only pass the principle of Full Interpretation if the head they adjoin to has the probing features needed to link D to another DP in a thematic position. The challenge for this less redundant theory would be to show that it does not overgenerate. (I thank an anonymous reviewer for pressing me on this point.) For example, the heads involved in OS switch-reference cannot by themselves license a DP merged into a nonthematic position. If they could, one might generate crazy sentences like *[[Juan her call]-OS Maria rained], meaning ‘When Juan called her=Maria, it rained’, where ‘Maria’ in the matrix clause is not licensed by any thematic role of that clause, but only by being linked to the object ‘her’ in the embedded clause by pointers. To avoid taking on the task of ruling out all such sentences, I adopt for now the safer view that argumental D(P)s can only be first-merged into positions where they satisfy a selectional property of the head of the category they

features, *v* enters into Agree-Link with the two closest D(P)s to it. These are the D adjoined to *v* and the highest DP inside the VP (or ApplP) complement of *v*. This gives a structure like (32b) as the syntactic representation for a clitic doubling example like (17a) in Amharic, repeated here as (32a).⁸

- (32) a. Girma **lä-Almaz** mäs'haf-u-n sät't'-at (*sät't'-ä-w)
 Girma.M DAT-Almaz.F book-DEF.M-ACC give.PFV.3.M.SG.SBJ)-3.F.SG.OBJ -3.M.S.OBJ
 'Girma gave the book to Almaz.' (Kramer 2014: 600)

b.



Then at LF these pointers from *v* are interpreted as referential dependency holding between D and the DP *Almaz*. More specifically, *Almaz* undergoes QR and then its trace and D are understood as two variables bound by a single lambda operator, the lambda function taking *Almaz* as its argument: *Almaz* λx [Girma *x*-gave *x* a book]. Since D is not in a thematic position, its direct contribution here is relatively trivial, and the construction with clitic doubling is not any different in its thematic meaning than a construction without it.⁹ Nevertheless, I assume that this co-binding relationship with the thematically licensed object position is sufficient for D to pass muster with respect to Full Interpretation. Furthermore, since D and the trace of DP are both variables bound by *Almaz*, D must be compatible with *Almaz* in phi-features in the way that pronouns understood as bound variables must have phi-features that are compatible with their

merge with. (I also assume that only a bare head D can adjoin-merge with a head like *v* because of some version of Chomsky's (1986) structure preservation principle.)

⁸ Here I assume that *v* still c-commands DPs inside VP even if a D adjoins to it. Technically, this might be seen as an instance of the cyclic expansion of probing, along the lines of Béjar and Rezac (2009). However, even if cyclic expansion does not hold for specifier constructions, it still might for adjunctions to heads.

⁹ Examples with OCD are not identical to examples without OCD in Amharic and other languages in every respect. There is a not-very-well-specified sense that a doubled object is a more prominent discourse topic than an undoubled object; see Leslau (1995: 186) for pertinent observations on this. I do not discuss this information-structure difference here. Note also that either the Weak Crossover condition and the Binding theory apply before D is converted into a variable, or the variable retains a feature that identifies it as being pronominal in nature.

binders. For example, in (32) D must be feminine, singular, and third person because these are the features of the DP *Almaz*.¹⁰ This captures the essential properties of the OCD construction.

This gives us a unified account of OCD and the OS construction that brings out the high-level parallels between the two. In both cases, obligatory coreference between two D projections that do not c-command each other is mediated by strategically placed functional heads such as *v* (and *C*, for OS). Since *v* enters into Agree with a DP inside its domain, both constructions show the formal restrictions that are characteristic of Agree: the doubled DP of the OCD construction and the pivot DP in the adjunct clause of the OS construction can be a highest object, but cannot be a lower object, the object of a P, or the possessor of the object; whether they can be an object with oblique case varies microparametrically.

We can now discern one additional substantive similarity between the two constructions. A notable feature of the OS (and same-subject) constructions that guides B&CS's account is that the mediating heads do not manifest the phi-features of the DPs that they point to. Thus, there is an inverse relationship between functional heads inducing referential dependencies and functional heads varying in phi-features. This stems from the fact that pointer deletion is built into Agree-Copy in (30b), and LF always sees whether Agree-Copy happened or not (see note 5). Therefore, if phi-features are transferred, the pointer that LF reads as referential dependency is necessarily deleted. The analogous result in the domain of OCD is that the *v* that induces referential dependency between the D adjoined to *v* and the direct object does not itself manifest agreement with the direct object, in addition to D matching the object in phi-features. This is correct, in that Amharic, Greek, relevant Bantu languages, and other canonical OCD languages do not show object agreement on the verb on top of the object clitic doubling. This is a nontrivial result, which does not follow from other partly similar accounts in which *v* entering into Agree with the object is taken to be a necessary precursor to D moving from the object to adjoin to *v*, as in Béjar and Rezac (2003), Rezac (2008), Nevins (2011), Preminger (2014), Kramer (2014), and others. On this view, one might well expect to see overt object agreement in addition to the clitic doubling in at least some of the languages that have OCD. But in fact, this is rare or impossible, just as it is rare or impossible for an SR marker to manifest phi-features. If this generalization holds up, OCD constructions are indeed another instance of Agree without agreement.¹¹

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer points out that on this view, assuming that the phi-features on the clitic D are interpreted as presuppositions concerning the referent of the variable somewhat independently of those associated with the doubled DP, interesting cases of mismatch might arise when the DP has a grammatical gender or number that is different from those canonically associated with its referent. One could then investigate whether the clitic can express the natural features of the referent, rather than the idiosyncratic grammatical features of the doubled DP, as is possible in some cases of bound pronoun anaphora. In fact, such cases cannot arise for gender in Amharic, since it has only natural gender. Number features might present relevant cases, where one could imagine examples like 'I them-respect the committee[SG]', similar to *The committee says that they will consider our request* in English. I do not know of such cases in Amharic, but the matter deserves investigation. (I thank Ruth Kramer for discussion of this point.)

¹¹ An anonymous reviewer suggests Kashmiri (Wali and Koul 1997) and Basque (Arregi and Nevins 2012) as languages that might have agreement along with clitics doubling the same argument. These are good suggestions for further study, but I believe that no easy immediate results are available. For example, core agreement in Kashmiri is with objects only in past/perfective clauses where the subject is ergative (as in Hindi), so it is arguably more like subject agreement than like object agreement. Second, it is unknown whether the optional "clitics" in Kashmiri have the kinds of interactions with quantified DPs and anaphors that show them to be pronouns according to B&K. It is possible, then, that Kashmiri really has a form of bimorphemic agreement (possibly the result of fission in the DM sense) rather than agreement plus clitic doubling. This cannot be settled by casual grammar reading, unfortunately.

X.5 Facing some apparent differences between clitic doubling and switch-reference

Just as it is rare in construction projects for two pieces of wood to fit together perfectly without a bit of shaving or banging, so it is with linguistic theory. In pursuing a unified analysis of two disparate-looking phenomena, there are always some apparent disanalogies that need to be addressed, alongside the analogies that motivate the unification. So it is in this case. Up to this point, I have emphasized the analogies between OCD and OS constructions. Now it is time to face the apparent differences, to see if everything can be shaved or banged into place.

One apparent difference between the two constructions is that the OS construction has an overt exponent of the special *v* that has the probing feature [_D] but no phi-feature slots, namely *-a*, whereas there is no special exponent of the *v* with probing feature [_D] but no phi-feature slots that I have posited in the OCD constructions. There are technically different *vs* present in an Amharic example without OCD, like (33a), and an example with OCD, like (33b). But we do not see any morphological difference: the verb form is identical in both examples, apart from the presence of the *D* head itself in (33b). The Agree-without-agreement hypothesis explains why (33b) doesn't have object agreement in addition to clitic doubling, but it doesn't explain why there is no nonagreeing manifestation of the special *v*.

- (33) a. Läm̄ma wiff̄fa-w-in ayy-ä. (Amharic, =(1a))
Lemma.M dog-DEF.M-ACC see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ
'Lemma saw the dog.'
- b. Läm̄ma wiff̄fa-w-in ayy-ä-w. (Amharic, =(1c))
Lemma.M dog-DEF.M-ACC see.PFV-3.M.SG.SBJ-3.M.SG.OBJ
'Lemma saw the dog.'

I suggest that there is no need to worry much about this difference, however. It is well-known that *v* often has little or no systematic overt realization anyway, especially in ordinary active constructions. If *v* is normally realized as \emptyset (for reasons not entirely clear), then it is not too surprising that the *v* with a double [_D] feature and the *v* without one are both realized as \emptyset , and hence do not contrast with each other. In contrast, *-a* in the Panoan OS constructions is not just a realization of *v* with a [_D] feature; it is a realization of *v* with a [_D] feature adjoined to a subordinate *C* with its own [_D] feature. Unlike *v*, subordinate *C* is spelled out as an overt morpheme in most languages. Perhaps then the fact that the mediating head has a special realization in Panoan OS but not in Amharic OCD is due to the fact that the former involves subordinate *C* but the latter does not. The question now arises whether any language ever has different *v* morphology in examples with and without clitic doubling. My assumptions suggest that this could be possible, especially in languages that do realize different flavors of *v* in systematically different ways. However, I have no positive example to suggest, and I leave this matter open.

Another issue to consider is the fact that OS morphology in Panoan contrasts with "different subject" morphology, which is used when the object (and the subject) of the embedded clause is not coreferential with the matrix subject. Thus, the canonical OS example in (34a) contrasts with (34b), where the matrix subject pronoun is not understood as referring to Rosa and the embedded verb bears the suffix *-tian* rather than the OS suffix *-a*.

- (34) a. [Jose-kan Rosa oin-**a**]=ra, xobo-n ka-ke. (Shipibo)
 José-ERG Rosa.ABS see-OS=EV house-LOC go-PFV
 ‘When José_i saw Rosa_j, she_j went home.’
- b. [Jose-kan Rosa oin-ke-**tian**]=ra, (ja) xobo-n ka-ke.
 José-ERG Rosa.ABS see-PFV-DS=EV 3.SG home-LOC go-PFV
 ‘When José_i saw Rosa_j, he_m/she_k (someone else) went home.’

Taking this observation over to OCD, we might describe the clitic doubling construction as a “same-clitic” construction (because the clitic is constrained to be coreferential with the object) and then wonder why there is no contrasting “different-clitic” construction, in which the clitic adjoined to *v* is required to be different in reference from the direct object. We have already seen that it is impossible for *v* to bear a D that does not refer to the object (or anything else) in Amharic, as shown in (16a), repeated here as (35).

- (35) *Almaz Aster-in ayy-ät[ʃ]-**äw**. (Shipibo)
 Almaz.F Aster.F-ACC see.PFV-3.F.SG.SBJ-3.M.SG.OBJ
 (‘Almaz (him)-saw Aster.’)

The idea that *vs* of many different flavors are (arguably) spelled out as \emptyset in Amharic might account for why (35) does not have a verbal affix that is different from anything in an OCD example like (33b), but it does not explain why nothing like (35) is possible at all.

Fortunately, an explanation for the badness of (35) is already at hand, mentioned in passing in the discussion so far. A special property of the OCD construction is that the D adjoined to *v* is not in a thematic position, where it can receive a thematic role from the verb. Therefore, it violates the Theta Criterion unless it is linked grammatically to some other DP that is in a thematic position, such as the direct object. Agree-Link creates this connection, following B&K’s intuition (see (20)). Therefore, Agree-Link is de facto obligatory in this context, and a “different-clitic” alternative like (35) is ill-formed. In contrast, both of the pointed-to DPs in an OS construction are in argument positions: one receives a thematic role as the object of the embedded verb; the other receives a thematic role as the subject of the matrix verb. Therefore, both are licensed apart from the operation of Agree-Link, so Agree-Link is optional in this configuration from the perspective of the Theta-Criterion/Full Interpretation. A distinct construction without Agree-Link applying is thus also possible, as in (34b).

Next up are a cluster of questions regarding what can enter into Agree with what, and whether this is the same in the OS and OCD constructions. The point of similarity that I have emphasized is that in both constructions *v* probes downward in the usual Chomskian way to Agree with the highest object in its domain. But the other Agree relations involved in the two constructions seem less canonical. For example, in the OS construction, the embedded C enters into Agree-Link with the matrix subject. By hypothesis, this happens when the CP is in its base position, adjoined to *v*P, before optional extraposition, so the matrix subject does *c*-command the probing C head. However, this is still a case of upward Agree rather than downward Agree. B&CS: 1079 already discuss this some: they follow Baker (2008) in assuming that Agree-(Link) is in principle possible both when the probe *c*-commands the goal and when the goal *c*-commands the probe, subject to some crosslinguistic variation. This makes it possible for C to Agree upward with the matrix subject. B&CS also suggest that phase theory may make upward

agreement necessary in this case, if “C” here is really Rizzi’s (1997) Force head, very high in the clausal spine, while some lower C-like head (e.g. Fin) is a phase head, making it impossible for C/Force to agree downward with something inside the embedded clause instead. (This follows Carstens’s (2016) suggestion about upward C-agreement in some Bantu languages.) I carry these assumptions forward here.¹²

Are there any further issues as to what *v* can Agree with in the OCD construction? In addition to the highest object, *v* agrees with D adjoined to *v*. This D is so close to *v* that it is plausible to assume that *v* can enter into Agree with it whatever syntactic restrictions one thinks hold of Agree, whether it is upward or downward. The potentially tricky point in this construction is what happens if the special *v* with two [_D] probes but no phi-feature slots is picked in the numeration for a particular sentence, but no D is adjoined to that *v*. In this case, it is conceivable that *v* could still undergo Agree-Link twice, once with the highest object, and once with some other full DP in the clause—either the thematic subject, or a second object if the verb is a ditransitive one. These links would also be interpreted as referential dependencies, creating a type of reflexive clause (see B&CS section 6 for an Agree-without-agreement analysis of reflexive voice in Shipibo and other languages). This would give the very odd situation that a clause with a particular *v*, call it *v** (∅ or not), would have clitic doubling if a clitic is present, but it would form reflexive sentences like *John criticized-v** meaning ‘John criticized himself’ and/or *Mary showed-v* John* meaning ‘Mary showed John himself’ if no clitic is present. Presumably we want to rule out this odd state of affairs. At least for now, my assumption is that these cases cannot arise because the *v* that bears two [_D] probes also selects for a D adjoined to it. This assumption was tactically useful above (see note 7), and now also rules out these undesirable possibilities.¹³

Overall, then, there are some topics to discuss and think about more in having a complete and unified analysis of this range of structures, but I see no strong barrier to the Agree without agreement approach lurking in this material.¹⁴

X.6 On the generality of this analysis of clitic doubling

I conclude this work by facing a possible concern about the generality of this analysis of OCD. We saw in section 2 that pronominal clitics in Amharic (whether they double an overt DP or not) are adjoined to *v*. This can be seen in sentences that have both an auxiliary and a main verb: the clitic attaches to the main verb, not the auxiliary, as seen in (8), repeated as (36a). However, Romance languages are different in this regard, in that a pronominal object clitic attaches to the finite auxiliary, not to the main verb. This is true both for languages like French, which do not

¹² An anonymous reviewer asks whether agreement out of an adjunct phrase should be blocked, even apart from phase theory, by some kind of (generalized version of) the adjunct island condition. In short, I assume that the answer is no. There are, for example, instances of an adjunct clause agreeing overtly in case with an NP in the matrix clause in languages like Warlpiri (Simpson 1991). The issue deserves more careful study, though.

¹³ One could probably also get the necessary result that *v* can Agree with D adjoined to it but not with the thematic subject by distinguishing Voice from *v* in a finer analysis of the verbal space, but I do not explore that here.

¹⁴ An untested and perhaps untestable prediction of my theory is that OS examples with the right kind of quantified DP as the pivot should violate Weak Crossover, e.g. in an example like “When(OS) José criticized him, every boy cried.” The referential dependency induced by the agreeing functional head would not render this condition moot, parallel to the fact that there is a weak crossover violation in OCD examples like (2). The prediction seems to be untestable because the Panoan languages do not have the right quantifiers; see Camargo Souza (2020: 217-219).

have clitic doubling ((36b)), and for languages that do have OCD, such as Latin American dialects of Spanish, Romanian, and southern dialects of Italian ((36c)).

- (36) a. Lämma (**wiffa-w-in**) [y-ay-äw]-all. (Amharic)
 Lemma.M dog-DEF.M-ACC 3.M.SG.SBJ-see-IPFV-3.M.SG.OBJ-AUX.3.M.SG.SBJ
 ‘Lemma sees it/the dog.’
- b. Je l’ai peinte, (la maison). (French, Roberts 2010: 76)
 I it-have painted the house
 ‘I have painted it, (the house).’
- c. L’aggiu salutato a Ciccio. (Neapolitan, Roberts 2010: 130)
 him-have.1.SG greeted A Ciccio
 ‘I have greeted Ciccio.’

Given the morpheme order in examples like (36b,c), there is a venerable tradition in Romance linguistics of saying that object clitics adjoin not to *v* but to *T*—a high position in the architecture of the clause, and the landing site of the verb that is inflected for tense and subject agreement. If this is all there is to clitic placement in Romance, then the prospects for having a unified B&K-style analysis of OCD across this range of languages may seem rather dim. The reason is that our account depends on a functional head entering into Agree with both the adjoined clitic and the direct object, so as to create a licensing referential dependency between the two. When the head that the clitic *D* adjoins to is relatively low, like *v*, this is straightforward. But if the clitic *D* adjoins directly to a high head, like *T*, then there is no one functional head that can plausibly enter into Agree with both the clitic and the direct object: *v* can Agree with the direct object, but the clitic would be too high, arguably in a different phase; *T* could Agree with the clitic adjoined to it, but not with the direct object because (the base position of) the subject intervenes. Indeed, we can observe directly that *T* in Romance agrees with the subject, not the object, since *ai* and *aggiu* in (36b,c) are 1st person singular forms. If there is nothing else to be said, then, it seems like the current analysis of OCD in Amharic cannot be extended to Romance varieties with OCD.

Fortunately, there is more to say, clitic placement being a rather intricate topic in the Romance languages. Roberts (2010: sec. 3.4) faces essentially the same problem as the current account does, since his theory of clitics also depends on Agree holding between the clitic’s host and the theta-position of the object argument (although the details of the two theories are quite different, since Roberts does not focus on clitic doubling constructions, and he is not concerned with the referentiality restrictions that arise in them). To address this, he argues that clitics in Romance are initially generated on the lowest *v* node of the construction—exactly where they surface in Amharic—and then they move higher in examples like (36b,c), by a form of head movement. One piece of data he presents in favor of this hypothesis is (37) from French, which has an infinitival verb rather than a finite verb.

- (37) Souvent l-embrasser, sa femme, c’est bien. (Roberts 2010: 46)
 often her-kiss.INF one’s wife it-is good
 ‘It is good to often kiss her, one’s wife.’

Infinitival verbs in French crucially do not move to the T position, as shown by the fact that they can follow adverbs like *souvent* ‘often’, whereas finite verbs in French must precede such adverbs (Pollock 1989). Nevertheless, the object clitic still adjoins to the left of the verb in (37).¹⁵ The clitic cannot be adjoined to T here, which by hypothesis is to the left of (above) the adverb. Therefore, it must be adjoined to a lower functional head—such as *v*. It is plausible, then, to say that object clitics always initially target this low position in Romance languages, but they can show up higher either because they are carried along by the verb moving to T (in finite clauses with simple verbs) or because they are attached to a higher *v* node associated with an auxiliary verb. If Roberts (2010) is right about this, then a unified analysis of OCD in Amharic and the relevant IE languages should be possible after all. *v* can mediate between the direct object and the lowest position of the clitic, creating a licensing referential dependency between the two, and subsequent movement of the clitic higher will not disrupt this.

In principle, it should also be possible to first-merge a D-head directly with T rather than *v*. We expect this to be possible when it is T (rather than *v*) that lexically selects a D and has the [_D]-probing features needed to license it by linking it to another DP. However, this situation would result in *subject* clitic doubling, rather than object clitic doubling, since T is positioned to enter into Agree with the subject rather than the object. This could very well be the analysis of subject clitics in certain Northern Italian dialects—particularly those like Venetian in which referential DP subjects can be doubled but quantifiers like ‘nobody’ cannot be, a pattern similar to (2) in Amharic (Poletto 2000: 140-141; Roberts 2010: sec. 3.5; see also B&K: 1073n.38 for some comparison of object clitic doubling and subject clitic doubling).¹⁶

More generally, from a crosslinguistic perspective, one can imagine a D adjoining to practically any functional head, as long as that head selects it and is close enough to some fully licensed DP position that it can link D to that position by Agree-Link. This could result in a whole family of clitic doubling constructions. For example, D adjoined to a nominal functional head like D or Poss could result in the clitic doubling of possessors, as in Hebrew perhaps (Borer 1983). Similarly, D adjoined to P could create clitic doubling of the object of a preposition; some Celtic languages like Welsh may be candidates for having this. Languages then of course differ as to which particular true pronominal clitic doubling constructions they actually have, drawn from this space of grammatical possibilities. This variation can readily be encoded in the lexical properties of the various functional heads in the language: which ones happen to have the properties of selecting for D and probing for [_D] features but not phi-features. Exactly which

¹⁵ French is different from many other Romance languages in having clitic-infinitive order rather than infinitive-clitic order in nonfinite clauses. Roberts (2010: 84) claims that the clitic still adjoins to *v* in other languages, but the infinitive (perhaps because it is “less verbal”) does not move to *v* but rather straight to a higher position to the left of the clitic’s host. If so, then these clauses also show that Romance clitics initially merge with a low functional head.

¹⁶ An interesting further question would be whether normal subject agreement tends to be impoverished in Romance varieties that have true subject clitic doubling in the B&K sense. The answer is “maybe yes.” For example, Cardinaletti and Repetti (2010: 129) observe that distinct agreement for 2nd singular, 3rd singular, and 3rd plural has been lost in Bellunese—the very parts of the paradigm where subject clitics occur. However, some distinct agreement forms are found along with subject clitics in some other Venetian dialects. If there is a negative correlation overall, this could be new support for B&CS’s hypothesis that a functional head mediates referential dependency only if it does not copy phi-features from its goals, because pointer-deletion built into Agree-Copy. (If however it turns out that there is no inverse relationship between subject clitics and subject agreement in this domain, it could be because the T-space is further decomposed, such that one head undergoes Agree-Copy, and a second nearby head, perhaps Subj, undergoes only Agree-Link with the adjoined D and the subject.)

constructions that have been described informally as involving either clitic doubling or optional agreement are actually to be analyzed in this way is a topic for future research.

X.7 Conclusion

In this work, I have presented a puzzle that arises within a certain theory of object clitic doubling as it is found in Amharic, but also apparently in plenty of other languages. On the one hand, the object clitic seems to behave like a referential element—a pronoun—that does not c-command the object DP that it doubles. Evidence for this is that it induces weak crossover violations when doubling a nonreferential quantifier and Principle B violations when doubling an anaphor, but it does not induce a Principle C violation when doubling an ordinary DP or a strong crossover violation when doubling a referential/D-linked quantifier. On the other hand, the object clitic seems to have an Agree-like relationship with the doubled element, both in that it matches an object in features and in that its relationship to a matching DP obeys the formal conditions on Agree, including intervention, phase-boundedness, and the parametrically varying influence of oblique case features. However, it seems that the clitic cannot enter into Agree with the doubled object if it does not c-command the doubled object. There is thus a tension between the pronominal properties of the construction and its Agree-theoretic properties.

I have also proposed a resolution to this puzzle, by claiming that it is not the clitic itself that enters into Agree with the doubled object, but there is a functional head *v* that enters into Agree with both the clitic and the doubled object. I show that this hypothesis can be fleshed out using the same theoretical resources that Baker and Camargo Souza (2020) use to account for switch-reference phenomena, including the object=subject construction in Shipibo and Yawanawa. The idea is that a functional head can undergo Arregi and Nevins’s (2012) Agree-Link with two distinct DPs without undergoing Agree-Copy (“Agree without agreement”). When this happens, the existence of pointers from the same functional head to two distinct DPs is interpreted as the two DPs being coreferential—bound by the same lambda operator—at LF. This is just what is needed to complete the analysis of object clitic doubling. I show that this analysis captures several high-level but substantive similarities between object clitic doubling and the object=subject switch-reference construction, including the fact that both crucially involve the same Agree-theoretic notion of “object” and both have obligatory coreference without c-command. Finally, I considered a few differences between the two constructions, arguing that they are relatively minor, and need not undermine the unified approach. The door is also open to using the same analysis for object clitic doubling in Romance languages and other IE languages, as long as the higher surface position that clitics often (but not always) have in these languages can be attributed to a process of clitic climbing that takes the clitic from *v* to a higher head. Other kinds of clitic doubling can plausibly be generated by adjoining D to other heads (T, D/Poss, P,..), but exploration of this is left to future research.

Abbreviations:

The following abbreviations are used in this paper, in addition to standard ones from the Leipzig glossing conventions: B&CS, Baker and Camargo Souza (2020); B&K, Baker and Kramer (2018); CONTR, contrastive; DESID, desiderative; DS, different subject; EV, evidential particle; INTENS, intensive; OS, object=subject coreference; OCD, object clitic doubling; SR, switch-reference; SS, same subject.

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