Two Types of Pronoun 'Doubling' in Amarasi⋆

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1   Overview

- This paper explores two apparent contexts for full pronoun doubling in Amarasi (South-West Timor), as found with copular clauses (1) and quantified (associative) arguments (2):

(1) **Au**   bifee **kau**.
     1SG.NOM woman 1SG.OBL
     'I am a woman.'

(2) **Hai**   nua **kai**   mi-mnei.
     1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL 1PL.EX-dream
     'The two of us dream.'

- In each case, a subject pronoun and its oblique counterpart bracket a predicate or numeral respectively. Despite their surface similarity, I argue that these two constructions involve distinct underlying structures.

- In particular, I will provide evidence that

  - Copular Pronoun Doubling (CPD) as in (1) involves a pronominal copula, instantiating a Pred head which bears full ϕ-agreement with the subject, while

  - Argument Pronoun Doubling (APD) as in (2) involves a predicative (low) pronoun, doubled by a D head.

- This full pronoun doubling parallels the existing debate in the clitic doubling literature: is the double instantiating (object) agreement or a clitic pronoun? (Preminger, 2009; Kramer, 2014; Anagnostopoulou, 2017)

  - The answer: in Amarasi, at least, it's both! (With some caveats)

- This paper:

  - Provides novel evidence for a fully-agreeing non-verbal copula that instantiates Pred (and not T or V)
  - Connects this to other types of predicative agreement cross-linguistically and person splits therein
  - Explores an unusual type of adnominal pronoun construction in which the predicate is also pronominal
  - Expands the inventory of possible case competitors under Dependent Case Theory (Baker, 2015)

1.1   Background

- Amarasi is a Timoric language, spoken in the Kupang Regency of South-West Timor.

  - Westernmost end of a complex language/dialect continuum falling under the umbrella of (Uab) Meto.
  - Two main sub-dialects, Ro'is and Kotos, with largely identical syntax but slight lexical differences
  - Data is from original fieldwork conducted in Desa Soba on Ro'is Amarasi, Edwards's (2017, 2020) work on Kotos Amarasi, and the Unit Bahasa & Budaya (2015) translation of the New Testament and Genesis.[1]
  - SVO, subject agreement prefixes, and no voice affixes. Most interestingly, it has productive synchronic metathesis, which allows us to differentiate between predicative and attributive uses:[2]

(3) a. fatu ko'u
         stone big
         'Stones are big.'

     b. faut   ko'u
         stone.MET big
         '(A) big stone.'   Edwards (2017: 3, ex. 5)
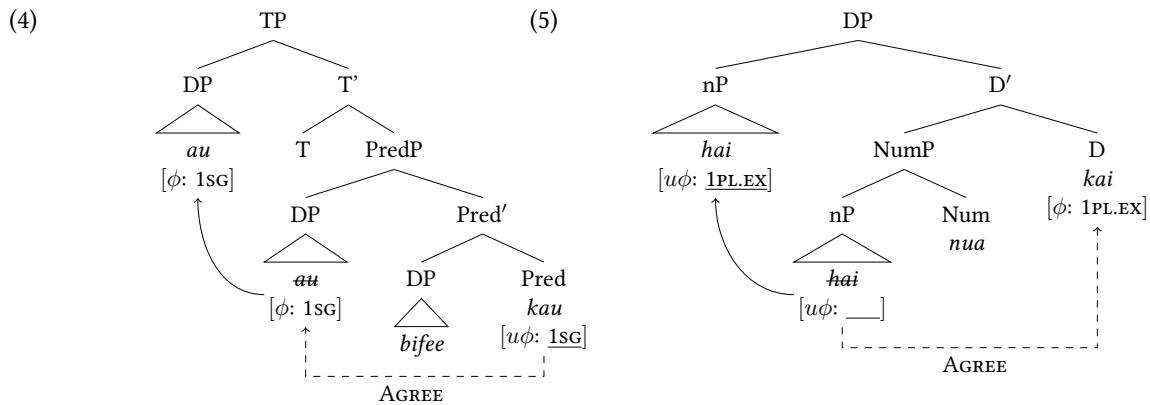
2   Copular vs. Argument Pronoun Doubling

- We'll begin by highlighting four main diagnostics showing how the two constructions in (1) - (2) have distinct distributions and behaviour

[1]This translation involved > 10 native speakers of different ages, genders, and education levels over the course of numerous iterations of checking and refining the text for naturalness and idiomaticity. This translation avoids calquing the Indonesian, Greek, or English versions of the Bible, and departs significantly from the constructions of those texts.

[2]Glossing: ABS - absolutive; COP - copula; DEM - demonstrative; DET - determiner; DST - distal; scep - epenthetic; EX - exclusive; F - feminine; FOC - focus; IN - inclusive; INCEP - inceptive; INTS - intensifier; IPFV - imperfective; IRR - irrealis; LOC - locative; MED - medial; MET - metathesised; N - neuter; NEG - negation; NML - nominaliser; NOM - nominative; M - masculine; OBL - oblique; PL - plural; POSS - possessive; PRED - predicate; PROP - property; PROX - proximal; PRT - particle; QN - question; REL - relativiser; RL - realis; SET - setting; SG - singular

- Basically, CPD and APD differ in ways which boil down to the fact that the former instantiates a clause, while the latter is much smaller, i.e. a DP. I posit the following two structures for CPD and APD respectively:

(4)

```
                TP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
         DP            T'
         △       ┌─────┴─────┐
        au       T          PredP
      [φ: 1SG]        ┌───────┴───────┐
                     DP              Pred'
                     △          ┌─────┴─────┐
                    au          DP         Pred
                  [φ: 1SG]      △          kau
                              bifee      [uφ: 1SG]
```

AGREE

(5)

```
                   DP
          ┌────────┴────────┐
         nP                 D'
         △            ┌──────┴──────┐
        hai          NumP           D
     [uφ: 1PL.EX]  ┌───┴───┐       kai
                  nP      Num    [φ: 1PL.EX]
                  △       nua
                 hai
               [uφ: ___]
```

AGREE

- There are four main pieces of evidence that confirm this C/TP vs. DP distinction.

2.1 Standalone Clauses

- Firstly, only the former copular construction may instantiate a standalone clause, and only the latter an argument:

(6) a. Hai   bifee   kai.
         1PL.IN.NOM woman 1PL.IN.OBL
         'We are women.'

     b. Hai   nua kai   mi-mnei.
         1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL 1PL.EX-dream
         'The two of us dream.'

(7) a. *Hai   nua kai.
         1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL
         Intended: 'We are two (people).'

     b. *Hai   bifee kai   mi-mnei.
         1PL.EX.NOM woman 1PL.EX.OBL 1PL.EX-dream.
         Intended: 'We/us women dream.'[3]

2.2 Negation

- Secondly, Amarasi has bracket negation whereby the clitics *ka=* and *=fa* surround either the verb or the VP. Whereas bracket negating the predicate (+ oblique pronoun) is possible with CPD, it is not with APD:

(8) a. Hi   **ka=** kninu' ki   **=fa**.
         2PL.NOM NEG holy 2PL.OBL NEG
         'You are not holy.'   [John 13:11]

     b. *Hi   **ka=** nua ki   **=fa** m-nao.
         2PL.NOM NEG two 2PL.OBL NEG 2PL-go
         Intended: 'You who aren't two go.'   (✓ *ka mnao fa*)

- The CPD subject obligatorily raises into Spec,TP, surfacing to the left of the negation proclitic and other sentential adverbs like temporal/modal *of* 'maybe, surely, later.'

(9) a. ***Ka=** hai   a-suntiru-s kai   **=fa**.
         NEG 1PL.EX.NOM NML-spy-NML 1PL.EX.OBL NEG
         Intended: 'We are not spies'

     b. Hi   **of** a-suntiru-s ki.
         2PL.NOM maybe NML-spy-NML 2PL.OBL
         'You might be spies.'   [Gen 42:9]

- In contrast, an independently-attested ban on Left Branch Extraction prevents the nP from raising from Spec, DP to Spec, TP in APD. This means that the entire DP must pied-pipe above negation:

(10) a. *Sekau es au   '-roim   aas   =gwe?
         who   FOC 1SG.NOM 1SG-like.MET dog.MET =DEF
         Intended: 'Whose dog do I like?'   (Possessor *wh*-extraction)

     b. *Hi   **ka=** nua ki   (=fa) m-nao
         2PL.NOM NEG two 2PL.OBL (NEG) 2SG-go
         Intended: 'You two don't go.'

     c. Hi   nua ki   **ka=** m-nao (=fa)
         2PL.NOM two 2PL.OBL NEG 2SG-go NEG
         'You two don't go.'

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[3]Although see later discussion on adnominals elsewhere in the language

2.3   Relative Clauses

- Third, CPD can form full relative clauses, while APD cannot:

  (11)   a.   Hi   **re'**   atoin   Yahudis ki   b.   *Hi   **re'**   nua ki   m-nao.
         2PL.NOM REL people.MET Jewish   2PL.OBL   2PL.NOM REL two 2PL.OBL 2PL-go
         'You who are Jewish …'   Intended: 'You who are two go.'

- Again, this shows that the subject DP first-merged in Spec, PredP is free to raise out to serve as the head of a RC (12a) Furthermore, the subject DP may itself be a RC (12b):

  (12)   a.   [$_{RC}$ hi   re'   [$_{PredP}$ atoin   Yahudis ki]]   bisa ta-pein ranan
              2PL.NOM REL   people.MET Jewish   2PL.OBL can 2PL-get road
              'We who are Jewish can access the path.'
         b.   [$_{PredP}$ [$_{RC}$ hai   re' ia]   suma ho   aet   =n =aa   kai]
              1PL.EX.NOM REL DEM just   2SG.NOM servant =PL =DET 1PL.EX.OBL
              'We here are just your servants.'   [Gen 42:13]

- This latter sentence provides evidence that *hai* and *kai* are not linked by a movement chain, since the copula cannot originate within the RC.

- In contrast, LBE again accounts for the inability for APD subjects to raise out of the DP to head a RC.

- Furthermore, the fact that APD does not allow an overt relativiser is an argument against it instantiating a reduced relative with CPD ('We who are two'). Instead, the entire quantified argument serves as the RC head:

  (13)   a.   *Hi   **re'**   nua ki   m-nao.
              2PL.NOM REL two 2PL.OBL 2PL-go
              Intended: 'You who are two go.'
         b.   Hi   ar= ki   **re'**   mi-tua et   kota Kolose
              2PL.NOM all   2PL.IN REL 2PL-live LOC city   Colossae
              'All of you living in Colossae'   [Col 2:1]

2.4   Agreement

- Finally, CPD clauses can trigger default 3SG agreement, while APD requires subject agreement.

  (14)   a.   [$_{CP}$ Etun   hit   ka= ma-fuut =ein kit   =fa =goen] **n**-ok   atoran re' naan.
              so.that 1PL.IN.NOM NEG PROP-tie PL   1PL.IN.OBL NEG INCEP   3-with custom REL MED.DEM
              'So that we would not become slaves within/to that custom.'   [Gal 2:4]
         b.   [$_{DP}$ Hit   ar=kit]   **t**-ma-fuut   **t**-ok   Asmanaf mese'.
              1PL.IN.NOM all=1PL.IN.OBL 1PL.IN-PROP-tie 1PL.IN-with spirit   one
              'We all are baptised within the one Spirit.'   [1 Cor 12:13]

- The entire copula clause may serve as a sentential subject or complement, triggering default 3rd person agreement (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2001; Preminger, 2014).

- In contrast, the APD constituent bears the person features of the pronoun and triggers proper agreement.

2.5   Summary

(15)

Diagnostic	CPD	APD	
Standalone clause	✓	✗	CP vs. DP
Negation	✓	✗	LBE
Relative Clause	✓	✗	LBE
Verb Agreement	✗	✓	

3   The Pronominal Copula

- Cross-linguistically, pronominal copulas have been attested in a wide range of languages, including Arabic (Eid, 1983; Choueiri, 2016), Hebrew (Doron, 1986; Sichel, 1997), Polish (Citko, 2008), Russian (Geist, 2008), Scottish Gaelic (Adger & Ramchand, 2003), and Modern Irish (Chung & McCloskey, 1987).

- Stassen (2003: 81-3) also observes a possible cluster of languages with pronominal copulas in Eastern Indonesia and Melanesia (Fordata, Paulohi, Yabem, Nakanai, Tolai, Kwaio, Motu, Balawaia).[4]

- However, these examples all differ from the Amarasi data in one key way. Notably, pronominal copulas rarely show person agreement. In Egyptian Arabic and Hebrew, the copula only agrees in number and gender:

(16)   Number and Gender Agreement

    a.   Ana **huwwa** il-mudarris.
        1SG 3SG.M   the-responsible.M.SG
        'I am the teacher.' (male speaker)   Egyptian Arabic (Choueiri 2016: 107, ex. 4b)

    b.   At   **hi**   ha-mora.
        2SG.F 3SG.F the-teacher.F.SG
        'You are the teacher.'   Hebrew (Sichel 1997: 301, ex. 15a)

    c.   Il-riga:la **humma** il-mas'uli:n.
        the-men 3PL.M   the-responsible.3PL.M
        'The men are the ones responsible.'   Egyptian Arabic (Edwards 2006: 51, ex. 2)

- In Polish and Russian, the copula has the invariant 3SG neuter form *to*/*eto* respectively, both originating as a proximal demonstrative 'this' (Citko, 2008).

(17)   Default Agreement

    a.   Ja   **to**   Andrzej.
        1SG.NOM DEM.N.SG.NOM Andrew
        'I am Andrew.'   Polish (Bondaruk 2012: 70, ex. 45)

    b.   My **èto**   Marija i Ivan
        1PL DEM.N.SG.NOM Maria and Ivan
        'We are Maria and Ivan'   Russian (Geist 2008: 95, ex. 46)

- However, Amarasi is empirically interesting in that it shows the exact opposite pattern: the copula is identical to the (oblique) pronoun throughout the paradigm **except** the 3SG, where it is obligatorily null:[5]

(18)   a.   Au   '-roim   =je.   b.   In   aas   (*=gwe.)
           1SG.NOM 1SG-like =3SG.OBL   3SG.NOM dog.MET (*3SG.OBL)
           'I like him/her.'   Intended: 'He/it is a dog.'   (✓ 'His dog')

- Similarly, 3PL subjects are either null, or take the optional generalised/associative plural suffix *=(ei)n*:

(19)   a.   Sin atoin   Isaraelas, aa oo?   b.   Sin mono   =n karna …
           3PL people.MET Israel,   PRT QN   3PL unintelligent =PL because
           'They are Israelites, yes?' [2 Cor 11:22]   'They are unintelligent because …'

(20)

| Nominative Pronouns				Oblique Pronouns				Pronominal Copula		
	SG	PL			SG	PL			SG	PL
1	*au*	*hit* (INCL.)		1	*kau*	*kit* (INCL.)		1	*kau*	*kit* (INCL.)
		hai (EXCL.)				*kai* (EXCL.)				*kai* (EXCL.)
2	*ho*	*hi*		2	*ko*	*ki*		2	*ko*	*ki*
3	*in*	*sin*		3	*=je/=gwe*	*sin*		3	∅	*=(ei)n*/∅

- Previous analyses have posited that the pronominal copula is

  - Infl/Agr/T (Doron, 1986; Sichel, 1997; Citko, 2008)

  - the predicate (Adger & Ramchand, 2003),

  - or the head of some other functional projection external to the PredP (Edwards, 2006; Choueiri, 2016)

- I argue that the copula in Amarasi must instead be Pred itself and that this is precisely what accounts for the unexpected person split with full agreement only in the 1/2 person, in line with predicative agreement elsewhere.

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[4]Most grammars cited lack full person/number paradigms such that confirming the degree of agreement is difficult. However, they all appear to mostly use an invariant 3SG emphatic pronoun as the copular element. One exception may be Fordata, with an Amarasi-like system (Drabbe 1926: 54).

[5]The 3SG enclitic *=e* requires metathesis of its host as well as consonant insertion, sensitive to the frontness of the priorly adjacent vowel.

3.1　Analysis

- Following work by Choueiri (2016) on Arabic and Citko (2008) on Polish, I propose that CPD involves a PredP/Small Clause headed by a pronominal copula (21)

- This copular element bears uninterpretable and unvalued ϕ-features and AGREES with the subject in its specifier, resulting in identical feature values on both and giving rise to apparent pronoun doubling.

(21)
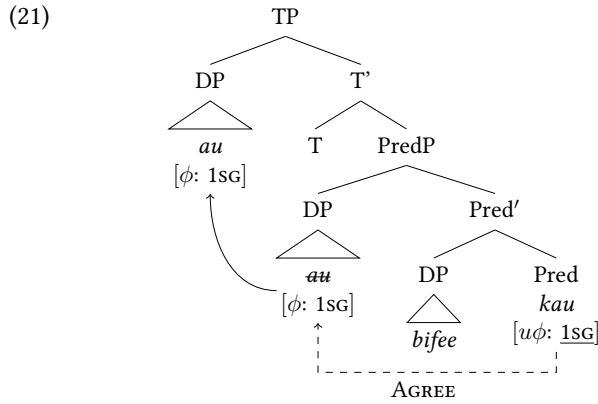
3.2　The Copula is not T or V

- There are four main pieces of evidence arguing against an analysis of the pronominal copula as T or V:

  - Word order/head-directionality
  - Interaction with negation
  - Incompatibility with verbal predicates
  - Incompatibility with prepositional predicates

3.2.1　Word Order/Head Directionality

- Doron's (1986) reasons for claiming that the Hebrew pronominal copula is in T come from word order facts. Namely, the negator *lo*, emphatic affirmative *ken* 'yes', and sentential adverbs all come immediately before the verbal predicate (and verbal copula), but after the pronominal copula:

(22)　a.　Dani **lo**　roce banana
　　　　　Dani NEG want banana
　　　　　'Dani doesn't want a banana.'
　　　b.　*Dani roce **lo**　banana
　　　　　Dani want NEG banana

　　　c.　Dani hu　　**lo**　more
　　　　　Dani 3SG.M NEG teacher
　　　　　'Dani is not a teacher.'
　　　d.　*Dani **lo**　hu　　more
　　　　　Dani NEG 3SG.M teacher
　　　　　　　　　　(Doron 1986: 327, ex. 56-8)

(23)　a.　Dani **be-emet** haya　　ha-baxur še raiti
　　　　　Dani really　　COP.PST the-fellow that saw.1SG
　　　　　'Dani was really the fellow that I saw.'
　　　b.　?Dani haya　　**be-emet** ha-baxur še raiti
　　　　　Dani COP.PST really　　the-fellow that saw.1SG

　　　c.　Dani hu　　**be-emet** ha-baxur še raiti
　　　　　Dani 3SG.M really　　the-fellow that saw.1SG
　　　　　'Dani is really the fellow I saw.'
　　　d.　*Dani **be-emet** hu　　ha-baxur še raiti
　　　　　Dani really　　3SG.M the-fellow that saw.1SG
　　　　　　　　　　(Doron 1986: 328, ex. 62-3)

- Given Infl > Neg/Adv > V, Doron claims these facts follow from situating the pronominal copula in Infl (T).

- However, T is clearly head-initial in Amarasi, preceding the verb, whereas the pronominal copula is head/clause-final. Consider the irrealis aspect marker *he*, the continuous aspect marker *fe'*, borrowed modal *bisa* 'can', and subject agreement prefixes:[6]

(24)　a.　In　　**he　n**-kius fafi.
　　　　　3SG.NOM IRR 3-see　pig
　　　　　'He will see a pig.'

　　　b.　In　**fe' bisa n**-nao na-kre
　　　　　3SG still can 3-go　3-church
　　　　　'She can still go to church.'

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[6]Note that a head-final TP over a head-initial VP would also be a violation of the Final-Over-Final-Constraint (Sheehan et al., 2017).

- Similarly, V is also consistently head-initial, with VO word order. Either possibility incorrectly predicts that the pronominal copula should occur between the subject and predicate, contrary to fact:

(25) *Ho   **ko**   kauna'
      2SG.NOM 2SG.OBL snake
      Intended: 'You are a snake.'

3.2.2   Negation

- Secondly, bracket negation in Amarasi can target Vs and VPs (26a), Ts and TPs (26b-c), and entire PredPs (8a); however, it cannot target the pronominal copula alone (26d), suggesting it is neither V nor T.[7]

(26) a. Sin **ka**= n-mui' =**fa** roit   =aa.
          3PL NEG 3-own NEG money =DET
          'They don't have money'

      b. Ho   **ka**= bisa =**fa** (m-maet).
          2SG.NOM NEG can NEG (2SG-die)
          'You may not (die.)'

      c. **Ka**= he u-feek   =**fa** mansian =ii.
          NEG IRR 1SG-judge NEG person DEM.PROX
          'I will not judge this man.'   [John 12:47]

      d. *Au   bifee **ka**= kau   =**fa**.
          1SG.NOM woman NEG 1SG.OBL NEG
          Intended: 'I am not a woman.'

3.2.3   No Verbal Predicates

- Third, Choueiri (2016) argues that the pronominal copula in Arabic cannot be T, since it is incompatible with verbal predicates (unlike the verbal copula):

(27) ma ħada   keen/*huwwe 'am yirkuḍ
      NEG someone COP.3SG/*3SG.M ASP run
      'No one was/*is running'   (Choueiri 2016: 109, ex. 8)

- This is true also in Amarasi, where purely verbal predicates are strictly disallowed in CPD constructions with or without subject agreement morphology; nominalising a verb, however, can repair this:

(28) a. *Ho   (m)-toko ko
          2SG.NOM (2SG)-sit 2SG.OBL
          Intended: 'You are sitting.'

      b. Ho   a-baka-t   ko
          2SG.NOM NML-steal-NML 2SG.OBL
          'You are a thief'   (Edwards 2017: 277, ex. 190)

- The copula cannot be T, since it cannot combine with vP/VP. Since Amarasi freely allows lengthy Serial Verb Constructions, the ungrammaticality of (28a) also rules out the possibility of the copula instantiating v/V.

3.2.4   No Prepositional Predicates

- Finally, an analysis in which the pronominal copula is T/V does not explain the ungrammaticality of CPD with prepositional predicates, which are fine elsewhere:

(29) a. *Hit   **et umi** kit
          1PL.IN.NOM LOC home 1PL.IN.OBL
          Intended: 'We are at home.'

      b. Hai   m-nao   **et po'on**.
          1PL.EX.NOM 1PL.EX-go LOC plantation
          'We go to the plantation.'

- This ban is because apparent prepositions in Amarasi are really verbal; with the exception of the imperfective locative *et* and irrealis locative *on*, all other words used to introduce spatial/locative meaning inflect like verbs:[8]

(30)

3SG Form	Gloss	Meaning
n-bi	realis locative	(in)to, at
na-'ko	ablative	from
n-oka	comitative	with
n-eu	dative	to, for

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[7]While the negation seems able to bracket just heads, this is probably a consequence of the rules governing prosodic placement of the enclitic *=fa*, rather than evidence for head-only negation. What is important for our purposes is that V and T are valid hosts for the proclitic *ka=*, but Pred is not.

[8]According to Edwards (2017: 278), the imperfective *et* 'mark[s] a location where the subject was/is, but from which it later moved/will move.' In my data, the irrealis *on* appears to introduce future or potential locations, as well as purposive and simulative clauses ('as if', 'how'). However, the exact distinction in use remains murky.

- Thus, the ban on prepositional and verbal predicates are one and the same; (29b) is in fact a Serial Verb Construction, which should be grammatical in (29a) if *kit* were T/V.

- The best way to account for all of these facts is hence by positing that the pronominal copula is the head of a head-final PredP, located below a head-initial TP/NegP.

  - This results in clause-final placement, the inability to be independently negated, and incompatibility with verbal predicates (i.e. a common defining feature of Pred cross-linguistically.)

- So how does the copula being Pred relate to the unexpected person split?

3.3 Predication and Agreement

- A related observation cross-linguistically: the Non-Verbal Predicate Agreement Generalization (NVPAG)

  - In predicative contexts, verbal predicates may take full ϕ-agreement. However, adjectives can only bear number and gender agreement, while nouns show no agreement at all (Stassen, 2003; Abramovitz, 2020)

- This sounds a lot like the distribution of pronominal copulas cross-linguistically: person agreement is very rare!

- Baker's (2008) proposed universal structural explanation is the Structural Condition on Person Agreement

  - SCOPA: 1/2 person features can only be transmitted in a Spec-Head configuration
  - Putative exceptions are agreement on T (Turkish, Salish, Abkhaz), where the subject has raised to Spec, TP

- This could explain why the pronominal copula (PRON) in Arabic does not agree.[9] Edwards (2006) suggests that the pronominal copula construction is a historically reanalysed left-dislocated topic structure, where the resumptive pronoun in Spec, vP becomes a head v (van Gelderen, 2011)

(31)   a.   il-walad huwwa il-mas'u:l
              the-boy 3SG.M   the-responsible
              'The boy is the one responsible'
        b.   [CP il-walad [vP [DP huwwa] [v' [v] [DP il-mas'ul]]]]   (Left-Dislocated Topic)
        c.   [CP il-walad [vP [v huwwa] [DP il-mas'ul]]]   (PRON as v)

(32)
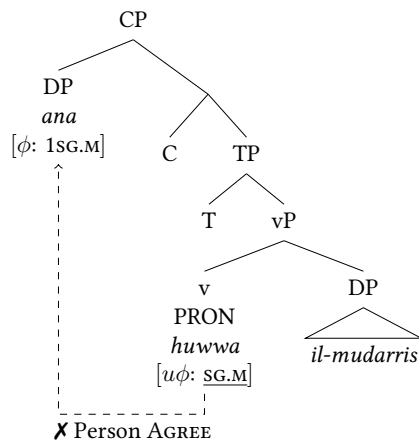
- Recent work by Abramovitz (2020) provides a real counter-example to the NVPAG, whereby non-verbal predicates in Koryak (Chukotko-Kamchatkan) show full person agreement:[10]
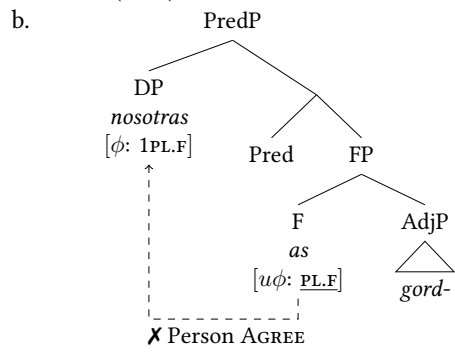
(33)   a.   ɣəmmo n-ə-pəttoŋ-eɣəm
              1SG.ABS ADJ-EP-rich-1SG.PRED
              'I am rich.'
        b.   muj-u   jajətɕʔ-ə-mojo
              1NSG-ABS.PL family-EP-1PL.PRED
              'We are a family.'   (Abramovitz 2020: 3, ex. 6-7)

- He shows convincingly that the reason full agreement is possible in Koryak, unlike in Spanish, Swahili, and other languages, is because the agreement is occuring on Pred (and not on an F head in the complement of PredP):

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[9]This analysis could also be extended to Polish/Russian under a similar left-dislocation analysis; alternatively, as the pronominal copula in these languages can co-occur with a fully agreeing copula on T, one could argue that *to/eto* simply do not bear uϕ features.
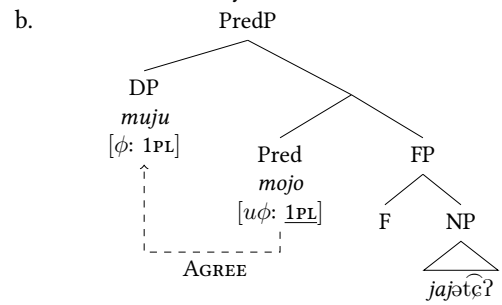
[10]The fact that the Koryak predicational suffixes look nearly identical to the absolutive pronouns further underscores the parallel between Koryak and Amarasi CPD, where the former has gone one step further and grammaticalised the free standing pronoun morphemes into a bound suffix.

(34) a. Nosotras somos gord-as/*amos
        1PL.F   COP.1PL fat-F.PL/1PL
        'We (fem.) are fat'

b.

$$\text{PredP}$$

DP *nosotras* [ϕ: 1PL.F]

Pred   FP

F *as* [$u\phi$: PL.F]

AdjP *gord-*

✗ Person AGREE

(Baker 2008: 22, ex. 23b)

(35) a. Muj-u   jajə$\widehat{t\varsigma}$ʔ-ə-mojo
        1NSG-ABS.PL family-EP-1PL.PRED
        'We are a family.'

b.

$$\text{PredP}$$

DP *muju* [ϕ: 1PL]

Pred *mojo* [$u\phi$: 1PL]

FP

F   NP *jajə$\widehat{t\varsigma}$ʔ*

AGREE

(Abramovitz 2020: 3, ex. 36)

- We can thus unify the distribution of full agreement in both types of predicative contexts, regardless of whether it shows up on the pronominal copula or predicate itself!

- Taking 3SG to be the most unmarked case (i.e. the absence of features) also patterns nicely with the fact that 3SG predication is null in both Amarasi and Koryak:

(36) a. In   kauna'
        3SG snake
        'He is a snake.'   (Edwards 2017: 277, ex. 188)
    b. ənno $\widehat{t\varsigma}$aw$\widehat{t\varsigma}$əw
        3SG.ABS Koryak.ABS.SG
        'S/he is Koryak.'   (R. Abramovitz, *p.c.*)

- The Amarasi pronominal copula (Pred) and oblique pronoun (D) paradigms thus differ only in the exponence of their elsewhere case (i.e. the categorial feature): $\varnothing$ and *=e* respectively

  - This is further supported by the fact that *=e* is homophonous between the 3SG.OBL and definite determiner!

4   Predicative Pronouns

- We turn now to Argument Pronoun Doubling, found with quantified pronominal arguments in subject (a), direct object (b), and benefactive (c) position:

(37) a. **Hai**   **nua kai**   mi-mnei.
        1PL.EX.NOM two 1PL.EX.OBL 1PL.EX-dream
        'The two of us dream.'
    b. Karu on   naan =ate, m-soi   m-aan **kit**   **ar= kit**   nai!
        If   IRR.LOC DEM =SET, 2SG-save 2SG-RES 1PL.IN.OBL all   1PL.IN.OBL already!
   'If that's the case, save us all already!'   [Luke 23:39]
    c. In   kuun es   re'   an-piir   ma n-betis naan **ki**   **ar= ki**
        3SG self   FOC REL 3-choose and 3-bless DEM 2PL.OBL all   2PL.OBL
        'Because he himself is the one who chose and blessed that for all you (pl.)'   [Col 3:15]

- I propose that these instantiate a sort of Adnominal Pronoun Construction (e.g. 'us linguists', 'you two') in which the predicate itself is a quantified pronominal element[11]

  - Thus, the second pronoun is a D head (Postal, 1966), serving as the locus of person features.[12]

  - The predicative pronoun *n*, bearing uninterpretable and unvalued ϕ-features, Agrees with D$_{\text{EPP}}$ and raises into Spec, DP to acquire 1/2 person features (cf. the SCOPA.)

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[11]Note the marginality of similar APCs in English: '?Us shes have to band together!' I assume that the absence of doubling with non-quantified arguments is due to an OCP ban on two adjacent pronouns: *hai kai, *au kau, and a lack of clear semantics. Furthermore, Höhn (2017: §2.6.2) observes that a ban on singular APCs is not typologically uncommon and that plural APCs are likely the less marked option.

[12]I assume D only bears valued person features, while its number feature is valued by Num. This is collapsed here for simplicity.

(38)
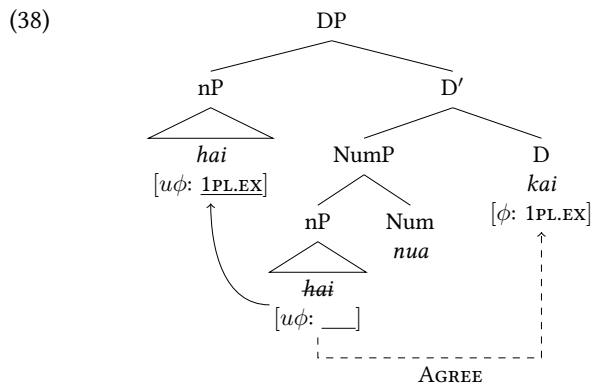
4.1 n-to-D Raising

- In the vein of proposals by Cardinaletti (1994) for Italian strong pronouns and Conrod (2019) for English, I believe there is good evidence that (some) pronouns in Amarasi may be first-merged low in nP.

  - These either raise to D in canonical instances or stay low in predicative contexts like with APD.

  - Two other predicative contexts: restrictive relative clauses and possessum determiners.

4.1.1 Restrictive Relative Clauses

- In line with the standard view that non-restrictive RCs are adjoined to DPs and restrictive RCs are adjoined to NPs (Wiltschko, 2012; Cinque, 2020), that Amarasi pronouns may head restrictive RCs suggest they can stay low:

(39) a. Mes na-'ko [$_{RC}$ sin re' n-toko-n n-bi-n naan], tuaf mese' msa' ka= na-hiin naan =fa.
    but 3-from 3PL REL 3-sit-PL 3-LOC-PL DEM.MED person one also NEG 3-know DEM.MED NEG
    'But out of those who sat there, not even one person knew.'   [John 13:28]

  b. Au '-fain '-eu [$_{RC}$ In re' n-haef kau].
    1SG.NOM 1SG-return 1SG-DAT 3SG.NOM REL 3-send 1SG.OBL
    'I will return to he who sent me.'   [John 7:33]

  c. [$_{RC}$ Hit   he' n-ak am n-ak] ia
     1PL.IN.NOM REL 3-talk and 3-talk DEM.PROX
    '(They were like) we who are chatting ...'

- The lack of agreement with *hit* could suggest that the RC-internal pronoun is merged sans person features.[13]

4.1.2 Possessum Determiner Constructions

- Amarasi pronouns often appear in a 'possessum determiner constructions' (Edwards, 2017), in which an enclitic determiner attaches directly to a pronoun indexing the possessor to refer to the things owned by that possessor:

(40) a. Bait **ho** =**gwi** n-moni
    actually 2SG.NOM =DET.PROX 3-live
    'Actually, while yours is alive'   (Edwards 2017: 257, ex. 94)

  b. mui't =ein re' ia batuur **au** =**n** =**gwa**
    animal PL REL DEM.PROX really 1SG.NOM PL DET
    'These animals are really mine.'   [Gen 31:43]

  c. Bian =ii au na'isf **in** =**je**
    side DET.PROX 1SG.NOM grandfather 3SG =DET.DST
    'Some of these are my grandfather's, his.'

- Crucially, these phrases trigger default 3SG agreement when in subject position (40a). Additionally, the plural enclitic as in (40b) references the possessum, not the possessor (i.e. 'my things', not 'our thing.')

- Again, this suggests the pronominal base is not the locus of person/number features for the resulting compound!

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[13]However, this requires confirmation via further elicitation with non-3rd person subjects. Alternatively, the phrase *nak am nak* may be frozen as a set phrase, used in storytelling.

4.2   Other adnominals

- This analysis freely extends to other APCs in Amarasi, which involve a final oblique pronoun and may serve as subjects (triggering agreement) or objects:[14]

    (41)   a.   **Atoin**   **Israelas ki**,   am-neen mi-rek-reko'!
                    people.MET Israel   2PL.OBL, 2PL-listen 2PL-INTS-good
                    'You Israelites, listen well!'   [Mark 12:29]

            b.   Henati' m-tenu   =m mu-haof **too**   **tafa' kai**
                 in.order 2SG-umbrella and 2SG-shade citizen small 1PL.EX.OBL
                 'So that you might shade us small people.'   (Edwards 2017: 328, ex. 98)

- These structures follow from our analysis easily, with the main noun linearly preceding the head-final D (in which the pronominal determiner is merged.)

5   Whence 'Case'?

- The big question: what is the source of 'accusative'/oblique marking on the pronouns in CPD, APD, and APCs?
  - In subject position APD and APCs, the constituent-final pronoun is not c-commanded by v.
  - Likewise, there is no vP in CPD clauses.

- However, if oblique case can be assigned under c-command by another N/DP under Dependent Case Theory (Marantz, 1991; Baker, 2015), then in all contexts the pronominal head is c-commanded by a distinct N/DP:
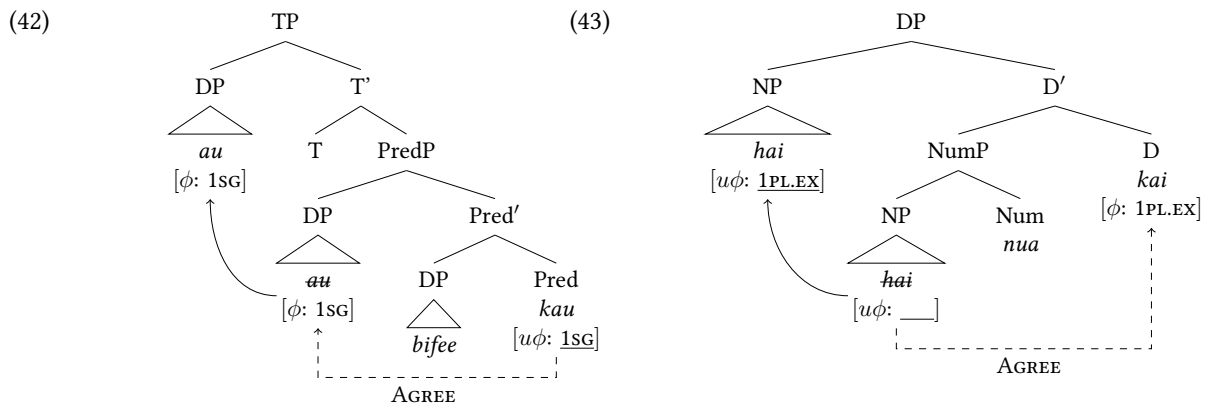
- Why would Pred be a viable target for dependent case assignment?
  - Diachronically, the Pred head originated as a full pronoun prior to reanalysis as a copula. The D(em) > Cop cycle is very common cross-linguistically (Li & Thompson, 1977; Stassen, 2003; van Gelderen, 2011).
  - Amarasi might be early enough in its grammaticalisation process that Pred still retains enough pronominal flavour. Additionally, the head-finality of Pred may also be an inheritance from the head-finality of DP.

6   Conclusion

- In sum, we've seen that surface-similar patterns of pronoun doubling actually involve two distinct phenomena:
  - a fully-agreeing pronominal copula instantiating a Pred head, and
  - an Adnominal Pronoun Construction in which one pronoun is a predicative n, and the other is a D head.

- The typologically unusual person agreement on the copula has been shown to follow from the copula being Pred rather than T/v, resulting in the correct configuration with respect to the SCOPA
  - This also patterns with other exceptions to the NVPAG elsewhere (i.e. in Koryak, possibly Chukchi)

- Two additional contexts, restrictive RCs and possessum determiners, have been provided as evidence for the independent availability of low pronouns in Amarasi.

- I've also speculated that the oblique case marking on the doubled elements may be accounted for by a configurational approach to dependent case assignment and the diachronic grammaticalisation pathway of the pronominal copula.

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[14]APCs with 3PL D heads follow the pronoun paradigm (i.e. *sin*), not the copular agreement paradigm (i.e. *=(ei)n*), as expected under our analysis in which they expone different categorial features.

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