

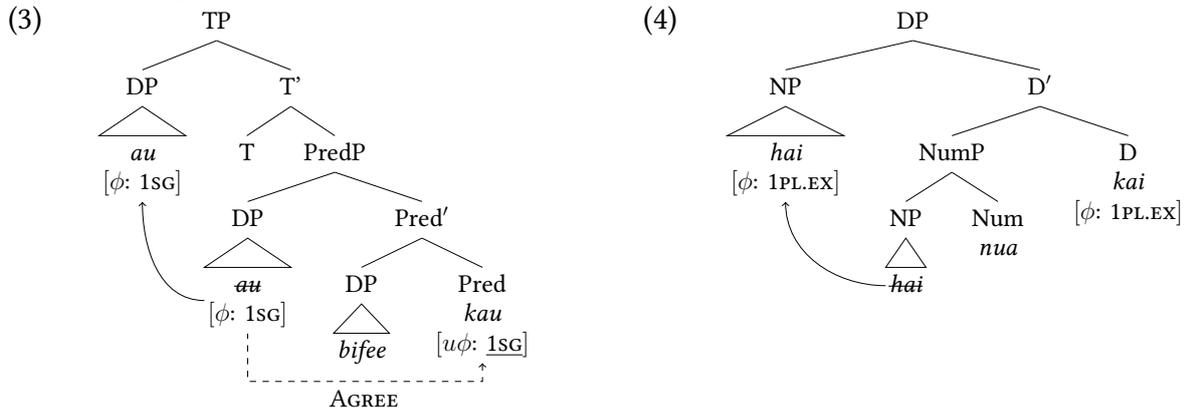
Two Types of Pronoun Doubling in Amarasi

1. Overview Much work has been devoted to clitic doubling and distinguishing true object agreement from clitic pronouns (Kramer 2014, Anagnostopoulou 2017, Kramer & Baker 2018, *a.o.*) This paper investigates an apparent case of the more typologically unusual full pronoun doubling in Amarasi (Austronesian: South-West Timor.) Amarasi shows doubling in two contexts: copula constructions (1) and quantified pronominal arguments (2), which involve a nominative pronoun and its oblique ‘double’ bracketing a predicate or numeral respectively:

- (1) **Au** bifee **kau.** (2) **Hai** nua **kai** mi-mnei.
 1SG.NOM woman 1SG.OBL 1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL 1PL.EX-dream
 ‘I am a woman.’ ‘The two of us dream.’

This paper provides novel evidence that these two surface-similar constructions have distinct derivations; while Copular Pronoun Doubling (CPD) involves a pronominal copula heading a PredP, Argument Pronoun Doubling (APD) involves both predicative NP and D head clitic pronouns. This paper i) builds on the ‘clitic doubling’ debate with new data from full pronouns, where Amarasi needs both agreement and clitic pronouns in differing constructions; ii) further evidences the existence of non-verbal copulas and predicative NP pronouns; and iii) expands on the notion of a pronominal case competitor under Dependent Case Theory (Baker 2015) .

2. CPD vs. APD I propose the following two structures for CPD (3) and APD (4) respectively, incorporating the head-finality of Amarasi PredPs and DPs (canonical N-Adj-Num-D order):



Following Citko’s (2008) proposed π P in Polish, CPD involves a PredP small clause headed by a pronominal copula which merges the predicate as its complement and the subject of predication in its Spec. APD has a smaller structure, which involves a ‘Big DP’ (Uriagereka 1995 *a.o.*) where the clitic is a D head and the element it doubles is in its Spec. Crucially, unlike Uriagereka’s use of a *pro* which is complement to D and co-referent with the doubled element, the doubled pronoun in Amarasi raises to Spec DP from this complement position. Both structures lack a head (v/P) capable of assigning oblique case to the second pronoun. However, as these pronouns are c-commanded by the higher pronominal NP, their case marking is easily accounted for as dependent case if we assume that the Pred and D head retain enough (pro)nominal flavour to count as case competitors. Several differences between CPD and APD fall out from the proposed structures; most obviously, CPD may occur as a standalone clause (1), unlike APD (6). CPD allows bracket negation around the intermediate constituent (7a) with the subject pronoun raising above NegP, while APD does not (7b) due to a ban on Left Branch Extraction. For a similar reason, the CPD construction may be a relative clause (8a), unlike the non-clausal APD (8b); this also shows that APD is not a reduced relative with CPD. Finally, APD triggers verb agreement (2), while CPD shows default clausal agreement (9).

Diagnostic	CPD	APD
Standalone clause	✓	✗
Negation	✓	✗
Relative Clause	✓	✗
Verb Agreement	✗	✓

- (6) *Hai nua kai.
 1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL
 Intended: ‘We are two.’

- (7) a. Hi **ka** kninu' ki **fa**. b. *Hi **ka** nua ki **fa** m-nao.
 2PL.NOM NEG holy 2PL.OBL NEG 2PL.NOM NEG two 2PL.OBL NEG 2PL-go
 'You are not holy.' Intended: 'Not two of you go.'
- (8) a. Hi **re'** atoin Yahudis ki b. *Hi **re'** nua ki m-nao.
 2PL.NOM REL man Jewish 2PL.OBL 2PL.NOM REL two 2PL.OBL 2PL-go
 'You who are Jewish ...' Intended: 'You who are two go.'
- (9) [_{CP} Hit **ka** ma-fuut =ein kit **fa** =goen] **n-ok** atoran **re'** naan
 1PL.IN.NOM NEG PROP-tie =PL 1PL.IN.OBL NEG =INCEP 3-with rules REL DEM
 'We are not in bondage through the rules here.'

3. Pronominal Copulas As proposed for Arabic (Eid 1983), Hebrew (Sichel 1997), Polish, and elsewhere, and typologically common in East Indonesia (Stassen 2003), Amarasi has a pronominal copula. This element is neither T nor v/V, but a Pred head. Key evidence comes from word order: both V and T are head-initial, as seen in V-O and Asp-V ordering (10), which would incorrectly predict the copula to be between the subject pronoun and predicate. Secondly, the copula cannot take verbal predicates with(out) agreement; Amarasi productively uses Serial Verb Constructions, such that (11) should be fine if the pronoun were v/V. Third, the copula cannot be bracket negated, unlike a verb (12a-b). Finally, a v/V analysis fails to explain why copulas cannot take prepositional predicates (13a), which freely occur with verbs (13b).

- (10) [_{TP} In **he** [_{VP} n-kius fafi]]. (11) *Ho **(m)-toko** ko
 3SG.NOM IRR 3-see pig 2SG.NOM (2SG)-sit 2SG.OBL
 'He will see a pig.' Intended: 'You are sitting.'
- (12) a. *Au bifee **ka** kau **fa**. b. In **ka** na-uab **fa**
 1SG.NOM woman NEG 1SG.OBL NEG 3SG.NOM NEG 3-talk NEG
 Intended: 'I am not a woman.' 'He does not talk.'
- (13) a. *Hit **et** umi kit b. Hai m-nao **et** po'on.
 1PL.IN.NOM LOC home 1PL.IN.COP 1PL.EX.NOM 1PL.EX-go LOC plantation
 Intended: 'We are at home.' 'We go to the plantation.'

There is evidence that locative 'prepositions' in Amarasi are verbs – they regularly take subject agreement, with the exception of *et*. Thus, (13b) is a SVC, while (13a) is ungrammatical in the same way as (11), due to the cross-linguistic inability of Pred to take verbal complements.

4. Predicative Pronouns The categorial status of the pronoun has proven to be complex, and has been shown to vary both within and across languages (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). Following Cardinaletti (1994) and Conrod (2019), I argue that their mixed NP/DP behaviour comes from some pronouns starting out low in N, before raising into the DP. Two predicative contexts provide evidence for these optionally low pronouns. Firstly, Amarasi pronouns often head restrictive relative clauses, which are commonly taken to attach below DP (14). Secondly, pronouns may combine with an enclitic determiner to form a 'possessum determiner' noun, referring to the items belonging to the referent co-indexed by the pronoun (15):

- (14) [_{RC} **Sin** re' n-toko-n n-bi-n naan] (15) Bait **ho** =gwi n-moni
 3PL.NOM REL 3-sit-PL 3-at-PL DEM actually 2SG.NOM =DET 3-live
 'Those who were sat there ...' 'Actually, when **yours** is alive'

5. References Anagnostopoulou (2017). Clitic doubling. Baker (2015). Case. Cardinaletti (1994). On the internal structure of pronominal DPs. Citko (2008). Small clauses reconsidered: Not so small and not all alike. Conrod (2019). Pronouns raising and emerging. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002). Decomposing pronouns. Eid (1983). The copula function of pronouns. Kramer (2014). Clitic doubling or object agreement: The view from Amharic. Kramer & Baker (2018). Doubled clitics are pronouns. Sichel (1997). Two pronominal copulas and the syntax of Hebrew nonverbal sentences. Stassen (2003). Intransitive Predication. Uriagereka (1995). Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance.